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Folder Title:
Mount Rushmore 7/3/91 [OA 8325][1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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(Smith/Grossman)
June 27, 1991
Draft Eight
RUSHMORE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MT. RUSHMORE
MT. RUSHMORE, SOUTH DAKOTA
WEDNESDAY, JULY 3, 1991

Manuel Lujan, our Secretary of the Interior. Senator Pressler, Senator Daschle, Congressman Johnson. Governor Mickelson, it's nice to see you, sir. James Ridenour, Director of the National Park Service. My special greetings to Tom Brokaw, Mary Hart, Barry Bostwick, Billy Dee Williams, and Barbara Eden. Talk about a Hollywood Hall of Fame. / Thank you, Jimmy Stewart, for that introduction. /

And to all of you, thank you for the privilege of helping dedicate a monument that once moved a visitor to say, "A visit to Mount Rushmore is a moment of communion with the very soul of America." //

Fifty years ago, brave Americans completed this monument to four great Nation-builders. // It took fourteen years, enormous sacrifice, and a daring worthy of our nation.

A man who is here today remembers. From 1935 through '41, Norman (Hap) Anderson worked as a driller at Mount Rushmore. Says Hap: "I went from Washington's coat lapels up over his forehead, took the wrinkles out from under his chin, put the twinkle in one of his eyes." // Hap put a part in Roosevelt's hair -- and took four inches off Roosevelt's nose. When Hap and his co-workers dusted themselves off after the last day's work,

they had produced a living monument. When the great producer-director Cecil B. DeMille described it, he said: "Not only do you look at those four faces, they look at you as well." ////

This morning, we salute Hap and all who built Mount Rushmore. // We salute, too, the four men whose faces appear on the monument. They knew that America is always a beginning, never a consummation.

In words and deeds, they showed that a great Nation never rests on its laurels. It renews itself constantly / reaffirms its values, and gives life to its ideals.

Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Roosevelt all surmounted old barriers and opened up new frontiers. They broadened our nation and strengthened its foundations. They chiseled into our national soul a yearning for freedom, democracy, equality, and justice -- a conviction that all people have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.//

During our Revolution, Ben Franklin, as American minister to France, attended a diplomatic dinner in Paris. / First rose a French official, toasting Louis XVI, comparing him to the moon. / The British Ambassador then toasted his monarch, George III, likening him to the sun. // Finally, the aging Franklin stood to speak. "I cannot give you the sun nor the moon, but I give you George Washington . . . who, like Joshua of old, commanded both the sun and the moon to stand still, and both obeyed." //

Washington sought not the security of power, but the power to secure America's independence -- to build a Nation devoted to

freedom and human dignity. More than any other President, he shaped the contours of the Presidency, establishing a model and precedents that have served us well. No wonder he is remembered as the Father of our Country.

Washington's Secretary of State -- and the author of our Declaration of Independence -- helped the young nation grow in different ways. Thomas Jefferson championed the majesty of individual determination and imagination.//

His love of democracy was matched only by his faith in human nature. He believed that "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time" -- and that man would use that liberty to ennoble life. //

While Jefferson had some troubles with Congress he accomplished extraordinary things. Among these, he negotiated the Louisiana Purchase. The purchase expanded our boundaries forever, and opened to millions new horizons, opportunities and dreams. //

The man to the far right of Jefferson in the sculpture also extended a technological frontier -- by challenging the nation to complete the first transcontinental railroad. But his greatest challenge was to preserve our Republic, through its bloodiest war. In so doing, he redefined for all the generations that followed our sense of liberty, equality and dignity.

Once, Abraham Lincoln said, "As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master." / He was, however, a leader. He abolished slavery and preserved the Union. He showed that the

"better angels of our nature" can banish the darkness that threatens us all. //

While the Lincoln of history often seems solitary or sad, the real Lincoln never lost his appetite for a good story, tall tale, or a poignant quip. ((Once, a friend encountered him and two of his sons on the street. The boys were sobbing uncontrollably. "Why Mr. Lincoln, what's the matter with the boys?" the friend asked. Lincoln sighed, "Just what's the matter with the whole world. I've got three walnuts, and each wants two.")) //

Abraham Lincoln understood the American character. He could speak in tones as familiar as a heartbeat or in cadences capable of summoning forth laughter, awe and tears. Yet ultimately, his deeds overshadowed even his great words. Without Abraham Lincoln, we would not be a whole nation today. His legacy is the name United States. //

The final man on this monument also left a wonderful bequest. He won renown as a warrior, but also received the Nobel Prize for Peace. He helped cut the Panama Canal out of wilderness, but also led the battle to preserve our nation's natural beauty. //

Theodore Roosevelt fell in love with the Mount Rushmore area. Visiting the Dakota Badlands in 1883, he grew infatuated with the cattle business, acquired two ranches, and became a gentleman cowhand. // TR brought to the outdoors the same exuberance he brought to life -- calling our lands and wildlife

"the property of unborn generations." He preserved that property -- and a grateful nation owes him its thanks. // He managed to preserve our magnificent environment while transforming America from a continental force into a global power.

Each of these four Presidents enriched this country. // Each made full use of his Presidential powers, without forgetting that he owed his power and legitimacy to the people.

The heroes behind me were fighters -- as Americans have always been. Fighters for independence. For freedom. For democracy. For equality. For the values and lands we revere. //

Today, we must build on their beginnings -- we must continue to preserve our greatness while pushing back the limits of our imagination. We must teach our children the responsibility that comes with freedom. We must remind them of the endless possibilities of the American Dream. Our new Supreme Court nominee, Judge Clarence Thomas, has said it best: "As a child, I could not dare dream that I would ever see the Supreme Court, not to mention be nominated to it." Of his nomination, he added, "only in America could this be possible." //

Our challenges are enormous. But remember: this is America -- and here, great things are possible. Look at the vast sculpture before us, and you see carved out of solid rock a symbol that evokes the American Character -- soaring, and unafraid. // Now, on this fiftieth anniversary of the monument, a group of dedicated volunteers -- the Mount Rushmore Society -- is mounting a nationwide campaign to preserve this treasure. //

This, too, fits into a distinguished tradition. In June of 1826, an ailing Thomas Jefferson politely declined an invitation to celebrate the 4th of July in Washington. He did encourage people to remain mindful of the rights that Americans alone recognized and cherished. He wrote: "Let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollections of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them." Ten days later, on the 50th anniversary of our independence, he died.

On the eve of this 4th of July -- and the 50th anniversary of this monument -- let us express our undiminished devotion to the ideals of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt -- ideals as towering and solid as the monument that honors them.

Thank you for this occasion. God bless our wonderful country -- the United States of America. And now, it is my honor to dedicate officially this true metaphor of America -- the Mount Rushmore National Memorial.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Mount Rushmore, South Dakota)

For Immediate Release

July 3, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN CELEBRATION OF 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF MOUNT RUSHMORE

Mount Rushmore
Mount Rushmore, South Dakota

2:55 P.M. MDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, and thank all of you for that magnificent music. And that includes the Air Force. Thank you. (Applause.)

What a personal privilege and honor to be introduced by America's beloved Jimmy Stewart. (Applause.) May I salute our Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan; our Senators Larry Pressler, Tom Daschle. Congressman Johnson with us today. South Dakota's Governor, Governor Mickelson; Lt. Governor, Mr. Miller; former Governor Janklow. And former Senators Abner and McGovern are with us here today also. This is a fitting occasion, and I'm proud to be a part of it. (Applause.)

May I also salute those who make it happen all the time -- our Director of the National Park Service James Ridenour. My special greetings, of course, to this all-star-studded cast -- Tom Brokaw, Mary Hart, Barry Bostwick, Billy Dee Williams, Johanna Meier, Barbara Eden; our favorite, White Eagle, who sang at the inauguration, Rosemary Clooney, and everybody else that participated in making this a very special day in the life of our country.

You talk about a Hollywood Hall of Fame. This is unbelievable. And to all of you, thank you for the privilege of helping dedicate a memorial that once moved a visitor to say, "A visit to Mount Rushmore is a moment of communion with the very soul of America."

Fifty years ago, brave Americans completed this monument to four great nation-builders. It took 14 years, enormous sacrifice, and a daring worthy of our nation.

You heard about one man here who remembers -- Tom mentioned him. From 1935 through '41, Hap Anderson, who I believe is with us today -- Hap, you out there somewhere? Well, I don't see him. There he is, right there. (Applause.) I want to tell you a little more about the man. He worked as a driller at Mount Rushmore. Says Hap, to quote him: "Hard work? If you can imagine putting a 35-pound jackhammer against your belly and letting her go, I guess it was hard work." And here's the interesting part, little anatomical. "But my belly was so hard in those days my wife could dance on my stomach with high-heeled shoes." I can picture it. (Laughter and applause.) Seeing Mary Hart up here, I prefer cheek to cheek -- (laughter) -- but nevertheless, the Andersons can do it their way. (Laughter and applause.)

But seriously, when Hap and his coworkers, several others of whom we've met here today, dusted themselves off after the last day's work, they had produced a living monument. When the great producer-director Cecil B. DeMille described it, here's what he said: "Not only do you look at those four faces, they look at you as well."

Today we salute Hap and all the others here today and all the rest who built Mount Rushmore. We salute, too, the four men

MORE

whose faces appear on the monument. They knew that America is always a beginning, never a consummation.

Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Roosevelt all surmounted old barriers and opened up new frontiers. They broadened our nation and they strengthened its foundations. They chiseled into our national soul a yearning for freedom, democracy, equality, and justice -- a conviction that all people have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

You heard from our four stars a little history of each, but let me, at the risk of being repetitive, say just a little more. During our Revolution, Ben Franklin, as an American minister to France, attended a diplomatic dinner in Paris. First, a French official rose, toasting Louis XVI, comparing him to the moon. The British ambassador then toasted his monarch, George III, likening him to the sun. Finally, the aging Franklin stood to speak. "I cannot give you the sun nor the moon, but I give you George Washington who, like Joshua of old, commanded both the sun and the moon to stand still, and both obeyed." (Laughter and applause.)

Washington sought not the security of power, but the power to secure America's independence -- to build a nation devoted to freedom and human dignity. I think more than any other President, he shaped the contours of the presidency. He established a model and set precedence that has served us well, and no wonder he is remembered as the Father of our Country.

Washington's Secretary of State and the author of our Declaration of Independence, helped the young nation grow in different ways. Thomas Jefferson championed the majesty of individual determination and imagination.

His love of democracy was matched only by his faith in human nature. He believed that "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time" -- and that man would use that liberty to ennoble life.

While Jefferson had some troubles with Congress, he accomplished extraordinary things. Among these, as we heard, he negotiated the Louisiana Purchase. The Purchase expanded our boundaries forever and opened to millions new horizons, opportunities and dreams. His love of democracy was matched only by his faith in human nature. He believed that the God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time and that man would use that liberty to ennoble life.

The man to the far right of Jefferson in the sculpture also extended a technological frontier -- by challenging the nation to complete the first transcontinental railroad. But Abraham Lincoln's greatest challenge was to preserve our Republic, preserve it through its bloodiest war. In so doing, he sharpened our passion for liberty, equality and dignity.

Once Abraham Lincoln said, "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present." And yet armed with changeless moral laws, he paved the path for the future. He abolished slavery and preserved the Union. And he showed that the "better angels of our nature" can banish the darkness that threatens us all.

While the Lincoln of history often seems solitary or sad, the real Lincoln never lost his appetite for a good story, a tall tale, or a poignant quip. Once a friend encountered him and two of his kids -- his sons -- on the street. The boys were sobbing uncontrollably. "Mr. Lincoln, what's the matter with the boys?" the friend asked. Lincoln sighed, "Just what's the matter with the whole world. I've got three walnuts and each kid wants two." (Laughter.)

Abraham Lincoln understood the American character. He could speak in tones as familiar as a heartbeat or in cadences capable of summoning forth laughter, tears, and awe. Without Lincoln, I don't believe we would be a whole nation today. He kept

us, you see, the United States.

