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OA/ID Number: 13761
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Folder Title:
Kasten Fundraiser Milwaukee, WI 6/17/91 [OA 8324]

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June 7, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

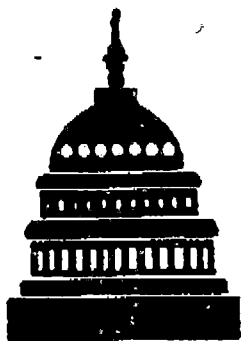
SUBJECT: SENATOR KASTEN FUNDRAISER

This is a strictly political do for Senator Kasten. Elected in '80 and again in '86, he'll be up for re-election in '92. This will be a three-tiered event: 10 min. mix and mingle for 20, closed press; 15 min. staff photo, standard 100 clicks; remarks to 1,5000, open press. Governor Thompson will intro the Senator for brief remarks. The Senator intros POTUS (who should speak about 10 mins.)

A year ago today, POTUS did a fundraiser for Wisconsin Governor Tommy Thompson. Kasten's people say this crowd will be the same as the one at Thompson's even -- moreover, that speech went over well. I've included a copy of that speech, highlighted, for your perusal.

WHAT ABOUT BOB?

- 1) Several years ago, Kasten was voted the most effective legislator in his class. And last year his Senate colleagues chose him to be one of their leaders.
- 2) In 1980, Wisconsin was dead last in receiving it's share of federal funds. Since that time, and under Bob's leadership, Wisconsin has made real progress. Because of his work, Wisconsin has moved up to 17th position in terms of federal contracts over \$100 million.
- 3) As a leader on the Senate's Small Business Committee, he's developed a new paperwork reduction plan that will cut business costs by \$6 billion a year. And he's pushing for proposals, like a capital gains tax reduction (hey Tony! this one's winking at you), that will spark growth, investment and job creation across our country.
- 4) Kasten is the recipient of numerous awards and recognitions, especially for his work on environmental and conservation issues. In '72, as a State Senator, he earned the Wisconsin "Conservation Legislator of the Year" award by the Wisconsin Wildlife Federation. The Federation also named Kasten "Conservationist of the Year" in '85. He was named "Legislator of the Year" in '89 by the Great Lakes Region of the National Recreation and Parks Association. Kasten was awarded the '90 "Friend of the Earth" award for his decade-long record of outstanding legislative accomplishments on global environmental issues.

**FAX SHEET**

The Honorable Robert W. Kasten, Jr.
United States Senate
Room SH-110, Senate Hart Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-5323

DATE: 06-06-91

TO: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

OF: WHS / SPEECH WRITING

NUMBER: 456-6218

FROM: STEVE GALLAGHER

Total Number of Pages,
Including Cover Sheet: 6

Leadership, respect:

Event is 17th
19th June & will be
49

Bob Kasten is an important Senator who has earned the respect of his colleagues. Several years ago, he was voted the most effective legislator in his class. And last year his Senate colleagues chose him to be one of their leaders. That's about the highest honor a U.S. Senator can earn from his peers, and I think it says a lot about Bob Kasten.

Bob's leadership position also means a lot for Wisconsin. For one, it means that when I call the leadership down to the White House, Bob Kasten brings Wisconsin's perspective to the table every time.

That reminds me of one of our recent meetings. Here we were, discussing the ins and outs of U.S.-Soviet relations and the Middle East situation, and Bob starts wanting to talk about dairy price supports for Wisconsin farmers.

Whenever Bob Kasten is at the table, you know the needs of Wisconsin are always first and foremost on his mind.

By the way, Bob, I should point out that my Administration has heard your message on the plight of the dairy farmer. And that's why Secretary Madigan recently unveiled a multi-pronged assistance package for the dairy industry.

A Fighter for Wisconsin Jobs

We in Washington have long known that Bob fights tooth and nail to get federal assistance back to Wisconsin. In 1980, Wisconsin was dead last in receiving its share of federal funds. Since that time, and under Bob's leadership, Wisconsin has made real progress (now 43rd). Because of Bob's work, Wisconsin has moved up to 17th position in terms of federal contracts over \$100 million.

Recently, Bob has been pushing hard to get federal assistance to help displaced Uniroyal workers in Eau Claire. I know he worked hard to get that \$1 million /pushed hard to get an \$8.9 million for the City and County of Milwaukee to fight the war on drugs. (HHS grant Sept. 27, 1990, \$8.9 million over 3 years). This was the largest discretionary grant ever awarded to Wisconsin.

That's real progress. That's real leadership. That's Bob Kasten.

An Innovative and Tireless Legislator

Bob has always been on the cutting edge of new ideas on how to make government work for the people, rather than the other way around. He's not afraid to try new solutions to old problems.

He has just written a new crime bill that contains some tough provisions, such as mandatory minimum sentences for crimes against the elderly, crimes involving the sale of illegal drugs to minors, and crimes involving handguns. Part of his bill is an innovative section designed to combat rural crime, so we can make our farms and small towns safer for our families.

Bob has recently developed two new health care initiatives, one that will help expand health coverage for self-employed entrepreneurs and another targeted at helping increase health care options for Wisconsin's rural families.

He's working to give farm families and other small businesspeople a 100 percent tax deduction for their health insurance costs. And he's leading the effort to boost the incomes of family farmers by encouraging more exports of our surplus dairy commodities to foreign countries.

As a leader on the Senate's Small Business Committee, he's developed a new paperwork reduction plan that will cut businesses costs by \$6 billion a year. And he's pushing for

proposals, like a capital gains tax reduction, that will spark growth, investment and job creation across our country.

As many of you know, Bob has for many years been one of our most effective leaders on the environment. His leadership and ideas have lead to landmark law in protecting wetlands and wildlife habitat, in helping clean our air and water -- especially our Great Lakes -- and in stemming the destruction of the world's precious rainforests.

And I might add on this point -- in recent years it's become almost chic to be in favor of saving the world's rainforests. But long before the entertainment stars of today were making this a public issue, Bob Kasten was hard at work writing the laws that today are helping to curb tropical deforestation. He was ahead of the curve then and we owe him a debt of thanks.

Family Man

You know, Barbara and I feel a special affinity for Bob and Eva and their three-year-old daughter Nora. 

Committee Assignments 102nd Congress

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

Subcommittees:

- Foreign Operations
(Ranking Member)
- Defense
- Transportation and
related agencies
- Agriculture
- Commerce, Justice,
State & Judiciary

BUDGET COMMITTEE

COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION

Subcommittees:

- Surface Transportation
(Ranking Member)
- Aviation
- Consumer
- Science,
Technology & Space

SMALL BUSINESS

Subcommittees:

- Rural Economy &
Family Farming
- Government Contracts &
Paperwork Reduction

Bob Kasten's Offices

Washington, D.C.

Senator Robert W. Kasten, Jr.
110 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-4902
(202) 224-5323
TDD (202) 224-1280

Wisconsin Offices:

Milwaukee

517 East Wisconsin Avenue
Room 404
53202
(414) 297-4160
TDD (414) 297-4186

Madison

6515 Watts Road
Suite 203
53719-1361
(608) 264-5366

Appleton

103 W. College Avenue
Suite 720
54911
(414) 738-7660

Wausau

Federal Building, Room 107
317 First Street
54401
(715) 842-3307

U.S. Senator for Wisconsin

Bob Kasten



June 17 / Administration of George Bush, 1991

named Carolyn Sharp is doing what students of the past couldn't have dreamed possible. Seventy-four years old, she's too far away to get radio or TV broadcast. But now she gets satellite. She gets satellite-delivered programming through the Mind Extension University and does her learning long-distance. Seventy-four, and here's what she says: "I'd already been boning up, doing some history research on my own, and I wanted to take a class." And now, by satellite, she's studying French, history, and physics. She's a great role model. And for my part, I've been trying to learn how to use a computer, and I'm going to keep on trying. I will not challenge any of the 12 kids in Nintendo, however.

At its most fundamental, learning involves ambition and imagination. We Americans have never been known for a lack of imagination, and we've had set goals for education as ambitious as any that we've for the West, for space, or for any other American frontier.

With the active support of people like you, I'm confident that we will meet these national goals and help our children toward the future that they deserve.

May I thank you for your leadership and interest in educating not just the kids in Grand Junction, not just the kids in Colorado, but by example, you are demonstrating an interest in helping kids all across the country.

May God bless our young people. May God bless our teachers. And may God bless each and every one of you that's willing to take a leadership role in making America 2000 a fantastic education success.

Thank you all, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:18 p.m. in the Mesa County Courthouse. In his remarks, he referred to Paul W. Rosier, superintendent of the Mesa County Valley School District, and Ray N. Kieft, president of Mesa State College. Prior to his remarks, the President attended a meeting of the Mesa County School Board. Following his remarks, the President travelled to Milwaukee, WI.

Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for Senatorial Candidate Bob Kasten in Milwaukee, Wisconsin

June 17, 1991

Thank you, Bob Kasten and Eva, great to be with you. I am so pleased to see an early supporter and great friend of mine who has certainly done a wonderful job in this State, and that is your outstanding Governor Tommy Thompson and his wife, Sue Ann. What a wonderful couple you have running this State.

And your Lieutenant Governor is with us, Scott McCallum; your State treasurer Kate Zeuske. And, of course, I want to introduce somebody special with whom I've been traveling a great deal, a former Governor who is now leading our country towards what we call America 2000, a renaissance—a true renaissance—in education and I mean Governor Lamar Alexander, who's standing right here. Lamar, please stand up.

And as he and I contemplate the national problems, I can guarantee you that we can learn an awful lot, not only from Bob Kasten in the Senate in his commitment to education, but from the programs that Tommy Thompson has already put into effect to encourage excellence in education in this State.

I'd be remiss if I didn't single out my old friend, John MacIver, who worked me to death back years ago and then stayed at my side when I was down and dusted me off. And he and a handful of others have been my most stalwart political supporters in this country. And he's actively involved in Bob Kasten's race, as I knew he would be—and thank God he is. To Mike Grebe, who is the Kasten chairman, as well as our national committeeman: always stepping up to the plate, always in a role of leadership, I salute him. And I am delighted to see others—Helen Bie, our national committeewoman is here. David Opitz, the chairman, our State chairman. And party's going to be important now as we move into 1992. And Wayne Oldenberg, who is doing such an outstanding job as Bob Kasten's finance chairman.

All of these people are making it happen. Bob tells me this is one of the largest fundraising events that he's ever had. And I

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I'm sorry to have kept you all waiting a little bit. I'm sorry if this has caused any unfounded excitement. One man heard that Bush was coming to town—he started a rumor that a major brewery was on it's way back here leaving St. Louis. [Laughter]

But Bob supports me when I need it, and that's one of the reasons I accepted with alacrity his invitation. You've heard some about his accomplishments tonight—moved quickly into the ranks of senior Senate leadership—part of our leadership team in the United States Senate. He stood solidly by my side at times that weren't so easy leading up to Operation Desert Storm. He was there. He never wavered. He saw what we had to do to kick aggression back. And he was steadfast in his support, and I'll always be grateful to him for that.

We had a little receiving line earlier, and I met two or three people that had been in Desert Storm—one, a member of the police department here; another who was at the dinner tonight. And I couldn't help but remember that Bob went to Egypt to visit Wisconsin's own 128th and 440th—reached out and told them that they had his support.

You know, he's carved out a niche as a top spokesman for economic growth, for environmental stewardship, for educational excellence that I mentioned, and for American international leadership, and, of course, for cheese. [Laughter]

A few months back, we held a meeting to discuss Soviet affairs in the Middle East. And we talked then about many of the issues that occupy the headlines these days: how to promote economic reform in the Soviet Union. And I must tell you I'm looking forward, if we can iron out these difficulties that remain on START—the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks—to meet with Mr. Gorbachev to talk further about reform in the Soviet Union. And this week we'll be receiving the newly-elected, first-elected head of the Russian Republic, Boris Yeltsin in Washington, DC, and I'm looking forward to that.

But as Bob and I wrestled with these weighty problems of international affairs—where we should go next in the Middle East

peace talks, how to verify the arms control agreements with the Soviets—it was a productive meeting, and I learned a lot. But every few minutes or so, Bob, who knew more about the subjects at hand than many of those that were around that table, would weave in a mention of dairy price supports for Wisconsin farmers. What I'm saying is, he knows who sent him there to Washington, and he's never forgotten it. And that's why I think he's going to be reelected, and reelected big. He gives a new meaning to the term "sacred cow," I might add. [Laughter]

We've reached an interesting point in this administration. And I think as you look back in this nation's history, our performance in the Gulf—and I say ours—I'm talking about the young men and women who were over there, their performance in Desert Storm. I'm talking about the superb job done by the military commanders there and in the Pentagon and by the leadership given by our Secretary Dick Cheney. Our performance demonstrated that America will do the right thing when duty calls. And they will help a country halfway around the world that's been overrun by a brutal dictator. And they will work with other nations to build an unbeatable consensus in an unconquerable military force.

And they will risk their finest sons and daughters all in defense of liberty. We haven't lost it. We found something special out of Desert Storm. Go with us, go with Barbara and me around this country. It's not politics. You go to places we couldn't get one vote if we tried. And the American people are out there with their flags and their enthusiasm and the rediscovery of who we are: a country that will stand up against aggression and win—and win promptly and win confidently.

And there was another lesson—there was another lesson out of this. We learned that the Presidency as an institution is charged to respond to such situations. The President has a unique responsibility to build the kind of national and international support that is necessary to build democracy and to defend liberty in cases that we saw halfway around the world.

But we've also learned that the kind of consensus is more difficult to build when it

comes to doing business at home. Do you remember right after Desert Storm ended, people were saying now if the President would take this newfound credibility that we all earned in the Gulf—that everybody did—and use it for domestic problems, that would be great. That would be wonderful.

Well, the American people want to take on economic problems, educational problems, environmental problems. And they want to fight crime. They want to improve race relations and fight against discrimination in the workplace and reshape, as Bob mentioned, the national defense and join the exciting economic cooperation and competition beyond our borders.

But if we really want to mount an all-out assault on these problems, we need more good people in the United States Senate, more dedicated people, more imaginative people, and we must return those that are doing the job for this country. And I'm talking about Bob Kasten for one.

Some of the Democrats' ideas to how we do this domestic Desert Storm is to do it their way. I wasn't elected to do it their way. I was elected to do it our way, the sensible way.

Working with this Senator, we proposed a comprehensive economic growth package. It holds the line on Federal spending. And a lot came out of that budget agreement—controversial though it was. It holds the line on taxes. It cuts the capital gains rate. It facilitates savings. And everybody involved in business knows that our country has terribly low savings rates. It makes it easier for poor and middle class Americans to become successful entrepreneurs, to take a risk to start something. Small business is the backbone of this country—employment and everything else—productivity and employment. And so we need more of it.

And I believe if we could get more Republicans, we'd do much better on the economic front. As it is now, I'm playing defense in the House; I'm playing defense in the Senate. Thank God we had 21 vetoes, and every single one of them was sustained. We've got to keep bad things from happening and then get more people so we can make good things happen in the Senate.

We're embarked, as I said, with credit to Lamar Alexander, on a nonpartisan or a bipartisan educational revolution that would

put power in the hands of people. It would let parents, not the bureaucrats, make the crucial choice of which schools their children should attend. And you in Wisconsin, and especially right here in Milwaukee, understand what I'm talking about because you led the way in terms of choice for this country.

I'm still very worried about our neighborhoods—those neighborhoods that can afford it the least are most afflicted by crime. And we've tried for more than 2 years to persuade Congress to pass a comprehensive anticrime package—one that protects police, protects citizens, helps the victims, and puts the dangerous criminals behind bars. And we've asked the Congress to adopt a modest transportation package to make it easier for commuters to travel from home to work and back without having to sit for hours in traffic.

We've created a strong civil rights package to strengthen our laws against those who discriminate. And specifically, our package seeks to eliminate discrimination in the workplace and it encourages all Americans to view civil rights as a shared commitment and goal rather than an invitation to litigation. And we need more good people in the Senate and the House to get these three initiatives moving and moving fast.

And we have done something that I think all Americans, regardless of party, wanted. They wanted to get this defense spending under control. And, yes, we've proposed restructuring our armed forces in a way that pares down our military, pares it down certainly as a percentage—in terms of spending as a percentage of our GNP and just real reductions, as well, in spending.

And we do this without reducing the readiness. But I need people to support that concept and not just come into the Congress with some meat ax without regard to whatever might come up in the future. Perhaps there would be another Desert Storm, and I want our forces to be able to respond, respond rapidly, go in, get the job done, and come out. And that's only going to be done if we have a program for defense that has reductions, but also keeps in mind the priorities that we must have established as we go through the last part of the nineties.

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I cite this because I think it's reasonable. I think we've got a good domestic program. I get sick and tired from hearing the Democrats out there crying that there's no domestic agenda. The problem is, they want their domestic agenda—the same old tired answers of the past—try to bring them into the future. And it's not going to work.

How many of these important bills do you think Congress has passed? You guessed it—zero—none. We are going to keep fighting for our domestic Desert Storm, for our domestic agenda. But we can't do it if we're fighting against these tired old characters out of the past who want to go back and say let the Federal Government solve all our problems. It's not going to work. It's failed in the past. We need new people in the Senate. And we need new people in the House. They're going to look at it just exactly that way.

And let me say this: You can't blame Bob for the failures up there. He has fought for economic growth. He drafted the reforms that ought to save us \$6 billion just in regulatory paperwork alone next year. And he's going to continue—that would continue to produce savings for years to come. He pushed for that capital gains reduction in spite of the demagogues saying this is a tax break for the rich. He pushed for it because he knew it would create more jobs. And he's pushed for pro-growth tax changes. And he stood with us in promoting a new progressivity in education. And he's helping us very much, as I said, in our 2000—the America 2000 strategy.

He supported our crime legislation. Compare his record with others, not just from Wisconsin, but others on the national scene like he is. He supported this. He supported better transportation for this State and for all of America. And he stood at our side on civil rights, trying to offer the extended hand of brotherhood and hope rather than divisive politics based on clashing claims, lawsuits, and quotas. Quotas is not the American way. We don't need that. We need fair play.

So, I ask you to look at the facts. Cut through the rhetoric, look at the facts, and see what our bill does and see what the other bill does.

I'm a little sick and tired of people saying we don't have a decent civil rights pro-

gram. We do. We've got a good record. And I'll be darned if I'm going to knuckle into a handful of people inside the beltway who say jump and then the Democrat Senators say how high. It's too late.

I don't have to remind you that after the Gulf war we asked Congress to pass just 2 bills out of all these I've mentioned in a hundred days—crime and transportation, and it didn't pass either. And I mentioned out there at the White House, if a hundred isn't enough, let's give them another hundred. But let's get something done for America and do it right.

So, economic growth, education, crime, transportation, civil rights, defense—Bob Kasten is fighting for all these things. And I need more like him.

So, the message is simply this—you know it: With your support and the support of others like you around the country, this administration won't have to rely on the veto as its weapon for improving legislation. It'll be able to look to a Congress ready, willing, and eager to serve the people. And Bob, let me just say you have my strong support. Let's do what it takes to win in 1992.

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

Note: The President spoke at 6:30 p.m. in the Milwaukee Exposition and Convention Center. In his opening remarks, he referred to Lamar Alexander, Secretary of Education, and John MacIver, attorney with Michael, Best, and Friderich in Milwaukee, WI. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Remarks at the Arrival Ceremony for President Fernando Collor de Mello of Brazil

June 18, 1991

President Bush. Good morning all, and welcome to the White House. It is my great honor to greet you, Mr. President: one of Latin America's most dynamic statesmen.

The U.S.-Brazilian friendship has spanned nearly two centuries. Now an alliance built on fidelity—to democracy, healthy mutual

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 17, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT FUNDRAISER FOR
SENATOR BOB KASTEN

Milwaukee Exposition and Convention Center and Arena
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

6:30 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Bob Kasten and Eva, great to be with you. I am so pleased to see an early supporter and great friend of mine who has certainly done a wonderful job in this state, and that is your outstanding Governor Tommy Thompson and his wife, Sue Ann. What a wonderful couple you have running this state. (Applause.)

And your Lieutenant Governor is with us, Scott McCallum; your State Treasurer Kate Zeuske. And, of course, I want to introduce somebody special with whom I've been traveling a great deal, a former governor who is now leading our country towards what we call America 2000, a renaissance -- a true renaissance -- in education and I mean Governor Lamar Alexander, who's standing right here. Lamar, please stand up. (Applause.)

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He gives a new meaning to the term "sacred cow," I might add. (Laughter.)

We've reached an interesting point in this administration. And I think as you look back in this nation's history, our performance in the Gulf -- and I say ours -- I'm talking about the young men and women who were over there, their performance in Desert Storm. I'm talking about the superb job done by the military commanders there and in the Pentagon and by the leadership given by our Secretary Dick Cheney. Our performance demonstrated that America will do the right thing when duty calls. And they will help a country halfway around the world that's been overrun by a brutal dictator. And they will work with other nations to build an unbeatable consensus in an unconquerable military force.

And they will risk their finest sons and daughters all in defense of liberty. We haven't lost it. We found something special out of Desert Storm. Go with us, go with Barbara and me around this country. It's not politics. You go to places we couldn't get one vote if we tried. And the American people are out there with their flags and their enthusiasm and the rediscovery of who we are -- a country that will stand up against aggression and win -- and win promptly and win confidently. (Applause.)

And there was another lesson -- there was another lesson out of this. We learned that the presidency as an institution is charged to respond to such situations. The President has a unique responsibility to build the kind of national and international support that is necessary to build democracy and to defend liberty in cases that we saw halfway around the world.

But we've also learned that the kind of consensus is more difficult to build when it comes to doing business at home. Do you remember right after Desert Storm ended, people were saying, now if the President would take this newfound credibility that we all earned in the Gulf -- that everybody did -- and use it for domestic

MORE

problems, that would be great. That would be wonderful.

Well, the American people want to take on economic problems, educational problems, environmental problems. And they want to fight crime. They want to improve race relations and fight against discrimination in the workplace and reshape, as Bob mentioned, the national defense and join the exciting economic cooperation and competition beyond our borders.

But if we really want to mount an all-out assault on these problems, we need more good people in the United States Senate, more dedicated people, more imaginative people, and we must return those that are doing the job for this country. And I'm talking about Bob Kasten for one. (Applause.)

'Some of the Democrats' ideas to how we do this domestic Desert Storm is to do it their way. I wasn't elected to do it their way. I was elected to do it our way, the sensible way. (Applause.)

Working with this Senator, we proposed a comprehensive economic growth package. It holds the line on federal spending. And a lot came out of that budget agreement -- controversial though it was. It holds the line on taxes. It cuts the capital gains rate. It facilitates savings. And everybody involved in business knows that our country has terribly low savings rates. It makes it easier for poor and middle class Americans to become successful entrepreneurs, to take a risk to start something. Small business is the backbone of this country. Employment and everything else -- productivity and employment. And so we need more of it.

And I believe if we could get more Republicans, we'd do much better on the economic front. As it is now, I'm playing defense in the House. I'm playing defense in the Senate. Thank God we had 21 vetoes, and every single one of them was sustained. We've got to keep bad things from happening and then get more people so we can make good things happen in the Senate. (Applause.)

