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**OA/ID Number:** 13727  
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**Folder Title:**  
Bill Grant for Congress, Tallahassee, FL 9/6/90 [OA 8315] [1]

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Florida  
State Seminars  
BB-only Seminars  
in long ever  
Notes -  
How about?  
them Notes?

Bill Grant

85-1. Dem

pro-Bill Grant, not nec.

pro-Repul

All-Am, not nec Repul

Stan Smith  
Press Sec.

Roy Gray 225-5235

Steven Cohen 904/681-7434

Van Poole - Celeste

Chair - Fla. GOP

904/222-7920

2 units - Bill Grant rally/BBQ  
40-45 samples  
210,000 1/1000000  
Victory 90 (?)

To Reg  
Date \_\_\_\_\_ Time \_\_\_\_\_

**WHILE YOU WERE OUT**

M. Suzanne  
of Congr. Grant  
Phone 904-222-4252  
Area Code Number Extension

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|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
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| CALLED TO SEE YOU  | WILL CALL AGAIN |                                     |
| WANTS TO SEE YOU   | URGENT          |                                     |
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Message \_\_\_\_\_

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Operator

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23-023 CARBONLESS

**BILL GRANT FUNDRAISER / TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA  
SEPTEMBER 6, 1990 / 6:00 PM**

**THANK YOU, BILL. / COACH BOWDEN [BOW-DEN, AS IN  
"TAKE A BOW"]. JANET GRANT. JEANIE AUSTIN, DOING A  
GREAT JOB AS CO-CHAIR OF THE RNC. VAN POOLE, OUR FINE  
FLORIDA STATE CHAIRMAN, AND FINANCE CHAIRMAN, ALEC  
COURTELIS. / THE MAN WHO'S GOING TO TAKE FLORIDA  
FORWARD INTO THE '90S -- A LEADER AMONG THE NATION'S  
GOVERNORS: BOB MARTINEZ. / AND FLORIDA'S FINE FIRST  
LADY: MARY JANE MARTINEZ. CONGRESSMAN BILL MCCOLLUM.**

**- 2 -**

**IT'S A PLEASURE TO BE WITH ALL OF YOU HERE IN TOM  
BROWN PARK, TO SHARE SUMMER'S LAST COOKOUT TOGETHER. /  
AND I'M DELIGHTED TO SHARE CENTER STAGE WITH THE PRIDE  
OF NORTH FLORIDA, / CONGRESSMAN BILL GRANT. //**

**BILL TELLS ME EVERYONE IN TALLAHASSEE'S BEEN  
LOOKING FORWARD TO THIS WEEK -- GETTING READY FOR THE  
MAIN EVENT. COMING IN TODAY, I COULD SEE THE  
EXCITEMENT ON PEOPLE'S FACES.**

I'LL BET THERE'S NOT A PERSON WITHIN 50 MILES OF HERE WHO DOESN'T KNOW / THE SEMINOLES PLAY THIS SATURDAY. //

TODAY, I'M HERE TO SHOW MY SUPPORT FOR ONE OF FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY'S FAVORITE SONS: BILL GRANT. 18 MONTHS AGO, BILL JOINED THE RANKS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, AND BECAME A VALUABLE MEMBER OF OUR TEAM UP ON CAPITOL HILL.

I REMEMBER THE TALK WE HAD, WHEN I CALLED TO INVITE BILL AND JANET UP TO THE WHITE HOUSE TO MAKE THE ANNOUNCEMENT. BILL KNEW HE'D BE OPENING HIMSELF TO AN ALL-OUT CHALLENGE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION. BUT BILL GRANT MADE THE SWITCH WITH COMPLETE CONFIDENCE THAT HE HAD THE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS DISTRICT. BECAUSE HERE IN NORTH FLORIDA, WHEN SOMEONE STANDS BY HIS CONVICTIONS -- YOU STAND BY HIM. //

- 5 -

ANYONE WHO KNOWS BILL GRANT KNOWS HE'S RIGHT WHERE HE ALWAYS WAS -- ON THE SIDE OF EVERY HARD-WORKING FAMILY IN NORTH FLORIDA.

BILL'S BEEN A KEY PLAYER IN THE CONGRESS -- BACKING A TOUGH, NO-NONSENSE STRATEGY IN THE WAR ON DRUGS AND CRIME. HE KNOWS THAT DRUGS, AND THE VIOLENCE DRUGS BREED, AREN'T CONFINED TO URBAN AMERICA.

- 6 -

SMALL-TOWN AMERICA FACES THE SAME THREAT -- AND EVERY COMMUNITY MUST TAKE STEPS TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST THE DEADLY SCOURGE OF DRUGS. //

BILL GRANT STANDS WITH ME IN HIS UNSHAKABLE COMMITMENT TO OUR ENVIRONMENT. HE CAN TAKE GREAT PRIDE IN BEING NAMED FOREST CONSERVATIONIST OF THE YEAR BY THE FLORIDA WILDLIFE FEDERATION. THROUGH BILL'S EFFORTS, FLORIDA HAS ADDED 25,000 PRIME ACRES OF BLACK BEAR COUNTRY TO THE OSCEOLA [OSS-EE-O-LA] NATIONAL FOREST.

- 7 -

AND BILL GRANT'S BEEN A LEADER IN THE CRUSADE TO RESTORE FISCAL RESTRAINT IN THE CONGRESS. TODAY, I WANT TO SPEAK ABOUT THE KEY CHALLENGE IN THIS CRUSADE: THE BUDGET TALKS. /

YOU KNOW HOW I FEEL ABOUT RAISING TAXES: I'D RATHER EAT BROCCOLI FOR BREAKFAST. / BUT BACK IN JUNE, WHEN THE BUDGET TALKS WERE AT AN IMPASSE, I DECIDED THE TIME HAD COME TO PUT IT ALL ON THE TABLE -- REVENUES, SPENDING CUTS, AND BUDGET REFORM -- IN ORDER TO FIX THIS BUDGET MESS ONCE AND FOR ALL.

- 8 -

I DID THAT AS AN ACT OF GOOD FAITH. / I'VE KEPT THE FAITH -- AND I TOOK SOME HEAT -- THROUGH FIVE LONG MONTHS OF BUDGET TALKS. /

NOW TIME'S RUNNING OUT. OCTOBER 1 BEGINS THE NEW FISCAL YEAR -- AND STILL NO AGREEMENT. CONGRESS IS BACK NOW. TOMORROW BI-PARTISAN BUDGET TALKS WILL RESUME. I WANT A BUDGET AGREEMENT, THE COUNTRY NEEDS A BUDGET AGREEMENT.

I WILL APPROACH THESE TALKS IN GOOD FAITH AND WORK WITH THE LEADERSHIP TO GET A SOUND DEFICIT CUTTING AGREEMENT. WE MUST SUCCEED.

WE'VE GOT TO DRAW THE LINE ON SPENDING -- BREAK FREE ONCE AND FOR ALL FROM THE TIRED OLD MINDSET THAT SAYS FOR EVERY NEW PROBLEM WE MUST CREATE A NEW BUREAUCRACY. THE BUDGET I'VE ASKED FOR -- \$1.5 TRILLION DOLLARS -- IS NOT EXACTLY MISERLY.

IT IS CERTAINLY ENOUGH TO DO THE VITAL WORK OF GOVERNMENT. IT'S TIME TO NAIL THE LID BACK ON THE PORK BARREL. /

THAT'S WHY I'M HERE TODAY -- BECAUSE BILL GRANT'S BEEN ONE OF CONGRESS' STRONGEST COST-CUTTERS. A REAL BULLDOG IN THE BATTLE AGAINST GOVERNMENT WASTE. / I PLEDGE TO YOU, AND TO EVERY AMERICAN TAXPAYER: I WILL NOT ACCEPT A BUDGET AGREEMENT THAT ISN'T FISCALLY SOUND AND FUNDAMENTALLY FAIR. //

THESE ARE CHALLENGING TIMES -- HERE AT HOME, AND ABROAD. LET ME SPEAK FOR A MOMENT ABOUT THE SITUATION IN THE PERSIAN GULF. /

NO PRESIDENT IS QUICK TO ORDER AMERICAN TROOPS ABROAD. BUT THERE ARE TIMES WHEN THIS NATION -- WHEN ANY NATION THAT VALUES ITS OWN INDEPENDENCE -- MUST CONFRONT AGGRESSION. WHAT'S AT STAKE IS A MATTER OF VITAL INTEREST.

BUT BEYOND THE VERY REAL THREAT TO OUR ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE, THERE IS A LARGER ISSUE -- AN ISSUE WITH LASTING IMPLICATIONS FOR PEACE AND SECURITY.

JUST AS WE SUFFER HERE AT HOME WHEN LAW-BREAKERS WALK OUR STREETS AND PLAGUE OUR COMMUNITIES -- THE WORLD SUFFERS WHEN OUTLAWS ASSAULT THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER. / EVERY USE OF FORCE UNCHECKED IS AN INVITATION TO FURTHER AGGRESSION.

- 13 -

EVERY ACT OF AGGRESSION UNPUNISHED STRIKES A BLOW  
AGAINST THE RULE OF LAW -- AND STRENGTHENS THE FORCES  
OF CHAOS AND LAWLESSNESS THAT, ULTIMATELY, THREATEN US  
ALL. / AND NOTHING STRIKES WITH GREATER FORCE AT THE  
VERY HEART OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER THAN THE ACT OF  
NAKED AGGRESSION PERPETRATED BY SADDAM HUSSEIN. //

I'M CONFIDENT OUR RESPONSE IS THE CORRECT ONE. THE  
SANCTIONS ARE BEGINNING TO BITE.

- 14 -

THE SQUEEZE IS ON -- SADDAM HUSSEIN IS UP AGAINST A  
UNITED FRONT: FORCES FROM 25 NATIONS SIDE BY SIDE IN  
THE GULF REGION, AND A STRONG MANDATE -- FIVE  
RESOLUTIONS OVERWHELMINGLY SUPPORTED BY THE U.N.  
SECURITY COUNCIL. AND OF COURSE, TOMORROW I DEPART FOR  
HELSINKI, WHERE I'VE ASKED PRESIDENT GORBACHEV TO MEET  
ME TO TALK ABOUT A WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES, INCLUDING THE  
SITUATION IN THE GULF -- AND THE WORLD'S RESPONSE TO  
IRAQ'S AGGRESSION. /

- 15 -

NEVER BEFORE HAVE WE SEEN THIS KIND OF COOPERATION BETWEEN NATIONS -- PROOF THAT THE WORLD COMMUNITY WILL NOT STAND ASIDE, AND WATCH ONE NATION SWALLOW UP ANOTHER. //

WE SEEK A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THIS CRISIS, BUT ON ONE POINT LET ME BE CLEAR: THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE WHEN IT COMES TO SOVEREIGNTY FOR KUWAIT -- AND THE REMOVAL OF ALL IRAQI FORCES. AND THAT REMOVAL MUST BE COMPLETE, IMMEDIATE, AND UNCONDITIONAL.

- 16 -

THIS CRISIS HAS TAUGHT US THAT THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR AMERICAN RESOLVE -- AMERICAN STRENGTH IN THE SERVICE OF THE RULE OF LAW. / AND THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. / FOR THAT, I THANK CONGRESSMAN BILL GRANT AND THE PEOPLE OF NORTH FLORIDA. I AM CONFIDENT THAT WITH YOUR SUPPORT -- AND THE CONTINUED, CONCERTED ACTION OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY -- JUSTICE WILL PREVAIL OVER THE FORCES OF AGGRESSION.

- 17 -

ONE MORE THING: OUR ARGUMENT IS NOT WITH THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ. RATHER, IT IS WITH IRAQ'S DICTATOR, WHO USES INNOCENT TRAVELLERS AS SHIELDS, WHO NOW -- IN DIRECT CONTRAVENTION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW -- HOLDS HOSTAGE CIVILIANS FROM MANY COUNTRIES. BUT HE MUST KNOW THAT OUR POLICY -- AND THE POLICIES OF THE MANY COUNTRIES WHO STAND WITH US -- WILL NOT BE ALTERED BY THIS BRAZEN BLACKMAIL. ///

PD → How's this?

- 18 -

LET ME CLOSE WITH A FEW WORDS OF APPRECIATION FOR THE MANY YOUNG PEOPLE IN OUR ARMED SERVICES FROM THE CITIES AND TOWNS OF NORTH FLORIDA -- ON DUTY RIGHT NOW, HALF A WORLD AWAY. / SERVICEMEN LIKE ENSIGN LES PULLEY AND HIS BROTHER CHARLES, A MARINE CORPORAL, WHO GREW UP HERE IN TALLAHASSEE. <sup>and</sup> ~~LES~~ <sup>CHARLES IS A VET. OF OP.J.C in Panama -</sup> SHIPPED OUT FOR THE MIDDLE EAST ~~SIX WEEKS AGO~~ AND CHARLES -- A VETERAN OF OPERATION JUST CAUSE IN PANAMA -- IS WITH A MARINE UNIT NOW IN SAUDI ARABIA.

CHARLES IS A VETERAN OF OPERATION JUST CAUSE in Panama - and Les has now shipped

OR SERGEANT ROY LAND OF THE 82ND AIRBORNE, WHO WENT TO SCHOOL HERE AT GODBY HIGH -- SERVED TWO YEARS AGO AS A NATO PEACEKEEPER IN THE SINAI DESERT -- AND SERVES TODAY WITH OUR PROUD PEACEKEEPERS IN THE SAND AND HEAT OF SAUDI ARABIA. //

AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, LET ME TELL YOU: WITH MEN LIKE THESE -- WITH ALL THE BRAVE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN OF OUR ARMED FORCES --RESTS AMERICA'S SPIRIT OF PRIDE AND SENSE OF PURPOSE. //

AS I SAID A MOMENT AGO, THESE ARE CHALLENGING TIMES -- TIMES WHEN WE DRAW ON THE VERY BEST AMERICA HAS TO OFFER. THAT'S WHY I'M HERE FOR BILL GRANT -- BECAUSE FLORIDA, AND THE NATION, NEEDS PUBLIC SERVANTS LIKE BILL GRANT IN THE CONGRESS. / THANK YOU -- AND MAY GOD BLESS THE GREAT STATE OF FLORIDA.

# # #

BILL GRANT  
20 DISTRICT, FLORIDA

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## CONGRESSMAN BILL GRANT

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Bill Grant is a Republican with roots that go deep in the history of North Florida.

A fifth generation Floridian, Bill Grant was born in Lake City, spent his early childhood on a farm in Suwannee County and attended High School in Taylor County. While working his way through Florida State University, he distinguished himself by becoming President of his class and a member of the prestigious Gold Key honorary leadership society before graduating with a degree in Marketing in 1963.

As an active businessman, he helped establish three North Florida banks, including the Bank of Madison County, where he served as President for 13 years.

In the midst of his highly successful banking career, in 1982 he won a seat in the Florida Senate. In 1984, he was re-elected without opposition.

As a Senator, Bill earned the reputation as an expert in the appropriations process and budgetary issues. He was also instrumental in the passage of landmark education and environmental legislation.

In 1986, then Senator Grant became the 100th Floridian since statehood to represent Florida in the U.S. Congress.

Congressman Grant has taken a leadership role in the fight against illegal drugs, reforming America's welfare system and reducing the Federal deficit. He supports a constitutional amendment mandating a balanced Federal budget and giving the President line item veto authority.

Congressman Grant serves on the Agriculture Committee, the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control and the Public Works and Transportation Committee.

Agriculture is the dominant industry in the sprawling 25-county 2nd Congressional District and Congressman Grant is determined to ensure Federal farm programs continue to serve both the grower and the American consumer. He has also taken a leadership role in strengthening rural development and health programs.

As a member of the Select Committee on Narcotics abuse and Control, Congressman Grant has worked to bring the growing problem of drugs in rural and small town America to the attention of the Congress.

On the Public Works and Transportation Committee, Congressman Grant has supported measures to strengthen air safety, end ocean dumping and protect Florida's coastline by prohibiting offshore oil exploration.

Congressman Grant has earned accolades for his work on behalf of veterans and the elderly. He received the Golden Bulldog Award for his efforts to cut Federal spending, eliminate waste and reduce the Federal deficit.

Congressman Grant is married to the former Janet Krawiec and has two sons, John and Carter and one daughter, Madison Kathleen.

Feb. 21 / Administration of George Bush, 1989

old friend, Van Poole; and our chairman of the national committee, Lee Atwater. And I just wanted to bring Congressman Grant in here to say how pleased I am that he is switching over to become a Republican. Florida is on the move. The Nation, I think, benefits from this. And Bill can answer any questions. He has a short statement. But this is good news for our party not only in Florida, not only in the South but nationally. And I welcome him to the party.

The way it will work is: I've asked him to say a few words, and then I'm going to step back in and take a couple of questions and then turn it over to Bill for follow-on. And Lee Atwater will be with him.

Congressman Grant, welcome.

Congressman Grant. Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. I'm pleased you're here under these circumstances, too.

Congressman Grant. Thank you very much.

Well, I'm here this morning to announce that I intend to reregister as a Republican in my hometown of Madison, Florida, this afternoon. After a period of prolonged and careful deliberation, I've determined that I can better represent the values and the priorities of north Floridians in the State of Florida as a Republican.

Please understand, I've been a Democrat all of my adult life. And I want the people who've sent me to the Congress to understand that my actions are not going to change me as a person. It will not change my heritage. This action is not going to change my values nor will it change the way that I vote. I'm registering as a Republican because I can best serve the people of Florida's second congressional district in a working partnership with this President, with this administration, and with this Republican Party. I've been assured by President Bush that he will work closely and cooperatively with me to ensure that the force of his administration is brought to bear to improve the lives of the people that I represent.

I'm reregistering as a Republican because I share this party's commitment for inclusion for all of the American people. I'm reregistering as a Republican because I share the values for which the party stands. Those values include a commitment to a strong national defense, where we're as-

sured that our friends love us and our enemies fear us; a commitment to fair and equal opportunity for all of the citizens of our land, and an unswerving commitment to fighting the crime and drug abuse that plague our society. I believe that these values are shared by the people that I represent, and I am convinced that I can best serve them as a Republican. And I'm proud to make this announcement today. Thank you.

The President. Now, I'll be glad to take a couple of questions. As you know, we're leaving on this trip tomorrow, and there may be some on that, which I doubt. [Laughter]

Salman Rushdie's "The Satanic Verses"

Q. Mr. President, what's your reaction to Iran's death threat against the British author Salman Rushdie? And do you think that the British allies—or that the Western allies should impose economic sanctions against Iran in retaliation?

The President. Well, I strongly support the EC-12 declaration in response to the Iranian threats against Rushdie. However offensive that book may be, inciting murder and offering rewards for its perpetration are deeply offensive to the norm of civilized behavior. And our position on terrorism is well-known. In the light of Iran's incitement, should any action be taken against American interests, the Government of Iran can expect to be held accountable. And so, that is my view on it, and I think the EC-12 did the right thing.

Q. How about the economic sanctions part of it?

The President. They will be discussing that, I'm sure, but I don't know where we go from there. As you know, we have certain economic sanctions. I know I'll be talking to [French] President Mitterrand, and I expect this subject will come up, and maybe others. I'm not sure exactly of the bilaterals we're having, but it'll be a matter—

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], and then we'll start moving around, trying to get to the back of the room.

Q. Yes.

U.S. Foreign Policy

Q. Basically, in your trip: There is that you don't have you have permitted into the vacuum were surprised on your go-slow attitude Russians grab the

The President. such outrageous hypothesis fact that the Soviet that the Soviets in some good things about a trip by the Middle East. I have

Q. That was pre-

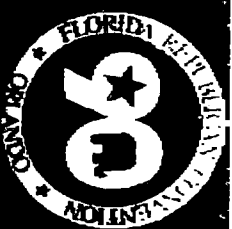
The President. week, and they're worry about that. policy. We are East-West relations South America. But one bit. We've established on with certain there. And I think Jim Baker, when I clear that the NA the United States. to discuss a lot of particular trip. So, that. I really hadn'tive approach to

Q. Well, what is

The President. encourage discussion sein and the Israel progress that has already said that I the changes that [the Organization] to see that there

So, the policy what the policy is clear. The question take next. And I out because Mr. S Middle East. I'd like take of that nature. So, the principles we're—you know, that out and figuratively.

