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ticipated in any way in helping this great city of Los Angeles.

And the last point is this: I went around to a lot of the communities. And I have a genuine feeling in my heart that Los Angeles is going to bounce right on back and be this great city that it's always been.

So may God bless everybody here from Los Angeles, and my profound thanks to the rest of you. God bless you all. Thank you so very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 8:22 a.m. at the Los Angeles Coliseum. In his remarks, he referred to Scott Miller, a Los Angeles firefighter who was injured during the disturbances. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to Community Leaders in Los Angeles

May 8, 1992

I would get off to a bad start if I didn't say what I think everybody else is feeling, and I want to just congratulate Larisse for that marvelous rendition of the Star-Spanned Banner.

And may I first thank all of you for being here today. I think they were introduced at the very beginning, but I want to single out two members of my Cabinet, Secretary Lou Sullivan of HHS and Secretary Jack Kemp from Housing and Urban Development who are here with me. We've really had a good tour. I want to salute Senator Seymour, Governor Wilson, who's been at my side, both of them, as we've made this tour through the city. Pat Saiki of SBA, the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, came out early and she is on the ground and doing a first-class job. And of course, I would like to also salute Mayor Tom Bradley who has been so extraordinarily helpful on this visit. And I'm not going to forget the inspirational leader of the Challenger, Lou Dantzler.

I would also say to the city officials that I can just imagine, given what you all have been through, the headache that this visit has caused. And I promise you we plan to leave right on schedule so things can get back to

normal. But I want to thank everybody involved in facilitating this visit that came, I'm sure, at a very complicated time for the city. The Governor, the Mayor, the police, the L.A. community, everyone has been just fantastic.

And let me say I am truly heartened by the speed with which the millions of dollars of Federal relief have reached the city, from FEMA grants to the small business loans to urgent food aid. And I salute David Kearns and others who came here to coordinate not to dictate, not to try to dominate but to coordinate with the city and local officials. And I'm very pleased to see that there is smooth coordination, everyone pulling together on the Federal, State, and local level.

It was important I feel that, as President, I come here to Los Angeles. The community has been the site of a terrible tragedy. Not just for you who were impacted the most, but for our entire country. And everyone around the world feels this trauma, everyone who looks to us as a model of freedom and justice.

And that's why I want to say just a few things about my visit, to speak to you about what I've seen in this city and, most importantly, as I said at that marvelous ecumenical church service yesterday at Mt. Zion, we are one people, we are one family, we are one Nation under God. And so I want to speak about our course as a nation.

I can hardly imagine. I try, but I can hardly imagine the fear and the anger that people must feel to terrorize one another and burn each other's property. But I saw remarkable signs of hope right next to the tragic signs of hatred. This marvelous institution, this boys and girls club stands unscarred, facing a burned-out block. And its leader is this wonderful man next to me, Lou Dantzler. And he started it on the back of an old pickup truck with a group of kids that wanted to get off the street. And its existence proves the power of our better selves. And let's never forget it, and let's count our blessings.

Now let me personalize it a little bit and tell you why clubs like this matter. A story about a little kid, Rudy Campbell. I saw him on television. He looked about 8 years old. His father was murdered a few years back, and I didn't see his mother. Rudy is raised

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by his 22-year-old sister who has five kids of her own. And he lives in South Central. Think about what he has already been through. Now he says he fears that things will only get "badder and badder and badder." And it breaks your heart, and our children deserve better than that.

I talked a week ago about the law and the pursuit of justice. And today I want to talk about what went wrong in L.A. and the underlying causes of the root problems. It can all be debated, and it should be, but not to assign blame. Casting blame gets us absolutely nowhere. Honest talk and principled action can move us forward. And that's what we've got to do for Rudy; that's what we've got to do for our children, these kids right here.

This tragedy seemed to come suddenly, but I think we would all agree it's been many years in the making. I know it will take time to put things right. I could have said "put things right again," but that would miss a point I want to make: Things weren't right before a week ago Wednesday. Things aren't right in too many cities across our country. And we must not return to the status quo. Not here, not in any city where the system perpetuates failure and hatred and poverty and despair.

Most Americans now recognize some unpleasant realities. Let me just spend a minute on those. For many years we've tried many different programs. All of them, let's understand this, had noble intentions to meet the need of adequate housing or education or health care. Much of it went to construct what has been known as "the safety net," a compassionate safety net to provide security and stability for people in need. Many other programs and policies aimed at stemming the tide of urban violence and drugs and crime and social decay.

And we have spent huge sums of money. Some estimates are as high as \$3 trillion over 25 years. And even in the last decade Federal spending went up for these kinds of efforts, everything from child care to welfare to health care has been the subject of some Commission or report or study.

But where this path has taken us I think we would all agree is not really where we wanted to go. Put away the studies and just

look around. For anyone who cares about our young people, it is painful that in 1960 the percentage of births to unwed mothers was 5 percent, and now it is 27 percent. It's hard to read about a young black man dying when the odds are almost one out of two that he was murdered. Kids used to carry their lunches to school, and the parents that I've talked to know that today some kids carry guns. I'm afraid some of you kids, you know that, too. Everyone knows that drug and alcohol abuse are serious problems almost everywhere.

In the wake of the L.A. riots, in the wake of a lost generation of inner city lives, can any one of us argue that we have solved the problems of poverty and racism and crime? And the answer clearly is no. Some programs, ones like Head Start or Aid to the Elderly, have shown some time-tested, positive results. All programs were well-intentioned; I understand that very, very well. Many simply have not worked.

Our welfare system does not get people off of welfare, it keeps people trapped there. The statistics are sobering. The reality is sobering. The sum and substance is this: The cities are in serious trouble, and too many of our citizens are in trouble. And it doesn't really have to be this way.

Government has an absolute responsibility to solve this problem, these problems. I'm talking about all levels of government. And I've taken a hard look at what the Government can do and how it can help communities with concerns that really matter: how people can own property, own their own home, start a business, create jobs, and ensure that people, not Government, make the big decisions that affect the health and the education and the care of one's own family.

Think of the way that the world looks right now to the single mother on welfare. Government provides you just enough cash for the bare necessities. Government tells you where you can live, where your kids go to school. And when you're sick, Government tells you what kind of care you get and when. And if you find a job, the Government cuts the welfare benefits. And if you save, if you manage to put a little money away, maybe towards a home or to help your kid get through college, the Government says, hey, welfare

fraud. Every one of those things happen with the system that we have in place right now. And then we wonder, why can't folks on welfare take control of their lives? Where's their sense of responsibility?

Well, if we had set out to devise a system that would perpetuate dependency, a system that would strip away dignity and personal responsibility, I guess we could hardly have done better than the system that exists today. Every American knows that it is time for a fresh approach, a radical change in the way we look at welfare and the inner city economy.

Every hour of meetings yesterday—and they were, for me, very emotional, very moving—confirmed why I believe in the plan that we have proposed for urban America. I kept hearing words like ownership, independence, dignity, enterprise, a lot of time from people who have never had a shot at dignity or enterprise or ownership. And it reinforced my belief that we must start with a set of principles and policies that foster personal responsibility, that refocus entitlement programs to serve those who are most needy, and increase the effectiveness of Government service through competition and true choice.

I believe in keeping power closer to the people, using States as laboratories for innovation. We cannot figure it all out back in Washington, DC, in some subcommittee or in the White House. And I believe in policies that encourage entrepreneurship, increase investment, create jobs.

And these form the heart of the agenda for economic opportunity that I want to mention here. Families can't thrive, children can't learn, jobs can't flourish in a climate of fear, however. And so first is our responsibility to preserve the domestic order. And a civilized society cannot tackle any of the really tough problems in the midst of chaos. And you know and I know it's just that simple. Violence and brutality destroy order, destroy the rule of law. And violence must never be rationalized. Violence must always be condemned.

We can reclaim our crime-ravaged neighborhoods through a new initiative that we call "Weed and Seed." And today I'm announcing a \$19-million "Weed and Seed" operation for the city of Los Angeles to weed out the

drug dealers and career criminals and then seed those neighborhoods with expanded educational employment and social services. With safe and secure neighborhoods we can spark an economic revival in urban America.

And so, the second part of the agenda is to ask Congress to take action on enterprise zones. With a zero capital gains rate—create these zones with a zero capital gains rate for entrepreneurs and investors who locate businesses and create jobs right here in America's inner cities.

And yes, I recognize that at the same time, we must help States bring innovation to the welfare systems. And at the Federal level, we've got to reform our own AFDC rules; stop penalizing people who want to work and save. These are the people who are mustering the individual initiative to get off welfare. And we've got to pledge ourselves to, at the Federal level, change the rules that keep them from doing just that.

Three: safe, drug-free schools are places where our children can learn, but that's not enough. We've got to revolutionize our schools through community action, through competition, through innovation, through choice: principles at the heart of the strategy that we call America 2000. We must give children, these kids, these kids right here, the same opportunity as kids out in the suburbs.

And the fourth point: we must promote new hope through homeownership. People want a real stake, a real stake in their community, something of value that they can pass along to their kids. And that's what this HOPE initiative does. It turns public housing tenants into homeowners.

Now, these are just the highlight of an action agenda to bring hope and opportunity back to our inner cities. We have other ideas to try as well. Many in this room have innovative ideas they're trying right now.

My first order of business upon my return to Washington will be to build a bipartisan effort in support of immediate action on this agenda. And I know some will say, well, you've proposed all this before, and that's true, they're right. And I'm proposing it again. Because really we must try something new. We've got to try something new. It does not take a social scientist to know that we

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must think differently. We've tried the old ways of thinking. And now, as Lincoln says, "It is time to think anew."

And our approach is really a radical break from the policies of the past. It's new. Yes, it's new because it's never been tried before. And for the sake of the people of South Central, and the people in America's inner cities everywhere, I will work with the Congress to act now on this commonsense agenda.

You've been through an awful lot. You've been through an awful lot. And when I saw the verdict in the King case my reaction was the same as yours; I told the Nation that. But I remain confident in our system of justice. And when I saw the violence and rage erupt in your streets my reaction was the same as yours. We all knew we had to restore order. And when I saw and read about the heroic acts of firefighters and police or the selfless acts of so many citizens, my reaction was one of relief, one of hope for the future.

This morning I stopped by the hospital, Cedar, to see a young fireman who had been wantonly shot in the head as he was driving a fire truck to go out and put out fires that were ravaging somebody's neighborhood, maybe yours. The man's fighting for his life. And I think when we all go home we ought to pray for him.

In the very short time that I've been out here I could sense that the real anguish in south central L.A. is a parent's concern about the kids, neighbors' concerns about the kids. And people are worried sick about the children. All must agree that whatever we do must be about the children. These kids are our future. And our actions in the wake of the tragedy are for them, not just here in Los Angeles. This is showcased now because of what you've been through, but it's all across the country.

And so for these remarks I've mentioned what Government can do. And now let me talk just a little about what society must do. And yes, we have tried hard, spent a lot of money and haven't solved the problems. And some critics say that we are a morally, spiritually, and intellectually bankrupt nation. I don't believe that for one single minute. And, yes, we have problems. We have tough problems to solve. But we remain the freest and

the fairest and the most just and the most decent country on the face of the entire Earth. And we now—I know that we have the drive and the gumption to prevail over these problems we face.

Tom Bradley, your Mayor, was among a group of mayors who came to see me last January. He and I may differ on how we approach one Federal program or another. But I've repeated often what he and others said to me that day. They said that the most important problem facing our cities is the dissolution, the decline of the American family. And they're absolutely right. He was right; a mayor from a tiny town in North Carolina, he was right. The decline of the family is something we must be concerned about. And history tells us that society cannot succeed without some fundamental building blocks in place.

The state of our Nation is the state of our communities. And good communities are safe and decent. And the young people are cared for and they're instilled with character and values and good habits for life. Good communities have good schools. And they provide opportunity and hope, rooted in the dignity of work and reward for achievement.

And that's why guaranteeing a hopeful future for the children of our cities is about a lot more than rebuilding burned-out buildings. It's about the love right here under this roof. It's about building a new American community. It's about rebuilding bonds between individuals and among ethnic groups and among races. And we must not let our diversity destroy us. It is central, you see, it is central to our strength as a nation.

Our ability to live and work together has really made America the inspiration to the entire world. Across this country tens of thousands of groups, hundreds of thousands of individuals who have never been involved before, who will never be paid one single nickel for their efforts, must become partners in solving our most serious social problems.

The people right here in this room know exactly what I'm talking about. An officer in the LAPD who's a board chairman right here, I believe, in this organization, giving of his time, he knows what I'm talking about. Government alone cannot create the scale

and energy needed to transform the lives of the people in need.

And I look around this auditorium and I am preaching to the choir because you're the ones that have your sleeves rolled up in your churches and in your communities, trying to help the other guy. In my conversations with the leaders of L.A.'s many communities, I heard over and over again that L.A. has many of the answers within itself.

I see our friend Bill Milliken here. He lives halfway across the country. There are four of his Cities in School programs, helping children learn here. And many members of a group called 100 Black Men, an inspirational group, they mentor, for those not familiar with it, they mentor to the kids, the boys in south central.

Now, if instead of 4, there were 25 Cities in School programs, and instead of 100, 10,000 black men working with boys, and so on with the hundreds of people in groups that work with the kids, there is no question that what happened last week wouldn't have been as bad. And so it only makes sense that a large part of our challenge is to dramatically expand in community after community the scale of what we already know works.

The phrase that I've repeated a lot and perhaps more than any other is worth repeating: From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others. And when we look to restoring a decent and hopeful future for our children, I mean this about every community.

First, every group and institution in America, schools, businesses, churches, certainly, must do its part. We must praise what works and share what works.

And secondly, all leaders, all leaders—must mobilize and inspire their people to take action.

And third, community centers must link those that care with those that are crying out for help.

And fourth, with respect, the media needs to show from time to time what's working, needs to cover what is working. And that way would help us share, that would really help us share and repeat these successes many times over.

And finally, this one perhaps a little technical, but we've got to change our liability

laws that frighten people away from helping others. We ought to care for each other more and sue each other less.

But there's something else. There's something else that society must cultivate that Government cannot possibly provide. Something we can't legislate, something we can't establish by Government order. And I'm talking about the moral sense that must guide us all. The simplest, I guess the simplest way to put it is, I'm talking about knowing right from wrong and then trying to do what's right.

Let me come back again to the little boy I spoke about earlier, Rudy Campbell. Remember, "badder, badder, badder?" There's a lesson he learned that survived the horror and the hate. And in the midst of all the chaos, in the midst of so much that's gone wrong, he knows what's right. When he was asked about the violence, here's what he said: "They should know what's right and wrong. Because when I was four, that's what I learned."

Now, that has got to give us hope. May God bless the person who cared enough to teach that little guy right from wrong. But it's up to us to guarantee that all the millions of kids like him grow up in a better America.

And I believe we are right about family. We're right about freedom and free enterprise. And we're right with respect to the clergymen here and the church men and church women here. We are right about faith. And most of all, we are right about America's future.

You see, I fervently believe that we have the strength and the spirit in our Government. You can see it here today in our communities and in ourselves to transform America into the nation that we have dreamed of for generations.

May God bless each and every one of you in your work. And thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 9:18 a.m. at the Challenger Boys and Girls Club. In his remarks, he referred to William Milliken, former Governor of Michigan. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

13 July 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR STEVE PROVOST

FROM: JEANNIE BUNTON *JB* x 7750

SUBJECT: RESEARCH ANSWERS

Attached please find the info you asked about Friday.

1. Quotes/literary references to New York, The Big Apple, Gotham City, the Empire State City, Melting Pot;
2. Articles/ anecdotes about Video rentals during the 88 Democratic Convention;
3. Info on Brian Watkins, Provo, Utah youth murdered in New York subway in 1990;
4. Current article about convention from New York mag.

For what it's worth: NYC is a city of the past; whereas Houston is a city of the future. Will forward additional blips on NYC as we dig them up.

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

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QUOTES ON NYC

SECTION: The World

SUBJECT: Politics & Government; Politicians & Critics

- THE BIG APPLE
- GOTHAM CITY

LENGTH: 153 words

SOURCE: Edward Koch, Mayor of NYC

QUOTE:

I'm not the type to get ulcers. I give them.
NY Times 20 Jan 84

If you don't like the president, it costs you 90 bucks to fly to Washington to picket. If you don't like the governor, it costs you 60 bucks to fly to Albany to picket. If you don't like me, 90 cents.
ib 28 Feb 85

We're in the hands of the state legislature and God, but at the moment, the state legislature has more to say than God.

On requesting additional funds for NYC, ib 27 Jun 86

The knife of corruption endangered the life of New York City. The scalpel of the law is making us well again.

On recent scandals, State of the City Address, ib 25 Jan 87

If you turn your back on these people, you yourself are an animal. You may be a well-dressed animal, but you are nevertheless an animal.

Calling for civic compassion in AIDS epidemic, ib 16 Mar 87

LEVEL 1 - 2 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

Copyright 1988 James B. Simpson
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SECTION: The World

SUBJECT: Politics & Government; Politicians & Critics

LENGTH: 28 words

SOURCE: Roger Starr

QUOTE:

Reality is the best possible cure for dreams.

On the near financial collapse of NYC in the mid 1970s, The Rise and Fall of New York City Basic Books 85

LEVEL 1 - 3 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

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Copyright 1988 Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

SECTION: The World

SUBJECT: Law; Criminology

LENGTH: 24 words

SOURCE: William J Dean

QUOTE:

In New York City we need police officers to protect even the dead.
On desecration of graves in Potter's Field, Time 29 Aug 83

LEVEL 1 - 4 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

Copyright 1988 James B. Simpson
Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

SECTION: The World

SUBJECT: Business; Memorable Advertising

LENGTH: 13 words

SOURCE: New York City Opera

QUOTE:

Come to the opera for a song.
Advertising subscription tickets

LEVEL 1 - 5 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

Copyright 1988 James B. Simpson
Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

SECTION: The World

SUBJECT: Business; Memorable Advertising

LENGTH: 19 words

SOURCE: New York City Transit Authority

QUOTE:

After all, to make a beautiful omelet, you have to break an egg.
Advertising subway reorganization

LEVEL 1 - 6 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

Copyright 1988 James B. Simpson
Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

SECTION: The World

SUBJECT: Education; Educators & Participants

Copyright 1988 Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

LENGTH: 32 words

SOURCE: New York City Board of Education

QUOTE:

It's like being grounded for 18 years.

Poster warning against teen pregnancy, pictured in NY Times 12 Oct 86

Don't make a baby if you can't be a father.

ib

LEVEL 1 - 7 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

Copyright 1988 James B. Simpson
Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

SECTION: The World

SUBJECT: Travel; Travelers on Traveling

LENGTH: 89 words

SOURCE: Lucinda Franks

QUOTE:

In the railroads, some people read clearly printed departure signs and then proceed to ask several times what they say. On airplanes, they demand things they know they cannot have. In their cars, they load up, drive away and then suddenly realize they don't know where they're going.

"Thousands Ineptly Get Away from It All" NY Times 30 Aug 75

They can be cranky, bewildered, giddy, frustrated and sometimes moved to violence. In short, they are afflicted with the New York City Getaway Fever.

ib

LEVEL 1 - 8 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

Copyright 1988 James B. Simpson
Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

SECTION: The World

SUBJECT: Travel; Travelers on Traveling

LENGTH: 32 words

SOURCE: Carl Sandburg

QUOTE:

I been a wanderin'
Early and late,
New York City
To the Golden Gate
An' it looks like
I'm never gonna cease my

Copyright 1988 Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

Wanderin'.

Folk-music lyrics recalled on his death 22 Jul 67

LEVEL 1 - 9 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

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SECTION: The World

SUBJECT: Travel; Travelers on Traveling

LENGTH: 25 words

SOURCE: Mary Lee Settle

QUOTE:

She dreamed, lulled by the train, of getting off at heaven or New York City,
whichever she got to first.

The Scapegoat Random House 80

LEVEL 1 - 10 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

Copyright 1988 James B. Simpson
Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

SECTION: The World

SUBJECT: Travel; The Eye of the Traveler

LENGTH: 36 words

SOURCE: Tom Buckley

QUOTE:

The voluptuous curve of the riverbank at 79th Street . . . escapes from the
city's rigid grid of streets and avenues like a fat woman slipping out of a
corset.

On New York City, NY Times 13 Apr 75

LEVEL 1 - 11 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

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SECTION: The World

SUBJECT: Travel; The Eye of the Traveler

LENGTH: 23 words

SOURCE: Agatha Christie

QUOTE:

It is ridiculous to set a detective story in New York City. New York City

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is itself a detective story.
Life 14 May 56

LEVEL 1 - 12 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

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Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

SECTION: The World

SUBJECT: Travel; The Eye of the Traveler

LENGTH: 44 words

SOURCE: William E Geist

QUOTE:

New York is a city of conversations overheard, of people at the next restaurant table (micrometers away) checking your watch, of people reading the stories in your newspaper on the subway train.

"A Quiet Sendoff at the Barbershop" NY Times 25 Oct 86

LEVEL 1 - 13 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

Copyright 1988 James B. Simpson
Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

SECTION: Humankind

SUBJECT: Family Life; Observers & Critics

LENGTH: 18 words

SOURCE: Trevor Fishlock

QUOTE:

Babies here seem to be almost as rare as panda cubs.

On New York City, London Times 9 May 85

LEVEL 1 - 14 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

Copyright 1988 James B. Simpson
Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

SECTION: Humankind

SUBJECT: Humor & Wit

LENGTH: 174 words

SOURCE: Fred Allen

QUOTE:

I have just returned from Boston. It is the only thing to do if you find yourself up there.

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Letter to Groucho Marx 12 Jun 53

A vice president in an advertising agency is a "molehill man" [who] has until 5 pm to make [a] molehill into a mountain. An accomplished molehill man will often have his mountain finished even before lunch.

Treadmill to Oblivion Little, Brown 54

A celebrity is a person who works hard all his life to become well known, then wears dark glasses to avoid being recognized.

ib

Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne -- sounds like a trunk falling down a flight of stairs.

On NYC advertising agency, recalled on his death 17 Mar 56

Life, in my estimation, is a biological misadventure that we terminate on the shoulders of six strange men whose only objective is to make a hole in one with you.

Forbes 1 Aug 67

Everywhere outside New York City is Bridgeport, Connecticut.

Quoted by Alistair Cooke America Knopf 73

LEVEL 1 - 15 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

Copyright 1988 James B. Simpson
Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

SECTION: Communication & The Arts

SUBJECT: Architecture; Observers & Critics

LENGTH: 36 words

SOURCE: Cecil Beaton

QUOTE:

After 20 annual visits, I am still surprised each time I return to see this giant asparagus bed of alabaster and rose and green skyscrapers.

On New York City, It Gives Me Great Pleasure John Day 55

LEVEL 1 - 16 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

Copyright 1988 James B. Simpson
Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

SECTION: Communication & The Arts

SUBJECT: Architecture; Observers & Critics

LENGTH: 18 words

SOURCE: E E Cummings

Copyright 1988 Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

QUOTE:

The sensual mysticism of entire vertical being.
 On New York City, Architectural Digest Sep 86

LEVEL 1 - 17 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

Copyright 1988 James B. Simpson
 Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

SECTION: Communication & The Arts

SUBJECT: Food & Drink; Observers & Critics

LENGTH: 42 words

SOURCE: William Emerson Jr

QUOTE:

New York is the greatest city in the world for lunch . . . That's the gregarious time. And when that first martini hits the liver like a silver bullet, there is a sigh of contentment that can be heard in Dubuque.
 Newsweek 29 Dec 75

LEVEL 1 - 18 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

Copyright 1988 James B. Simpson
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SECTION: Communication & The Arts

SUBJECT: Food & Drink; Observers & Critics

LENGTH: 88 words

SOURCE: Edward Koch, Mayor of NYC

QUOTE:

If they don't want to pay for it, they can stop drinking it.
 On charging diplomatic missions for using city water, NY Times 21 Jan 80

The best way to lose weight is to close your mouth -- something very difficult for a politician. Or watch your food -- just watch it, don't eat it.
 People 10 May 82

Water, water, everywhere
 Atlantic and Pacific
 But New York City's got them beat
 Our aqua is terrific!

To Amer Water Works Assn convention in Dallas, NY Times 11 Jun 84

LEVEL 1 - 19 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

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SECTION: Communication & The Arts

SUBJECT: Food & Drink; Observers & Critics

LENGTH: 30 words

SOURCE: John V Lindsay, Mayor of NYC

QUOTE:

Not only is New York City the nation's melting pot, it is also the casserole, the chafing dish and the charcoal grill.