We're embarked, as I said, with credit to Lamar Alexander, on a nonpartisan or a bipartisan educational revolution that would put power in the hands of people. It would let parents, not the bureaucrats, make the crucial choice of which schools their children should attend. And you in Wisconsin, and especially right here in Milwaukee, understand what I'm talking about because you led the way in terms of choice for this country. (Applause.)

I'm still very worried about our neighborhoods -- those neighborhoods that can afford it the least are most afflicted by crime. And we've tried for more than two years to persuade Congress to pass a comprehensive anticrime package -- one that protects police, protects citizens, helps the victims and puts the dangerous criminals behind bars. And we've asked the Congress to adopt a modest transportation package to make it easier for commuters to travel from home to work and back without having to sit for hours in traffic.

We've created a strong civil rights package to strengthen our laws against those who discriminate. And specifically, our package seeks to eliminate discrimination in the workplace and it encourages all Americans to view civil rights as a shared commitment and goal rather than an invitation to litigation. And we need more good people in the Senate and the House to get these three initiatives moving and moving fast. (Applause.)

And we have done something that I think all Americans, regardless of party, wanted. They wanted to get this defense spending under control. And, yes, we've proposed restructuring our armed forces in a way that pares down our military, pares it down certainly as a percentage -- in terms of spending as a percentage of our GNP and just real reductions, as well, in spending.

And we do this without reducing the readiness. But I need people to support that concept and not just come into the

MORE

Congress with some meat ax without regard to whatever might come up in the future. Perhaps there would be another Desert Storm, and I want our forces to be able to respond, respond rapidly, go in, get the job done and come out. And that's only going to be done if we have a program for defense that has reductions, but also keeps in mind the priorities that we must have established as we go through the last part of the '90s. (Applause.)

I cite this because I think it's reasonable. I think we've got a good domestic program. I get sick and tired from hearing the Democrats out there crying that there's no domestic agenda. The problem is, they want their domestic agenda -- the same old tired answers of the past -- try to bring them into the future. And it's not going to work.

How many of these important bills do you think Congress has passed? You guessed it -- zero -- none. We are going to keep fighting for our domestic Desert Storm, for our domestic agenda. But we can't do it if we're fighting against these tired old characters out of the past who want to go back and say let the federal government solve all our problems. It's not going to work. It's failed in the past. We need new people in the Senate. And we need new people in the House. They're going to look at it just exactly that way.

And let me say this: You can't blame Bob for the failures up there. He has fought for economic growth. He drafted the reforms that ought to save us \$6 billion just in regulatory paperwork alone next year. And he's going to continue -- that would continue to produce savings for years to come. He pushed for that capital gains reduction in spite of the demagogues saying this is a tax break for the rich. He pushed for it because he knew it would create more jobs. And he's pushed for pro-growth tax changes. And he stood with us in promoting a new progressivity in education. And he's helping us very much, as I said, in our 2000 -- the America 2000 strategy.

He supported our crime legislation. Compare his record with others, not just from Wisconsin, but others on the national scene like he is. He supported this. He supported better transportation for this state and for all of America. And he stood at our side on civil rights, trying to offer the extended hand of brotherhood and hope rather than divisive politics based on clashing claims, lawsuits and quotas. Quotas is not the American way. We don't need that. We need fair play. (Applause.)

So I ask you to look at the facts. Cut through the rhetoric, look at the facts and see what our bill does and see what the other bill does.

I'm a little sick and tired of people saying we don't have a decent civil rights program. We do. We've got a good record. And I'll be darned if I'm going to knuckle into a handful of people inside the Beltway who say jump and then the Democrat senators say how high. It's too late. (Applause.)

I don't have to remind you that after the Gulf war we asked Congress to pass just two bills out of all these I've mentioned in a hundred days, crime and transportation, and it didn't pass either. And I mentioned out there at the White House, if a hundred isn't enough, let's give them another hundred. But let's get something done for America and do it right. (Applause.)

So economic growth, education, crime, transportation, civil rights, defense -- Bob Kasten is fighting for all these things. And I need more like him.

So the message is simply this -- you know it: With your support and the support of others like you around the country, this administration won't have to rely on the veto as its weapon for improving legislation. It'll be able to look to a Congress ready, willing and eager to serve the people. And, Bob, let me just say you

MORE

have my strong support. Let's do what it takes to win in 1992.

Thank you all very much. Godspeed to all of you, and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much.
(Applause.)

END

6:48 P.M. CDT

91 JUN 11 PM 7:51

Snow/Grossman
Kasten
Draft One
June 11, 1991
7 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: FUNDRAISER FOR SEN. BOB KASTEN
MECCA CONVENTION CENTER
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN
June 17, 1991
(Time TBD)

[Milwaukee Staff Office]

(414) 272 7737 Milwaukee Switchboard

Leo
Branden Shultz

Introductory acknowledgments/ Thank you Sen Kasten.
Miss Kasten, it's nice to
[[Four months after the war's end, little did I think I'd see
find myself in Mecca.//]]

[[And I'm sorry if this trip causes any unfounded
excitement. Apparently when someone heard that Bush was coming
to town, he thought it meant that a major brewery was leaving St.
Louis.//]]

It's a pleasure to join you here today in supporting someone
who supports me when I need it: Sen. Bob Kasten.

Everyone here knows about Bob's accomplishments: His peers
have voted him one of the most effective senators in his class.
He has moved quickly into the ranks of senior Senate leadership.
He has carved out a niche as a top spokesman for economic growth,
for environmental stewardship, for educational excellence, for
American international leadership [[and, of course, for
cheese.//]].

A few months back, we held a meeting to discuss Soviet
affairs and the Middle East. We talked then about many

Andy
Foster
6510

Steph
Daly
224-5323

issues that occupy the headlines these days: How to promote economic reform in the Soviet Union; how to verify arms agreements with the Soviets; where we should go next in Middle East affairs, and so on. It was a productive meeting. But every few minutes or so, Bob --- who knew more about many of the other topics than most of the people around that table --- would insist on talking about dairy price supports for Wisconsin farmers. So if anyone has any doubts about Bob's commitment to his home state or his constituents, take it from me: You couldn't have a more persistent advocate.// [[Bob gives new meaning to the term, "sacred cow."]]

We've reached an interesting point in this Administration, and in this nation's history. Our performance in the Persian Gulf demonstrated that Americans will do the right thing when duty calls. They will help a country overrun by a brutal dictator. They will work with other nations to build an unbeatable consensus and an unconquerable military force. They will risk their finest sons and daughters in support of liberty.//

We learned that the presidency as an institution lends itself to dealing with such situations. Only the president can build the kind of national and international support necessary to build democracy and defend liberty in cases like Kuwait's. But we've also learned that you can't get that kind of consensus when it comes to doing business at home.

Jim Sims
Sen. Kasten's off
says "it's
perfect!" Sen.
Kasten loves
stuff like that.

The American people want to take on economic problems, educational problems, environmental problems. They want to fight crime, improve race relations, reshape their national defense, and join the increasingly competitive world beyond our borders. Unfortunately, they can't get help from Capitol Hill. Day after day, nothing happens in Washington. Nothing happens because we don't have enough public servants like Bob Kasten -- people who want to do the people's business.

Our Administration has proposed a comprehensive economic growth package. It holds the line on federal spending and taxes. It cuts the capital gains rate -- and thus makes it easier for poor and middle-class Americans to become successful entrepreneurs.

We have proposed an education revolution that would put power in people's hands. It would let parents, and not bureaucrats, choose schools for children. You in Wisconsin -- and especially Milwaukee -- understand what I'm talking about. You led the way.

We have tried for more than two years to persuade Congress to pass a comprehensive crime package -- one that protects police, protects citizens, helps victims -- and puts dangerous criminals behind bars.

We have asked Congress to adopt some modest transportation reforms -- the sort that might make it easier for a suburban commuter to travel from home to work and back without having to sit for hours in stagnant traffic.

We have tried to craft a civil rights package that punishes -- punishes severely -- those who discriminate against others on the basis of race, sex, nation origin, creed -- or anything else unrelated to work ability. Our package encourages all Americans to view civil rights as a shared commitment and goal -- rather than a potential threat or an invitation to litigation.

We have proposed defense reforms that pare down our military without reducing our preparedness.

This seems reasonable enough. But how many of these important bills do you think Congress has passed?

You guessed it: Zero. None. Nada. Zip. Zilch.

You can't blame Bob for this record.

Bob has fought for economic growth. He drafted reforms that ought to save us \$6 billion in regulatory paperwork next year. He pushed for capital gains reductions and pro-growth tax changes.

Bob has stood with us in promoting a new progressivism in education -- the America 2000 strategy.

~~Bob has supported our crime legislation.~~

~~Bob Kasten has worked with us to promote transportation reform.~~

Bob Kasten has stood at our side on civil rights, trying to build a politics of the extended hand -- a politics of harmony -- rather than a divisive politics of the raised fist. No matter what our opponents say, that's what our bill seeks to accomplish -- and that's what it will do, with your help.

*Andy
or
Steve*

And Bob has fought for sound national defense.

The point is simple. Our Administration has an agenda, but it also has a problem. The agenda of some people in Washington is to do nothing -- and right now, their side has the votes in Congress.

Legis Affairs
Beckley
Anderson
After the Gulf War, I asked Congress to pass two bills in 100 days: crime and transportation. It didn't pass either.

We can do better than that. We need a team that will listen to America. In Washington, we need a team that will do the right thing -- instead of the fashionable nothing. We need a team that will pass sensible legislation:

On economic growth // On education // On crime // On transportation // On civil rights // On defense.

Bob Kasten is fighting for all these things, and I need more like him. With your support, and the support of others like you around the country, this Administration won't have to rely on the veto as its weapon for improving legislation. It will be able to look to a Congress ready, willing and eager to serve the people.

Bob, you've got my support. Let's do what it takes to win in 1992!

Thank you. Godspeed to you. And God Bless the United States of America.

#

June 11, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: KASTEN FUNDRAISER

COMMENTS ON DRAFT

- 1) Anti-Congress theme: re. list of the naughty things Congress has done in first 100 days -- both Becky Anderson and Jim Dyer of Legislative Affairs have raised legitimate concerns. First of all, there hasn't been that much time for them to pass much of anything. Moreover, silly things, like National Tissue Donors Month, are things that POTUS has signed (they're ceremonial, don't cost money, no skin off our backs -- so to speak). In general, they cautioned Congress-bashing at a senatorial fundraiser walks a perilous line. Kasten may be part of the problem. I think you avoid this to an extent with the "we need more public servants like Bob" approach.
- 2) You make some good points, but I think you could use a little poetry in places -- make them resonant, memorable, quotable. I've added a few feeble suggestions here and there.
- 3) ****Page three and the top half of four seems to repeat itself in the bottom half of four, page five and the first graph of six: in the former you list the issues we'd like to see acted upon, in the latter you list the same issues conditioned by Bob's help on them. Isn't there some way to better integrate these two sections?

KASTEN ANECDOTES

Anecdotes are always key in these kinds of events. We've already the one in which the senator chews the cud at the meeting with POTUS. Kasten's people apparently would like us to use something that alludes to his family values. Here's what they've got so far:

- 1) I've heard that Bob's three year old daughter likes to share her parents bed at night. She'll get up in the middle of the night and try to get into bed on Mom's side. When Mom puts her back to bed, she'll get up and try to get into bed on Dad's side. \ Nora's obviously a very determined little girl. Those who have seen Bob go after his goals know that Nora is a girl after her father's heart.

- 2) In an effort both do his work in D.C., and keep in touch with the needs of his constituency in Wisconsin, the Kasten family finds itself constantly traveling -- a disorienting way of life for little Nora. For instance, when the littlest Kasten turned three, she had to have two birthday parties, an early one for her friends in Washington, and one on her birthday in Wisconsin. When her parents awakened her on the latter, she gave them a strange look and asked, "Am I already four?"

MECCA

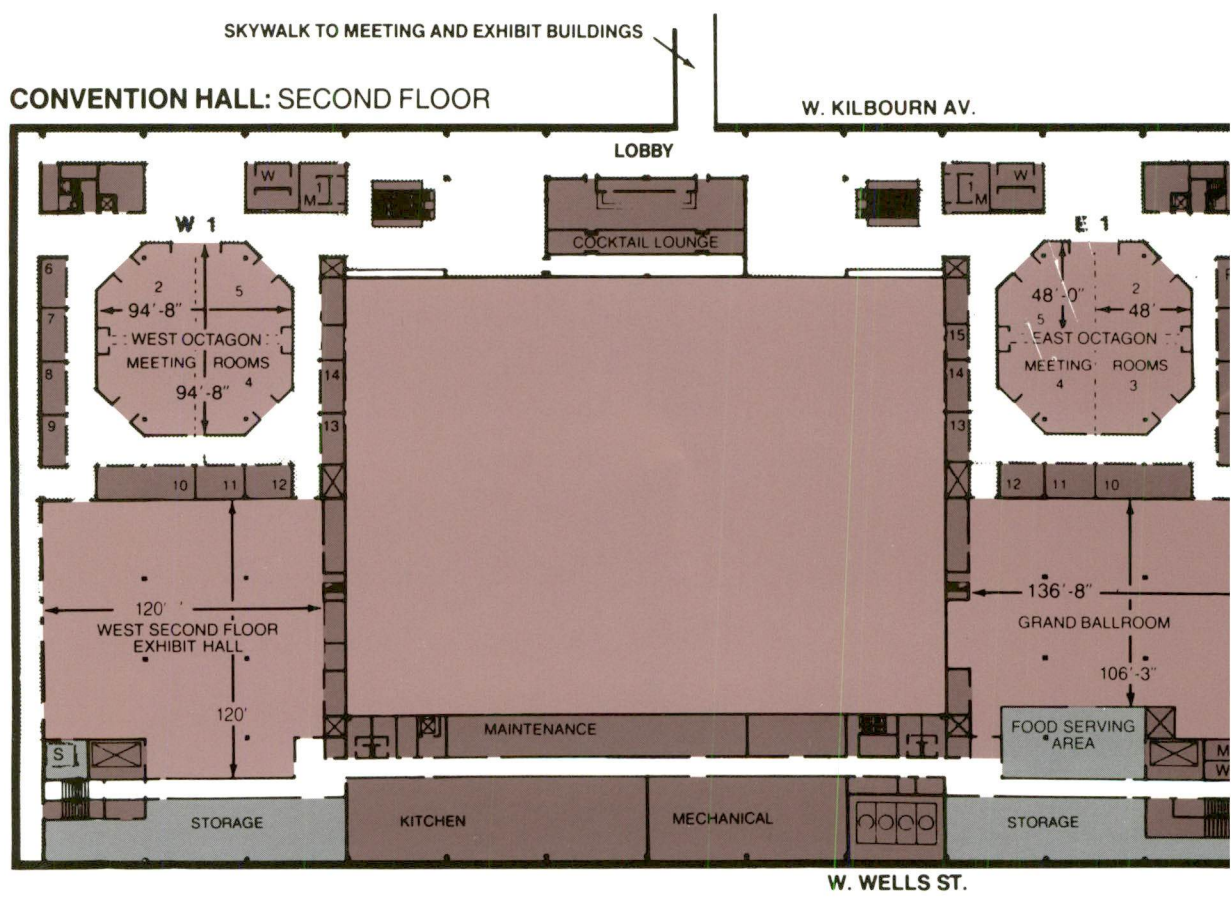
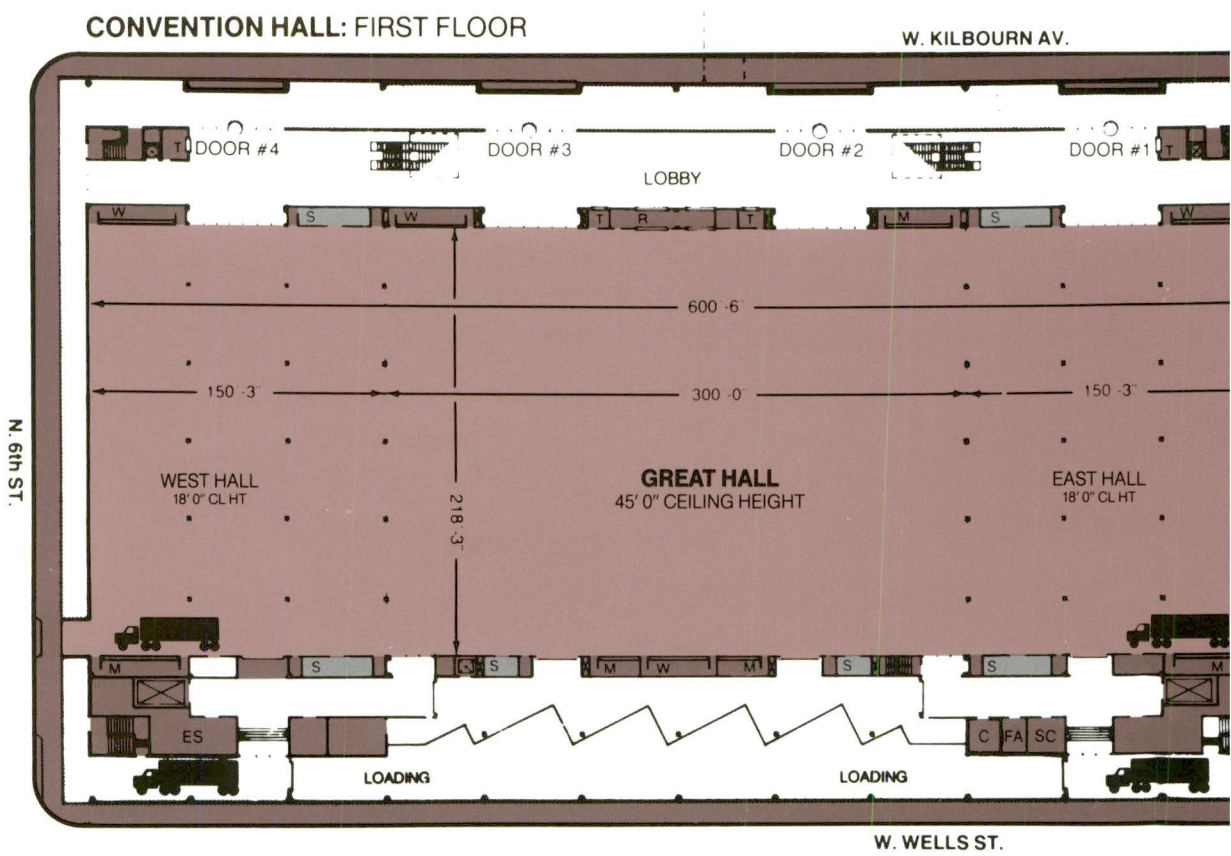
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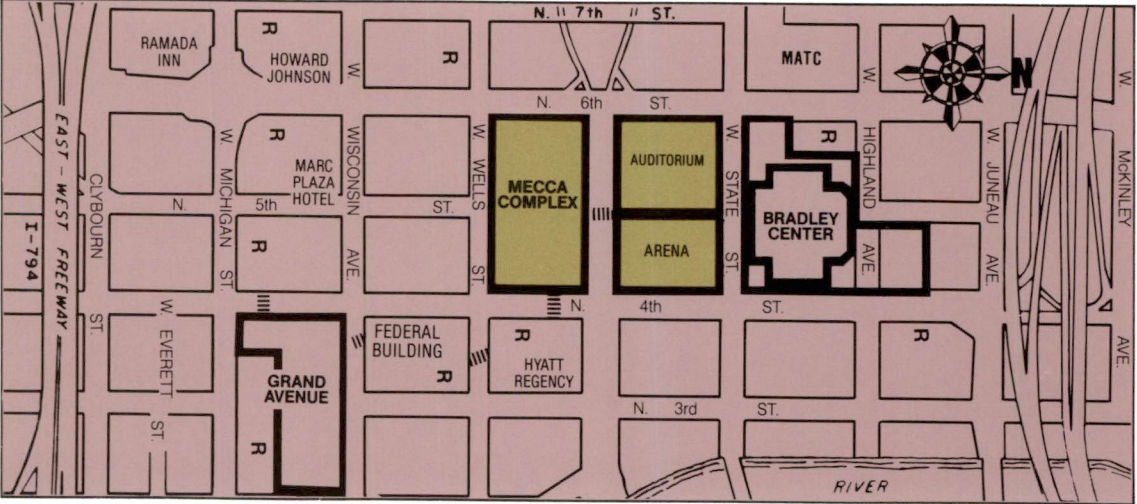
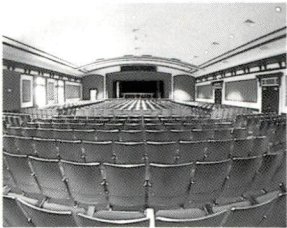
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SPECIFICATIONS



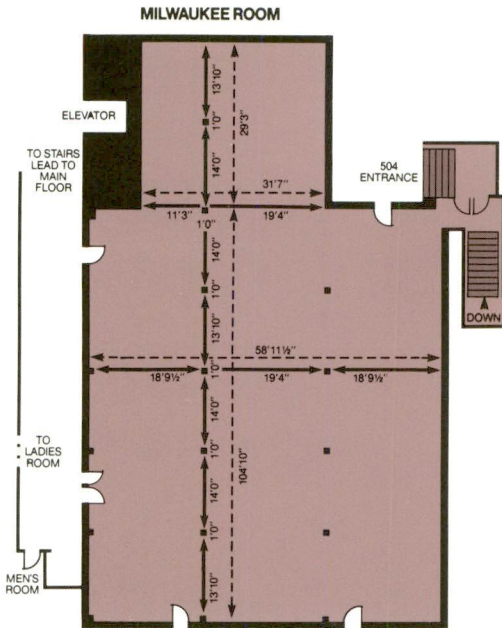
A GREAT PLACE TO DO BUSINESS



Our first-class accommodations provide convenience and comfort to our visitors. A wide choice of major hotels are located in close proximity to MECCA.

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Which goes a long way to explaining why people who want to do business put Milwaukee and MECCA first.



CONVENTION HALL SPECIFICATIONS

First Floor

Exhibit Areas & Ceiling Heights: Total 132,000 sq. ft., Great Hall 66,000 sq. ft. — 45' clear ht. ceiling. East Hall 33,000 sq. ft. — 18' ceiling. Columns 40' x 50' apart. West Hall 33,000 sq. ft. — 18' ceiling. Columns 40' x 50' apart.

Utilities Available: gas, electric, water, drain, air, telephone.

Lighting: 100 foot candle average 30" above floor.

Current available: 120/208 in floor — 277/480 overhead.

Floor Load: Unlimited

Floor Surface: concrete.

Freight Door Dimensions & Truck Dock Positions: 9 enclosed loading docks; 2 semi-trailer entrances into exhibit area, all with 16' x 18' entrances.

Second Floor

Meeting Room Capacities: 27 meeting rooms with capacities for 35 to 800 people.

Exhibit Room Capacities: 4 rooms consisting of halls and 2 Octagon rooms for a combined total of 45,000 sq. ft.

Floor Load: 100 lbs. per sq. ft.

Food Service: Full meal service, banquets, snack bars available on both floors.

Cocktail Lounge: Permanent lounge; full range of beverage and food service available.

Sound Systems: Zone controlled, multi-speaker.