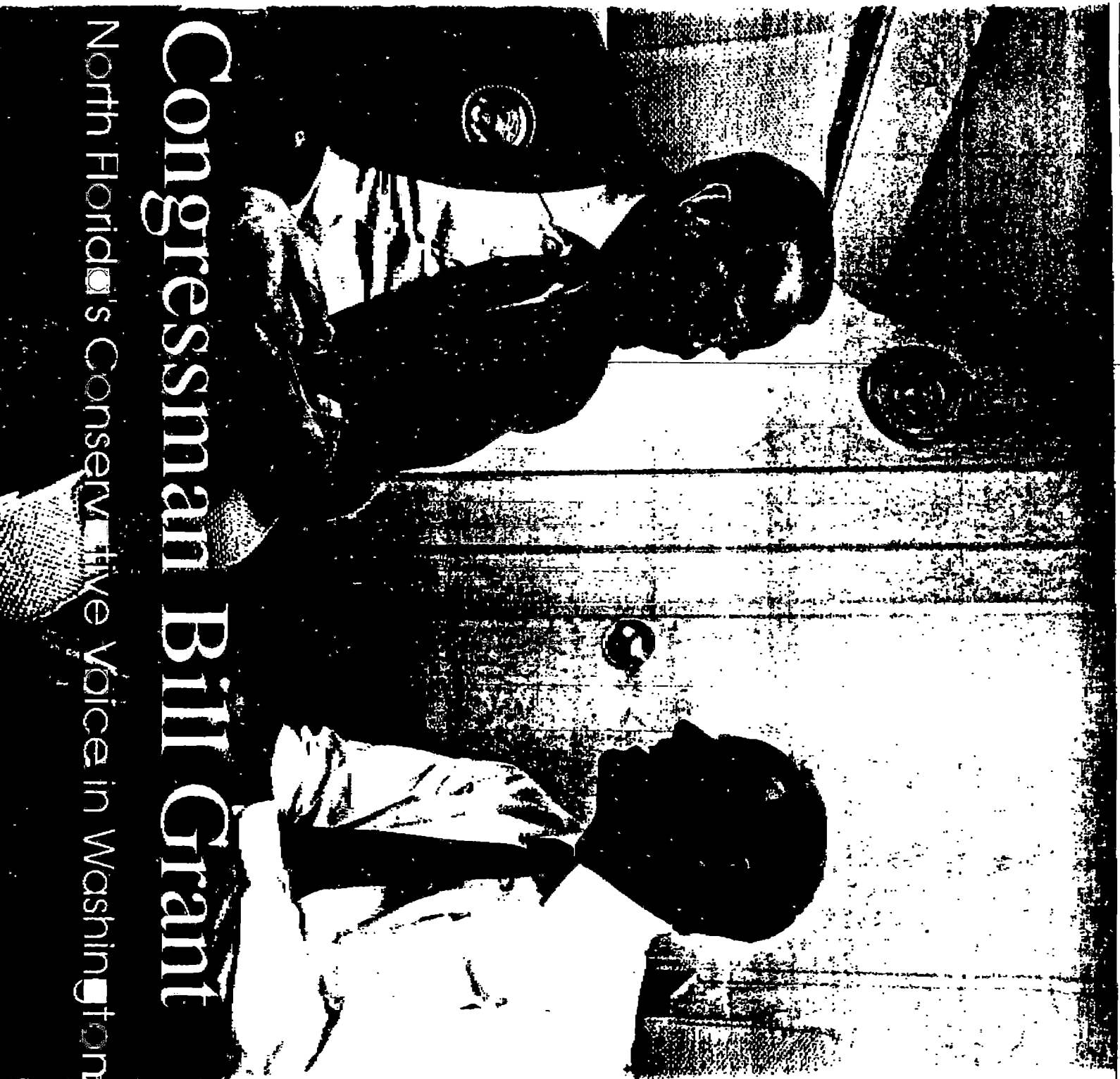
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# Challenger

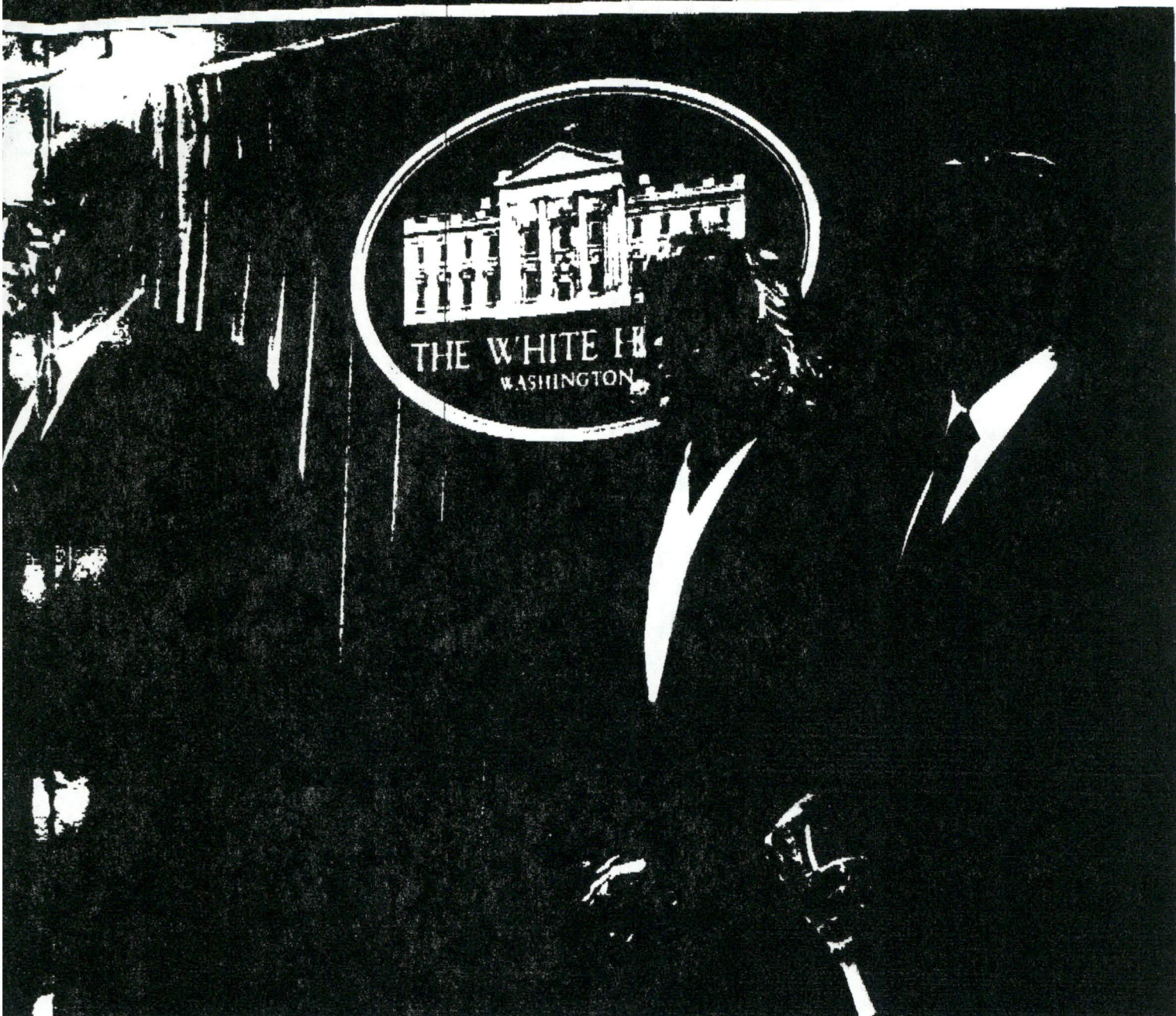
The Official Publication of the Republican Party of Florida

May/June 1990



## Congressman Bill Grant

North Florida's Conservative Voice in Washington



Bill Grant and his wife, Janet, at the White House news conference announcing Grant's switch to Republican in February 1989.

**I**t was a typical February Saturday afternoon in Tallahassee. Crisp, sunny blue skies carried a gentle breeze promising an early Spring. It was not the kind of day for momentous events.

Bill Grant, a conservative Democratic congressman representing a rural district stretching from Jacksonville on the East to Panama City on the West, was methodically examining his backyard azalea bushes for lingering signs of the Winter's freezing temperatures.

His yardwork was abruptly ended by a ringing telephone. "Bill," wife Janet called out as she pushed open the back door of their home. "It's the White House."

More accurately, it was President George Bush calling to invite Bill to the Oval Office for a face to face meeting.

Three days later, on February 21, his 46th birthday, Bill Grant stood shoulder to shoulder with President George Bush and announced to a packed White House press corps and a national television audience that he had decided to become a Republican.

The announcement had an immediate and stunning effect on politics in Florida. Suddenly, and for the first time, Republicans held a 10-9 majority in the Florida congressional delegation.

Democrats reacted with predictable hysteria to the announcement. They called him a political opportunist and a

traitor and immediately set out to comb the pine forests and rolling farmland of North Florida for a political heavyweight who could bring a swift end to Grant's stellar political career.

The Democrats are pinning their hopes on a retired Air Force colonel and former Vietnam POW from Jackson County and a young attorney from Tallahassee. Although neither has ever held elective office, both have made clear that they will build their campaigns around Grant's switch.

While the primary winner is ensured of significant big labor PAC checks, *curiously*, both have said they do not intend to criticize one another in the campaign, but will focus their rhetorical guns on Grant's integrity and his commitment to his constituents.

Just to further emphasize and remind the media of the level of commitment they are willing to dedicate to Grant's demise, Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown was dispatched to Tallahassee recently to address the politically active Tiger Bay Club. The normally non-combative Brown fiercely declared that the Democrats would "drive Grant into oblivion."

Why would a rising star in the Democratically controlled House of Representatives representing a district with an 80 percent Democratic registration change parties? What would make a congressman who faced no opposition in 1988 willingly submit himself to vicious personal attacks and risk his political future?

The answer is simple. Bill Grant is a man of deep convictions, courage and principle.

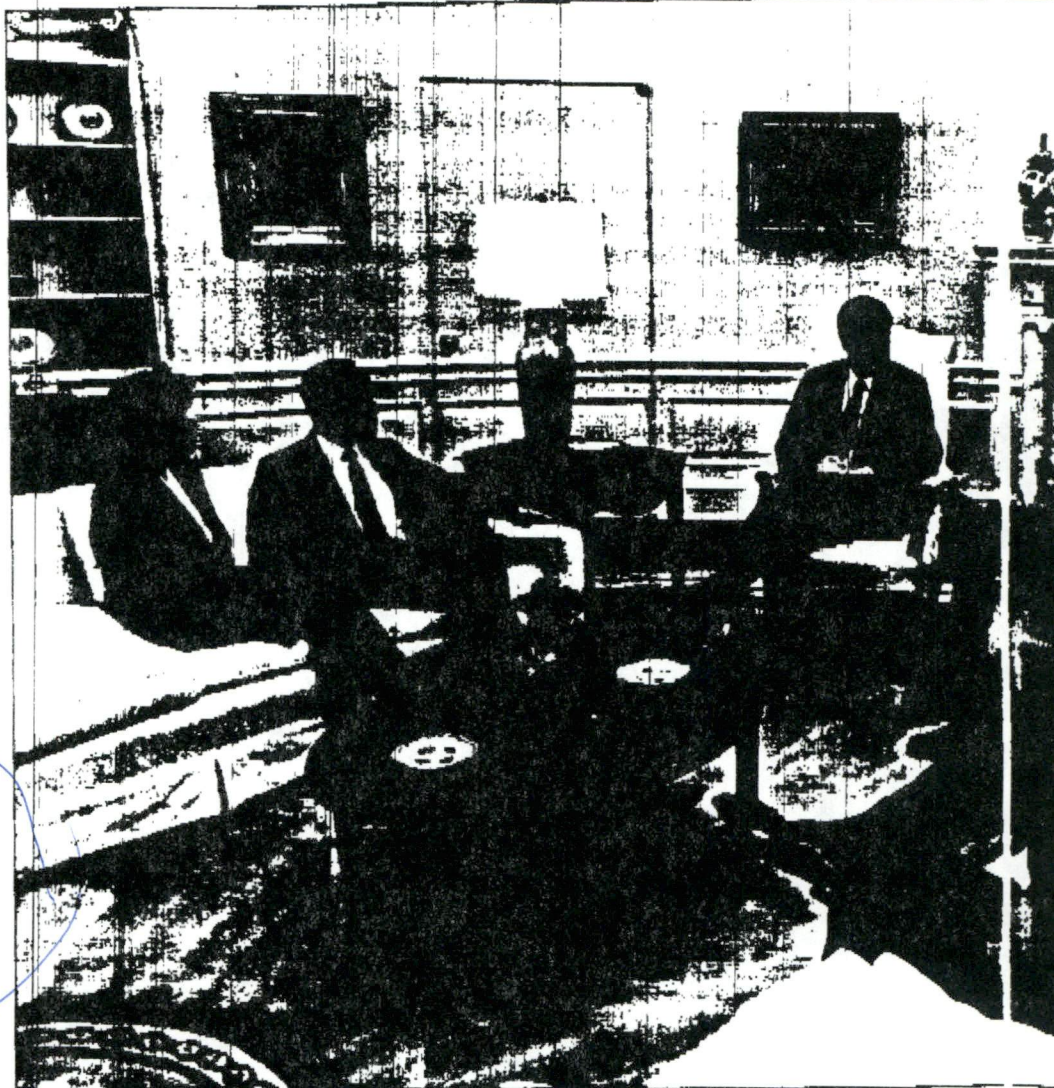
These are characteristics of his life both in and out of politics. Time and time again, Bill Grant has stood for what is RIGHT, rather than what is popular.

An insight into Bill Grant's character can be found in the simple yet eloquent statement he made at the White House 14 months ago.

"After a period of prolonged and careful deliberation, I've determined that I can better represent the values and the priorities of North Floridians in the State of Florida as a Republican.

"Please understand, I've been a Democrat all of my adult

life. And I want the people who've sent me to the Congress to understand that my actions are not going to change me as a person. It will not change my heritage. This action is not going to change my values nor <sup>will</sup> it change the way that I vote. I'm registering as a Republican because I can best serve the People

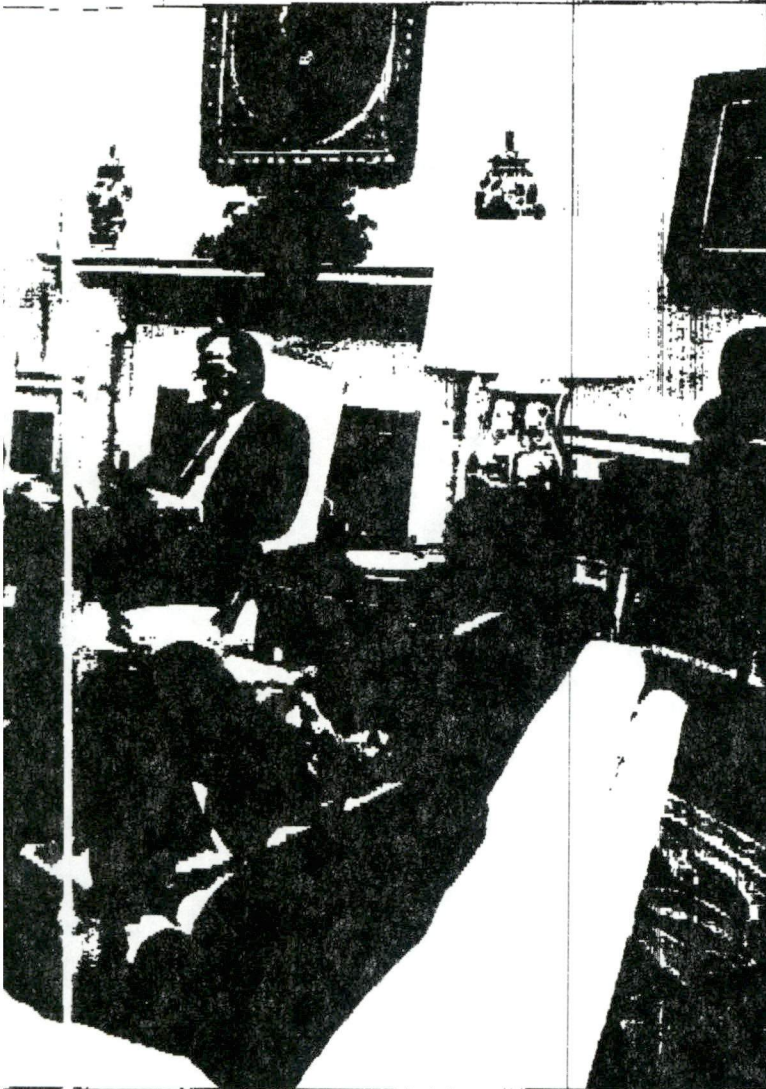


Congressman Grant and his wife Janet meet with President Bush and Vice President the meeting are Republican National Committee Chairman Lee Atwater and

of Florida's second congressional district in a working partnership with the president, with his administration, and that he will work closely and cooperatively with me to ensure that the force of his administration is brought to bear to improve the lives of the people that I represent.

"I'm re-registering as a Republican because I share this party's commitment for inclusion for all of the American people. I'm re-registering as a Republican because I share the values for which the party stands. Those values include a commitment to a strong national defense, where we are re-assured

that our friends love us and our enemies fear us, a commitment to fair and equal unswerving commitment to fighting the crime and drug abuse that plague our society. I believe that the values are shared by the people that I represent, and I am convinced that I can best serve them as a Republican."



Dan Quayle in the Oval Office of the White House. Also at Florida GOP Chairman Van Poole.

Values and opportunity. They are significant words for a fifth generation Floridian who grew up poor in the backwoods of North Florida and went on to become the 100th person to represent Florida in Congress. "I was born in Lake City only because there wasn't a hospital in Suwannee County," Grant recalled. "When I came along, I think my mother had gotten tired of having children at home."

"My father spent most of his life as a day laborer and my mother only had a third grade education. We didn't have a lot

of material possessions, but we did have love and my folks taught us at a very young age that if you worked hard and believed in yourself and your God, treated your neighbors fairly, there was no limit to what you could achieve. I still believe strongly that only a committed person can make a profound difference in this world."

Grant used his parents' wisdom as a springboard for success in business and later in politics. After growing up in Taylor County, he distinguished himself while working his way through Florida State University by getting elected President of his class and a member of the prestigious Gold Key honorary leadership society before graduating with a degree in Marketing in 1963.

It wasn't until 1982, however, that Grant ran his first campaign for elective office. He won a seat in the Florida Senate and was re-elected in 1984 without opposition. In 1986 he beat four other Democrats without a runoff in the open Congressional seat vacated by Don Fuqua.

1988 became a watershed year in Bill Grant's political life. Wrapping up his second year in Congress, Grant became increasingly concerned about the liberal, big labor dominated agenda for the nation being set by the Democratic leadership in congress.

"It was ironic but sad that in order to get ahead in Congress and help the people who sent me to Washington, I was being asked by the Democratic Leadership to vote for positions with which I didn't agree," Grant said. "It seemed that the conservative Democrat was an endangered species in Washington."

In April, in anticipation of the National Democratic Convention, Grant asked to be named to committees writing the party's position on the budget, foreign affairs and agriculture.

"I felt that the platform committees were a good vehicle for bringing the Democratic Party back toward the center, toward the views of the majority of Americans, the kind of people I represent in North Florida," Grant said. "I was truly naive. I was finally appointed to one committee, agriculture, but the party's position was drafted before our one and only meeting was held."

At the convention, Grant voted for Dukakis, but only because Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen was added to the ticket.

"When Senator Bentsen was chosen, I thought it signaled a willingness on the party for the National Party to address our concerns and speak to the values and beliefs of the people I grew up with. I was wrong; it just didn't happen. Elected Democratic officials in North Florida are used to running away from the National Democratic presidential candidates, but it's painful and sad, and this time the running away required a full retreat."

Following the Bush election landslide in November, Grant wrote to Florida Democratic Party leaders and sug-

gested a meeting with the Democratic Congressional Delegation to discuss ways of centering the party and reinvigorating the county committees.

His suggestion was ridiculed.

"We had just gotten destroyed, again, in a national election and the party was saying there simply wasn't a problem," Grant recalled. "It was the classic case of denial. I was told to mind my own business."

During December and January, while Congress was out of session, Grant spent a great deal of time traveling the sprawling 25-county congressional district, meeting with constituents. What he heard over and over again reflected his growing personal doubts about the direction of the political party he represented.

"The people of North Florida are hard working, no nonsense kind of people who believe that everyone deserves a chance to get ahead in life," Grant said. "But they don't believe that bigger and bigger government programs can or should solve everyone's problems and neither do I."

In early February, National Republican Chairman Lee Atwater contacted Grant. Over a two-week period, the two men met several times for frank discussions about political philosophy and the future direction of America. After his meeting with President Bush on that sunny Saturday, Bill Grant had made up his mind to become a Republican.

"When I switched parties, some people questioned the timing, as if the decision was made overnight," Grant said. "That's simply not true. I agonized over it for three months beginning after the November election. And when I made up my mind, I acted. I knew that I was taking a huge political risk, that I was possibly jeopardizing a safe political seat, but I was taught that the safe thing and the right thing are not always the same. And I knew I was

doing the right and honest thing."

More than a year has passed now since Grant turned the political world upside down. And it has been a productive and satisfying year for him.

Grant, who lost no seniority in Congress, is now a member of the Agriculture Committee, which is vitally important to his district. He is also a leader in the fight to rid our nation of illegal drugs as a member of the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. He remains on the Public Works and Transportation Committee, where as Florida's only member, he helps oversee America's infrastructure needs.

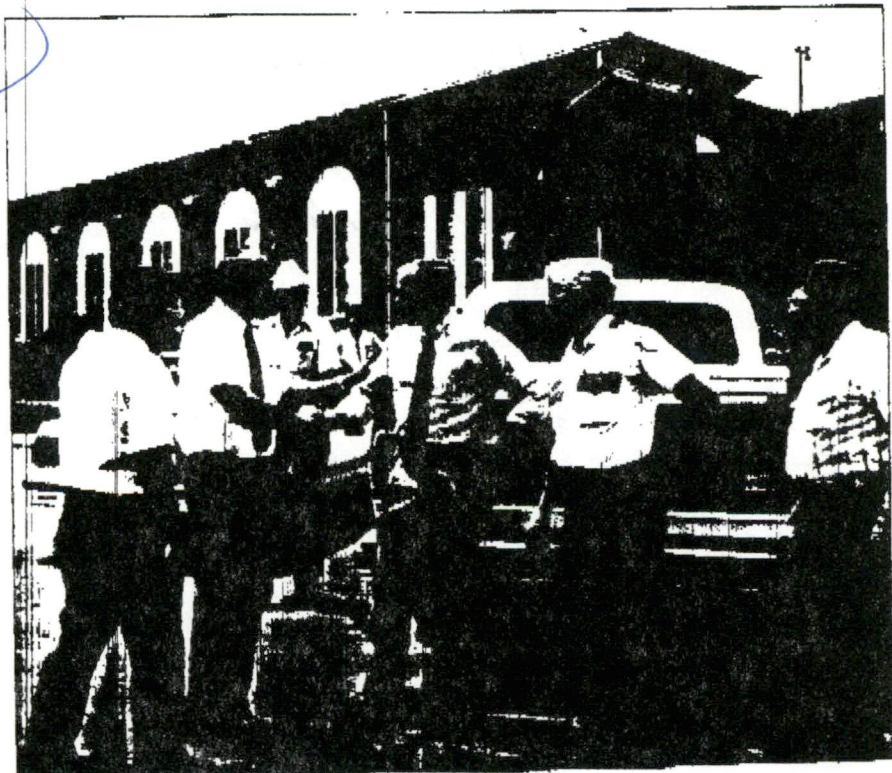
The stage is set for the the political battle of Bill Grant's life. The National Democratic Party has made returning the Second Congressional District of Florida to the Democratic column its number one priority. And hundreds of office holders are watching with interest to see if the

Democrats can make good on their pledge to punish those who "cross the line."

But despite the attacks, the threats and the promises of revenge, Bill Grant is secure in the knowledge that he made the right decision.

"In North Florida, we say what we believe," Grant noted. "The people I represent know the truth, that the Democratic Party left us, we did not leave the party. I vote my conscience now with complete freedom and I have been able to help my constituents in innumerable ways in the past year; ways in which I could not have before."

"Look, I was 40 years old before I ever ran for public office. I got involved in politics in the first place to try to make life better for the people I represent. I'm not going to change that. I owe no less to the people who sent me here."



Congressman Grant meets with 2nd Congressional constituents on one of his many tours through his sprawling North Florida district.

State sen -

23-17 need 4 seats.

crime + drugs.....

environment

agriculture

education ....

→ New Republic.....

Int'l response -  
includes Chinese, S. Korea.....

## FLORIDA

til you wish that both parties  
eir own gas."

President Woodrow Wilson  
Speech in St. Louis  
Sept. 5, 1919

## ND POLITICS

ays amusing, but in 1900, as in  
st lay in its distance from New  
it of New York had become  
ntrol—while the task of Wash-  
1800, was to control it. The  
n in the past century promised  
he next."