To State Restaurant Assn, NY Times 10 Nov 66

LEVEL 1 - 20 OF 20 QUOTATIONS

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Simpson's Contemporary Quotations

SECTION: Communication & The Arts

SUBJECT: Music & Dance; Observers & Critics

LENGTH: 264 words

SOURCE: Shana Alexander

QUOTE:

Until quite recently dance in America was the ragged Cinderella of the arts. . . . Terpsichore was condemned to the chimney corner, and there she languished until the early 1930s, when Lincoln Kirstein, founding father of the New York City Ballet, stole Balanchine from Europe in the manner of Prometheus stealing fire.

Nutcracker Doubleday 85

An artificial style of dance concocted for 18th-century kings evolved into a popular American art form. . . . an astonishing development for what until recently had been considered manna for aesthetes only, the quiche of the performing arts.

ib

The Sugarplum Fairy herself could have made no grander gesture.

On Ford Foundation grants to the NYC Ballet, ib

Every member of the inner ballet world, the entire peerage-pantheon of high culture-bearers, ladies bountiful, fiscal bigwigs, serious artists, jet-set sprinters, fading Tsarists, prima donnas, prime aesthetes, bursting stuffed-shirts, and the whole train of strenuous social mountaineers puffing uphill behind them all knew that Frances Schreuder was the great work's sole, albeit anonymous underwriter.

On Frances Schreuder's support of NYC Ballet, ib

Ballet's image of perfection is fashioned amid a milieu of wracked bodies, fevered imaginations, Balkan intrigue and sulfurous hatreds where anything is likely, and dancers know it.

ib

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When the prima ballerina found ground glass in her toe slipper . . . every other dancer in the company was equally suspect.

ib

57
1967
WHRC

THE HOME BOOK
OF
QUOTATIONS

Classical and Modern

SELECTED AND ARRANGED BY
BURTON STEVENSON
Editor *The Home Book of Verse*

I can tell thee where that saying was born
SHAKESPEARE, *Twelfth Night*
Act i, sc. 5, l. 9

TENTH EDITION

DODD, MEAD & COMPANY
NEW YORK

1 All is well with him who is beloved of his neighbours.

GEORGE HERBERT, *Jacula Prudentum*.

2 A bad neighbor is as great a plague as a good one is a blessing; he who enjoys a good neighbor has a precious possession.

HESIOD, *Works and Days*, l. 346.

A bad neighbor brings bad luck. (Aliquid mali esse propter vicinum malum.)

PLAUTUS, *Mercator*, l. 772. (Act iv, sc. 4.)

Quoted as a proverb.

If you're a neighbor to a neighbor who is bad, you must learn to suffer what is bad. But if you are neighbor to a neighbor who is good, more and more reciprocal good do you both teach and learn.

MENANDER, *Fragments*, No. 553.

3 Your own safety is at stake when your neighbor's house is in flames. (Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.)

HORACE, *Epistles*. Bk. i, epis. 18, l. 84.

When a neighbor's house is on fire the flames are with difficulty kept from your own. (Proximus a tectis ignis defenditur ægre.)

OVID, *Remediorum Amoris*, l. 625.

4 Every man's neighbour is his looking-glass.

JAMES HOWELL, *Proverbs: Brit.-Eng.*, 3.

5 'Tis need that tests one's neighbor.

HENRIK IBSEN, *Peer Gynt*. Act i.

6 A system in which the two great commandments were to hate your neighbour and love your neighbour's wife.

MACAULAY, *Essays: Moore's Life of Byron*.

7 We are nearer neighbors to ourselves than whiteness to snow, or weight to stones.

MONTAIGNE, *Essays*. Bk. ii, ch. 12.

8 The same reason that makes us wrangle with a neighbor causes a war between princes.

MONTAIGNE, *Essays*. Bk. ii, ch. 12.

9 Whate'er the passion—knowledge, fame, or pelf—

Not one will change his neighbour with himself.

POPE, *Essay on Man*. Epis. ii, l. 261.

See plastic Nature working to this end,
The single atoms each to other tend,
Attract, attracted to, the next in place,
Form'd and impell'd its neighbour to embrace.

POPE, *Essay on Man*. Epis. iii, l. 9.

10 Withdraw thy foot from in thy neighbour's house; lest he be weary of thee, and so hate thee.

Old Testament: Proverbs, xxv, 17.

11 Better that man be born dumb, nay, void of reason, rather than that he employ the gifts of

Providence to the destruction of his neighbor.
QUINTILIAN, *De Institutione Oratoria*. Bk. xii, ch. 1, sec. 1.

12 There is an idea abroad among moral people that they should make their neighbours good. One person I have to make good: myself. But my duty to my neighbour is much more nearly expressed by saying that I have to make him happy—if I may.

R. L. STEVENSON, *A Christmas Sermon*.

13 Love thy neighbor. (Ἀγάπα τὸν πλησίον.)

THALES. (STOBÆUS, *Florilegium*. Pt. iii, l. 59.)
Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Old Testament: Leviticus, xix, 18; *New Testament: Matthew*, xix, 19. It will be noted that Jesus was quoting the *Old Testament*.

Once again success has crowned
Missionary labor,

For her sweet eyes own that she
Also loves her neighbor.

G. A. BAKER, *Thoughts on the Commandments*.

I love my neighbour as myself,
Myself like him too, by his leave,
Nor to his pleasure, power, or pelf
Came I to crouch, as I conceive.
JOHN BYROM, *Careless Content*.

NELSON, HORATIO

14 She's [England] lost her Nelson now,
(A worthy man: he loved a woman well!)

THOMAS HARDY, *The Dynasts*, vi, 8.

15 For he is England; Admiral,
Till the setting of her sun.

GEORGE MEREDITH, *Trafalgar Day*.

Admirals all, for England's sake,
Honour be yours and fame!

HENRY NEWBOLT, *Admirals All*.

16 Keep the Nelson touch.

HENRY NEWBOLT, *Minora Sidera*.

A PEERAGE OR WESTMINSTER ABBEY, see 2083:14.

NEW YORK CITY

17 No king, no clown, to rule this town!

WILLIAM O. BARTLETT, in *New York Sun*, about 1870, referring to "Boss" Tweed and Peter B. Sweeny, master-mind of the Tweed ring.

18 New York is a sucked orange.

EMERSON, *Conduct of Life: Culture*.

19 Stream of the living world

Where dash the billows of strife!—

One plunge in the mighty torrent
Is a year of tamer life!

City of glorious days,

Of hope, and labor and mirth,

With room and to spare, on thy splendid bays,
For the ships of all the earth!

R. W. GILDER, *The City*.

20 In dress, habits, manners, provincialism, rou-

struction of his neighbor.
Institutione Oratoria. Bk. xii.

bad among moral people
te their neighbours good.
make good: myself. But
our is much more nearly
hat I have to make him

Christmas Sermon.

Ἀγάπα τὸν πλησίον.)
Florilegium. Pt. iii, l. 59.)
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NSTER ABBEY, see 2083:14.

ORK CITY

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of Life: Culture.

world
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ghty torrent
ife!

and mirth,
re, on thy splendid bays,
the earth!
City.

ners, provincialism, rou-

tine and narrowness, he acquired that charm-
ing insolence, that irritating completeness,
that sophisticated crassness, that overbalanced
poise that makes the Manhattan gentleman
so delightfully small in his greatness.

O. HENRY, *Voice of the City: Defeat of the City*.

✓ 1 Far below and around lay the city like a
ragged purple dream, the wonderful, cruel,
enchanted, bewildering, fatal, great city.

O. HENRY, *Strictly Business: The Duel*.

✓ 2 Well, little old Noisyville-on-the-Subway is
good enough for me.

O. HENRY, *Strictly Business: The Duel*.

✓ If there ever was an aviary overstocked with
jays it is that Yaptown-on-the-Hudson, called
New York... "Little old New York's good
enough for us"—that's what they sing.

O. HENRY, *Gentle Grafter: A Tempered Wind*.

✓ What else can you expect from a town that's
shut off from the world by the ocean on one side
and New Jersey on the other?

O. HENRY, *Gentle Grafter: A Tempered Wind*.

✓ 3 The renowned and ancient city of Gotham.

WASHINGTON IRVING, *Salmagundi*. No. xvi,
Wednesday, 11 Nov., 1807, ch. 109. Chapter
heading. The earliest reference to New York
City as "Gotham." At the beginning of the
chapter, it is referred to as "the thrice re-
nowned and delectable city of Gotham."
The proverb about the wise men of Gotham
is believed to refer to Gotham, a village in
Nottinghamshire, England.

✓ 4 Manhattan's a hell where culture rarely grew;
But it lets two lives do all they care to do.

ALFRED KREYMBORG, *Two Lives and Six Mil-*
lion.

Harlem has a black belt where darkies dwell in
a heaven where white men seek a little hell.

ALFRED KREYMBORG, *Harlem*.

✓ New York, the hussy, was taken in sin again!
THOMAS BEER, *The Mauve Decade*, p. 141.

5 Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to
land;

Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall
stand

A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame

✓ Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of exiles.

EMMA LAZARUS, *The New Colossus*.

6 Some day this old Broadway shall climb to
the skies,

As a ribbon of cloud on a soul-wind shall rise,
And we shall be lifted, rejoicing by night,

Till we join with the planets who choir their
delight.

The signs in the streets and the signs in the
skies

Shall make a new Zodiac, guiding the wise,
And Broadway make one with that marvelous
stair

That is climbed by the rainbow-clad spirits of
prayer.

VACHEL LINDSAY, *A Rhyme About an Electric-*
cal Advertising Sign.

Give my regards to Broadway. ✓
GEORGE M. COHAN. Title and refrain of popu-
lar song. (1904)

The Sidewalks of New York.
JAMES BLAKE AND CHARLES LAWLOR. Title and
refrain of song, later made famous by Al.
Smith. (1894)

7 A stillness and a sadness
Pervade the City Hall,
And speculating madness
Has left the street of Wall;
The Union Square looks really
Both desolate and dark,
And that's the case, or nearly,
From Battery to Park.
GEORGE POPE MORRIS, *Dark Days*. (c. 1860)

8 Up in the heights of the evening skies I see
my City of Cities float
In sunset's golden and crimson dyes: I look
and a great joy clutches my throat!
Plateau of roofs by canyons crossed: windows
by thousands fire-furled—
O gazing, how the heart is lost in the Deepest
City in the World.

JAMES OPPENHEIM, *New York from a Sky-*
scraper.

9 Who that has known thee but shall burn
In exile till he come again
To do thy bitter will, O stern
Moon of the tides of men! ←
JOHN REED, *Proud New York*.

10 Just where the Treasury's marble front
Looks over Wall Street's mingled nations,
Where Jews and Gentiles most are wont
To throng for trade and last quotations;
Where, hour, by hour, the rates of gold
Outrival, in the ears of people,
The quarter-chimes, serenely tolled
From Trinity's undaunted steeple.
E. C. STEDMAN, *Pan in Wall Street*.

11 City of hurried and sparkling waters! city
of spires and masts!
City nested in bays! my city!
WALT WHITMAN, *Mannahatta*.

Mighty Manhattan, with spires, and
The sparkling and hurrying tides, and the ships.
WALT WHITMAN, *When Lilacs Last in the*
Door-Yard Bloom'd. St. 12.

The ferries ply like shuttles in a loom.
ZOË AKINS, *This is My Hour*.

1 A little strip of an island with a row of well-fed folks up and down the middle, and a lot of hungry folks on each side.

HARRY LEON WILSON, *The Spenders*. Ch. viii.

2 We plant a tub and call it Paradise. . . . New York is the great stone desert.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL, *The Melting-Pot*. Act ii.

Vulgar of manner, overfed,
Overdressed and underbred.

BYRON R. NEWTON, *Owed to New York*. For full quotation see APPENDIX.

NEWS

For Newspapers see Press

3 A master-passion is the love of news.

GEORGE CRABBE, *The Newspaper*, l. 281.

4 When a dog bites a man that is not news, but when a man bites a dog that is news.

Usually attributed to CHARLES A. DANA, famous editor of the *New York Sun*, but the evidence favors JOHN B. BOGART, city editor of the *Sun* from 1873-1890. In a letter to the compiler, Mr. Frank M. O'Brien, the present editor of the *Sun*, says, "The late Edward P. Mitchell, Dana's right hand man for many years, told me that the author was Mr. Bogart. Mr. Mitchell was meticulous about such things, and if it had not been true I think Mr. Bogart, a most modest man, would have demurred." Stanley Walker (*City Editor*, p. 20) attributes the saying to Amos Cummings, another of Dana's editors.

Asked for a definition of news, I can give you no better answer than the one on which we were brought up in the *Sun* office. Mr. Dana used to say, "When a dog bites a man that is not news, but when a man bites a dog that is news."

RICHARD HARDING DAVIS. (HARRINGTON, *Essentials of Journalism*.)

News is as hard to hold as quicksilver, and it fades more rapidly than any morning-glory.

STANLEY WALKER, *City Editor*, p. 20.

Women, wampum and wrongdoing are always news.

STANLEY WALKER, *City Editor*, p. 44.

5 Good news may be told at any time, but ill in the morning.

GEORGE HERBERT, *Jacula Prudentum*.

Do not awake me when you have good news to communicate, with that there is no hurry. But when you bring bad news, rouse me instantly, for then there is not a moment to be lost.

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE. To his Secretary. (Quoted by Emerson, *Napoleon*.)

6 Where village statesmen talked with looks profound,

And news much older than their ale went round.

GOLDSMITH, *The Deserted Village*, l. 223.

7 News, the manna of a day.

MATTHEW GREEN, *The Spleen*, l. 169.

8 It is good news, *worthy of all acceptance*, and yet not too good to be true.

MATTHEW HENRY, *Commentaries: I Tim.* 1, 15.

9 Stay a little, and news will find you.

GEORGE HERBERT, *Jacula Prudentum*.

10 How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings.

Old Testament: Isaiah, lii. 7.

As cold waters to a thirsty soul, so is good news from a far country.

Old Testament: Proverbs, xxv, 25.

11 No news is better than evil news.

JAMES I. (*Loseley MSS.*, 403. 1616.)

The best news is when we hear no news.

DONALD LUPTON, *London and Country*. No. 12. (1632)

No news is good news.

GEORGE COLMAN THE ELDER, *The Spleen*. Act i. (1776)

No news, good news. (Pas de nouvelles, bonnes nouvelles.)

MEILHAC AND HALÉVY, *La Belle Hélène*. Act ii, sc. 5.

12 Into authentic and apocryphal—

Or news of doubtful credit, as barbers' news, And tailors' news, porters', and watermen's news . . .

Vacation news, term-news, Christmas-news.

BEN JONSON, *The Staple of News*. Act i, sc. 2.

13 Evil news fly faster still than good.

THOMAS KYD, *Spanish Tragedy*. Act i. (1594)

Ill news hath wings, and with the wind doth go: Comfort's a cripple, and comes ever slow.

MICHAEL DRAYTON, *The Barons' Wars*. Bk. ii, st. 28. (1603)

Ill news, madam, are swallow-winged, but what's good walks on crutches.

MASSINGER, *The Picture*. Act ii, sc. 1. (1630)

It is an old saying that Ill News hath wings and Good News no legs.

MARGARET CAVENDISH, DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE, *Sociable Companions*. Act i, sc. 1. (c. 1660)

For evil news rides post, while good news baits.

MILTON, *Samson Agonistes*, l. 1538. (1671)

Ill news is wing'd with fate, and flies apace.

DRYDEN, *Threnodia Augustalis*, l. 49. (1685)

Ill news goes quick and far.

PLUTARCH, *Of Inquisitiveness*. Quoted.

14 What, what, what,

What's the news from Swat?

Sad news, Bad news,

Comes by the cable; led

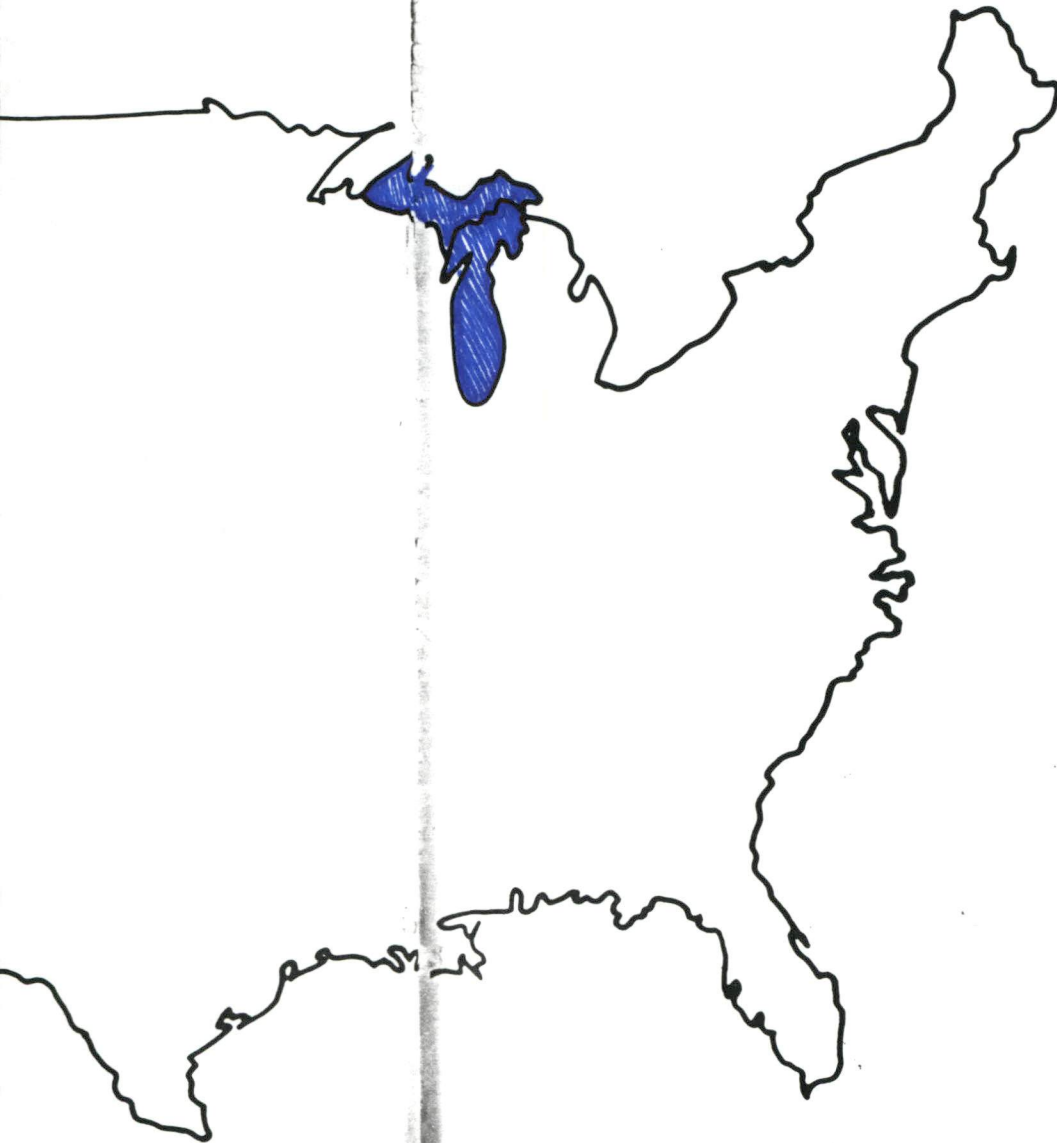
Through the Indian Ocean's bed,

Through the Persian Gulf, the Red

Sea, and the Med-

AMERICA THE QUOTABLE

*Mike Edelhart and
James Tinen*



Facts On File Publications
460 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10016

the inveterate propensity of their husbands
out the village tavern on market-days.”

Washington Irving
“The Legend of Sleepy Hollow”
1849

Moreover, this vague sense of old-world ro-
[occurs] in the hilly regions of ‘upstate’
of which I am speaking. The hills are not
the woods are not too continuous. Grassy
park-like reaches, winding rivers, pastoral
old walls, old water mills, old farmsteads,
s, old burying-grounds give to the contem-
pation that poetic sense of *human conti-*
ne generations following each other in slow
succession. . . .”

John Cowper Powys
Autobiography
1962

* * *

settlements in rural areas]: “The people of these
settlements have hung on to their immatur-
e tenaciously, I believe, than the people of
section of America. They may not actually
backward than some of the hill towns of
or the rural sections in the vast hinterlands
a, but they have fought harder to retain their
ness, and against far greater odds.”

Charles W. Wood
These United States
1924

a very handsome town seated on the banks
Mohawk which is here reduced to a very
stream. The people about this part of the
are from New England generally, and afford
g contrast in looks and manners to the Dutch
settled on the lower parts of the river.”

Washington Irving
Journal
Aug. 7, 1803

* * *

ought Utica the most extempore place we had
The right-up shops, the daubed houses, the
unning into the woods, all seemed to betoken
place had sprung up out of some sudden
ow much more ancient and respectable did it
ter my return from the West, where I had
owns so much newer still!”

Harriet Martineau, English novelist
Retrospect of Western Travel
1838

West Point:

“The scenery around it [West Point] is magnificent,
and though the buildings of the establishment are
constructed with the handsome and unpicturesque
regularity which marks the work of governments,
they are so nobly placed, and so embosomed in
woods, that they look beautiful.”

Frances Trollope
Domestic Manners of the Americans
1832

NEW YORK CITY

Chartered: 1898
Population (1980): 7,071,030

New York City, the nation’s largest, is actually five
different communities, each of which contains its
own distinct ethnic and geographical subcultures.
The five boroughs that make up New York—
Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, the Bronx and Staten
Island—are enormously diverse, a reality denoted by
the fact that only Queens and Brooklyn touch another
borough. The rest are separated by water.

New York culture differs markedly from the rest of
American society. Its roots lie closer to the ethnic
homes of its citizens than to the rest of the American
continent. Even the high-style society of Manhattan
has a distinctly cosmopolitan flavor. Yet America
cherishes New York as it does few places, primarily
because the city, almost like a living museum, pre-
serves the nation’s ethnic roots and diversity.

In addition, New York creates an enormous part of
American culture. Art, theater, books, advertising all
emanate from the Big Apple. The ideas all America
talks about come from New York.

Historically, New York has held a vital role. It was
the nation’s first capital. Its port brought most of our
immigrants and for decades handled most of the
seagoing trade that spread American influence
around the world. It has been America’s largest city
since 1820.

It can be said that more of importance to this nation

and the world has occurred in New York than any
other place in the country—Washington, D.C. in-
cluded. So it is only fitting that a great deal has been
said about New York. Whether in love or loathing,
New York always inspires comment from visitor and
denizen alike.

THE CITY

[A Southerner explains why he is ‘finally, at peace
with New York’]: “. . . New York no longer had any
boundaries. . . . It was everywhere that telephones
and radio and television and airplanes could reach—
for New York is not simply an uncomfortable place
to live and work in, but a state of mind, and in that
sense there is nothing left now to confine it, no
physical barriers and no permanent, distinctive re-
gional attitudes. So I was at peace with New York not
because I had conquered it, or tried to, but because I
had surrendered; like my grandfathers I had turned in
my sword because the invasion was complete and I
had nothing left to defend.”

Harry S. Ashmore
An Epitaph for Dixie
1958

* * *

“New York is the Mecca of everyone in the world
who has an independent will and a conception of the
century he lives in. New York is the gateway to the
48 [number of states at the time] freedoms—which
may not be enough, but which are unquestionably
better than the seven devils left behind. New York
means all this and earns its greatness, but by a
paradox of equal magnitude, it fails in all the practi-
cal modernity it supposedly stands for. As a city to
live in, New York is a squatter’s camp.”

Jacques Barzun
God’s Country and Mine
1954

* * *

“As for New York City, it is a place apart. There is
not its match in any other country in the world.”

Pearl S. Buck
America
1971

* * *

“When can a city be said to be dying? For one thing,
when its past far outshines its present and over-
whelms the future, and New York is at that point.
The giants have gone, along with the good days and
easy nights.”

Herb Caen
One Man’s San Francisco
1976

* * *

✓ "I mean that I was in love with the city, the way you love the first person who ever touches you."