Elevators: 2 freight — 12' x 24' x 10' with 45,000 lb. cap; 1 service — 8' x 10' x 10' with 10,000 lb. cap.; 2 passenger.

Escalators: 4.

Banquet Facilities: First Floor — 7000 persons served in first floor area. Second Floor — 500 persons served in each of 2 Octagon rooms. 1100 in Grand Ballroom and 1100 in West Exhibit Area.

Parking Facilities: Parking spaces for 13,000 cars within a 4-block radius.

MEETING & EXHIBIT HALL BUILDING TWO

Bruce Hall: 20,860 sq. ft., 65' ceiling.

Full Stage: 3,086 sq. ft. (68' x 48').

Maximum Seating Capacity: 6,120, completely climate controlled.

Juneau Hall: 5,400 sq. ft., built-in stage 12' x 20'.

Kilbourn Hall: 5,520 sq. ft.

Walker Hall: 2,394 sq. ft.

Kilbourn & Walker Hall combined: 7,914 sq. ft.

Milwaukee Room: 5,340 sq. ft., carpeted.

Plankinton Theatre: 896 permanent seats; full stage — 31' x 25'.

MEETING & EXHIBIT HALL BUILDING ONE

Main Floor: 24,500 sq. ft. to 22,582 sq. ft.

Load Capacity: Unlimited.

Exhibit Hall: 17,340 sq. ft. Features state-of-the-art tradeshow lighting. Utilities available — gas, electric, water, drain. Ceiling Height — 10'6". Main Floor and Exhibit Hall combined — 41,840 sq. ft.

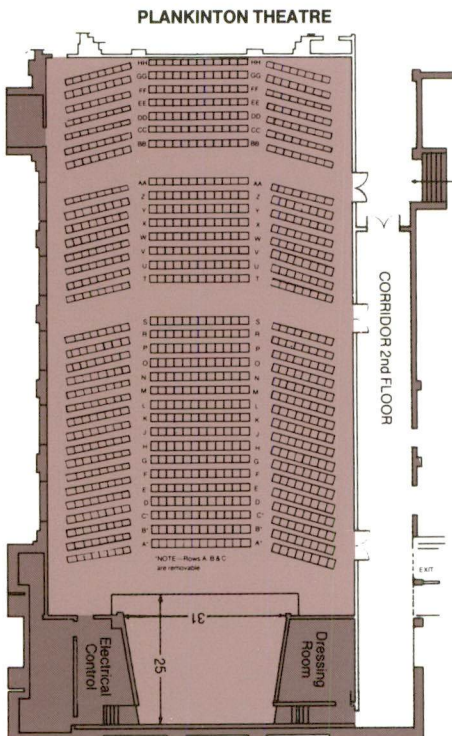
Ceiling Heights: 95' max.

Total Seating: 12,000.

Permanent Seating: 9,000.

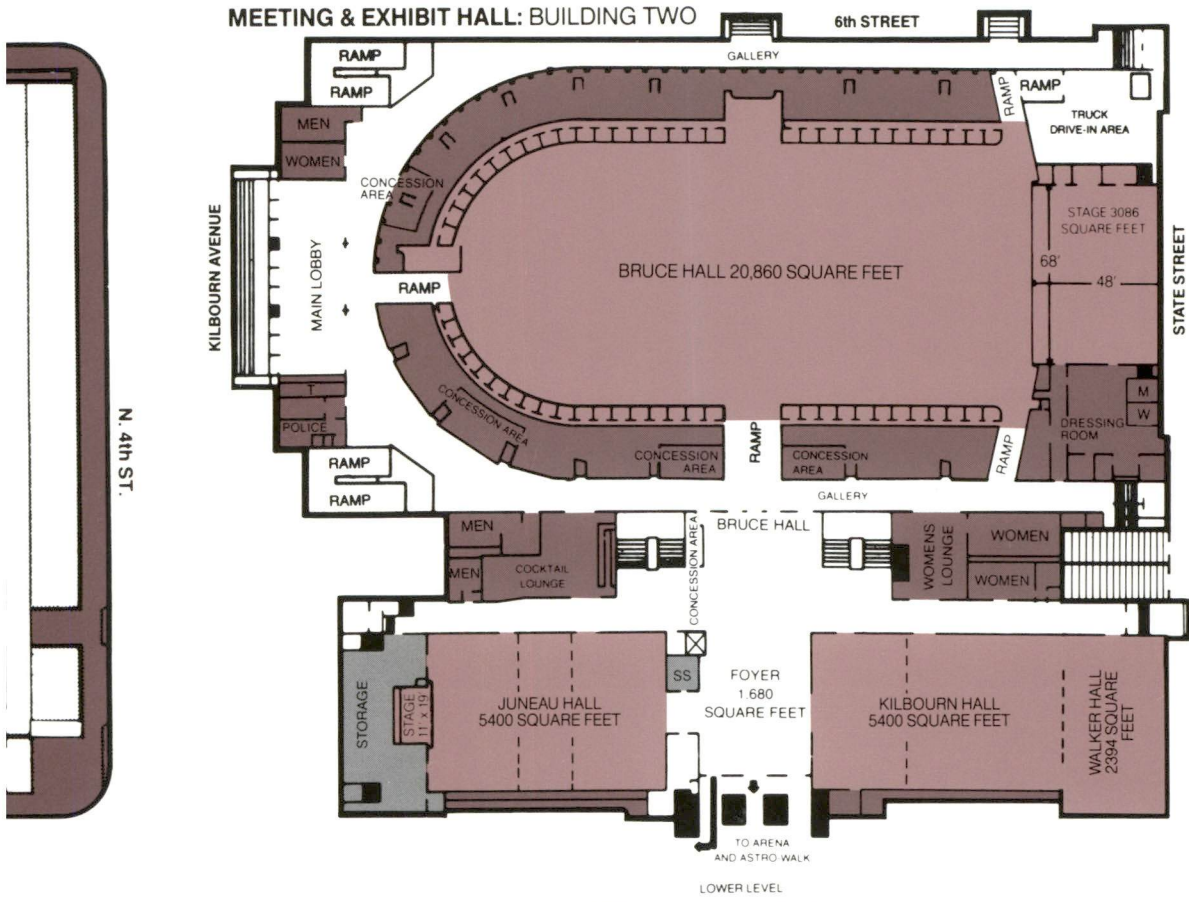
Completely climate controlled.

Most halls divide to accommodate smaller groups.

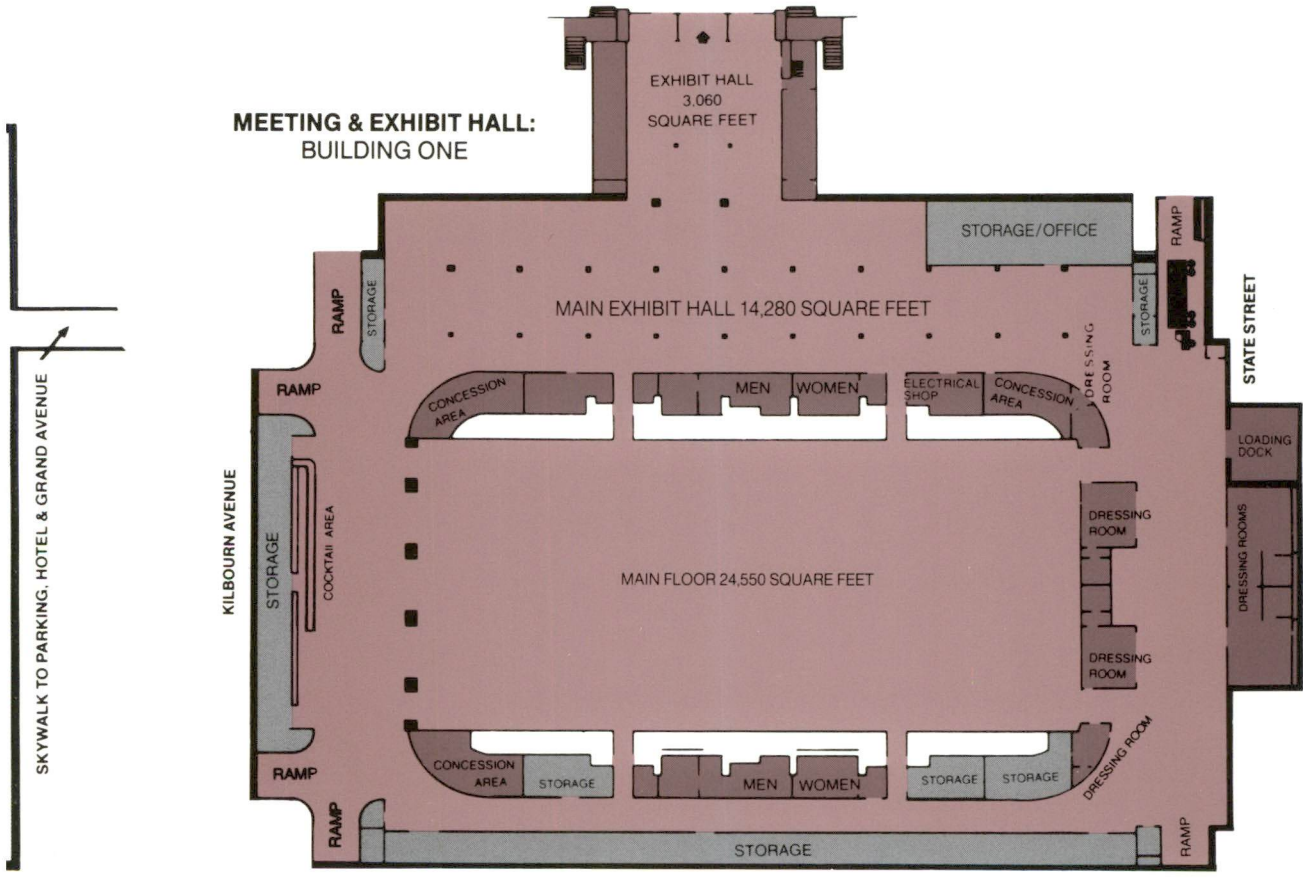


Address inquiries to: MECCA, Milwaukee Exposition & Convention Center & Arena, Robert O. Ertl, President, 500 West Kilbourn Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203. Telephone 414-271-4000.

MEETING & EXHIBIT HALL: BUILDING TWO



MEETING & EXHIBIT HALL: BUILDING ONE



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Milwaukee and MECCA are great places to do business. We offer everything you need for a successful gathering.

Convenient, spacious convention facilities. Restaurants with a variety of ethnic and continental cuisine to satisfy even the most demanding connoisseur's palate. A warm, friendly environment. And value that lets you stretch your event dollars. In short, a quality of life that other cities have lost and wish they could recapture.

All of this and more awaits you in Milwaukee. Our convention and meeting facilities are second to none. We have the flexibility to handle everything from a large national convention to a wedding reception. From a three-ring circus to an intimate party. No matter what your event and space requirements, you can be sure that the professional staff at MECCA will deliver. We've proven it thousands of times over the years. Maybe that's why customers keep coming back year after year.

Milwaukee is world renowned as the City of Festivals. ICEBREAKER, America's Winter Festival, cures cabin fever in the winter with a variety of indoor and outdoor activities.

Milwaukee's famous Summerfest kicks off a dynamic calendar of warm weather activi-

ties and ethnic festivals. From the Lakefront Festival of the Arts in early Summer to Holiday Folk Fair in Fall, visitors to Milwaukee will never want for excitement and variety.

Lake Michigan offers Milwaukee's residents and visitors fishing, swimming and boating on one of America's beautiful bodies of freshwater. An extensive park system, one of the city's most valuable resources, includes a nationally famous zoo and botanical garden.

The Grand Avenue Mall, located on Wisconsin Avenue, offers visitors a veritable feast of department stores, specialty shops and eateries, all connected to the downtown by a growing network of all-weather sky-walks.

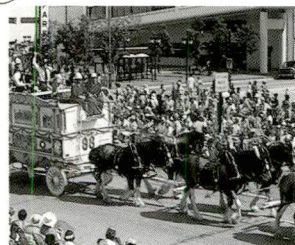
The scope of arts and cultural activities available in Milwaukee will surprise you. A host of theatre groups is highlighted by the Milwaukee Repertory Theatre located in the new Milwaukee Center. A nationally recognized symphony, museum and art

center. And nightlife that offers everything from comedy to the Milwaukee Ballet to nationally touring headliners.



A Warm Welcome To Milwaukee.
Mayor John O. Norquist

A stylized, handwritten signature of John O. Norquist in dark ink.



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WH

THE WRITINGS OF
Theodore Roosevelt

edited by
WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH
University of Virginia



THE AMERICAN HERITAGE SERIES

Under the General Editorship of
LEONARD W. LEVY AND ALFRED YOUNG

THE BOBBS-MERRILL COMPANY, INC.
INDIANAPOLIS *and* NEW YORK

on behalf no less of the honest man of means than of the honest man who earns each day's livelihood by that day's sweat of his brow, it is necessary to insist upon honesty in business and politics alike, in all walks of life, in big things and in little things; upon just and fair dealing as between man and man. We are striving for the right in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln when he said:

Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge [of war] may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in.

17. • THE INADEQUACY OF THE SHERMAN ANTI-TRUST LAW

Debate over the most effective means to control the trusts continued through the administration of William Howard Taft and reached a crescendo during the presidential campaign of 1912. Taft, Woodrow Wilson, and probably a majority of Progressive Party leaders from the Middle West favored dissolution. But Roosevelt held to the regulatory position he had consistently occupied. To the distress of the Midwesterners, who incorrectly believed he had been mesmerized by the Morgan partner, George W. Perkins,

From Roosevelt's address to the Progressive Party National Convention in Chicago, August 6, 1912. *New York Times*, August 7, 1912, pp. 8-9.

he vigorously attacked dissolution and defended regulation in his moving address, "A Confession of Faith," to the 1912 national convention of the Progressive Party.

Again and again while I was President, from 1902 to 1908, I pointed out that under the antitrust law alone it was neither possible to put a stop to business abuses nor possible to secure the highest efficiency in the service rendered by business to the general public. The antitrust law must be kept on our statute-books, and, as hereafter shown, must be rendered more effective in the cases where it is applied. But to treat the antitrust law as an adequate, or as by itself a wise, measure of relief and betterment is a sign not of progress, but of Toryism and reaction. It has been of benefit so far as it has implied the recognition of a real and great evil, and the at least sporadic application of the principle that all men alike must obey the law. But as a sole remedy, universally applicable, it has in actual practice completely broken down; as now applied it works more mischief than benefit. It represents the waste of effort—always damaging to a community—which arises from the attempt to meet new conditions by the application of outworn remedies instead of fearlessly and in common-sense fashion facing the new conditions and devising the new remedies which alone can work effectively for good. The antitrust law, if interpreted as the Baltimore platform demands it shall be interpreted, would apply to every agency by which not merely industrial but agricultural business is carried on in this country; under such an interpretation it ought in theory to be applied universally, in which case practically all industries would stop; as a matter of fact, it is utterly out of the question to enforce it universally; and when enforced sporadically, it causes continual unrest, puts the country at a disadvantage with its trade competitors in international commerce, hopelessly puzzles honest business men and honest farmers as to

what their rights are, and yet, as has just been shown in the cases of the Standard Oil and the Tobacco Trusts, it is no real check on the great trusts at which it was in theory aimed, and indeed operates to their benefit. Moreover, if we are to compete with other nations in the markets of the world as well as to develop our own material civilization at home, we must utilize those forms of industrial organization that are indispensable to the highest industrial productivity and efficiency.

An important volume entitled "Concentration and Control" has just been issued by President Charles R. Van Hise, of the University of Wisconsin. The University of Wisconsin has been more influential than any other agency in making Wisconsin what it has become, a laboratory for wise social and industrial experiment in the betterment of conditions. President Van Hise is one of those thoroughgoing but sane and intelligent radicals from whom much of leadership is to be expected in such a matter. The subtitle of his book shows that his endeavor is to turn the attention of his countrymen toward practically solving the trust problem of the United States. In his preface he states that his aim is to suggest a way to gain the economic advantages of the concentration of industry and at the same time to guard the interests of the public, and to assist in the rule of enlightenment, reason, fair play, mutual consideration, and toleration. In sum, he shows that unrestrained competition as an economic principle has become too destructive to be permitted to exist and that the small men must be allowed to co-operate under penalty of succumbing before their big competitors; and yet such co-operation, vitally necessary to the small man, is criminal under the present law. . . .

. . . In his main thesis President Van Hise is unquestionably right. The Democratic platform offers nothing in the way of remedy for present industrial conditions except, first, the enforcement of the antitrust law in a fashion which, if words mean anything, means bringing business to a standstill; and, second, the insistence upon an archaic construction of the

States'-rights doctrine in thus dealing with interstate commerce—an insistence which, in the first place, is the most flagrant possible violation of the Constitution to which the members of the Baltimore Convention assert their devotion, and which, in the next place, nullifies and makes an empty pretense of their first statement. The proposals of the platform are so conflicting and so absurd that it is hard to imagine how any attempt could be made in good faith to carry them out; but, if such attempt were sincerely made, it could only produce industrial chaos. Were such an attempt made, every man who acts honestly would have something to fear, and yet no great adroit criminal able to command the advice of the best corporation lawyers would have much to fear.

What is needed is action directly the reverse of that thus confusedly indicated. We Progressives stand for the rights of the people. When these rights can best be secured by insistence upon States' rights, then we are for States' rights; when they can best be secured by insistence upon national rights, then we are for national rights. Interstate commerce can be effectively controlled only by the nation. The States cannot control it under the Constitution, and to amend the Constitution by giving them control of it would amount to a dissolution of the government. The worst of the big trusts have always endeavored to keep alive the feeling in favor of having the States themselves, and not the nation, attempt to do this work, because they know that in the long run such effort would be ineffective. There is no surer way to prevent all successful effort to deal with the trusts than to insist that they be dealt with by the States rather than by the nation, or to create a conflict between the States and the nation on the subject. The well-meaning ignorant man who advances such a proposition does as much damage as if he were hired by the trusts themselves, for he is playing the game of every big crooked corporation in the country. The only effective way in which to regulate the trusts is through the exercise of the collective power of

And here I have got to make one comparison between Mr. Wilson and myself, simply because he has invited it and I cannot shrink from it. Mr. Wilson has seen fit to attack me, to say that I did not do much against the trusts when I was President. I have got two answers to make to that. In the first place what I did, and then I want to compare what I did while I was President with what Mr. Wilson did not do while he was governor.

When I took office the antitrust law was practically a dead letter and the interstate commerce law in as poor a condition. I had to revive both laws. I did. I enforced both. It will be easy enough to do now what I did then, but the reason that it is easy now is because I did it when it was hard.

Nobody was doing anything. I found speedily that the interstate commerce law by being made more perfect could be made a most useful instrument for helping solve some of our industrial problems. So with the antitrust law. I speedily found that almost the only positive good achieved by such a successful lawsuit as the Northern Securities suit, for instance, was in establishing the principle that the government was supreme over the big corporation, but that by itself that law did not accomplish any of the things that we ought to have accomplished; and so I began to fight for the amendment of the law along the lines of the interstate commerce law, and now we propose, we Progressives, to establish an interstate commission having the same power over industrial concerns that the Interstate Commerce Commission has over railroads, so that whenever there is in the future a decision rendered in such important matters as the recent suits against the Standard Oil, the Sugar—no, not that—Tobacco—Tobacco Trust—we will have a commission which will see that the decree of the court is really made effective; that it is not made a merely nominal decree.

Our opponents have said that we intend to legalize monopoly. Nonsense. They have legalized monopoly. At this moment

the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trust monopolies are legalized; they are being carried on under the decree of the Supreme Court. Our proposal is really to break up monopoly. Our proposal is to lay down certain requirements, and then require the commerce commission—the industrial commission—to see that the trusts live up to those requirements. Our opponents have spoken as if we were going to let the commission declare what the requirements should be. Not at all. We are going to put the requirements in the law and then see that the commission requires them to obey the law.

And now, friends, as Mr. Wilson has invited the comparison, I only want to say this: Mr. Wilson has said that the States are the proper authorities to deal with the trusts. Well, about eighty per cent of the trusts are organized in New Jersey. The Standard Oil, the Tobacco, the Sugar, the Beef, all those trusts are organized in New Jersey and the laws of New Jersey say that their charters can at any time be amended or repealed if they misbehave themselves and give the government ample power to act about those laws, and Mr. Wilson has been governor a year and nine months and he has not opened his lips. The chapter describing what Mr. Wilson has done about the trusts in New Jersey would read precisely like a chapter describing the snakes in Ireland, which ran: "There are no snakes in Ireland." Mr. Wilson has done precisely and exactly nothing about the trusts.

I tell you, and I told you at the beginning, I do not say anything on the stump that I do not believe. I do not say anything I do not know. Let any of Mr. Wilson's friends on Tuesday point out one thing or let Mr. Wilson point out one thing he has done about the trusts as governor of New Jersey.

And now, friends, there is one thing I want to say especially to you people here in Wisconsin. All that I have said so far is what I would say in any part of this Union. I have a peculiar right to ask that in this great contest you men and women of Wisconsin shall stand with us. You have taken the lead in pro-

gressive movements here in Wisconsin. You have taught the rest of us to look to you for inspiration and leadership. Now, friends, you have made that movement here locally. You will be doing a dreadful injustice to yourselves; you will be doing a dreadful injustice to the rest of us throughout the Union, if you fail to stand with us now that we are making this national movement. What I am about to say now I want you to understand. If I speak of Mr. Wilson I speak with no mind of bitterness. I merely want to discuss the difference of policy between the Progressive and the Democratic party and to ask you to think for yourselves which party you will follow. I will say that, friends, because the Republican party is beaten. Nobody needs to have any idea that anything can be done with the Republican party.

When the Republican party—not the Republican party—when the bosses in the control of the Republican party, the Barneses and Penroses, last June stole the nomination and wrecked the Republican party for good and all—I want to point out to you nominally they stole that nomination from me, but really it was from you. They did not like me, and the longer they live the less cause they will have to like me. But while they do not like me, they dread you. You are the people that they dread. They dread the people themselves, and those bosses and the big special interests behind them made up their mind that they would rather see the Republican party wrecked than see it come under the control of the people themselves. So I am not dealing with the Republican party. There are only two ways you can vote this year. You can be progressive or reactionary. Whether you vote Republican or Democratic it does not make any difference, you are voting reactionary.

Now, the Democratic party in its platform and through the utterances of Mr. Wilson has distinctly committed itself to the old flintlock, muzzle-loaded doctrine of States' rights, and I have said distinctly that we are for the people's rights. We are for the rights of the people. If they can be obtained best through the National Government, then we are for national

rights. We are for the people's rights however it is necessary to secure them.

Mr. Wilson has made a long essay against Senator Beveridge's bill to abolish child labor. It is the same kind of an argument that would be made against our bill to prohibit women from working more than eight hours a day in industry. It is the same kind of argument that would have to be made; if it is true, it would apply equally against our proposal to insist that in continuous industries there shall be by law one day's rest in seven and a three-shift eight-hour day. You have labor laws here in Wisconsin, and any chamber of commerce will tell you that because of that fact there are industries that will not come into Wisconsin. They prefer to stay outside where they can work children of tender years, where they can work women fourteen and sixteen hours a day, where, if it is a continuous industry, they can work men twelve hours a day and seven days a week.