Henry Adams  
*The Education of Henry Adams*  
1907

g-place of fashion, of intelli-  
sort without the attractions of  
l or salt, where there is no  
gs, but drinking in abundance  
quantity."

G.W. Bagby  
*Atlantic Monthly*  
January, 1861

permitted to vote for a presi-  
tical purposes they are colo-

Russell Baker  
*New York Times Guide to the  
Nation's Capital*  
1967

lled the City of Magnificent  
ght with greater propensity be  
lagnificent Intentions; for it is  
s-eye view of it from the top of  
can at all comprehend the vast  
ctor, an aspiring Frenchman.  
at begin in nothing, and lead  
e-long, that only want houses,  
; public buildings that need but  
plete; and ornaments of great  
only lack great thoroughfares  
eading features."

Charles Dickens  
*American Notes*  
1842

"God reigns and the government at Washington still  
lives."

James A. Garfield  
Speaking to New York crowd  
on the day of Lincoln's death, April 15, 1865

"Washington is not a place to live in. The rents are  
high, the food is bad, the dust is disgusting and the  
morals are deplorable."

Horace Greeley  
*New York Tribune*  
July 13, 1865

"Home of the brave, land of the free  
I don't want to be mistreated by no bourgeoisie,  
Lord, it's a bourgeois town!  
Tell all the colored folks to listen to me,  
Don't try to buy no home in Washington, D.C.  
'Cause it's a bourgeois town!"

Leadbelly, bluesman  
Quoted by Alden Stevens  
*Harper's Monthly Magazine*  
December, 1941

"No position in America can be more susceptible of  
grand improvement than that between the eastern  
branch of the Potomac and Georgetown."

Charles L'Enfant  
Letter to Alexander Hamilton  
April, 1781

"Washington the capital is the hope of world free-  
dom; Washington the city is over-crowded, badly  
housed, expensive, crime-ridden, intolerant, with  
inadequate transportation, schools, and health facili-  
ties. It staggers under a dilapidated and hopeless  
governmental organization, and its problems are rap-  
idly growing worse."

Alden Stevens  
*Harper's Monthly Magazine*  
December, 1941

[On segregation]: "Here in the capital of a nation  
dedicated to the proposition that all men are created  
equal, one-third of the residents are forbidden the  
theaters and the restaurants of the principal business  
area, are effectively blocked in their search for em-  
ployment, are commonly charged two to three times  
as much rent as the other two-thirds for equivalent  
accommodations, and are hated and feared because  
they do not like it."

Alden Stevens  
*Harper's Monthly Magazine*  
December, 1941

"I realized [in 1953]—and with some surprise—that  
Washington was now a world capital."

Edmund Wilson  
Postscript of 1957  
1957

## FLORIDA



Capital: Tallahassee  
Became a territory: March 30, 1822  
Entered the union (with rank): March 3, 1845 (27)  
State motto: In God we trust  
State flower: Orange blossom  
State bird: Mockingbird  
State song: "Swanee River"  
State tree: Sabal palmetto palm  
Nickname: Sunshine State  
Origin of state name: From Spanish for "feast of  
flowers"

Florida is a thin skin of earth stretched between the  
Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. Barely rising  
above sea level at most points, the state is a mixture  
of swampland, beach and table flat farmland. The  
southernmost spot in the continental United States,  
Florida has become a haven for youngsters who want  
to party on the beaches and for retirees who want to  
relax in the year-round sun. Most recently, Florida  
has become a miniature Cuba for thousands of exiles  
from the Castro regime. The Latin influence in the  
state is growing by leaps and bounds.

Florida's reputation as a haven for the aging began  
early in its history. In 1513, Ponce de Leon went  
there seeking the legendary "fountain of youth,"  
which he was convinced was located somewhere on  
the peninsula. He was wrong, but the state's balmy  
climate is about the best substitute available.

Florida passed from Spain to France, then to  
England and finally to the United States. For 19  
years it was a territory whose future was much in  
doubt as vicious wars between settlers and the native  
Seminole Indians raged. The Indians succumbed in  
1842, and Florida achieved statehood in 1848.

## FLORIDA

Florida is one of America's fastest growing states, which has created problems with crime, pollution and a scarcity of fresh water. It is difficult to maintain the leisurely life for which the state is known in crowded urban conditions.

Economically, Florida's health rests on tourism, agriculture and limited manufacturing. Citrus fruit leads Florida crops, with truck garden vegetables coming close behind. Phosphate mining and manufacture and aerospace operation are the two leading industries.

Florida is in many ways an odd match of youth and age: its population centers around the very young and very old, its cities include America's oldest continuous community, St. Augustine, founded in 1565, and the futuristic Kennedy Space Center at Cape Canaveral; even its phosphate industry, which is relatively young, is dependent upon remains in Florida's soil of the very old dinosaurs and other prehistoric creatures that once roamed here.

### THE STATE

"Florida, I have read, is the oldest state in our history but the youngest in its development. I doubt the last half of the sentence. It is more than four hundred years old in Western terms, and in some ways antediluvian in its vegetable and animal life."

Pearl S. Buck  
*America*  
1971

\* \* \*

"... Florida still had, in her ingenuous, not at all insidious way, the secret of pleasing, and that even round about me the vagueness was still an appeal. The vagueness was warm, the vagueness was bright, the vagueness was sweet, being scented and flowered and fruited; above all the vagueness was somehow consciously and confessedly weak. I made out in it something of the look of the charming shy face that desires to communicate and that yet has just too little expression. What it would fain say was that it really knew itself unequal to any extravagance of demand upon it, but that... it would always do its gentle best. I found the plea, for myself, I may declare, exquisite and irresistible: the Florida of that particular tone was a Florida adorable."

Henry James  
*The American Scene*  
1907

\* \* \*

"Taking it all in all, Florida is, physically and spiritually, both the desert and the rose, and strangely, when it appears to be one, it often turns out to be the other. Its gray sands and malarial

swamps are potential treasure houses of fertility and health, its bustling surface life, its expansive self-satisfaction, hide a profound mental and spiritual sterility."

Clara G. Stillman  
*These United States*  
1924

\* \* \*

"For Florida, mixture of infant prodigy, spoiled prima donna and nouveau riche, has the engaging and disheartening qualities of all three. Forced into adult ways beyond her years, what wonder that she frequently lapses into corners to play with dolls or to make faces; what wonder that like the slattern who is beautiful only for company, she decks herself gorgeously, according to her lights, in her tourist centers and rich agricultural regions, with wastes of slovenly, burned-out, swamp-gutted rural destitution and decay between."

Clara G. Stillman  
*These United States*  
1924

### THE LANDSCAPE

"Florida was so great a mosquito haven that the insect's name was honored in at least one place name."

Thomas Clark  
*The Emerging South*  
1968

\* \* \*

"In none of the forty-eight states does life leap so suddenly, in an hour's motor drive, from the suburban snooze to the primeval ooze."

Alistair Cooke  
*One Man's America*  
1952

\* \* \*

"The first faint reflection of south Florida's Gold Coast shows up slowly, then in a tumbling cascade as you proceed south from Melbourne along the south central coast."

Robert Fisher  
*Fodor's Sunbelt Leisure Guide*  
1979

\* \* \*

"The way it's going [at Lake Okeechobee], we'll soon have a desert."

Joel Kuperberg, executive director of the Collier County Conservatory.

Quoted by John G. Mitchell  
"The Bitter Struggle for a National Park"  
*American Heritage*  
1970

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Clara G. Stillman  
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Clara G. Stillman  
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## ESCAPE

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executive director of the Collier County Conservatory.

Quoted by John G. Mitchell  
"ter Struggle for a National Park"  
*American Heritage*  
1970

"Before the synthetic civilization came, there was only natural Florida—a remarkable peninsula, extending more than 300 miles south of the major continental land mass, a great green mat, often broken by lakes and swamps, floating in a deep blue sea."

Neal R. Peirce  
*The Deep South States of America*  
1974

\*\*\*

"From north to south, this was the view: first, the low-rolling, pine-covered hills of the north and the panhandle, close kin to the red clay hills of neighboring Georgia and Alabama, a land of magnolias and the languid Suwannee River, live oaks and Spanish moss."

Neal R. Peirce  
*The Deep South States of America*  
1974

\*\*\*

"South Florida will be a garden or it will be a desert. It will never again be a wilderness. It is not a wilderness now. It is the rag left over when the wilderness wears away."

Richard Rhodes  
*Playboy*  
January 1972

\*\*\*

"Although I am no archaeologist, I love Florida as much for the remains of her unfinished cities as for the bright cabanas on her beaches."

E.B. White  
On a Florida Key  
*Essays of E.B. White*  
1941

## PEOPLE

"The people's attitude [toward social problems] is, 'Damn it, I am down here to avoid problems, not have them.'"

Gov. Bob Graham  
Quoted in *Time*  
Nov. 23, 1981

## WAY OF LIFE

"The state is turning Florida into a zoo. They'd stock the Everglades with giraffe if they thought they could sell licenses to shoot them. And they probably could."

Joe Browder  
*American Heritage*  
April, 1970

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"As for the people of Florida, they have come from every state and clime, and from the rich and the poor. But the base is a mixture of so-called cracker, or the pioneer who was usually a white man, the Latin American, Negro and Seminole Indian—all making together a heady American brew!"

Pearl S. Buck  
*America*  
1971

\*\*\*

"... a place to work off a year's inhibition in a few determined weeks of pleasure."

Alistair Cooke  
*One Man's America*  
1952

\*\*\*

"... Florida, ever so amiably, is weak. You may live there serenely, no doubt—as in a void furnished at the most with velvet air; you may in fact live there with an idea, if you are content that your idea shall consist of grapefruit and oranges."

Henry James  
*The American Scene*  
1907

\*\*\*

"Florida was the only wilderness in the world that attracted middle-aged pioneers."

John McPhee  
"Oranges"  
*The John McPhee Reader*  
1976

\*\*\*

"This scene [hiring migrant workers] is not taking place in the Congo. It has nothing to do with Johannesburg or Capetown. This is a shape-up for migrant workers. The hawkers you hear are chanting the going piece rate at the various fields. This is Belle Glade, Florida. This is the way the humans who harvest the food for the best-fed people in the world get hired. One farmer looked at this and said. 'We used to own our slaves, now we just rent them.'"

Edward R. Murrow  
*Harvest of Shame*  
CBS-TV Documentary  
1960

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"People live forever in Jacksonville and St. Petersburg and Tampa. But you don't have to live forever to be a grandpa."

Ogden Nash  
"Come On In, the Senility Is Fine"  
*You Can't Get There From Here*  
1957

\* \* \*

"As I went along I found that more and more people lusted toward Florida and that thousands had moved there and more thousands wanted to and would. The advertising, with a side look at Federal Communications, made few claims except for the fact that the land they were selling was in Florida. Some of them went out on a limb and promised that it was above tide level. But that didn't matter; the very name Florida carried the message of warmth and ease and comfort."

John Steinbeck  
*Travels with Charley*  
1962

\* \* \*

"Nothing distinguished had yet emerged from Florida, whether in statesmanship, scholarship, letters or arts, and whatever comes in the future will have to struggle through a pall of American provincialism, Protestant white supremacy, economic ruthlessness and religious obscurantism."

Clara G. Stillman  
*These United States*  
1924

## HISTORY AND POLITICS

"Florida had turned [in the Depression] from El Dorado into a desert set about with curious ruins of gigantic hotels and towns, half-completed."

W.J. Cash  
*The Mind of the South*  
1941

\* \* \*

[On a 20-lane, half-mile road to a land development]:  
"Just as a scientist can reconstruct dinosaurs from one giant fragment of bone, so the Florida sucker was able to forecast the tremendous future of Boca Raton from the giant fragment of road. London had no 20-lane highway; Paris, Rome, New York, and Chicago had no 20-lane highways. As investors studied the implications of El Camino Real, the corner lots in Boca Raton jumped in value from a few hundred dollars to \$100,000."

Alva Johnson  
*The Legendary Mixners*  
1942

\* \* \*

"Florida [during land-boom of the 1920s] was sensitive about the fact that it was the flattest state in the country except Delaware, and it attempted to achieve altitude by playing games with words. Okeechobee Highlands was twelve inches taller than the country around it, according to Kenneth Ballinger...."

Baldwin Heights was found by the National Better Business Bureau to be under water."

Alva Johnson  
*The Legendary Mixners*  
1942

\* \* \*

"The bewildering final state of the boom [of the 1920s] was dominated by what was known in Florida as 'vision'—a gift that enabled an observer to mistake spots before the eyes for magnificent cities.... You qualified as a man of vision the moment you saw the Manhattan skyline rising out of an alligator swamp."

Alva Johnson  
*The Legendary Mixners*  
1942

\* \* \*

"After the crash [of the real estate bubble of the 1920s], Florida had something new to offer in the field of archaeology. The state was dotted with unborn ghost cities, the picturesque remains of places that had never had an inhabitant.... Florida became the richest country in the world in fresh ruins."

Alva Johnson  
*The Legendary Mixners*  
1942

\* \* \*

"I started writing this in the sub-basement of the Florida capitol: a good place to be measuring the deep South. It is a building whose superstructure is appropriately half a foot out of alignment with its foundation. There is a sense of abandonment, a wistful archeological air about the capitol as of ruins nobody cares to dig. Pieces of the capitol go whizzing off in every high wind. The dome, supported only by legends and rotten timbers, is condemned. Ceilings sag. But the exterior is painted a fine, pure white, and from a distance—say, standing on the farthest hill across Smokey Hollow—the lines of the building are beautifully aristocratic. As a symbol of southern politics this building is perfect."

Robert Sherrill  
*Gothic Politics in the Deep South*  
1968

\* \* \*

"The state's continuing concern for the well-being of commerce was illustrated [in the 1950s] when it set aside two major rivers as 'commercial streams'—which industry could, and did, pollute as it liked."

Robert Sherrill  
*Gothic Politics in the Deep South*  
1968

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Alva Johnson  
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Robert Sherrill  
*Gothic Politics in the Deep South*  
1968

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Robert Sherrill  
*Gothic Politics in the Deep South*  
1968

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"The [pro-] dollar sympathies of the Florida (a typical southern legislature) have been well known since the day in 1901 that it changed the law to permit Henry Flagler, vice president of Standard Oil Company and builder of the Florida East Coast Railway, to divorce his insane wife, and then changed the law back again—a gesture in Bible-quoting Florida that may have been even more significant than the two million acres of prime land the legislature gave him for his railroad."

Robert Sherrill  
*Gothic Politics in the Deep South*  
1968

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"Florida is a strange land, both in its traditions and its natural features. It was the first settled of the states, and has the most genial climate of all of them; and yet the greater part of it is still a wilderness."

J.B. Thorpe  
*Picturesque America*  
1872

## CITIES, TOWNS AND REGIONS

### The Everglades

"What flows in from the north is the national park's lifeblood."

John G. Mitchell  
*American Heritage*  
1970

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"The Everglades, the winterless Everglades that was once the wonder of the world, is not dying. It is already dead. The shell is left, the shell of a wilderness, and should be saved. We save shells."

Richard Rhodes  
*Playboy*  
January, 1972

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"The question is not one of too much water [in the Everglades] but a guarantee that there shall not be too little."

William E. Warner, assistant secretary of the interior  
Quoted by John G. Mitchell  
*American Heritage*  
April, 1970

### Miami

"Paint in brown hills and smog, and you would have Southern California. Or subtract a rather persistent

humidity, about which South Floridians are more than a little defensive: humidity is good for the skin. Then add money, lots of money, money from sources no one ever heard of before, sources which aren't even clear. Give the picture a furious, fast-paced Latin beat—no mood of *mañana* here—and you have Miami in the middle of its 1980s boom, the biggest and most exuberant in the history of Florida booms: blue skies, lacy white clouds, pink nights, music from great cruise ships in the port, yachts in the marinas, sailboats in the bay, Gucci Cadillac Seattles skimming across airy skyways, and buildings—tall, glistening-white buildings—rising everywhere."

Stephen Birmingham  
*Vogue*  
January, 1981

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"Until quite recently, when most people thought of Miami, they thought of Miami Beach. This fact used to annoy true Miamians, who liked to emphasize that they lived in a respectable year-round city, not a gaudy resort. [and] that Miami and Miami Beach were two different things, with separate city governments, separate attitudes and goals and life styles. Miami had a public-school system, even a university. Miami Beach didn't even have a cemetery."

Stephen Birmingham  
*Vogue*  
January, 1981

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"... Miami Beach grew to the point where it contained the greatest concentration of hotel rooms of any city in the world. Its capacity to accommodate transients exceeded the population of many entire states. . . . Obviously, though no one thought of it, it was a case of a popularity that could not last. The shadows of the big hotels blocked out the sun. Perhaps because of the hotels' combined weight, the sands of the beach itself began sinking into the sea. On the inland side of the sandbar, Indian Creek became an open sewer."

Stephen Birmingham  
*Vogue*  
January, 1981

\*\*\*

"They [Cuban exiles] have given Miami a flavor it lacked. Their gift for living whether they are rich or poor, seems both more festive and more real than their native style. There is a mixture of pleasure-seeking, understanding for human frailty, [and] pride, [and] devotion to church and family that are being lost in the computer age."

Al Burt  
*The Nation*  
March 8, 1971

## FLORIDA

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 "Miami is the only place in the United States that's going to escape major recessions, and the reason—you really have to be honest about it—goes back to two things: the drug cash flow that comes in and impacts the whole community. And number two, the increased centralization of trade, commerce, and banking in Miami toward the Caribbean and Central and South America."

Maurice Ferre, Miami mayor  
 Joel Garreau  
*The Nine Nations of North America*  
 1981

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 "'Miami Beach is where neon goes to die,' was Lenny Bruce's terse assessment of America's ivory coast."

Barbara Gordon  
*Saturday Review*  
 May 20, 1972

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 "The materialistic capital of the world."

Norman Mailer  
*Miami and the Siege of Chicago*  
 1968

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 "... A street of nightmarish hotels, each more feverishly grotesque than the last."

James Morris  
*As I Saw the USA*  
 1956

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 "Miami has now become the capital of Latin America."

Jaime Roldos, president of Ecuador  
 Speech at Miami Trade Fair  
 1979

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 "Miami Beach has gone from being the fun and sun capital of the world to the slum and bum capital."

Local politician  
 Quoted by William Safire  
*New York Times*  
 Oct. 25, 1981

\*\*\*  
 "In Miami, the wonder city, pride of south Florida, where some of its citizens dream a new culture is to be born, we have this extraordinary situation, extraordinary even for the South. A curfew regulation: No Negroes except those needed as night bell boys, porters and the like by hotels, allowed out of the colored section of the city after nine p.m."

Clara G. Stillman  
*These United States*  
 1924

\*\*\*  
 "Prior to their [Cuban exiles'] appearance on the scene, Miami tended to be essentially a rather indolent pasture town for retired elderly people from the North, and a winter resort. . . . The [competitive] pressure came from the Cubans, hungry for work, resilient, imaginative and, in a great many cases, equipped with considerable skills and experience in a variety of fields. What they did, then, was to energize the whole city."

Tad Szulc  
*Esquire*  
 February, 1974

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 "It even makes one feel more kindly toward Southern California."

Edmund Wilson  
 "Miami"  
 1949

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 [Miami Beach]: "What draws people down to this vacuum? How do they amuse themselves here?"

Edmund Wilson  
 "Miami"  
 1949

\*\*\*  
 [Miami]: "Acres of nougat-like shops, mountain ranges of vanilla ice-cream hotels."

Edmund Wilson  
 "Miami"  
 1949

## Other Cities and Regions

### Key West:

"... its persistent air of slightly piratical independence."

James Morris  
*As I Saw the USA*  
 1956

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 "If the continent were water and the water land, Key West is where all the sweetness and bitterness, all the honey and sour acids of our complicated American lives would drain. The southernmost point in the United States. Land's end. Old glory and present decay."

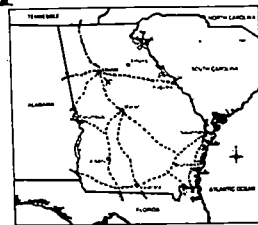
Richard Rhodes  
*Playboy*  
 January, 1972

### Marsh country:

"Here the Indians who refused the indignity of being removed en masse to Oklahoma built their villages

## GEORGIA

# GEORGIA



Capital: Atlanta

Entered the union (with rank): Jan. 4, 1788 (4)

State motto: Wisdom, justice, moderation

State flower: Cherokee rose

State bird: Brown thrasher

State song: "Georgia on My Mind"

State tree: Live oak

Nicknames: Empire State of the South, Peach State

Origin of state name: After George II of England

Georgia looks like everyone's image of the rural South: the red soil, the kudzu vine climbing over every unprotected surface, the winding country roads and small bridges over slow-moving streams, the little towns barely one block long. Atlanta, Georgia's capital, by contrast, is the perfect picture of the future of the South—the prosperous Sunbelt. An auto-centered city of plazas, highways, clean glass skyscrapers, revitalized city rowhouses and immigrants from the north and west, Atlanta looks like success, with considerable reason.

Founded as an English debtors' colony by Gen. James Oglethorpe in 1733, Georgia went on to become one of the Confederacy's stalwarts during the Civil War. It probably suffered greater damage from that war than any other state; Sherman's army cut a violent swath across the state from Atlanta to the sea, burning and pillaging as it went. Reconstruction also hit Georgia hard, and the state's economy remained flat until the middle of this century.

Today, Georgia's relative lack of development has turned into a plus. Industries have moved south in droves to utilize the large sources of natural materials, the relaxed laws concerning pollution and unions and the available space. Georgia, the largest state east of the Mississippi, benefited from all these factors and has become a new home for dozens of corporations. The new prosperity is slowly changing the face of Georgia, but the old southern ways still persist outside the big cities. Georgia ranks first in gallons of moonshine whiskey seized by the feds.

and planted their squash and bananas, confident that this insidious marsh country of the red-bug and the moccasin would be theirs by default because it was the one section of Florida the white man could not endure. The only other inhabitants of these impenetrable mangrove swamps were squatters, outcasts, moonshiners who lived in shacks raised on stilts over the shallow Florida Bay flats at a now vanished community well-named Snake Bite, or in lawless little bands on the islands of Whitewater Bay."

Budd Schulberg  
"Florida"

*American Panorama*  
1947

### Palm Beach:

"For the boarders, verily, were the great indicated show, as I had gathered in advance, at *Palm Beach*; it had been promised one, on all sides, that there, as nowhere else, in America, one would find Vanity Fair in full blast. . . ."

Henry James  
*The American Scene*  
1907

### Pensacola:

[Pensacola Harbor in 1870s]: "Vessels, before loading with cargo, discharged their ballast, which was hauled and dumped along the shore, and 60 acres of land were created in a few years. Thus Pensacola's reclaimed shoreline is made up of red granite from Sweden, blue stone from Italy, broken tile from France, and dredgings from the River Thames and Scheldes of The Netherlands."