Joan Didion
"Goodbye to All That"
1967

* * *

✓ "New York was no mere city. It was instead an infinitely romantic notion."

Joan Didion
"Goodbye to All That"
1967

* * *

✓ [A definition of hell]: "New York City with all the escape hatches closed."

James R. Frakes
New York Times
May 19, 1974

* * *

✓ "It is the lodestone for ambition, the ultimate of human gregariousness, the culmination of 20th century civilization."

Ernest Gruening
These United States
1924

* * *

"The filthiest, most crime-ridden spot in the world,' one fashionable New York lady called it. Helen [Hayes] instantly blazed out in its defense. 'But can't you realize,' she demanded, 'that our city is so big it's got to have the most of everything? And by the very same token, it's got more that's good than any place I know.'"

Helen Hayes and Anita Loos
Twice Over Lightly
1972

* * *

✓ "It's a town you come to for a short time."

Ernest Hemingway
Quoted by Lillian Ross
The New Yorker
1950

* * *

✓ "...the greatest city of the modern world, with more money in it than all Europe and more clowns

and harlots than all Asia, and yet it has no more charm than a circus lot or a second-rate hotel."

H.L. Mencken
"On Living in Baltimore"
Prejudices: Fifth Series
1926

* * *

✓ "Sailing around the Battery from one river to the other, gliding close to shore, night coming on, the streets dotted with scurrying insects. I felt as I had always felt about New York—that it is the most horrible place on God's earth."

Henry Miller
The Air-Conditioned Nightmare
1945

* * *

✓ "My one thought is to get out of New York, to experience something genuinely American."

Henry Miller
The Air-Conditioned Nightmare
1945

* * *

✓ "The City of New York, the noblest of the American symbols."

James Morris
As I Saw the USA
1956

* * *

"And so in the end I was left, like so many voyagers before me, trapped by the great port. I loathed it like a lover. The questions it asked I resented; the answers it gave I mistrusted; the delight, I felt to be unfair. Damn you, New York! Damn the bright sweep of your spaces, and the ungainly poetry of your names! A curse on all your archipelago, and those rough fresh winds off your bay—which, catching me like an embrace as I stepped out of the helicopter, so often ravished my spirits and made my heart sing."

James Morris
The Great Port
1969

* * *

"Unfortunately there are still people in other areas who regard New York City not as a part of the United States, but as a sort of excrescence fastened to our Eastern shore and peopled by the less venturesome waves of foreigners who failed to go West to the genuine American frontier."

Robert Moses
Working for the People
1956

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The Air-Conditioned Nightmare
1945

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The Air-Conditioned Nightmare
1945

of New York, the noblest of the American cities."

James Morris
As I Saw the USA
1956

at the end I was left, like so many voyagers trapped by the great port. I loathed it like the questions it asked I resented; the answer I mistrusted; the delight, I felt to be damn you, New York! Damn the bright spaces, and the ungainly poetry of your archipelago, and the fresh winds off your bay—which, catch like an embrace as I stepped out of the city so often ravished my spirits and made my heart beat."

James Morris
The Great Port
1969

Ultimately there are still people in other areas of New York City not as a part of the United States but as a sort of excrescence fastened to our shores and peopled by the less venturesome foreigners who failed to go West to the American frontier."

Robert Moses
Working for the People
1956

"The two moments when New York seems most desirable, when the splendor falls all around and the city looks like a girl with leaves in her hair, are just as you are leaving and must say good-bye, and just as you return and can say hello."

The New Yorker
Jan. 11, 1955

"The feeling I have for this city is akin to sexual love. It lies here waiting like a mistress for her demon lover at the very beginning of the affair."

Alex Phillips, English entrepreneur
Quoted by Helen Hayes and Anita Loos
Twice Over Lightly
1972

"A sallow waiter brings me beans and pork . . . Outside there's fury in the firmament. Ice Cream, of course, will follow; and I'm content. O Babylon! O Carthage! O New York!"

Siegfried Sassoon
"Storm on Fifth Avenue"
1926

"The chief complaint I have about living in the Big Town is the necessity now and then of showing it off to my kinfolks or other unreasonable citizens from the Edgar Guest country."

H. Allen Smith
"New York Is Mostly People"
1943

[A remark prompted by the demolition of the old Pennsylvania station]: "This city has the right name—New York. Nothing ever gets old around here."

Ralph Stephenson, counterman at restaurant in Pennsylvania Station
Quoted in *New York Times*
Oct. 29, 1963

"The capital of the world."

Kurt Vonnegut
Palm Sunday
1981

"The insecurity center of America."

John Weitz and Everett Mahlin
Man in Charge
1974

"A poem compresses much in a small space and adds music, thus heightening its meaning. The city is like poetry: it compresses all life, all races and breeds, into a small island and adds music and the accompaniment of internal engines."

E.B. White
"This is New York"
Essays of E.B. White
1977

"New York is to the nation what the white spire is to the village—the visible symbol of aspiration and faith, the white plume saying the way is up!"

E.B. White
Quoted in *Mental Health in the Metropolis*
1962

"I too lived, Brooklyn of ample hills was mine, I too walk'd the streets of Manhattan Island, and bathed in the waters around it. . . ."

Walt Whitman
"Crossing Brooklyn Ferry"
1881

"New York is surrounded on all sides by Bridgeport."

Old show biz maxim

THE LANDSCAPE

"Man's history is not inscribed on these poised and knowingly-calculated buildings; they are nearer to prehistoric caverns than the houses of Paris or Rome."

Simone de Beauvoir
America Day by Day
1953

"New York is the biggest collection of villages in the world."

Alistair Cooke
One Man's America
1952

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"Just around every corner lay something curious and interesting, something I had never before seen or done or known about."

Joan Didion
"Goodbye to All That"
1967

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"There was first the ferry boat moving softly from the Jersey shore at dawn—the moment crystallized into my first symbol of New York."

F. Scott Fitzgerald
The Crack-up
1932

* * *

[On the growth and grid pattern of the city]: "New York proceeded to suppress all traces of its heritage, to will nature to conform to its errors. Relentlessly it has tunneled through rock, buried rods beneath the surface of the rebelling springs and streams it could not annihilate, flattening every undulation, straightening every variation, squeezing itself into endless rows of rectangles, as impersonal as pig iron. Was not here for the first time cast and forecast the regimentation that is America?"

Ernest Gruening
These United States
1924

* * *

"Do you realize that one can't look in any direction in Manhattan without seeing water at the end of the street: the Harbor, the Hudson and East rivers, the Narrows, and even the Atlantic. Here we are entering the age of Aquarius, the age of water, with New York the wateriest city in the entire world. Yet we, who could be beachcombers on a dozen exciting waterfronts, live here as if we were in the middle of the Sahara!"

Helen Hayes and Anita Loos
Twice Over Lightly
1972

* * *

"Crowned not only with no history, but with no credible possibility of time for history, and consecrated by no uses save the commercial at any cost, they are simply the most piercing notes in that concert of the expensively provisional into which your supreme sense of New York resolves itself. They never begin to speak to you, in the manner of

the builded majesties of the world as we have heretofore known such—towers or temples or fortresses or palaces—with the authority of things of permanence or even of things of long duration. One story is good only till another is told, and skyscrapers are the last word of economic ingenuity only till another word be written."

Henry James
The American Scene
1907

* * *

"Whenever spring comes to New York I can't stand the suggestions of the land that come blowing over the river from New Jersey and I've got to go. So I went."

Jack Kerouac
On the Road
1955

* * *

"Chemical air sweeps in from New Jersey and smells of coffee.

Across the river, ledges of suburban factories tan in the sulphur-yellow sun of the unforgivable landscape."

Robert Lowell
"The Mouth of the Hudson"
For the Union Dead
1964

* * *

"Until you have been there it is difficult to conceive of a city so sparkling that at any time Mr. Fred Astaire might quite reasonably come dancing his urbane way down Fifth Avenue."

James Morris
As I Saw the USA
1956

* * *

"The pneumatic noisemaker is becoming the emblematic sound of New York, the way the bells of Big Ben are the sound of London."

Horace Sutton
Saturday Evening Post
March 11, 1961

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"Skyscraper national park."

Kurt Vonnegut
Slapstick
1970

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Kurt Vonnegut
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[Leaving America on a ship]: "And suddenly as I looked back at the skyscrapers of lower New York a queer fancy sprang into my head. They reminded me quite irresistibly of piled-up packing-cases outside a warehouse. I was amazed I had not seen the resemblance before. I could really have believed for a moment that that was what they were, and that presently out of these would come the real thing, palaces and noble places, free, high circumstances, and space and leisure, light and fine living for the sons of men."

H.G. Wells
"The Future in America"
1906

* * *

"The skyscrapers that are the New Yorker's perpetual boast and pride rise up to greet one as one comes through the Narrows into the Upper Bay, stand out in a clustering group of tall irregular crenellations, the strangest crown that ever a city wore. They have an effect of immense incompleteness; each one seems to await some needed terminal—to be, by virtue of its woolly jets of steam, still as it were in process of eruption."

H.G. Wells
"The Future in America"
1906

* * *

[The skyline] "One thinks of St. Peter's great blue dome, finished and done as one saw it from a vine-shaded wine-booth above the Milvian Bridge, one thinks of the sudden ascendancy of St. Paul's dark grace, as it soars out over anyone who comes up by the Thames towards it. These are efforts that have accomplished their ends, and even Paris illuminated under the tall stem of the Eiffel Tower looked completed and defined. But New York's achievement is a threatening promise, growth going on under a pressure that increases, and amidst a hungry uproar of effort."

H.G. Wells
"The Future in America"
1906

* * *

"When million-footed Manhattan unpent descends to her pavements . . ."

Walt Whitman
"A Broadway Pageant"
1881

* * *

"Ah, what can ever be more stately and admirable to me than mast-hemm'd Manhattan?"

River and sunset and scallop-edg'd waves of flood-tide?

The sea gulls oscillating their bodies, the hay-boat in the twilight, and the belated lighter?"

Walt Whitman
"Crossing Brooklyn Ferry"
1881

* * *

"One is glad to come back to the gray New York air, the cold faces, the colorless buildings."

Edmund Wilson
"Return from Louisiana"
1926

PEOPLE

"New York is the place of casual acquaintances who become your Great-and-Good-Friends in *Time* [magazine]."

Nelson Algren
Who Lost An American?
1963

* * *

"It is often said that New York is a city for only the very rich and the very poor. It is less often said that New York is also, at least for those of us who came there from somewhere else, a city only for the very young."

Joan Didion
"Goodbye to All That"
1967

* * *

"The thing that impressed me then as now about New York . . . was the sharp, and at the same time immense, contrast it showed between the dull and the shrewd, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, the wise and the ignorant . . . the strong, or those who ultimately dominated, were so very strong, and the weak so very, very weak—and so very, very many."

Theodore Dreiser
The Color of a Great City
1923

* * *

[What New Yorkers think out-of-towners think about them]: "New Yorkers . . . Know less about their city than visitors. Never get stiff necks from looking at tall buildings. Are the biggest hicks in the world when you come down to it."

✓ [All cherish a secret hope of one day owning a farm complete with Jersey cow, babbling brook and no elevator service.
New Yorkers who made the grade all come from Kansas or Iowa."

The Federal Writers Project of the WPA
Almanac for New Yorkers
1937

* * *

✓ ["It never occurred to him [a New Yorker] that New York might be a bad idea, that it might be caving in under the artificiality of its existence. What was life without a thousand Chinese restaurants?"

Joel Garreau
The Nine Nations of North America
1981

* * *

"New York is hard, cynical, ruthless, even beyond other cities. From their early repression its children emerge sophisticated, both stunted and overdeveloped, perverted, premature, forced by the artificiality of their environment."

Ernest Gruening
These United States
1924

* * *

✓ ["The city of right angles and tough, damaged people."

Pete Hamill
New York Daily News
Nov. 15, 1978

* * *

"New York is a city where everyone mutinies but no one deserts."

Harry Hershfield
Quoted in *New York Post*
Dec. 16, 1974

* * *

[On the 'zero' crime rate during a blackout]: "The main reason why the unlighted streets were not turned into a dark and steaming jungle was the reaction of the community. . . . In the dark all men were the same color. In the dark our fellow man was seen more clearly than in the normal light of a New York night."

Stephen Kennedy
Time
Aug. 31, 1959

* * *

"To start with, there's the alien accent. 'Tree' is the number between two and four. 'Jientz' is the name of the New York professional football team. A 'fit' is a bottle measuring seven ounces less than a quart. This exotic tongue has no relationship to any of the approved languages at the United Nations, and is only slightly less difficult to master than Urdu."

Fletcher Knebel
Look
March 26, 1963

* * *

✓ ["Robinson Crusoe, the self-sufficient man, could not have lived in New York City."

Walter Lippmann
Newsweek
Feb. 26, 1968

* * *

✓ ["New York attracts the most talented people in the world in the arts and professions. It also attracts them in other fields. Even the bums are talented."

Edmund Love
Subways Are for Sleeping
1957

* * *

"Part of the oncoming demise [of New York during its terrible fiscal crisis] is that none of us can simply believe it. We were always the best and the strongest of cities, and our people were vital to the teeth. Knock them down eight times and they would get up with that look in the eye which suggests the fight has barely begun."

Norman Mailer
New York Times Magazine
May 18, 1969

* * *

"He speaks English with the flawless imperfection of a New Yorker."

Gilbert Millstein
Esquire
January 1962

* * *

"And it was to this city, whenever I went home, that I always knew I must return, for it was mistress of one's wildest hopes, protector of one's deepest privacies. It was half insane with its noise, violence, and decay, but it gave one the tender security of fulfillment. On winter afternoons, from my office, there

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were sunsets across Manhattan when the smog itself
 shimmered and glowed. . . . Despite its difficulties,
 which become more obvious all the time, one was
 constantly put to the test by this city, which finally
 came down to its people; no other place in America
 had quite such people, and they would not allow you
 to go stale; in the end they were its triumph and its
 reward."

Willie Morris
Yazoo
 1971

 "Most human beings are driven to seek security and
 comfort. But there is another group that can only
 thrive on change and the unexpected of New York."

Cathleen Nesbitt
 Quoted by Helen Hayes and Anita Loos
Twice Over Lightly
 1972

 "I couldn't sleep after reading how those Washing-
 ton politicians hate us New York City people. If only
 those poor creatures knew how we pity *them*. They
 only breathe in and out, but we New Yorkers *live*."

Letter to editor
New York Daily News
 Oct. 5, 1981

 "The thing I can't tell is whether cab drivers yield to
 each other out of fear or respect."

New York policeman
 Quoted in *New York Times*
 March 10, 1968

 [On why cats are popular pets in New York]:
 "... the truth about cats may be that they fit into this
 city well because they seem to possess some of the
 salient traits of New Yorkers: a sleek self-assurance,
 a slight attitude of arrogance, and unconcern with
 public opinion, a nose in the air."

Anna Quindlen
New York Times
 January 6, 1982

 "One day there was four innocent people shot.
 That's the best shooting ever done in this town. Hard
 to find four innocent people in New York."

Will Rogers
The Best of Will Rogers
 1979

"Africa, for New Yorkers, begins at East Orange
 [New Jersey]."

Raymond Sokolov
New York Times
 Feb. 14, 1971

 "The truly terrible costs of New York are special and
 spiritual. These accrue in endless human discomfort,
 inconvenience, harassment and fear which have be-
 come a part of the pervasive background, like the
 noise and the filth, but are much deadlier. For it is
 people who breathe life into an environment, who
 create and sustain a healthy city. If people are driven
 and their senses dulled, if they are alienated and
 dehumanized, the city is on the way to destroying
 itself."

Richard Whalen
A City Destroying Itself
 1965

 "Mass hysteria is a terrible force, yet New Yorkers
 seem always to escape it by some tiny margin."

E.B. White
 "Here Is New York"
Essays of E.B. White
 1977

 "Many people who have no real independence of
 spirit depend on the city's tremendous variety and
 sources of excitement for spiritual sustenance and
 maintenance of morale. . . . I think that although
 many persons are here from some excess of spirit
 (which caused them to break away from their small
 town), some, too, are here from a deficiency of
 spirit, who find in New York a protection, or an easy
 substitution."

E.B. White
 "Here Is New York"
Essays of E.B. White
 1977

 "They come from all over the country to New York.
 The executive's wife decided they will move to New
 York. She says, 'John, you're the boss now. I've
 been doing the laundry and raising the kids all my
 life. It's time we enjoyed opening nights in New
 York.' So the company packs up and moves."

William Zeckendorf, president of
 Webb and Knapp
Life
 Aug. 10, 1959

WAY OF LIFE

“Never had misery appeared so horrible as in New York and Chicago.”

Simone de Beauvoir
America Day by Day
1953

* * *

“There is something in the New York air that makes sleep useless.”

Simone de Beauvoir
America Day by Day
1953

* * *

“The constant need for reassurance—nowhere is it more apparent than here in this dying metropolis where the American dream began and is now running out its string (well, nobody lives forever).”

Herb Caen
One Man's San Francisco
1976

* * *

“I began to cherish the loneliness of it.”

Joan Didion
“Goodbye to All That”
1967

* * *

“When I first saw New York I was 20, and it was summertime, and I got off a DC-7 at the old Idlewild temporary terminal in a new dress which had seemed very smart in Sacramento but seemed less smart already.”

Joan Didion
“Goodbye to All That”
1967

* * *

“I began to like New York, the racy, adventurous feel of it at night, and the satisfaction that the constant flicker of men and women and machines gives to the restless eye.”

F. Scott Fitzgerald
The Great Gatsby
1925

* * *

“No city in the Union furnishes the same supply of the material [corpses] for the study of practical anatomy as the city of New York.”

Anonymous
Quoted by Thomas Gallagher
The Body Snatchers
June, 1967

* * *

“Prostitution is the only business that isn't leaving the city.”

Roy Goodman, state senator
Speech to New York Press Club
Oct. 24, 1976

* * *

“It was early June and New York was already a ghost town. The rich had departed at the first sign of a Puerto Rican with a transistor. Politicians hung in to turn on a few fire hydrants and pose with some wet Third Worlders before taking off on junkets that kept them away until Labor Day.”

Heywood Gould
Glitterburn
1981

* * *

“The two eternal verities, time and space, alone are restricted amid the city's abundance. Where leisure has become exotic, the supreme experiences—love, friendship, and human contacts—are harassed and trammled. Courtship in New York is of necessity hurried, furtive, interrupted, irrationally exposed or confined. . . . Friendship in New York is hindered by its distances, its haste, its proprieties, its irresistible propulsion. As for casual contacts, the city's philosophy is everyone for himself.”

Ernest Gruening
These United States
1924

* * *

“The great charm of New York is that it's still unpredictable. Any sidewalk might lead us to something unexpected, something that could exist nowhere else in the world.”

Helen Hayes and Anita Loos
Twice Over Lightly
1972

* * *

“The most positive thing of all is that nobody ever has to be alone in New York. You're alone with New York, which makes a whole world of difference. What other companion could be so varied, stimulating, dramatic, and so available?”

Helen Hayes and Anita Loos
Twice Over Lightly
1972

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“Here was the expensive as a power by itself.”

Henry James
The American Scene
1904

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Henry James
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* * *

"The gutters overflow and nothing ever works but I
know now I shall live and die here. Anything I do is
all right just as long as I make a go of it. Last night
my water pipe burst at 3 a.m. I had to figure a way to
mend it. And I did!"

Alan Pryce Jones, English critic
Quoted by Helen Hayes and Anita Loos
Twice Over Lightly
1972

* * *

"I don't like the life here. There is no greenery. It
would make a stone sick."

Nikita Khrushchev
Quoted in *Time*
Oct. 10, 1960

* * *

"No other city in the United States can divest the
visitor of so much money with so little enthusiasm.
In Dallas, they take away with gusto; in New Or-
leans, with a bow; in San Francisco, with a wink and
a grin. In New York, you're lucky if you get a
grunt."

Fletcher Knebel
Look
March 26, 1963

* * *

"Now the midwinter grind
is on me, New York
drills through my nerves
as I walk
the chewed-up streets. . . ."

Robert Lowell
"Middle Age"
For the Union Dead
1964

* * *

"A car is useless in New York, essential everywhere
else. The same with good manners."

Mignon McLaughlin
The Second Neurotics Notebook
1966

* * *

"The frayed tissue of New York manners seems
ready to splatter on every city street."

Norman Mailer
New York Times Magazine
May 18, 1969

* * *

"I never tire of singing my own 'Manhattan Magnifi-
cat' . . . Often I look out of my sixth floor window at
midnight or an early hour of the morning at the
squares of gold and topaz and I pray for all the
worry-weary souls behind those windows—and the

glad and gay ones, too. For there is gaiety in this
sprawling metropolis. You hear it in the cheep of
sparrows in the park, the laughter of children in
playgrounds, the banter of taxi drivers lightly insult-
ing other motorists, and it is a truer gaiety than that
which glitters in the night spots or theatres, where
visitors so often seek it."

Sister Maryanna, Dominican Academy
New York Daily News
April 9, 1960

* * *

"If, in New York, you arrive late for an appointment,
say 'I took a taxi.'"

Andre Maurois, French writer
Quoted in *New York Times*
Aug. 13, 1950

* * *

"What makes New York so dreadful, I believe, is
mainly the fact that the vast majority of its people
have been forced to rid themselves of one of the
oldest and most powerful of human instincts—the
instinct to make a permanent home. Crowded,
shoved about and exploited without mercy, they have
lost the feeling that any part of the earth belongs to
them, and so they simply camp out like tramps,
waiting for the constables to rush in and chase them
away."

H.L. Mencken
"On Living in Baltimore"
Prejudices: Fifth Series
1926

* * *

"Indeed, you may as well admit that the whole place
is built on greed."

James Morris
As I Saw the USA
1956

* * *

"There are those who say New York City is a
provincial enclave, and that it is unrepresentative of
the rest of the nation. I have lived on Manhattan
Island eight years now, and for the first two or three
in the Big Cave, in the dreadful hardening of one's
senses for survival in the cultural capital, I shared in
many of these fears. But gradually I grew to feel that
New York, far from being an estuary of our national
life, is if anything more *representative*, than not,
more American than otherwise, precisely because it
brings together the whole range and spectrum . . . of
the American temperament, of the American races,
of all our ways of living and our ways of speaking.

New York has become to me the crux and apogee of our contemporary experience. . . ."

Willie Morris
Yazoo
1971

* * *

"I prayed for the city to be cleared of people, for the gift of being alone—a-l-o-n-e: which is the one New York prayer that rarely gets lost or delayed in channels, and in no time at all everything I touched turned to solid loneliness."

J.D. Salinger
"De Daumier-Smith's Blue Period"
Nine Stories
1964

* * *

✓ ["There's no room for amateurs, even in crossing the streets."

George Segal, actor
Newsweek
Dec. 14, 1972

* * *

"Your native New Yorker relishes the sport of the apartment hunt the way the English gentry love to hunt foxes."

Rufus Sharman
Saturday Evening Post
April 19, 1952

* * *

"As we drew near New York I was at first amused, and then somewhat staggered, by the cautious and grisly tales that went round. You would have thought we were to land upon a cannibal island. You must speak to no one in the streets, as they would not leave 'til you were rooked and beaten. You must enter a hotel lobby with military precautions; for the least you had to apprehend was to awake the next morning without money and baggage, or necessary raiment, a lone forked radish in a bed; and if the worst befell, you would instantly and mysteriously disappear from the ranks of mankind."

Robert Louis Stevenson
The Amateur Emigrant: the Silverado Squatters
1923

* * *

"... New York, where 250 people die each day, and where the living dash for empty apartments. . . . Where on page 29 of this morning's newspaper are pictures of the dead; on page 31 are pictures of the engaged; on page one are pictures of those who are running the world, enjoying the lush years before they land back on page 29."

Gay Talese
New York—A Serendipiter's Journey
1961

* * *

"If you are confused ask somebody. New Yorkers are very helpful. However, the first person you ask will give you the wrong answer. So ask loudly enough that others will overhear and make corrections. New Yorkers love to correct each other."

George Weller
Note on subway map he designed and published
1977

* * *

"The link is just spending. You come to New York and spend; you go away again."

H.G. Wells
"The Future in America"
1906

* * *

"On any person who desires such queer prizes, New York will bestow the gift of loneliness and the gift of privacy."