The final man on this monument also left a wonderful bequest. He won renown as a warrior, but, again, as we heard, he also won the Nobel Prize for Peace. He helped cut the Panama Canal out of the wilderness, but also fought to preserve our national beauty.

Theodore Roosevelt fell in love with the Mount Rushmore area. Visiting the Dakota Badlands in '83 -- 1883, he grew infatuated with the cattle business, acquired two ranches and became a gentleman cowhand. TR brought to the outdoors the same exuberance that he brought to life -- calling our lands and wildlife "the property of unborn generations." He managed to preserve our magnificent environment while transforming America from a continental force into a truly global power.

Each of these four Presidents enriched this country. Each made full use of his presidential powers without forgetting that he owed his power and legitimacy to the people.

The heroes behind me were fighters -- as Americans have always been. Fighters for independence, for freedom, for democracy, for equality, for the values and the lands we revere.

Today, we must build on their beginnings -- we must continue to preserve our greatness while pushing back the limits of our imagination. We must teach our children that responsibility comes with freedom. We must remind them of the endless possibilities of the American Dream. Our new Supreme Court nominee, Judge Clarence Thomas, has said it best: "As a child, I could not dare to dream that I would ever see the Supreme Court, not to mention be nominated to it. Only in America could this be possible." (Applause.)

Our challenges are enormous. But remember, this is America -- and here, great things are possible. Look at the vast sculpture before us, and you see carved in stone a symbol that evokes the American Character -- soaring and unafraid. Now, on this 50th anniversary of the monument, a group of dedicated volunteers, the Mount Rushmore Society, is mounting a nationwide campaign to preserve this treasure.

This, too, fits into a distinguished tradition. In June of 1826, an ailing Thomas Jefferson politely declined an invitation to celebrate the 4th of July in Washington. Instead, he encouraged his would-be hosts to hold dear the rights that Americans alone recognized and cherished. And he wrote this: "Let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollections of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them." Fittingly, this was Jefferson's last letter. Ten days later, on the 50th anniversary of our independence, he died.

On the eve of this 4th of July -- and the 50th anniversary of this monument -- let us express our undiminished devotion to the ideals of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt -- ideals as towering and solid as the monument that honors them.

Thank you for this occasion. God bless the United States of America. And now I am proud to dedicate Mount Rushmore National Memorial. (Applause.)

END

3:09 P.M. MDT

Board

Mt Rushmore :

(Smith/Grossman)
June 27, 1991
Draft Six
RUSHMORE

→ Secretary of the
Interior Manuel Lujan
Nat Pk Service Dir

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: MT. RUSHMORE, ^{NATIONAL MONUMENT}
MT. RUSHMORE, SOUTH DAKOTA
WEDNESDAY, JULY 3, 1991
2 PM

Gov Mickelson

My special greetings to Tom Brokaw, Mary Hart, Barry
Bostwick, Billy Dee Williams, Barbara Eden, and Jimmy Stewart, ^{acknowl}
Talk about a Hollywood Hall of Fame. / Thank you, Governor
Mickelson, for that introduction. / And to all of you, thank you
for the privilege of helping dedicate a ^{memorial} monument that once moved
a visitor to say, "A visit to Mount Rushmore is a moment of
communion with the very soul of America." //
- Cecil B de Mille
- Jay

Fifty years ago, brave Americans completed this monument to
four great Nation-builders. // It took ¹⁹ ~~six~~ years, enormous ^{14 yrs Tom Griffith} sacrifice, and a daring worthy of our nation. ^{(605) 341-8833} ³⁹⁴⁻⁶⁷²⁰

A man who is here today remembers. From 1935 through '41, ^{Rapid City Journal}
Norman (Hap) Anderson worked as a driller at Mount Rushmore.
Says Hap: "I went from Washington's coat lapels up over his
forehead, took the wrinkles out from under his chin, put the
twinkle in his eyes" // Hap put a part in Roosevelt's hair --
took four inches off Roosevelt's nose -- even took the cold sore
off Jefferson's lip. When Hap and his co-workers dusted
themselves off after the last day's work, they had produced a
monument of such scope that only Cecil B. DeMille could describe
it: "Not only do you look at those four faces," said the great
producer - director. "They look at you as well." ////

here?
Tom Brokaw's
to take
care of

This morning, we salute Hap and all who built Mount Rushmore. // We salute, too, the four men whose faces appear on the monument. They knew that America is "always a beginning, ^{what?} never a consummation." In words and deeds, they showed that a great Nation never rests on its laurels. It renews itself constantly / rediscovers itself / reaffirms its values, and gives life to its ideals.

Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Roosevelt all pushed away old barriers and opened up new frontiers. They broadened our nation without weakening its foundations. They chiseled into our national soul a yearning for freedom, democracy, equality, and justice -- a conviction that all people have rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.//

Today, I want to discuss briefly how these Presidents contributed to the diversity that nourishes our genius. /

189 (new)
Pres Anecdotes
 We begin with the Father of our Country. During our Revolution, Ben Franklin, as American Minister to France, attended a diplomatic dinner in Paris. / First rose a French official, toasting Louis XVI, comparing him to the moon. / The British Ambassador then toasted his monarch, George III, likening him to the sun. // Finally, the aging Franklin stood to speak. "I cannot give you the sun nor the moon, but I give you George Washington. . . . who, like Joshua of old, commanded both the sun and the moon to stand still, and both obeyed." //

Washington sought not the security of power, but the power to secure America's independence -- to build a Nation devoted to freedom and human dignity.

Washington's Secretary of State -- and the author of our Declaration of Independence -- helped the young nation grow in different ways. Thomas Jefferson demonstrated the majesty of individual determination and imagination.//

His love of democracy was matched only by his faith in human nature. He believed that "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time" -- and that man would use that liberty to enoble life. // He felt that the only true aristocracy was the "natural aristocracy" born of democracy. /

While Jefferson had some troubles with Congress -- sound familiar? -- he accomplished extraordinary things. Among these, he negotiated the Louisiana Purchase. The purchase expanded our boundaries forever, and opened to millions new horizons, opportunities and dreams. //

The man to Jefferson's far right in the sculpture also extended a technological frontier -- by completing the first Lincoln transcontinental railroad. He preserved our Republic, through its bloodiest war. Above all, he redefined our sense of liberty, equality and dignity.

Once, Abraham Lincoln said, "As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master." / He was a leader, however. He abolished slavery and preserved the Union. He showed that the

Summary of the Acts of Brn America 1779

actually to his left, on right

Abraham

Intro to Lincoln 2/2/19

- friend

Lincoln walking w/ 2 boys

~~Boys~~ Diller asks

"Why Mr. Line, why do
you walk with boys?"

Line: "Just wnts to

walk w/ the whole

world. did get 3 med,

d can walk 2"

David Donald - no

Curator of the Lincoln Collection
Thomas F Schwartz
111 St Hist Soc

(217) 782-4836

2nd hour

"better angels of our nature" can banish the darkness that threatens us all. //

While the Lincoln of history often seems solitary or sad, the real Lincoln never lost his appetite for a good story, tall tale, or a poignant quip. ((Once, a stranger encountered him and his two sons on the street. The boys were sobbing uncontrollably. "Whatever is the matter with the boys, Mr. Lincoln?" the stranger asked. Lincoln sighed, "Just what's the matter with the world. I've got three walnuts, and each son wants two.")) //

Lincoln
lectures
series

Publ
Book
Lincoln's
sons
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bro's
-line
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-not

Cincinnati Daily Gazette
1861

Abraham Lincoln understood the American character. He could speak in tones as familiar as a heartbeat or in cadences capable of summoning forth laughter, awe and tears. Yet ultimately, his deeds overshadowed even his great words. Without Abraham Lincoln, we would not be a whole nation today. His legacy is the name United States. //

P 211
Cal Howard
Ray McChesney
Abraham Lincoln
Lions of America
Robert Wilson
Dixie
The South
Chick
Chick

The final man on this monument left a different bequest. He won renown as a warrior, but also received the Nobel Prize for Peace. He helped hack the Panama Canal out of wilderness, but also led the battle to preserve our nation's natural beauty. //

the 1st
Pres

Theodore Roosevelt fell in love with the Mount Rushmore area. Visiting the Dakota Badlands in 1883, he grew infatuated with the cattle business, acquired two ranches, and became a gentleman cowhand. // TR brought to the outdoors the same exuberance he brought to life -- calling our lands and wildlife "the property of unborn generations." He preserved that property

referred
in TR
tribute

Pres
speech

3
Pres
speech

-- and a grateful nation owes him its thanks. // He managed to preserve our magnificent environment while transforming America from a continental force into a global power.

I have spoken today of four men. Each enriched this country. // Each made full use of his Presidential powers, without behaving like a king.

The heroes behind me were fighters -- as Americans have always been. Fighters for independence. For freedom. For democracy. For equality. For the values and lands we revere. //

Today, we must build on their beginnings -- we must continue to preserve our greatness while pushing back the limits of our vision. We must demand a sound educational system, law and order, environmental stewardship. But we also must seek out new horizons for our ingenuity and imagination.

Our challenges are enormous -- but so is the American spirit. Look at the vast sculpture before us, and you see hewn out of solid rock a symbol that evokes the American Character -- soaring, and unafraid. //

Tony
In June of 1826, Thomas Jefferson politely declined an invitation to celebrate the 4th of July in Washington. After an eloquent discussion of the rights of man, he wrote: "Let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollections of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them." Ten days later, on the 50th anniversary of our Independence Day, he died.

On the eve of this 4th of July -- and the 50th anniversary of this monument -- let us express our undiminished devotion to

the ideals of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt --
ideals as towering and solid as the monument that honors them.

Thank you for this occasion. God bless our wonderful
country -- the United States of America. And now, it is my honor
to dedicate officially this true metaphor of America -- the Mount
Rushmore National Memorial.

#

Weather

Today: Humid, showers or storms.
High 86. Low 72. Wind 7-14 mph.
Wednesday: Variably cloudy.
High 86. Wind 7-14 mph.
Yesterday: Temp. range: 73-86.
AQI: 60. Details on Page B2.

The Washington Post

FINAL

Inside: Health
Detailed index on Page A2

114TH YEAR No. 209

TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1991

Prices May Vary in Areas Outside
Metropolitan Washington (See Box on A2)

25¢

Bush Picks Thomas for Supreme Court

Appeals Court Judge Served as EEOC Chairman in Reagan Administration

Self-Made Conservative

Nominee Insists He Be Judged on Merits

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Judge Clarence Thomas is the product of southern poverty and segregation who made his way from Pin Point, Ga. to the once unimaginable height of a Supreme Court nomination.

"As a child, I could not dare dream that I would ever see the Supreme Court, not to mention be nominated to it," Thomas said in a brief but emotional statement yesterday, standing by President Bush's side in Kennebunkport, Maine. "In my view, only in America could this have been possible."

Tapped to replace the first

black member of the court, Justice Thurgood Marshall, Thomas has had firsthand experience of racism that rivals Marshall's own. He was barred from whites-only movie theaters and restaurants. As the only black student at a Catholic boarding school, he was harassed by classmates who teased, after lights out, "Smile, Clarence, so we can see you."

But that experience was the crucible for a conservative philosophy that is in many ways the polar opposite of Marshall's liberal worldview—a fierce belief in the primacy of individual will and drive, and in the debilitating effect of racial preferences as a

See NOMINEE, A6, Col. 1

By John E. Yang
and Sharon LaFraniere
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Bush yesterday chose Clarence Thomas, a conservative black federal appeals court judge, to replace Thurgood Marshall on the Supreme Court, saying he is "the best person at the right time."

Thomas, chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under President Ronald Reagan, has for years challenged civil rights leaders over workplace preferences for minorities or women and school busing for desegregation. A 43-year-old Roman Catholic, he would be one of the youngest justices ever to join the Supreme Court.

Conservatives were delighted with the nomination of a longtime favorite, while some Democrats expressed fears that Thomas, whose views on abortion are not publicly known, would help overturn *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 decision that established a constitutional right to abortion.