The Federal Writers Project of the WPA  
*Florida, American Guide Series*  
1939

### St. Augustine:

"A part of St. Augustine lingers as the Southeast's most tangible relic of the Spaniards' bid for power."

Harnett T. Kane  
*Gone Are the Days*  
1960

### West Palm Beach:

"God rode out the ocean.  
Chained the lightning to his wheel;  
Stepped on land at West Palm Beach,  
And the wicked hearts did yield."

Spiritual  
Quoted by Alistair Cooke  
*One Man's America*  
1952

\* \*  
[xiles'] appearance on the  
e essentially a rather indo-  
ed elderly people from the  
sort. . . . The [competitive]  
Cubans, hungry for work,  
l, in a great many cases,  
e skills and experience in a  
ey did, then, was to ener-

Tad Szulc  
*Esquire*  
February, 1974

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more kindly toward South-

Edmund Wilson  
"Miami"  
1949

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draws people down to this  
muse themselves here?"

Edmund Wilson  
"Miami"  
1949

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ugat-like shops, mountain  
am hotels."

Edmund Wilson  
"Miami"  
1949

## d Regions

f slightly piratical indepen-

James Morris  
*As I Saw the USA*  
1956

\* \* \*  
water and the water land, Key  
eetness and bitterness, all the  
f our complicated American  
southernmost point in the  
end. Old glory and present

Richard Rhodes  
*Playboy*  
January, 1972

refused the indignity of being  
Oklahoma built their villages

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Bill Grant - party  
switcher  
district is 85%  
Dem.

Reggan Dems -  
stress crime, drug  
values, defense  
Don't hit Dems as a  
party

see me

Bob

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

rural health care coalitions  
Sunbelt Caucus  
infant mortality

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Grant - select comm on Narcotics  
Judge Walton -

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offshore oil drilling  
Grant went to WH  
5-year lease plan?

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on Ag comm  
peanut program prob

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# FLORIDA

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## *State of Exiles*

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FROM NORTH AND SOUTH, from neighboring states and from distant places, they have come, each group claiming its piece of the fragile land: dirt poor farmers from the rural southern hinterland to work in factory jobs; military men and women to launch space flights and protect the nation's borders; refugees from Communist Cuba and the wretched poverty and political repression of Haiti; capitalists from Latin America, seeking safety for themselves and their money; drug dealers preying on the vast and wealthy North American market; and, the largest and most varied group of all, the retirees—wealthy WASPs who made fortunes in the Northeast industrial corridor, poor Jews who spent a working life sewing clothes in the garment district of New York City, middle-class farmers from the Midwest, and—most recently—blue-collar workers, their retirement in the sun made possible by Social Security and private pensions.

Florida's growth figures are barely comprehensible. In 1940, fewer than 2 million people lived in this state; in 1980, the count was 9,739,992. The 1970s alone produced a growth rate of 43.4 percent. Of the U.S.A.'s 25 fastest-growing metropolitan areas in the 1970s, 10 were in Florida. Two Florida communities were among the top 10 cities for sheer numbers of people added: Tampa-St. Petersburg increasing by 480,943 in the decade, the Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood area by 393,943.

This growth, and most particularly its velocity, has produced highly negative social conditions. The state has become almost as well known for its problems of crime, racial conflict, and environmental degradation as for its sunny beaches and glamorous resorts. The worst crime reports have emanated from South Florida, where Miami has nearly achieved the title of "Murder Capital U.S.A." Shocking newspaper stories of massive drug busts have been replaced by estimates that drug smuggling and selling have reached the proportions of a \$7 to \$12 billion industry, supplying much of Florida's investment capital. Florida officials candidly admit there is little they can do to control the problem. While Miami in 1980 ranked No. 1 among U.S. cities in its rate of violent and property crimes (related to population), six other Florida cities were among the top 11 nationally in crime: Gainesville, the West Palm Beach-Boca Raton area, Orlando, the Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood area, Daytona Beach, and Tallahassee.

As for the environmental problems of this fragile, ecologically sensitive state, they range from water shortages (from excessive land drainage) to the scars of pollution from phosphate strip mining to diminishment of the barrier

islands as man greedily tries to consume the farthest land extremes of the continent.

How, one may ask, has this happened to the Promised Land? Geography plays a major part: the state would clearly not suffer from such a magnitude of crime and drug problems were it not the southernmost point of the United States, and its connecting point to Latin America. Smuggling and lawlessness are all-too-familiar visitors in border areas around the world.

But Florida's problems, we believe, go deeper. As immigrants from the North and South have flooded in, the state has lost, save in a few counties hard up against the Georgia and Alabama borders, whatever tenuous ties it had with its Deep South neighbors. Perhaps, in racial matters, that was good riddance. But what has developed on the Floridian peninsula is a deeply disjointed society, one that has yet to develop a coherent sense of itself and perhaps never will. Anglo factory workers, elderly fresh in from the Frostbelt, Latin Americans—all may call themselves Floridians. But many do not; they and all their Floridian neighbors know their roots are elsewhere and that they have a quite limited commitment to their new "home." Florida, in short, is not so much beneficiary as victim of its widely heralded growth. The Floridian experience proves that tumultuous, rapid growth is as destructive to a society and natural environment as the more feared processes of population decline and economic stagnation.

Florida is a demographic oddity. Consider these differences, recorded in the 1980 Census: 17.2 percent of Florida's population is over 65 (compared to just 11 percent nationally); another 11 percent of Floridians are between 55 and 64 and about to join the ranks of the "elderly." Less spectacular, on the surface, is that 8.8 percent of Floridians are of Spanish origin (compared to 6.5 percent nationally), while 13.7 percent are black (compared with 11.6 percent nationally). But these unusual concentrations of people are highly segregated. *Two-thirds* of the Hispanics live in just one area—in or around Miami. The elderly select their own ghettos: Jews in Miami Beach, Northeasterners on the East Coast, Midwesterners on the West Coast. Executives of multinational corporations with Florida offices choose Coral Gables, adjoining Miami, while the younger working-class migrants move mostly to cities in the northern and central sections (Orlando, et al.). Blacks are more dispersed, but in their largest numbers are to be found along the northern border and in the explosive Miami ghetto.

Middle-class people of working age, the very glue of American society, are numerically much less important in Florida. Socially cohesive issues are often missing or sublimated; by contrast, each minority—the elderly included—has its own political agenda. Social Security payments, revolution in Cuba, increasing the acceptability of Spanish, a strong defense of Israel, fighting economic and social discrimination if one is black, all these have been major issues in Florida campaigns. By contrast, it's much tougher in this state to get support for the public schools, for effective laws to protect the land, or for funds to build prisons—the 1982 legislature's increased spending on criminal justice notwithstanding. The prison issue illustrates the dangers of failed

consensus: criminologists have pinpointed a decrepit, overcrowded prison system—one that turns minor offenders into hardened criminals—as a major cause of the high crime rate that so alarms Floridians.

This is not to say that Florida's political system and government are totally bereft of innovation. Florida's legislature has become one of the most progressive in the nation in the running of its own affairs; it was the first legislature to allow its sessions to be televised and to pass pioneering "sunshine" and "sunset" legislation. Several Florida statutes have indicated a growing (even if still insufficient) environmental consciousness. And the state has some of the country's finest newspapers, led by the Knight-Ridder *Miami Herald*, which provides fine coverage of Latin America as well as serious coverage of Miami, and the *St. Petersburg Times*, one of the country's outstanding middle-circulation papers and long a liberal voice in a very conservative town. Florida newspapers won eight Pulitzer Prizes in the 1960s and '70s, more than any other state.

Despite all its developmental errors and social problems, Florida continues to draw vast numbers of people. Parts of the state are undeniably the warmest within U.S. borders during the winter months, and 38 million tourists annually find worthwhile attractions both summer and winter. There's also considerable evidence that neither the native Floridians nor the newcomers are truly horrified by what some see as the deterioration of the state. Floridian John Rothchild, writing in *Rolling Stone*, has noted that county commissioners, even in conservative out-of-the-way areas of Florida, have testified as character witnesses for drug smugglers. Drug smuggling, he suggests, is merely an extension of the questionable business dealings that have pervaded Florida since the days of land speculation. And the environmental degradation, he continued, has had no effect on the growth rates.

The worst mistake that one can make about Florida is to dismiss it. In many ways it holds the keys to America's future. America will inevitably become older and more Hispanic, as the baby boom generation ages and the swelling populations of poor countries in Latin America spill across U.S. borders. The political agendas now important in Florida may be repeated, especially across America's Sunbelt states.

### *Geography and Ecology*

Before the synthetic civilization came, there was only natural Florida—that remarkable peninsula extending more than 300 miles south of the major continental land mass, a great green mat, often broken by lakes and swamps, floating in a deep blue sea. The farther south one looked, the more remarkable it was. From north to south, this was the view: first, the low-rolling, pine-covered hills of the north and the panhandle, close kin to the red clay hills of neighboring Georgia and Alabama, a land of magnolias and the languid Suwannee River, live oaks and Spanish moss. Then came the central lakes district, later to become the heartland of Florida's great citrus industry. After

this, the Kissimmee Prairies, covered with grass and patches of palmetto, where the great cattle ranges would later be developed. These lands drain into Lake Okeechobee, one of the largest lakes on the North American continent and certainly the largest of the 30,000-odd that dot the Floridian landscape.

Okeechobee has no single outlet, but rather flows southerly toward the ocean as the land tilts ever so slightly down to the south through that remarkable sea of grass known as the Everglades. (The dominant sawgrass is hardly grass at all, growing 10 feet tall with edges set like teeth.) The Everglades stretch for over 5,000 square miles, the muddy waters draining imperceptibly below, the level area broken only by occasional "hammocks," where the underlying limestone protrudes to the surface and trees have grown.

As the ocean is reached, along some of the keys and the coast of southwestern Florida, the mangrove forests appear, constantly building land out of water until hurricanes occur to demolish their work. The Florida Keys are a fantastic coral-built archipelago stretching 200 miles south and southwesterly from Miami, a unique geologic occurrence in North America. Finally, one should mention the long, sandy, buffer spits or islands lying just off the Atlantic Coast and part of the Gulf Coast. Not only did they provide most of the fabled Florida beach front, but behind their banks a safe Inland Waterway could be created.

Florida's record of stewardship of this land is mixed. The state has one of the most impressive state park systems in the nation. The fabulous and gigantic Everglades National Park grew from land first acquired by the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs in 1915. But the drive to remake nature into a synthetic environment has been costly to the ecology; as one observer noted (even before the last 2 million people arrived), Florida's "500-mile-long peninsula has been cut and channeled, bulldozed and bulkheaded, scraped and scissored to a point where the principal life resources have been threatened." Even if that view is prematurely apocalyptic, the dangers are very real. In 1972, the legislature did pass a water and land management act hailed by Gov. Reubin Askew as "a giant step toward controlling our growth." That law and companion statutes set up a mechanism that started with local land-use control, then with an ascending staircase of planning controls to regions, and then the state government itself—by which new developments (housing, airports, incursions on the seacoast, for example) could be controlled and certain lands declared environmentally endangered. There were major shortcomings in the system, however: the regulatory power of the state government extended to only 10 or 20 percent of the largest development projects, for instance, and local land use plans, of drastically varying quality, were not reviewed above the regional level, and then often quite haphazardly. To protect environmentally valuable but endangered lands such as barrier islands, the state was obliged to embark on an ambitious program of land purchase. But owners often resisted, and the legislature refused to authorize use of eminent domain to assure saving the lands for posterity. In general, land developments from the early '70s onward were more sensitive to natural systems, with higher quality housing and access to transportation than in the exploitive '50s and

'60s. The state also paid more attention to protection of water resources. The problems lay in the sheer burden of 10 million inhabitants and the legislature's unwillingness to force environmental accountability on all local governments.

### *Discovery and Development*

Except to the Seminole Indians, the land called Florida was unknown until the Spanish conquistador Don Juan Ponce de Leon came upon it in April of 1513 while following a commission from the king of Spain to "explore and colonize Bimini." The Spanish were quickly exposed to the perils of what they would later learn was the North American mainland: even before they could land, a tropical squall came up and almost wrecked their ships on a promontory that would later become known as Cape Canaveral. Ponce de Leon on April 2, 1513, selecting for this region the name *Florida* because—as the royal chronicler later wrote—"it has a very beautiful view of many cool woodlands, and it was level and uniform; and because, moreover, they discovered it in the time of the Feast of Flowers [Easter season]." A day later, Ponce and his men landed at what would become St. Augustine, looking for the fountain of youth (as did so many after them); in 1565, there was indeed a permanent settlement at St. Augustine, and the serious peopling of the continent had begun.

Between Ponce's discovery and formal U.S. proprietorship, 308 years were to pass. But the Spanish were continually harrassed by competing French and English colonists, and when they finally relinquished the land in 1821, there was little to show for their efforts except the small towns of St. Augustine and Pensacola. Most of the Spanish flavor one finds in Florida today—Tampa, with its Ybor City and Spanish restaurants, Miami with the big Cuban colony—dates from comparatively modern times. Florida's early years under U.S. rule—the winning of statehood in 1845, Indian wars, involvement on the Confederate side in the Civil War, Reconstruction—have been well depicted as a "faint duplication" of life elsewhere in America in those times.

The real history of modern Florida awaited the 1880s and the arrival of the first big promoters: hotel and railmen Henry M. Flagler and Henry B. Plant. Shocked by the primitive hotel accommodations Florida had to offer, Flagler in 1885 began to build the fabulously opulent Hotel Ponce de Leon in St. Augustine. Stung by Flagler's success, his west Florida rival, Plant, spent more than \$3 million building the Tampa Bay Hotel, opened in 1891. But Flagler, who had already made millions as a partner of John D. Rockefeller, was not to be outdone. Thousands of affluent East Coast residents began to travel to Florida on the posh all-Pullman train he put into service. First, St. Augustine was the southernmost point; then Flagler decided on a southerly extension to Palm Beach, which he literally "made" with its sumptuous new hotel, the Breakers. Soon the private railway cars of the ultra-rich could be seen on the Palm Beach sidings, and large private homes called "cottages" were erected near the Breakers.

In those days, Miami was just a frontier village with a few sand trails and makeshift wooden shacks, but one of its first genteel Northern settlers, a young widow named Julia Tuttle, had a vision of its future. After a savage frost in the winter of 1894-95, which destroyed the citrus crop of middle Florida, Mrs. Tuttle was able to send Flagler sprigs of unharmed orange blossom to prove that Miami was south of the frost line. Within a year's time, the railroad was extended to Miami, and out of the "tangled mass of vine, brush, trees and rocks" Mrs. Tuttle had once described to a friend, there began to grow a great city—starting, of course, with a Flagler hotel.

But this was the era of Manifest Destiny, and Flagler dreamed of an even greater city, at the very tip of the continent, Key West. And true enough, from 1904 to 1912, work went on to construct the Overseas Railroad across the subtropical keys. Huge engineering obstacles, mosquitoes, blazing summers, and three hurricanes had to be endured, and 700 men were washed away by storms. But in 1912 an 82-year-old Flagler rode the first train, all the way down from Jacksonville, over the bridges and viaducts and the sea, and into Key West. Florida's eastern coast had been conquered, and the frontier was no more. (A raging hurricane in 1935 swept away main sections of the Key West line and a whole train with its passengers, but Flagler's roadbed was used to extend U.S. 1 across the Keys on the Overseas Highway.)

Soon the great Florida land boom of the '20s was on. Hundreds of thousands of land speculators poured in—2.5 million people in the year 1925 alone—and prices zoomed to many times real value. But in the spring of 1926, the bubble broke; banks began to fail; paper millionaires became paupers overnight. And in the autumn of that year, hundreds died as one of the worst hurricanes of recorded history tore apart the flimsy boom-time buildings.

But Florida seemed to prosper through all adversities. Half a million permanent new residents were noted in the 1920s, and despite the Great Depression, another 430,000 people found their way to Florida by the eve of World War II. The war slowed development, but by 1950 the great boom of all Florida history—the one that continues, little abated, to this day—was underway. Lavish hotels began to spring up everywhere; air travel made it easy for Northerners to spend quick vacations in Florida; the retirement communities boomed; air conditioning arrived in a serious way; and by the 1960s NASA's \$2 billion expenditures were lining Floridian pockets.

By the early 1980s, Florida had established a highly diversified economy. If you counted gross dollars earned and people hired, tourism still led other industries. Indeed, incredible numbers of people even traveled to Florida during the gruesomely hot and humid summers. Agriculture was booming, too: on its relatively few but huge farms Florida was growing more citrus than any other state and running a respectable second to California in winter vegetables. Sugar cane, beef, and fishing also brought in formidable incomes. Manufacturing continued to invade this state where it was once virtually unknown: by 1980, some 466,500 people worked in Florida factories, in every field from food processing to chemicals, paper and pulp to printing, cigars to aerospace equipment and computers. There was a large mining industry in

phosphates. Starting in the mid 1970s, Florida also became a major banking center, for reasons both legitimate and nefarious.

Floridians' per capita income crept up from 74 percent of the national average in 1928 to 94 percent in 1980. But much of the rise could be attributed to the tremendous wealth of a narrow cross section of upper-income people. Florida workers get substantially less pay than the national average, partly because tourism and agriculture yield such low wages. An indicator of the position of organized labor is that Florida was the first state to enact a right-to-work law (1944); despite pockets of strength, labor has never been a major force in the state. Average income is also depressed by the poorer retirees.

The opulence of Florida's communities for wealthy retirees and executives is matched by the squalor and poverty of the migrant worker camps. It came home to us most clearly when one morning we toured the Kennedy Space Center facilities, where billions were being poured into the moon shots, and that same afternoon we saw a sick farm laborer's child, flies swarming around its little body, lying on a bed at the Old Top Labor Camp near Winter Haven. One of the terrors of migrant life are the crew leaders, who have power of life or death over each migrant's job and have been assailed by a spokesman for migrants as "thieves, con men, fraud artists and alcoholics—any one or combination." Into the '80s groups of farm laborers were discovered working under conditions of virtual peonage. This life of deprivation was hidden to most Americans until a weekend of 1960 when Edward R. Murrow, on CBS stations across the country, proclaimed a Harvest of Shame—precursor to the poverty wars of the 1960s. With a dusty road and battered trucks and milling people behind him, Murrow intoned, "This scene is not taking place in the Congo. The hawkers you hear are chanting the going piece rate at the various fields. This is Belle Glade, Florida. This is the way the humans who harvest the food for the best-fed people in the world get hired."

Conditions have changed little since Murrow's day, except that there are fewer native-born Americans in the camps. The alien laborers—from Mexico, Jamaica and other Caribbean islands—lack U.S. citizenship and are even more subject to terrorization by crew leaders.

### *Politics and Government in the Retirement State*

Florida was so implacably Democratic in past times that it was not until 1970, reacting to stinging defeats their party had suffered in the '60s, that Florida Democrats coalesced into a unified state organization. Modern Florida Republicanism made its first inroads in urban counties receiving the big migration from the North. With Eisenhower leading the ticket, this urban base was expanded on for solid Republican victories in 1952 and 1956, and again with Nixon heading the ticket in 1960 and later in 1968 and 1972. Floridians broke with their new Republican tradition to vote for Jimmy Carter in 1976, but angry over the handling of the Cuban boatlift in 1980, returned to the Republicans to vote for Ronald Reagan.

Florida still elects many more Democrats to office than Republicans. The increased numbers of blue-collar retirees with their fondness for New Deal programs—along with the state's black population—indicate continued Democratic strength. Campaigning in Florida has become an expensive process of using the media to influence a constantly changing population. But Floridians vote at about the same rate as the nation as a whole—a surprising feat in a growing state and a testament to the voting proclivities of senior citizens.

Florida's old-style Democrats offered a mix of fiscal conservatism, antigovernmentalism, opposition to any kind of welfare, nationalistic patriotism, and mild racism. A typical conservative was Spessard Holland, governor in the 1940s and senator from 1947 to 1971—a states' righter, a citrus and big-business man, a chief sponsor of legislation giving the states title to tidelands, but also a leading opponent of the poll tax, which he helped abolish in Florida in 1937 and for the U.S. through constitutional amendment in the 1960s. From 1937 to 1951 Florida also had a liberal senator, Claude Pepper. Pepper was defeated by Democrat George Smathers, who accused him of "softness" on Communism.\* Miami and its suburbs, however, sent Pepper to the House in 1962, where he became *the* national spokesman for the elderly and their political lobbies. Still going strong in the early '80s (he was born in 1900), Pepper defended Social Security as though it were the Holy Grail and in 1983 broadened his scope by becoming chairman of the House Rules Committee.

Pepper overshadowed Florida's congressional delegation in the early 1980s. Democrat Charles Bennett, of Jacksonville, first elected in 1948, had won the reputation of "Mr. Ethics" for his early advocacy of ethical codes in both federal employment and the U.S. House. Republican C.W. Bill Young, of St. Petersburg, upset the foreign policy establishment by insisting the U.S. should better control spending the money it gives to such international bodies as the World Bank. Democrat Sam Gibbons, of Tampa, continually fought for the cause of free trade. Miami's Dante Fascell became the House Foreign Affairs Committee's expert on Latin America. Between the military installations, Social Security, immigration problems, and health care for the aged, Florida is one of the states most dependent on the federal government, and its members of Congress find it necessary to spend an enormous amount of time protecting the state's interests. They ought to have the requisite clout: by the early '80s population growth had swelled Florida's House delegation to 19 seats—compared to 6 in the 1940s.

Florida's U.S. Sen. Lawton Chiles literally invented the walking tour as a campaign tool in 1970, spurning large newspaper and television advertising but reaping bushels of free publicity as he walked over 1,000 miles from one end of Florida to another, meeting some 45,000 common citizens. In Wash-

\*This was the same campaign in which Smathers reportedly told an audience of yokels, "Are you aware that Claude Pepper is known all over Washington as a shameless extrovert? Not only that, but this man is reliably reported to practice nepotism with his sister-in-law, and he has a sister who was once a thespian in wicked New York. Worst of all, it is an established fact that Mr. Pepper, before his marriage, practiced celibacy."

ington, Democrat Chiles maintained the image of a religious populist whose greatest legislative victory was passage of the 1976 federal "sunshine" law, requiring federal agencies to open their decision-making meetings to the public. Florida made political history in 1980 by sending Republican Paula Hawkins to the Senate, the first woman elected to that august body on her own reputation alone. Hawkins had made her political mark as a consumer-minded member of the Florida Public Service Commission. Her election did not thrill the women's movement, however, since as a Utah-born Mormon, she voted conservatively and opposed federal financing of abortions.