Now, friends, I know that you of Wisconsin would never repeal those laws even if they are to your commercial hurt, just as I am trying to get New York to adopt such laws even though it will be to New York's commercial hurt. But if possible I want to arrange it so that we can have justice without commercial hurt, and you can only get that if you have justice enforced nationally. You won't be burdened in Wisconsin with industries not coming to the State if the same good laws are extended all over the other States. Do you see what I mean? The States all compete in a common market; and it is not justice to the employers of a State that has enforced just and proper laws to have them exposed to the competition of another State where no such laws are enforced. Now, the Democratic platform, and their speakers, declare that we shall not have such laws. Mr. Wilson has distinctly declared that you shall not have a national law to prohibit the labor of children, to prohibit child labor. He has distinctly declared that we shall not have a law to establish a minimum wage for women.

I ask you to look at our declaration and hear and read our

platform about social and industrial justice and then, friends, vote for the Progressive ticket without regard to me, without regard to my personality, for only by voting for that platform can you be true to the cause of progress throughout this Union.

60. • "TWO NOTEWORTHY BOOKS ON DEMOCRACY"

The outbreak of World War I, coupled with the failure of the Bull Moosers to establish themselves in the Congressional elections of 1914, caused Roosevelt to lose interest in the Progressive Party as a political organization. Nevertheless, his commitment to progressive ideology continued. Here he endorses new books by two of the progressive movement's foremost intellectuals, Herbert Croly and Walter Lippmann, both of whom had been profoundly influenced by his own presidential policies. He is especially impressed by Croly's brief for moderate collectivism and a strong executive, and by Lippmann's case for vigorous labor unions and constructive revision of the anti-trust laws. What is most significant about the review, however, is Roosevelt's sharp assertion that reformers must recognize the need for, and adjust their programs to, economic productivity.

There are books of which it is impossible to make an epitome, and which therefore it is impossible to review save in the way of calling attention to their excellence. Bryce's "American Commonwealth," Lowell's "Study of Representative Government in Europe," Thayer's "Study of Cavour," illustrate what is meant by this statement. Two new volumes, "Progressive

A review of Herbert Croly's *Progressive Democracy* (1914) and Walter Lippmann's *Drift and Mastery* (1914). *The Outlook*, CVIII (November 18, 1914), 648-51.

Democracy," by Herbert Croly, and "Drift and Mastery," by Walter Lippmann, come in this category. No man who wishes seriously to study our present social, industrial, and political life with the view of guiding his thought and action so as to work for national betterment in the future can afford not to read these books through and through and to ponder and digest them. They worthily carry forward the argument contained in the authors' previous works—"The Promise of American Life," by Mr. Croly, and "A Preface to Politics," by Mr. Lippmann.

Both of these writers stand foremost among those of our thinkers who recognize the grave abuses of our present system and the need of breaking the shackles which the interested beneficiaries and the disinterested but fanatical devotees of the past would impose upon us. Both thoroughly realize the absolute need that we shall move forward toward a definite goal unless we are willing to see misfortune come to our people. But each is as far as possible from those unwise reformers who denounce everything that smacks of the past as vicious, and who consider all change of any kind as in itself beneficial. Both of them—and Mr. Lippmann especially so—are believers in a great increase in the application of the principle of collective action. But neither of them makes a fetish of ultracollectivism any more than of ultraindividualism, and each is entirely fearless in opposing mischievous action, even although it is now or has been recently supported by the great majority of our people.

Mr. Croly explicitly points out that the position which American conservatism has elected to defend arouses on the part of its defenders a sincere and admirable loyalty of conviction. He recognizes that our traditional constitutional system has had a long and honorable career, and has contributed enormously to American political and social prosperity, giving stability, order, and security to a new political experiment undertaken in a new country under peculiarly hazardous and trying conditions.



MAKING A PUBLIC SPEECH

"Our interests are as great in the Pacific as in the Atlantic, in the Hawaiian Islands and in the Philippines as in the West Indies, and we must jealously protect those interests"

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Presidential Addresses and State Papers of Theodore Roosevelt

PART ONE

WITH PORTRAIT FRONTISPIECE

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NEW YORK
P. F. COLLIER & SON
PUBLISHERS

KRAUS REPRINT CO.

The man who talks ill of his neighbors, the man who invites trouble for himself and them, is a nuisance. The stronger, the more self-confident the nation is, the more carefully it should guard its speech as well as its action, and should make it a point, in the interest of its own self-respect, to see that it does not say what it can not make good, that it avoids giving needless offence, that it shows genuinely and sincerely its desire for friendship with the rest of mankind, but that it keeps itself in shape to make its weight felt should the need arise.

That is in substance my theory of what our foreign policy should be. Let us not boast, not insult any one, but make up our minds coolly what is necessary to say, say it, and then stand to it, whatever the consequences may be.

AT MILWAUKEE, WIS., APRIL 3, 1903

Mr. Toastmaster, Gentlemen:

To-day I wish to speak to you on the question of the control and regulation of those great corporations which are popularly, although rather vaguely, known as trusts; dealing mostly with what has actually been accomplished in the way of legislation and in the way of enforcement of legislation during the past eighteen months, the period covering the two sessions of the Fifty-seventh Congress. At the outset I shall ask you to remember that I do not approach the subject either from the standpoint of those who speak of themselves as anti-trust or anti-

corporation people, nor yet from the standpoint of those who are fond of denying the existence of evils in the trusts, or who apparently proceed upon the assumption that if a corporation is large enough it can do no wrong.

I think I speak for the great majority of the American people when I say that we are not in the least against wealth as such, whether individual or corporate; that we merely desire to see any abuse of corporate or combined wealth corrected and remedied; that we do not desire the abolition or destruction of big corporations, but, on the contrary, recognize them as being in many cases efficient economic instruments, the results of an inevitable process of economic evolution, and only desire to see them regulated and controlled so far as may be necessary to subserve the public good. We should be false to the historic principles of our government if we discriminated, either by legislation or administration, either for or against a man because of either his wealth or his poverty. There is no proper place in our society either for the rich man who uses the power conferred by his riches to enable him to oppress and wrong his neighbors, nor yet for the demagogic agitator who, instead of attacking abuses as all abuses should be attacked wherever found, attacks property, attacks prosperity, attacks men of wealth, as such, whether they be good or bad, attacks corporations whether they do well or ill, and seeks, in a spirit of ignorant rancor, to overthrow the very foundations upon which rests our national wellbeing.

In consequence of the extraordinary industrial changes of the last half century, and notably of the last two or three decades, changes due mainly to the rapidity and complexity of our industrial growth, we are confronted with problems which in their present shape were unknown to our forefathers. Our great prosperity, with its accompanying concentration of population and of wealth, its extreme specialization of faculties, and its development of giant industrial leaders, has brought much good and some evil, and it is as foolish to ignore the good as wilfully to blind ourselves to the evil.

The evil has been partly the inevitable accompaniment of the social changes, and where this is the case it can be cured neither by law nor by the administration of the law, the only remedy lying in the slow change of character and of economic environment. But for a portion of the evil, at least, we think that remedies can be found. We know well the danger of false remedies, and we are against all violent, radical, and unwise change. But we believe that by proceeding slowly, yet resolutely, with good sense and moderation, and also with a firm determination not to be swerved from our course either by foolish clamor or by any base or sinister influence, we can accomplish much for the betterment of conditions.

Nearly two years ago, speaking at the State Fair in Minnesota, I said:

"It is probably true that the large majority of the fortunes that now exist in this country have been

amassed, not by injuring our people, but as an incident to the conferring of great benefits upon the community, and this no matter what may have been the conscious purpose of those amassing them. There is but the scantiest justification for most of the outcry against the men of wealth *as such*; and it ought to be unnecessary to state that any appeal which directly or indirectly leads to suspicion and hatred among ourselves, which tends to limit opportunity, and therefore to shut the door of success against poor men of talent, and, finally, which entails the possibility of lawlessness and violence, is an attack upon the fundamental properties of American citizenship. Our interests are at bottom common; in the long run we go up or go down together. Yet more and more it is evident that the State, and if necessary the Nation, has got to possess the right of supervision and control as regards the great corporations which are its creatures; particularly as regards the great business combinations which derive a portion of their importance from the existence of some monopolistic tendency. The right should be exercised with caution and self-restraint; but it should exist, so that it may be invoked if the need arises."

Last fall in speaking at Cincinnati I said:

"The necessary supervision and control, in which I firmly believe as the only method of eliminating the real evils of the trusts, must come through wisely and cautiously framed legislation, which shall aim in the first place to give definite control to some sovereign over the great corporations, and which

shall be followed, when once this power has been conferred, by a system giving to the government the full knowledge which is the essential for satisfactory action. Then, when this knowledge—one of the essential features of which is proper publicity—has been gained, what further steps of any kind are necessary can be taken with the confidence born of the possession of power to deal with the subject, and of a thorough knowledge of what should and can be done in the matter. We need additional power, and we need knowledge. . . . Such legislation—whether obtainable now or obtainable only after a Constitutional amendment—should provide for a reasonable supervision, the most prominent feature of which at first should be publicity; that is, the making public, both to the government authorities and to the people at large, the essential facts in which the public is concerned. This would give us exact knowledge of many points which are now not only in doubt but the subject of fierce controversy. Moreover, the mere fact of the publication would cure some very grave evils, for the light of day is a deterrent to wrongdoing. It would doubtless disclose other evils with which, for the time being, we could devise no way to grapple. Finally, it would disclose others which could be grappled with and cured by further legislative action.”

In my Message to Congress for 1901 I said:

“In the interest of the whole people the Nation should, without interfering with the power of the States in the matter, itself also assume power of

supervision and regulation over all corporations doing an interstate business.”

The views thus expressed have now received effect by the wise, conservative, and yet far-reaching legislation enacted by Congress at its last session. In its wisdom Congress enacted the very important law providing a Department of Commerce and Labor, and further providing therein under the Secretary of Commerce and Labor for a Commissioner of Corporations, charged with the duty of supervision of and of making intelligent investigation into the organization and conduct of corporations engaged in interstate commerce. His powers to expose illegal or hurtful practices and to obtain all information needful for the purposes of further intelligent legislation seem adequate; and the publicity justifiable and proper for public purposes is satisfactory guaranteed. The law was passed at the very end of the session of Congress. Owing to the lateness of its passage Congress was not able to provide proper equipment for the new Department; and the first few months must necessarily be spent in the work of organization, and the first investigations must necessarily be of a tentative character. The satisfactory development of such a system requires time and great labor. Those who are intrusted with the administration of the new law will assuredly administer it in a spirit of absolute fairness and justice and of entire fearlessness, with the firm purpose not to hurt any corporation doing a legitimate business—on the contrary to help it—

and, on the other hand, not to spare any corporation which may be guilty of illegal practices, or the methods of which may make it a menace to the public welfare. Some substantial good will be done in the immediate future; and as the Department gets fairly to work under the law an ever larger vista for good work will be opened along the lines indicated. The enactment of this law is one of the most significant contributions which have been made in our time toward the proper solution of the problem of the relations to the people of the great corporations and corporate combinations.

But much though this is, it is only a part of what has been done in the effort to ascertain and correct improper trust or monopolistic practices. Some eighteen months ago the Industrial Commission, an able and non-partisan body, reported to Congress the result of their investigation of trusts and industrial combinations. One of the most important of their conclusions was that discriminations in freight rates and facilities were granted favored shippers by the railroads and that these discriminations clearly tended toward the control of production and prices in many fields of business by large combinations. That this conclusion was justifiable was shown by the disclosures in the investigation of railroad methods pursued in the fall and winter of 1901-1902. It was then shown that certain trunk lines had entered into unlawful agreements as to the transportation of food products from the West to the Atlantic seaboard, giving a few favored shippers rates much

below the tariff charges imposed upon the smaller dealers and the general public. These unjust practices had prevailed to such an extent and for so long a time that many of the smaller shippers had been driven out of business, until practically one buyer of grain on each railway system had been able by his illegal advantages to secure a monopoly on the line with which his secret compact was made; this monopoly enabling him to fix the price to both producer and consumer. Many of the great packing house concerns were shown to be in combination with each other and with most of the great railway lines, whereby they enjoyed large secret concessions in rates and thus obtained a practical monopoly of the fresh and cured meat industry of the country. These fusions, though violative of the statute, had prevailed unchecked for so many years that they had become intrenched in and interwoven with the commercial life of certain large distributing localities; although this was of course at the expense of the vast body of law-abiding merchants, the general public, and particularly of unfavored localities.

Under those circumstances it was a serious problem to determine the wise course to follow in vitalizing a law which had in part become obsolete or proved incapable of enforcement. Of what the Attorney-General did in enforcing it I shall speak later. The decisions of the courts upon the law had betrayed weaknesses and imperfections, some of them so serious as to render abortive efforts to apply any effective remedy for the existing evils.

It is clear that corporations created for quasi public purposes, clothed for that reason with the ultimate power of the state to take private property against the will of the owner, hold their corporate powers as carriers in trust for the fairly impartial service of all the public. Favoritism in the use of such powers, unjustly enriching some and unjustly impoverishing others, discriminating in favor of some places and against others, is palpably violative of plain principles of justice. Such a practice unchecked is hurtful in many ways. Congress, having had its attention drawn to the matter, enacted a most important anti-rebate law, which greatly strengthens the interstate-commerce law. This new law prohibits under adequate penalties the giving and as well the demanding or receiving of such preferences, and provides the preventive remedy of injunction. The vigorous administration of this law—and it will be enforced—will, it is hoped, afford a substantial remedy for certain trust evils which have attracted public attention and have created public unrest.

This law represents a noteworthy and important advance toward just and effective regulation of transportation. Moreover, its passage has been supplemented by the enactment of a law to expedite the hearing of actions of public moment under the anti-trust act, known as the Sherman law, and under the act to regulate commerce, at the request of the Attorney-General; and furthermore, additional funds have been appropriated to be expended under the

direction of the Attorney-General in the enforcement of these laws.

All of this represents a great and substantial advance in legislation. But more important even than legislation is the administration of the law, and I ask your attention for a moment to the way in which the law has been administered by the profound jurist and fearless public servant who now occupies the position of Attorney-General, Mr. Knox. The Constitution enjoins upon the President that he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and under this provision the Attorney-General formulated a policy which was in effect nothing but the rigid enforcement, by suits managed with consummate skill and ability, both of the anti-trust law and of the imperfect provisions of the act to regulate commerce. The first step taken was the prosecution of fourteen suits against the principal railroads of the Middle West, restraining them by injunction from further violations of either of the laws in question.

About the same time the case against the Northern Securities Company was initiated. This was a corporation organized under the laws of the State of New Jersey with a capital of four hundred million dollars, the alleged purpose being to control the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific railroad companies, two parallel and competing lines extending across the northern tier of States from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. Whatever the

purpose, its consummation would have resulted in the control of the two great railway systems—upon which the people of the Northwestern States were so largely dependent for their supplies and to get their products to market—being practically merged into the New Jersey corporation. The proposition that these independent systems of railroads should be merged under a single control alarmed the people of the States concerned, lest they be subjected to what they deemed a monopoly of interstate transportation and the suppression of competition. The Governors of the States most deeply affected held a meeting to consider how to prevent the merger becoming effective and passed resolutions calling upon the National Government to enforce the anti-trust laws against the alleged combination. When these resolutions were referred to the Attorney-General for consideration and advice, he reported that in his opinion the Northern Securities Company and its control of the railroads mentioned was a combination in restraint of trade, and was attempting a monopoly in violation of the national anti-trust law. Thereupon a suit in equity, which is now pending, was begun by the Government to test the validity of this transaction under the Sherman law.

At nearly the same time the disclosures respecting the secret rebates enjoyed by the great packing house companies, coupled with the very high price of meats, led the Attorney-General to direct an investigation into the methods of the so-called beef

trust. The result was that he filed bills for injunction against six of the principal packing house companies, and restrained them from combining and agreeing upon prices at which they would sell their products in States other than those in which their meats were prepared for market. Writs of injunction were issued accordingly, and since then, after full argument, the United States Circuit Court has made the injunction perpetual.

The cotton interests of the South, including growers, buyers, and shippers, made complaint that they were suffering great injury in their business from the methods of the Southern railroads in the handling and transportation of cotton. They alleged that these railroads, by combined action under a pooling arrangement to support their rate schedules, had denied to the shippers the right to elect over what roads their commodities should be shipped, and that by dividing upon a fixed basis the cotton crop of the South all inducement to compete in rates for the transportation thereof was eliminated. Proceedings were instituted by the Attorney-General under the anti-trust law, which resulted in the destruction of the pool and in restoring to the growers and shippers of the South the right to ship their products over any road they elected, thus removing the restraint upon the freedom of commerce.

In November, 1902, the Attorney-General directed that a bill for an injunction be filed in the United States Circuit Court at San Francisco against

the Federal Salt Company—a corporation which had been organized under the laws of an Eastern State, but had its main office and principal place of business in California—and against a number of other companies and persons constituting what was known as the salt trust. These injunctions were to restrain the execution of certain contracts between the Federal Salt Company and the other defendants, by which the latter agreed neither to import nor buy or sell salt, except from and to the Federal Salt Company, and not to engage or assist in the production of salt west of the Mississippi River during the continuance of such contracts. As the result of these agreements the price of salt had been advanced about four hundred per cent. A temporary injunction order was obtained, which the defendants asked the court to modify on the ground that the anti-trust law had no application to contracts for purchases and sales within a State. The Circuit Court overruled this contention and sustained the Government's position. This practically concluded the case, and it is understood that in consequence the Federal Salt Company is about to be dissolved and that no further contest will be made.

The above is a brief outline of the most important steps, legislative and administrative, taken during the past eighteen months in the direction of solving, so far as at present it seems practicable by national legislation or administration to solve, what we call the trust problem. They represent a sum of very

substantial achievement. They represent a successful effort to devise and apply real remedies; an effort which so far succeeded because it was made not only with resolute purpose and determination, but also in a spirit of common-sense and justice, as far removed as possible from rancor, hysteria, and unworthy demagogic appeal. In the same spirit the laws will continue to be enforced. Not only is the legislation recently enacted effective, but in my judgment it was impracticable to attempt more. Nothing of value is to be expected from ceaseless agitation for radical and extreme legislation. The people may wisely, and with confidence, await the results which are reasonably to be expected from the impartial enforcement of the laws which have recently been placed upon the statute books. Legislation of a general and indiscriminate character would be sure to fail, either because it would involve all interests in a common ruin, or because it would not really reach any evil. We have endeavored to provide a discriminating adaptation of the remedy to the real mischief.

Many of the alleged remedies advocated are of the unpleasantly drastic type which seeks to destroy the disease by killing the patient. Others are so obviously futile that it is somewhat difficult to treat them seriously or as being advanced in good faith. High among the latter I place the effort to reach the trust question by means of the tariff. You can, of course, put an end to the prosperity of the trusts by putting an end to the prosperity of the Nation;

but the price for such action seems high. The alternative is to do exactly what has been done during the life of the Congress which has just closed—that is, to endeavor, not to destroy corporations, but to regulate them with a view of doing away with whatever is of evil in them and of making them subserve the public use. The law is not to be administered in the interest of the poor man as such, nor yet in the interest of the rich man as such, but in the interest of the law-abiding man, rich or poor. We are no more against organizations of capital than against organizations of labor. We welcome both, demanding only that each shall do right and shall remember its duty to the Republic. Such a course we consider not merely a benefit to the poor man, but a benefit to the rich man. We do no man an injustice when we require him to obey the law. On the contrary, if he is a man whose safety and well-being depend in a peculiar degree upon the existence of the spirit of law and order, we are rendering him the greatest service when we require him to be himself an exemplar of that spirit.

BEFORE THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE, ST.
PAUL, MINN., APRIL 4, 1903

Mr. Governor, Mr. Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Legislative Body, Men and Women of Minnesota:

I thank you for greeting me and for giving me the chance to say a word or two in welcome and in acknowledgment of your greeting.

To any American capable of any depth of reflection whatever, it should always be a somewhat solemn thing to come into the presence of two bodies—one a legislative body; the other an educational body; the legislative body, which is not only the method but the symbol of our free government; the educational body, which, using education in its broadest and truest sense, means the body that fits us for self-government. Self-government is not an easy thing. The nations of antiquity, the nations of the middle ages, that tried the experiment of independent self-government which should guarantee freedom to the individual, and yet safety from without and within to the body politic itself, rarely lasted long, never rose to a pitch of greatness such as ours without having suffered some radical and, as it proved ultimately, fatal change of structure. Until our Republic was founded it had proved impossible in the long run to combine freedom for the individual and greatness for the nation. The republics of antiquity and of the middle ages went one of two lines; either proved fatal. Either the individual's interests were sacrificed, and, while retaining the forms of freedom, the republic became in effect a despotism, or else the freedom of the individual was kept at the cost of utter impotence either to put down disorder at home or to repel aggression from abroad.

It has been given to us during the century and a quarter of our national life so to handle ourselves as a people that we have escaped both dangers. We

RESEARCH

**THE ALMANAC
OF AMERICAN
POLITICS**

1990

**The Senators, the Representatives
and the Governors:
Their Records and Election Results,
Their States and Districts**

Michael Barone and Grant Ujifusa

**National
Journal**
Washington, D.C.

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	71%	23%	55%	43%
Social	54%	45%	65%	34%
Foreign	72%	28%	68%	30%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Nick Joe Rahall II (D)	78,812	(61%)	(\$152,271)
	Marianne R. Brewster (R)	49,753	(39%)	(\$32,039)
1988 primary	Nick Joe Rahall (D)	56,996	(73%)	
	William Sanders (D)	12,920	(16%)	
	Ted T. Stacy (D)	8,503	(11%)	
1986 general	Nick Joe Rahall II (D)	58,217	(71%)	(\$68,970)
	Martin Miller, Sr. (R)	23,490	(29%)	

WISCONSIN

Half a century ago, Wisconsin—the picture of ordinariness on a frost-bitten morning in its rolling dairylands—was politically one of the most distinctive of states. With next-door Minnesota, it was one of two states with a genuine three-party politics, a state that, in between the four times it voted for Democrat Franklin Roosevelt, cast most of its votes in gubernatorial elections for Progressives and Republicans. Wisconsin owes this distinction to the German heritage of most of its citizens and to the political genius—and peculiarities—of Robert LaFollette and his sons.

North of Chicago, west of the Great Lakes, Wisconsin is the first state of the Northwest—that vast stretch of the United States all the way to the Pacific settled more by immigrants from Germany and Scandinavia, than by descendants of the Middle Atlantic and New England Yankees who populated the states just to the south. The German language is seldom heard any more, the once plainly German beer brands now seem quintessentially American, and not many ties exist with the old country after two world wars. But in the 19th and early 20th centuries, Germans were among our most numerous immigrants and until the 1880s probably the most distinctive. They often kept their old language, maintained their separate religion, kept old customs from country weddings to drinking beer (a source of friction in temperance-minded America); they established, on the vast empty prairies or in crowded neighborhoods of growing cities, German communities.