E.B. White
"Here Is New York"
Essays of E.B. White
1977

* * *

[Office windows at twilight]: "... You can see in pantomime the puppets fumbling with their slips of paper (but you don't hear the rustle), see them pick up their phone (but you don't hear the ring), see the noiseless, ceaseless moving about of so many passers of pieces of paper: New York, the capital of memoranda, in touch with Calcutta, in touch with Reykjavik, and always fooling with something."

E.B. White
"Here Is New York"
CBS-TV
1958

* * *

"The last time I visited New York, it seemed to have suffered a personality change, as though it had a brain tumor as yet undetected."

E.B. White
Preface
The Essays of E.B. White
1977

* * *

"Proud, cruel, everchanging and ephemeral city, to whom we came once when our hearts were high, our blood passionate and hot, our brain a particle of fire: infinite and mutable city, mercurial city, strange citadel of million-visaged time!—Oh! endless river and eternal rock, in which the forms of life came, passed and changed intolerably before us, and to which we came, as every youth has come, with such enormous madness, and with so mad a hope—for what? To eat you, branch and root and tree; to devour

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ndows at twilight): "... You can see in
 the puppets fumbling with their slips of
 you don't hear the rustle), see them pick
 one (but you don't hear the ring), see the
 ceaseless moving about of so many passers
 of paper: New York, the capital of memo-
 touch with Calcutta, in touch with Reykja-
 ways fooling with something."

E.B. White
 "Here Is New York"
 CBS-TV
 1958

* * *

ime I visited New York, it seemed to have
 personality change, as though it had a
 or as yet undetected."

E.B. White
 Preface
The Essays of E.B. White
 1977

* * *

ruel, everchanging and ephemeral city, to
 came once when our hearts were high, our
 gionate and hot, our brain a particle of fire:
 and mutable city, mercurial city, strange
 million-visaged time!—Oh! endless river
 al rock, in which the forms of life came,
 d changed intolerably before us, and to
 came, as every youth has come, with such
 madness, and with so mad a hope—for
 eat you, branch and root and tree; to devour

you, golden fruit of power and love and happi-
 ness...."

Thomas Wolfe
Of Time and the River
 1935

* * *

"Gigantic city [New York], we have taken nothing—
 not even a handful of your trampled dust—we have
 made no image on your iron breast and left not even
 the print of a heel upon your stony-hearted pave-
 ments."

Thomas Wolfe
Of Time and the River
 1935

* * *

"Much of what is chalked off as New York's rude-
 ness, aggressiveness or impersonal treatment is in
 fact nothing more than some poor bastard, convinced
 that he is in the 'big-league' town, trying to put a
 little extra spin on his delivery."

Tom Wolfe
*That Kandy-Kolored, Tangerine-Flake,
 Streamline Baby*
 1965

* * *

"In New York a man does not have to devote himself
 to a woman, or think about her or even pay attention
 to her. He can... glide at will."

Tom Wolfe
*That Kandy-Kolored, Tangerine-Flake,
 Streamline Baby*
 1965

HISTORY AND POLITICS

"Until about 50 years ago, it was possible to think
 there was something cozy and quaint about New
 York straggling upward from the Battery. Central
 Park was way uptown, goats grazed on Morningside
 Heights, and a native poet, Joseph Rodman Drake,
 could exclaim:

'My own romantic Bronx!
 without being suspected of writing a caption for a
New Yorker drawing."

Jacques Barzun
God's Country and Mine
 1954

* * *

"It was not until the 1850s that the St. Patrick's Day
 parades assumed large proportions. By that time
 immigration from Ireland was at flood and good-

sized Irish county units were available. Marchers
 wore costumes that still smelled of native peat."

Meyer Berger
New York Times
 March 17, 1954

* * *

"The Easter Parade tradition isn't as old as many
 people seem to think. It started in a small way about
 100 years ago down around Old Trinity when the city
 had not begun to spread. Ladies and gentlemen in
 spring finery usually strolled up Broadway toward
 Canal Street, or down to the Battery after church, and
 took the new sun with neighbors until it was time for
 the noonday meal."

Meyer Berger
New York Times
 March 17, 1954

* * *

[In 1871]: "For five years the Tweed Ring had led a
 great treasury raid. . . Tammany Hall had been re-
 modeled into an awesome political machine, sup-
 ported by the immigrant and the native poor, and
 sustained on election day by a horde of Tammany
 warriors, repeaters, and corrupt election officials
 who made a mockery out of the power of the ballot.
 No wonder Boss Tweed could ask the reformer,
 "What are you going to do about it?" "

Alexander B. Callow Jr.
The Tweed Ring
 1965

* * *

"I don't suppose there was a day, an hour, when the
 middle class got their marching orders, but toward
 the end of the 1940s the middle class began to move
 . . . the rich of the city were getting richer and the
 friable middle ground where we stood was vanish-
 ing."

John Cheever
 "Moving Out"
 Essay reprinted in *Esquire: The Best of Forty Years*
 1973

* * *

"First New York was a sort of provincial capital,
 bigger and richer than Manchester or Marseilles, but
 not much different in its essential spirit. Then, after
 the war, it became one among half a dozen world
 cities. Today it has the appearance of standing alone,
 as the center of culture in the part of the world that
 still tries to be civilized."

Malcolm Cowley
New Republic
 1939

* * *

"From every quarter, as you glance about in these dark streets, some figure crawls half-awakened, as if the judgment hour were near at hand, and every obscure grave were giving up its dead. Where dogs would howl to lie, men and women and boys slink off to sleep, forcing the dislodged rats to move away in quest of better lodgings. Here, too, are lanes and alleys paved with mud knee-deep; underground chambers where they dance and game; the walls bedecked with rough designs of ships, of forts and flags, and American Eagles out of number; ruined houses, open to the street, whence through wide gaps in the walls other ruins loom upon the eyes, as though the world of vice and misery had nothing else to show . . . all that is loathesome, drooping and decayed is here."

Charles Dickens
American Notes
1842

* * *

"Is New York a den of vice? When a bishop later proclaims that there are as many prostitutes in New York as there are Methodists, the city administration sniggers."

Oliver Jensen
American Heritage
December, 1969

* * *

"Thousands of people lived under the shadow of the elevated, with the smoke of the old-fashioned locomotives puffing into their windows, with the clank and rattle causing them to shout in daily conversation to overcome the roar outside. The obliviousness to low sounds, the indifference to cacophony which makes the ideal radio listener of present-day America, was part of the original acquisition of Manhattan in [these early 20th century] decades."

Lewis Mumford
The Metropolitan Milieu
1934

* * *

"New York life among the poor has one central distinguishing feature—namely, the fact that all live in tenements or in houses built on much the same principle. This principle is about as bad as it can possibly be. In the typical tenement house the staircase passes up a well in the center of the house. It has no light from the open air, no ventilation; it is absolutely dark at midday except for such glasses over the doors of the flats, and possibly from a skylight at the top of the house. It is a well for all the noxious gases to accumulate in; it cannot be aired; the rays of the sun never penetrate to it; in the worst houses it is foul with the coming and going of the innumerable denizens of the tenements. On its steps

play the pale, unhealthy children who even allowing for the enormous death rate, still swarm in the horrible dwellings. Can a more frightfully unwholesome system be imagined?"

Charlotte G. O'Brien
The Emigrant in New York
1884

* * *

"Now, a word about Tammany's love for the American flag. Did you ever see a Tammany Hall decorated for a celebration? It's just a mass of flags. . . . We don't care for expense where the American flag is concerned, especially after we have won an election."

George Washington Plunkitt,
Tammany Hall politician
Quoted by William L. Riordan
Plunkitt of Tammany Hall
1948

* * *

"Life in the tenements in July and August spells death to an army of little ones whom the doctor's skill is powerless to save. When the white badge of mourning flutters from every second door, sleepless mothers walk the streets in the gray of the early dawn, trying to stir a cooling breeze to fan the brow of a sick baby."

Jacob A. Riis
How the Other Half Lives
1890

* * *

"The gang is an institution in New York."

Jacob A. Riis
How the Other Half Lives
1890

* * *

"But there is no doubt anywhere that San Francisco can be rebuilt [after the 1906 earthquake], larger, better, and soon. Just as there would be none at all if all this New York that has so obsessed me with its limitless bigness was itself a blazing ruin. I believe these people [New Yorkers] would more than half like the situation. It would give them scope, it would facilitate that conversion into white marble in progress everywhere, it would settle the difficulties of the Elevated railroad and clear out the tangles of lower New York."

H.G. Wells
"The Future in America"
1906

* * *

[New York during the mid-1800s]:

"The countless masts, the white shore steamers, the lighters, the ferry-boats, the black sea-steamers well model'd,

... unhealthy children who even allowing
... enormous death rate, still swarm in the
... bellings. Can a more frightfully unwhole-
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H.G. Wells
"The Future in America"
1906

* * *

... during the mid-1800s]:
... less masts, the white shore steamers,
... rs, the ferry-boats, the black sea-
... well model'd,

The down-town streets, the jobbers' houses of
business, the houses of business of the ship-
merchants and money-brokers, the river-streets,
Immigrants arriving, fifteen or twenty thousand in
a week,

The carts hauling goods, the manly race of drivers
of horses, the brown-faced sailors,

The summer air, the bright sun shining, and the
sailing clouds aloft,

The winter snows, the sleigh-bells, the broken ice
in the river, passing along up or down with the
flood-tide or ebb-tide,

The mechanics of the city, the masters, well-
form'd, beautiful-faced, looking you straight in
the eyes,

Trottoirs throng'd, vehicles, Broadway, the
women, the shops and shows,

A million people—manners free and superb—open
voices—hospitality—the most courageous and
friendly young men,

City of hurried and sparkling waters! city of spires
and masts!

City nested in bays! my city!"

Walt Whitman
"Mannahatta"
1855

* * *

"Now [after labor demonstrations] the streets are
completely cleared—the great suction pumps of
downtown New York have pulled up their popula-
tions again."

Edmund Wilson
"Cops and Communists"
1931

BOROUGHES AND REGIONS

The Bronx

"The sobriety and regularity of the life of the west
Bronx is suggested more by the even and dull archi-
tecture of the side streets than by the color and
movement of the shopping avenues."

Ruth Glazer
Commentary
May, 1949

* * *

"The Bronx?
No thonx!"

Ogden Nash
"Geographical Reflection"
Hard Lines
1931

* * *

"Summer night in the east Bronx. The men are inside
playing pinochle. The men are sleeping, are talking
shop. They have gone to see if [Leon] Trotsky is still
sitting on a bench in Crotona Park. The street is full
of mothers who have run out of the stuffy house to
look for air."

Grace Paley
"Mom"
Great American Things
1976

* * *

"The south Bronx is a necropolis—a city of death."
Dr. Harold Wise, community leader
Quoted in *New York Times*
1973

Brooklyn

"[Vaudevillian] Eddie Foy remarked, in discussing
the engineering feat of the Brooklyn Bridge, 'All that
trouble just to get to Brooklyn.'"

Joey Adams
From Gags to Riches
1946

* * *

[The Brooklyn Bridge]: "O harp and altar, of the
fury fused,
(How could mere toil align thy choiring strings!)"

Hart Crane
"To Brooklyn Bridge"
1933

* * *

"It [Brooklynese] was a dialect of confusions . . .
these linguistic confusions were the reflection of
deeper confusions. They mirrored the inverted psy-
chology of the natives who called their heroes
'Bums.'"

Frances Griffiths
New York Times
Aug. 16, 1972

* * *

"There's a trace of the erotic about the way we
Manhattanites regard Brooklyn. The Bronx may sup-
ply guffaws, Queens makes us yawn, and Harlem
starts us jiving but Brooklyn touches our very libi-
dos."

Helen Hayes and Anita Loos
Twice Over Lightly
1972

* * *

"Boy, sure is quiet since the Dodgers left. They were
a lousy team, even when they won the pennant, but
there was noise around here. You could hear it from

here, a block away [from Ebbets Field], that yell which meant Duke Snider struck out on a bad pitch or Carl Furillo made a great catch or Pee Wee Reese laid down a bunt. Ah-h-h, I hope they all get asthma out in L.A. They left us when they were getting real lousy, so good riddance, but alla same, they were great ball players, and I still remember Gil Hodges hitting a grand slam against the Giants. I hated the Giants. There's nobody left to hate anymore. Brooklyn is changed."

Former Ebbets Field hot dog vendor
Quoted in *Holiday*
March, 1960

* * *

"The lingering sense of Brooklyn as a land of boundless mirth with baseball obligato was the creation of certain screenwriters and comedians. . . . In one old patriotic movie, Bing Crosby defends the American flag against a cynic by asking others 'to say what Old Glory stands for.' A Southerner talks of red clay and pine trees. A Westerner describes sunset in the Rocky Mountains. But it is a Brooklynite who carries the back lot at Paramount pictures. His speech begins with the apothegm, 'Hey, Mac. Ever see steam comin' out of a sewer in Flatbush?'"

Roger Kahn
The Boys of Summer
1973

* * *

"After World War II, Brooklyn, like most urban settlements, began a struggle to adjust which presently turned and became a struggle to survive. Brooklyn had been a heterogeneous, dominantly middle-class community, with remarkable schools, good libraries and not only major league baseball, but extensive concert series, second-run movie houses, expensive neighborhoods and a lovely rolling stretch of acreage called Prospect Park. For all the outsiders' jokes, middle-brow Brooklyn was reasonably sure of its cosmic place, and safe. Then, with postwar prosperity came new highways and the conqueror automobile. Families whose wanderings had not extended beyond the route of the New Lots Avenue subway at last were able to liberate themselves. . . . Soon families began to leave their blocks for good."

Roger Kahn
The Boys of Summer
1973

* * *

"Brooklyn Heights itself is a window on the port. Here, where the perspective is fixed by the towers of Manhattan and the hills of New Jersey and Staten Island, the channels running between seem fingers of

the world ocean. Here one can easily embrace the suggestion, which Whitman felt so easily, that the whole American world opens out from here, north and west."

Alfred Kazin
Brooklyn Bridge
1946

* * *

"Brooklyn, in a dignified way, is a fantastic place. . . . Comparing the Brooklyn that I know with Manhattan is like comparing a comfortable and complacent duenna to her more brilliant and neurotic sister. Things move more slowly out here . . . and there is a feeling for tradition."

Carson McCullers
Brooklyn Is My Neighborhood
1941

* * *

"New York is Babylon; Brooklyn is the truly Holy City. New York is the city of envy, office work, and hustle; Brooklyn is the region of homes and happiness. . . . There is no hope for New Yorkers, for they glory in their skyscraping sins; but in Brooklyn there is the wisdom of the lowly."

Christopher Morley
Parnassus on Wheels
1917

* * *

"'Brooklynese' became conspicuous in American lore about the time that Brooklyn's reputation changed from that of a dull, respectable 'city o' homes' and 'city of churches' to a frenetic, surly wasteland of incivility and mindless baseball boost-erism."

Geoffrey D. Needles
Brooklyn US.
197

* * *

"Brownsville was a Jewish island. . . . Up to the age of 12 or so, a Brownsville child scarcely saw an members of other groups except for teachers and policemen, and never really felt that the Jews were anything but an overpowering majority of the human race."

William Post
Commentary
May, 195

* * *

"At the age of 10 I took upon my spreading shoulders the full burden of being a Brooklynite—I started traveling daily in the subway. What drought is to the Oklahoma farmer, famine to the Bengalese peasant, silicosis to the coal miner, the BMT, the IRT, and the newer Independent subway are to the dweller

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Alfred Kazin
Brooklyn Bridge
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Geoffrey D. Needlep
Brooklyn USA
1979

* * *

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William Poster
Commentary
May, 1950

* * *

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Brooklyn . . . the sound of the underground wheels roaring out of the DeKalb Avenue station is the beat of the living heart of Brooklyn."

Irwin Shaw
Holiday
1950

* * *

"Serene was a word you could put to Brooklyn, New York . . . Serene was the only word for it; especially on a Saturday afternoon in summer."

Betty Smith
A Tree Grows in Brooklyn
1932

* * *

"Coney Island, the American Brighton, grew in popularity as the city increased in size and congestion in the [1870s]. On a hot Sunday, half a million people (making a carpet of heads) might crowd its wide stretch of sand in a few hours, a traveler of 1887 reported in the London *Times*. 'They spread over the four miles of sand strip, with . . . bands of music . . . in full blast; countless vehicles moving; all the miniature theaters, minstrel shows, merry-go-rounds, Punch and Judy enterprises, fat women, big snakes, giant, dwarf and midget exhibits, circuses and menageries, swings, flying horses and fortune telling shops open; and everywhere a dense but good humored crowd, sightseeing, drinking beer and swallowing clam chowder.' "

Bayrd Still
Mirror for Gotham
1956

* * *

"Brooklyn is a province. Although it lies but across the river from what is the most metropolitan of all cities, and is in fact a borough of it, one may as well hail from Hoosick Falls (N.Y.) or Possum Trot (Ark.) as from Brooklyn."

Boris Todrin
Out of These Roots
1944

* * *

"The [Brooklyn] bridge was not built by fiat from that fabulous island [Manhattan]. Instead, Brooklyn flung the pathway over the water as the crowning act of a century of almost unparalleled growth and expansion. . . . The genius of the Roeblings [the engineers who designed the bridge] was used in a great act of creation which was Brooklyn's glory and, in a sense, Brooklyn's doom. The city was committing corporate suicide, for shortly after came political union with Manhattan."

Ralph Foster Weld
Brooklyn Is America
1950

* * *

"Its [Brooklyn's] situation for grandeur, beauty, and salubrity is unsurpassed probably on the whole surface of the globe; and its destiny is to be among the most famed and choice of the half dozen cities of the world. And all this, doubtless, before the close of the present century."

Walt Whitman
Brooklyn Standard
1861

* * *

"In Brooklyn, in the neighborhood of Henry Street, the pleasant red and pink brick houses still worthily represent the generation of Henry Ward Beecher; but an eternal Sunday is on them now; they seem sunk in a final silence."

Edmund Wilson
"On This Site Will be Erected"
1925

* * *

"That was a good time then, for then the sun came out one day and the [Brooklyn] bridge made music through the shining air. It was like a song: it soared like flight above the harbor. . . . And I saw all the faces of the people on the bridge, and they were coming towards me and there was something strange and sad about it, and yet it was the most magnificent thing I had ever seen: the air was clean and sparkling like sapphires, and out beyond this was the harbor and I knew that the sea was there."

Thomas Wolfe
The Web and the Rock
1937

Greenwich Village

"I remember how often some of us walked out of the darkness of the Lower East Side and into the brilliant sunlight of Washington Square."

Harry Golden
Only in America
1958

* * *

[On why developers have not yet built up Greenwich Village]: "It's because there's an earthquake fault running underneath the Village that frightens off the realtors from putting up any more skyscrapers. Geologists have traced the fault along 14th Street and, according to the soothsayer Edgar Cayce, a large slice of Manhattan is going to break off someday and slide into the Atlantic."

Helen Hayes and Anita Loos
Twice Over Lightly
1972

* * *

"But now the famed Figaro coffeehouse [in Greenwich Village], where more talented people wasted their talents talking over caffeine than at any other place in New York, has made way for a Blimpie sandwich shop and Bleecker [Street] has become a parody of its former Bohemianism."

Helen Hayes and Anita Loos
Twice Over Lightly
1972

* * *

"Greenwich Village is the only spot in New York where you can go out for the Sunday newspaper in your pajamas and bare feet and nobody pays you any attention."

Helen Hayes and Anita Loos
Twice Over Lightly
1972

* * *

"Way down South in Greenwich Village,
That's the field for culture's tillage.
There they have artistic ravings,
Tea and other awful cravings.
But then the inspiration stops.
You'll find them anywhere
Round Washington Square."

Improvised song
Quoted by Helen Ramsey
More Pious Friends and Drunken Companions
1928

Harlem

[After coming to New York City from the South]:
"Then at the street intersection I had the shock of seeing a black policeman directing traffic—and there were white drivers who obeyed his signals as though it was the most natural thing in the world. . . . This really was Harlem."

Ralph Ellison
Invisible Man
1947

* * *

"Lenox Avenue,
Honey,
Midnight,
And the gods are laughing at us."

Langston Hughes
"Lenox Avenue: MIDNIGHT"
The Weary Blues
1926

* * *

"Light open coats prevailed and the smooth bare throats of brown girls were a token as charming as the first pussywillows. Far and high over all, the sky

was grand blue benediction, and beneath it the wonderful air of New York tasted like fine dry champagne."

Claude McKay
Home to Harlem
1928

Other Places

Central Park:

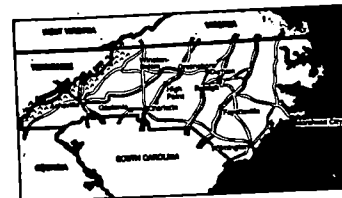
"To the park, accordingly and to the (Central) Park only, hitherto, the aesthetic appetite had had to address itself, and the place has therefore borne the brunt of many a peremptory call, acting out year after year the character of the cheerful, capable, bustling, even if overworked, hostess of the one inn, somewhere, who has to take all the travel, who is often at her wits' end to know how to deal with it, but who, none the less, has, for the honor of the home, never once failed of hospitality."

Henry James
The American Scene
1907

Lower New York:

"Every evening is Pamplona in lower New York."
John Steinbeck
Travels with Charley
1962

NORTH CAROLINA



Capital: Raleigh
Entered the union (with rank): Nov. 21, 1789 (12)
State motto: *Esse quam videri* (To be rather than to seem)
State flower: Dogwood
State bird: Cardinal
State song: "The Old North State"
State tree: Pine

LEVEL 1 - 16 OF 22 STORIES

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July 31, 1988, Sunday, Final Edition

*VIDEO RENTALS
DURING DNC '88*

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A8; POLITICS

LENGTH: 240 words

HEADLINE: Boosting Video Rentals

BYLINE: Maralee Schwartz, Lloyd Grove, Chris Adams

BODY:

✓ It seems that when some people wanted to see action from a man named Jackson during the Democratic National Convention, they didn't turn to Jesse. They turned to Carl Weathers -- "Action Jackson" in the film of the same name.

✓ And when viewers wanted to hear an inspiring dialogue on the pressing social issues of the day, they opted for Eddie Murphy's "Raw," not Dukakis' "new era of greatness."

Video rentals were so good that some outlets are planning a special advertising push for the Republican National Convention, which begins Aug. 15. "We'll let people know that there is an alternative to watching the politicians go at it," said J. Ronald Castell, a vice president for Erol's Inc., a chain of video rental stores with 74 outlets in the area. "It wasn't something we expected, but we'll be ready for New Orleans."

✓ Although national numbers are not available, Washington-area movie rental outlets said the Democratic Convention was even better for business than bad weather, as an unexpectedly high number of people found the prospect of watching Dukakis, Sen. Lloyd Bensten (Tex.), Jesse L. Jackson, et al., un compelling, at best. At Erol's, for example, movie rentals were up over the corresponding days last year by 38 percent Monday, 43 percent Tuesday and 46 percent Wednesday. On Thursday -- the Democrats' big night -- video rentals were up 49 percent.

"We can't wait for the Republicans to get together," Castell said.

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS

SUBJECT: POLITICAL CONVENTIONS; TELEVISION / VIDEO; FILMS

LEVEL 1 - 15 OF 22 STORIES

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ADWEEK

August 8, 1988, Eastern Edition

SECTION: CORRIDOR TALK

LENGTH: 71 words

HEADLINE: Video Vinct

BODY:

✓ [* Erol's, the largest video club in the District of Columbia, has come up with the best measure yet of the (lack of) pulling power of the conventions. During the four nights of the Democratic convention, video rentals surged 57.2% as compared to the same four days in 1987.

It's not clear whether the Republicans will be able to top that -- but Erol's, betting the Grand Old Party might, is laying on extra inventory.

LEVEL 1 - 14 OF 22 STORIES

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August 15, 1988, Monday, Final Edition

SECTION: FINANCIAL; PAGE F3

LENGTH: 269 words

HEADLINE: CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

BYLINE: Clay Chandler, Lena H. Sun, Mark Potts, Paul Farhi

BODY:

If this week's Republican convention in New Orleans proves anywhere near as gripping as last month's Democratic convention in Atlanta, it may have local video retailers yawning all the way to the bank.

Video outlets in the Washington area report that the four days of the Democratic convention saw a dramatic jump in the number of tapes they rented, as viewers apparently opted for "Dirty Dancing" and "Top Gun" over Michael Dukakis and Jesse Jackson.