Florida's mercurial, buffoonish Republican governor of the late 1960s was Claude R. Kirk, Jr., who delighted the press with many pranks, including showing up at his inaugural ball with a beauteous blonde he introduced only as "Madam X"—a German-born Brazilian divorcee he later married. But during his term, the state adopted a new constitution to replace an antiquated 1885 version, and the legislature enacted the most far-reaching reorganization of the executive branch since the Civil War. Succeeding Kirk in 1971 was Democrat Reubin O'D. Askew, who turned out to be one of the most accomplished state chief executives of the '70s. Askew not only ran on a platform advocating a corporate income tax, but got first the legislature and then the people in a statewide vote (70 percent in favor) to authorize it. In 1976, after the state senate repeatedly refused to require financial disclosure of state officers and candidates, Askew organized the only successful campaign in the state's history to amend the constitution by initiative. In 1978, when heavily bankrolled gambling interests tried to pass an initiative authorizing casino gambling in Miami Beach, Askew warned of the grave dangers in crime and corruption and persuaded a majority of Floridians to vote down the proposal.

Even with the corporate income tax, Florida's taxation system is grossly inequitable, and the services it funds are inadequate for a society with so many dependent people. Florida is prohibited by its own constitution from levying taxes on personal income. Its 5 percent sales tax is often advertised as a way to put the bite on tourists, but the fact is it also penalizes low-income families and relieves richer people of the major tax burden that even a flat-rate income tax would effect. Florida also lacks any state inheritance tax. There is a homestead property exemption that makes it extremely difficult to raise taxes in poorer sections of the state. With a will, Florida could raise substantially more taxes without great pain. The present system is parasitic because it encourages retirees to bring with them the wealth generated in other states.

Florida's geographic distribution of government services became more equitable in the wake of "one-man, one-vote" districting in the '60s. Few states had a more egregiously malapportioned legislature. The infamous "Pork Chop Gang"—a name brilliantly conceived by *Tampa Tribune* editor James Clendinen—emerged in 1953 when 22 rural senators, mostly from the counties along the Georgia and Alabama borders and central Florida, banded together to block reapportionment. Not only did they succeed, but they blocked urban renewal and managed to get a grossly disproportionate share of state monies spent in their jurisdictions. In addition, the Pork Choppers were closely tied

to special interests: banks, private utilities, truckers, the liquor industry, timber and paper mills, small loan companies, and the like. Court-ordered reapportionment broke their hold. Then came election of the first house speaker ever chosen from Dade County, Richard Pettigrew, a progressive in the Askew-Chiles mold, who was instrumental in the passage of Askew's legislative program. The Florida house has developed into a well-run legislative body while the senate has been likened to an "appellate court" that decides which of the house's initiatives it will allow to become law; in the early 1980s, a coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans, under the leadership of Dempsey Barron of Panama City, controlled the Senate to a degree approaching that of the old Pork Chop Gang. Both houses have reapportioned themselves into single-member districts, assuring more seats for blacks and Hispanics.

### *Miami, the Beach, the Cubans*

The habitable area of Miami and its surrounding cities is confined to a narrow strip of high-lying land bordered by the Everglades on the west and Biscayne Bay on the east. Aside from Miami Beach, the major attractions of Biscayne Bay are beautiful Virginia Key and the self-proclaimed island paradise of Key Biscayne. The latter literally swarms with pleasure craft of every description and has man-made Dodge Island the world's leading passenger port, often filled with big cruising ships headed for Nassau, San Juan, and St. Thomas. Right beside the docks is Miami's verdant Bayfront Park, remembered as the spot where Franklin Roosevelt barely escaped assassination in 1933.

Back from downtown and the bay, the city of Miami proper stretches toward the Everglades in a monotony of white stucco checkerboard blocks. Through the heart of this, headed due west on its way toward Tampa, is the Tamiami Trail, Route 41; within the city limits it is S.W. 8th Street, which with nearby West Flagler Street as "Colle Ocho" forms the spine of Little Havana, where Cuban refugees in 1959 began the speediest and most incredible transformation of any American city.

Until 1959 and the day Fidel Castro stepped off the Sierra Maestra and came to power in Cuba, thus triggering the Great Migration of his dissenting countrymen, the total image of Miami and its satellite communities was one of sun, sand, sex, and sin. The outside world's real interest centered on Miami Beach, that narrow Babylon-by-the-Atlantic with hundreds of hotels, including some of the most luxurious in the world, and a wintertime population of 1,000,000 people. Miami was a minor city until the wild boom-and-bust real estate speculation of the 1920s; governmentally, the only interesting event occurred, ironically enough, also in 1959 when the people of Dade County enacted a fairly strong metropolitan government.

Dade County's Spanish-speaking population in 1959 was only 22,000. By 1980, there were 581,030 Hispanics—the Census Bureau does not distinguish among them by place of origin—making up 35 percent of the county popula-

tion and some 55.9 percent of the city of Miami itself. In less than a quarter century, the old resort had been transformed into a bustling center of business and international finance, a place wracked with drug smuggling, racial and ethnic conflict, the burden of coping with a constant stream of Caribbean refugees, and monstrous murder and property crime rates. The city was flush with money from international trade and smuggling, but officials worried constantly about the image thus created for tourism, still the single largest legal business.

The Cubans who arrived immediately after the revolution were the cream of Cuban society. Over 12 percent had been to college, almost two-thirds lived in Havana rather than small towns and villages, and they included a disproportionately high percentage of doctors, lawyers, teachers, and other professional people. Among those educated Cubans, the period of menial labor in Miami was short-lived; soon they had licenses to practice their professions. The entrepreneurial middle class, meanwhile, opened cigar factories, boatyards, restaurants, gas stations, bakeries, cinemas, night clubs, auto dealerships, and every other business one can imagine. The Cuban labor pool suddenly propelled Miami to third place in the U.S. (after New York and California) in garment manufacturing.

Then, in a development of immense import, a number of Cubans began an export trade with Latin America, often using as contacts relatives who had settled in various countries there after the Cuban revolution. As the Cuban Americans traveled around Latin America, other businessmen began to grasp the value of banking in Miami: interest rates often half those demanded in their own countries, financial and personal safety (at a time when Latin America was experiencing increased political tensions), and business negotiations conducted in an atmosphere of North American efficiency and Latin ambiance. So many business decisions came to be made in Miami that in 1979 Ecuadorian President Jaime Roldos proclaimed at a hemispheric conference that Miami had become the "Capital of Latin America." By the early 1980s, Miami had become so capital rich that more than 100 international institutions, including the likes of Chase International, Bank of America, Lloyd's, Bank of Tokyo, and Banco do Brasil, had rushed in to open offices there.

The drug trade behind many of the big deposits in Miami banks was hard to ignore, however. According to the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, 70 percent of the country's marijuana and cocaine and 90 percent of its Quaaludes come through the Miami wholesale pipeline, a business far exceeding Miami's tourism grosses of \$4 billion per year. That Florida should become a drug smuggling center was an accident of geography; Colombia, the source of much of the marijuana smoked in the United States, is only a few hundred miles from Florida. Drugs came in through the hard-to-patrol 3,000-mile coastline, the Port of Miami, and Miami International Airport. A common ploy was to station a "mother ship," usually an old freighter, outside U.S. waters and then send speedboats and pleasure craft out to pick up the drugs; the boat owner would receive \$50,000 for one night's work while those who loaded the drugs got \$10,000 apiece. The illegal substances were then

distributed throughout the country, and the cash filtered into Miami—often in the form of the dirty, crumpled, smelly bills the pushers had “earned” on the streets. The Federal Reserve System began to understand what was happening when it realized that while all other regions of the country ran short of cash, Miami always had a surplus (\$5 billion in 1980). Bankers asked about their tolerance of handling such transactions responded that it was impossible to tell the difference between drug money and the assets of Latin American industrialists who bring their money to Miami because they are worried about revolutions in their own countries.

The drug sellers have added a slice of never-never land to Miami, even compared to the grossest tourist excesses of yesteryear. Stories abound of young men buying Mercedes Benz cars for \$37,000 carried in shopping bags, as well as buying gold chains, condominiums, planes, emeralds, \$5,000 hats, and \$600 bottles of wine. There can be little question of the drug trade's partial responsibility for Miami's rising tide of violent crime—feuds, retribution killings, occasionally even the slaying of innocent bystanders. A much publicized Reagan administration crackdown, including the dispatching of federal agents from other parts of the country, and backed up by military planes and ships, hampered the Florida Connection in 1982. But federal officials candidly admitted they were only diverting drug trafficking to other states, while local observers noted that the drug money was so important to the local economy that if the effort were *too* successful there would be a considerable amount of behind-the-scenes screaming from established powers.

In 1980, 125,000 additional Cuban refugees were processed into Miami, and 92,000 settled there. The latest wave included not only the freedom-loving Cubans who had flooded into the Peruvian Embassy in Havana but hordes of mental patients, criminals, and assorted prisoners whom Castro was eager to expel from his country. The stateside problems of the Marielitos (as they were named after the Cuban bay from which they embarked) began with botched handling of their arrival by the Carter administration. Established Cuban leaders did their best to find employment and homes for the new arrivals, but it was obvious this group would have a far more difficult time of integration into U.S. life than the exiles of '59. Some older Cubans even regretted or resented their coming. For the first time, Miami developed a ghetto of poor Cubans. Two years after their arrival, half the people arrested for violent crimes in Miami were said to be Marielitos. Their arrival was the straw that broke the camel's back in terms of hospitality on the part of Dade County's Anglos. Already there had been some “Anglo flight” northward in the county as the Hispanic community expanded. Non-Hispanics resented the intrusion of Spanish language and culture, and young Anglos believed they could not find jobs without speaking Spanish. Dade County voters, with Anglos still in the majority in 1980, repealed the 1973 ordinance that made the county officially bilingual—a clear indication of Anglo resentment. (Dade County voters had earlier revealed their distaste for pluralism by repealing a gay rights ordinance following a campaign led by singer Anita Bryant.)

Aid extended to the Marielitos was particularly resented by Miami's blacks, who had never benefited from the Latin boom. Miami is not a very happy city for blacks. They first arrived in large numbers in the 1920s to work as domestics in the big hotels; since Miami lacked an industrial base, they remained tied to low-paying service jobs. Talented or lucky young blacks often went North to get educations, rarely to return. In 1980, in a black population of 280,000, there were only 32 doctors, 18 dentists, and 57 lawyers—about half the number of professionals in the comparable black community in Cleveland. Urban renewal and Interstate 95 destroyed a massive amount of low-priced housing that was never replaced, and in the public housing projects of Liberty City, fewer than 20 percent of the apartments were air conditioned. When Cubans began to own businesses in Miami, they usually hired refugees from their own country and often disqualified blacks for not speaking Spanish.

The fearsomely destructive riots that broke out in Liberty City on May 17, 1980 had nothing to do, however, with the Hispanic community. They were triggered rather by a classic Deep South occurrence—the refusal of an all-white jury in Tampa to find four Dade County policemen guilty in the death of a black insurance salesman. The chaos that followed left 18 people, including one policeman, dead. It was the worst U.S. racial disturbance since the 1960s, in a major sense even worse than the '60s because alienated black youths were now launching savage attacks on almost any Anglo who crossed their path. No significant effort was made to help the black community establish the economic base it so desperately needed, and in late December 1982, following the fatal shooting of a young black in a video arcade by a Hispanic policeman, rioting broke out in the Overtown neighborhood near the Orange Bowl.

Not surprisingly, Miami politics were deeply affected by the advent of the Hispanics. For several years, the Cubans did not take out citizenship; indeed, the Cuban colony seethed with plots and vainglorious schemes to reconquer the homeland and drive Castro from power. Eventually it became clear, however, that the Bay of Pigs had ended that option. By the 1970s many Cubans, especially the younger generation, had begun to think of themselves as Americans. Miami elected its first Hispanic mayor in 1973, Puerto Rican Maurice Ferre, and despite the dominance of the Cubans, he remained in office into the 1980s, elected by a coalition of Anglos, blacks, and Hispanics who believed that a Cuban mayor would heighten social tensions. By 1980, the elections of Mayor Ferre and two Cuban commissioners had placed Miami's government in Hispanic control.

Black political power seemed limited to one seat on the city commission. And blacks had their own refugee situation to contend with—thousands of Haitians fleeing the regime of President-for-life Jean Claude Duvalier. The "black boat people" often traveled the 900 mile journey from Haiti to Florida in small boats, some drowning along the way, or even as they approached the U.S. shore. Once they reached the U.S., the question was whether they were fleeing political repression (making them officially eligible for refugee status) or simply trying to better themselves economically (legal grounds for deporta-

tion). Some national black leaders charged that the U.S. government applied stricter standards to the Haitians than Anglos or Asians seeking political refugee status. But few Floridians were thrilled about the Haitian influx; Miami blacks themselves seemed torn between sympathy for fellow blacks and concern about increasing the size of a black labor pool already plagued by heavy unemployment.

Was the internationalization of Miami a positive development? Many Anglos and tourists viewed newly Hispanic Miami with alarm; Cubans and other Latin Americans believed they had brought spirit to a soulless place, working hard to create a new life in a new land. Mayor Ferre displayed a degree of cultural arrogance when he told a reporter, "We consider this a Latin city." But Ferre was also accurate when he pointed out to us that "had it not been for the Cubans moving in here, Miami would be a limp, sick, anemic place." Miami's decline as a resort had been apparent since the 1950s; wealthy Americans had started traveling farther south, to Caribbean islands, and downtown Miami had deteriorated badly. "Hispanization" changed all that; Miami was almost alone among "older" U.S. cities that did not lose population in the '70s. By the early '80s, Miami was enjoying full-scale renovation of its main retail core and adding huge new buildings, including a 50-story World Trade Center designed by I.M. Pei, a cultural center by Philip Johnson, and a Dade County administration building by Hugh Stubbins. An elevated rapid rail transit system and an "open 24-hours-per day" zone promised to continue that vitality. In 1982, a public-private committee announced plans to revitalize the Miami River, little used since the 1960s. Miami, we might add, is flanked on the south by the exclusive, independent, and quite lovely city of Coral Gables and the once-independent town of Coconut Grove, a Bohemian-flavored enclave of winding streets and estate homes.

For a taste of what Miami might have been like without the international focus, one need only travel across Biscayne Bay to that old queen of resorts, Miami Beach. The Beach may well have celebrated its last great fling in 1968 when it hosted the Republican national convention and in 1972 when both national parties convened there. The '70s brought bankruptcies and reorganizations of the major hotels, including the gaudy, opulent Fontainebleau, billed as "the World's Greatest Resort Hotel." The Fontainebleau reopened under new management, and the Army Corps of Engineers extended the eroded beach 300 feet into the sea. The wealthy tourists were reluctant to return, however, and Miami Beach resorted to bringing in budget tours from Great Britain. The people who retire to Miami Beach today are less wealthy than in the past, and even some of the New York Jews, who viewed it as a retirement haven, have left as Hispanics have moved in. There has been enough developer interest in building condominiums to necessitate an historic preservation movement to save the Art Deco apartment buildings of the South Beach area, said to be the purest and largest such collection in the country. There is real poverty, especially among some of the elderly Jewish retirees. Yet on occasion the old magic is to be viewed—as on a summer afternoon, for example, one drives across the Bay toward the Beach, seeing

the huge cumulus clouds and thunderheads blown in by the trade winds and the line of gleaming white hotels below.

### *Up the Gold Coast, to the Panhandle*

The Florida Gold Coast, from Miami to Palm Beach, has become a multi-million-person megalopolis of seeming wall-to-wall condominiums marching up the Atlantic coastline. Traveling north the first major landmark one sees is Fort Lauderdale, which grew to national fame as the destination point for tens of thousands of college students who came to sun, frolic, and sometimes riot on its beaches. Beneath that hoopla is the fact that Lauderdale has flowered into one of the most magnificent resort and retirement cities in America. It does have its faults, especially the Galt Ocean Mile, where oceanside hotels and condominiums are packed together in tasteless fashion akin to Miami Beach. But there is also a superb six-mile stretch of public beach, acquired by farsighted city commissioners and closed forever to the developers. Moreover, starting at the center city and spreading out some 35 miles are 300 navigable canals and waterways that help to make this the yachting capital of America. The yachting crowd that made Fort Lauderdale in the postwar years, Stephen Birmingham observes, was so heavily from the industrial Midwest that Lauderdale "could have been kiddingly likened to a Cleveland-by-the-Sea."

All the yachts, forever in need of repairs or refurbishing, help sustain a thriving marine industry in Fort Lauderdale. Just to the south is Port Everglades, the deepest harbor between Norfolk and New Orleans and now port of call for many Caribbean cruise ships. Cast in much the same mold as Fort Lauderdale, but lacking its special character, are Hollywood, on its southern flank, and Pompano Beach, to the north, all sharing in the region's scarcely credible population growth as Northern vacationers and retirees pour in and everyone else goes to work servicing them. Virtually every town of Broward County experienced dual flows of migration in the '70s: from Northerners moving southward, from Dade County Anglos moving north. The population grew a spectacular 63.5 percent, to 1,014,043. Boca Raton (Spanish for "rat's mouth"), a few miles farther up the Gold Coast, had 447 inhabitants in 1930, less than 1,000 in 1950, and 49,505 by 1980.

The northern anchor of the Gold Coast lies in the vicinity of that most aristocratic of all American resorts, Palm Beach. It is actually an island, 14 miles long and no more than 2 miles wide, occupied by only 9,729 persons year-round but several times that during the high winter season. It was just a narrow sandspit, much of it swamp, when the inimitable Henry Flagler came upon it in 1890 and decided this would be the place to build his ultimate resort hotel. Flagler's hotel, the Royal Poinciana, was the largest wooden structure in the world and must have been quite a sight to see; it is gone now, but his second hotel, the Breakers, still stands, truly one of the most magnificent hotels in the world.

Palm Beach is not quite as ostentatious as in the old days when as many

as 80 private railroad cars would arrive there for the winter. But wealth incomprehensible to an average man still winters here, and so do some names of European royalty that always make us flinch when we read of Palm Beach as the acme of the American Dream. Palm Beach divides itself quite strictly into WASP and Jewish communities; each has its own country club, with initiation fees at the Jewish Palm Beach Country Club at \$40,000, and admittance only if you have a proven record of philanthropy. People who have visited Palm Beach have noted that it is incorrect to ask "What do you do?" since many people do nothing, at least for a living. The sweat of many brows made this place, however: the property on the diminutive island was valued at \$12 billion in the early 1980s.

The gerontocracy rules Palm Beach. The average age at the Palm Beach Country Club is said to be 72.5 years. After the death of Marjorie Merriweather Post, the grande dame of Palm Beach society, Mrs. Rose Kennedy became the most famous of all Palm Beach home owners. But Palm Beach is not as immutable as many would like to have it. The American progressive income tax has made it hard for anyone but foreigners to afford the huge, old mansions, and there has been an influx of condominiums lining the beaches. There are constant fears of kidnapping; if police receive a "code red" signal, all three bridges to the mainland go up, and squad cars cut the coastal road.

Across Lake Worth lies West Palm Beach, the city Flagler built "for my help." Almost a quarter of West Palm Beach's 62,530 people are black, many descendants of Flagler's servant class. It used to be that a black caught on Palm Beach at night without a good excuse would face a beating or a night in jail. But West Palm Beach has a lot of other thoughts on its mind, including the making of money from its own resorts, agriculture, and the payrolls of advanced technological firms located nearby (Pratt Whitney, Minneapolis Honeywell, RCA, etc.). The city is also home of that extraordinary "newspaper," the *National Enquirer*.

North of the neon-lined Gold Coast, Florida's flank to the Atlantic is less densely populated, but the growth figures are barely credible. St. Lucie County, surrounding Fort Pierce, for example, grew 71.5 percent in the 1970s. The only Atlantic Coast county exhibiting apparent "normalcy" in that decade was Brevard, which grew a mere 18.7 percent, to 272,959. But it deserved a rest, for Brevard County is the home of Cape Canaveral, and during the early years of space exploration it was the fastest-growing county in all America—from 23,653 in 1950 to 111,435 in 1960 and 230,006 in 1970.

A delightful old lighthouse has been flashing warnings to ships at sea for over a century out at the tip of Cape Canaveral. From time immemorial, this had been a place of scrub oak and grassy dunes, mangrove swamps and quiet, sunny isolation. That era ended forever when the government in 1948 determined it would turn the flat, sandy land carved into irregular pieces by the Indian and Banana rivers into a base for launching long-range guided missiles. The first missile launch took place in 1950, and thus began a series of launchings that would make Cape Canaveral one of the most famous spots on earth, from the earliest Explorer missile to counter the Soviet's Sputnik to such

unmanned satellites and space probes as Echo, Tiros, Telstar, and Early Bird, to the Redstone missile carrying Alan Shepard, Jr., America's first man in space, to the Saturn V carrying Neil A. Armstrong and his crew to a moon landing on July 30, 1969, and on April 12, 1981, the first reusable space shuttle.

The burgeoning Brevard population was due not only to NASA's own personnel, but workers for the multitude of contractors laboring on various stages of the rockets—companies such as Boeing, North American Rockwell, Bendix, RCA, McDonnell Douglas, IBM, General Electric, and Martin Marietta. Eventually, however, the Cape found itself forced to share the glory of the space age with NASA's Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston, which directed most phases of manned spacecraft planning and direction. The Cape was reduced to playing the role of a glorious launching pad.

In a national paroxysm of memorialitis after President Kennedy's assassination, Cape Canaveral was summarily renamed Cape Kennedy, thus expunging from the maps a name dating from the earliest Spanish explorations. But local residents of all political persuasions decided they wanted the Cape's old name back. In 1973, while the Kennedy Space Center retained its new name, the federal government ordered that the Cape would again have the name it is believed Ponce de Leon himself assigned it—Cape Canaveral.

The largest city in the world, in terms of area—827 square miles—is Jacksonville (pop. 540,898), the famed "Gateway" to Florida in the heyday of the passenger railroads. Jacksonville is an oddity, isolated in the northeast corner of the state, a place tourists fly over rather than view from train or car. It serves the back country of northern Florida and not much more. It is dominated by the conservative attitude of nearby southern Georgia. It has grown less than any other area of Florida.

Bad times visited Jacksonville in the '60s as whites moved out, the schools were discredited, and city officials indicted for shady insurance dealings. Citizen leadership prompted founding of a local government study commission, which proposed merging Jacksonville with surrounding Duval County in a consolidated metropolitan government. The measure carried, 2-to-1, in a 1967 referendum. In a twinkling, Jacksonville grew from 30 square miles to her present size. Under Mayor Hans Tanzler, a raw-boned, six-foot, five-inch dynamo, the city moved on race relations (once among the worst in the state), improved fire and police protection and ambulance service, and cleaned up the horribly polluted St. Johns River, which bisects the city. Rebuilding of the moldering downtown, which had actually begun a few years before, proceeded apace, so that both banks of the river came to gleam with new buildings. Aided by ownership of the local electric utility, Jacksonville had the lowest taxes of any major U.S. city. But the tax benefits alone did not lure business, Tanzler's successor, Jake Godbold, told us. The city finally decided to concentrate on the arts and riverfront development to create a city of real drawing power.