Politically, they were never an entirely monolithic group; their origins were too diverse, and they were spread too widely across the nation. But where they were concentrated, you can see the growth of a distinctive politics, basically American, but with echoes of the ideas and movements also seen in German-speaking countries in Europe. Nowhere was the politics of German-Americans more apparent than in Wisconsin. This is one of the states that gave birth to the Republican Party in 1854, and German-Americans, then arriving in vast numbers, heavily

raging use of its competition (oil, ad rates, and against the coal slurry e establishment of a Federal Coal to increase the coal excise tax that nterior on bills to protect the scenic ent act for the New River (which is on economic and foreign issues; on is record is mixed. Of Arab descent,

ocratic (58% for Michael Dukakis) as been hurt by incidents that made asino for \$60,000 in debts, a divorce 38. His percentage of the vote fell to —when with the most Democratic of the four Democratic incumbents. or 1992 is unclear. If legislators tried nherent, he might have some trouble, o elderly candidates) indicates some

op. 1980: 487,526, up 11.4% 1970–80. ied couples; 26.8% housing units rented; ing age pop. (1980): 339,410; 6% Black,

..... 80,531 (58%)
..... 58,055 (42%)

1949, Beckley; home, Beckley; Duke U. divorced.

Sen. Robert C. Byrd, 1971–74; Pres., ravel Agency, 1975; Pres., WV Broadcast-

515, 202-225-3452. Also 110½ Main St., -5000, 304-252-6507; 815 5th Ave., Hun- 425, 304-529-1716; 1005 Fed. Bldg., Blue- 2; and R.K. Bldg., Logan 25601, 304-752-

n and Labor (18th of 22 D). Subcommittee- dary, and Vocational Education. Interior th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Mining and airman); National Parks and Public Lands. nsportation (6th of 31 D). Subcommittees:

ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
22	12	0	29	14
4	—	—	7	13

preferred its free soil politics to the doughface stands of the Democrats. The German-Americans abhorred slavery; they welcomed the free lands the Republicans were advocating in the Homestead Act, the free education they were promising by setting up land grant colleges, the transportation routes they were constructing by subsidizing railroad builders.

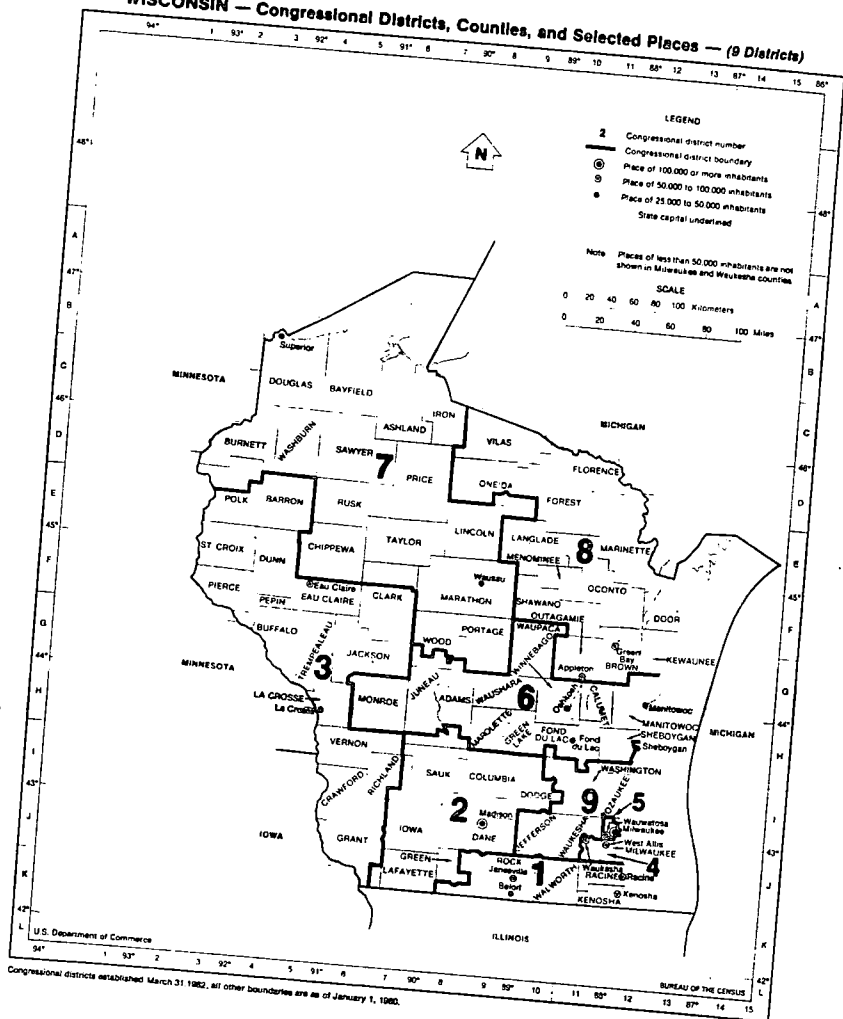
Then came Robert LaFollette and his Progressive movement, which can be dated conveniently from his election as governor in 1900. Up to that time, a conventional Republican politician, LaFollette completely revamped the state government before going to the Senate in 1906. At a time when Germany was Europe's leader in graduate education and the application of science to government, LaFollette brought in professors from the University of Wisconsin, across town in Madison, to develop the state's workmen's compensation system and income tax. The Progressive movement favored the rational use of government to improve the lot of the ordinary citizen—an idea borrowed, perhaps, from German liberals and adopted by the New Dealers a generation later. LaFollette himself became a national figure, and tried to run for President in 1912 as a Progressive, but was shoved aside by Theodore Roosevelt; in 1924 he finally did run for President as a Progressive and won 18% of the nation's votes. Making the best third-party showing of the last 65 years, he was strongest in the northern tier from Wisconsin to Washington, along the West Coast, and in some hitherto Republican factory towns like Cleveland.

After the elder LaFollette's death in 1925, his sons maintained the traditions of Wisconsin's progressivism. Robert LaFollette Jr. served in the Senate from 1925 to 1947, and was one of the leaders of the liberal, pro-labor bloc. Philip LaFollette was elected governor of Wisconsin in 1930, 1934 and 1936, and in 1934 formed the separate Progressive party. His movement took on ominous tones later in the decade, with a Cross in Circle symbol his critics called a circumscribed swastika, huge rally-like parades that were reminiscent of some in Europe at the time, and his call for the governor to propose all legislation. Philip LaFollette's dream of forming a national party was never achieved. At home, he was beaten badly in 1938 and did not run for office again. Robert LaFollette Jr. was reelected to the Senate by only 45%–41% over a Republican in 1940; the Progressives won the governorship once more in 1942, but won only 6% in statewide contests in 1944 and voted to disband their party before the 1946 election. Senator LaFollette, who decided to run for reelection as a Republican but didn't campaign much because he was busy passing congressional reorganization in Washington, was defeated in the 1946 primary by one Joseph McCarthy.

McCarthy's national prominence and other Republican victories made Wisconsin seem like a Republican state in the 1950s; and McCarthy's charges that Communists were influencing American foreign policy fed on the inarticulate convictions of many in Wisconsin and elsewhere that we should have been fighting Russia as much as Germany in World War II. But actually, McCarthy and other Republicans often won by narrow margins, and the energies of the old Progressive movement, centered in Madison somewhere between the State Capitol and the University of Wisconsin, were transferred largely to a Democratic Party led by the likes of William Proxmire and Gaylord Nelson.

But even with a two-party, liberal-conservative politics, Wisconsin remains distinctive, moving counter to national political cycles. While the nation mostly voted Democratic from 1944 to 1964, Wisconsin was voting mostly Republican. When the nation voted mostly Republican for President starting in 1968, Wisconsin has moved toward the Democrats, giving George McGovern and Walter Mondale some of their best percentages, providing 11 crucial electoral votes for Jimmy Carter in 1976 and coming close to voting for him in 1980 too, and voting for Michael Dukakis in 1988. It has become one of the most dovish states, as if a large number of Wisconsin voters were hit by the same impulse that has led so many voters in West Germany, suddenly in the early 1980s, to start fearing the presence of nuclear weapons and favoring unilateral disarmament. Yet during those same years, when most states were electing Demo-

WISCONSIN — Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Places — (9 Districts)



cratic governors, Wisconsin was electing Republicans—in 1968, 1978 and 1986. That last year also saw the reelection of conservative Republican Senator Robert Kasten and the defeat of longtime Democratic attorney general Bronson LaFollette.

Environmental issues and cultural liberalism may work for Democrats in national contests, but in Wisconsin the sense is that the state's high taxes are stifling economic growth. The openness to forms of cultural liberation so apparent here in the past, seemed replaced by concern about the consequences: Wisconsin passed a trailblazing law making parents, not the state, responsible for supporting the illegitimate children of unmarried teenagers. Yet it's not clear if Wisconsin has moved heavily to the right. The Democrats beefed up their margins in the legislature and do well in congressional elections. If Wisconsin seems unlikely to extend the LaFollette version of the welfare state any further just now, it's not clear that it wants to do away with large parts of it either.

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Governor. From the small town of Elroy 80 miles south to Madison, Wisconsin's Governor Tommy Thompson has been commuting most of his life, first as a student at the University of Wisconsin, then after his election to the legislature just after finishing law school, and now as governor. There he was part of the minority for nearly 20 years, the minority leader for most of the 1980s, known as "Doctor No." In 1986, running against liberal Democratic Governor Tony Earl, Thompson called for cutting taxes and cutting welfare, while Earl was being hurt by his support of homosexual rights and a new prison in Milwaukee, by his opposition to the 21-year drinking age, and by his off-the-cuff remark that he'd rather strike than take the 15% pay cut offered to Oscar Mayer workers. In office, Thompson proved more practical-minded than Democrats expected, compromising on taxes and a prison site. But he also made more than 290 line item vetoes, cut welfare and cut the income and inheritance taxes, while retaining special treatment for capital gains. In 1989, he came out for property tax relief and also for more spending on child care and the environment. The Democrats derided him as "Sky King" for his travels through the state, but unemployment was low in 1988 and early 1989, and he remained widely popular. The best known likely candidate against him in 1990 is Speaker Tom Loftis.

Senators. With the retirement of Senator William Proxmire, unexpected until he announced it at the youthful age, for him, of 72. Wisconsin is now represented by two junior Senators of wealthy backgrounds and little or no seniority. Proxmire, remembered for his pinchpenny attitudes toward both defense and domestic spending, for his monthly "golden fleece" awards for waste of federal money, for his four-mile jogs to the Capitol long before jogging was fashionable, for his record number of consecutive roll calls answered and for his assiduous nonstop campaigning in Wisconsin, has no successor, just as he never had a colleague precisely in his own mode.

Wisconsin's senior Senator now is Bob Kasten. The only Republican elected to the Senate from Wisconsin since 1956, he has run counter to the historic Progressive tradition here, championing lower taxes in the state that had the first state income tax, full of doubt about the efficacy of government in a state long proud of its expert government regulators. Kasten served two terms in the House in the 1970s, when it was controlled by the Democrats 2 to 1; then in 1980, he upset Gaylord Nelson and entered a Senate where the Republicans suddenly had a majority. There he translated into action his devotion to free-market principles and opposition to what he considers government overregulation and overtaxation. He supported the Reagan tax and budget cuts. He was the leading opponent of withholding from savings and brokerage accounts and, though he lost to Bob Dole on the issue in the 1982 tax bill, he worked closely with the banking lobby which generated a massive flood of outraged mail and persuaded an almost unanimous Congress to backtrack in 1983. He was the co-sponsor in 1984 and 1985 of Kemp-Kasten, the Republican alternative to the Bradley-Gephardt tax reform plan that played a role in producing the historic tax reform of 1986. He introduced the leading measure to federalize liability suits so as to reduce awards to plaintiffs and, presumably, insurance costs.

Over some time now, Kasten has shown the ability to stick to his guns under heavy pressure. But he lost badly to Alan Simpson in the 1984 race for Republican whip. For Wisconsin, he worked on local aid projects and fought to label pizzas made with casein "non-cheese" and to protect dairy subsidies. He chaired the Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, supporting aid to Israel and Egypt and Administration policy in Central America.

In Wisconsin, he has had a splotchy electoral record. After being elected to the House in 1974 and 1976, he lost the gubernatorial primary in 1978; then he came back and won his Senate seat. In his first term, he got involved in a civil suit involving partnerships he had with a bankrupt real estate speculator who went to jail; in 1985, he was arrested for drunk driving; in 1986, he was the winner of one of the year's least edifying brawls. For that much blame must go to Democrat Bill Garvey, the onetime attorney for the National Football League players association who got them involved in a long and not very successful strike: Garvey attacked Kasten for being remote from

South to Madison, Wisconsin's Governor, first as a student at the University of Wisconsin, and now as its 20th Governor. For 20 years, the minority leader for most of his life, Kasten lost Madison, Kenosha, Milwaukee County, but carried the broad Milwaukee metropolitan area, and won everywhere else for his second straight narrow victory.

The result was also close in the race for Proxmire's seat. Both parties had primaries, with results opposite to national trends: the most conservative candidate did not win the Republican primary and the most liberal candidate did not win the Democratic nomination. Among the Republicans, state Senator Susan Engeleiter, labeled a moderate because of her pro-choice views on abortion, beat former state party chairman Steve King 57%-40%. Among the Democrats, the leading event was the entry of Milwaukee businessman and Milwaukee Bucks owner Herb Kohl into the race. Congressman Jim Moody, reasoning that Kohl's local celebrity and ability to spend huge sums on ads would preempt his Milwaukee base, got out of the race. Garvey, though the 1986 nominee, was overshadowed and won only 10% of the vote. Former Governor Tony Earl, still well-liked by Democrats and with a statewide network of supporters, complained about Kohl's spending and attacked him for unfamiliarity with the issues. But Kohl's theme of "nobody's Senator but yours" enabled him to beat Earl 47%-38%. A millionaire grocery store scion, Kohl took no PAC contributions and contributed heavily to his own race. In the general, Kohl stressed his support of defense cuts—popular in dovish Wisconsin—and for requiring businesses to provide medical insurance; Engeleiter stressed her environmental stands, her legislative experience, and her status as a wife and mother—a contrast with Kohl, a bachelor. This turned out to be one of the closest Senate races in the country, with Kohl winning 52%-48%. Engeleiter also came to Washington as the head of Bush's Small Business Administration. In the Senate, where Kohl has seats on the Judiciary and Governmental Affairs Committees, he is not a prepossessing figure.

The only Republican elected to the Senate in the historic Progressive tradition here, Kasten served as the first state income tax, full of doubt about the expert government regulators. Kasten served controlled by the Democrats 2 to 1; then in 1988, where the Republicans suddenly broke on to free-market principles and opposition to overtaxation. He supported the Reagan tax of withholding from savings and brokerage in the 1982 tax bill, he worked closely with d of outraged mail and persuaded an almost s the co-sponsor in 1984 and 1985 of the -Gephardt tax reform plan that played a role introduced the leading measure to federalize and, presumably, insurance costs. ability to stick to his guns under heavy pressure for Republican whip. For Wisconsin pizzas made with casein "non-cheese" and ations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations ration policy in Central America. record. After being elected to the House in 1978; then he came back and won for living partnerships he had with a bank. arrested for drunk driving; in 1984, he was For that much blame must go to the football League players association who Garvey attacked Kasten for being

the public and for "drinking on the job" and hired a detective who posed as a reporter to snoop into Kasten's financial affairs; Kasten ran ads opposing those tactics and attacking Garvey's stewardship of the football players' funds. The result was a narrow but decisive Kasten victory; Kasten lost Madison, Kenosha, Milwaukee County, but carried the broad Milwaukee metropolitan area, and won everywhere else for his second straight narrow victory.

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Presidential politics. Wisconsin was once one of the most influential states in presidential contests. Its presidential primary knocked Wendell Willkie out of the race in 1944 and helped John Kennedy establish his lead over Hubert Humphrey in 1960; Eugene McCarthy was all set to win heavily here in 1968 when Lyndon Johnson withdrew on the Sunday night before the election. More recently, Wisconsin was the scene of one of Morris Udall's agonizingly close second place finishes to Jimmy Carter in 1976.

In 1988, it was the first big contest after Jesse Jackson's surprise win in the Michigan caucuses. Jackson made a point of campaigning for blue-collar workers' votes, and there was much speculation that here would finally emerge the populist alliance of blacks and working whites which some Democratic strategists and many members of the press have been longing to see for years. But it did not materialize in Wisconsin any more than anywhere else. Dukakis won the primary easily, and extinguished any doubts that he would be the Democratic nominee. The national Democrats, incidentally, have allowed Wisconsin to continue its open primary, one of Bob LaFollette's reforms.

Wisconsin has often had close races in the general elections. In 1960 and 1968 it voted for Richard Nixon. Countercyclically, it has become more Democratic, voting for Jimmy Carter in 1976 and Michael Dukakis in 1988, and giving Ronald Reagan only modest margins in 1980 and 1984.

Congressional districting. Wisconsin's congressional district lines were drawn according to a plan agreed to by Democrat David Obey and Republican James Sensenbrenner. Nothing like that will probably happen after the 1990 Census. Population growth in the state has been modest, but it's not likely to lose a seat, and the district lines need to be modified only



Bob Kasten was first elected to the United States Senate as a Republican from Wisconsin on November 4, 1980. He was re-elected to a second term on November 4, 1986.

A former small businessman, Kasten serves as ranking member of the Senate Small Business Committee. He also serves on the following key committees: Budget, Appropriations and Commerce Committees. Kasten is also ranking member of both the Appropriations Committee's Foreign Operations Subcommittee and the Commerce Committee's Surface Transportation Subcommittee.

In November of 1990, Kasten was elected to the leadership position of GOP Conference Secretary, one of six top GOP positions in the Senate.

Kasten has been recognized as an effective and skillful legislative tactician. In 1986, a poll of U.S. Senators, Administration officials, key Capitol Hill aides and lobbyists published in the National Journal named Kasten one of two "Best Legislators" among the Senate Republican class of 1980.

Kasten is the recipient of numerous awards and recognitions, especially for his work on environmental and conservation

issues. He has been featured on the CBS News program, "60 Minutes," for his work on international environmental issues. In 1972, as a Wisconsin State Senator, he earned the Wisconsin "Conservation Legislator of the Year" award by the Wisconsin Wildlife Federation. The Federation also named Kasten "Conservationist of the Year" in 1985. He was named "Legislator of the Year" in 1989 by the Great Lakes Region of the National Recreation and Parks Association.

Kasten was awarded the 1990 "Friend of the Earth" award for his decade-long record of outstanding legislative accomplishments on global environmental issues.

The Council for Citizens Against Government Waste awarded Kasten a perfect 100 percent rating for his votes to cut wasteful spending.

He has received the National Federation of Independent Business' "Guardian of Small Business" award and the "Watchdog of the Treasury" award in every session of Congress in which he has served.

In 1988, Kasten helped lead the Republican Party's national platform effort as co-chairman of the Platform Committee. He served as chairman of the Economic Progress Subcommittee of the Platform Committee at the 1984 GOP National Convention.

President Reagan appointed Senator Kasten to serve as a voting delegate to the 1982 United Nations General Assembly. In 1989, he received the Peace Corps' "Leader for Peace" award.

Before his election to the U.S. Senate, Kasten served two terms in the House of Representatives (1974-78), representing Wisconsin's 9th Congressional District. He was elected a Wisconsin State Senator in 1972.

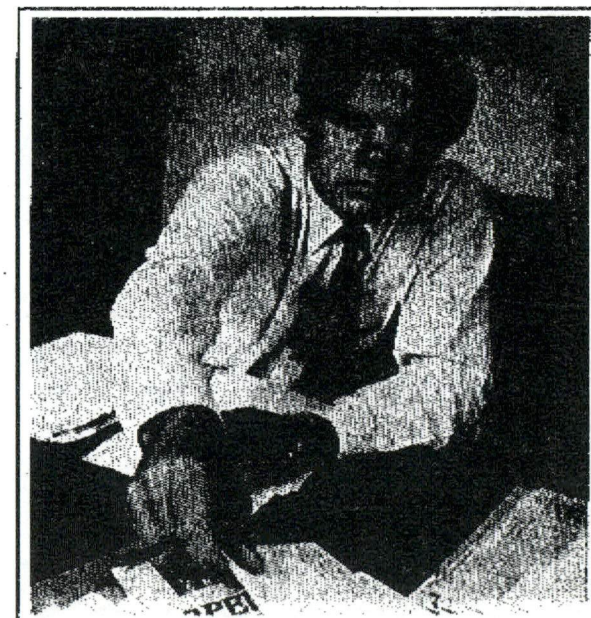
Kasten was Vice President and Director of the Gilbert Shoe Manufacturing Company of Thiensville prior to his election to Congress.

A lifelong resident of Wisconsin, Kasten was born in Milwaukee on June 19, 1942. He received a B.A. degree in 1964 from the University of Arizona and in 1966 earned a master's degree in finance from the Columbia University Graduate School of Business. Kasten was married on January 4, 1986, to Eva Jean Nimmons of Wapakoneta, Ohio. They have a daughter, Nora Anita.

Kasten served in the Wisconsin Air National Guard from 1966-72, completing Air Force Basic Training in 1966 and an Air Force Officer Training program in 1967. He served with the Air Guard's 128th Refueling Group until his honorable discharge in 1972 with the rank of 1st Lieutenant.

Kasten is a Director of the Wisconsin Society for the Prevention of Blindness, Past Regional Director of the Milwaukee Coalition for Clean Water, and Past Director of the Mequon-Thiensville Jaycees.

Kasten is an honorary member of the Wisconsin Association for the Deaf and a member of the Senatorial Working Group on Disability Policy.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT CYCLOPEDIA

EDITED BY

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART
Professor Emeritus, Harvard University

AND

HERBERT RONALD FERLEGER
Roosevelt Memorial Association

FOREWORD BY

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

ROOSEVELT HOUSE

NEW YORK CITY

KNIGHT CASE

an order; but I wonder if you remember the conversation between Glendower and Hotspur, when Glendower says, 'I can call spirits from the vasty deep,' and Hotspur answers, 'So can I, and so can any man; but will they come?' " I think he did not entirely understand the quotation, and he reiterated that he would have ordered it to be a sea-level canal and would have listened to no protests from engineers. (To David Gray, October 5, 1911.) *Saturday Evening Post*, December 26, 1931, p. 5.

KNIGHT CASE. The effect of this decision was not merely the absolute nullification of the antitrust law, so far as industrial corporations were concerned, but was also in effect a declaration that, under the Constitution, the National Government could pass no law really effective for the destruction or control of such combinations.

This decision left the National Government, that is, the people of the nation, practically helpless to deal with the large combinations of modern business. The courts in other cases asserted the power of the Federal Government to enforce the antitrust law so far as transportation rates by railways engaged in interstate commerce were concerned. But so long as the trusts were free to control the production of commodities without interference from the general government, they were well content to let the transportation of commodities take care of itself—especially as the law against rebates was at that time a dead letter; and the court by its decision in the Knight case had interdicted any interference by the President or by Congress with the production of commodities. It was on the authority of this case that practically all the big trusts in the United States . . . were formed. (1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XXII, 486-487; *Nat. Ed.* XX, 418-419.