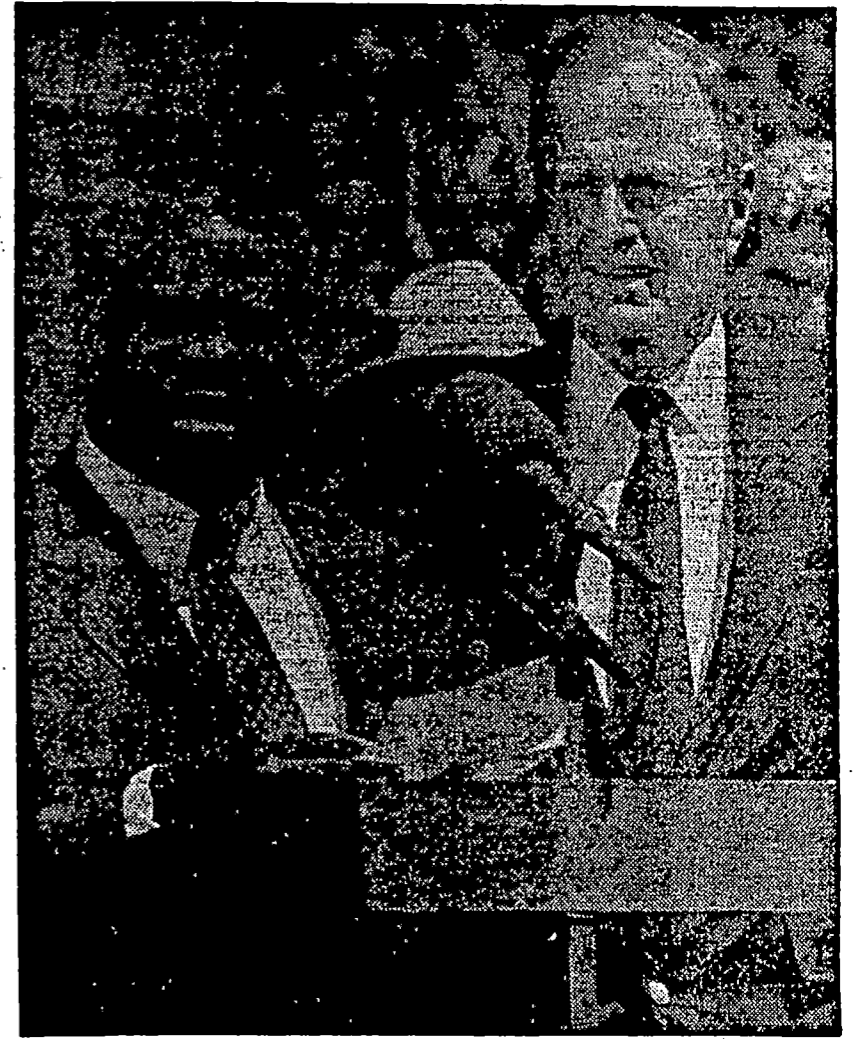
Both sides acknowledged the power of his personal history. He was raised in poverty in Savannah, Ga., by a nearly illiterate grandfather, who he said stressed "God . . . school, discipline, hard work and 'right from wrong.'"

"Judge Thomas's life is a model for all Americans, and he's earned the right to sit on this nation's highest court," said Bush, who insisted race played no part in his choice of a black judge to replace Marshall, the first black justice on the court.

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) praised Thomas as "a man whose very life exemplifies the American dream."

Although opposition to his nomination seemed muted yesterday, some senators and civil rights groups predicted that Thomas will face tougher confirmation hearings than did David H. Souter, Bush's first appointment to the Supreme Court. "I'm through reading tea leaves and voting in the dark. . . . I will not support yet another Reagan-Bush Supreme Court nominee

See COURT, A6, Col. 1



In Kennebunkport, Maine, Bush introduces Thomas as his choice for high court.

CRACK'S CHILDREN

High Court Nominee Called a Conservative With 'Common Touch'

NOMINEE, From A1

means of redressing discrimination.

Thomas's views on affirmative action and civil rights were sharpened and expounded during his controversial tenure as head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission from 1982 to 1990. It was a post he once said he felt "insulted" about being selected for because of the silent assumption that he was qualified for a civil rights job rather than one using his expertise in taxation and corporate law.

At the EEOC, Thomas grew increasingly opposed to the use of racial preferences and attacked civil rights leaders who "bitch, bitch, bitch" about the administration. Affirmative action programs, he said in a 1987 letter, "create a narcotic of dependency, not an ethic of responsibility and independence. They are at best an irrelevance, covering up some real problems, and inevitably a stigma."

The seeds of that view were planted early by Thomas's grandfather, Myers Anderson, a stalwart democrat, devout Catholic, and active member of the NAACP. He instilled in the young Thomas a drive to succeed, a fervent belief in the importance of education and disdain for those who rely on government welfare programs rather than making their own way in the world.

Thomas's father left the family when he was a young child; his mother remarried, and he was sent to Savannah to live with his grandfather at age 7—the first time he had lived in a house with indoor plumbing, and eaten three square meals a day.

After school, Thomas helped his grandfather deliver ice and oil; in the evening, he would go to the library built for blacks by the Carnegie family—the public library in Savannah was for whites only—to muse over the pages of the exotic *New Yorker* magazine.

"If you wanted him to do something, you'd just go to the Carnegie Library and there he was," his mother, Leola Williams, told the *Associated Press*. "He loved his books."

His most vivid childhood memory of the Supreme Court, he said yesterday, was the "Impeach Earl Warren" signs that lined Highway 17 near Savannah—placards prompted by Warren's ruling in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case argued by Thurgood Marshall.

"I didn't quite understand who this Earl Warren fellow was, but I knew he was in some kind of trouble," said Thomas, who was 5 at the time of the landmark school desegregation ruling.

Thomas has criticized *Brown* from a different perspective, saying it was based on faulty assumptions that all-black schools are necessarily inferior.

Thomas made his way from the St. John Vianney Minor Seminary, where he was a star quarterback, to the Immaculate Conception Seminary in Missouri, where he decided, to the bitter disappointment of his grandfather, to end his studies for the priesthood.

He headed to Holy Cross College in Massachusetts, where he worked on a free breakfast program for black schoolchildren and urged a student walkout over the college's investments in South Africa, and then to Yale Law School, where he graduated in 1974.

Now, after a career that has included a jobs in corporate law and on the staff of Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.), as well as the EEOC, he occupies the appeals court seat once held by Judge Robert H. Bork, whose Supreme Court nomination was defeated in 1987.

So overcome with emotion he had to stop speaking, Thomas yesterday thanked "all those who have helped me along the way . . . especially my grandparents, my mother and the nuns, all of whom were adamant that I grow up to make something of myself."

Divorced from his first wife, Thomas, who turned 43 last week, has custody of their son, Jamal, 18. He is married to Virginia Lamp Thomas, who works in the Department of Education's legislative affairs office.

Thomas's career is pervaded by an insistence that he be judged on his own merits and a seeming horror at the thought of special treatment because of his race.

Thomas's friend and former colleague on Danforth's staff, Alex



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- Married: Virginia Lamp Thomas; one son, Jamal, 18, by previous marriage.
- Education: Holy Cross College, Yale Law School
- Professional: Assistant attorney general, state of Missouri, 1974-1977; lawyer, Monsanto Co., 1977-1979; legislative assistant, Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.) 1979-1981; assistant secretary for civil rights, U.S. Department of Education, 1981-1982; chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1982-1990; U.S. Court of appeals, March 1990-present.
- Religion: Catholic.

Source: Response to Senate Judiciary Committee questionnaire, 1990

Bush Picks Thomas for Marshall Seat on Supreme Court

COURT, From A1

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"As a child I could not dare dream that I would ever see the Supreme Court, not to mention be nominated to it," Thomas somberly said. "Only in America could this have been possible."

His voice choked with emotion as he acknowledged his grandparents, and he paused for several seconds, unable to continue, while Bush looked into the distance.

Administration officials said Thomas, who Bush appointed to the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals only 15 months ago, emerged as the front-runner almost as soon as Marshall announced his retirement Thursday. The process of selecting him was characteristic of the Bush administration: it involved only a tiny circle of aides and was marked by tight secrecy.

The other finalists were Texas appellate judges Edith H. Jones and Emilio M. Garza, both from the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, administration officials said. Bush aides argued that Thomas was less controversial than Jones, and more experienced than Garza, sources said.

Administration officials said Bush concentrated almost exclusively on minority or female candidates. Bush, however, told reporters, "The fact that he is black and a mi-



The president and Judge Clarence Thomas during news conference yesterday.

nority has nothing to do with this sense that he is the best qualified at this time. I kept my word to the American people and to the Senate by picking the best man for the job on the merits. And the fact that he's a minority, so much the better."

Democrats acknowledged yesterday that the fact that Thomas is black will make it difficult for civil rights groups to make a compelling issue of his opposition to many forms of affirmative action.

"Anyone who takes him on on the subject of civil rights is taking on the grandson of a sharecropper . . . because that person wants quotas and preferential treatment," said Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah).

It may also be difficult for Democrats to carry through on their promises to vigorously question Bush's choice because "the question will be, is a higher standard being applied to this guy than was applied to David Souter, and why," said one Senate Democratic aide. "If Souter was confirmable with non-answers, why isn't Thomas?"

Neither Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) nor Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.) gave clues to their reaction yesterday, saying only that the nomination would be promptly considered.

Thomas has described himself as a firm advocate of a "colorblind society." "Racial quotas and other race-conscious legal devices only further and deepen the original problem," he wrote in 1987.

"Today . . . color conscious means something favorable to us. We have set-asides, we have affirmative action. . . . I firmly believe that just as we can use it for us it's going to be used against us again," he told an interviewer in 1983.

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Mixed Feelings Are Voiced by Rights Leaders

Uncertainty Expressed About Thomas's Views

By Lynne Duke
Washington Post Staff Writer

Several black and Hispanic civil rights leaders expressed pleasure yesterday at President Bush's nomination of a minority jurist to the Supreme Court, but they said that—unlike retiring Justice Thurgood Marshall—Clarence Thomas appears to be no friend of the issues the rights community holds dear.

Noting that Thomas, 43, is black and grew up poor and disadvantaged in the South, John Jacob, president of the National Urban League, said, "I'm hoping that anyone sitting in Justice Marshall's old office would hear voices from the walls, that there is a charge that that person has to keep in protecting the rights and dignities and opportunities of all people, particularly of minority and disadvantaged people."

Whether Thomas is likely to be receptive to such voices, Jacob said, "is the major question mark."

Thomas, a conservative who was appointed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit by Bush in 1990, is a former chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission who has criticized affirmative action programs as "social engineering." Civil rights groups, both black and Hispanic, have alleged that the EEOC was lax in remedying rights violations under Thomas's leadership.

"The reality is that the commission had a dismal record in terms of protecting the civil rights of our community," said Raul Yzaguirre, president of the National Council of La Raza, a coalition of Hispanic groups.

Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.), a former EEOC chief, said Senate confirmation hearings, to be held in September, "will be very important" in gauging what kind of Supreme Court justice Thomas may be.

"I would hope that his tenure at the EEOC would not prove reflective of his constitutional views," Norton said. "We are projecting as to where he stands on the Bill of Rights. That kind of deep questioning has yet to take place."

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Politics and the Thomas Choice: Building the GOP's Black Elite

By Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush's nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court is the most significant event in a decade-long drive by the Republican Party and the conservative movement to nurture and promote a black elite directly challenging the traditional—and strongly Democratic—civil rights leadership.