Until his death, in 1981, the most powerful man in Jacksonville and arguably in Florida was Edward W. Ball, head of the billion-dollar Alfred I. duPont estate, long an archconservative force in Florida politics. "Mr. Ball," as even

longtime friends called him, had the good fortune to be the brother of a schoolteacher who married Alfred I. duPont and came into control of \$30 million in duPont money. In time this snowballed into what *Fortune* called "one of the great private treasures in America," an estate with \$1 billion or more in Florida timberland, the Florida East Coast Railway, a telephone company, and 30 banks. Once described by a *Miami Herald* writer as "arch-conservative, segregationist, antilabor, antibureaucrat, anti-big government," Ball was a potent force in Florida politics, the leading figure in getting Florida to adopt a sales tax instead of any kind of income tax. Indeed, his commitment to keeping wealth in the hands of a few lives on in the state's regressive tax structure.

Whatever feeling of the Old South is left in Florida, in the look of the land, in race relations and politics, may be found in northern Florida, from Jacksonville west and across the panhandle. Here are miles and miles of Dixie-style piney woods and a great pulp farming industry, tobacco and peanut farms, and still those languorous rivers of yore. But like the rest of the South, this region is changing.

Take the case of Gainesville (pop. 81,371), home of the University of Florida. The old Southern trappings are there. Visit in the springtime, for instance, and you will find dogwoods, redbud trees, and azaleas in bloom and new leaves pushing out the moss-laden oaks that shade the residential streets. But the university has shaken off its reputation for mediocrity. And who would have expected Gainesville to proclaim itself the "solar capital of the world" or to be home to Hazel Henderson, the British-born leftist economist/environmentalist and aspirer to the mantle of Margaret Mead?

Tallahassee, Florida's charming old capital city, renowned for its parklike hills lined with giant oaks and antebellum mansions, has also hummed in recent years with huge condominium and recreational projects and thousands of new hotel rooms—and the familiar problems of urban sprawl. Tallahassee's metro area, including Leon and Wakulla counties, grew 45.9 percent in the 1970s, to 159,542. Tallahassee's Capitol Center, consisting of the state capitol and several other big government buildings, has a class many states fail to match. Tallahassee is also home to Florida A&M University, a remnant of the old system of segregated higher education for blacks, which managed to develop a nationally renowned business school even as it faced declining enrollments after major state schools were opened up to blacks.

Moving out across the panhandle, the Old South flavor is leavened with more cosmopolitanism, perhaps because it has miles and miles of beautiful white sand and with it the tourist trade. There is also a large military component (Navy at the big airbase at Pensacola, Air Force at Fort Walton Beach), heavy lumbering, and small farming.

Pensacola, so far west it seems within a stone's throw of Alabama, is another one of those Florida cities with a long Spanish history but little to show for it. In fact, there is no special Spanish flavor to the city at all. The Naval Air Station has been the mainstay of Pensacola's economy since 1914, permitting slow, steady growth to a 1980 metropolitan area total of 289,782.

*Central Florida: Orlando, Disney World, et al.*

Central Florida is preeminently citrus Florida, mile after mile of orange and sometimes tangerine and grapefruit orchards, the world's greatest concentration of those fruits. Its largest city is Orlando, grown from a late-19th-century trading post on a cow range to a booming metropolis of some 128,394 people with 572,305 more in its immediate hinterland. Citrus and the prosperity of a well-to-do retirement center gave Orlando its initial thrust; military bases, electronics, aerospace, the proximity to Cape Canaveral 65 miles distant, and Disney World 16 miles away have continued to propel it forward.

Physically, Orlando is far more attractive than many of the more celebrated coastal areas, the city proper and the land for miles around dotted with blue lakes contrasting with the evergreen foliage in gently rolling countryside. High buildings, including the Florida headquarters of several large insurance firms, have given focus to the sprawling city proper. Among the technologically oriented companies that have fueled the local economy are Martin Marietta's aerospace division, General Electric, Xerox, and Control Data.

On a huge drained swamp to the west rises perhaps the greatest American monument ever to the gods of fun and escape: Walt Disney World. The great Disney himself, before his death in 1966, personally set in motion plans for this project. Disney World is in the genre of the original California Disneyland, complete with fairyland castles (Cinderella's castle is 18 stories high with gold turrets), the plaster mountains (Space Mountain is 30 stories high), the animated animals, the monorails, the boat rides. But Walt Disney World (27,400 acres) is vastly larger than Disneyland (230 acres) and it is far more than an amusement park. It has several hotels (American, Asian, Polynesian, Venetian), three golf courses, bridle trails, picnic grounds, lagoons and a big lake, beaches and campgrounds on a 2,500-acre Vacation Kingdom, a 100-acre Magic Kingdom with six fantasylands, ranging from Frontierland to Tomorrowland.

An early environmentalist, Disney ordered his planners to preserve as much of Disney World in its natural state as possible. Cars must be parked while visitors ride around in vehicles powered by steam or compressed natural gas. Waste from hotels and restaurants is collected through underground pneumatic tubes, baled, and burned in an incinerator that emits almost no smoke. Disney did not repeat the mistake he had made at Disneyland, where the small amusement park is surrounded by parasitic non-Disney enterprises. Frontmen bought up thousands of acres on all sides to protect the main project. The Disney operatives also won many concessions from the dazzled Florida legislature, including powers for Disney's chartered town, Buena Vista, which exceed those of any county commission in the state.

From the day that Disney World opened, it was clear that Orlando and Orange County's conservative free-enterprise-minded politicians could not handle such massive growth. Massive traffic jams, housing shortages, crime, and higher taxes for longtime residents became part of the Orlando way of life. The county's history began to be measured in B.D. and A.D., indicating Before and After Disney. Since they could not locate near the Disney prop-

erty, entrepreneurs located amusement parks some miles distant. The amusement parks, combined with electronics, transportation, and construction ballooned the county work force while the number of people coming annually to Disney World reached 13 million by the early 1980s. A total of 20 million was expected after Disney opened in 1982 the late Walt's ultimate vision, an Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow (EPCOT), a futuristic toytown for adults depicting man's evolution and the world of tomorrow in spectacular pavillions and squeaky-clean glory. Central Florida was, in fact, rapidly gaining ground as a tourist destination while south Florida, the traditional fun-in-the-sun capital, suffered from headlines about crime and racial strife. South Florida remained, however, the larger generator of tourism revenue.

A superabundance of economic growth failed to solve Orlando's social ills; in fact, it seemed to produce more. In the early 1970s, the Orlando black community—some 40,000 people—had developed strong leadership and begun to work well with the city's white establishment. So it came as a great shock in 1980 when West Orlando blacks rioted, following the disturbances in Miami and Tampa. The amusement park economy provided only bottom-rung "bed maker" type jobs, and few blacks had sufficient education to find employment in the electronics firms. Only one black served on the Orlando city commission, none on the school board, and blacks complained about police brutality and poor quality housing.

If Disney World was the ultimate in calculated and programmed amusement for the millions, Cypress Gardens—at Winter Haven, about 60 miles southwest on the way to Tampa—was Florida's best indigenous specimen of how one used publicity, cheesecake, and pure nerve to make something worth millions out of virtually nothing. In this case, the nothing was a tangled muck swamp that the engineers had given up on draining in the 1930s; the something is Cypress Gardens, one of the most fabulously successful tourist attractions in the U.S.A. and the creation of a single master promoter, Dick Pope. Pope and his imitators are the type who make it possible to state seriously: *Florida is the state man made*. He got Cypress Gardens built with WPA men working at one dollar a day to create walkways and floral displays around a grove of cypress trees growing out of a lake. Pope's real genius was in publicity. As soon as the gardens opened, mountains of pictures of speedboats on the lake and pretty girls posing beside cypress and flowers, and purple prose about the "inconceivably beautiful gardens" were flowing to the nation's newspapers—which, lacking anything better for their space, printed without charge. Hundreds of newsreels featured Pope and his gardens, with every excuse from the crowning of some kind of queen (he once crowned seven queens in a day) to water-skiing extravaganzas. Then there were numerous movies filmed at the gardens, television shows, and celebrity guests by the hundreds. When we met Pope in 1969, a bouncy, extroverted enthusiast in a rainbow-colored sports jacket, he summed up a lot of the Florida psyche in eight words: "If it ain't fun, the hell with it." He and his family continued to operate Cypress Gardens under that maxim into the 1980s.

*Down the Sun Coast, on to Key West*

The big population center on Florida's western flank centers on Tampa and St. Petersburg, the northern anchor of the so-called Sun Coast, which covers some 120 miles on the Gulf of Mexico, down through Bradenton and Sarasota to Fort Myers. The area grew 44.2 percent in the 1970s, adding no less than 480,943 people in one decade.

Tampa, western Florida's biggest town, is essentially an industrial and distribution center, quite unlike most Florida cities. There are big, masculine industries such as beer brewing, steel, and cigar making. The port of Tampa is one of the most important in the Southeastern U.S. and the world's largest export point for phosphate, which is mined only 40 miles away. Tampa is not particularly a magnet for retirees; its growth has been due to its attractiveness to business—the absence of a city or state income tax or strong labor unions.

Fortune began to smile on Tampa in the 1880s with the discovery of big phosphate reserves nearby, the arrival of Henry Plant's South Florida Railroad in 1884, and the appearance of Vincente Martinez Ybor's cigar factory, which moved lock, stock, and barrel from Key West and brought a dash of Spanish-Cuban culture, which endures to this day. Tampa shared in the real-estate boom of the 1920s, got in on the floor of the citrus industry as a shipping and processing point, boomed as a shipbuilding center in World War II, and has since added a multitude of small industries to supplement beer, cigars, and the port. Florida's biggest shrimp fleet harbors at Tampa, and just south of town is MacDill, one of the country's largest Air Force bases.

Probably due to its industrial Democratic heritage, Tampa became Florida's first urban renewal city, leading to a great facelifting for the old waterfront, where railroad lines and old warehouses were torn out to make room for a \$4.5 million convention center, a splendid new library, and a hotel. The central business district has been rejuvenated with new high-rise office buildings and hotels; Ybor City, which still has America's largest cigar factory, has been revived as a center of Spanish culture. Tampa practiced strict racial segregation to the 1950s, but then local politics moderated and Tampa accepted the various federal antipoverty programs. The city's leaders displayed a free-enterprise outlook when President Reagan announced that federal urban aid would be cut in the early 1980s. The costs of growth—water and sewer system construction, transportation facilities—could be passed on to developers, local officials told Rochelle Stanfield of *National Journal*, but the community was unlikely to volunteer higher taxes to help the poor.

Basking in the sun on the seaward side of Tampa Bay lies St. Petersburg, removed from Tampa by just a few miles of open water but its diametric opposite by almost any standard. Tampa is a rich ethnic stew; St. Petersburg has people from everywhere in the U.S.A., but is predominantly white, middle-class America. The *Tampa Tribune*, property of the Richmond, Virginia, papers, is generally conservative; the *St. Petersburg Times*, owned by publisher Nelson Poynter until his death in 1978, is liberal and sometimes downright crusading.

St. Petersburg's role as a retirement-vacation center has been secure since the 1880s, when the *Journal of the American Medical Association* said the climate made it the healthiest place in the world to live. How that judgment could have been made only a decade after nearby Tampa was ravaged by yellow fever remains something of a mystery—but then, the city has always been expert in the art of self-promotion. In 1918, St. Petersburg became the first city in the world to hire a press agent. In the 1960s, the city tried to downpedal its reputation as a geriatric heaven, emphasizing instead the glowing opportunities for investment, family vacation, and business relocation by removing a number of the fabled green benches where the old folks may congregate to exchange reminiscences and snooze in the sun. There is still so much to attract the senior citizens, however—shuffleboard courts, afternoon band concerts in Williams Park, and quick, cheap blood pressure tests in local drug stores—that some people continue to refer to St. Pete as “God’s Waiting Room” and “The Last Resort.”

Depending on their economic status, St. Pete’s elderly are to be found in stately old hotels. \$100,000 retirement homes in posh sections, dingy downtown rooming houses, or seemingly endless rows of little white cottages surrounded by palm trees and tropical flowers. The big middle-class elderly vote was an early foundation of the Republican revival, which brought GOP control of most local government positions and, in the 1954 election, Florida’s first Republican Congressman of the 20th century.

One activity in which the Tampa Bay area seems to have an edge on the rest of Florida is baseball spring training. St. Petersburg has the St. Louis Cardinals and New York Mets, Tampa the Cincinnati Reds, Clearwater the Phillies, Dunedin the Toronto Blue Jays, and nearby Sarasota the Chicago White Sox.

Sarasota used to have another form of winter training: the circus. Now the great Ringling Bros., Barnum and Bailey has migrated a few miles south to the town of Venice, where animals, trainers, clowns, acrobats, and all the rest go through their paces each winter before heading north in March. In matters of arts and culture Sarasota seems to lead all Florida.

Despite all the mind-numbing growth statistics we have recited in this chapter, the most incredible is reserved for Fort Myers, farther down the West Coast on the Caloosahatchee River. This is where Midwesterners bought land at \$20 per month for many years and have now arrived to live on it. In the 1970s, more than 100,000 people arrived in the Fort Myers–Cape Coral area, a growth rate of 95.1 percent, the highest for any metropolitan area in the nation. Retirement here must be a dream come true for many of the blue-collar Midwesterners, providing they can stomach the sprawl development of hamburger stands and gas stations. Nor is this area just for middle-income folk: in 1982, we discovered a luxury mobile home park selling units in the \$70,000 to \$90,000 range. It was, of course, an “adults only” park—children not welcome. If the model of a graying America is being written in these southern reaches, a certain oppressiveness and selfishness must be reported. Cape Coral, for example, has ordinances prohibiting parking a pickup truck

in the driveway overnight, leaving a garage door open, or letting the lawn grow above a certain height. Although Lee County has triple the national average of people over 60, the number of school children increased by 50 percent in a decade as "service" families moved in to provide for the elderly—only to find those same elderly extremely reluctant to approve new bond issues for school construction.

Fort Myers has an extraordinary daily newspaper, the Gannett-owned *News-Press*. In 1978, the paper spent eight months studying Fort Myers' black community, home of almost 12,000 people. Whites in Fort Myers, the *News-Press* reported, still saw blacks in terms of one street, Anderson, an unsightly maze of bars, vacant lots, and dilapidated housing. Whites had yet to recognize the reality of black wage earners, church-goers, taxpayers, and family raisers.

Collier County, directly to the south, had only 85,791 people in 1980, most of them concentrated around the posh retirement community of Naples. But the county grew an amazing 125 percent in the '70s, and it was not hard to divine where Florida's next great growth splurge might occur. After Naples, all that remains of the southwest coast are swamplands, including the Ten Thousand Islands (of mangrove) and Everglades National Park.

Then, across Florida Bay, lie the Keys, dotted with resort areas of every stripe. The fever pitch of recreation-area development has threatened to engulf the Keys; in 1972, a dredge-and-fill moratorium was imposed to prevent ecological disaster along the dazzling coral reefs. Key Largo, on the northern end of the Keys, offers visitors the country's first continental underseas park (Pennelamp Coral Reef State Park) and the luxurious accommodations of the Ocean Reef Club, a combination hotel, yachtsmen's haven, and vacation-retirement home development, where the pains of recession are never felt.

Set at the Keys' southern tip is the old city of Key West (pop. 24,292). Key West's real days of glory were around 1880, when with 9,890 people this was the largest city in Florida. Prosperity came from being the world's largest cigar manufacturing center and from profits of the "salvage" crews, which used to "rescue" ships wrecked on the reefs and shoals surrounding the Keys. Eventually, both these sources of income dried up: the salvaging by government decree, cigar producing by Ybor's move to Tampa. But Key West kept the ethnic mix of its early years: many Cubans, "Conchs" who trace their ancestry back to Cockney English settlers in the Bahamas, Yankee sailing men, Virginia merchants, and a number of native Bahamians.

A big factor in putting Key West back on the map after World War II—outside of the Overseas Highway, a prerequisite to meaningful tourism—was the publicity stemming from President Harry Truman's frequent visits to his "little White House" there. Since the 1960s, Key West's location and reputation for tolerance have made it a destination first for hippies, then gays, and wealthy urbanites seeking vacation homes. But only a few remain for very long. Key West's population dropped in both the '60s and '70s. As one local fellow told us, "Key West is for people who have made it or are never going to."



PUBLIC AFFAIRS

## ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-1400

## MEMORANDUM FOR WHITE HOUSE SPEECH WRITERS

SUBJECT: "Hometown" American Forces Personnel Participating in Operation  
Desert Shield

The following information on servicemen participating in Operation Desert Shield has been provided by the Army public affairs office. Included with the names are each person's rank, assignment and duty station.

## ARMY:

Topeka, Kansas - Jason M. Kruger, Sergeant; Rifleman with the 24th Mechanized Infantry  
Division, Fort Stewart, GA;

Terry C. Gulley, Sergeant; Paratrooper squad leader with the 82nd Airborne,  
Fort Bragg, NC;

Tallahassee, Florida - Rufus C. Brown, Specialist; Rifleman with 24th Mechanized Infantry  
Division, Fort Stewart, GA;

Fidel Iglesias, Private First Class; Mechanic with the 24th Mechanized  
Infantry Division, Fort Stewart, GA;

Scott C. Elridge, Private First Class; Rifleman with 82nd Airborne,  
Fort Bragg, NC.

The Army is in the process of obtaining names from the areas of San Francisco, Los  
Angeles and Denver. We expect these names shortly.

Daniel J. Kalinger  
Deputy Assistant Secretary



PUBLIC AFFAIRS

## ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-1400

## MEMORANDUM FOR WHITE HOUSE SPEECH WRITERS

SUBJECT: "Hometown" American Forces Personnel Participating in Operation Desert Shield

The following information on servicemen and women participating in Operation Desert Shield has been provided by the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps public affairs offices. Included with the names are each person's hometown, rank, assignment and duty station.

## NAVY:

Topeka, Kansas - Christopher Rogers, Engineman First Class (EN1); guided-missile frigate *USS Robert G. Bradley* (FFG-49), assigned as engineman in the #2 auxiliary machinery room;

Tallahassee, Florida - Johnny Bell, Jr., Fireman (FN); guided-missile frigate *USS Robert G. Bradley* (FFG-49), assigned to #1 auxiliary machinery room;

San Francisco, California - Wesley Nielsen, Lieutenant (LT); aircraft carrier *USS Independence* (CV-62); assigned as pilot in F/A-18 Hornet fighter/attack squadron VFA-113 (LT Nielsen is from nearby Los Gatos, CA);

Denver, Colorado - Henry Mauz, Jr., Vice Admiral (VADM); Commander, Seventh Fleet, assigned as commander of U.S. Navy and Marine Corps forces in the Persian Gulf region (Commander, U.S. Naval Forces, Central Command/COMUSNAVCENT);

Los Angeles, California - Sherronder Turner (female), Radioman Third Class (RM3); Administrative Support Unit, Bahrain, assigned as radioman;

Samuel Prado, Religious Programs Specialist Second Class (RP2); Administrative Support Unit, Bahrain, assigned as religious programs specialist.

## AIR FORCE:

Squadron Abbreviations: AGS = Aircraft Generation Squadron  
EMS = Equipment Maintenance Squadron  
SRW = Strategic Reconnaissance Wing

Topeka, Kansas - John Dobbins, Captain; 355th Tactical Fighter Squadron, Myrtle Beach

**AFB, SC; Capt. Dobbins is an A-10 pilot;**

**Kevin Pflaun, Sergeant; 363th AGS, Shaw AFB, SC;  
SGT Pflaun is an F-16 Avionics Specialist;**

**Tallahassee, Florida - William S. Ehalets, Airman; Air Force Commissary, Hulburt Field,  
Florida; AMN Ehalets is currently assisting in supply operations;**

**Charles E. Brown, Staff Sergeant; 354th EMS, Myrtle Beach, South  
Carolina; SSGT Brown is assigned to aircraft structural maintenance;**

**San Francisco, California - Mario A. Mendoza, Staff Sergeant; 60th ACS Travis AFB, CA;  
SSGT Mendoza is an Aeronautics Equipment Technician;**

**Richard J. Horan, Captain; 336th Tactical Fighter Squadron,  
Seymour-Johnson AFB, NC; Capt. Horan in a Weapon Systems  
Officer on F-15s;**

**Denver, Colorado - Tony E. Brisco, Sergeant; 1st EMS, Langley AFB, VA; SGT Brisco is a  
Munitions Specialist;**

**Joseph D. Phillips, Master Sergeant; 4th EMS Seymour-Johnson AFB,  
NC; MSGT Phillips is a Munitions Technician;**

**Los Angeles, California - Mark L. Daniels, Sergeant; 55th SRW, Offut AFB, Nebraska; SGT  
Daniels is a Life Support Specialist;**

**Luis R. Gutierrez, Tech Sergeant; 62nd Services Squadron, McChord  
AFB, Washington; TSGT Gutierrez is assisting in supply services.**

#### **MARINE CORPS:**

**Marine Abbreviations: MEB = Marine Expeditionary Battalion  
MPS = Maritime Patrol Ships**

**Tallahassee, Florida - Nathan B. Lee, Corporal; 7th MEB G-4 Section, occupational speciality  
is maintenance management, currently offloading MPS ships**

**Los Angeles, California - Giovanni Q. Quiane, Corporal; 9th Communications Battalion,  
occupational speciality is wireman, currently providing communi-  
cations support to the 7th MEB**

**We are currently waiting for the Army to provide names and to receive additional names  
from the Marine Corps. These names will be on a separate memo to follow.**

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

| Document No.<br>and Type | Subject/Title of Document                                  | Date | Restriction | Class. |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------------|--------|
| 01. Notes                | Handwritten notes with personal telephone numbers. (1 pp.) | n.d. | P-6, (b)(6) |        |

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File, Backup  
**Subseries:**  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** Bill Grant for Congress Tallahassee, FL 9/6/90 [1]

**Date Closed:** 10/20/2004  
**FOIA/SYS Case #:**  
**Re-review Case #:** 2004-2265-S  
**P-2/P-5 Review Case #:**

**OA/ID Number:** 08315

**MR Case #:**  
**MR Disposition:**  
**Disposition Date:**

**Appeal Case #:**  
**Appeal Disposition:**  
**Disposition Date:**

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

**BILL GRANT FUNDRAISER / TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA  
SEPTEMBER 6, 1990 / 6:00 PM**

**THANK YOU, BILL. / COACH BOWDEN [BOW-DEN, AS IN  
"TAKE A BOW"]. JANET GRANT. JEANIE AUSTIN, DOING A  
GREAT JOB AS CO-CHAIR OF THE RNC. VAN POOLE, OUR FINE  
FLORIDA STATE CHAIRMAN, AND FINANCE CHAIRMAN, ALEC  
COURTELIS. / THE MAN WHO'S GOING TO TAKE FLORIDA  
FORWARD INTO THE '90S -- A LEADER AMONG THE NATION'S  
GOVERNORS: BOB MARTINEZ. / AND FLORIDA'S FINE FIRST  
LADY: MARY JANE MARTINEZ. CONGRESSMAN BILL MCCOLLUM.**

**- 2 -**

**IT'S A PLEASURE TO BE WITH ALL OF YOU HERE IN TOM  
BROWN PARK, TO SHARE SUMMER'S LAST COOKOUT TOGETHER. /  
AND I'M DELIGHTED TO SHARE CENTER STAGE WITH THE PRIDE  
OF NORTH FLORIDA, / CONGRESSMAN BILL GRANT. //**

**BILL TELLS ME EVERYONE IN TALLAHASSEE'S BEEN  
LOOKING FORWARD TO THIS WEEK -- GETTING READY FOR THE  
MAIN EVENT. COMING IN TODAY, I COULD SEE THE  
EXCITEMENT ON PEOPLE'S FACES.**

I'LL BET THERE'S NOT A PERSON WITHIN 50 MILES OF HERE WHO DOESN'T KNOW / THE SEMINOLES PLAY THIS SATURDAY. //

TODAY, I'M HERE TO SHOW MY SUPPORT FOR ONE OF FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY'S FAVORITE SONS: BILL GRANT. 18 MONTHS AGO, BILL JOINED THE RANKS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, AND BECAME A VALUABLE MEMBER OF OUR TEAM UP ON CAPITOL HILL.