KNIGHT CASE. See also INTERSTATE COMMERCE; NORTHERN SECURITIES CASE.

KNOW-NOTHING MOVEMENT. The Know-nothing Movement in every form is entirely repugnant to true Americanism and this is, perhaps, especially the case when it is directed not merely against American citizens of foreign origin, but also against even native-born Americans of a different creed. We Americans give to men of all races equal and exact justice. That has been our boast as a nation ever since the day when the Puritan of Massachusetts and the Catholic of Maryland sat in the same hall and signed the same Declaration of Independence. On the roll of honor where we have engraved the names of

the nation's statesmen and soldiers, patriots and commonwealth-builders, no distinction is known of creed or of race origin, nor even of birth-place. (At Boston, Mass., November 1893.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 34-35; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 276.

KNOWLEDGE—THIRST FOR. On this trip—here while visiting this castle [Count Wiltczek's, near Vienna], just as at Cairo—I was helped for the first time in my life by the fact that I had always gratified my thirst for useless information. I have never demanded of knowledge anything except that it shall be useless. Now this means that while I know nothing that the average scholar does not know, yet that I know a good deal as to which the average politician or man of affairs is abysmally ignorant; and as naturally my life has been chiefly led among politicians and men of affairs, when it was not led among frontiersmen, there are a great many things I have studied about which I have rarely or never had a chance to speak. . . . Until I went abroad this time I doubt if I had ever derived the slightest benefit, however small, from such things as a knowledge of Moslem travels in the thirteenth century, or Magyar history, or the Mongol conquests, or the growth of the races of Middle Europe and the deeds of their great men. On this occasion, however, my knowledge of these things really added to my pleasure, and brought me into touch with people. For instance, Wiltczek hugely enjoyed finding that, besides general interest in sport and in mediæval way and customs, I had taken it for granted that his family, if not Czeck, was of Polish origin and descended from the Piasts and from Bolkoslav the Glorious; that when he showed me portrait of Batory, I was familiar with the Hungarian king of Poland and his wars against Ivan the Terrible; that I knew the details of Rudolph's fight with Ottocar of Bohemia; and on and so on. (To Sir George Otto Trevelyan, October 1, 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 251; *Bishop II*, 219.

KNOWLEDGE. See also EDUCATION; EXPLORATION; SCHOLARSHIP; UNIVERSITY.

KNOX, PHILANDER C. See NORTHERN SECURITIES CASE.

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LA FOLLETTE, ROBERT M. Thanks to movement for genuinely democratic popular government which Senator La Follette led to overwhelming victory in Wisconsin, that state has become literally a laboratory for wise exp

LA FOLLETTE

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nor even of birth.
November 1893.)
Ed. XIII, 276.

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LABOR

mental legislation aiming to secure the social and political betterment of the people as a whole. Nothing is easier than to demand, on the stump, or in essays and editorials, the abolition of injustice and the securing to each man of his rights. But actually to accomplish practical and effective work along the line of such utterances is so hard that the average public man, and average public writer, have not even attempted it; and unfortunately too many of the men in public life who have seemed to attempt it have contented themselves with enacting legislation which, just because it made believe to do so much, in reality accomplished very little.

But in Wisconsin there has been a successful effort to redeem the promises by performances, and to reduce theories into practice. . . .

The Wisconsin reformers have accomplished the extraordinary results for which the whole nation owes them so much, primarily because they have not confined themselves to dreaming dreams and then to talking about them. They have had power to see the vision, of course; if they did not have in them the possibility of seeing visions, they could accomplish nothing; but they have tried to make their ideals realizable, and then they have tried, with an extraordinary measure of success, actually to realize them. As soon as they decided that a certain object was desirable they at once set to work practically to study how to develop the constructive machinery through which it could be achieved. Introduction to *The Wisconsin Idea* by Charles McCarthy. (Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1912), pp. vii-viii.

LABOR. It has never been any effort on my part to respect the first-class railway man or blacksmith or carpenter or cow-hand as much as I respect a competent banker or lawyer; indeed, I have always felt a certain impatience with any one who does not admire physical address and daring; and there are many men who work with their hands among those whose judgment I desire on any question relating to the essential needs, social, political, and industrial, of our civilization. I do not mean that a man should limit himself simply to doing physical work, or adopt the principles of the well-meaning but unbalanced enthusiasts who would require every man always to do manual work in addition to his other labor. Such conduct is not idealism but folly. I do mean, however, that, in my judgment, it is best, where possible, to combine physical and mental efficiency, and that the highest type of citizen is most apt to be a man who can thus combine them; and I mean, furthermore, that the high type of man who in driving

LABOR

an engine or erecting a building or handling deep-sea fishing-craft shows the necessary moral, intellectual, and physical qualities demanded by his task ought to be instantly accepted as standing upon as high a plane of citizenship as any human being in the community. But he can never stand on such a plane unless he regards his work with such devotion that he is not content to do less than his very best. He ought to join with his fellows in a union, or in some similar association, for mutual help and betterment, and in that association he should strive to raise higher his less competent brothers; but he should positively decline to allow himself to be dragged down to their level, and if he does thus permit himself to be dragged down, the penalty is the loss of individual, of class, and finally of national efficiency. (*Outlook*, February 4, 1911.) *Mem. Ed. XIX, 102; Nat. Ed. XVII, 67.*

LABOR. See also CHILD LABOR; CONVICT LABOR; DOMESTIC SERVICE; EMPLOYMENT; IMMIGRATION; LEISURE; UNEMPLOYMENT; WORK.

LABOR—DUTY TOWARD. The first charge on the industrial statesmanship of the day is to prevent human waste. The dead weight of orphanage and depleted craftsmanship, of crippled workers and workers suffering from trade diseases, of casual labor, of insecure old age, and of household depletion due to industrial conditions are, like our depleted soils, our gashed mountainsides and flooded river-bottoms, so many strains upon the national structure, draining the reserve strength of all industries and showing beyond all peradventure the public element and public concern in industrial health.

Ultimately we desire to use the government to aid, as far as can safely be done, in helping the industrial tool-users to become in part tool-owners, just as our farmers now are. Ultimately the government may have to join more efficiently than at present in strengthening the hands of the working men who already stand at a high level, industrially and socially, and who are able by joint action to serve themselves. But the most pressing and immediate need is to deal with the cases of those who are on the level, and who are not only in need themselves, but because of their need tend to jeopardize the welfare of those who are better off. (Before Progressive National Convention, Chicago, August 6, 1912.) *Mem. Ed. XIX, 372, Nat. Ed. XVII, 266.*

LABOR—DUTY TOWARD. See also SQUARE DEAL; WORKERS.

Week Ending Friday, November 2, 1990

**Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for
Senatorial Candidate Pat Saiki in
Honolulu, Hawaii**

October 26, 1990

Well, thank you all, really, for that warm welcome back. Frank, thank you. Keep up the good work as campaign chairman. You know, you can get a feeling of these campaigns, and I love the feel of this Saiki campaign for the Senate. I feel we've got a winner out there. And I was privileged to be met at the airport by Senator Hiram Fong, an old friend of my family's and a friend of Barbara's and mine. Mayor Fasi greeted us and Fred Hemmings, our able candidate for Governor. I sure hope he'll get in there. We need a little change in that place.

And then we've got two great candidates for Congress: Mike Liu, we want you to win. Andy Poepoe, we want you to win. So good luck, First and Second Congressional Districts. And to David Kahanu, our Bush-Quayle chairman, my gratitude. To our State chairman, Andy Anderson, my respects and thanks for what you're doing to hold this party and build it. To Governor Peter Coleman, who's here from American Samoa—somewhere, my greetings to you. I haven't seen Peter, but an old friend. And of course, flying out with me, the Representative of Guam, an old friend of mine, a former general officer in the Means, Congressman Ben Blaz. I know he's here, but I don't know where he is. But anyway, we want to welcome him—Congressman from Guam. And of course, one from amongst you is now head of OPIC [Overseas Private Investment Corporation]—Ambassador Fred Zeder is also here. *[Applause]*

Thank you all. I see Zeder has got two friends here. Well—*[laughter]*—thank you all for that warm welcome. I wasn't kidding when I told Pat, because it is nice to get away from Washington to warmer climes and to cooler heads. *[Laughter]* I was hoping to do a little fishing here, but after a

lifetime catching fish with names like skate, perch, pike, bass, and trout—somebody told me that Hawaii's State fish is the humuhumunukunukuapua'a. If I can't say it, I'll never catch it, so anyway—*[laughter]*—

No, but Hawaii is a wonderfully welcoming place. And you feel it in the warm wind, and you see it in the eyes of the young and the old. Sense it even in your State Capitol—not some dark, exclusive dome but a roof under the sky to the Sun and the stars, as if to make room for higher aspirations. And Hawaii has taught the world that men and women from Asia, Africa, and the Americas, and Europe can tie their destinies together in a common cause. And so, we're here to support someone who brings that lesson to life every single day for all people, of any party or persuasion, who want a brighter future for Hawaii; a great teacher; a great lady; a great leader who cares about this State and its people and knows how to serve them well in Washington. And of course, I'm talking about our dear friend Pat Saiki, the next Senator from Hawaii.

She's been one who's been beating the odds. And back when the experts said she had no chance, she won her House seat with 60 percent. And next month, with your help, she's going to defy the odds again as the first Asian American woman in the United States Senate. And it's about time. She can reach out to independents, to Democrats. And over her two terms in Congress, I watched her in action, admired her bipartisan approach to her work, seen her build consensus across the aisle, getting Republicans and Democrats to pull together. And she's smart, and she's effective, and she moves government forward. And she knows that leaders are sent to Washington not to quarrel but to lead. And I know that America needs that spirit of aloha in the United States Senate.

You know, Pat Saiki adds an important voice to this great State's presence in Wash-

ington. She was part of a broad coalition concerned about Japanese Americans interned during World War II. And it was Pat who helped convince President Reagan to sign legislation reaffirming us as a nation of integrity and fairness. And just this month, I was proud to personally communicate the Nation's regret to the noble survivors of those camps.

Pat's commitment to justice is just one way that she has helped make America ever stronger and ever more proud. You know, long before it became a national code, Pat has been a leader in the Congress to safeguard Hawaii's precious environment: protecting marine life from drift netting, expanding wildlife refuges, and working to establish oilspill strike teams to protect Hawaii's waters. And very soon I hope to have on my desk in Washington a clean air act that I can sign—the one my administration proposed way back last year to the United States Congress. And if I do get such a bill, I know that part of the reason will be the steadfast support Pat Saiki has given to our environmental initiatives. She's been a champion, a clear-thinking champion for the environment. And that bodes well for all of you when she becomes the next Senator from this great State.

You know, I remember the visit I had when Pat came to see me, urging that the bombing of Kaho'olawe should be halted. And just this week I directed the Secretary of Defense to discontinue the island's use as a weapons range, effective immediately. And if that is good, give some credit to Pat Saiki. She's an effective, compassionate leader—sound judgment—whose voice gets heard, who makes things happen.

You know, when she did come to see me in the Oval Office last spring, she stressed the importance of these environmental issues and also talked about trade with our Pacific Rim neighbors. And she's got a vision of Hawaii as more than a gateway to the Pacific Rim. She's excited about the meeting I'm having tomorrow with these leaders from the Islands. And I think it's a good time, and I think it's about time, that an American President sat down with the heads of these countries out there and tell them that we are as one in our respect for and love of the Pacific.

And she sees Hawaii as I do, a future focal point for international trade and new technology. For example, she and I know how important it is to achieve success at these GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] talks—the final part of the Uruguay round. These negotiations, if we're successful—and I was on the phone to some of the foreign leaders, the leaders of Europe, today on this very subject—if these negotiations are successful, they will open up new markets for Hawaii's agricultural products. And I am absolutely convinced that the United States can compete with anyone, anywhere, as long as the playing field is level and the competition is free and fair. And that's what Pat and I are fighting for.

Further, she knows how to harness the power of Hawaiian business by unleashing the power of the people themselves. We'll have a brighter future with Pat in the Senate. You know, Pat knows the future will always be just out of reach if we follow the failed tradition of taxing and spending, spending and taxing. And that's why she's got the best spending record of anyone in the Hawaiian delegation. In fact, her efforts against waste in government made her a two-time winner of the Golden Bulldog Award. You can just picture it. You've got to be careful when I'm talking about these dogs because Barbara was out here recently and you may recall that our dog, Millie, is now a famous author. [Laughter] And if she hears Pat wins the Golden Bulldog Award our springer spaniel may be jealous. Ever since her book hit the bestseller list, she's been a lot—full of herself. Give her some Alpo and she asks for a wine list around the White House these days. [Laughter]

I'm sure you've been watching the news about these budget negotiations with Congress. Put it this way: I hope you haven't been watching the news about the budget negotiations with Congress. [Laughter] If you think it hasn't been pretty from 5,000 miles away, you ought to try it close up. [Laughter] No, it hasn't been pretty. But I think we are getting closer to an agreement—an agreement that is long, long overdue. Because every time I see a little guy like this one in the front row—and for you in the back, he's about this big—I say to

T myself, we must stop mortgaging the future of these young kids by deficit after deficit after deficit. And the Congress better get going and get something done about it.

You know, it's different—I've discovered a few things. One is, it's different being President. There's a weighty observation. [Laughter] And Harry Truman was right—the buck does stop at my desk. Because as President, I do have to put the national interest first before the parochial interest. And so, I am determined to do my level best, in a spirit of compromise and in a spirit of outreach, to get an agreement that puts a stop to this congressional spending binge. Unless you haven't noticed it, I want a 5-year, \$500-billion deficit reduction program that is enforceable—a bill that cannot be overridden the very next year and that will really guarantee these young kids that they will not have their future mortgaged by the big-spending Congress of the United States. And I say this not in a spirit of partisanship, but if we had more people like Pat on our side of the aisle and we had more like her elected to the Senate, I can guarantee you we wouldn't be back year after year in a deficit mode. She is a fiscal conservative, and we need her in the United States Senate.

Some talk about the blending of principles between the Democrat and the Republican Party nationally. But principles like—I think they're clear—principles like the enduring commitment to freedom and justice and individual empowerment—I think of that as a principle that unites us. The constant determination to place our faith in limited Federal Government—one that's got compassion and one that's got conscience, though. And this party and our leadership in Washington continues to fight the failed policies of the past. Look back. Our 1988 platform called for limiting the terms on the Members of Congress. And as you look at the momentum growing across the country, I am convinced that it's an idea whose time has come.

We are the party that empowers people, not an entrenched bureaucracy of 20,000 congressional staffers on Capitol Hill. And we are determined to put the national interest ahead of the special interest. So I'm here at this event on a purely partisan mission—because I believe so strongly in Pat

Saiki. I know she can reach out and get voters from both sides of the aisles. I know she can make good things happen for the people of her State. So, I need her as part of our team.

But as Senator Vandenberg said many years ago, partisanship stops at the water's edge. I must tell you, in that spirit of bipartisanship, that I am truly grateful for the bipartisan support not only from the Congress but also from the American people for our efforts to stand up firm against Saddam Hussein's aggression and brutality in the Persian Gulf. The Democratic leaders in the House and the Republican leaders in the House, and the Democratic leaders in the Senate and the Republican leaders in the Senate came together in a resolution supporting the efforts that I have taken, the moves that I have made as President of the United States. And I think that sends a good, clear symbol of unity to that invading dictator halfway around the world.

On Sunday, I'm going to be putting partisanship aside and head out for Hickam Air Force Base to tell Hawaii's service men and women how much they mean to America and to the cause of peace in the whole world. Our thoughts and prayers are with them and their family every day. And I know that Pat and all of you here join me in saluting the finest young men and women that have ever served in the uniform of the United States of America.

President Eisenhower worried about global conflict in 1959. And he said: "Hawaii cries insistently to a divided world that all our differences of race and origin are less than the grand and indestructible unity of our common brotherhood. The world should take time to listen to Hawaii."

Well, today Washington does listen to Hawaii and to Pat Saiki. And it's been a close race for her. But we're beginning to see the daylight. And that means bright days for this State are ahead. So this November, do absolutely all you can to get out the vote, from Hilo on the big island to Maui to Kaneohe—where I flew out of there during World War II for a little bit—to the bustling streets of Honolulu right here on Oahu. Get the people to the polls, and send Pat Saiki to the United States Senate. We need her. She is outstanding.

**Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater
on the President's Meeting With
Secretary of State Agostino Cardinal
Casaroli of Vatican City**

October 31, 1990

The President met with the Vatican Secretary of State Agostino Cardinal Casaroli for approximately 40 minutes in the Oval Office this morning.

Cardinal Casaroli came to the United States to receive the Prisoner of Conscience Award from the Appeal of Conscience Foundation in New York. Following his meeting with the President, the Cardinal went on to have a private meeting with the Vice President. Later this afternoon he will be having lunch with [United Nations] Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar in New York.

During the Oval Office meeting, the President and the Cardinal discussed the situation in the Gulf. The President expressed appreciation for the Vatican's support for U.N. sanctions against Iraq and reiterated our position that nothing short of complete implementation of the U.N. Security Council's resolutions is acceptable. Both leaders expressed the hope that a peaceful resolution to the current crisis could be found.

**Executive Order 12732—International
Fund for Agricultural Development**

October 31, 1990

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including section 1 of the International Organizations Immunities Act (22 U.S.C. 288), and in order to facilitate participation in the International Fund for Agricultural Development, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. The International Fund for Agricultural Development, which was established by an agreement to which the United States is a party and which entered into force on November 30, 1977, is hereby designated as a public international organization entitled to enjoy the privileges, exemptions, and immunities conferred by the

International Organizations Immunities Act. This designation is not intended to abridge in any respect the privileges, exemptions, or immunities that such organization has acquired by international agreement or by Act of Congress.

Sec. 2. This order shall be effective immediately.

George Bush

The White House,
October 31, 1990.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:12 a.m., November 1, 1990]

**Remarks at a Republican Party
Fundraising Breakfast in Burlington,
Massachusetts**

November 1, 1990

Thank you all so much for that warm welcome. My only hope is that when I had to stand you up a few weeks ago that you paid again to get in here—[laughter]—because it is absolutely essential that Bill Weld be elected the next Governor of this State.

It's great to be back here, not far from where I was born. Great to be back here, very, very close to where my beloved sister votes—Nan Ellis. Glad to see her again. And great to be near Concord.

When John MacGovern is elected to represent the Fifth District, it's going to be the second "shot that was heard round the world." John supported me way back in '78, and we were reminiscing about that as we flew up on Air Force One today. And I do believe he'll be an important new voice for Massachusetts, the kind of voice for change that Bill so articulately called for.

I see many friends here today, people that helped me a lot: Dave Locke and, of course, Ray Shamie and Steve Pierce, who's in there fighting for our ticket, Andy Card, who's doing such a great job in the White House now, Ron Kaufman, your national committeeman. I'm delighted to be with all of them. And Gussy Hornblower, I'm glad to see you, our national committeewoman.

The first thing I want to do is give my congratulations to the terrific team that is

going to bring change and a clean house to Massachusetts on Tuesday. It's headed by a man of total integrity and vision. He wants a State without corruption. Bill Weld will turn Massachusetts into a place where strength means strength of character, not strength of old-boy connections. Another leader for the nineties is my friend of long-standing. We go back a long, long time in the political wars. I'm talking about Paul Cellucci. I am grateful for his loyalty, his dedication, and his ability. And along with Bill and Paul, we've got Joe Malone, candidate for State treasurer. He knows what's needed to pull the economy out of tough times, though I myself had an idea for a creative solution to your budget mess: Just start paying the judges by the hour. [Laughter] And of course, Paul McCarthy for secretary of state and Doug Murray for auditor, Bill Sawyer for the AG. It's a wonderful team—clean, strong, able.

A few years ago, a Democrat teenager had a summer job working here for the city. When he tried to give back the leftover project money, he was told, No, spend it all, or else we won't get any added on next year. It was at that moment that our next Senator, Jim Rappaport, decided he'd have nothing more to do with the tax-and-spend politics of the State Democrats. He became a Republican. We're glad he did. And believe me, you look at that Senate, and you can understand why I need him in Washington, DC. Good luck, Jim.

You heard Bill mention this. There is no higher domestic priority for the Republican agenda than America's economy. The economy—we've got to get it going, because the economy is the job-creating engine that every family of this country counts on.

If events that he talked about in Eastern Europe and around the world have reminded us of anything, it's that free markets and enterprise are good for people. And America still does it better than anybody else. Still, in recent months, we've seen some uncertainty and concern about slower economic growth in this country. That's one reason for me getting a budget agreement was critical and why I was willing to go the extra mile to get it.

The negotiations, as we all know, were difficult, and they were tough, but we finally reached an agreement with the Demo-

cratic majority that controls the Congress. There were clear differences between the two parties in our approach to solving this spiraling deficit problem facing our country. They simply wanted to raise taxes, including income tax rates. I wanted to reduce the deficit with spending cuts in accord with the budget that I sent up to Congress and couldn't get passed. What we got then was a compromise, and like all compromises, there was some good with the bad.

We got about \$500 billion—I think the figure is \$492 billion—in real deficit reduction over a 5-year period, close to half a trillion dollars. We got \$350 billion in spending cuts out of that—the largest cut in history. We got incentives to try to stimulate economic growth. And we put Congress on the pay-as-you-go plan. The enforcement—one of the key things about this that is good—the enforcement provisions of this budget agreement: They are real, they are strong, and no longer can these Washington programs that are inflicted on the States be funded with red ink. And if they try to raise spending one dime, they've got to cut other excess spending or find the money for it right there and then. The enforcement provisions are good, and I'm going to see they stay that way.

Finally, we did hold the line against reckless cuts of our Armed Forces. I'm determined to ensure that this nation's defense remains strong. We owe that much to our men and women in the Persian Gulf.

But getting our fiscal policy on track is just part of what we've accomplished, as what Bill and Paul and Jim called the party of change. Well over a year ago, I challenged the Congress and people to work with me to break the stalemate that has hindered our progress on clean air for the past decade. We put our best minds to work on both sides of the aisle, both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, to turn technology and the power of the marketplace to the advantage of the environment; to create; to innovate; to tip the scales in favor of recovery, restoration, and renewal.

A year ago, I said, "Every American expects and deserves to breathe clean air. And as President, it is my mission to guarantee it for this generation and for generations to come." Today, thanks to the inno-

vation and cooperation of industry, government, environmental experts, I can say that I now have a clean air bill that I can sign.

And the legislation will remove 10 million tons of emissions that cause acid rain from the air. It will bring the Nation's 100 most smog-laden cities safe, healthy air. And it encourages the use of alternative fuels that are safer for our environment and make us far less dependent on foreign oil. This bill is good for us; it's good for our kids; and it's good for Canada, our neighbor to the north, and Mexico, our neighbor to the south. And it sends a signal of commitment and leadership to the rest of the world.

The fulfillment of this commitment has broken a 13-year legislative logjam; but most important, it's going to make every man, woman, and child breathe a little easier. Because Republicans care about change, and we've got a clean air bill. We've got it because we were the ones that wanted to effect change. And I think that is something to celebrate.

But of course, there's still work to be done on our national agenda that coincides very closely to Jim Rappaport's agenda and Bill Weld, Paul Cellucci's agenda. See, I think that our country is fed up with crime. And the Republicans know handcuffs belong not on the cops and the courts, they belong on the criminals.