During the Democratic convention -- when Nielsen ratings for TV viewing fell sharply -- video rentals at the Erol's Video Club chain were up a whopping 43.5 percent over the same period last year, according to Erol's spokeswoman Michelle Abballe.

"It was an unbelievable surge," Abballe said. "It just came out of nowhere."

While several factors unrelated to politics may have contributed to the boost in rentals -- including hot weather, the Hollywood writer's strike and the release of a number of popular movies on video -- Erol's senior management is convinced that convention-induced ennui was the primary culprit, Abballe said.

So this week, the Springfield-based video club chain is running a promotion featuring a mock platform complete with popular movie videos presented as policy "planks."

The platform's "foreign policy plank," for example, includes titles like "Rambo" and "Missing in Action."

"We are not telling our customers not to watch the convention broadcast," Erol's marketing vice president Ron Castell said in a press release. "We do feel, however, they should have something more on their plate when it comes to home video."

GRAPHIC: ILLUSTRATION, JIM PATERSON FOR TWP; ILLUSTRATION

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS

SUBJECT: TELEVISION / VIDEO

ORGANIZATION: EROL'S VIDEO CLUB

LEVEL 1 - 11 OF 22 STORIES

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August 23, 1988, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A7; POLITICS

LENGTH: 197 words

HEADLINE: Vox VCR

BYLINE: Maralee Schwartz, Frank Swoboda

BODY:

Politicians and news executives are talking about shorter national political conventions but, if owners of video-rental stores had their way, conventions would last for weeks. Rentals were at record highs during the recent conventions.

"Hot weather and hot movies played a significant part," said a very politic Vans Stevenson, public-relations director for Erol's Inc., which has 165 outlets.

"Wall Street," "Action Jackson" and "Suspect" drew a lot more interest than Dukakis or Bush. During the Democratic convention July 18-21, rentals were up 57 percent from the same time a year ago. During the GOP convention last week, rentals were up 30 percent over the corresponding days in 1987.

Did viewers find the Democrats less interesting? "There was more news and controversy during the Republican convention," Stevenson offered. "It was Reagan's last appearance, and there was the vice presidential choice."

While rentals were down overall during the GOP convention compared with the Democratic convention, one movie hit record highs. Viewers opted for Robin Williams' war record over Quayle's, renting 34,078 videos of "Good Morning Vietnam" during the GOP convention.

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES; TELEVISION / VIDEO; POLITICAL PARTIES; POLITICAL CONVENTIONS

LEVEL 1 - 10 OF 22 STORIES

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August 23, 1988, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 18, Column 6; National Desk

LENGTH: 225 words

HEADLINE: Washington Talk: Briefing;
Tuning Out

BYLINE: By JOHN H. CUSHMAN & DAVID BINDER

BODY:

Widespread ownership of television sets changed the way Americans followed national political conventions. Now, burgeoning ownership of video recording machines may encourage them to avoid the political process altogether.

Erol's Inc., a Washington-based video rental service with stores throughout the mid-Atlantic region, determined that movie rentals were up substantially during the two national political conventions.

Vans Stevenson, a spokesman for the company, said rentals rose 57 percent during the Democratic convention, almost twice the increase of 30 percent during the Republican convention.

"One of the things we theorized was that everyone already knew the outcome of the Democratic convention beforehand, as opposed to the Republican convention," Mr. Stevenson said.

However, he added that a number of things could have contributed to the higher rental rate during the Democratic convention, including summer heat hitting its peak during July.

One additional note: The company recorded a 39 percent increase in rentals of the movie "Hoosiers" for the weekend following the acceptance speech made by Senator Dan Quayle of Indiana, the Republican Vice-Presidential nominee. Mr. Quayle's speech made several references to the movie, which chronicles the winning season of a fictional high school basketball team in Indiana.

GRAPHIC: Drawing

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1988; TELEVISION; RECORDINGS (VIDEO);
CONVENTIONS, NATIONAL (US)

ORGANIZATION: EROL'S INC

NAME: CUSHMAN, JOHN H JR; BINDER, DAVID

TITLE: WASHINGTON TALK PAGE (NYT)

LEVEL 1 - 9 OF 22 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1988 The Times Mirror Company;
Los Angeles Times

September 4, 1988, Sunday, Home Edition

SECTION: Opinion; Part 5; Page 3; Column 3; Opinion Desk

LENGTH: 1235 words

HEADLINE: SLOGANS IN SECONDS: LOSING WEIGHT IN POLITICAL DEBATE

BYLINE: By Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, professor of communication at the University of Texas, is the author of *Eloquence in an Electronic Age* (Oxford University Press).

DATELINE: AUSTIN, TEXAS

BODY:

Thomas Jefferson's oft-cited comment about government without newspapers or vice versa has a less-cited coda: "But I should mean that every man should receive those papers and be capable of reading them."

What Jefferson did not envision two centuries ago was that his great-grandchildren's great-grandchildren would search some major newspapers in vain for an instance of extended political argument -- a transcribed speech, for example, or a published debate.

The last century had its share of abbreviated messages, but the newspaper was not their home. Bits of information and slogans inhabited street and parade banners, professional torches and broadsides. Newspapers were made of longer stuff. Although partisan, the papers of Jefferson's day were substantial.

Today the search for substance is more readily thwarted. Abbreviated forms of communication abound. Political ads average 30 seconds in length. In network news, candidates are rarely heard speaking for more than 15 seconds at a time. Even the answers in debates have grown shorter -- down to one minute in a number of the contests of the past primary season.

Survival of the briefest also governs network coverage of conventions. Lost in CBS, NBC and ABC's rush to learn Bush's vice presidential pick and how would it play in Peoria were two important speeches: the first, by Gov. John H. Sununu of New Hampshire, previewed the fall campaign's indictments of the Democratic nominee; the second, by former U.N. Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, cogently expressed the conservative philosophy of foreign affairs.

What substance TV reporters do find in speeches or debates is winnowed out in their search for the candidates' strategic intent. When not focusing on the "horse race" and "game plans," aspiring Dan Rathers fill our time with prophecies about a future we will momentarily discover for ourselves: Who will run? Who will win? Who's up in the polls? Who's down?

Substance is reduced to slogans and snippets. The 1980 primaries live in news stories as "I paid for this microphone, Mr. Green"; the 1984 primaries as "Where's the beef?" Repeated replays enable us to paraphrase television's remembrance of debates past:

(c) 1988 Los Angeles Times, September 4, 1988

"There you go again."

"Do you remember when you said 'there you go again'?"

"I will not hold my opponents comparative youth and inexperience against him."

Lost in post-debate coverage were the philosophies, policies and proposals of the debaters, their important similarities and differences, their alternative visions of the country's future.

Voters without access to a good newspaper, C-SPAN or CNN must rely on information accumulated in bites of a quarter of a minute to a minute in length. Even those granules of information do not receive concentrated attention. Many who pick up political information from TV news and ads are passive, their political information gotten accidentally. Casual attention creates some superficial sense of politics but not a solid command of information, issues or candidates. Even at the most intense points in a senatorial campaign, more than half the population cannot identify the candidates.

Cheated by an educational system that no longer teaches students to produce or evaluate argument, the most educated electorate in American history routinely chooses old movies or video rentals over convention speeches, and prefers soaps and sitcoms to political substance. So "Peyton Place" and "Petticoat Junction" drew larger audiences than Barry M. Goldwater's conversation with Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1964; "Jaws" swallowed Roger Mudd's award-winning interview with Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) in 1980; and video-rental stores experienced such a run of customers during this summer's conventions that the political parties should consider putting voter-registration desks there in 1992.

When blamed for the decay in the quality of political discourse, political consultants turn the indictment back on their accusers. A substantial speech can't attract an audience as large as "Dynasty" or even "Dialing for Dollars," one practitioner told me. "It's sports they'll watch so it's sports they'll get."

Besides, speaking substantially produces pain but little gain. The public is ill-disposed to listen to substance, the press ill-disposed to report it. As does the opposing candidate's staff, the press will listen attentively for slips or strategic missteps. Pens are poised and cameras set to capture Richard M. Nixon declaring "I am not a crook," Michael S. Dukakis encouraging Iowa farmers to grow Belgian endive, George Bush referring to his grandchildren as "little brown ones," Ronald Reagan declaring that facts are "stupid things." Seeing everything to lose and nothing to gain, in 1986 many candidates abandoned public speechmaking entirely. Campaigns became ad wars.

The speeches that have adapted to the demands of the press and the dispositions of television viewers are the public equivalent of the Johnny Carson monologue -- strings of randomly assembled one-liners and anecdotes. No camera crew will have to look long for a 30-second sound bite. No detailed argumentative substructure will drive viewers away.

Texas State Treasurer Ann Richards' speech at the Democratic Convention is illustrative. It contained one story of her memories of summer nights

(c) 1988 Los Angeles Times, September 4, 1988

listening to the grown-ups talk; one letter from a constituent; humanizing references to granddaughter Lily and the future, and some now very familiar 30-second sound bites, including: "For eight straight years George Bush hasn't displayed the slightest interest in anything we care about. And now that he's after a job he can't get appointed to, he's like Columbus discovering America. He's found child care. He's found education. Poor George. He can't help it. He was born with a silver foot in his mouth."

Endangered in the rush to abbreviate and the crush of news McNuggets and spot ads is our capacity to create and thoughtfully consider discourse that invites a reconsideration of who we are as individuals and as a people. Our ability to create reasoned, informed public assent has waned. The great modern exercises of the old eloquence -- George Marshall framing the Marshall plan, Winston Churchill warning about the descent of an Iron Curtain, Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy arguing for arms limitation, Martin Luther King Jr. proclaiming that he had a dream and Sen. John F. Kerry of Massachusetts repudiating the war in Vietnam -- stand out because the rhetorical terrain surrounding them is so flat.

Adlai E. Stevenson was offended by the notion that ideas should be cut to fit the lengths in which television metered out its time. As he ran unsuccessfully for the White House in 1952 and 1956, his paid air time sometimes ended before his speeches did. His aides despaired. Unlike the robber Procrustes who amputated the limbs of his victims to ensure that they fit his bed, Stevenson refused to shave ideas to suit the clock.

As we undertake the serious business of electing the 41st President, we might honor Stevenson's memory, and that of Jefferson and Lincoln as well, by seeking out and savoring developed discourse -- discourse that defines its terms, grounds itself in a sense of history, discusses alternative points of view, fairly characterizes all sides of a case, warrants its claims with evidence, dramatizes without demagoguery and only then concludes.

GRAPHIC: Drawing, CATHERINE KANNER / for the Times

TYPE:
Opinion

LEVEL 1 - 6 OF 22 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1988 Newsday, Inc.;
Newsday

September 23, 1988, Friday, NASSAU AND SUFFOLK EDITION

SECTION: PART II; THE MARVIN KITMAN SHOW; Pg. 9

Other Edition: City Pg. 11

LENGTH: 950 words

HEADLINE: The Debate Winner: NBC

BYLINE: Marvin Kitman

KEYWORD: TELEVISION; REVIEW; COLUMN; DEBATE; MICHAEL DUKAKIS; GEORGE BUSH;
PRESIDENT; ELECTION; CANDIDATE; 1988

BODY:

NBC IS TO BE praised for its decision to run the presidential debates instead of the Olympics Sunday night at 8. It is giving up a lot of money to demonstrate solidarity with the other two networks on this issue - specifically, \$ 330,000 per half-minute of commercials scheduled during 90 minutes of Olympic coverage that have been preempted. Imagine: \$ 8 million to show viewers the awe-inspiring first debate between Vice President George Bush and Gov. Michael Dukakis.

Look, they could have said, what are we, C-Span? Besides, it's already on two networks. And what about people who don't want to watch the debates? What about the politically handicapped, those who are allergic to politics, or subject to bouts of apathy? They have rights, too. After all, this is a real democracy, not Korea.

Who knows, if NBC had gone ahead and televised the Olympics Sunday night between 8 and 9:30 as planned, some Americans might have voted in November for the Soviet gymnastics team.

This burst of patriotism on NBC's part must have dismayed the Bush camp. People were saying the only reason Bush had agreed to the debate is that nobody would be watching Sunday night. Everybody would be tuned in to the Olympics on NBC.

So already the debate is a big setback for Bush, even before either candidate has opened his mouth.

On the upside, the 90-minute special event is a chance for Olympic TV fans to see Dukakis, the great debater, in action. Everybody knows he is a good debater, a better public speaker with wide experience on TV ("The Advocates" on PBS). He would have done anything, made any concession, to get Bush on the screen, even if it meant holding the debate on "Wheel of Fortune" in between Vanna White's walks to the board.

Bush is not as experienced. His best debate during the primaries was against Dan Rather, but Dan wasn't running for anything, which might account for his poor showing.

(c) 1988 Newsday, September 23, 1988

I don't believe the Bush-Dukakis debate Sunday night will equal Bush-Rather in excitement, provided that Bush doesn't try to rattle Dukakis by bringing up tennis matches.

An incumbent vice president debating a man from Massachusetts. Inevitably, it makes one think of Nixon vs. Kennedy in 1960. The vice president was coming off an era of pretty good feeling in the Eisenhower age, and managed to lose.

But everyone is more savvy about television today. Bush knows enough about the medium, for example, to avoid sweating on camera. He will get the right makeup, so that he won't look like he hasn't shaved.

Will the first major debate of the fall season be as exciting as the boxing matches on the Olympics? The choice of moderators will be crucial. If they pick somebody like Olympia Dukakis, you can expect unequal treatment of the two debaters. Morton Downey Jr. might make the debate a livelier show, especially if audience participation is allowed.

The rules have been changed so often since the debates were announced, I have no idea what exactly is going to happen. We'll be lucky if the two of them are on the same platform, in the same city, and the same planet, by Sunday at 8.

A big issue in the campaign so far has been the candidates' size. It's considered unfair to somebody if one is taller than the other. The 5-foot-8-people bloc would vote for Dukakis, the six-footers for Bush. There has been pre-debate jockeying between the candidates' media teams over what, exactly, the cameras will show.

Ideally, Bush would want the cameras trained on Dukakis' feet, standing on a box, as he tried to measure up to Bush. What is forgotten here is that many movie stars were not as tall as Dukakis. Alan Ladd, a matinee idol during the Roosevelt-Truman-Eisenhower years, was 5 foot 2 and stood on a box.

Clothing is another key issue. I would expect one or perhaps both of the candidates to wrap themselves in the American flag as they debate who is more patriotic. This may seem far-fetched, but who would have thought the pledge of allegiance would become a campaign issue at a time when the country and planet face extinction.

Charges of who is a card-carrying liberal could break out during the debate, followed by debates on who is a card-carrying Visa or MasterCard member.

So many changes have taken place in the classic debate form in the age of television. Most recently, during the primaries, NBC replaced the traditional one-on-one format with 12-on-one, the one being Tom Brokaw facing the 12 Republican and Democratic candidates. Tom won that debate 10-2, outlasting such wonders as Dole, Robertson, Simon and Gephardt.

What would make the debates more interesting, especially during the Olympic season, would be their having more of a sporting flavor to them. I would like to see Bush and Dukakis fight it out in the boxing ring. That would be USA vs. USA. We couldn't lose.

My prediction on the big fight of the year: I look for Dukakis to start fast Sunday night, but at 75 meters, I mean 75 minutes, look for Dukakis to fade to

(c) 1988 Newsday, September 23, 1988

Bush, who will make it closer.

On the other hand, Bush may decide not to show up. He can do what Olympics boxers do - arrive five minutes after the event goes off the air, blaming the coach, or saying they needed him in the war room.

Having NBC do the debates instead of the Olympics is still a good thing for democracy. From sheer inertia some people will watch the debates on NBC. The things that influence people's programming choices, as they say in TV arts and sciences, are the lead-in and leadout programs. And it's all Olympics.

That's what I like to believe, although the cynic in me says that the NBC decision for this Sunday night is the biggest boon for video rentals since the conventions this summer. ✓

GRAPHIC: AP Photos-1) The great debate: Vice President George Bush meets 2) Gov. Michael Dukakis Sunday night.

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 22 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1988 The Washington Post

November 9, 1988, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE B1

LENGTH: 1933 words

HEADLINE: To the Polls, Grudgingly: Across the Land, Election Malaise

BYLINE: Henry Allen, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

The election campaign didn't end yesterday as much as it sort of went away, like a summer cold or an Amway salesman, leaving a lot of people feeling cranky.

The Tick Tock Diner in Clifton, N.J.: "The campaign? It stinks," said Elizabeth Sudol, a retired great-grandmother, having coffee and cake with her daughter. "I don't like the way they talked about each other back and forth. It's disgusting."

Oof.

On the other hand, there was Kennebunkport, Maine: "You know, the two people are different," said Stedman Seavey, a Republican representative to the state legislature. "They have different ideas for America, and if somebody can't line up in one of the two camps, they're simply apathetic. That's what I think."

The DKE house, at Dan Quayle's own DePauw University: "Its pretty much like any other day," said Jeff Tomlin, chapter president.

City Hall in Union Point, Ga.: "The only comment I would want to make," said Mayor Ben Stewart, "is that it's a very sad, regrettable, unfortunate situation." Then again, Stewart was being challenged in this election by his younger brother, Bob, so he wasn't focusing too hard on the national race.

The Mount Carmel Priory in Williamstown, Mass.: "That was something that was brought up at morning prayer -- the distressing obfuscation of issues," said Brother Rob Stefanotti.

The Malibu Park School in California: "The Dukakis group really blew it," said Sam Dowey as he waited to vote. "If he was to run the country like this campaign we'd be in trouble." Asked why he was voting for Dukakis anyway, he said, "I had to kill my wife's vote."

At best, it was like attending a going-away party for somebody you don't particularly like. At worst, it was like having to chip in for the present.

It was very strange. Some places, the people lined up in the rain to be apathetic. In north Berkeley, Calif., they waited with coffee mugs in their hands to file into the Friends Meeting House past a stack of the East Bay Express, whose big, bold headline read: "VOTE ANYWAY." Unwilling to put up with those very lines, though, about a quarter of San Francisco's voters asked for absentee ballots, raising speculation that the yuppies were trying to acquire a president by catalogue. (It was horrible to think of: "Our handy Democrat is

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designed with you in mind ...)

Still, there was a certain satisfaction in doing it the old way. When people went to polling places in places such as Connecticut, Texas and the District of Columbia, they came back wearing stickers that said "I Voted," the way they might have worn gray smudges on their foreheads on Ash Wednesday.

In North Hollywood, Calif., Enrique Ramos Angeles, 25, a restaurant manager, said: "I've no patience for people who don't vote. You shouldn't be forced to, but if you live in this country you should. People who are dissatisfied should just write in their preference. But you should still vote. I think it's exciting to vote, it's great. The U.S. is one of the few places in the world where you have confidence in the election process. I am also voting Bush because I've been a personal victim of crime. There's a lot of gangs around here in L.A. And I feel, why take a chance with Dukakis?"

It was good voting weather most places, with a little fresh snow on the ground in parts of Idaho and Montana, and of course there were plenty of local initiatives to vote on: gun control in Maryland, parimutuel betting in Virginia, 238 of them in 41 states, from a nuclear plant ban in Massachusetts to a ban on corporate hog farming by nonresidents in South Dakota, smoking in Oregon and gay rights in Colorado. There were also 33 senators, an entire House of Representatives, 12 governors and countless local officials to vote for.

It was the presidential race that troubled people.

In Madison, N.J., Cynthia Moran, 41, assistant vice president of Drew University, said, "I'm in a clinical depression. I'm thinking of moving to Greece."

Bad move. On the island of Pelopi, Greece, where Dukakis' grandfather came from, Efstratios Patsis, a village butcher, said, "We're a bit discouraged by the latest polls and we'll be in despair if he doesn't win."

The Grecian yearn also afflicted Sukhreet Gabel, who had spent recent weeks testifying against her mother in New York's Bess Myerson divorce-fixing trial, but spent Election Day "flat on my back, catching up on Greek city-states. I'm looking back to another era to see how they handled it."

In Syracuse, N.Y., Dennis Brogan, who leads cheers in the Carrier Dome at Syracuse University, handled it by going into the voting booth and flipping a quarter, he said. "It fell on the floor. The lady said, 'It doesn't take change.' "

"It's a toss," said Charlene Lucas, a clerk at Adams Drugs in Montgomery, Ala. "People are saying it's not much of a choice. I'm tired of all the commercials, the signs."

On the jukebox at Aleck's Barbecue Heaven on Martin Luther King Drive in Atlanta, rappers were rapping, "Don't Believe the Hype." Sylvia Wilson, 23, a single mother of twin 3-year-olds on welfare, was hunting a ride to the polls. "I was undecided until I turned on the radio and heard that Bush was against raising the minimum wage," she said. "I don't want to be rich, I just want to live well and get my son to grow up to find a good job." She got a ride and went off to vote for Dukakis.

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On the other hand, Hugh Norman, 38, a medical equipment executive fresh from a hospital sales call, slathered sauce all over a pork sandwich and said happily: "Just voted for Bush. I cover half of Georgia and my sales have gone from \$ 460,000 to \$ 700,000 in just over a year. Reaganomics has loosened up hospital spending, and the future looks better than ever."

Americans seemed fretful but resigned, like a dog on moving day. Or maybe it was like one of those morning dreams where it's not quite a nightmare but things just keep repeating and repeating ... Willie Horton, on your side, no Jack Kennedy, silver foot in his mouth, a thousand points of light ...

At the Rongovian Embassy, which is a bar in Trumansburg, N.Y., a Republican village in the northwestern part of Democratic Tompkins County, restaurateur Fernando Ramirez (demographics analysts, call your office) served Mexican food and said: "Most of the general feeling I've gotten from the people in town that I know is that everyone really doesn't like who's running. It's not apathy, but it's like I'm forced to vote, and I'll take the lesser of two evils whether it's Republican or Democratic or socialist or whatever."

Fifteen miles away in Watkins Glen, Carol Welch, a cashier at Scuteri's pizzeria, said that quite a few sheet pizzas (which contain 32 slices) were being taken out -- far more than usual on a quiet Tuesday. A celebration, perhaps? Parties to mark the conclusion of another American pageant? Welch didn't know. "Personally," she said, "I'm not too happy with either one of them. I'm going to vote later and I guess I'll go for Bush."

In Brooklin, Maine, Vauna Haza, owner of the Brooklin General Store, said: "All I can say is we've had a run on video rentals today because nobody wants to watch television tonight. They're tired of it. They don't want to listen any more. They just want it to be over." ✓

At PS 29 in the South Bronx, voting inspector Rachel Dorson wasn't surprised by the low turnout. "This is choice?" she said. She went to an empty voting booth and pointed to the ballot line for state Supreme Court justice. The candidates were: Burton C. Hecht, Democrat; Burton C. Hecht, Republican; Burton C. Hecht, Conservative Party; and Burton C. Hecht, Liberal Party.

Ah, the glorious crankiness of the American people. And the infinite patience and kindness. Trying to make a political decision nowadays is like trying to make love with a crowd of psychiatrists watching you. Or like being in the hospital where the nurses keep waking you up to give you a sleeping pill -- it's not that they're malevolent, it's just that you've got better things to do, somehow.

At the Little Giant Restaurant & Carryout in Washington's Mount Pleasant, Harutyun Arthur Simon, a part owner and Turkish immigrant, said he had not voted, although he is a citizen. "I started work at 5:15 this morning. I work until 7 tonight. I cannot understand these words of the politicians on television. Any time I need the police, it takes two hours to come. Any time a drunk comes, I cannot touch him, he will sue me. I don't know. I might go vote."

Jane Pallman, 38, wife of one of the owners of Pallman's Poultry, a turkey farm outside Scranton, Pa., on being asked whether customers were talking candidates or talking turkeys: "Right now, they're talking turkeys."

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In Vicksburg, Miss., at Cedar Grove Estate -- an elegant antebellum mansion turned bed and breakfast -- hostess Peggy Schaeffer said there wasn't much talk around there about the election. "This is kind of a relaxed situation where people don't want to talk about anything unpleasant."

In Nashville, TV projections of a Bush victory didn't make much difference at the Bluebird Cafe. Katy Cope, a waitress, said: "People are making really bad jokes about the election. What was that joke? It was horrible. It was so bad, it was unmemorable."