"Politically, [the Thomas nomination] will tear down the existing black political leadership in the sense that he will bring to light the

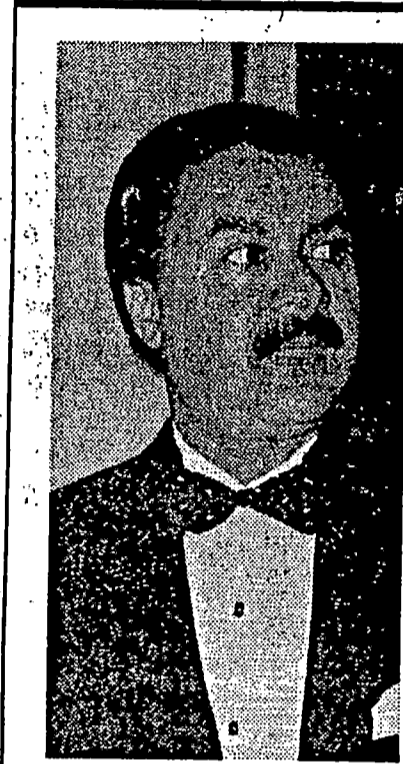
fact that the black community is not monolithic and need not be held captive to the liberal plantation," said Claudia A. Butts, deputy director of the New Majority, the Heritage Foundation's minority outreach program. "The days of blacks being politically aligned to the liberal party [the Democratic Party] are about to be ended."

Naming Thomas to the court is one of a number of moves involving right-leaning black officials that have been designed to counter charges of racism against the GOP and conservative institutions. These efforts during the Reagan and Bush years included naming Clarence M. Pendleton Jr. chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, backing Rep. Gary Franks (R-Conn.) in his successful bid in 1990 to become the first black Republican House member in two generations, and now the third major federal appointment for Thomas.

As Republican National Committee chairman, Lee Atwater, who was a principal architect in making black murderer-rapist Willie Horton's case a symbolic issue in the 1988 campaign, said a central goal of his tenure would be raising black Republican voting margins from the 10-percent levels characteristic of the 1980s. But whether the Thomas nomination would further the goals of Atwater, who died this year, was a point of contention yesterday among Republican strategists.

A key Bush adviser, speaking on background, argued "that one of the things that has influenced black voters to a modest degree is the number of blacks you bring into government. This is a nudge [to an overwhelmingly Democratic black electorate]."

Another Republican who has done an extensive work exploring black attitudes toward the GOP countered: "It will take a lot more



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—Ronald H. Brown
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than that [the Thomas nomination] to redeem ourselves [with black voters]." Instead, he said, the nomination may have more "impact on liberal whites; they will credit Bush for choosing a black person."

The Bush adviser argued that the selection of a conservative black to the Supreme Court will provide an indirect boost to Bush as he attempts to make the case that the civil rights bill passed by House Democrats and now the subject of intensive negotiations in the Senate promotes racial quotas.

"It [the Thomas nomination] strengthens Bush's position in the civil rights fight across the board," the adviser contended. "Every demonstration that there is not a pure, homogeneous position on these issues helps us."

But a Washington-area GOP consultant argued that the nomination "confuses the quota issue" because it seems to imply that the court seat being vacated by Justice Thurgood Marshall had to be filled by another black. "This [the Thomas nomination] is a quota. One day Bush was like a ramrod [on quotas], the next he contradicts himself."

In picking Thomas, Bush laid down a gauntlet, not only to the civil rights leadership but also to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, which has already made known its ideological differences with Thomas.

Two years ago, 16 prominent Democratic House liberals charged that Thomas "has demonstrated an

overall disdain for the rule of law" as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. They had in mind Thomas's public challenges to liberal ideology, as demonstrated in such statements as "there is no government solution. . . . I will ask those who proffer a governmental solution to show me which group in the history of this country was pulled up and put into the mainstream of the economy with government programs. The Irish weren't. The Jews weren't."

Yesterday, Ronald H. Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said the Thomas nomination "appears to be yet another step in the ideological hijacking of the Supreme Court by the radical right wing of the Republican Party."

Robert Squier, a Democratic consultant, sharply disputed Republican assertions that the Thomas nomination will help the GOP chop away at the strong Democratic loyalty of blacks. "It's not possible," he said, to use an appointment to build black support "if you try to do it without regard to the issues that guys like Marshall fought for all their lives."

Referring specifically to Bush's use of Willie Horton in 1988, Squier said "You can't turn around and say 'I was just kidding.' I really don't want to do a racist campaign. You can't attack the people you are trying to convert. It's so fundamental, it's hard to express."

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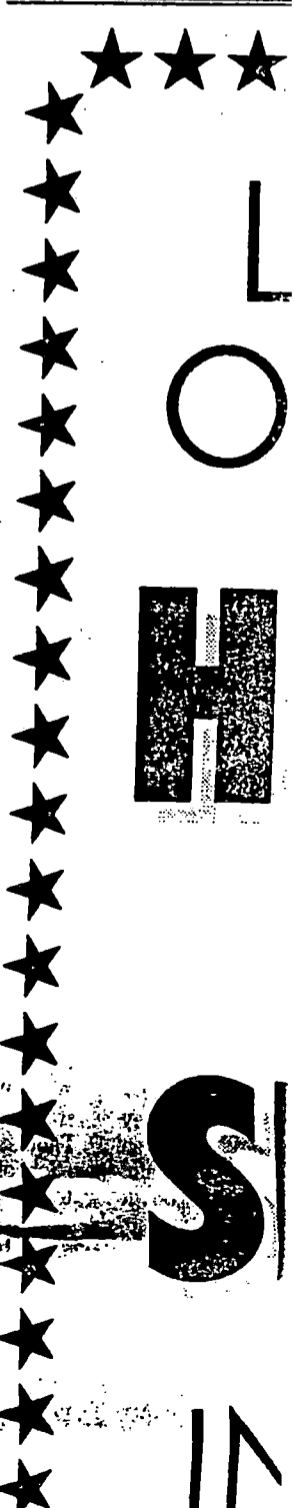
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'I Emphasize Black Self-Help'

year, was a point of contention yesterday among Republican strategists.

A key Bush adviser, speaking on background, argued "that one of the things that has influenced black voters to a modest degree is the number of blacks you bring into government. This is a nudge [to an overwhelmingly Democratic black electorate]."

Another Republican who has done extensive work exploring black attitudes toward the GOP countered: "It will take a lot more

marshaling to be done by another black. "This [the Thomas nomination] is a quota. One day Bush was like a ramrod [on quotas], the next he contradicts himself."

In picking Thomas, Bush laid down a gauntlet, not only to the civil rights leadership but also to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, which has already made known its ideological differences with Thomas.

Two years ago, 16 prominent Democratic House liberals charged that Thomas "has demonstrated an

away at the strong Democratic loyalty of blacks. "It's not possible," he said, to use an appointment to build black support "if you try to do it without regard to the issues that guys like Marshall fought for all their lives."

Referring specifically to Bush's use of Willie Horton in 1988, Squier said, "You can't turn around and say 'I was just kidding, I really don't want to do a racist campaign.' You can't attack the people you are trying to convert. It's so fundamental, it's hard to express."

'I Emphasize Black Self-Help'

Thomas's Thoughts on Quotas, the Work Ethic and Conservatism

Following are excerpts from some Clarence Thomas speeches and published interviews:

Wall Street Journal, 1987: "I firmly insist that the Constitution be interpreted in a colorblind fashion. It is futile to talk of a colorblind society unless this constitutional principle is first established. Hence, I emphasize black self-help, as opposed to racial quotas and other race-conscious legal devices that only further and deepen the original problem."

The Washington Post, 1983: "You can't replicate my grandfather. A sociologist at the University of Alabama, when he studied blacks who were successful, found that there was a strong father figure, a strong person someplace in that individual's life, that broke him out of the circle of poverty—a coach, a minister, grandparent, mother, father. Somebody who said, 'Boy, you are going to school today. You gon' be somebody. You gon' do better'n I'm doin'.' That was my granddaddy's whole philosophy. 'I'm doin' this for y'all, so y'all don't have to work for the white man, so y'all don't have to take what I had to take.' My granddaddy used to say this world is tough, always tough on a poor man. My granddaddy told me, when I went off to college, 'Just remember that no matter how many degrees you get and how high you go, the lowest white man in the gutter can call you a nigger.' The attitude that kept me going came from him. He used to always say that there was no problem that elbow grease can't solve. Then he'd say things like, 'Old man Can't is dead. I helped bury him.'"

From a speech to the Heritage Foundation, 1987: "My household . . . was strong, stable and conservative. In fact, it was far more conservative than many who fashion themselves conservative today. God was central. School, discipline, hard work and 'right-from-wrong' were of the highest priority. Crime, welfare, slothfulness and alcohol were enemies. . . . The most compassionate thing they (our grandparents) did for us was to teach us to fend for ourselves and do that in an openly hostile environment. . . . Those who attempt to capture the daily counseling, oversight, common sense, and vision of my grandparents in a governmental program are engaging in sheer folly. Government cannot develop individual responsibility, but it certainly can refrain from preventing or hindering the development of this responsibility.

" . . . I joined the [Reagan] administration [in 1981] as an assistant secretary in the Department of Education. I had, initially, resisted and declined taking the position of assistant secretary for civil rights simply because my career was not in civil rights and I had no intention of moving into this area. In fact, I was insulted by the initial contact

about this position as well as my current position. . . . I always found it curious that even though my background was in energy, taxation and general corporate regulatory matters, that I was not seriously sought after to move into one of those areas.

" . . . I am of the view that black Americans will move inexorably and naturally toward conservatism when we stop discouraging them; when they are treated as a diverse group with differing interests; and when conservatives stand up for what they believe in rather than stand against blacks. This is not a prescription for success, but rather an assertion that black Americans know what they want, and it is not timidity and condescension.

" . . . I failed to realize just how deep-seated the animosity of blacks toward black conservatives was. The dual labels of black Republicans and black conservatives drew rave reviews. Unfortunately, the raving was at us, not for us. The reaction was negative, to be euphemistic, and generally hostile. Interestingly enough, however, our ideas themselves received very positive reactions, especially among the average working class and middle-class black American who had no vested or proprietary interest in the social policies which have dominated the political scene over the past 20 years.

" . . . Inherent equality is the basis for aggressive enforcement of civil rights laws and equal employment opportunity laws designed to protect individual rights. Indeed, defending the individual under these laws should be the hallmark of conservatism rather than its Achilles' heel. And, in no way, should this be the issue of those who are antagonistic to individual rights and the proponents of a bigger, more intrusive government. Indeed, conservatives should be as adamant about freedom here at home as we are about freedom abroad. We should be at least as incensed about the totalitarianism of drug traffickers and criminals in poor neighborhoods as we are about totalitarianism in Eastern Bloc countries. The primacy of individual rights demands that conservatives be the first to protect them."

Atlantic Magazine, 1987: "There is nothing you can do to get past black skin. I don't care how educated you are, how good you are at what you do—you'll never have the same contacts or opportunities, you'll never be seen as equal to whites.

" . . . Those who insist on arguing that the principle of equal opportunity, the cornerstone of civil rights, means preferences for certain groups, have relinquished their roles as moral and ethical leaders in this area. I bristle at the thought, for example, that it is morally proper to protest against minority racial preferences in South Africa while arguing for such preferences here."

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Press Conference: President Bush and Supreme Court Justice Nominee
Clarence Thomas

Transcript ID: 730039 (1037 lines)

PRESS CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT BUSH
AND SPREME COURT JUSTICE NOMINEE CLARENCE THOMAS

KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

MONDAY, JULY 1, 1991

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I am very pleased to announce that I will nominate Judge Clarence Thomas to serve as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

Clarence Thomas was my first appointee to the US Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, where he served for over a year. And I believe he'll be a great justice. He is the best person for this position.

Judge Thomas compiled an excellent record at Holy Cross. He graduated from Yale Law School and served with distinction in the Missouri Attorney General's Office, in the Reagan/Bush administration and in our administration -- my administration.

He's a native of Pinpoint, near Savannah, Georgia, where he was raised by his grandparents. His background includes a strong emphasis on education as the key to a better life. And he attended rigorous Catholic schools where he excelled. After spending a year at the Immaculate Conception Seminary in Conception Junction, Missouri, Clarence transferred to Holy Cross College in Worcester where he supported himself through loans and scholarships and jobs, and graduated with honors in 1971.

After graduation from Yale Law School, he worked for then-Missouri Attorney General John Danforth, and spent two and a half years litigating cases of all descriptions. In 1977, Judge Thomas practiced law in the private sector, and in 1979, he rejoined Senator Danforth as a legislative assistant in the US Senate. In 1981, President Reagan appointed him Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights in the Department of Education. From 1982 to 1990, he served as President Reagan's Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. And I appointed him to the US Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in 1990.