Shortly after taking office, I stood before the Capitol, and I called on Congress to pass new, tough laws to help America take back the streets. Instead, in the final hours of the Congress, as we were moving toward tougher crime legislation, Democratic liberals choked and completely gutted our package to fight back against violent crime.

Republicans fought for the habeas corpus reforms, aimed at stopping convicted criminals from endlessly abusing the appeals process. Republicans fought for reforms of the exclusionary rule, a judge-made law that lets the guilty go free. And Republicans fought for a real Federal death penalty for drug kingpins and terrorists. And the liberal Democrats blocked these provisions, blocked the will of the American people. We need to be tough on crimes and criminals. We want change. Give me more Republicans, and we'll get the kind of change that the Nation deserves.

Republicans want to build a better America, and it's not just Washington. To do it, we need more Republicans. We need a Governor like Bill Weld in the statehouse. And of course, we need more Members of the United States Senate that think as we do on matters of crime and the environment. And again, I repeat my plea for Jim Rappaport. He'll be outstanding.

Now, I know there's an awful lot of interest in what's happening halfway around the world. And I also know that we're standing here at an event that is strong on partisan politics. It's the way the American system ought to be; it's the way it is. And as I was flying in over—making our approach, coming into the field out here at Hanscom, I couldn't help but be struck by not only the beauty of New England but by the importance of what we're all engaged in: participation in the American political process. I'm not a cynic. I believe in it. I look at these candidates; and I think we are fortunate to have such outstanding, dedicated, qualified individuals running for statewide office and congressional office in this State—feel strongly about it.

So, I have no apologies, only pride in being at a partisan political event. But for the minute now, I want to ask you to just set partisan politics aside, because I know that everyone in this country is vitally interested in the situation in the Middle East. So, let me just, in a few minutes, bring you up to date. You see, I believe that Senator Arthur Vandenberg was right when he said: "Politics ends at the water's edge." We got away from that in the turmoil of Vietnam and, to some degree, even in Korea, but mainly out of the Vietnam experience. And I should say right here before commenting that I am grateful to the leaders and other Members of Congress, Democrat and Republican, for their strong bipartisan support.

On August 2d, Iraq invaded Kuwait. They literally raped, pillaged, and plundered this once-peaceful land, this nation that is a member of the Arab League, a member of the United Nations. Iraq began then to brutally and systematically dismantle Kuwait. There is an historical analogy here between what's happened to Kuwait and what happened to Poland when the world stood still,

sat on the sidelines, including our country. They began to systematically dismantle it by shipping its medical equipment, its machines, its records, its assets back to Baghdad—brutal, systematic dismantling.

They've tried to silence Kuwaiti dissent and courage with an old way of doing that—I'm talking about the firing squads. In one incident, a 15-year-old boy gunned down, his family forced to watch. His crime: passing out leaflets.

The United States and the rest of the world, united in anger and outrage, determined to force Saddam Hussein [President of Iraq] out of Kuwait. On August 5th, he announced that he was pulling his forces out of Kuwait. At that very moment, he sent his armor and his troops south to mass along the Saudi Arabian border, threatening yet another member of the United Nations, another member of the Arab League.

Subsequently, the United Nations Security Council passed 10 resolutions of condemnation and disapproval. On August 5th, I said that Saddam Hussein's aggression will not stand. Today I am more determined than ever. This aggression will not stand.

This morning, right now, over 300 innocent Americans, civilians, are held against their will in Iraq, denied the freedoms granted all under international law. Many of them reportedly staked out as human shields near possible military targets, something that even Adolf Hitler didn't do. Many more Americans are in hiding in Kuwait, hidden by courageous Kuwaitis, their lives at stake. A number imprisoned in an Embassy of the United States right there in Kuwait City. They are cut off from food and other supplies. They are surrounded by Iraqi troops. Our flag does still fly, but the rights of these American citizens are, at this very moment, being denied by Iraq's brutal dictator.

So, let me be clear: We have no argument with the Iraqi people, none at all. We bear no hostility to the Iraqi people, nor do any of the other 25 countries represented on land and sea, standing with us shoulder to shoulder in the Gulf. Our problem is with Saddam Hussein alone.

I want desperately to have a peaceful resolution to this crisis. Indeed, we've worked closely with the United Nations in putting sanctions into effect, in passing resolutions,

in speaking with one voice against the invader's aggression. We are giving the sanctions the time to work. And I hope that there will never be a shot fired in anger. But let me be very, very clear: There will be no compromise on the stated objectives of the United Nations Security Council resolutions, none at all.

The brutality against innocent civilians will not be tolerated and will not stand. Saddam's clear violations of international law will not stand. And that means, yes, his brutal aggression will not stand. No one wants a peaceful end to this crisis more than I do. But no one is more determined to see this aggression turned back than I am. And I will not change on that fundamental point of morality.

As to our own kids, our own forces in the Gulf, they are the best. They're the best young men and women ever to serve in our Armed Forces. They're all volunteers. They're all volunteers. They're all well-trained. They are all highly motivated. They are your sons and daughters; they're your neighbors' kids. They're the finest, and we owe them an enormous vote of thanks.

You know, these men and women don't take democracy for granted. Thousands upon thousands of them are going to be sending in absentee ballots from the Saudi desert or upon the seas of the Gulf of Oman and near the Straits of Hormuz. And if they can find the time to vote under such challenging conditions, so can every single American here at home. We have an obligation to show these extraordinary GIs that we don't take democracy for granted either. So, let's make them as proud of us as we are of them.

Now, shifting the gears back 180, I was here to support an outstanding ticket for the statewide offices and congressional offices in the State of Massachusetts. You can be a part of significant change if you'll elect Bill Weld the next Governor and elect Jim Rappaport the next Senator.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 9:41 a.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Burlington Marriott Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to David Locke, minority leader of the State senate; Ray Shamie, chairman of the State

or two, but it won't be because of the kind of dissatisfaction with somebody's performance at all. And it damn sure won't be related to any standing in the polls or anything as—am I ever glad that I told you all—[laughter]—and I would like to remind you of it—months ago—[laughter]—September. [Laughter] No, but seriously, I think it's fair to point out I told you, when things were soaring like eagles, don't believe the polls. And I think now I'm entitled to say: Hey, we're going to come on back. Don't worry about it. They'll be all right.

Thank you ever so much. Thank you. Thanks a lot.

Note: The President's 64th news conference began at 4:36 p.m. in Room D at the Marriott World Center Hotel.

Remarks at Reception for Governor Bob Martinez in Orlando, Florida

November 1, 1990

Thank you all very, very much. You've been standing there a long time. Thank you. I am just delighted to be here. And the minute I got off this airplane, I felt that enthusiasm, the surge that guarantees that Bobby Martinez will be the Governor come election day once again. He deserves it, and he's got it moving. And Mary Jane, you were fantastic. If you want our dog to come down and campaign for you, just invite her. Barbara's already done her thing for Bob. [Laughter]

And of course, Allison DeFoor—I mean, here's a sheriff, a man of the law, a man of the people. He'll be an outstanding Lieutenant Governor serving at Bob's side, working against the criminals in this State—law and order, sound fight against narcotics. We're lucky to have a man like this on our ticket, I'll tell you.

Let me pay my respects to the Senator standing next to me here, Connie Mack. Although he's not running, he's out there across this State campaigning hard, giving the Florida Democrats a "Mack attack"—[laughter]—and doing a first-class job. And we're delighted you're here today.

And then my old friend [Representative] Bill McCollum. He and I have been suited up in the political warfare for years. And you ought to see, you ought to see the job he does on his anticrime legislation and on this whole protection of the rights of the American family. He is superb. And we need another like him, and that's why Bill Tolley has got to be elected. Bill, good luck to you. For those of you in this congressional district, get out the vote and send me another good member of the Florida delegation, someone I can work with to hold down these taxes and keep the government out of your pocket. Bill, we need you.

And, of course, I want to pay my respects to three old friends: Jeanie Austin, who's doing a superb job on the national level as cochairman of the Republican National Party; Van Poole—Mr. Chairman, we now call him—thank you for your extraordinary effort in leading this [Florida State Republican] party to majority status. And then, of course, when you want some heavy lifting done, I'll give you a little advice: get Alec Courtelis to do it. What a superb job he's done as finance chairman.

And so, I'm thrilled to be back here. This election here in Florida is close; it's crucial; it is important. And a few nights ago—I missed it, but I've had the instant replay—you saw it. You saw what was at stake. You saw what it takes to be a great Governor. And you saw a Governor offer the balanced approach that you would expect from a seasoned leader of a city, now a leader of a great and a growing State. You saw Governor Bob Martinez in action win that debate and go on to win the vote, now he'll do it on Tuesday.

And some of what came through there was much of what we've been watching as his admiring friends over the years. We saw one who believes that the people of Florida know what's best for themselves. And he believes in empowering people, empowering communities, tapping into the power that comes when millions work for a common vision. And little surprise then that under a Republican Governor, Florida is moving forward for a cleaner environment, for better schools for these kids, for streets safe from drugs and crime.

Florida ranks number one in the creation of new businesses and new jobs, especially in high-tech manufacturing. And the credit goes, of course, to the people of Florida and to this man, Governor Bob Martinez.

You're looking at a kindred soul when it comes to one who has respect for the Everglades because I love going down there each year. And you know that I know that every Floridian treasures the Everglades, that unique and irreplaceable resource. And last year, I was able to sign into law a bill increasing the size of the Everglades National Park by more than 100,000 acres—Connie Mack being most instrumental in this, strong supporter of this legislation; Bob Martinez urging that it be done. I need a Governor here with whom I can work in the White House.

And, yes, I think we can say—and this message goes out to other States—that Florida is tough on drugs. Bob is in the lead here—leading Governor on substance abuse and drug trafficking for the National Governors Association, fighting against these for the good of Florida. And he set a national precedent by appointing a State drug czar. And he's been a leader in making sure that parolees undergo drug testing and counseling to get straight and stay straight. And the credit goes to this man, Governor Bob Martinez.

And so, whether he is standing up for the environment or standing up to the drug dealers, he's completed a remarkable record of achievement that would make any Governor proud. He's never been one to walk away from a job. And for Governor Bob Martinez, even the toughest challenge is just another day at the office. We're lucky to have him. Please reelect him.

I was up in Massachusetts—two stops in Massachusetts—and the theme there is the same as it is here. The Republican Party is the party of change, not the status quo. We are the party of new ideas. And there is no higher domestic priority on the Republican agenda than the Nation's economy because our economy is the job-creating engine that every family in this country counts on.

And I know in recent months there's been some understandable uncertainty about and concern about slower economic growth. And that's one reason getting a

budget agreement in my view was important and why I was willing to go the extra mile to get it. The negotiations were tough. And my approach was clear. The Democrats wanted to raise taxes, including income taxes, and I wanted to reduce the Federal budget deficit with spending cuts. And if we had had more Senators like Connie Mack, more Congressmen like Bill McCollum, we would have got it done exactly the way I wanted. Because they don't want to raise taxes on the American people. And they want to cut spending.

But every once in awhile a President has to compromise to make something happen—to govern. And in this one, there was some good news, actually. We got \$492 billion in deficit reduction, \$350 billion in spending cuts. And then we've got some incentives in there to make America less dependent on foreign oil. And this is critical, and it is very important: We put Congress on a pay-as-you-go basis. The enforcement provisions of this agreement are real, and they are strong, and no longer will new programs be funded with red ink.

And finally, we did do something that I think is vitally important—and these two Members of Congress agree is vitally important—and that is we held the line against reckless cuts in our defense spending. You see, I am determined that given the threats we face around the world, I am determined that this nation's defense remain strong and prepared. And we owe that much, at least, to those fine young men and women who are stationed in the Persian Gulf serving our country with such distinction.

But let me tell you other places where our agenda coincides with what Bob Martinez believes. We fought for a responsible child-care law, one that would put choice into the hands of American families. You see, it is our belief that we ought to empower parents to choose those who will care for their children, not let the Federal Government make a determination how that should work.

We fought for this, and these leaders here helped enormously, and we won it. And we also fought for a responsible clean air bill. And we asked Congress to cut acid rain, to cut smog by harnessing new technology

with the power of the marketplace. And we fought for this, and we won it.

And of great concern to me and to Florida is yet another landmark law, a fair and effective law to ensure the civil rights of every disabled American. And so, I was particularly proud in this session to sign into law the Americans with Disabilities Act, historic legislation that protects the civil rights of 43 million men, women, and children with disabilities. And that bill does prohibit discrimination against the disabled in employment and public accommodations and transportation and communications. And all Americans with disabilities can now pass through a once-closed door to a bright new era of equality and independence and freedom and opportunity.

And so, there were some historic achievements: clean air, child care, this ADA bill. The great strides, though, are just beginning to show what Republicans can do for this country. And, of course, there is still much more work to be done on the Republican agenda. And at the top of our agenda—and I report to you with not too much happiness on this one—was crime. America is fed up with crime, whether it's neighborhood crime or crime in somebody else's city. And Republicans know handcuffs belong not on the cops and the courts, handcuffs belong on the criminals. And that was the underpinning of our crime bill.

And shortly after taking office, I stood before the U.S. Capitol and called on Congress to pass tough, new laws to help America take back its streets. And instead, in the final hours of Congress, the Democratic liberals—those in Washington like the ones Bob is running against here—completely gutted our package to fight against violent crime. Republicans—two of them right here—fought for habeas corpus reforms aimed at stopping convicted criminals from endlessly abusing the appeals process. Republicans fought for revision of the so-called exclusionary rule, a judge-made law that lets the guilty go free. And Republicans fought for a real Federal death penalty for drug kingpins and terrorists. And we've got to be tough on crime and criminals. And it's Republicans that want change. Give me more Republicans in the House and in the Senate to get this job done.

And as I make that plea for Bill Tolley to go to Congress to support Bill McCollum and Connie Mack, as I do that, let me just say that Republicans can look no further than what Bob Martinez has done. With his leadership, it can be done. In other words, with his leadership, Florida has been tough on crime, toughening laws to ensure that the criminals stay behind bars and adding the prison space to enforce it. He picked a no-nonsense sheriff—standing right here—as his running mate. And that tells you something. Bob Martinez and Allison DeFoor will make Florida an even safer place to live, and you can count on it. You can count on their doing just that.

And that's what this election is all about. But, of course, while the election in Florida is crucial, our thoughts are also halfway around the world with the brave young men and women who are teaching us a lesson about what it means to love liberty. And so, my appeal would be this: As November 6th draws near, 5 days from now, I urge every Floridian to get out and vote. Do not take democracy for granted. And when you do vote, I hope you cast your ballot for a Governor who will carefully balance the needs of Florida's abundant and beautiful natural resources with the needs of man.

Bob Martinez—and I've been in his home; I've known him for years; he's been in our home up in Washington—he believes in the Florida dream. We can make the most of economic opportunity while protecting this State's special way of life.

And so, my appeal to you tonight on behalf of your State and nation is to vote for a leader who can take Florida forward. Vote for Governor Bob Martinez.

Thank you for all you have done for our country and for our party. And now go out and give America a better deal. Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 5:32 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom of the Marriott World Center Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Governor Martinez' wife, Mary Jane.

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million tons, and then cap them at these lower levels. It will cut the emissions that cause smog in our cities, so that by the end of this century more than 100 major U.S. cities will have cleaner, healthier air. And it will cut these dangerous air toxic emissions by 75 percent. And it will encourage broader use of alternative fuels.

Ever since I first joined the Congress more than 25 years ago, I have been committed to using our laws to protect the environment; and so, of course, has our Senator Pete Wilson. We both believe that in its size and scope this clean air act isn't simply the most significant environmental legislation of this administration, it's the most significant air pollution legislation in the history of this country.

This clean air act is sound energy policy as well because it does promote conservation. It encourages the use of cleaner fuels. It strengthens America's energy security. And in a short time since we issued the clean air challenge, we've seen a revolution in thinking about alternative fuels. The time is right, the people are ready, and industry is responding.

We are on the verge of a new era for clean air. And so, to commemorate a milestone in America's environmental history, today we'll plant a tree, because what we celebrate this day has roots running deeper than law. It is potential for new progress, a planting with a daily harvest, a promise lasting far longer than our lifetimes.

And so, thank you all for joining us at this symbolic occasion. I am very grateful that we have a clean air act. And now I would encourage all the citizens in our country to follow the example of today, right on this campus, and assist us in making tree planting a major national objective—not only good for the United States but it benefits the entire world.

Thank you all so much for coming.

Note: The President spoke at 9:50 a.m. in Kingsman Park on the campus of California Lutheran University. In his remarks, he referred to Jerry Miller, president of the university.

Remarks at a Reception for Gubernatorial Candidate Pete Wilson in Thousand Oaks, California

November 3, 1990

Thank you very, very much. Pete, let me give you my impartial view of the situation. [Laughter] It is absolutely essential to California and it is absolutely essential, I'd say, for the entire country that this, the biggest State in the Union, have Pete Wilson as the next Governor, following our outstanding Governor George Deukmejian.

And I'm delighted to be in Elton's congressional district. We need him back there and plenty more like him. And the same for Bob Lagomarsino for the next district. And this year in California, we have a class-act, skilled, seasoned ticket of excellence. With us today, Marion Bergeson, the next Lieutenant Governor; Joan Milke Flores, as secretary of state; Tom Hayes, State treasurer—we need him there to watch these guys—and of course, Dan Lungren, my old friend and former Congressman, who will be a great attorney general; and Wes Banister, the insurance commissioner. We've got a great ticket. Now you've got to vote for Pete and the rest of them. And after they've served their term, how about sending Eric Peterson off to be Governor of the State? The guy's tough.

I take great pride as President in the way the Marine Band, the President's own, plays "Hail to the Chief." But if they ever get tired, what about the Thousand Oaks High School Band? They were marvelous. You guys were good, real good.

I am delighted to be back with you. What a reception I had at the airport, Point Mugu: red carpet, 21-gun salute, signs saying, "Welcome back!" "We love you!" And when I went down the stairs, I told someone I was surprised by the big greeting. He said, "Not as surprised as I was. We were expecting Barbara."

Gayle, she sends her love to you. She's your friend, as you know. And we Bushes, our entire family, just wish you and Pete all the best on this very important coming Tuesday.

You know, I won't regale you with the background, but you know the record: the great mayor of San Diego, superb Senator.

President Reagan calls him principled. Even his opponents call him wonderful. [Laughter] And in January, everyone will call him Governor.

He's a great manager. As mayor, he balanced 11 straight budgets. As an environmentalist, he's playing a great, big part in my decision to put a moratorium earlier this year on oil and gas leasing off the coast. An advocate for fiscal sanity, quality education. You know of his record as being tough on crime and wanting the laws in Washington to do something about it. And the same approach would be brought to bear following up on Duke's magnificent record right here in Sacramento. He deserves your support, so I came out here to say: Let's elect Pete Wilson the next Governor of this State.

You know, in recent months, we've seen some uncertainty and concern about the slower economic growth across our country. And that's why a budget agreement of sorts was crucial. And that's why I had to compromise—found as Harry Truman said, that the buck does stop on the President's desk. And every once in a while, you have to make a tough decision to compromise. And despite tough negotiations, we finally reached a budget agreement with the Democrats that control both Houses of Congress.

And when it came to our approach, though, let me point out three big differences. The Democrats—and Elton and Bob know this well, and Pete as well—wanted to raise taxes, including income tax rates on every working man and woman in this country. And I wanted to reduce the deficit by spending cuts. We did get a \$492-billion deficit reduction over 5 years—\$350 billion of it in spending cuts, incentives to make us less dependent on foreign oil. So, there were some good things there. But the main thing: Congress now is on a pay-as-you-go plan. There are real enforcement provisions. And finally, although the defense budget was reduced, thanks to Pete Wilson and others like him that know the importance of our national security we held the line against reckless cuts to ensure that this nation's Armed Forces remain strong. We are in a dangerous world, and we better not let down our guard. And thank God for Pete and Congressmen like these two.

That's just part of what we've accomplished as a party of change. For example, when it comes to the environment—Pete mentioned it—but he and I believe that to keep our environment green, we don't have to be Big Green. And in fact, Pete wrote the first coastal protection act, and a driving force for our environmental initiatives, supported our expanded land acquisition for national parks and wildlife refuges and forest and public lands. And all of this explains why I asked Pete to lead our crusade for clean air. And today, as a result—thanks to the innovation and cooperation of the industry; of government; our EPA [Environmental Protection Agency], under Bill Reilly, who's with me here today; and the environmentalists across the country—we have broken a 13-year legislative logjam. And finally, I have a clean air bill that I will be proud to sign when I go back to Washington, DC.

I wish I could give you a better report on the Congress. If we had more Republicans in the Congress like these two, I could give you a better one. But let me just say this: There's still work to be done on our agenda.

Ask Pete, the grandson of a police officer who gave his life in the line of duty. He knows, I know, George Deukmejian knows, America is fed up with crime. And we want people who have a little more sensitivity to the police officers, and a little less for the criminals themselves.

Shortly after I took office, I stood before the Capitol and I called on the Congress to pass tough, new laws to help America take back the streets. And instead, in the final hours of the Congress—George thinks he's got troubles with Willie Brown [speaker of the State assembly]—[laughter]—look, in the final hours of this Congress, the Democratic liberals choked, and they completely gutted our package to fight back against violent crime. We fought for habeas corpus reforms aimed at stopping the convicted criminals from endlessly abusing the appeals process. We fought for reforms of the exclusionary rule, a law that lets the guilty go free far too often. And we fought for a real Federal death penalty for drug kingpins and terrorists and those who gun down our police officers. And the liberals gutted those right out of our package. They

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blocked them, and we've got to get tough now.

And I think especially of the fine, young police officers like San Bernardino's own Rob Shultis, who was brutally killed last February. We will be tough on crime. And give me more Republicans in Washington, more people like Pete Wilson in Sacramento, and we'll get the job done for the American people and for the American families.

It is simply not fair—I wish you all could see these little kids here—but it is simply not fair that their parents have to worry in some areas of this country when the kids go to school, have to worry about the kids' safety. It is time—not to be brutal about it—but it is time to have more thoughtful people who want to be tough on crime to take back our streets. And that's another reason I'm for Pete Wilson.

There's a lot of wonderful young people here from this great school, and I'm grateful to President Miller—[*applause*—I am grateful to the president and Eric and the students that are here today. But let me—I saw some signs out here, and I understand them. And the signs—so let me first put the caveat down. I want to shift gears. I want to ask you now to lay aside the partisan politics because this is—it's not often I have a chance to talk to this many people in the State, in the State of California—back in Washington all the time.

But we're at a partisan political event, but I'm asking you to shift gears now because everyone I know is vitally interested in what Pete talked about; that's the situation in the Gulf. And just a few words about our mission there, having said that I am very grateful to the Republican leaders, to the Democratic leaders, liberals, conservatives, whoever, for the support they are giving our policy in the Persian Gulf. It isn't partisan; it is American. And I am very grateful for that support.