At Peoria, Illinois' St. Augustine Manor -- a retirement home, a monastic community, and polling place for the city's 53rd precinct -- the Rev. Harry Pierjok said: "I would say that parts of this neighborhood here are economically depressed, and parts of it are better. We're right on the breaking point, between those that are economically depressed, and Middle Class, USA. I believe we've had an awful lot of distortion, and the ideal has really slipped far from us, this time. We've really slipped away from the ideal of what a leader of the country should be." Among the old people at the home, he said, "the residents who are really living on Social Security, that kind of thing, seem to be -- just in the scuttlebutt of conversation -- seem to favor Michael Dukakis. And those people who have a little money stashed away and have been a little more fortunate in their lives -- some of those people seem to say that they would be interested in voting for George Bush."

George Bush himself voted in Houston, and said: "I feel nervous." Dukakis voted in Massachusetts and said: "I voted for Mike Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen and I'm proud of it." Lloyd Bentsen was in Texas, but he had already voted by absentee ballot. Dan Quayle was in Huntington, Ind. He went to the dentist. He always goes to the dentist on Election Day. A routine cleaning, said the secretary to Dr. John E. Regan. "He comes every four years."

A routine cleaning. It was all so muted, and a little unreal, like watching fireworks in black and white. The lesser of two evils, the evil of two lessers, let's just get it over with. Who wanted to fight over it all? On the other hand, who could ignore it?

In Los Angeles, Matt Ashford, who plays the villainous politician Jack Deveraux on the soap opera "Days of Our Lives," said: "I was amazed at the number of people saying, 'You've got to vote, you've got to vote.' It's not so much that there's debate as there is talk about getting out to vote. There's a point where you have to back off. You're doing bed scenes with people who might be dyed-in-the-wool Republicans and you're, like, 'What about the Democrats?'"

Just get the job done, America. Like at Disney World, where they closed the Hall of Presidents for Election Day. Not to go out and vote for one or the other, but because they had to install a new one.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, ALAN FOLLETT, MAURICE DAWKINS' CAMPAIGN MANAGER. GERALD MARTINEAU; PHOTO, CAROL GUZY

TYPE: FEATURE

SUBJECT: VOTERS; POLLING OF VOTERS; PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS; ELECTION RESULTS

(c) 1988 The Washington Post, November 9, 1988

NAMED-PERSONS: GEORGE BUSH

LEVEL 1 - 13 OF 22 STORIES

The Associated Press

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August 19, 1988, Friday, AM cycle

LENGTH: 325 words

HEADLINE: Movie Rentals Up As Republicans Make Bad Theater

BYLINE: By ROBERT DVORCHAK, AP National Writer

DATELINE: NEW YORK

KEYWORD: CVN--Movie Rentals

BODY:

Jerry Dorris is one person who would like to see the Republican National Convention last longer. Business at his video rental store is up 20 percent as a prime alternative to all the political talk.

"I wish the conventions were each two months long and were held every year," said Dorris, owner of Landmark Video in the Empire State Building, where comedies and action adventures were alternatives to acceptance speeches.

"The majority of our customers want to be entertained after a day of work. They don't want to be bored by the convention. The general comment is they've had enough and they'd much rather watch a movie," Dorris said Thursday.

A spot check of other stores indicated movie fans have elected to tune out the George Bush and Dan Quayle show, which has filled prime time for the three networks, and flicked to fantasyland instead.

"The Manchurian Candidate" was doing well in some areas, but political movies such as "All The President's Men," "The Candidate" with Robert Redford and "Advise and Consent" gathered dust on the shelves.

Nor was there much demand for Ronald Reagan's "Bedtime For Bonzo" or "Knut Rockne - All-American," the movie where he first asked his mentor to win one for the Gipper.

"People are pretty bored with the convention," said Sue Granat, salesperson at New York City's Videoroom, where rentals are up 25 percent.

"There hasn't been a good convention since the Democrats in 1968. That had drama and violence," she said.

Rentals also increased during the Democratic gathering in Atlanta, but the earlier convention at least had some electricity between Jesse Jackson and Michael Dukakis, store officials said.

At the Video Circus, rentals were up 33 percent for the week.

*Republican
Convention
One Democratic Convention
mention at bottom.*

The Associated Press, August 19, 1988

"Everyone is complaining, coming in here and saying they don't want to be bored," said store owner Frank Lopez. "I guess it's important, but it's quite monotonous after a while. I mean, really, four days of that stuff?"

LEVEL 1 - 3 OF 295 STORIES

Proprietary to the United Press International 1992

May 14, 1992, Thursday, BC cycle

BRIAN WATKINS

SECTION: Regional News

DISTRIBUTION: New York Metro, New York

LENGTH: 283 words

HEADLINE: Three sentenced to prison in tourist slaying

DATELINE: NEW YORK

KEYWORD: NY-TOURIST

BODY:

Three young men convicted of murdering Utah tourist Brian Watkins in a Midtown subway station during a robbery for money to go dancing were sentenced Thursday to 25 years to life in prison.

Watkins, 22, of Provo, Utah, was killed protecting his mother from a gang of youths that set upon the family in the subway at 53rd Street and Seventh Avenue, near the dance hall where the defendants were arrested hours later.

Anthony Anderson, Ricardo Lopez, and Yull Gary Morales, all of Queens, were sentenced by Justice Edwin Torres in State Supreme Court in Manhattan to concurrent terms on murder and robbery convictions.

Morales, accused of actually plunging a butterfly knife into Watkins' chest, was given an additional 8 and a third to 25 years in prison on a separate manslaughter conviction. However, Torres ordered he serve the term concurrently.

Four other youths were convicted in a separate trial of murder and robbery charges. All were sentenced to 25 years to live in prison.

An eighth defendant was severed from the current trial and was scheduled for a later hearing.

The family, avid tennis fans, had spent the day of the murder, Sept. 2, 1990, at the U.S. Open tennis tournament in Queens before going to their Midtown hotel and descending to the subway to go to dinner in Greenwich Village.

On the IND subway platform at 53rd Street, a gang of youths attacked them, leaving Brian Watkins dead. Some of the youths later said they wanted to steal money to go dancing at nearby Roseland Ballroom, where they were arrested.

Luis Montero, 23, the eighth defendant, was released on \$100,000 bond. A hearing in his case was scheduled for July 15.

LEVEL 1 - 226 OF 295 STORIES

The Associated Press

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September 4, 1990, Tuesday, AM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 659 words

HEADLINE: Tourist Slain: A Nightmare Underground

BYLINE: By RICK HAMPSON, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: NEW YORK

KEYWORD: Subway Crime

BODY:

The New York City subway system has a new advertising slogan: "We're coming back, so you come back!"

Brian Watkins, an annual visitor from Provo, Utah, came back once too often. He was waiting in a midtown Manhattan station Sunday night when a group of youths robbed his father and punched his mother. Watkins fought back, and one of the youths stabbed him to death.

Eight teen-agers were arrested Monday and charged with murder and robbery, police said.

Watkins' slaying was one more disaster for the nation's largest subway system, which began the century as an engineering marvel and seems destined to end it as a social disaster.

The blood stain in the Seventh Avenue station had faded Tuesday, but not the disgust over what had happened there.

Like Watkins, Dockery Clark of Greensboro, N.C., also came to New York for the U.S. Open tennis tournament. She said she had been mugged in the station next to the one where Watkins died.

"Two guys jumped me, beat my back and stole my watch and bracelet," she told the Daily News. "My boyfriend saw (Mayor) David Dinkins (at the tournament), walked up to him, and told him his city is a cesspool."

Carolina Brani, another Open spectator, lives in Milan. But she was clear about one thing: "I know the subway is never safe. Day or night, there is no difference."

Crime is rising throughout New York City, and rising even faster in the subways. Last year, subway felonies increased 18 percent, while reported major crimes rose 4 percent in the city as a whole.

The Associated Press, September 4, 1990

Watkins' slaying was the 18th this year in the subway system, versus 20 in all of 1989, and robberies are up 29 percent.

The fact that less than 3 percent of all city crime occurs in the subways is of scant comfort to most riders.

"People are not moved by statistics," said Thomas Reppetto, director of the Citizens Crime Commission, a privately financed citizens group. "Too many things have happened down there to too many people."

Brian Watkins was no victim-in-waiting. He had ridden the subways many times before; he was in the company of four other people, including two men. It was not that late - midtown at 10:20 p.m. is as busy as some cities at noon - and the station at Seventh Avenue and 53rd Street is not one of the more dangerous.

To many, the brazen attack on the Watkins family merely confirms a visceral sense of subterranean danger.

Most stations are dirty, smelly, noisy and dimly lit. The Transit Authority has closed station newsstands, reduced token booth hours and cut off-hours service on some lines.

The agency's police department has been nagged by scandals, and in August it ran out of money in a special city fund for paying overtime for police officers on subway robbery patrol.

"For a lot of people, to go down into a cavern is a little frightening, no matter what," said Reppetto. "But when they see homeless people living there and disorderly people, they feel that things are not under control."

After steadily increasing for several years, ridership has declined. Only about a quarter of city residents ride the subway each day, and to many such a trip has become virtually unthinkable. A few years ago then-Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward admitted his wife had never taken the subway.

During the past five years graffiti has been vastly reduced. Trains are more punctual, and the Transit Authority has several billion dollars to spend on further improvements. "The level of service used to be intolerable," said Gene Russianoff, a mass transit advocate. "Now it's tolerably bad."

But many riders, past and present, feel that what really makes the subways dangerous are some of the people in them, people as callous as the ones who allegedly attacked the Watkins family and then headed off to the Roseland ballroom for some dancing.

"There are a lot of proposals out there for improving safety in the subways," said Russianoff. "I'm afraid none of them would have helped Mr. Watkins."

LEVEL 1 - 213 OF 295 STORIES

The Associated Press

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September 5, 1990, Wednesday, PM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 308 words

HEADLINE: Gang Charged in Subway Killing Mugged as an Initiation Rite

BYLINE: By VIRGINIA BYRNE, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: NEW YORK

KEYWORD: Tourist Murdered

BODY:

Eight young men arrested in the stabbing death of a tourist from Utah in a subway station belonged to a gang that required would-be members to mug someone as an initiation rite, it was reported today.

Former members said the gang robbed people "for the hell of it" and to get money to go dancing, The New York Times reported.

The youth suspected of wielding the murder weapon has claimed the victim, Brian Watkins, 22, ran into his knife and the stabbing was accidental, New York Newsday and the New York Post quoted police as saying.

Newsday said the suspect, Yull Garry Morales, 18, told investigators: "There was fighting. I took out my knife to protect myself and the guy turned and it went into him."

Police said Watkins had come to his family's defense late Sunday when gang members sliced open his father's pants and punched his mother in the mouth as they waited for a subway train.

The gang took credit cards and about \$200 in cash to go dancing, police said. After the stabbing, the gang headed to a nearby dance club, where five of the suspects were arrested, police said. Three others were arrested later.

The Watkins family was in New York on an annual visit to see the U.S. Open tennis tournament.

Police said they believe gang founder Morales stabbed Watkins and also imposed the admission requirement. Morales was one of two gang members who did not have a police record, police said.

"If you wanted to be in that gang you had to beat somebody up or mug somebody," the Times quoted former gang member Raymond Serrano, 19, as saying.

The Associated Press, September 5, 1990

The suspects, in their late teens or early 20s, were charged with murder and robbery and were held without bail. If convicted, they face 15 years to life in prison for murder, and additional time for the other charges.

Watkins was the 18th person slain in the subway system this year.

LEVEL 1 - 208 OF 295 STORIES

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The Times

September 6, 1990, Thursday

SECTION: Overseas news

LENGTH: 653 words

HEADLINE: Tourists cut short visits to frightened New York

BYLINE: From Charles Bremner in New York

BODY:

VISITORS were cutting short their visits to New York yesterday after the brutal mugging of a tourist family that brought a fresh bout of fear and outrage over the extraordinary violence sweeping the city in recent months.

Dozens of tourists are robbed every day in New York and about six citizens are murdered, but the death of Brian Watkins, aged 22, a tennis teacher from Utah, assembled all the ingredients of every tourist's nightmare trip to the mean streets of Manhattan.

Watkins, his mother, father and brother were waiting for a subway train in the busy midtown theatre district, after spending the day at the US Open tennis tournament. A gang of knife-wielding youths surrounded them and stole the father's wallet.

When they punched Karen Watkins, Brian and his brother went to her defence. He was stabbed in the chest, but chased his killer up three flights of steps before dying.

The gang, according to police, ran on to the Roseland dance hall, where they spent the evening. They had robbed the Watkins family because they needed the entrance fees, police said. Eight black and Hispanic youths were charged yesterday with murder, as the city succumbed to another media-driven paroxysm of outrage and racial name-calling.

According to police, Gary Morales, the 18-year-old alleged to have wielded the 'butterfly' flick knife, registered his defence: 'The tourist ran into my knife.'

The New York Times, which called the attack 'the city's worst nightmare come true', reported that the youths belonged to a gang known as FTS. To join, a candidate must first commit an act of violent robbery.

As black leaders complained of the 'hypocrisy' with which white America treats crimes against middle-class victims, Mayor David Dinkins and the city's police chief, both black, vowed once again to stem the tide of random violence that has begun in recent months to alarm even hardened native New Yorkers. Six children have been killed in the crossfire of gun battles in the past eight weeks.

While the subway gang was being arrested, the city buried a young prosecutor who was killed by a stray bullet outside a courthouse in the Bronx.

1990 Times Newspapers Limited, September 6, 1990

Voicing a common opinion, the Daily News said yesterday: 'There is an entire generation out there that feeds on viciousness, that has no concept of morality. To these punks, crime is a hobby. Violence is a way of life.'

For Jimmy Breslin, the veteran chronicler of the city, the killing of Brian Watkins marked a watershed. The city would never be the same again, he said. 'Dies the victim, dies the city.'

The fear of the tourist business is that the publicity over the Watkins case will further deter visitors at a time when New York's economy is slipping into recession. The publicity over the rape of the woman jogger in Central Park last year is estimated to have cost the city millions of tourist dollars. A spokesman for the Better New York association said the Watkins murder 'will set the tourist business back five years'.

Mr Dinkins, who was criticised yesterday for showing insufficient outrage, pleaded with the press to avoid dramatising the case.

As tourists vowed to television cameras that they would never return to New York, city officials advised visitors to stay in groups and avoid quiet streets at night.

The killing could not have come at a worse time for the New York subway system. It had just launched a campaign to lure timid passengers back on the rails under the slogan: 'We're coming back so you come back.'

New Yorkers poured out advice to visitors on how to avoid getting mugged. The golden rule is to avoid looking anyone in the eye. Watkins was killed for breaking the rule, said New York Newsday in a bitter commentary on the attack.

Eighteen murders have been committed in the subway so far this year, close to the record total of 20 for all of 1989. Armed robberies are up by a third so far this year.

LEVEL 1 - 89 OF 295 STORIES

Proprietary to the United Press International 1991

October 29, 1991, Tuesday, BC cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 708 words

HEADLINE: Witness: 'It's killing time' yelled before Utah tourist was slain

BYLINE: BY PEG BYRON

DATELINE: NEW YORK

KEYWORD: TOURIST

BODY:

A former Manhattan hotel worker told a jury Tuesday that he heard one of several young men yell, "It's killing time, let's go," just moments before a Utah tourist was slain in a subway mugging.

Antonio Gonzalez, a locksmith at the Hilton Hotel on Sept. 2, 1990, testified Tuesday afternoon that he saw a gang of youths rush by him and down the steps of a nearby subway station just before Brian Watkins was fatally stabbed on a subway platform trying to defend his family from knife-wielding attackers.

One member of the gang, a heavysset black youth, yelled, "It's killing time, let's go," before the pack rushed down the subway station steps, Gonzalez said. His description of the youth fit one of the four defendants on trial.

Gonzalez said he also heard a woman scream after the youths entered the subway station.

In morning testimony, Karen Watkins, the victim's mother, struggled to maintain her composure as she testified in state Supreme Court in Manhattan on the second day of the trial of four of the eight defendants charged with murder in her son's death.

Unlike her husband, she was able to give a detailed description of events surrounding the slaying of her 22-year-old son, but she also burst into tears at several points in her poignant testimony.

Monday, Sherwin "Sherm" Watkins, a 47-year-old marketing manager from Provo, Utah, broke down repeatedly as he testified, mumbling, "I don't know why they did it ... He was such a good kid."

Karen Watkins, a 47-year-old hospital technician, also broke down in sobs as she told how she and her husband went to St. Vincent's Hospital after they, their two sons and a daughter-in-law were attacked, expecting to find Brian alive.

"They told us he had died on the way to the hospital," she said. "Then I went in and sat with my son and told him goodbye and how much I loved him."

Proprietary to the United Press International, October 29, 1991

After the judge gave her tissues to dry her eyes, she was able to continue, still gasping with emotion.

Earlier, under low-key questioning by the prosecutor, the mother told of standing with her family on the subway platform, nonchalantly talking of the day's events at the U.S. Open Tennis Championship in Flushing, Queens, while waiting to take the subway to dinner in Greenwich Village.

Suddenly, someone yelled from behind a stairway on the platform and a group of youths surrounded the family, she said.

'As I heard the yell, I looked up and saw a group of men running toward us,' she said. 'One came over and had an orange (handled) knife in his hand and ordered me to get back,' she said, thrusting her hand forward to demonstrate how the weapon was wielded.

'Another young man grabs my son with a knife to his throat. Someone grabbed me by the hair really hard and pulled my head and pulled my head between my legs and started kicking me in the chest and face. I wa knocked back a little. I saw stars.'

The witness identified an orange-handled box cutter and a silver- handled butterfly knife, allegedly the weapon used to kill her son.

She also gave detailed descriptions of the casual clothing worn by some of the attackers, their skin color, heights and whether they were black or Hispanic, and told of driving around the murder scene with police and picking out two people she and her husband recognized as suspects.

But she said she could not recognize any of the defendants, dressed in suits and ties, as members of the pack that attacked her family.

Defense attorneys, in their opening statements, attacked the Watkins' identifications as biased.

According to the prosecution, the defendants used the stolen money to buy \$15 admission tickets to a nearby dance hall for a night on the town.

No testimony was scheduled for Wednesday, and the trial was to resume Thursday.

The case attracted nationwide attention as an example of the random violence awaiting visitors to New York, a message challenged by city tourist officials who claimed other American cities are just as dangerous, if not more so.

All four defendants are 19-year-old Queens residents.

A separate trial is scheduled for the four remaining defendants, including the only one also charged with intentional murder for allegedly wielding the murder weapon.

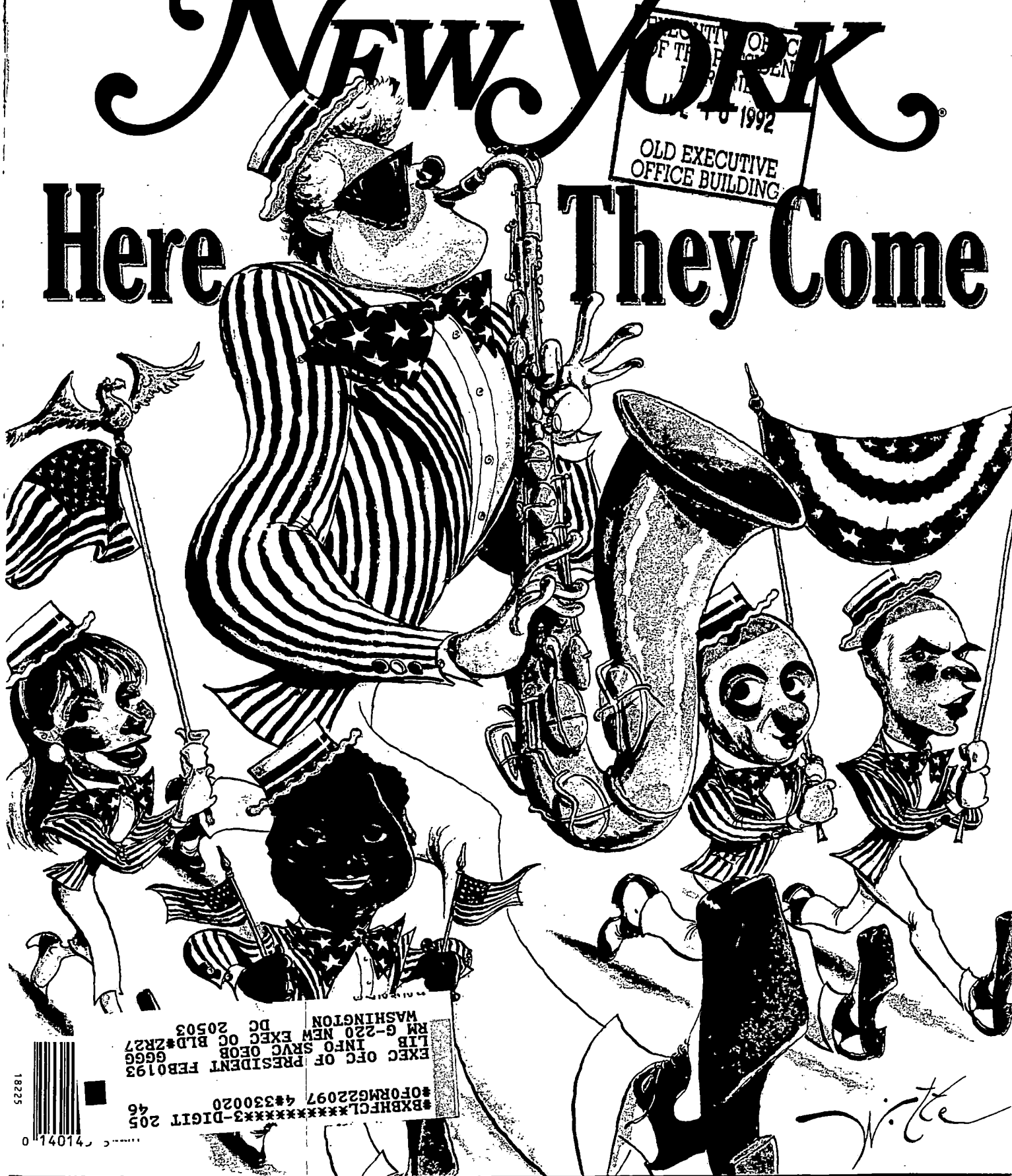
John Taylor on the Clinton Blur ★ Bill Buckley's Scoop
★ Michael Daly on Tammany's Last Stand ★ Fun City Guide

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NEW YORK

Here

They Come



CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

BY RICHARD DAVID STORY

WHEN THE DEMOCRATS take over Madison Square Garden next week, it will be the fifth time that the party has set its sights on New York. The first convention took place in a brand-new Tammany Hall in 1868. Boss Tweed was a delegate from New York, Susan B. Anthony signed

a letter advocating women's rights, and the big platform battle turned on greenbacks and Reconstruction. The most recent convention took place in 1980, during the Iran hostage crisis and that infamous period of national "malaise." The delegates gathered once again, this time at Madison Square Garden, to begrudgingly nominate Carter for a second term.

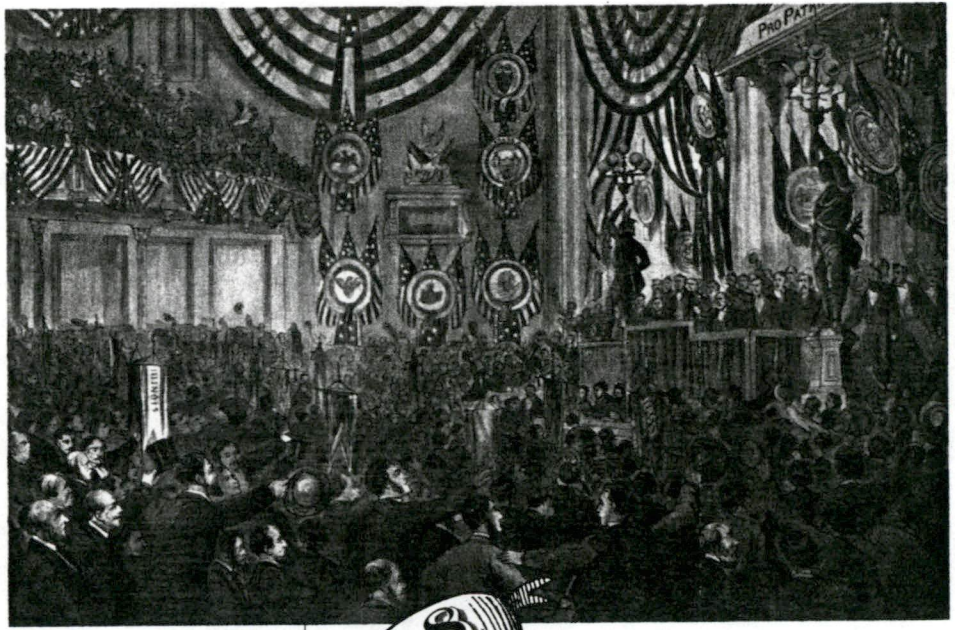


ABOVE AND RIGHT: A TOKEN AND POSTER PROMOTING THE 1868 TICKET, HORATIO SEYMOUR AND FRANK P. BLAIR JR.