I REMEMBER THE TALK WE HAD, WHEN I CALLED TO INVITE BILL AND JANET UP TO THE WHITE HOUSE TO MAKE THE ANNOUNCEMENT. BILL KNEW HE'D BE OPENING HIMSELF TO AN ALL-OUT CHALLENGE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION. BUT BILL GRANT MADE THE SWITCH WITH COMPLETE CONFIDENCE THAT HE HAD THE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS DISTRICT. BECAUSE HERE IN NORTH FLORIDA, WHEN SOMEONE STANDS BY HIS CONVICTIONS -- YOU STAND BY HIM. //

- 5 -

ANYONE WHO KNOWS BILL GRANT KNOWS HE'S RIGHT WHERE HE ALWAYS WAS -- ON THE SIDE OF EVERY HARD-WORKING FAMILY IN NORTH FLORIDA.

BILL'S BEEN A KEY PLAYER IN THE CONGRESS -- BACKING A TOUGH, NO-NONSENSE STRATEGY IN THE WAR ON DRUGS AND CRIME. HE KNOWS THAT DRUGS, AND THE VIOLENCE DRUGS BREED, AREN'T CONFINED TO URBAN AMERICA.

- 6 -

SMALL-TOWN AMERICA FACES THE SAME THREAT -- AND EVERY COMMUNITY MUST TAKE STEPS TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST THE DEADLY SCOURGE OF DRUGS. //

BILL GRANT STANDS WITH ME IN HIS UNSHAKABLE COMMITMENT TO OUR ENVIRONMENT. HE CAN TAKE GREAT PRIDE IN BEING NAMED FOREST CONSERVATIONIST OF THE YEAR BY THE FLORIDA WILDLIFE FEDERATION. THROUGH BILL'S EFFORTS, FLORIDA HAS ADDED 25,000 PRIME ACRES OF BLACK BEAR COUNTRY TO THE OSCEOLA [OSS-EE-O-LA] NATIONAL FOREST.

- 7 -

AND BILL GRANT'S BEEN A LEADER IN THE CRUSADE TO RESTORE FISCAL RESTRAINT IN THE CONGRESS. TODAY, I WANT TO SPEAK ABOUT THE KEY CHALLENGE IN THIS CRUSADE: THE BUDGET TALKS. /

YOU KNOW HOW I FEEL ABOUT RAISING TAXES: I'D RATHER EAT BROCCOLI FOR BREAKFAST. / BUT BACK IN JUNE, WHEN THE BUDGET TALKS WERE AT AN IMPASSE, I DECIDED THE TIME HAD COME TO PUT IT ALL ON THE TABLE -- REVENUES, SPENDING CUTS, AND BUDGET REFORM -- IN ORDER TO FIX THIS BUDGET MESS ONCE AND FOR ALL.

- 8 -

I DID THAT AS AN ACT OF GOOD FAITH. / I'VE KEPT THE FAITH -- AND I TOOK SOME HEAT -- THROUGH FIVE LONG MONTHS OF BUDGET TALKS. /

NOW TIME'S RUNNING OUT. OCTOBER 1 BEGINS THE NEW FISCAL YEAR -- AND STILL NO AGREEMENT. CONGRESS IS BACK NOW. TOMORROW BI-PARTISAN BUDGET TALKS WILL RESUME. I WANT A BUDGET AGREEMENT, THE COUNTRY NEEDS A BUDGET AGREEMENT.

I WILL APPROACH THESE TALKS IN GOOD FAITH AND WORK WITH THE LEADERSHIP TO GET A SOUND DEFICIT CUTTING AGREEMENT. WE MUST SUCCEED.

WE'VE GOT TO DRAW THE LINE ON SPENDING -- BREAK FREE ONCE AND FOR ALL FROM THE TIRED OLD MINDSET THAT SAYS FOR EVERY NEW PROBLEM WE MUST CREATE A NEW BUREAUCRACY. THE BUDGET I'VE ASKED FOR -- \$1.5 TRILLION DOLLARS -- IS NOT EXACTLY MISERLY.

IT IS CERTAINLY ENOUGH TO DO THE VITAL WORK OF GOVERNMENT. IT'S TIME TO NAIL THE LID BACK ON THE PORK BARREL. /

THAT'S WHY I'M HERE TODAY -- BECAUSE BILL GRANT'S BEEN ONE OF CONGRESS' STRONGEST COST-CUTTERS. A REAL BULLDOG IN THE BATTLE AGAINST GOVERNMENT WASTE. / I PLEDGE TO YOU, AND TO EVERY AMERICAN TAXPAYER: I WILL NOT ACCEPT A BUDGET AGREEMENT THAT ISN'T FISCALLY SOUND AND FUNDAMENTALLY FAIR. //

OR SERGEANT ROY LAND OF THE 82ND AIRBORNE, WHO WENT TO SCHOOL HERE AT GODBY HIGH -- SERVED TWO YEARS AGO AS A NATO PEACEKEEPER IN THE SINAI DESERT -- AND SERVES TODAY WITH OUR PROUD PEACEKEEPERS IN THE SAND AND HEAT OF SAUDI ARABIA. //

AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, LET ME TELL YOU: WITH MEN LIKE THESE -- WITH ALL THE BRAVE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN OF OUR ARMED FORCES --RESTS AMERICA'S SPIRIT OF PRIDE AND SENSE OF PURPOSE. //

AS I SAID A MOMENT AGO, THESE ARE CHALLENGING TIMES -- TIMES WHEN WE DRAW ON THE VERY BEST AMERICA HAS TO OFFER. THAT'S WHY I'M HERE FOR BILL GRANT -- BECAUSE FLORIDA, AND THE NATION, NEEDS PUBLIC SERVANTS LIKE BILL GRANT IN THE CONGRESS. / THANK YOU -- AND MAY GOD BLESS THE GREAT STATE OF FLORIDA.

# # #

McGroarty/Dooley  
August 30, 1990  
11:00 am  
[GRANT]

P.D. - I've faxed this to CW - told her we're still looking for more names.

Ray Grant  
904/681-7434 off  
922-4250 camp.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BILL GRANT FUNDRAISER  
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA  
SEPTEMBER 6, 1990  
6:00 PM??

are all the facts accurate?

Thank you. / [Introductory acknowledgements.] Governor Bob Martinez, it's always an honor to meet with you. / It's a pleasure to be with all of you here in Tom Brown Park, to share summer's last cookout together.

And, of course, I'm delighted to share center stage with the pride of North Florida, / **Congressman Bill Grant.** //

Bill tells me everyone in Tallahassee's been looking forward to this week -- getting ready for the main event. And coming in today, I could see the excitement on people's faces. // I'll bet there's not a person within 50 miles of here who doesn't know / the Seminoles play this Saturday. //

Today, I'm here to show my support for one of Florida State University's favorite sons: Bill Grant. A year and a half ago, Bill made the switch -- joined the ranks of the Republican Party, and became a valuable member of our team up on Capitol Hill. /

I remember the conversation we had, when I called Bill and invited him and his wife Janet up to the White House to make the announcement. Let me tell you: Bill made that switch knowing he'd open himself to an all-out challenge in the upcoming election. But Bill Grant made the switch with **complete confidence that he had the support of the people of this**

Thanks to Bill Grant - WH now knows an Jasper, FL is.

district. / Because here in North Florida, **when someone stands by his convictions -- you stand by him.** //

I'm pleased to have Bill on my side. / And anyone who knows Bill Grant knows he's right where he always was: on the side of every hard-working family in North Florida. //

Bill's been a key player in the Congress -- backing a tough, no-nonsense strategy in the war on drugs and crime. Bill Grant knows -- as all of you do -- that drugs, and the violent crime drugs bring, aren't confined to urban America. **Small-town America faces the same threat** -- and every community must take steps to defend itself against the deadly scourge of drugs. //

Bill Grant stands with me in his unshakeable commitment to our environment. He can take great pride in being named this year's **Forest Conservationist of the Year** by the Florida Wildlife Federation. Through Bill's efforts, Florida has added 25,000 prime acres of black bear country to the Osceola National Forest.

And Bill Grant's been a leader in the critical domestic issue of the day: the crusade to restore fiscal responsibility in the Congress. / My thanks to Bill for backing a key constitutional amendment to provide the President a critical tool to keep spending down: **the line-item veto.** //

Today, I want to speak about the key challenge in this crusade: the budget talks. //

You know how I feel about raising taxes: / I'd rather eat broccoli for breakfast. // But back in June, when the budget talks were at an impasse, I made a decision. I decided the time

infant mortality report  
WICNA  
milk, eggs, cereal  
pregnant women + infants  
children  
Grant - active @ local level; intro mic log.

1989

Pink Book Swamp

(An-see-oh-la)

had come to **put it all on the table** -- taxes, spending cuts, and budget reform -- in order to get a deal. / I did that as an act of good faith. / And I've kept the faith -- and I took some heat -- through five long months of budget talks. //

Now time's running out. / October 1 begins the new fiscal year -- and still no agreement. No budget in sight -- and, I'm sorry to say, it's business-as-usual up on Capitol Hill. /

[[Take it from me: you don't have to go to Orlando to visit Fantasyland.]] While our budget talks have stalemated, <sup>House</sup>~~Congress~~ has passed appropriations bills exceeding my requests by a **full \$14 billion dollars**. // *10 approp bills*

There's not a family in North Florida that could afford to run its household the way Washington runs the federal budget. American taxpayers have **heard enough excuses**. They want **action**. A real solution -- not one that makes the red ink disappear with blue smoke and mirrors. //

That means we've got to draw the line on spending -- we've got to break free once and for all from the tired old mindset that says for every new problem we must create a new bureaucracy. // The spending level I've asked for -- **\$1.2 trillion dollars** - - is more than enough to do the vital work of government. It's time to nail the lid back on the pork barrel. //

That's why I'm here today -- **because Bill Grant's been one of Congress' strongest cost-cutters**. A real bulldog in the battle against government waste. //

407/824-  
4321  
Magic Kingdom  
Disney info.



And that's why, today, I pledge to you -- and to every American taxpayer -- I will not accept a budget deal that isn't fundamentally fair and fiscally responsible. //

Of course, the budget deficit's not the only pressing problem we face today. Let me speak for a moment about the situation in the **Persian Gulf**. /

No President is quick to order American troops abroad. But there are times when the United States -- when every nation that values its own independence -- must confront the forces of aggression. / What's at stake is a matter of vital interest. But beyond the very real threat to our economic independence, there is a larger issue at stake -- an issue with lasting implications for peace and security.

Just as we suffer here at home when law-breakers walk our streets and plague our communities -- the world suffers when outlaws assault the international order. / Every use of force unchecked is an invitation to further aggression. Every act of aggression unpunished strikes a blow against the rule of law -- and strengthens the forces of chaos and lawlessness that, ultimately, threaten us all. / And nothing strikes with greater force at the very heart of the international order than the **naked act of aggression perpetrated by Saddam Hussein**. //

I'm confident our response is the correct one. The sanctions are working. The squeeze is on -- and I believe Saddam Hussein is feeling the pinch. He's up against a united front: forces from 22 nations side by side in the Gulf region -- and a

Col. Montavend  
645-9082  
Chief Armed  
Forces New  
York  
Sandy Charles  
NSC  
395-3550

over 25

men + materiel

Doug Davidson  
2947

Bob Hall  
1297-9372  
10/10/47

strong mandate of support from the U.N. Security Council. Never before have we seen this kind of cooperation between nations -- proof that the world community **will not stand aside, and watch one nation swallow up another.** //

We seek a peaceful solution to this crisis, but on one point let me be clear: **there can be no compromise when it comes to freedom for Kuwait -- and the removal of all Iraqi forces. And that removal must be complete, immediate, and unconditional.** //

One thing which this crisis has reminded all of us: There is no substitute for **American resolve -- American strength in the service of international order.** // And there is no substitute for the **support of the American people.** / For that, I thank Congressman Bill Grant and the people of North Florida. I am confident that with your support -- and the continued, concerted action of the world community -- **justice and order will prevail over the forces of aggression.** //

Let me close with a few words of appreciation for the many sons and daughters in our Armed Services from the cities and towns of North Florida -- on duty right now, half a world away.

/ Servicemen like Ensign **Les Pulley** and his brother **Charles**, Corporal in the U.S. Marines, (who grew up here in Tallahassee.) Les shipped out for the Middle East six weeks ago, and Charles -- a veteran of Operation Just Cause in Panama -- [[deployed with the {unit} just {x} days ago.]] / Or Sergeant **Roy Land** of the 82nd Airborne, who went to school here at Godby High -- served two years ago as a NATO Peacekeeper in the Sinai desert -- and

didn't call

w/in last month

serves today with our proud peacekeepers in the sand and heat of Saudi Arabia. //

As Commander-in-Chief, let me tell you: **with men like these -- with all the brave young men and women of our Armed Forces -- rests America's spirit of pride and sense of purpose.** //

Once again, let me thank all of you for this warm welcome -  
- and may God bless the great state of Florida.

# # #

14,000,000,000

65,837,000

212.65

Adjutant - Gen.

Air Guard

May. Hudnall

904/824-8461 x. 605

woman in school in Fall - has  
nail'd to go

Bobby Bowden - FSU coach  
Head coach  
intro Grant

1000-1500

Connie Mack

Gov + Mrs. Bob + Mary Jane Martinez

Van Poole - Rep Party Chair  
Alec Courtelis - Repub Party Finance Chair

March 1989  
65,837,000  
Family households

Louisa Miller  
Marriage + Fam 9th St  
763-7987

\$2000

September 4, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: DAN MCGROARTY

SUBJECT: CONGRESSMAN BILL GRANT FUNDRAISER

I. SUMMARY

On Wednesday, September 6, 1990, at 6:00 p.m., you will address a campaign rally for Congressman Bill Grant in Tom Brown Park in Tallahassee, Florida. Congressman Grant will introduce you. Also on the dais will be Governor and Mrs. Martinez, and Bobby Bowden, head football coach for Florida State University.

II. DISCUSSION

The remarks (11 min./cards) discuss Congressman Grant's hard work for the people of North Florida, especially in the areas of drugs and crime, the environment, and government fiscal responsibility. They also address the Gulf situation, and laud some Tallahassee-area residents for their fine service in the armed forces in the Gulf region.

# # #

BILL GRANT  
2d DISTRICT FLORIDA

## COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

SUBCOMMITTEES  
TOBACCO AND PEANUTS  
LIVESTOCK, DAIRY AND POULTRY

PUBLIC WORKS AND  
TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON NARCOTICS  
ABUSE AND CONTROL

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515**

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TELECOPY FORM - CONGRESSMAN BILL GRANT

TELEFAX TO: \_\_\_\_\_

*Peggy Dooley*

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: \_\_\_\_\_

*Steven Cohen*

NUMBER OF PAGES: \_\_\_\_\_ INCLUDING COVER.

CONTACT: \_\_\_\_\_

PHONE: \_\_\_\_\_

INSTRUCTIONS: \_\_\_\_\_

*Bill Grant leader in fight to reduce infant mortality.*  
*Expanding ~~the~~ WIC program*

## M E M O R A N D U M

AUGUST 30, 1990

FROM: STEVEN COHEN

TO: PEGGY DOOLEY

RE: INFANT MORTALITY

-----

Congressman Grant has been active as a member of both the Sunbelt Caucus Task Force on Infant Mortality and the Rural Health Care Coalition. Following is a summary of the significant initiatives he has participated in impacting infant mortality in the 2nd Congressional District of Florida.

Sunbelt Caucus -- 1990 budget achievements

\* Medicaid coverage extended to all pregnant women and children up to age 6 with family incomes up to 133 percent of the Federal poverty level.

\* Increase in the permanent authorization level for the Maternal and Child Health Block Grant from \$561 to \$686 million.

\* Beginning July 1, states were required to notify Medicaid beneficiaries who are pregnant, postpartum or breast feeding, or who have children under 5 of the availability of benefits under the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children.

\* Mrs. Grant has also been involved with the Healthy Mothers, Healthy Babies program in Tallahassee.

Rural Health Care Coalition

\* Several weeks ago, the Congress passed the reauthorization of the National Health Service Corps, a major program which provides scholarships and loan repayment benefits to health professionals who agree to serve in medically needy areas. The authorization was \$63.9 million, which is 8 times what the program received this year.

\* We have been successful in narrowing the difference between what urban and rural hospitals are paid for the same procedures and other programs to keep rural hospitals open and create incentives for doctors and nurses to settle in rural areas.

## I N F A N T   M O R T A L I T Y

RE: INFANT MORTALITY

Sunbelt Caucus Infant Mortality Task Force

1990 budget achievements --

Included in the budget was the requirement that states extend Medicaid coverage to all pregnant women and children up to age 6 with family incomes up to 133 percent of the Federal poverty level (\$13,380 for a family of 3). This is effective April 1, 1990.

We also required that payments must be sufficient to enlist enough providers so that covered services will be available to Medicaid beneficiaries to at least the extent they are available to the general population in a particular area.

Beginning July 1, states will be required to notify Medicaid beneficiaries who are pregnant, postpartum or breast-feeding, or who have children under 5, of the availability of benefits under the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children.

We increased from \$561 million to \$686 million the permanent authorization level for the Maternal and Child Health Block Grant, which supports improving the health of mothers and children.

We mandated many other expansions of the Medicaid program, including establishing up to four 3-year demonstration projects to provide health insurance to otherwise uninsurable children under age 19.

### INFANT MORTALITY STATISTICS --

Clearly, we have a tremendous problem in our nation with low birthweight babies and infant mortality. The present U.S. infant mortality rate is 10.1 deaths per 1,000 live births. That is 20th among developed nations.

In Florida the infant mortality rate is 10.6, 38TH IN THE NATION.

But in the area I represent, North Florida from roughly the limits of Duval County on the east to Panama City on the west,

the situation is even worse. For example, in 1987, the last year accurate figures were available, the infant mortality rate in Hamilton County was 28.2. In Gadsden County, it was 24.1, in Wakulla County, 22; and in Jefferson County, 20.3.

I was told by the administrator of a community health clinic that one pregnant 14-year-old drug abuser just tested positive for the AIDS virus.

Drug use among pregnant women is not uncommon. The same administrator estimates 30-40 percent of the pregnant women she treats are crack cocaine abusers. And many of these women simply will not come to the clinic for prenatal care.

The problem we are having is there are simply not enough obstetricians and nurse midwives. And the OB/GYNs who still deliver won't take Medicaid. In all of Tallahassee, which has a regional medical center and a private hospital, there are only two obstetricians who will accept Medicaid.

We do not have a lack of rural hospitals in my district, but because of the cost of medical malpractice insurance, most do not offer obstetrics anymore.

In short, we have many pregnancies, but no one to do deliveries, and a severe shortage of people trained in prenatal care. And compounding the problem, pregnant women who are also drug abusers are reluctant to seek prenatal care.

#### PASSAGE OF PAYMENT REFORM AND REINVIGORATING THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE CORPS ARE TWO WAYS WE MAY IMPACT THE PROBLEMS OF INFANT MORTALITY

##### 1. PASSAGE OF PHYSICIAN PAYMENT REFORM

In 1989, the Congress passed a physician payment reform system based on a resource based relative value scale fee schedule to be phased in beginning in 1992. The new payment scheme does away with the system that based payments on whatever a doctor chose to charge for a particular service.

Under the new plan, payments will be set by a national fee schedule based primarily on a "resource-based relative value scale," which takes account of the time, training and skill required to perform a given task. This system favors family physicians and the practice of basic medicine.

Because payments for some services will decline, Congress took steps to prevent doctors from making up the difference by charging patients more. By 1993, doctors may not charge Medicare patients more than 115 percent of the fee-schedule amount. The most controversial portion of the plan would, for the first time, attempt to control the volume of services as well as their price

by setting targets for overall Medicare spending on doctor bills each year.

#### RESOURCE BASED RELATIVE VALUE SCALE

In 1989, Congress established a system to pay physicians under MEDICARE according to a fee schedule based on a resource-based relative value scale (RBRVS). The fee schedule will be phased in from 1992-1996.

The RBRVS will be based on the combination of the work, overhead and cost of malpractice insurance required to provide a given medical service. The fee schedule will be based on the relative value for a particular service, a conversion factor set by Congress or the HHS secretary and an adjustment for geographic differences.

\* Family physicians have long supported this approach, which naturally favors basic medicine over surgery and other heroic procedures. Family physicians, especially those in rural or underserved areas, will gain at the expense of specialties. For example, beginning in 1991, the law provides for a 10 percent bonus for all physician services provided in designated health manpower shortage areas.

Because payments for some services -- primarily diagnostic tests and surgical procedures -- will decline under the fee schedule, Congress took steps to prevent doctors from making up the difference by charging patients more. By 1993, doctors may not charge Medicare patients more than 115 percent of the fee-schedule amount.

The RBRVS would also attempt to control the volume of services as well as their price by setting targets for overall Medicare spending on doctor bills each year. Should the targets, called Medicare Volume Performance Standards be exceeded in a given year, inflation increases in the fee schedule for the next year would be reduced accordingly.