I have followed this man's career for some time, and he has excelled in everything that he has attempted. He is a delightful and warm, intelligent person who has great empathy and a wonderful sense of humor. He is also a fiercely independent thinker with an excellent legal mind, who believes passionately in equal opportunity for all Americans. He will approach the cases that come before the Court with a commitment to deciding them fairly, as the facts and the law require.

Judge Thomas's life is a model for all Americans, and he has earned the right to sit on this nation's highest court, and I am very proud indeed to nominate him for this position, and I trust that the Senate will confirm this able man promptly.

And now, Judge Thomas, if you'd like to say a few words, and then what we'll do is questions for either of us, and then if you finish those, then I'll be glad to stay and take questions on a wide array of subjects.

JUDGE THOMAS: Thank you, Mr. President. I am honored and humbled by your nomination of me to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

As a child, I could not dare dream that I would ever see the Supreme Court, not to mention be nominated to it. Indeed, my most vivid childhood memory of the Supreme Court was the "Impeach Earl Warren" signs which lined Highway 17 near Savannah.

I didn't quite understand who this Earl Warren fellow was but I knew he was in some kind of trouble.

I thank all of those who have helped me along the way, and who have helped me to this point and this moment in my life, especially my grandparents who are -- especially my grandparents, my mother and the nuns, all of whom were adamant that I grow up to make something of myself. I also thank my wonderful wife and my wonderful son.

In my view, only in America could this have been possible. I look forward to the confirmation process and an opportunity to be of service once again to my country, and to be an example to those who are where I was, and to show them that indeed, there is hope.

Thank you again, Mr. President.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Now, either of us will take questions. As you can understand, Judge Thomas the next important step for him is going up for confirmation, and as with every predecessor for the Supreme Court, I'm sure you'll understand if he won't take issue on specific issues, or philosophy, or things of that nature. But if you gave any for him or for me about this appointment or matters relating to the Court, I'd be glad to respond. I know he would.

And then as I say it's been a while, and if you want to go ahead and just have a general press conference on any other subjects that come to mind.

Q Mr. President, how will you answer concerns stemming from Judge Thomas's days as chairman of the EEOC, that in that post he was somewhat insensitive to the concerns of the elderly and civil

rights advocates, and that he didn't aggressively pursue their complaints?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, obviously, that complaint -- if it was even raised -- in his confirmation hearings for the second highest court in the land were satisfactorily answered. It's my view that the complaints are unfounded of course, but I doubt if anybody had strongly felt that, that he would have been confirmed for his present position.

Q Mr. President?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yeah?

Q Last year you vetoed the Civil Rights Bill saying it could lead to quotas. Today you made a nomination that could at least be seen as quota-based. How do you explain this appearance of inconsistency?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I don't even see a appearance of inconsistency, because what I did was look for the best man and Clarence Thomas' name was high on the list when the previous nominee went forth, Judge Souter -- Mr. Justice Souter now. And so, I don't accept that at all. And the fact that he is black and a minority has nothing to do with this in the sense that he is the best qualified at this time and we had a very thorough screening process then, we had one now that we put into forward gear very fast, but we didn't have to start from square one.

So Clarence Thomas seasoned now by more experience on the bench, fits my description of the best man at the right time, or the best person at the right time because other -- women were considered as well.

Q But do you see how it could be perceived though?

PRESIDENT BUSH: No, I can't see it.

Q Was race a factor whatsoever, sir?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I don't see it at all. The fact that he is a minority, you heard his testimony to the kind of life he has had, and I think that speaks eloquently for itself. But I kept my word to the American people and to the Senate by picking the best man for the job on the merits. And the fact he's minority, so much the better. But that is not the factor and I would strongly resent any charge that might be forthcoming on quotas when it relates to appointing the best man to the Court. That's the kind of thing I stand for, not opposed to.

Q (Just so?) I could ask a question though, was race a factor whatsoever though, sir?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I tried to answer it just then as best I could. Nice try for the second go at it.

Q If I can follow up, I mean there are many people who felt that in fact that that was a plus, not that it was a factor or a quota, but the fact that the Court represent all the people there ought to be a minority member. Did you at all feel that way?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Oh, yeah, but I don't feel there is a quota. I don't feel that I had to appoint, nominate a black American at this time for the Court.

I express my respect for the ground that Judge -- Mr. Justice Marshall plowed, but I don't feel there should be a black seat on the court or an ethnic seat on the court, if that's what your question is. I would reiterate, I think he's the best man. And if credit accrues to him for coming up through a tough life as a minority in this country, so much the better. So much the better.

I love what he said at the end. It proves you can do it, get the job done. And so if that -- if that -- that does nothing but enhance the court, in my view, but I just really want you to know I -- we looked at this list with an idea of really finding the best, and I think that's what we did. Yeah, Charles.

Q I wonder if I could ask a question of Judge Thomas, Mr. President? You made reference, sir, to Chief Justice Warren. The Warren court is known as a liberal court but one that advanced a lot of things in the way of civil rights and on behalf of minorities. How do you feel about that court vis-a-vis the very conservative court that you seem to be joining?

JUDGE THOMAS: Well, I think that many of the questions that I will be asked during my confirmation process will perhaps bring that comparison out. And I think out of respect for that process I'll have to refrain from making that sort of comparison at this point.

Q Not even a personal reflection, sir, on what the Warren court did for minorities?

JUDGE THOMAS: Not even a personal reflection.

Q Judge, a question for you. What do you say to critics who say the only reason you're being picked is because you're black?

JUDGE THOMAS: I think a lot worse things have been said. I disagree with that, but I'll have to live with it.

PRESIDENT BUSH: You refer them to the President. (Laughter.)

JUDGE THOMAS: (Laughs.)

PRESIDENT BUSH: How about that for an answer?

JUDGE THOMAS: Well, I also say I didn't make the selection. (Laughs.)

Q Mr. President, civil rights groups, in particular Ben Hooks, has signaled that you're in for the "mother of all confirmation hearings" if you nominated Judge Thomas. What do you have to say about that?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, one, I find that very surprising, from a man that's as fair as Ben Hooks. So -- and I learned something in this job that some of the others that cover us regularly here understand, and that is that I don't like to comment on a statement attributed to somebody until I've actually read it.

But I think when you go back and look at the support that Judge Thomas had for the bench that he now serves on, that that in itself will take care of any arguments that someone -- I just don't want to feel that Ben Hooks said that. I know him, I respect him, and I don't think that he would say that about Judge Thomas. I'll be honest with you.

Q At this confirmation hearings before, it was said that -- he was accepted to the bench, but if you brought him back to the Supreme Court, that they didn't feel that he would be ready for that at the time.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yeah, well, he isn't the Attorney General, nor the General Counsel to the President, nor the Chief of Staff, nor those of us who screened this nomination. It is our judgment he will. I think you're going to find many Senators that disagree with the fact he's not ready.

Look, I'm not suggesting there'll be no opposition, but you've put it on quite a personal one with Ben, and I just can't believe he would make a statement like that. I've differed with him on a lot of things and agreed with him on many, but I simply do not want to accept that until I see it.

I'm not questioning your motives or challenging your authenticity of the statement, but please let me just defer until I take a look at it.

Q Mr. President?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yo.

Q Mr. President, when you selected Judge Souter, your aides very clearly put out the word that Edith Jones (chose to ?) -- was the runner-up, and likely would be the nominee if another vacancy came up. What happened to change (the nomination ?)?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, she's a very able justice, judge. She was given consideration then and now, and I just felt that Judge Thomas with his seasoning now is best prepared to serve. It was that. It was not a demeaning or putting down of anybody else, because there were some very good names brought to my attention.

And I might say, you know, this just happened last week, and some will be saying, "Well, was the screening process thorough?" And the point I want to make is that I have met several times since Judge Souter's sending to the bench to discuss what would happen if a Supreme Court Justice stepped down, with no one particularly in mind, but just to ready. So, consideration was given to a wide array of candidates, but we'd already done a lot of homework.

But you ask about Edith -- Edith, who comes from my hometown. And I have nothing but high regard and high esteem for her. But I decided, on the advice of people that I trust, that this is the way to go.

Q Mr. President, the appointments made by President Reagan and you have put the Court on a conservative road. Is that what you would like to see for the next 10 or 15 years, to reverse some of the more liberal rulings in the past 20 years?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Look, I don't know how -- how Judge Thomas, when he becomes Mr. Justice Thomas, will come down on every issue. And, indeed, I didn't discuss specific issues with him. I didn't discuss them with Judge Souter when -- before he became Mr. Justice Souter. But I did look at this: Would he faithfully interpret the Constitution and avoid the tendency to legislate from the bench? And that's a broad consideration, but that was certainly in his favor, in my view. And I don't know whether he'll agree with positions that our administration takes, or overthrow decisions, or change positions that we think are right, but that doesn't matter. What matters is that he faithfully interpret the Constitution. And I am 100 percent convinced that that's exactly what he'll do.

So, we're not trying to put a philosophical balance on this Court. We're not trying to philosophically affect it. I want -- and I've said this long ago, long before I became President, that the main consideration, in addition to excellence and qualification, is this concept of interpreting the Constitution and not legislating from the federal bench.

Q Mr. President --

Q Mr. President, can we ask on another topic, too?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yeah, Mr. Mashek on the end here. Sir?

Q In the last several weeks you, or you and your White House Counsel, have had to act to tighten the restrictions on travel of your subordinates. During this period of time, has Governor Sununu come to you at all and expressed any apology for any embarrassment that this might have caused you?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Hey, John, I'll take your question in one sec. But have we done the Supreme Court questions? Because I don't want to get Clarence Thomas, on the eve of his hearings, caught up in a lot of domestic questions of one kind or another, including this one, which I'll be glad to respond to. But if you'd let me come back to you as soon as I ask him to go into the cool office that's behind us. But if there's any -- a couple of more on this and then we'll move on to Mr. Mashek.

Yeah?

Q Could I ask Judge Thomas his view about quotas?

JUDGE THOMAS: Again, I give you a similar answer, I -- when I was in a policymaking role, I said what I had to say about quotas. As a judge, I have not had an opportunity to rule on that issue, but to the extent that I have any additional comments I think, again out of respect for the advise and consent process, I'll have to leave it for that moment.

Q Does that also apply to questions involving whether or not there's a constitutional right to privacy?

JUDGE THOMAS: Yes.

Q I have another question for the President.

Did your list of possible candidates include anyone with known pro-choice views, or any candidate whose views on abortion you were unsure of?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Probably, because I don't know. I didn't ask about that.

Q Mr. President, there was a lot of talk about the possibility of a Hispanic being named.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes.

Q And indeed, Judge Garza was interviewed.

PRESIDENT BUSH: He was.

Q Can you tell us what your thinking on that was, (why it was?) you turned to Clarence Thomas instead of a Hispanic?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I think experience in government, experience on the higher Court figured into this, but listen, that should not degrade Judge Garza at all. The man is a very well-qualified individual. Indeed, he flew up and had a conversation with Boyden Gray and with the Attorney General, and I just had to make a very tough call, and I did it. But he's a good man.

Q Mr. President, when did you make the decision in your own mind, and when did you call Judge Thomas to --

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I called him yesterday and told him I was getting very, very close. And, keeping the faith with those who were at the golf course, I called him after I came back from the golf course. And then I closed the deal today. I had one or two points that I wanted to make to him to see that he felt comfortable with them. I wanted to be sure that he knew they were from me, that there was no litmus test involved. I told him -- if it's not violating a privacy -- that he ought to do like the umpire, call them as you see them, and I'm satisfied he will.

But I guess I could say the final decision was made sitting in our living room, but it was pretty well established when I talked to him yesterday afternoon that that's what I wanted.

Q Did you talk to any other candidates personally?

PRESIDENT BUSH: No, I did not.

Q Mr. President, do you feel as though this appointment will have any effect on your ability to get civil rights bills through the Congress?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I don't think it has anything to do with it at all.