So you have it—and particularly the young people—so you have it in your sights: We have no quarrel with the Iraqi people, none at all. We bear no hostility to the people of Iraq, nor do any of the other 25 countries represented on land and sea in the Gulf in the most fantastic coalition put together since World War II, or even in-

cluding that. We have a magnificent U.N.-based coalition standing up to the aggressor of Iraq. So, our problem is not with the young people there or the man on the street there; our problem is with Saddam Hussein [President of Iraq] and his determination to be the neighborhood bully. And there's a fundamental moral point here: A neighbor cannot take over another neighbor, bully it, brutalize it, rape, pillage, and plunder in Kuwait, and get away with it. If we permit that to happen, we'll pay the price another day. And I will not let that aggression stand.

Yesterday at Point Mugu, I climbed off the plane and had a chance to at least shake hands with some of the wives of our young people over there. And look, they're your brothers, our neighbors, sons, daughters, friends. These aren't strangers. These are the finest trained American troops in the history of this country. Every single one of them is a volunteer. And they are beautifully motivated. And yet their families are split asunder. And so, my message is this: I will give the sanctions—unprecedented economic sanctions—the chance to work. I will give them the time to work. And I can tell each parent, each brother, each sister, I hope there never is a shot fired in anger. I hope that every single one of those kids will come home without a shot having been fired.

Now, having said that, we are the United States. I see these signs about Hungary and the other countries that now enjoy the freedoms that sometimes we have taken for granted, and I can identify with that. And I can identify with the fantastic changes that are taking place in Eastern Europe, but I also can identify with this principle that one country must not be able to bully its neighbor. And so, I will say this: I don't want a shot fired in anger, but there will be no compromise on the stated objectives of the United Nations Security Council—none at all. The United States will lead, and we will stand, and we will prevail against the evil of that dictator.

Pete mentioned the fact that in a few weeks that the kids over there will be sitting down to Thanksgiving dinner. And

Barbara and I are really looking forward to visiting those young people halfway around the world. Each member of the Joint Chiefs has told me—and to you parents, listen carefully because you know this, but listen anyway—each member of the Joint Chiefs has told me that, as far as they know, in the history of the United States, there have never been finer, more motivated, better trained soldiers than the men and women over there now. That is a fine tribute to your sons and daughters.

And so, that's the situation as I see it today in the Gulf. I will do my level-best to keep this coalition strong, together, standing always for principle. But you young guys remember: It is only the United States that can lead the entire world for this moral purpose. We're the only ones. Countries look to us, and that's the beautiful thing about the heritage groups represented here today. Every single one of them recognizes that this is the country that stands for freedom, stands against aggression. And as long as I'm President, I'll do my level-best to portray that message to every country in the world.

And now let me shift back to the business at hand. Salute all of you. Thank the students on this great campus. And encourage you to do this: Do not take democracy for granted. Go out there and vote in this important national election. The elections in California will affect every State in the entire country. So, go out and elect Pete Wilson and this distinguished team. Elect him Governor of this State. And do your part to move California ahead.

Thank you all, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 10:40 a.m. in the auditorium at California Lutheran University. In his remarks, he referred to Representatives Elton Gallegly and Robert J. Lagomarsino; Eric Peterson, president of the university's Republican students speakers' bureau; Jerry Miller, president of the university; Pete Wilson's wife, Gayle; and Big Green, the environmental protection initiative on the November ballot in California.

Proclamation 6222—National Week to Commemorate the Victims of the Famine in Ukraine, 1932–1933

November 3, 1990

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

During the brutal famine that struck the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic from 1932 to 1933, more than seven million men, women, and children died of starvation. Tragically—and to the horror of all those who cherish the blessings of life and liberty—this deadly famine was not caused by drought or by failed harvests. Rather, it resulted from a cruel and deliberate effort to destroy the spirit and the will of the Ukrainian people.

Between 1932 and 1933 the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, under the leadership of Joseph Stalin, willfully permitted and even encouraged mass starvation in Ukraine. In an effort to enforce the collectivization of agriculture and to eliminate resistance to Moscow's rule by terror, Soviet authorities not only seized Ukrainian farmers' 1932 crop but also prevented desperately needed aid from reaching impoverished villages.

The United States Commission on the Ukraine Famine, mandated by the Congress to study this terrible tragedy and to expand public knowledge of it, has substantiated the belief that the famine was indeed the result of deliberate policies of the Soviet Government of that time. After months of hearings, eyewitness testimony, and the careful consideration of other documentation, the Commission concluded: "There is no doubt that large numbers of inhabitants of the Ukrainian SSR and the North Caucasus Territory starved to death in a man-made famine in 1932–1933, caused by the seizure of the 1932 crop by Soviet authorities."

This year the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party acknowledged that the famine was caused and sustained by Stalin and his associates. The current Soviet Government, led by President Gor-

Mr. Andersen graduated from the U.S. Military Academy (B.S., 1976) and Vanderbilt Law School (J.D., 1984). He was born September 28, 1954, in Bristol, TN. Mr. Andersen served in the U.S. Army, 1976-1981. He is married, has one child, and resides in Washington, DC.

Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate Transmitting National Forest and Rangeland Management Proposals
June 7, 1990

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I am pleased to transmit my Statement of Policy for the Recommended 1990 RPA Program regarding Federal management and use of our Nation's natural resources pursuant to the Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act (RPA) of 1974 (16 U.S.C. 1606). Accompanying the Statement of Policy is the *RPA Assessment of the Forest and Rangeland Situation in the United States, 1989*, and the Secretary of Agriculture's recommended program entitled *The Forest Service Program for Forest and Rangeland Resources: A Long-term Strategic Plan*.

The Secretary of Agriculture's proposed program provides important guidance for the conservation and wise use of the Nation's natural resources. The proposal re-commits the Forest Service to multiple-use principles, while emphasizing the importance of seeking a proper balance among resources and the commitment to a healthy environment. It is a strategy that will help to ensure a proud legacy of diverse forests and rangelands for future generations of Americans.

Sincerely,

George Bush

Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.

Statement by Deputy Press Secretary Glen on the Termination of the State of Emergency in South Africa

June 7, 1990

We welcome the announcement of the ending of the state of emergency in South Africa, except in Natal. This is another significant step toward creating a climate conducive to negotiations that will lead to a democratic, nonracial South Africa. This announcement builds on earlier decisions by President de Klerk to release Nelson Mandela and certain other political prisoners, to unban the ANC [African National Congress] and other organizations, and to permit free political debate to take place in South Africa.

Much work remains to be done by all sides. The issue of the remaining political prisoners needs to be resolved. The continuing climate of violence and intimidation must be transformed. The senseless killings in Natal Province must end.

However, we are encouraged by the remarkable progress that has been made in recent months. With this latest move, the Government has moved to meet almost all of the opposition's requirements to enter into negotiations. We look forward to the early beginning of a negotiating process.

Remarks at a Fundraising Luncheon for Governor Tommy Thompson in Milwaukee, Wisconsin

June 7, 1990

Thank you all very much. Thank you, Tommy, very, very much—and all of you—for that warm welcome. I'm pleased to be joined today by several illustrious people—one, my very able chief of the Small Business Administration, Wisconsin's own Susan Engeleiter, who is with me here today. And also, one of our most able and effective Cabinet Secretaries, Sam Skinner, the Secretary of Transportation, is here. I want to recognize some of Wisconsin's own. Here today is the man who led the Bucks for so many years, the fellow with that soft-shooting touch and the size 19 shoes, Bob Lanier somewhere out there. [Laughter] And Pat

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Richter, who recently brought the national champs to the White House—he's here with us today, and John McLaughlin and Pete Vukovich and so many others—so many of Wisconsin Republicans' leading lights. I would be remiss—I won't single out any of them, except for my friend John MacIver, my patron in the world of Wisconsin politics. And of course, I want to salute our ticket with a special welcome to your next secretary of state, Bob Thompson, who made the switch to the GOP just last week, and we are going to support him 100 per- cent.

I'm proud, of course, to show my support for the hardest working man in Wisconsin, Governor Tommy Thompson—hardest working and, if my polling data is right, best known, because I understand there's a poll out that shows that Tommy's better known than anyone in the State, even the American League MVP on the Brewers, Robin Yount. I guess that puts him all in a league by himself.

We've seen a world of change this past year, and Tommy alluded to it—unforgettable images of what I call the Revolution of '89. And now, in 1990, we've entered a new period of democracy-building, a renaissance, if you will—a renaissance of freedom. Let me share a story with you—and there are so many emotional stories coming out of Eastern Europe—but a story about an American visitor on a recent trip to Romania who asked the people she met what they needed most. Listen to a surprising answer: In a country where food is in short supply, where the streets are dark at night and the homes lack heat, one Romanian woman pulled from her purse a worn copy of an American magazine, a 3-year-old issue, with a special bicentennial copy of the U.S. Constitution. And she told the American, "What we need now is more of these." You've got to think about that answer and what it means for America, for the moral example we owe the world, for the material help we must provide—not just American aid but expertise—to people the world over who seek only to have for themselves and their families the freedoms that we enjoy and sometimes take for granted.

And we're entering a new era—Tommy alluded to it here—in U.S.-Soviet relations

as well. Just this past Sunday, President Gorbachev paid a visit to your neighbors in Minnesota. I'm pleased to be here today in the great State of Wisconsin, pleased to share with you my thoughts on what I believe was a very productive Washington summit.

We signed a number of agreements: deep reductions in our chemical weapons arsenals; agreement on reaching rapid closure on major outstanding issues governing a strategic arms treaty, a START treaty; protocols on nuclear testing; agreements on trade and grain sales. But perhaps even more important than the agreements we signed is the progress we made in understanding the great political challenges that we face. A united Germany in NATO, the future of the Baltics, regional problems—these aren't questions that can be solved simply or in one single summit meeting. But we make progress on these difficult issues whenever we speak with candor, without animosity, about our aims and interests. I am grateful to Mr. Gorbachev for the forthright spirit in which he addressed every issue on the table, and I take it as proof that we have indeed entered a new era in our relations with the Soviet Union.

Of course, we have differences. You're reading now, post-summit, a lot of analysis of what I might have done different or what they should have done. Of course, we have differences. I want to see Lithuania have its freedom. We are committed to self-determination for the Baltic States. And although I take great pleasure and joy and am pleased that the emigration of Soviet Jews is at an all-time high, I want to see unfettered emigration. We differ on Cuba and, for now, on a united Germany in NATO and on many other issues as well. But as I chatted informally with President Gorbachev up there at Camp David, I kept thinking that this new Soviet leader, committed to reform and openness, is indeed a remarkable man. It was a good summit.

Today I want to focus on the new era that we're entering here at home, on the challenges that will command our attention in the decade ahead. You all know the three R's. Well, today I want to talk about the three E's: the economy, education, and the environment—three areas that Gover-

nor Thompson and I agree are crucial to the citizens of this State and every State.

Let me start with the economy, America's great engine of progress. And let's start right here in Wisconsin. Think about the turnaround since Tommy Thompson's been in office. You heard some of the statistics: unemployment down, income up—rising faster than the national average. Two hundred thousand new jobs in the first Thompson term—and he's pledged to 200,000 more the second time around.

We're working to do the same nationally: to maintain a business climate conducive to growth, one that opens the door to entrepreneurs, the small business men and women who are America's great jobs machine. And I am committed to taking decisive action against the Federal budget deficit, to keep our record 91-month economic recovery going strong.

We're also working to strengthen America's competitive edge abroad. My administration's top trade priority is to lower barriers to free and fair trade the world over, to bring the Uruguay round trade talks [multilateral tariff negotiations] to a successful completion by the end of this year. And let me tell you, any trade agreement we sign will be an agreement that is good for the American farmer, for American agriculture. It has to be that way.

Every State and city and town in America is going to feel the impact of the global market. Governor Thompson knows this; he knows it well. And that's why he's worked to open Wisconsin industry to the world, to expand business-to-business contacts with Japan and South Korea and establish export markets. This guy doesn't miss an opportunity for the farmers of this State, either. He was the only Governor at last week's state dinner at the White House for President Gorbachev. He tried out his Russian—I think he was saying, "Eat more cheese." [Laughter] No, actually, the star of this one is Sue Ann. She sat right there next to President Gorbachev, and we Bushes took great pride in that. He was looking at one of our very best first ladies, I'll tell you. Tommy had to settle for a seat next to Secretary of State Baker. [Laughter] So, I guess if the Soviets start importing Wisconsin cheddar you have a right to thank—maybe Tommy—probably Sue Ann. [Laughter]

But when it comes to long-term economic opportunity, education is the key. Among the agreements that we signed at the summit was one expanding U.S.-Soviet education exchanges, exchanges that will allow that American and Soviet students to live and learn in one another's lands so that the foreign becomes the familiar.

Those education exchanges are in keeping with the crusade for excellence in education now gaining momentum across this country. It's no surprise to me that Wisconsin is the scene of one of the most interesting experiments in education reform or that Tommy Thompson's the catalyst for change. Tommy's told me about the Milwaukee Choice Program. Starting next school year, nearly 1,000 underprivileged kids from Milwaukee's inner-city schools are going to have a chance to attend the private, non-sectarian school of their choice, with the State supplying their share of tax dollars for tuition. And I think we all see that when schools compete to attract students that can't help but raise the overall level of education.

Tommy found an ally in his fight for Milwaukee Choice in a former welfare mother and Democrat named Polly Williams, a woman who had heard a lifetime's worth of wornout excuses on what's wrong with our schools. And now some might say that's an unlikely alliance. Not if they know Tommy Thompson. What matters to him is what works—forging consensus with people who share his burning desire to get the job done. In education reform, that means parents, parents who are tired of waiting for the system to work for them, parents who are ready to reform the system, ready to make it work.

I'm counting on my friend Tommy to spread the word that the Federal Government will also do its part to help make our schools better. Over a year ago, I sent Congress an education bill, a seven-point plan for school reform, built on the bedrock concepts of parental choice, flexibility, innovation—initiatives aimed at encouraging excellence by rewarding our teachers, our students, our schools for what works. It's been over a year, and I am still waiting for a bill to sign into law. So, where is the Congress when our schools need help? It's time to get

serious about our schools and take some commonsense steps to make them better. I want your support for that Education Excellence Act.

Well, we mentioned the economy and education, and now there's a third E, the environment—and here again, an issue with what I would call international dimensions. Last week at the summit, we established a U.S.-Soviet Bering Sea Park to preserve the unique natural environment in that string of islands that mark the border between our two nations.

Right here in Wisconsin, I know the environmental ethic is strong. And Tommy's pledge to plant 110 million trees by the year 2000—that fits right into our America the Beautiful Initiative: to plant a billion trees a year for the next 10 years. And I support all that Wisconsin is doing to preserve our precious natural heritage, and I ask your help: Work with me to keep the pressure on in Washington. Send Congress a signal to pass a sound and sensible clean air package—and pass it soon. It's been 13 long years since we last strengthened the Clean Air Act, and let's make 1990 the year that we take action on the environment.

And let me say I believe we can have a sound national environmental policy without throwing a lot of working men and women out of work. I'm convinced that we can find a proper balance on these important questions.

It's been my pleasure to come out here today to this beautiful State on a typical Wisconsin day. [Laughter] I remember the last time I was here. It didn't seem quite like this somehow. But I'll take his word for it if this is the way it is all the time. But nevertheless, it's been a pleasure to come here and speak with all of you.

You know, right here in the auditorium, almost 80 years ago, Teddy Roosevelt came to meet with the citizens of Milwaukee. His speech that day saved his life—literally. He was shot by a deranged assassin while on his way here. And TR had his draft speech folded up in his jacket pocket, where it helped blunt the bullet. Tough guy. He delivered the speech anyway. But the moral is: It's not whether a speech is long or short; what matters most is how thick it is. [Laughter]

So, let me thank all of you for this warm welcome back to your wonderful State of Wisconsin and commend you on all that Wisconsin has to be proud of. As other States search for solutions to today's challenges, you can say: Take a look at what works. Take a look at Wisconsin.

And to the citizens of this great State, who will go to the polls in November to choose a Governor, I say: Take a look at Tommy Thompson, at all he's done to turn this State around and all he'll do the next 4 years working hard for Wisconsin. I am proud that he is my friend, and I am proud to enthusiastically endorse him for another term as Governor of the State of Wisconsin.

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

Note: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. at Mecca Auditorium. In his remarks, he referred to Bob Lanier and John McLaughlin, former members of the Milwaukee Bucks basketball team; Pat Richter, athletic director at the University of Wisconsin; Pete Vukovich and Robin Yount, former member and current member of the Milwaukee Brewers baseball team, respectively; John MacIver, chairman of the Wisconsin Bush/Quayle 1988 campaign committee and the Committee to Reelect Governor Thompson; and Sue Ann Thompson, wife of the Governor. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

**Remarks at a Fundraising Dinner for
Gubernatorial Candidate Jim Edgar in
Chicago, Illinois
June 7, 1990**

Thank you, Jim Edgar, for that very generous introduction. Please, you all be seated, will you? [Laughter] I like this kind of event, though. No Broccoli, no head table. It's wonderful. [Laughter] Please don't send it. [Laughter] First, let me just be a little emotional as I pay my respects to Gov. Jim Thompson and Jayne, who are with us tonight. What a magnificent service this man has rendered this State over all these years. A good friend, and a great—really, in the best sense, public servant. I also want to

OPERATING SCHEDULE - JUNE 1991

DATE	DAY	LESSEE	EVENT	LEASE TIME	EVENT TIME	HALL	PA	TIC	USH	WRD	CONC	MR/OR
5/28-3		ITA GROUP - SNAP ON TOOLS	RECEPS./Dinners	----	A.SEE BELOW	CH/BRUCE	YES	OWN	SPEC.	YES	SPEC	LP/AB
6	THUR	MARVA PROD.	FATHER MC CONCERT	7PM-11PM	8:00PM	BRUCE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	RF/TH
7-7/3		EDDIE BAUR INC.	SPIEGEL SALE	----	B.SEE BELOW	GREAT	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	LP/MR
8	SAT	WORLD CHAMPIONSHIP WREST.	NWA WRESTLING	7PM-11PM	8:00PM	BRUCE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	RF/MR
9	SUN	NICOLET HIGH SCHOOL	GRADUATION	10AM-6PM	1:00PM	BR-J-K-W	YES	OWN	SPEC.	YES	SPEC.	RS/TH
11	TUE	URBAN LAND INST.	MEETING		7:30AM-10AM	E.OCT.	YES	OWN	NO	YES	SPEC.	LP/MR
12	WED	RIVERSIDE UNIV. H. S.	GRADUATION	5PM-9PM	7:00PM	BR-KILB.	YES	OWN	SPEC.	YES	SPEC.	LP/AB
13	THUR	MILW.TRADE/TECH. H.S.	GRADUATION	3PM-7PM	5:00PM	BR-KILB.	YES	OWN	SPEC.	YES	SPEC.	RS/TH
13	THUR	BAY VIEW H. S.	GRADUATION	8PM-11PM	8:00PM	BR-KILB.	YES	OWN	SPEC.	YES	SPEC.	RS/TH
13	THUR	JAMES MADISON H. S.	GRADUATION	4PM-11PM	7:00PM	ARENA	YES	OWN	SPEC.	YES	SPEC.	RS/AB
14	FRI	FAMILY CONCERNS COALITION	RALLY	NOON-10PM	C.SEE BELOW	BRUCE	YES	NO	SPEC.	YES	SPEC.	LP/MR
16-20		WI. ARCHITECTS	EXAMS	----	D.SEE BELOW	WEST	YES	OWN	NO	OWN	SPEC.	RS/AB
17-21		M & I DATA SERVICES	CONF./EXPO	----	E.SEE BELOW	E.H./E.2ndFLYES	OWN	OWN	NO	YES	SPEC.	RS/TH
19	WED	MILW. TIX	RECEPTION		5:00PM	JUNEAU	YES	OWN	NO	YES	SPEC.	RS/AB
21-23		JUKEBOX PROD.	PUBLIC SALE		F.SEE BELOW	BRUCE	YES	YES	NO	YES	SPEC.	RS/TH
22	SAT	PRESSBURG WEDD.	RECEPTION	3PM-MID.	4:00PM-9:30PM	E.OCT.	YES	OWN	NO	YES	SPEC.	RS/MR
26	WED	MECCA	FAM TOUR	----		EDR	YES	OWN	NO	YES	SPEC.	RF/AB
26-30		MIDAMERICA COIN	CONV.	----	H.SEE BELOW	E.H./E.2ndFLYES	NO	NO	NO	YES	SPEC.	RS/AB

A. SNAP ON TOOLS

5/28 Tue. Move In
 29 Wed. Move In
 30 Thu. Move In
 5/30 Thu. Recp.-5:30P/
 Dinner-6:30P
 30 Thu Exhibits 8:30PM
 5/31 Fri. Recp. 5:30P/
 Dinner 6:30P
 31 Fri. Program 10PM-Close
 31 Fri. Exhibits 8:30PM
 6/1 Sat. Recp. 6:30P/
 Ball 7:30P-11PM
 6/2 Sun. Banquet- 7:15
 Concert (Bruce)
 9:30P-10:30PM

B. Spiegel Sale

6/7 Fri. Move In (AM/PM)
 8 Sat Move In 7AM-Mid
 9 Sun Move In 7AM-Mid
 10 Mon Move In 7AM-Mid
 11 Tue Staff In 7AM (till 1:30AM)
 6/12 Wed Staff In Bldg. 7AM-1:30A(first wk)
 7/1 Staff In Bldg. 7Am-Mid(rest of dates)
 Sale Hours:
 Mon-Sat 9:00AM-10:00PM
 Sundays 10:00A-6:00PM
 7/1 Mon Move Out 10:00PM(all night)
 2 Tue Move Out 7:00AM-Mid.
 3 Wed. Move Out 7:00AM-5:00PM

C. FAMILY CONCERNS - RALLY

6/14 Fri Committee In 4:00PM
 Participants Arrive-5:30P
 Doors open 6:00P/Program 7P-9PM

D. WI. ARCHITECTS EXAMS

6/16 Sun Comm. Set up 10:00AM
 17 Mon Exams 8AM-6PM
 18 Tue Exams 9AM-6PM
 19 Wed Exams 8AM-6PM
 20 Thu Exams 8AM-6PM
 6/20 Thu Move Out 6PM

E. M&I DATA SERVICES

6/17 Mon Decorator In
 18 Tues Move In 8A-5PM
 19 Wed Exhibitors In 6:30AM
 19 Wed SHOW 8AM-6:30PM
 19 Wed Mtgs(E-1) 11A/2:30PM
 19 Wed (No Move Out-Wed)
 6/20 Thu Move Out 8A-5PM

F. JUKEBOX SHOW(TENT.SCH)

6/21 Fri Move In (AM/PM)
 22 Sat Exhibitors 8AM
 22 Sat SHOW 9:30A-6PM
 23 Sun Exh.Reset 9AM
 6/23 Sun SHOW 10AM-5PM
 6/23 Sun Move Out 5P-10AM

G. MIDAMERICA COIN SHOW

6/26 Wed Decor. Set up 8A-5P
 27 Thu Move In Noon-8:30PM
 28 Fri Exh. In 9AM
 28 Fri SHOW 10AM-6PM
 29 Sat Exh. Reset 9AM

H. COIN SHOW (CONT.)

6/29 SHOW 10AM-6PM
 30 Exh. Reset 9AM
 30 SHOW 10AM-3PM
 31 Move Out 3PM-9PM