#### RURAL HEALTH COALITION

As a member of the Rural Health Care Coalition, you have been working to eliminate the Medicare reimbursement differential between urban and rural hospitals and physicians. In the 1989 Reconciliation bill, we set in place the framework for the total elimination of the urban rural differential in five years.

Rural hospitals received what is known as "market basket" plus three percent, while all other hospitals had their reimbursement rates lowered between 1 percent and 1.75 percent.

In addition, small rural hospitals with less than 100 beds and with 60 percent or more Medicare beneficiaries would be reimbursed at cost, rather than by diagnostic related group.

Many small hospitals in our district, some barely surviving.

They are more than health centers, they are many times the largest employer and one of the few attractions for business thinking of relocating to a rural area.

## 2. NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE CORPS

In 1990, the National Health Service Corps will come up for reauthorization. The Corps was designed to give scholarships to medical students in exchange for serving in medically underserved areas.

There are two scholarships program. In the first, a medical student contracts with the service before entering medical school. The service pays for 4 years of tuition and upon graduation, the doctor serves 4 years in a Corps chosen location. Under the second program, a graduating student agree to serve with the Corps and for every year he or she serves, up to \$20,000 in loans are paid off by the Federal government. Under this second approach, the student has a bit more control over where he or she is assigned.

Under the first scenario, if a physician wants out of the program, he or she must pay triple the amount of the Federal scholarship.

In the past few years, the number of grads entering the program has slipped drastically and consequently, most of the doctors are going to the Indian Health Service. There is clear evidence that medical students DO have a strong sense of public service and want to work in underserved areas. Our goal for 1990 is to fund more scholarships so that more doctors, particularly family physicians, can afford to serve in rural areas.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE -- APRIL 26, 1990

For more information contact Steven Cohen

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HOUSE DECLARES MAY 13 INFANT MORTALITY AWARENESS DAY

Congressman Bill Grant announced that the House of Representatives passed a resolution declaring May 13, 1990 Infant Mortality Awareness Day.

"As a member of the Sunbelt Caucus Task Force on Infant Mortality and a cosponsor of the resolution, I believe it is very fitting that we chose Mother's Day to call attention to the tragedy of infant mortality in America," Grant said. "Although we spend more per person on health care than any other nation, in 1987, 38,000 babies died before their first birthday. That ranks us 20th among developed nations. Among states, Florida is 38th with a death rate of 10.6. Some of our North Florida counties have rates as high as 20 per 1,000 live births."

Grant said expanding prenatal care is an effective and economical way to improve the chances of mothers having healthy babies.

"We have found that only 1 in 3 pregnant women in America receives prenatal care," Grant said. "We have been successful in passing legislation to expand health and nutrition benefits for low income women and children and we want to do more. For every dollar we spend on prenatal care, we save \$3 in medical costs associated with premature, low birthweight infants."

"Infant mortality is a complex problem and only through widespread community awareness will we make long term progress," Grant said. "Healthy mothers giving birth to healthy babies is in the interest of everyone and everyone can play a role in the effort."

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE -- AUGUST 16, 1990

For more information contact Steven Cohen

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GRANT BACKED MEASURE TO HELP EASE RURAL DOCTOR SHORTAGE

Congressman Bill Grant said that the recent passage of a bill reauthorizing the National Health Service Corps was a great step forward toward the goal of bringing more physicians and other health professionals to underserved rural areas.

The National Health Service Corps provides Federal scholarships and loan repayment benefits to health professionals who agree to serve in medically needy areas.

"Myself and other members of the Rural Health Care Coalition worked long and hard to improve National Health Service Corps programs to make them more responsive to the needs of our area," Grant said. "Physician recruitment and retention are vitally important and this bill will go a long way toward attaining both of these objectives."

Grant said the bill considerably strengthens the current program in a number of ways.

"We have authorized \$63.9 million for this program next year, which is eight times what the program received last year," Grant said. "The bill gives states incentive grants to establish offices of rural health and their own loan repayment programs and it provides money for communities which lose their National Service Corps physician before his or her obligation has been completed."

"There are about 12.5 million Americans living in more than 1,900 communities with a shortage of primary care practitioners," Grant said. "We have had success in bringing National Health Service Corps doctors to North Florida, but the need is great. This bill will allow many more physicians, nurse practitioners, nurse midwives and physicians' assistants to take advantage of the program and will do much more to assign personnel to areas where they will be likely to stay after they complete their service obligation."



OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-1400

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

DATE: 8/31 THIS PAGE PLUS 2 PAGE(S) TO FOLLOWTO PEBOY DOOLEY FROM BREG MARTIN

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PUBLIC AFFAIRS

## ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-1400

## MEMORANDUM FOR WHITE HOUSE SPEECH WRITERS

SUBJECT: "Hometown" American Forces Personnel Participating in Operation Desert Shield

The following information on servicemen and women participating in Operation Desert Shield has been provided by the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps public affairs offices. Included with the names are each person's hometown, rank, assignment and duty station.

## NAVY:

Topeka, Kansas - Christopher Rogers, Engineman First Class (EN1); guided-missile frigate *USS Robert G. Bradley* (FFG-49), assigned as engineman in the #2 auxiliary machinery room;

Tallahassee, Florida - Johnny Bell, Jr., Fireman (FN); guided-missile frigate *USS Robert G. Bradley* (FFG-49), assigned to #1 auxiliary machinery room;

San Francisco, California - Wesley Nielsen, Lieutenant (LT); aircraft carrier *USS Independence* (CV-62); assigned as pilot in F/A-18 Hornet fighter/attack squadron VFA-113 (LT Nielsen is from nearby Los Gatos, CA);

Denver, Colorado - Henry Mauz, Jr., Vice Admiral (VADM); Commander, Seventh Fleet, assigned as commander of U.S. Navy and Marine Corps forces in the Persian Gulf region (Commander, U.S. Naval Forces, Central Command/COMUSNAVCENT);

Los Angeles, California - Sherronder Turner (female), Radioman Third Class (RM3); Administrative Support Unit, Bahrain, assigned as radioman;

Samuel Prado, Religious Programs Specialist Second Class (RP2); Administrative Support Unit, Bahrain, assigned as religious programs specialist.

## AIR FORCE:

Squadron Abbreviations: AGS = Aircraft Generation Squadron  
EMS = Equipment Maintenance Squadron  
SRW = Strategic Reconnaissance Wing

Topeka, Kansas - John Dobbins, Captain; 355th Tactical Fighter Squadron, Myrtle Beach

**AFB, SC; Capt. Dobbins is an A-10 pilot;**

**Kevin Pflaun, Sergeant; 363th AGS, Shaw AFB, SC;  
SGT Pflaun is an F-16 Avionics Specialist;**

**Tallahassee, Florida - William S. Ehalets, Airman; Air Force Commissary, Hulburt Field,  
Florida; AMN Ehalets is currently assisting in supply operations;**

**Charles E. Brown, Staff Sergeant; 354th EMS, Myrtle Beach, South  
Carolina; SSGT Brown is assigned to aircraft structural maintenance;**

**San Francisco, California - Mario A. Mendoza, Staff Sergeant; 60th ACS Travis AFB, CA;  
SSGT Mendoza is an Aeronautics Equipment Technician;**

**Richard J. Horan, Captain; 336th Tactical Fighter Squadron,  
Seymour-Johnson AFB, NC; Capt. Horan in a Weapon Systems  
Officer on F-15s;**

**Denver, Colorado - Tony E. Brisco, Sergeant; 1st EMS, Langley AFB, VA; SGT Brisco is a  
Munitions Specialist;**

**Joseph D. Phillips, Master Sergeant; 4th EMS Seymour-Johnson AFB,  
NC; MSGT Phillips is a Munitions Technician;**

**Los Angeles, California - Mark L. Daniels, Sergeant; 55th SRW, Offut AFB, Nebraska; SGT  
Daniels is a Life Support Specialist;**

**Luis R. Gutierrez, Tech Sergeant; 62nd Services Squadron, McChord  
AFB, Washington; TSGT Gutierrez is assisting in supply services.**

#### **MARINE CORPS:**

**Marine Abbreviations: MEB = Marine Expeditionary Battalion  
MPS = Maritime Patrol Ships**

**Tallahassee, Florida - Nathan B. Lee, Corporal; 7th MEB G-4 Section, occupational speciality  
is maintenance management, currently offloading MPS ships**

**Los Angeles, California - Giovanni Q. Quiane, Corporal; 9th Communications Battalion,  
occupational speciality is wireman, currently providing communi-  
cations support to the 7th MEB**

**We are currently waiting for the Army to provide names and to receive additional names  
from the Marine Corps. These names will be on a separate memo to follow.**



OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-1400

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## ARMY:

Topeka, Kansas - Jason M. Kruger, Sergeant; Rifleman with the 24th Mechanized Infantry  
Division, Fort Stewart, GA;

Terry C. Gulley, Sergeant; Paratrooper squad leader with the 82nd Airborne,  
Fort Bragg, NC;

Tallahassee, Florida - Rufus C. Brown, Specialist; Rifleman with 24th Mechanized Infantry  
Division, Fort Stewart, GA;

Fidel Iglesias, Private First Class; Mechanic with the 24th Mechanized  
Infantry Division, Fort Stewart, GA;

Scott C. Elridge, Private First Class; Rifleman with 82nd Airborne,  
Fort Bragg, NC.

The Army is in the process of obtaining names from the areas of San Francisco, Los Angeles and Denver. We expect these names shortly.

Daniel J. Kalinger  
Deputy Assistant Secretary



PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Daniel J. Kalinger".

Daniel J. Kalinger  
Deputy Assistant Secretary



PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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from the Marine Corps. These names will be on a separate memo to follow.

To \_\_\_\_\_

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| WANTS TO SEE YOU  |  | URGENT          |  |

RETURNED YOUR CALL

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after 10 am

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Operator



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CARBONLESS

Charles Cox

8:30 pm

Brenda Sue Otteman

9/9/63

~~See~~ Shawn Bradley  
Otteman

2/14/61

Nathan Michael Bradley  
Albert Otteman

1/12/89

MEMORANDUM  
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

Peggy Dooley

☐

YOU WERE CALLED BY-

☐

YOU WERE VISITED BY-

Ken Forrester

OF (Organization)

Florida Guard

☐

PLEASE PHONE ▶

☐

FTS

☐

AUTOVON

(904) 823-0168

☐

WILL CALL AGAIN

☐

IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

☒

RETURNED YOUR CALL

☐

WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

Army Reserve - Tall  
Col. Jim Kerns  
904/487-2700  
unint. Cdr.

RECEIVED BY

CMRB

DATE

8/30

TIME

2pm

63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018

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FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

\* U.S. GPO: 1988 - 201-759

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Squadron - active duty  
Eglin AFB - m. Tall.

HQ detachment of 160th  
mil police (MPs) and  
newest detachment - Tall. and

USAR - deployed

East Pt. 64 - 404/559-5439

Miss Simmons

first called - time left

576-3344

Jim Weaver

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**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File, Backup  
**Subseries:**  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** Bill Grant for Congress Tallahassee, FL 9/6/90 [1]

**Date Closed:** 10/20/2004  
**FOIA/SYS Case #:**  
**Re-review Case #:** 2004-2265-S  
**P-2/P-5 Review Case #:**

**OA/ID Number:** 08315

**MR Case #:**  
**MR Disposition:**  
**Disposition Date:**

**Appeal Case #:**  
**Appeal Disposition:**  
**Disposition Date:**

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**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]  
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]  
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]  
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]  
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]  
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
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(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

82nd Airborne -

Ray

5 yrs. 24 yrs. old

~~#~~

Godby H.S. - grad in mil.  
in Tallahassee since 1981 -

NATO ~~in~~ Peacekeeping in Sinai  
2 yrs ago - 6 mos.

Sgt. Ray Sherman ~~and~~ Land

Pg:

Mrs. Land returned  
your call

904-488-1810

-JMB

Fireman Johnny Bell Jr.  
Guided missile frigate  
Robert G Bradley

FFG-49

#1 aux. machinery rm.  
Tallahassee, FLA.

Marine

Corp. Nathan B. Lee

7th MEB <sup>air</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>allion</sup> G-4 section  
maintenance mgmt.  
off-loading MP <sup>ship</sup> <sup>writing</sup> <sup>post</sup> <sup>training</sup>

August 29, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR COMMUNICATIONS STAFF

FROM: BOB SIMON  
SUBJECT: WHITE HOUSE BOWLING LEAGUE

Did you know there's a bowling alley in the OEOB? And did you know there's a White House Bowling League? There is, and it's been around since 1957.

The new season starts on Sept. 10 and runs until May. Teams of five bowl once a week from 6:00 p.m. to about 8:00. The cost is \$6 per night, with a one-time initiation fee of \$7. Bowling balls are available if you don't have your own. You can also borrow some shoes until you have a chance to get your own.

**YOU DON'T NEED TO KNOW HOW TO BOWL TO JOIN.** In fact, most of the bowlers aren't that good. (Don't tell them I said that.) And with the handicap scoring system, a team of novices can beat seasoned veterans. So you don't have any excuse not to join if your interested in learning how to bowl.

We need a team of about 10 people to make sure we can have five people each week to bowl.

**TIME IS SHORT!!** I need to know if you are interested no later than **NOON ON TUESDAY, SEPT. 4.** Talk to me today or Tuesday morning, or leave a note on my desk (I'll be gone Thursday and Friday.)

Peggy KYI-  
includes CW's A's  
- Dan

McGroarty/Dooley  
August 29, 1990  
1:00 pm  
[GRANT]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BILL GRANT FUNDRAISER  
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA  
SEPTEMBER 6, 1990  
6:00 PM??

Thank you. Governor Bob Martinez, it's always an honor to meet with you. [Introductory acknowledgements, other Florida notables.] / It's a pleasure to be with all of you here in Tom Brown Park, to share summer's last cookout together.

And, of course, I'm delighted to share center stage with the pride of North Florida, / **Congressman Bill Grant.** //

Bill tells me everyone in Tallahassee's been looking forward to this week -- getting ready for the main event. And coming in today, I could see the excitement on people's faces. // I'll bet there's not a person within 50 miles of here who doesn't know / the Seminoles play this Saturday. //

Today, I'm here to show my support for one of Florida State University's favorite sons: Bill Grant. / A year and a half ago, Bill made the switch -- joined the ranks of the Republican Party, and became a valuable member of our team up on Capitol Hill. /

I remember the conversation we had, when I called Bill and invited him and his wife Janet up to the White House to make the announcement. Let me tell you: Bill made that switch knowing he'd open himself to an all-out challenge in the upcoming

election. But Bill Grant made the switch with **complete confidence that he had the support of the people of this district.** / Because here in North Florida, **when someone stands by his convictions -- you stand by him.** //

I'm pleased to have Bill on my side. / And anyone who knows Bill Grant knows he's right where he always was: on the side of every hard-working family in North Florida. //

Bill's been a key player in the Congress -- backing a tough, no-nonsense strategy in the war on drugs and crime. Bill Grant knows -- as all of you do -- that drugs, and the violent crime drugs bring, aren't confined to urban America. **Small-town America faces the same threat** -- and every community must take steps to defend itself against the deadly scourge of drugs. //

Bill Grant stands with me in his unshakeable commitment to our environment. He can take great pride in being named this year's **Forest Conservationist of the Year** by the Florida Wildlife Federation. Through Bill's efforts, Florida has added 25,000 prime acres of black bear country to the Osceola National Forest. //

And Bill Grant's been a leader in the critical domestic issue of the day: the crusade to restore fiscal responsibility in the Congress. / My thanks to Bill for backing a key constitutional amendment to provide the President a critical tool to keep spending down: **the line-item veto.** //

Today, I want to speak about the key challenge in this crusade: the budget talks. //

You know how I feel about raising taxes: / I'd rather eat broccoli for breakfast. // But back in June, when the budget talks were at an impasse, I made a decision. I decided the time had come to **put it all on the table** -- taxes, spending cuts, and budget reform -- in order to get a deal. / I did that as an act of good faith. / And I've kept the faith -- and I took some heat -- through five long months of budget talks. //

Now time's running out. / October 1 begins the new fiscal year -- and still no agreement. No budget in sight -- and, I'm sorry to say, it's business-as-usual up on Capitol Hill. / [[Take it from me: you don't have to go to Orlando to visit Fantasyland.]] While our budget talks have stalemated, Congress has passed appropriations bills exceeding my requests by a **full \$14 billion dollars**. //

There's not a family in North Florida that could afford to run its household the way Washington runs the federal budget. American taxpayers have **heard enough excuses**. They want **action**. A real solution -- not one that makes the red ink disappear with blue smoke and mirrors. //

That means we've got to draw the line on spending -- we've got to break free once and for all from the tired old mindset that says for every new problem we must create a new bureaucracy. // The spending level I've asked for -- **\$1.2 trillion dollars** - - is more than enough to do the vital work of government. It's time to nail the lid back on the pork barrel. //

That's why I'm here today -- because Bill Grant's been one of Congress' strongest cost-cutters. A real bulldog in the battle against government waste. //

And that's why, today, I pledge to you -- and to every American taxpayer -- I will not accept a budget deal that isn't fundamentally fair and fiscally responsible. //

Of course, the budget deficit's not the only pressing problem we face today. Let me speak for a moment about the situation in the **Persian Gulf**. /

No President is quick to order American troops abroad. But there are times when the United States -- when every nation that values its own independence -- must confront the forces of aggression. / Just as we suffer here at home when law-breakers walk our streets and plague our communities -- the world suffers when outlaws assault the international order. / And nothing strikes with greater force at the very heart of that order than the **naked act of aggression perpetrated by Saddam Hussein**. //

I'm confident our response is the correct one. The sanctions are working. The squeeze is on -- and I believe Saddam Hussein is feeling the pinch. He's up against a united front: forces from 22 nations side by side in the Gulf region -- and a strong mandate of support from the U.N. Security Council. Never before have we seen this kind of cooperation between nations -- proof that the world community **will not stand aside, and watch one nation swallow up another**. //

We seek a peaceful solution to this crisis, but on one point let me be clear: **there can be no compromise when it comes to freedom for Kuwait -- and the removal of all Iraqi forces. / And that removal must be complete, immediate, and unconditional.**  
 //

One thing which this crisis has reminded all of us: There is no substitute for **American resolve -- American strength in the service of international order.** // And there is no substitute for the **support of the American people.** / For that, I thank Congressman Bill Grant and the people of North Florida. I am confident that with your support -- and the continued, concerted action of the world community -- **justice and order will prevail over the forces of aggression.** //

Let me close with a few words of appreciation for the many sons and daughters in our Armed Services from the cities and towns of North Florida -- on duty right now, half a world away.

// [[INSERT NAMES AND STORIES]] ---- ----, from X, .... And -  
 ---- ---, rank in the reserves, .... //

As Commander-in-Chief, let me tell you: with those young  
**men and women rests America's spirit of pride and sense of purpose.** //

Once again, let me thank all of you for this warm welcome -  
 - and may God bless the great state of Florida.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

FSU Athletic -

644-1060

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Sept 8 - East Carolina  
Univ -  
Pirates

#4 - UPI or AP ?

Doak Campbell Football  
Stadium

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 27, 1990

MEMORANDUM

TO: CHRISS WINSTON  
RELEVANT SPEECHWRITERS  
RELEVANT RESEARCHERS

FROM: CAROL BLYMIRE *CMB*

SUBJECT: PRE-ADVANCE

Florida

This will be a three-tiered event:

- o President meets and greets Governor and Mrs. Martinez at the Governor's Mansion, Tallahassee. This will be closed press with no remarks. Depart for Governor's Club.
- o President arrives Governor's Club for a Florida GOP photo op. This will take approximately 20-30 minutes with no remarks. President departs for Tom Brown Park.
- o President arrives Tom Brown Park for a fundraiser for the Grant Campaign. There will be a VIP photo-op, followed by the President's remarks (8-10 minutes). This will take place at a barbecue site there. There will be approximately 1500-2000 attendees. The Tom Brown Park is a city park in Tallahassee.

Other info:

- Teleprompter suggestion... NO!
- Congressman Grant's wife's name is Janet.
- As far as we know this is the only fundraiser the President is doing for a Congressman.
- Your Political Affairs contact is Sally Salmon x6573.

Kansas, Kansas Expo Center, Topeka

This will be a two-tiered event:

- o President arrives Kansas Expo Center for photo-op.
- o Luncheon remarks for Hayden for Governor. Remarks should be 8-10 minutes in length. Ticket prices are \$500 per person and \$4000 per table. They are planning on at least 1,000 attendees.

Other info:

- John Pinegar, Campaign Manager (913)234-6453
- Kathy Peterson, Fundraising Coordinator (913)234-6453
- Political Affairs Contact is Valerie Musgrove x6573
- Teleprompter suggestion... YES!

Colorado, Denver Convention Center

This will be a two -tiered event:

- o Photo-op
- o Colorado GOP luncheon, brief remarks, 5-7 minutes. Ticket prices are \$250 per person, or table prices range from \$2,500 to \$25,000. He will speak at approximately 12:25pm.

Other info:

- Prompter suggestion... YES!
- Political Affairs contact- Valerie Musgrove x6573
- Convention Center contact- David Clough (303) 640-8026
- Kristin French, Colorado GOP Communications (303) 893-1776
- Rhonda Bentz, Hank Brown for Senate (303) 756-7690

San Francisco, The Fairmont Hotel

This will be a two-tiered event:

- o Photo-op with VIPs
- o Luncheon, remarks to be 5-7 minutes in length, ticket price is \$10,000/table. They are expecting at least 1,000 attendees with 15 at the head table. POTUS will speak at approximately 12:15pm.

Other info:

- The Fairmont Hotel is the hotel after which the television show, Arthur Hailey's "Hotel" is modeled. It's the hotel they show during the opening credits.
- Senator Wilson will speak before the President.
- This will be taking place in the Grand Ballroom.
- Herman Wiener, Fairmont Hotel, General Manager, (415)772-5159
- Marty Wilson, Wilson Campaign, (916)446-5140
- Ken Deutsch, Catering Manager, (415)772-5186
- Political Affairs contact, Cathy Hutchinson x6510
- Teleprompter suggestion... YES!

Los Angeles, Westin Bonaventure

This will be a two-tiered event:

- o Photo-op, San Diego Room, 20 minutes.
- o Fundraising Dinner for Pete Wilson for Governor. POTUS will speak at approximately 7:30pm for 8-10 minutes. They have not sent out tickets yet, and do not have an expected number of attendees, although my guess is 1,500.

Other info:

- Political Affairs Contact, Cathy Hutchinson x6510
- Campaign Contact, Joyce Valdez, Dinner Chrmn. (213)624-1934
- Teleprompter suggestion, YES!