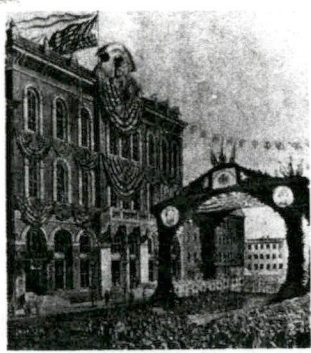


A BALLOT FOR THE SEYMOUR-BLAIR TICKET.

TAMMANY HALL, ON 14TH STREET, WAS THE SITE OF THE CONVENTION.



THE 1868 CONVENTION IN ACTION.



On July 4, 1868, all 37 states were represented when the Democrats united for their first convention since Reconstruction. The weather, wrote Supreme Court Chief Justice and early contender Salmon P. Chase, "was as hot as weather can well be. Too hot for the warm work on hand here." Two months before, in Chicago, the Republicans had nominated Ulysses S. Grant, but the Democrats had no clear-cut candidate. Ohio put the name of ex-New York governor Horatio Seymour on the twenty-second ballot. "Gentlemen," began Seymour, "I thank you, and may God bless you for your kindness to me; but your candidate I cannot be." At that point, Seymour's friends hustled him off the podium and out the door and drove him by carriage to the Manhattan Club, the city's Democratic club. The reluctant candidate had been nominated for president.

Photographs: (ballot and token), Paul Manangan; from the collection of Tony Lee; center, Granger Collection; bottom left, Brown Brothers.



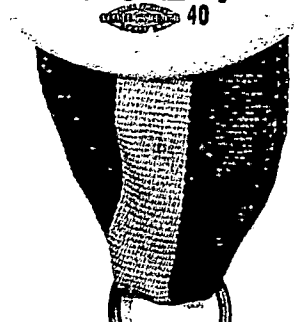
rs. Photograph by the Granger Collection.



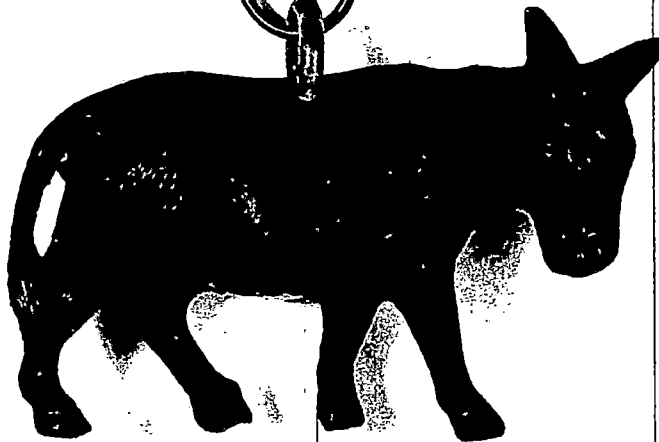
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION NEW YORK CITY 1924



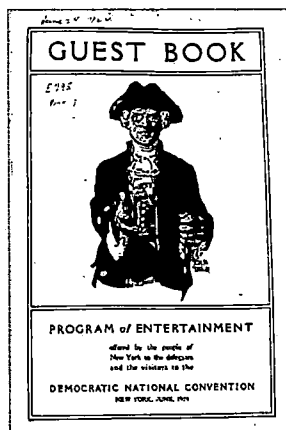
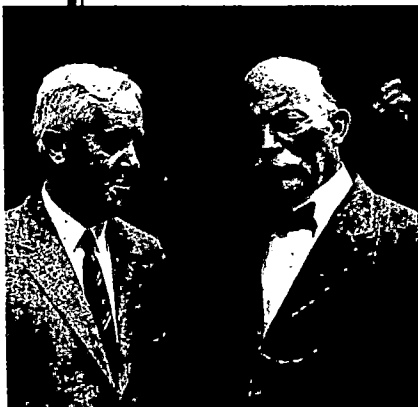
In 1924, George L. "Tex" Rickard, a sports promoter and the owner of Madison Square Garden, offered the Democrats free use of the Garden for "as long as the convention lasts." What followed was the longest, most acrimonious, and most expensive convention to date. At one point, William Randolph Hearst offered to pay the expenses of 100 out-of-town delegates, and asked other fat cats to do the same. The first to be carried in its entirety by radio, the convention of '24 lasted seventeen days. It took 103 ballots to nominate dark horse John Davis of West Virginia after the front-runners—New York governor Al Smith and lawyer William Gibbs McAdoo—stumbled.



BADGE OF HONOR.



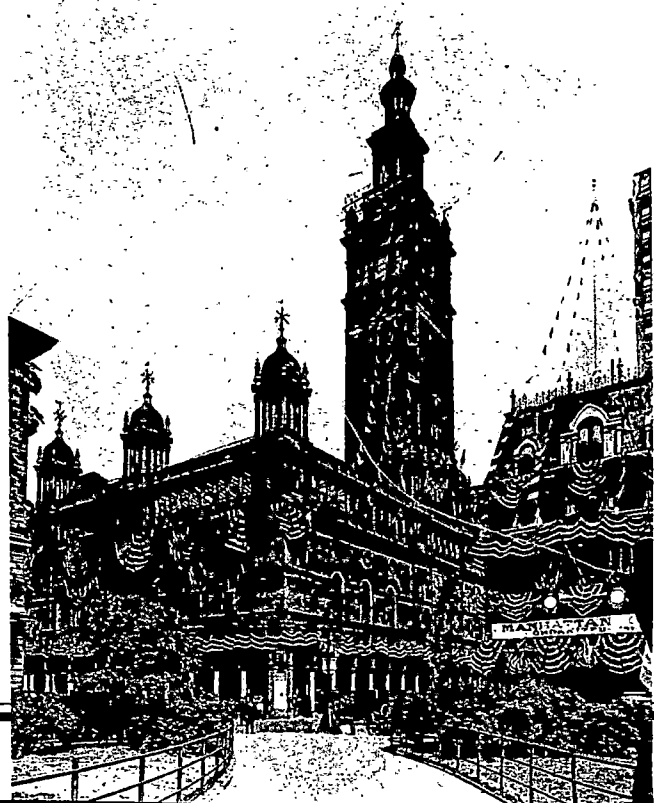
CANDIDATES JOHN DAVIS AND CHARLES BRYAN.



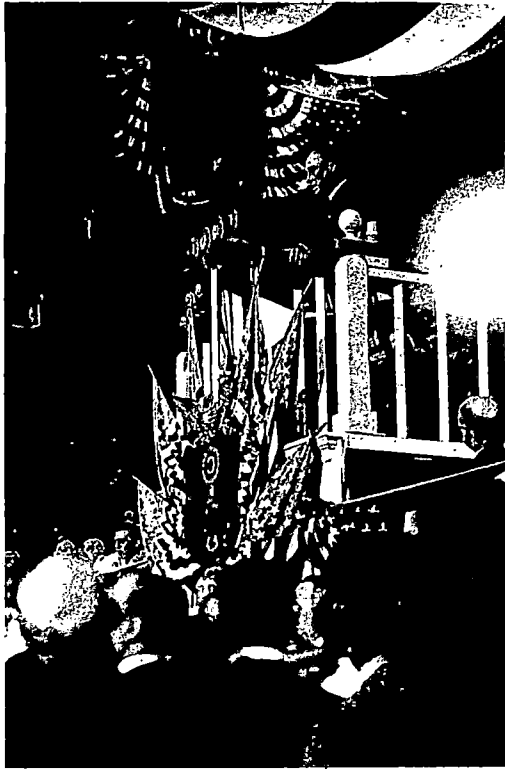
AMONG THE EVENTS WERE AN EVENING AT ABIE'S IRISH ROSE AND A LUNCH GIVEN BY ELEANOR ROOSEVELT.



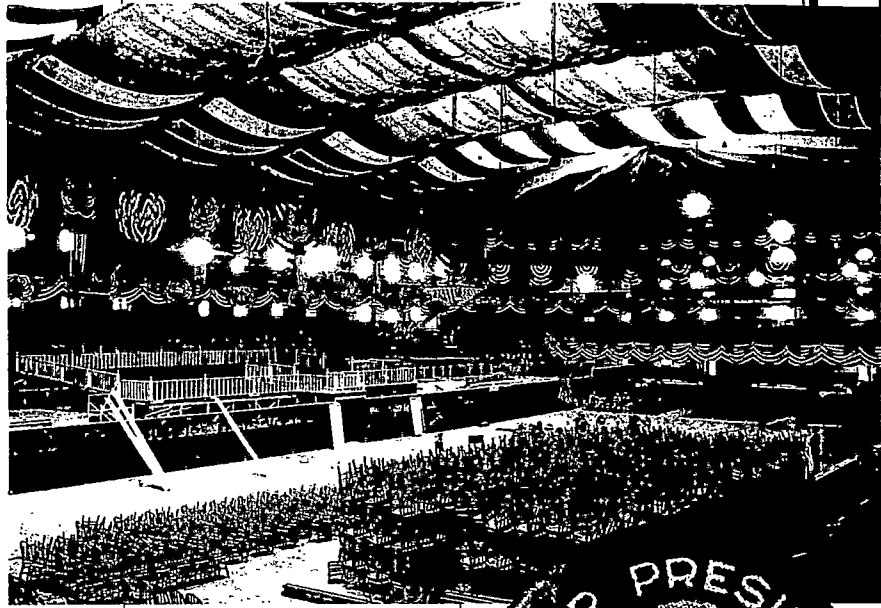
A PRESS TICKET, MADISON SQUARE GARDEN.



Photographs: (guest book & donkey), Paul Manangan from the exhibition *Purty Time: Presidential Campaigns Since 1832*, at the New York Historical Society; (press ticket) Paul Manangan; from the collection of Tony Lee; bottom left, UPI/Bettmann; bottom right, Brown Brothers

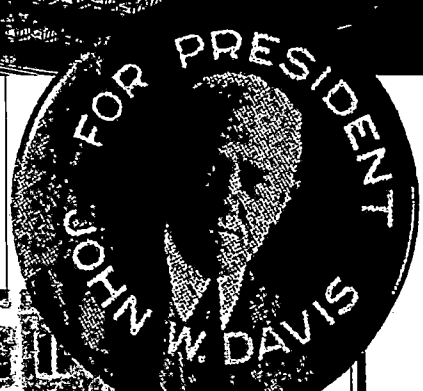


IN FDR'S NOMINATING SPEECH, HE CALLED NEW YORK GOVERNOR AL SMITH "THE HAPPY WARRIOR."



THE GARDEN WAITS FOR THE ACTION.

CROWDS OUTSIDE THE GARDEN LISTEN TO THE PROCEEDINGS OVER LOUSPEAKERS. RIGHT: THE BUTTON.



DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

1976-80



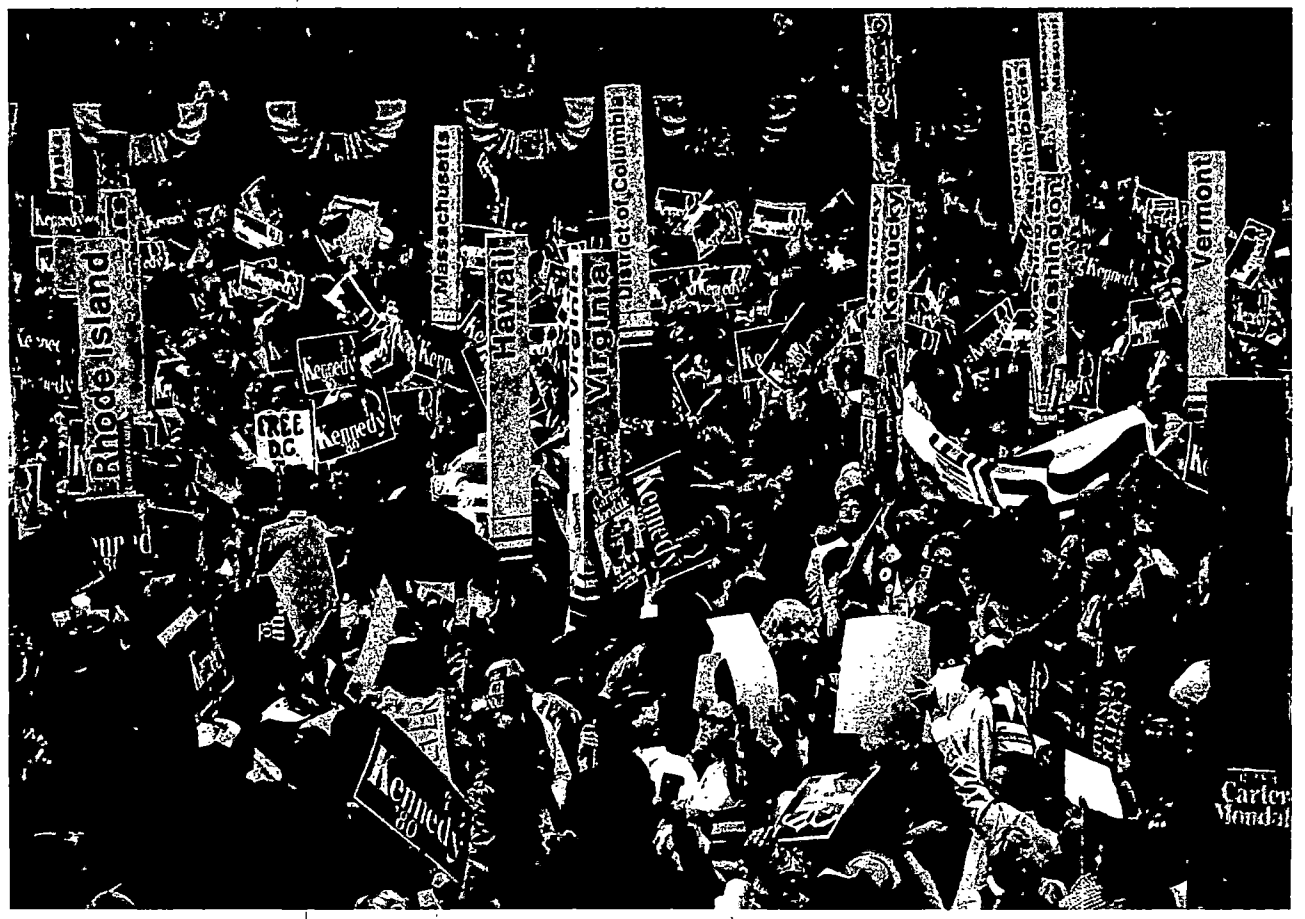
JIMMY AND FRITZ HEAD TICKET IN 1976, THE FIRST ELECTION AFTER WATERGATE.

Rocky won Best Picture, Annie made its debut on Broadway, Nixon was out, and a former peanut farmer from Georgia convinced the country that he meant business when he said that it was time "for people to run the government and not the other way around." On July 14, 1976, a newly united and upbeat Democratic Party rallied around Jimmy Carter at Madison Square Garden—the first time the Democrats had held their convention in New York for 52 years. Four years later, Carter went into the convention—again in New York—with the lowest approval rating of any president in history (22 percent), including Richard Nixon during Watergate. A defiant Ted Kennedy tried until the bitter end to wrest control of the nomination, bringing down the house with a speech in which he said, "The work goes on, the cause endures, the hope still lives, and the dream shall never die." Carter's speech, in which he referred to Hubert Humphrey as Hubert Horatio Hornblower, merely brought down the mood.

CARTER AS THE SAVIOR.



INSIDE THE CONVENTION, 1980.



Photographs: top left, Paul Managan; pin courtesy of Darrow's Fun Antiques; top right, Eve Arnold/Magnum; bottom, Philip Jones Griffiths/Magnum.

Photographs: top left, Burt Glimm/Magnum; top center, Paul Manangan; pin courtesy of Darrow's Fun Antiques; top right, Philippot/Goldberg/Sygma; center left, bottom left, Paul Manangan; from the exhibition *Party Time: Presidential Campaigns Since 1832*, at the New-York Historical Society; bottom center, bottom right, Owen Franken/Sygma.



CARTER ADDRESSING THE CONVENTION IN 1976.



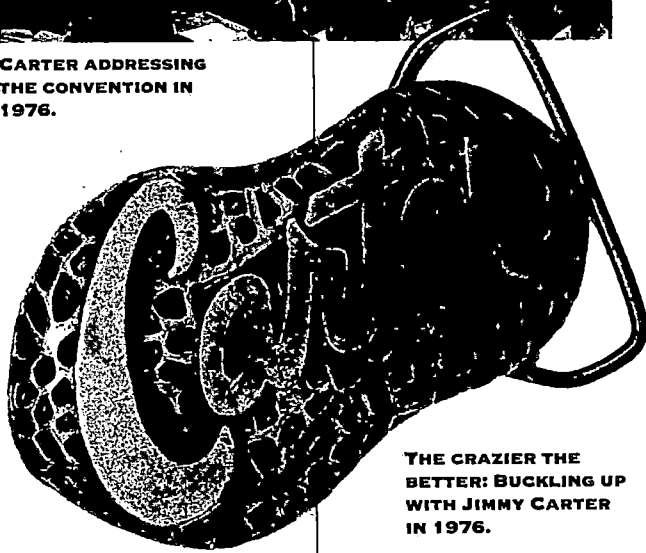
THE SECOND TIME AROUND, 1980.



AN AFROED JESSE JACKSON AND DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CHAIRMAN LARRY O'BRIEN.



CARTER'S LAST GASP.



THE CRAZIER THE BETTER: BUCKLING UP WITH JIMMY CARTER IN 1976.

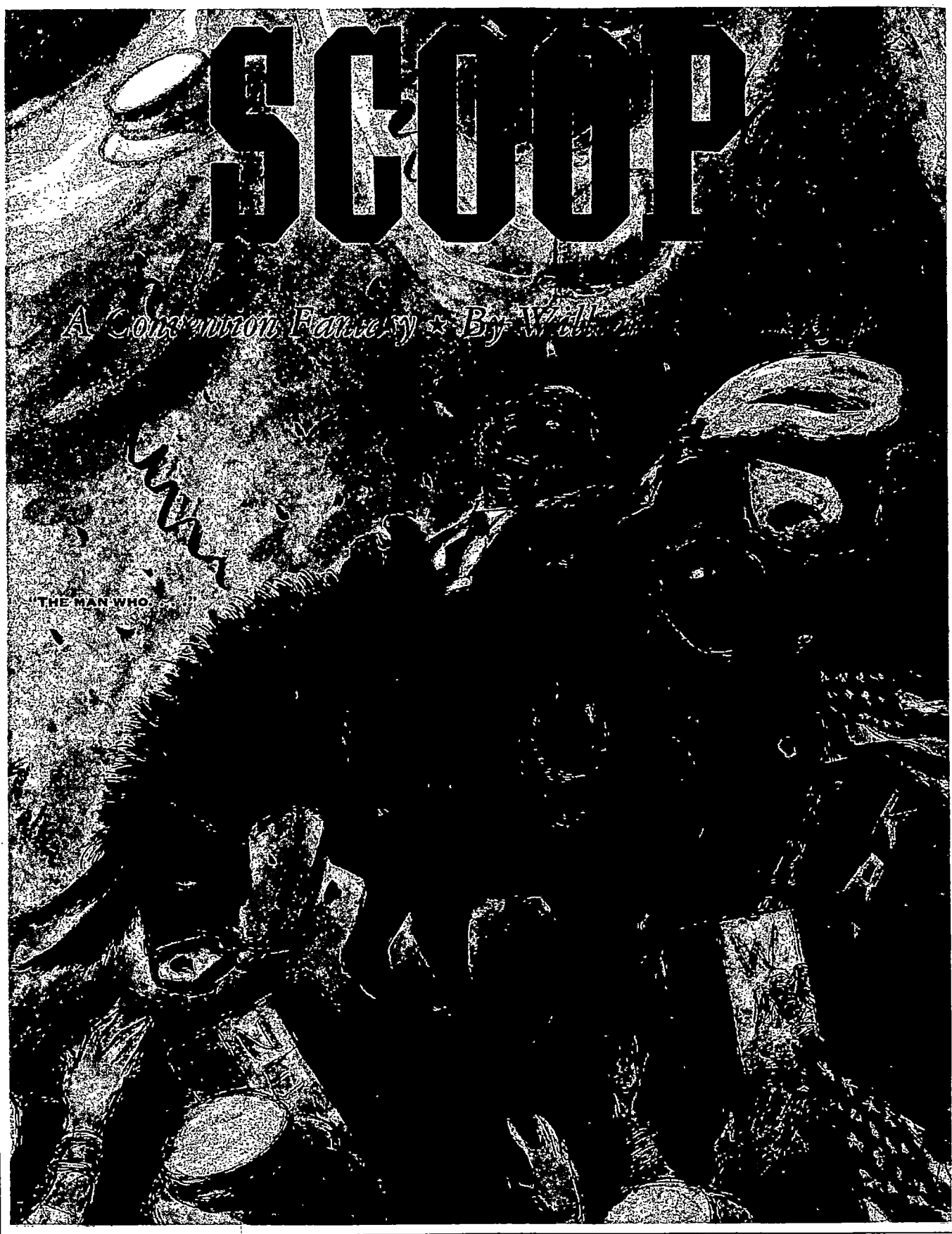


POLITICAL MEMORABILIA INCLUDED THIS POCKET KNIFE.



TEDDY ON HIS OWN IN 1980.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION



SCOOP

A Convention Fantasy * *By Wallace*

THE MAN WHO

L

IZ, MY FRIEND, WANTED TO HEAR IT ALL—FROM the beginning.

"I can't reconstruct the political thing, I mean, note by note," I told her. "For one thing, it happened too fast. And people aren't talking. The pros are still waiting for the second-depth reactions. I cornered the Big Man about it yesterday."

Strauss: "Never pay any attention to the immediate polls. They are an accumulation of authentic and synthetic emotions."

Me: "Whaddayamean, a combination, they're one or the other, no?"

Him: "When you live as long as I have, and assuming you're as bright as I am, which I don't assume, you will recognize that a lot of people report the reaction to an event that they *think* they ought to have; a lot of people were delighted JFK was removed from the scene, but they wouldn't say so to a pollster. Others report exactly what they feel, which is sometimes indignation that the story didn't turn out as predicted, so they report they don't like it—even though the guy who got in suited them a lot better. The trick is to wait three, four weeks. Then they'll report their true feelings."

"Which will be?"

"Bob Strauss smiled at me. His made-in-Texas you-poor-dumb-turd smile. Not unkind, just realistic, because Bob thinks most people really are poor dumb turds compared to himself, and in a way, they are. I mean, we are.

"I had the sense that something had to happen when the poll came out on Monday. I mean, here we all were at Madison Square Garden to introduce the quote next president of the United States unquote, and damn if we didn't feel as though we were the Vegetarian Convention, or the Libertarians or what have you, using language like that. The poll showed Bush could be beaten, but there was a real question whether Clinton could do it. His negatives remained stubbornly high and people still didn't know who he was beyond the questions of adultery and draft evasion.

"All Monday, when the reports from the platform committee were flowing in, and the credentials were being examined and approved, and all that stuff was going on with the junior orators, waiting for Big Mario at 9 P.M., we were everywhere, trying to find out what the delegates were thinking, talking about. The answer to that was: They were talking about everything. I liked the guy from Nevada who suggested we adjourn without naming a candidate, on the grounds that America had lost its head and we, as the oldest political party in the United States, were not going to participate in the general shambles. The head of the Nevada delegation, dry-type, never cracks a smile when he talks, said maybe we should change the platform and come out for 50 billion dollars to teach elementary civics to Republicans and Independents, the trouble being that that would probably mount up to 90 percent of all Americans. A few of us laughed, but then we'd have laughed at anything at that point.