Q Do you anticipate any problems in the confirmation hearings?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Nope. Not if everyone's as fair as I think they will be. I think that there will be questions raised. I would

hope there would not be political considerations. But look, you've seen confirmation hearings before, and you know that there's different people come in with a wide array of different questions, many of them philosophical. But I am satisfied that this man will pass muster.

Got it? Yeah.

All right, I don't want to keep you -- get you messed up in domestic politics here, Judge, so good luck, and I'll see you in a few minutes.

(Applause.)

And I duly note that that's the first press conference my family has attended, and the first one at which there has been any applause. I hope this will continue.

John?

Q Well, the question is, sir, over the last several weeks, that you, or you and the White House counsel acting together, have been forced to tighten the restrictions on travel regarding your subordinates. Has Governor Sununu come to you during any of this time and apologized to you for any embarrassment this may have caused?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes, he's told me right from the heart that he regretted very much any controversy and anything that this may have done to diminish the ethical standards of this presidency. And I told him, look, I understand this. He went into the staff, and with essentially the same message. He said it publicly.

And very candidly, no laws having been violated, I think we ought to move onto something more important, and in this instance it gives me a chance to express my full confidence in him as we work some very complicated issues through the Congress. I respect him. I value his advice and counsel. And I am hoping that this matter is laid to rest.

I think John said "If mistakes were made, I made them." And what more can a man be asked to say? And so I'd like to see this matter laid to rest.

Q At the very outset of your administration, you cautioned against even the appearance of impropriety, which you said this brought into --

PRESIDENT BUSH: That's why I think he came in and we had a good heart-to-heart talk, more than one about it. I'll be very honest with you. My heart aches for his family, because they've been through a lot on some of the stories -- unrelated to this, kind of what I refer to as a "piling on" syndrome -- so I am glad this matter came up because I'd like to try to clear the air, get it behind us and move on. But he has done the right things in terms of expressing his own personal feelings to me and to our staff and to others and I made a mistake once, let's see, it was back in 1970 -- something or other, I can't remember exactly. Yeah?

Q Mr. President, what's the point of meeting President

Gorbachev at the G-7 summit if all you are apparently willing to offer is moral support and technical advice which are things that have been offered before?

PRESIDENT BUSH: You mean his coming to the summit?

Well, I think it's quite important now that ground rules are getting worked out, that he come and present his case for reform to the G-7. And I feel comfortable with what has been worked out by Prime Minister John Major and Mr. Gorbachev. I look forward to having a one-on-one with President Gorbachev there and we got a lot to talk about, a lot of things that aren't related to the arms control agenda and then I think there is going to be a bigger meeting with all seven that night after the formal part takes place. So I think it'll be a good chance to narrow down the differences, to see where we stand, the Soviet Union and Western Europe and Canada, United States and Japan, so I am looking forward to it.

Q On our one-on-one talk, if that's what you're referring to, I don't think we'll have that much time. I think we've got a couple of hours set aside and -- Bob? A couple of hours, but there are some issues that I need to talk about, global issues and we've got a lot of things we look at identically, and we can go back and talk about those such as United Nations action against Iraq's aggression and things like that.

But I think it's appropriate now, there was some -- you know, you read a lot of stories that Gorbachev was coming there hat in hand asking for a big check. That was never his intention, I am assured of that and I don't think that did him a lot of good by even the speculation on that in some quarters, in the United States for example. But I think the groundrules or at least the broad parameters are now set out and I look forward to hearing what his plans are for a vigorous reform and the continuation of perestroika, glasnost being all but a given these days.

Q Doesn't his mere presence in London raise expectations that are unlikely to be realized?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, yes, some might argue that and some might say well, his mere presence would indicate that if he didn't get something that the meeting would not be -- the meeting would be a failure. I don't view it that way. There is so much change taking place. Economic problems in the Soviet Union and elsewhere are so enormous that it's very important that we get as close together in agreement. But yes, I can see where some might suggest that, but I wouldn't view it that way. I would not view it and I'll be resisting it if people say that. We've got an awful lot of consultation before concrete economic programs can be agreed to.

Yeah?

Q Well, on Iraq, there's news that the UN team went out looking again for that equipment and couldn't find it. Are you anticipating taking any action?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, we're anxious to see what this inspection -- this two-person team gets when they come back. But let me say this. Everybody -- everyone knows that the man was

cheating and lying. Everyone knows that he did that which the resolutions say not to do. And he should give unfettered access to these inspectors. He didn't do that. He surreptitiously moved the equipment. We've presented the evidence to certain parties and all I'd say is he better get on with keeping his word, and he better get on with total, free, open inspection.

And I said the other day -- perhaps you missed it -- that we are not foreclosing nor putting on the table any options at this point. We have a lot of diplomacy to do. We want to be sure that world opinion is as strong as I'm convinced it will be. Because this isn't a unilateral US problem. This is a problem now of which the United Nations has seized, you see.

Q Have you talked to any of the allied -- the leaders in the past day?

PRESIDENT BUSH: No, but others have been talking. I've not gone to the chiefs of state. I anticipate -- maybe I indicated this the other day, that I will be doing that. This is a very -- high-level diplomatic decision will be called on -- or diplomatic initiatives will be called on and decisions might follow. Rita and then -- yeah?

Q Mr. President, speaking on Iraq, the other day as you came to Kennebunkport, you were in a sort of highly agitated mode, talking about -- hinting of a possible renewal of military action, although you also stressed diplomacy. But, in the interim, has there been any news on this nuclear situation or anything that has caused you to think that maybe the situation is calming down any, or are --

PRESIDENT BUSH: No.

Q -- you still saying that we have all options out --

PRESIDENT BUSH: No, Rita, to be honest with you, I haven't seen anything that makes me think it's calming down. I'm not sure I would have used the word "agitated," but certainly concerned. And I -- what we've got to have is evidence that full inspection on challenge will be granted. And I -- I don't want to mislead you. I am very concerned about this situation. And this is a fundamental part of what the United Nations resolution is about. So, there's still a feeling out there, on my view anyway, and I'm sure it's true of the neighbors, that he has to make this right and satisfy us, or we'll figure out what else happens.

Yes?

Excuse me, did I cut a follow-up?

Q Just is there still a possibility of renewed military action by the US-led coalition?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, as again, I just keep resisting saying what we will do or what we won't do. But you've seen speculation, and I'll just steer you that it's not all warrantless. But, on the other hand, I'm not saying what we're -- what I will be -- what it will be recommended that I do as president of the United States. I'm very interested in getting the views of other world leaders, and

the diplomacy leading up to that has already started.

Yeah?

Q Mr. President, this fall Israel intends to ask the United States to guarantee \$10 billion in loans to build housing for Jewish refugees from the Soviet Union. Would you tell us how you feel about linking approval of these loan guarantees with some pledge from Israel that would freeze the building of new settlements in the occupied territories?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I don't think it ought to be a quid pro quo. What I do think, and I've said this over and over again, that it is against US policy for these settlements to be built. So, I'll leave it right there and avoid the linkage that you understandably ask about, but say that the best thing for Israel to do is to keep its commitment that was given at one point not to go in and build further settlements. It is counterproductive to the peace process.

Now having said that, I want to be fair. There are other things by other countries that are counterproductive to the peace process. I'd love to see direct talks between these countries. But we are not -- we have not changed our position on sanctions and we're not going to change -- I mean on settlements, and we're not going to change our position on settlements. So please, those in Israel, do what you can to see that that policy of settlement after settlement is not continued. It is counterproductive.

And having heard the Secretary of State say that and seen what followed on, I will promptly add, as he has, that we want to be sure that others move forward in the peace process too. But it's not constructive to getting these parties to come together and work for a peace that I think the entire world wants and that all of them want. So we'll keep working, but we're not giving one inch on the settlements question.

Yeah?

Q Mr. President, the Carter Commission has made its recommendations, as you know, on base closings subject to your review. Isn't it highly unlikely though that you would overrule any of those decisions given the amount of time that the Commission put it into it?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes, with one exception. Yes, it is highly unlikely, but I will rely heavily on what Secretary Cheney tells me after he reviews the base closing recommendations, has a chance to talk to them, with General Powell and the Joint Chiefs, because what I'm interested in -- one, saving the money that we've said we'll save; two, being sure -- and this comes first, actually -- that we have a proper structure from which to conduct military action that we might be called upon to conduct in the future. And so it would be unlikely, but I just would suggest, John, that I would like very much to sit down with the Secretary of Defense, and say, "Dick, are you happy with these? Do you see something that ought to be changed?" And that's the way I'll conduct it.

But I'm not going to go in there and override some decision on a political basis. These are tough calls. This Commission, I am

satisfied, is approaching it without politics in mind. I was in the Congress. I know the old rule about cutting it out, but cutting it in the other guy's district. And we simply cannot approach something as sensitive and as important to our national security as base closing in that manner.

And so I will resist the -- I won't participate in any political call, but I will -- I do reserve the right upon receipt of the Commission's report, I think it comes directly to me -- to discuss it with the Secretary of Defense, after he's had an opportunity to talk to the Chiefs about it.

Yeah?

Q Mr. President, could you talk a bit about --

Q A follow-on question?

Q Could you talk a bit about your mother and what she's taught you? And why you chose her birthday to announce your nominee?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, maybe it's fortuitous. Life goes on. Mother's 90 years old, been an enormous influence in my life and the lives of our -- everybody that's in our enormous family. And I noted from Clarence Thomas what he had to say about the importance of family in his life.

So if there's some symbolism there, one, it was unintended, but two, I think it might be appropriate. Different backgrounds, but the same sense of strength of family. And I think there's a message not just for Clarence Thomas' family, or our family, but for families all across the country.

And as we celebrate mother's 90th birthday, she's not all that well, but she is our moral leader, was since I was old enough to walk on this marvelous point of land here in Kennebunkport, which was just, you know, from my days as an infant. And everyone in this family, young and old, direct or indirect relations looks up to her.

But I have a feeling that that's still true of a lot of families in this country.

Yeah, Charles.

Q I wanted to follow on John's question as to whether you might be suggesting that the Base Closure Commission could have gone farther and cut deeper?

PRESIDENT BUSH: No, I didn't intend to say that, because literally I have not gone into the details of the Base Closure Commission.

Q Could I ask a separate then?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes.

Q Are you and the Attorney General going to discuss the Crime Bill, as you suggested you ought to?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes.

Q What's your sense of direction on that?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I want to get a good crime bill. We would like to have it all come down together. And everything -- options are open here. But we've gotten -- in fact, Dick told me now we have achieved -- gotten roughly in the form we want four of our five major objectives. The exclusionary rule did not come the way we wanted in the Senate. But I'll defer on more detail on that because it has to go to a conference, and then we'll see.

But I want a comprehensive crime bill. There were some very good things in the Senate bill; and I think Senator Biden and, of course, Senator Thurmond and others for that. And I'll just wait and see what comes to my desk. And I urge that it be comprehensive, broad. And then we'll take some things that I like, and maybe some things that I don't like, because it is important to get on with the crime bill. But it better come down, I think in fairness to the American people, in a broad form, not nickle by nickle, dime by dime.

Q (Off mike) -- maybe a little premature yesterday in suggesting it was close to acceptable?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I didn't see the story. But as I say, there are many good things in it. But my problem on answering it is I don't know what's going to happen in relation to the House of Representatives out of the conference.

Yeah?

Q Thank you, sir. At the beginning of the -- as the war, the Gulf War got closer you sensed that Saddam Hussein wasn't getting enough information that our threat was real. There have been reports now, as you were talking about, about potential military action again. Do you think he's in the dark, still?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I don't know on this question. But you're right, I was reminiscing here as I hit Walker's Point a couple of days ago that there were two points that I still am convinced of as this -- as the pre-battle period went on. One, that he didn't think that we were for real on this. And secondly, that he thought he could prevail, at least enough to have a standoff in the desert and be the hero of certain parts of the world over there. He was wrong on both counts. And if he assumes that he can get away with this kind of thing he's just as wrong today as he was on August 2nd when he went back into -- when he sent his forces into Kuwait.

Q Mr. President --

Q You don't consider him a very smart man, do you?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I don't consider him a very bright man to have done what's he done, if that's -- if that's an answer to it, because he -- I don't -- I can't conceive of why you would directly think you could hide given the sophistication of technology today. And secondly, why you think you could get away with it. So there is -- there's some parallel there. I don't want to overdraw it.

Q Mr. President, you spoke a bit ago about everyone in the Middle East wanting peace. Yet the Israelis seems to have stiff-armed your proposals; the Syrians don't seem to like the terms either. Is there more there than meets the eye?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Probably more than meets the eye, but not as much as I'd like to see meet the eye. I mean, in other words, I think -- I'd like to see process -- the process further along, but there are a few things that I think offer hope. In fact, in my last -- my last communication from President Shamir of Israel was a commitment to try to work for peace. There are some broad commitments but, frankly, I'd like to see us further along on some of the details, and please don't press me on what those details are. But I am not going to give up hope on this and I don't think the Secretary is, but we need to have more progress and we need to have it sooner. I am told that the credibility of the United States for being the catalyst for peace is still very strong and very good, not only in Israel but in the Arab countries as well. So that is an ingredient that wasn't there before, it's still there, that I hope will lead to peace.

Q It has been suggested that the United States might just call a peace conference and see who shows up. Is that an option?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I don't want to go into options but yes, I have seen suggestions of that nature and at some point I think I owe the American people my view of the details I am not willing to discuss right now. And that wouldn't bother me one bit to get up and say, "Here is what we have been trying to do." So there is no timeframe on anything of that nature, but I think there are a lot of people wondering what in the world is going on and I have invoked quiet diplomacy and the need for confidentiality, but I can't do that forever. I just simply can't do it. I owe it to the American people and I think the people around the world to say, "Hey, here is what the United States thinks is a good formula."

Yeah? Go ahead, go ahead, you had it.

Q In reminiscing about the war, can I ask you your comments about your feelings about what's happened in Kuwait since the end of the war --

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes.

Q -- with the atrocities there, your feelings about it? Do you think there is any reason to believe the democratic reforms will take place?:

PRESIDENT BUSH: Let me say this and I hope it doesn't come out wrong. The war wasn't fought about democracy in Kuwait. The war was fought about aggression against Kuwait. Having said that, the Kuwaitis have said that they want to move toward the democratic process and I hope they do and they should. This would be good. I think one thing that concerns people were the trials for different standards, for law in all countries, but we want to see fair trials, open trials.

I was -- a friend of mine in our government who is quite knowledgeable on history reminded me of what it was like in France after the liberation of France in World War II. I remember some of

it, although I was in the Pacific theater. And the people that were liberated did not take kindly to those that had sold out to the Nazis.

I think we're expecting a little much if we're asking the people in Kuwait to take kindly to those that had spied on their countrymen that were left there, that had brutalized families there and things of that nature. Having said that, I believe and I've recommended this to the Kuwaitis, the most open, fair trial, free justice system is the best. It works best. It gets confidence back in your country. So I can understand the outrage.

I'll give you one other example. Martial law. We had some problems, you know, why martial law? And it was explained to me, many citizens over there, against the law, have weapons. Many of them that were in opposition to the Kuwaiti regime, threatening -- using the weapons, showing the weapons when the Iraqis were in power, now keeping them weapons. And they told me that martial law was essential if they were going to go in and disarm the people that had been helping the enemy. I can understand that.

But again, what I'd like to see is as much respect for what we see as legal principles as possible.

Yes, Susan. This is the last -- this guy hasn't had one. One, two, and that's it. Unless you appeal. Three?

Q Back to the G-7 for a minute, are you at all concerned that with all the publicity with Mr. Gorbachev, that the plight of the Eastern European countries is not going to get enough attention here? And do you feel any obligation on the part of the Western democracies to guarantee to them the same aid, whatever it is, that Gorbachev walks away with?

PRESIDENT BUSH: You mean Eastern European democracies?

Q Because of the fact that they have already done the sorts of things that he's only beginning to think about.

PRESIDENT BUSH: I think we got two different questions. But we must not -- we must not send a signal to Eastern Europe, "Hey, we're neglecting you. You're on your own. Figure it out for yourselves. We're going to turn our attention to Moscow." I don't think it has to be an either/or choice. The Eastern European countries are moving. They need certain kinds of assistance. They're getting some. They're making some progress. They still have problems.

But I think you raise -- your question raises for me a very good point. We don't want to send a signal of neglect, or that we think that they should be cut loose to fend for themselves. But there are many things we can do and are doing in Eastern Europe, and that -- they should not be reduced, as we work together to try to figure out how to get the Soviet market, how to get the Soviet economy, how to get the Soviet system moving along the same lines of the Eastern Europeans.

This is a -- it's a world problem, it's not a United States problem. And you know, it comes up in -- I don't want to get too philosophical out here in the sun -- but it comes up in another

context; because people in South America are saying, "With this major goal of helping reform in the Soviet Union, and to some degree, in Eastern Europe, are you going to neglect us?" And one of the reasons we are having these I think very important appearances and a lot of diplomacy going along with it is that we want to reassure the democracies in this hemisphere, which is all but one country from being a totally democratic hemisphere, that we're not going to neglect them.

So, you raise a good point. We are not going to neglect Eastern Europe, but we are going to work with the others. And everyone knows that we're dealing, at this juncture, with limited resources. We are in this country. We've got an enormous deficit problem. Other countries have economies that have done worse than ours. And so, we've got to be realistic and find ways to help move these people towards market economies, open political systems, as when our advice is sought. And that's what we're trying to do.

Who was the second one? Yeah?

Q Mr. President, thank you. Some weeks ago, you said you were very close to a decision on MFN for the Soviet Union. Have you made that decision? Do you expect to do it before London? Is it tied up in the SALT negotiations?

PRESIDENT BUSH: No, it's not tied up in SALT; it's tied up on a trade agreement. And I think that's the only remaining problem, a trade agreement -- and maybe, Bob, come help me on that. When will that -- when do we think that will be resolved?

MR. GATES: There are a couple of minor technical problems in the trade agreement because of laws that have been passed subsequent to its signature by the Soviet legislature. They're technical problems, we think are being worked out. (It shouldn't be ?) too long.

PRESIDENT BUSH: And it's not caught up in the other.

Last one.

No, right behind you. Sorry.

Q Okay.

Q Mr. President, I'm just curious.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Second to last one.

Q Did you consult anyone else outside of your administration about your Supreme Court nominee? And did I understand you correctly to say that you made your final decision, was it last night in your living room here or this morning?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, it -- actually, when I say final, the I was dotted and the T crossed up here just a little bit before lunch. But I'd all -- just to be very candid about it -- all but made my mind up when I invited Judge Thomas up here. As I thought of any hypothetical things that could go wrong, I couldn't think of any, but so much so that I don't think he felt confident enough after our conversation yesterday, I don't think he told his wife, for example,

that he was to be the nominee.

But I -- and on your first part of your question, no I stayed with the recommendatory process because many others talk to others, and I must say, without -- if you'll let me off without telling you who I talked to, when the previous -- when this all came up at the time of Judge Souter, I think I did talk to one or two people, in confidence, that I respect that are outside of this so-called screening process. But I put all the emphasis on this one on our screening process. And yet, I'm confident that as this process is unfolded, Boyden Gray and our Chief of Staff and the Attorney General and the Attorney General's staff have gotten a wide array of views from others.

It's better if the president doesn't do this because if I get out there and talk to somebody, then I think it is much more prone to open discussion and speculation and I don't think that's helpful when you're trying to reach the decision.

This is the last one.

Q There was some suggestion from a published report that suggests -- I suspect that you've seen, from Jack Kemp that there's not enough attention within his own administration -- your administration on domestic social issues. And I was wondering if you could respond to that.

PRESIDENT BUSH: I didn't read the Kemp story. I've talked to Jack plenty and he, I think, has referred to this administration and very generously to this President as the "empowerment President" and one that wants to see a growth in this economy and thus have everybody have a better shot at opportunity.

So we're not apart on that. And again, having not -- I understand there was a story in today's paper. I haven't read it and I probably will, but I don't think we've got any differences with Jack Kemp on this, and I salute him for what he's done. He takes a good strong message out to the communities -- home ownership; tenant management, and --

Q But from the article, he suggested the administration has not been as forceful as he has been.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, that may be true. He's a real zealot out there, and he's got all the time in the world to do it. That's what his job is about, pushing that envelope, as we say in the space age, forward to include home ownership. And I think if it hadn't been for his zeal, we never would have gotten through the Congress, the House, anything on home ownership or tenant management and we did. So I give him great credit. So if he's got more zeal on this, I think perhaps -- I don't think he feels more strongly in his heart about it, but he is a salesman. He is out there going to places where a lot of Republicans have never been, and I've been at his side a time or two on that, and it's darn good and I'm proud he is a part of our administration. So if you want me to say something bad about Jack Kemp, no way.

Yeah. Last one, really -- yeah.

Q Did the two-hour lunch with Gorbachev make it less urgent

to go to Moscow by the end of July?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Not in my -- no, you can't cover everything in two hours, but we've got -- maybe we'll be able to move the START process forward.

I don't know whether we will at a lunch of that nature. But no, it doesn't in my view make it less urgent. I want to sit down over a period of time with him to really in-depth discuss issues. It is most important. And a lot of the talk would be philosophical talk, intentions. What do you think our intentions are toward the Soviet Union? I think there's still some misunderstanding in the Soviet military about that, for example.

And I'm no Jack Kemp in terms of my salesmanship, perhaps. A little inarticulate and sometimes too prudent, but I think I could convince Gorbachev that their military has nothing to fear from us. So let's take a look, let's have them do what we're doing in terms of defense spending. I think we can't do it in just a luncheon, but my respect for him is such that I find when we can sit down and talk over a reasonable period of time you can get into a lot of subjects which I'm sure we can't do at a two-hour lunch.

Q Could that summit still happen by the end of July?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes, yes it could. Hey listen, thank you all very much.

Q One more question?

PRESIDENT BUSH: No! (Laughs.) Come on, Susan. Thank you very much.

END

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① Secretary of the Interior - Manuel Lujan Jr.
(Federal Staff Directory)

National Park Service Director - James Ridenour
(NPS info.)

② 2 Senators - Sen. Larry Pressler of Humboldt
(R) S.D. (D) Sen. Thomas A. Daschle of Aberdeen
(Congressional Pictorial Directory February 91 ed.)

④ 1 Congressman - Tim Johnson
(same) S.D. of Vermillion (at large)
3rd Term Democrat

③ Governor
Mount Rushmore
⑥ Preservation Fund

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THE ^{t:} BOOK OF
PRESIDENTS

BY TIM TAYLOR



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- This was the first of his six vetoes.
- July 1**, signed act that provided for railroad and telegraph line from Missouri River to Pacific Coast
- July 1**, signed act that established office of commissioner of internal revenue
- July 2**, issued proclamation calling for 300,000 volunteers for three-year service
- July 2**, vetoed medical offices in army bill
- This was the second of his six vetoes.
- July 2**, signed Morrill Act
- This act granted each loyal state thirty thousand acres for each senator and representative in Congress for the establishment of agricultural colleges. Sixty-nine land grant colleges were established over the years, more than fifty of which exist today.
- July 7**, received letter of advice from General McClellan
- General McClellan summarized his ideas as to the general conduct of affairs, repeating many of the complaints he had made in a letter to Secretary of War Stanton, June 28. McClellan had accused Stanton of doing his best "to sacrifice this army."
- July 11**, appointed Major General Henry Wager Hallack as his military adviser
- Hallack was given the title of general-in-chief.
- July 12**, Medal of Honor authorized by Congress
- July 16**, appointed Samuel Freeman Miller as associate justice
- Miller, who was confirmed by the Senate, July 16, was the second of Lincoln's five appointments to the Supreme Court.
- July 17**, authorized to call up militia between ages of 18 and 45, admit Negroes to the military service, appoint judge-advocate general, and organize army corps at his discretion
- July 17**, second session of 37th Congress adjourned
- July 22**, submitted first draft of Emancipation Proclamation to cabinet
- After consultation with the cabinet, he decided to delay issuing the proclamation.
- Aug. 4**, issued call for 300,000 militia for nine-month service
- Aug. 9**, Battle of Cedar Mountain, Va.
- This engagement resulted in a Confederate victory. Union losses, including about 300 killed, totalled about 2,350; Confederate losses, including about 230 killed, totalled about 1,300.
- Aug. 14**, received Negro committee, discussed emigration and colonial proposals regarding Liberia and Central America
- Aug. 19**, Horace Greeley public letter published
- In the letter, addressed to the president and published in the *New York Tribune* under the title, "Prayer of Twenty Millions," Greeley wrote that "all attempts to put down the rebellion and at the same time uphold its inciting cause are preposterous and futile."
- Aug. 22**, stated his policies in reply to Greeley
- Aug. 29-30**, second Battle of Bull Run
- Union troops were forced to retreat to Washington.
- Sept. 3**, appointed Joseph Holt as first judge-advocate general
- Sept. 15**, capture of Harper's Ferry, W. Va.
- About 10,700 Union troops and large quantities of equipment were lost to a Confederate army under General Thomas Jonathan ("Stone Wall") Jackson.
- Sept. 17**, Battle of Antietam, Md.
- This was the "bloodiest single day" of the war, resulting in more than 26,000 casualties. Union losses, including about 2,100 killed, totalled about 12,400; Confederate losses, including about 2,700 killed, totalled about 13,700. While virtually a standoff, the battle forced General Robert E. Lee to retreat to Virginia.
- Antietam caused France and Great Britain, about to recognize the Confederacy, to reconsider. It also created the atmosphere desired by the president for issuance of his Emancipation Proclamation.
- Sept. 22**, issued preliminary Emancipation Proclamation
- The proclamation freed all slaves in the Confederate states as of Jan. 1, 1863.
- Sept. 23**, asked cabinet to consider subject of acquisition of territory to which Negroes might be deported
- Sept. 24**, issued proclamation that suspended writ of habeas corpus for persons in rebellion and arrested insurgents, declared them subject to trial by court-martial or military commission
- Oct. 17**, appointed David Davis as associate justice
- Davis, who was confirmed by the Senate, Dec. 8, was the third of Lincoln's five appointments to the Supreme Court.
- Nov. 5**, relieved General McClellan
- He appointed General Burnside as commander of the Army of the Potomac, Nov. 7.
- Dec. 1**, third session of 37th Congress
- Dec. 1**, sent his second address to Congress
- He recommended constitutional amendments for compensation to slaves freed by the act and that loyal slaves be freed and that loyal owners be compensated.
- Dec. 17**, refused to accept Secretary of State Seward's offer of opposition to his policy
- Dec. 18**, removal of Secretary of State Seward
- Dec. 20**, refused to accept Secretary of Treasury Seward's offer of Haiti
- Bernard Kock agreed to sell ten thousand Negroes for a fee of \$50 each
- Dec. 31**, signed act as state, June 20, 1862
- Dec. 31**, accepted appointment of Interior Secretary

1863

- Jan. 1**, issued Emancipation Proclamation
- He declared that all slaves in rebellion were "thenceforth forever free." In areas under Union control
- Jan. 8**, appointed his Secretary of the Interior, John P. Usher
- Jan. 25**, relieved General Fremont, appointed General Sherman, commander of Army of the West
- Feb. 24**, Territory of Nevada organized
- Feb. 25**, signed national Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction
- This act provided for the readmission of states requiring national approval of a third of their capitulations
- This act also established the position of comptroller of the Treasury, appointed, May 9.
- Mar. 3**, Territory of Florida organized
- Mar. 3**, signed first

aboard the Union transport, *River Queen*, near Fort Monroe, Hampton Roads, Va. The meeting was a failure since the Confederate commissioners had been instructed to insist on recognition of southern independence.

Feb. 8, electoral votes tabulated by Congress

•Lincoln and Andrew Johnson were officially declared elected.

Feb. 17-18, capture of Columbia and Charleston, S.C.

•General Sherman marched northward, burning a dozen or more South Carolina towns. Columbia, the state capital, was burned, Feb. 17; responsibility for the starting of the fire has never been established. Charleston fell, Feb. 18, after a two-year siege.

Mar. 3, second session of 38th Congress adjourned

Mar. 3, vetoed repeal of section of Reconstruction act and joint resolution concerning certain railroads

•These were the fifth and last of his six vetoes, the third and last of his four pocket vetoes.

Mar. 3, Secretary of Treasury Fessenden resigned

ELECTION OF 1864

Radical Republican party, convened, May 31, at Cleveland, Ohio, nominated John Charles Fremont of California for president, John Cochrane of New York for vice president. Fremont and Cochrane withdrew in favor of Lincoln and Johnson, Sept. 17.

Republican (National Union) party, convened, June 7, at Baltimore, Md., nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois for

president, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee for vice president.

•This was the third Republican national convention. It was the first Republican convention in Baltimore; it was the 15th major party convention in Baltimore.

Democratic party, convened, Aug. 29, at Chicago, Ill., nominated George Brinton McClellan of New York for president, George Hunt Pendleton of Ohio for vice president.

•This was the ninth Democratic national convention. It was the first Democratic convention in Chicago; it was the second major party convention in Chicago.

Election day, Tuesday, Nov. 8, 1864

Popular vote: 4,166,537

Lincoln, 2,330,552 (including soldiers' vote, 116,887)

McClellan, 1,835,985 (including soldiers' vote, 33,748)

Electoral vote: 234, 25 states

•Lincoln, 212, 22 states

(California, 5; Connecticut, 6; Illinois, 16; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 8; Kansas, 3; Maine, 7; Maryland, 7; Massachusetts, 12; Michigan, 8; Minnesota, 4; Missouri, 11; Nevada, 2 of 3 votes; New Hampshire, 5; New York, 33; Ohio, 21; Oregon, 3; Pennsylvania, 26; Rhode Island, 4; Vermont, 5; West Virginia, 5; Wisconsin, 8)

•McClellan, 21, three states

(Delaware, 3; Kentucky, 11; New Jersey, 7)

•One Nevada elector died before the election.

•Votes not cast: 80, 11 states

(Alabama, 8; Arkansas, 5; Florida, 3; Georgia, 9; Louisiana, 7; Mississippi, 7; North Carolina, 9; South Carolina, 6; Tennessee, 10; Texas, 6; Virginia, 10)

THE 20th ADMINISTRATION

1865

Mar. 4, his second inauguration day

•Lincoln took the oath of office, administered by Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, on the east portico of the Capitol.

•This was the first of three inaugurations at which Chase officiated.

•This was the first of four oath-taking cere-

monies at which Chase officiated.

•Lincoln's age at his second inauguration was 56 years, 20 days.

•He was the seventh of 21 presidents who were younger than their vice presidents. Lincoln was four years, 45 days younger than Johnson.

Mar. 7, appointed his third secretary of treasury, Hugh McCulloch

•McCulloch took office

•McCulloch was the cabinet appointment

Mar. 11, issued proclamation to all absentees from a duty within 60 days of citizens

Mar. 25, attack on Fort

•General Lee, outnumbered two-to-one, attempted to break the Union lines but failed

Apr. 1, Battle of Five Forks

•This was Lee's last battle. He was struck at the Union camp near Petersburg, Virginia, by troops under General Grant

Apr. 2, evacuation of Richmond

•Union troops occupied Richmond, Apr. 3.

Apr. 4, arrived in Richmond

Apr. 14, 1865, shot at Ford's Theater, Washington, D.C.

•On this Good Friday, Lincoln attended a performance of the comedy, *Our American Cousin*, at the Lyceum Theater. He was shot in the head by Booth, a Confederate sympathizer and actor who was the organizer of the plot to kill the president, and other prominent members of the administration.

•Booth had entered the theater in disguise and signed guard, John Wilkes Booth, with an unsavory reputation for drinking his thirst at a public house.

•Charles Leale, a doctor in the White House, rushed to the president. After 15 minutes from the wound, it was possible that Lincoln was still alive. The president was then taken to a small boat on the Potomac street at 516 10th Street, where he regained consciousness.

Apr. 15, 1865, died at the Petersen House, Washington, D.C.

•His family and members of the cabinet were present at the funeral, with the exception of

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JOSEPH NATHAN KANE

Facts About the Presidents

A COMPILATION OF
BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL
INFORMATION

Fifth Edition

THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY
NEW YORK

1989



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Hartford, Conn., on August 22, 1902. Twenty carriages followed the presidential automobile during its tour of the city.

After his term of office, Roosevelt again pioneered when he took a ride in an airplane on October 11, 1910, at St. Louis, Mo. He was a passenger in an airplane piloted by Archie Hoxsey. Roosevelt was the first of the Presidents to fly in an airplane.

ROOSEVELT APPOINTED COMMERCE AND LABOR SECRETARY

On February 16, 1903, Theodore Roosevelt appointed George B. Cortelyou Secretary of Commerce and Labor, the first man to hold that office.

INAUGURATION IN 1905

Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of office Saturday, March 4, 1905, on the east portico of the Capitol. Chief Justice Melville Weston Fuller administered the oath. A spectacular parade from 3:00 P.M. to 6:15 P.M. was witnessed by more than 200,000 visitors. Although it was very windy, Roosevelt delivered his inaugural address bareheaded, the first President to do so.

LINCOLN'S RING WORN BY ROOSEVELT

Prior to the inauguration, Secretary of State John Hay gave the President a ring that had been worn by Abraham Lincoln and taken off his hand after his death. After the ceremonies, Roosevelt returned the ring to Hay. (John Hay had been Lincoln's private secretary.)

ROOSEVELT VISITED A FOREIGN COUNTRY

Theodore Roosevelt was the first President to visit a foreign country during his term of office. He traveled to Panama on the U.S.S. *Louisiana*. After visiting Panama from November 14 to 17, 1906, he went to Puerto Rico.

PEACE PRIZE TO ROOSEVELT

The first American recipient of a Nobel Prize was Theodore Roosevelt, to whom the \$40,000 prize was awarded in 1906 for his services in concluding the treaty of peace between Russia and Japan at the end of the Russo-Japanese War.

ROOSEVELT SUBMERGED IN SUBMARINE

Theodore Roosevelt was the first President to submerge in a submarine. On Friday, August 25, 1905, he went aboard the submarine *Plunger*, commanded by Lieutenant Charles Preston Nelson, in Long Island

Sound, off Oyster Bay, N.Y. The *Plunger* submerged to a depth of twenty feet in water from thirty to forty feet deep, remaining stationary for about fifty-five minutes. Roosevelt operated the controls. At one time, the lights were turned off and the *Plunger* operated in complete darkness.

ASSASSINATION OF ROOSEVELT ATTEMPTED

When President Roosevelt was leaving the Hotel Gilpatrick in Milwaukee, Wis., on October 14, 1912, about 8 P.M., en route to the Auditorium to make a speech during the presidential campaign, John Nepomuk Schrank, a saloon keeper, attempted to assassinate him. Roosevelt was shot in the chest. The assassin was opposed to Roosevelt's attempt to capture a third term.

Although the bullet tore through his coat and his shirt was covered with blood, Roosevelt said, "I will deliver this speech or die, one or the other." He began "Friends, I shall ask you to be very quiet and please excuse me from making you a very long speech. I'll do the best I can, but, you see, there is a bullet in my body. But, it's nothing. I'm not hurt badly." He spoke about fifty minutes and then went to the hospital.

Five alienists decided Schrank was suffering from insane delusions, and on November 13, 1912, he was declared insane. He was committed to the Northern State Hospital for the Insane at Oshkosh, Wis., and died September 15, 1943, at Central State Hospital, Waupun, Wis.

THE PRESIDENT'S FAMILY

When Theodore Roosevelt succeeded to the presidency, Edith Kermit Carow, Roosevelt's second wife, became the first lady of the land. The White House was a lively place because of the activities of the President's children—four sons and two daughters. During Roosevelt's administration, Alice Lee Roosevelt, the daughter of the President by his first wife, Alice Lee, was married to Nicholas Longworth, a Representative from Ohio, at the White House.

FURTHER READING

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