"Somehow, along about cocktail time, the feeling began to spread. That g-o-o-d feeling, like when the doc comes in and says the test is negative and suddenly you think it's time for a dry martini:

M

ARIO WOULD SAVE US! HE WOULD GIVE a speech comparing Bill Clinton—how does it go? Comparing Bill Clinton to the rising sun, the aurora borealis, and the Milky Way. Something like that. And toward the end of the speech he would say: 'And although as you know I have time after time resisted your generous gestures to ask me to compete for higher office, and always I've said, No, I've got enough to do

here back home, tending to my little acre, I have been persuaded to take part in the greatest Democratic crusade in history, and so—if you approve of it—I have told Bill Clinton that I will join his ticket as vice-president.' Everybody had another martini as that idea got passed around, and when the Great Mario got up, the cheers lasted eleven minutes, before they let him talk.

"And then. . . ."

"And then what?" Liz said. "Goddamn it, you know I've been cloistered here until you picked me up ten minutes ago."

"Well, we sat there spellbound. I mean, we thought we were spellbound, because we talked ourselves into it. But one minute . . . two minutes . . . three minutes. . . ."

"Three minutes and he hadn't opened his mouth?"

"Three minutes never passes when Mario doesn't open his mouth. No, he was talking during those three minutes. He was talking, all right. But he hadn't mentioned the word *Clinton*. Four minutes. TEN MINUTES.

"That was when we knew. Mario Cuomo was making it official. Bill Clinton was—officially vaporized. That's Orwell, means No Trace Left, Gone, Kaput, Never Existed."

"I have read 1984."

"1984 was Disneyland compared to 1992."

"So, did Mario nominate himself?"

N

OT QUITE. HE GAVE US SOME OF HIS HEAVY, eloquent *Tobacco Road* rhetoric, sounds like Mahler's Second, real good, lumbering, heavy-moving stuff, and we all thought maybe that would lead to his offering himself up.

"But no, it didn't. It just became sort of—spiritual, lots of angels, and heavenly choirs, and looking up, and the guy sitting

That's when we knew Mario Cuomo was making it official. Bill Clinton was—officially vaporized. No Trace Left, Gone.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

next to you, I swear it, was Thomas Jefferson, and you could see, off in the corner, Abraham Lincoln—that kind of thing. . . . Then he stopped talking. There wasn't a whisper. He walked gravely, head bowed, to the corner of the stage. The undertaker facing a very sad duty."

"No sound?"

"By the time Cuomo reached the end of the room, we could hear it beginning. The Arkansas delegation. First a little hiss. Then a boo. Then a great big sustained boo. But the creepy thing about it was that the boos, though they were picked up here and there, didn't become one great democratic communal boo. I put it in my dispatch: 'Manifestly, the delegates were divided in their reaction to the governor's startling speech.'"

"So—get on with it. So then what?"

"So, that's when we got the word. That Bob Strauss had called a meeting. My scoop was getting hold of a list of the people who were invited. Ron Brown—sure, he was there. But not one of the candidates who saw the race through. I mean, obviously not Clinton, and not Jerry Brown, not Tsongas; not even Gephardt or Gore. Mitchell, Foley, yes. The meeting was held at the Cloisters, beyond Grant's Tomb, with maybe 300 security guards keeping away—"

"People like you?"

"Yes, people like me."

"What did you do?"

"I was lucky. I had 5,000 bucks in my pocket. It had been set up with the assignment editor. It was designed for a guy on Cuomo's staff, who was going to freeze the elevator when just Cuomo and I were in it—I'd rush out in a waiter's uniform into the elevator that ran right to the governor's suite. Anyway, obviously that didn't go through, so I passed the swag to a guard, who undressed in the bushes and gave me his uniform, and that's how come I was the first in the business to get the scoop. And by the way, you can call me Mr. Pulitzer Prize Winner of 1993 if you like."

"I don't like. You keep interrupting yourself. What did you hear through the men's-room door you mentioned on the phone?"

"Once in the uniform, I stationed myself by that door. Bob Strauss was completely in command. Nobody else felt like fighting, not after what Mario had done. There wasn't any way they could just undo Mario. And Bob was the only guy there with an idea, and he just said it, just said it plain. What really clinched it was when he said that he had waiting outside Tom Luce, right-hand man to H. Ross Perot, and that Perot was willing to talk."

D ID HE GO OVER THE . . . WELL, THE MECHANICS of the thing?"

"Oh, sure. But they all knew that side of it sort of as a technicality, like where in the airplane do you go to jump out when you land on the water. Bob reminded them, just the same. His voice became like the recorded voice on trains and buses that tells you where you are and what the next stop is. . . 'As you all know, under the bylaws of the Democratic



CLINTON HAD TOO MANY NEGATIVES.

real, well—nothing I'd call *resistance*. What happened that morning, the poll on Clinton, and that evening, the speech by Cuomo, meant that certain things were excluded, and one of them was the nomination of the man who had won the majority of the delegates and was so weak nationally the keynote speaker couldn't even mention his name."

"How long did it take?"

"It seemed to take a very long time, and of course my problem was: Just when do I hotfoot it out and use my cellular phone to CNN? I couldn't count on getting back in if I went out and did it now. I thought of going into a toilet and giving out my first bulletin in a whisper, but then I figured the press would start dropping parachutists on the goddamned place and there'd be no way I could get the follow-up—"

"So you just stayed there, dumb-like in uniform at the door that led to the men's room?"

"Bob then said, 'I know Ross Perot. Known him a long, long tahn. An'

there's no use in askin' him to come along unless we're ready to offer him the nomination, so what I propose to do, gentlemen—and ladies!—is to ask you to raise your hand if you want me to offer the Democratic nomination for president to H. Ross Perot tonight, right now, through Tom Luce waitin' outside.'

"Oddly, there was no conversation. Maybe just a muted whisper or two. Eyes were looking around, here, there, everywhere. Bob Strauss just stayed standing, didn't say anything. Finally, he figured where the eyes mostly rested. So he cleared his throat and said, 'We'll hear fust from Tom Foley. Tom?'"

"Slowly, Tom Foley raised his hand. The others then came up one at a time. At first, you could count them, one by one. Then suddenly everyone's hand went up. I turned up the faucets on two of the washbasins to distract attention and hauled my ass out of there."

"Ah propose that we submit the name of H. Ross Perot as the Democratic nominee," Bob Strauss told the meeting.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Party, at any time before 6 P.M. on Tuesday, the second day of the convention, which means—Strauss looked at his watch, dramatic little gesture—'exactly eighteen hours from now, 300 delegates can send the name of any candidate to the floor.' Strauss went back to his normal tone of voice. 'There are more than 300 delegates directly under the direction of the gentlemen, an' ladies'—Strauss bowed to Pat Schroeder—in the room. Ah propose, gentlemen, that we submit the name of H. Ross Perot as the Democratic nominee for president.'

"Well, you can imagine the reaction. But there wasn't any

C NN INTERRUPTED AT 2:48 A.M. to say that the Democratic pols gathered together by Bob Strauss and including the congressional leaders had agreed to offer the nomination to H. Ross Perot. News that H. Ross Perot had accepted the nomination didn't break until 7 A.M. What I *don't* know is when exactly Strauss-Luce-Perot-Luce-Strauss had done their bit. But

both Strauss and Perot know the value of a megaton newsbreak, and they wouldn't likely give that out at three in the morning. That meant keeping 25 people in the Cloisters all night, but it's a big place, and everyone was made pretty comfortable, agreeing not to leave until seven. Funny what people will do if they are told their doing it will make history.

"What I don't know is exactly when they got Perot's answer."

"We'll know that pretty soon."

"Yep. One of them will talk, probably today, tomorrow, maybe even before Perot gives his acceptance speech tonight." ■

Presidential Remarks
Bush-Quayle Rally
Provo, Utah
18 July 1992
Draft

Good morning everybody. It's great to be out West ... and ^{to visit} ~~be~~
~~able to pay a visit to~~ this outstanding university ... ^{and be here}
where the Cougars have devoured so many victims.

"The West is where we all go someday ... a famous writer once wrote. "It's where we go when we hear there is 'gold in them thar hills.' Where we go to grow with the country. Where we chase our young dreams ... or spend our old age."

And today I can add ... with complete authority ... that the West also isn't all that bad a place to be ... when your personality is being pummelled ... your character questioned ... and your administration verbally assassinated ... ~~4,000~~ ^{2,000} miles away.

I spent the past couple days away from a television set ... up in Wyoming trout fishing with Secretary of State Jim Baker ... and our ~~two~~ ^{sons, Jamie and Jeb.}

But I am aware that something else was going on in America this week. Something real important.

This is the week when all across America ... crowds of panting, sweating people overran their neighborhood video stores. From Tallahassee to Tempe ... Americans turned on their TV and decided they'd rather rent "Action Jackson" than listen to: Well, never mind.

Now ... please don't get the idea this is some kind of partisan attack. Stop by Rich's Video down on Freedom Boulevard ... and I'm sure Rich'll tell it to you straight. Sales aren't all that bad during the Republican Convention either.

I know you have a lot on your minds beside politics. And I hate to poison the air with partisan talk. But let me just respond just a little to what went on in Manhattan.

If you're one of those who prefer video renting to politicians venting ... I'll put it simple. You can sum up all you need to know about the Manhattan meeting with the title of a 1965 Cliff Robertson comedy: "Masquerade."

From what I heard about the convention ... I wonder if the Democrats are donning a disguise.

They're saying the right things. Pride in America's strength. Support for entrepreneurs. ~~Belief in God~~. Respect for law and order.

In fact ... if it weren't for the \$9,000 stuffed ponies at the toy store on the corner ... and the bullet proof vests being sold on street corners ... you could close your eyes and think they were at this "home above the range" in Provo ... not the "home of the hockey Rangers" in New York City.

But you know ... I couldn't help but wonder ... do they really mean what they say? Or is this new costume something the Democrats plan on discarding ... maybe sometime right after Halloween?

Think about it. If they celebrate the end of the Cold War ... how come they never supported the strength that won it?

If they claim to be buddies with business people ... how come they want to load 'em down with new taxes?

If they are really the party of new ideas and open ears ... why not allow just one speaker to talk about the rights of the unborn?

And if they start their convention with a prayer ... how come you can read all 10,000 words in their party platform ... and never run across three simple letters: G-O-D.

Now ... don't take my word that the Democrats may not be what they appear to be. I'm a little biased.

Listen instead ... to a party elder. A guy named McGovern. First name George. He called this year's Democratic Party ... a Trojan Horse."

He said ... and I quote ... "they're much more liberal underneath ... and will prove it when they're elected."

X I ~~ve~~ know I've never said this publicly. But that McGovern. He's an incredibly insightful man!

Now ... let me be straight with you. This election isn't going to be decided on what we say about the other side ... or what they say about us ... for that matter.

What matters ... is what we have to offer the American people.

My view of America is a little different than what you may have heard this week. I'd like to explain it.

I know at ~~BYM~~ you like to say ... that the world for your camp etc. ~~We've seen incredible changes around the world the past four years.~~ Because of our leadership ... because of your sacrifice and commitment ... millions of people breath free today.

Let me say ... that camp etc has been through incredible change in few years.

That poses challenges ... and opportunities.

The question is this ... can we compete ... now that so many other nations are playing our game?

We need to understand something. If we can ^{with this} compete ^{on} ... and we will ... ~~as~~ victors we will ~~enjoy~~ bigger ~~and better~~ spoils than ever before in human history. ^{go}

^{Today...} ~~There are~~ ^{to the} more ^{more} people ^{are} eager for the fruit of our labors.

That means more jobs ... more prosperity for our kids ... and their kids.

Now ... that's the opportunity I see today. But how do we take advantage of it?

Our first priority ... is to create and protect ~~our~~ jobs.

Listening to Madison Square Garden this week ... you probably got the impression that our economy was second rate ... second class.

But keep in mind a few facts.

We are still the world's largest and most vibrant economy.
Second to no one.

We've tamed inflation ... interest rates are at a 20-year-low.

Our factories produce a higher percentage of the world's manufactured goods than we did 20 years ago.

What a Japanese worker can produce in five days ... and ~~an~~ American can make in four.

We have emerged as the world's export champion.

Last year ... the Japanese government asked who leads the world in 143 critical technology industries. Japanese firms led in 33. America in 43.

And I wouldn't be suprised to learn ... if that the report was put together on Wordperfect software ... made right here in Provo.

Our economy is growing today. But it has to grow faster.

Too many people have worked for a company for twenty years ... only to fear that the next mail run will bring a pink slip. And many of you young people are saving your way through Brigham Young ... you deserve to be able to find a job on graduation day.

I used to run a business ... meet a payroll. I learned the only way that government can create jobs ... is to support the people who create jobs.

This is the creed Governor Norm Bangerter follows. He understands that the only surefire way to give people unlimited dreams ... is by limiting the size of government.

We're going to bring some of Norm's attitude to Washington.

Like your Governor ... we need a line item veto ... and I'm going to get it.

Like your Governor ... we need a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution ... and I'm going to get it.

And despite 31 vetoes in three years ... cutting ~~20~~⁵ billion in proposed Congressional spending ... we need even more discipline on the Potomac.

Senator Jake Garn and Orrin Hatch occurred with

With the help of a new Congressman named Richard Harrington ... we're going to treat wasteful government spending the way Karl Malone will treat a European jump shot in Barcelona. We're going to swat it back into the front row!

Here's my second priority. A moral revolution in America.

Americans need to understand something you all know very well.

"No success can compensate for failure in the home."

David O. McKay said those words many years ago ... and they harken back to a different age in America.

Today we can fly from Paris to New York and arrive earlier than we left ... but do we too often leave behind the difference between right and wrong?

We can explore a world beyond the stars ... but do we too often ignore a neighbor down the street?

We can turn natural ingredients into miracle medicines ... but why do we feel the need to turn every argument into a lawsuit?

America won't get better until we start suing each other less ... and ~~helping~~ ^{servicing} each other more.

We learn these values in the living room and around ^{the} kitchen table. But while families help keep our lives together ... government can help keep our families together.

By giving parents the freedom to choose their schools. By reforming welfare ... so that we reward work and families can stick together ... not fall apart.

Only then ... can our nation find it's way back to our foundation.

My third priority. Quite simple. Restore respect for the law.

Elderly women in this country ... watch the Berlin Wall fall on television ... but are afraid to walk to their neighborhood grocery store.

There are kids in our cities ... who hear of the Russians reducing nuclear weapons ... but then have to walk through a metal detector at school every morning.

What do you say to these Americans? You say enough is enough. Let's put an end to the lawlessness. Let's put an end to the illegal behavior.

These are my principles ... the things in which I believe. I hope you agree with them. *because I think they are the key to our future.*

As you know ... there is a hospital in this city ... where more babies are born than anyplace else in America. This is a young, dynamic place ... in many respects a crucible of America's future. *These of you in the ~~new~~ BYU summer school program ... are ~~going~~ here to be prepared to "go forth to serve". But you might be*

The question on your minds ... is one that's been asked ~~in~~ ~~America~~ for generations. Can I do better than my mom and dad? Will the dream still be alive for me and my kids!

Well ... I've been around for a couple years. If you'll excuse some advice from an elder ... I really do believe America's best days are ahead.

Yes ... we face challenges today ... but I've seen this nation climb much taller mountains.

If we can topple the Berlin Wall ... we can build a strong economy. If we can lift the iron curtain ... we can bring the curtain down on immorality and indifference. If we can help people walk free in Eastern Europe ... we can take back the streets of America.

This is our mission. Together we'll accomplish it.

God bless you and God bless America.

*wondering if
best
to where
America
is going
forth.*

Possible Lines for POTUS for July/August :30s

These lines envision GB in interview format, living room setting, leaning forward toward interviewer, speaking with passion.

America is still the greatest nation on earth, but we face some big problems. I know we can solve those problems by returning to the values that made us great. Promoting the family as the basic unit of society. Teaching respect for law and order and enforcing the law with speed and certainty. Promoting thrift among our citizens and making the government live within its means. That's what I believe.

I believe in three basic principles and I will use them to lead this nation. Number one, we won't have a healthy, growing economy until we balance the federal budget. Number two, government policies should encourage family values and provide incentives for families to come together and stay together. And number three, we are a nation of laws. Every citizen must respect the law and the President must enforce it. That's what I'll do, if the American people support these principles.

Government can't solve all our problems. You can trace this country's problems to the fact that some people have lost sight of their basic morality. There are absolute standards of right and wrong that we know and recognize in this country. Our children must be taught the difference in right and wrong and our adults must be held accountable if they don't respect the difference in right and wrong. I'm going to speak out for the basic moral code that unites us, whether certain cultural elites like it or not.

When I say I believe in family values I don't just mean that candidates should travel with their children. I mean that children should have the right to pray in their public school. That parents should have the right to choose what school their children attend. That government policy should discourage single mothers from having more children, not encourage it. And, yes, that parents have a right to know if their teenaged daughter decides to have an abortion.

Let's face the facts. You and I both know, and the American people know, that this recession and all our economic problems are caused by the federal government spending too much money and running a deficit. We will have a healthy, growing economy over a long period again only when the federal government balances its budget. I'd like to have Congress'

help in balancing the budget. But, I will cut federal spending. I will reduce this deficit. With or without their help.

I have said from the very beginning that we will only have a growing economy when the federal government stops spending more than it takes in. Congress disagrees. I've compromised with them--at great political cost to myself--I've cajoled them and I've confronted them. But, the spending keeps right on growing. No more. I'm using my veto to cut federal spending and to do it right now. That's what I believe in and that's what I'm going to do.

You know, you can trace a lot of our social problems directly to the vicious cycle of welfare dependency we have created in this country. I have strong views about changing that system and we're doing it right now. My welfare plan is based on family values. We will give families the incentive to stay together. Fathers will be financially responsible for their children. I will cut welfare benefits for single mothers who have more children. Everyone on welfare will receive mandatory job training, then we'll get them a mandatory job. From now on, welfare is a temporary helping hand. Not a permanent way of life.

You watched the riots in Los Angeles with the same horror that I did. Who was responsible? The individual criminals who did the killing and burning. A generation in our cities has grown up without being taught respect for law and order, the difference in right and wrong. Well, now we're going to teach them. The Civilian Training Corps will teach them the difference, teach them to respect the law, and give them the discipline and work ethic needed to succeed in life. That's my program, based on my basic belief in traditional American values.

fraud. Every one of those things happen with the system that we have in place right now. And then we wonder, why can't folks on welfare take control of their lives? Where's their sense of responsibility?

Well, if we had set out to devise a system that would perpetuate dependency, a system that would strip away dignity and personal responsibility, I guess we could hardly have done better than the system that exists today. Every American knows that it is time for a fresh approach, a radical change in the way we look at welfare and the inner city economy.

Every hour of meetings yesterday—and they were, for me, very emotional, very moving—confirmed why I believe in the plan that we have proposed for urban America. I kept hearing words like ownership, independence, dignity, enterprise, a lot of time from people who have never had a shot at dignity or enterprise or ownership. And it reinforced my belief that we must start with a set of principles and policies that foster personal responsibility, that refocus entitlement programs to serve those who are most needy, and increase the effectiveness of Government service through competition and true choice.

I believe in keeping power closer to the people, using States as laboratories for innovation. We cannot figure it all out back in Washington, DC, in some subcommittee or in the White House. And I believe in policies that encourage entrepreneurship, increase investment, create jobs.

And these form the heart of the agenda for economic opportunity that I want to mention here. Families can't thrive, children can't learn, jobs can't flourish in a climate of fear, however. And so first is our responsibility to preserve the domestic order. And a civilized society cannot tackle any of the really tough problems in the midst of chaos. And you know and I know it's just that simple. Violence and brutality destroy order, destroy the rule of law. And violence must never be rationalized. Violence must always be condemned.

We can reclaim our crime-ravaged neighborhoods through a new initiative that we call "Weed and Seed." And today I'm announcing a \$19-million "Weed and Seed" operation for the city of Los Angeles to weed out the

drug dealers and career criminals and then seed those neighborhoods with expanded educational employment and social services. With safe and secure neighborhoods we can spark an economic revival in urban America.

And so, the second part of the agenda is to ask Congress to take action on enterprise zones. With a zero capital gains rate—create these zones with a zero capital gains rate for entrepreneurs and investors who locate businesses and create jobs right here in America's inner cities.

And yes, I recognize that at the same time, we must help States bring innovation to the welfare systems. And at the Federal level, we've got to reform our own AFDC rules, stop penalizing people who want to work and save. These are the people who are mustering the individual initiative to get off welfare. And we've got to pledge ourselves to, at the Federal level, change the rules that keep them from doing just that.

Three: safe, drug-free schools are places where our children can learn, but that's not enough. We've got to revolutionize our schools through community action, through competition, through innovation, through choice: principles at the heart of the strategy that we call America 2000. We must give children, these kids, these kids right here, the same opportunity as kids out in the suburbs.

And the fourth point: we must promote new hope through homeownership. People want a real stake, a real stake in their community, something of value that they can pass along to their kids. And that's what this HOPE initiative does. It turns public housing tenants into homeowners.

Now, these are just the highlight of an action agenda to bring hope and opportunity back to our inner cities. We have other ideas to try as well. Many in this room have innovative ideas they're trying right now.

My first order of business upon my return to Washington will be to build a bipartisan effort in support of immediate action on this agenda. And I know some will say, well, you've proposed all this before, and that's true, they're right. And I'm proposing it again. Because really we must try something new. We've got to try something new. It does not take a social scientist to know that we

must think differently. We've tried the old ways of thinking. And now, as Lincoln says, "It is time to think anew."

And our approach is really a radical break from the policies of the past. It's new. Yes, it's new because it's never been tried before. And for the sake of the people of South Central, and the people in America's inner cities everywhere, I will work with the Congress to act now on this commonsense agenda.

You've been through an awful lot. You've been through an awful lot. And when I saw the verdict in the King case my reaction was the same as yours; I told the Nation that. But I remain confident in our system of justice. And when I saw the violence and rage erupt in your streets my reaction was the same as yours. We all knew we had to restore order. And when I saw and read about the heroic acts of firefighters and police or the selfless acts of so many citizens, my reaction was one of relief, one of hope for the future.

This morning I stopped by the hospital, Cedar, to see a young fireman who had been wantonly shot in the head as he was driving a fire truck to go out and put out fires that were ravaging somebody's neighborhood, maybe yours. The man's fighting for his life. And I think when we all go home we ought to pray for him.

In the very short time that I've been out here I could sense that the real anguish in south central L.A. is a parent's concern about the kids, neighbors' concerns about the kids. And people are worried sick about the children. All must agree that whatever we do must be about the children. These kids are our future. And our actions in the wake of the tragedy are for them, not just here in Los Angeles. This is showcased now because of what you've been through, but it's all across the country.

And so for these remarks I've mentioned what Government can do. And now let me talk just a little about what society must do. And yes, we have tried hard, spent a lot of money and haven't solved the problems. And some critics say that we are a morally, spiritually, and intellectually bankrupt nation. I don't believe that for one single minute. And, yes, we have problems. We have tough problems to solve. But we remain the freest and

the fairest and the most just and the most decent country on the face of the entire Earth. And we now—I know that we have the drive and the gumption to prevail over these problems we face.

Tom Bradley, your Mayor, was among a group of mayors who came to see me last January. He and I may differ on how we approach one Federal program or another. But I've repeated often what he and others said to me that day. They said that the most important problem facing our cities is the dissolution, the decline of the American family. And they're absolutely right. He was right; a mayor from a tiny town in North Carolina, he was right. The decline of the family is something we must be concerned about. And history tells us that society cannot succeed without some fundamental building blocks in place.

The state of our Nation is the state of our communities. And good communities are safe and decent. And the young people are cared for and they're instilled with character and values and good habits for life. Good communities have good schools. And they provide opportunity and hope, rooted in the dignity of work and reward for achievement.

And that's why guaranteeing a hopeful future for the children of our cities is about a lot more than rebuilding burned-out buildings. It's about the love right here under this roof. It's about building a new American community. It's about rebuilding bonds between individuals and among ethnic groups and among races. And we must not let our diversity destroy us. It is central, you see, it is central to our strength as a nation.

Our ability to live and work together has really made America the inspiration to the entire world. Across this country tens of thousands of groups, hundreds of thousands of individuals who have never been involved before, who will never be paid one single nickel for their efforts, must become partners in solving our most serious social problems.

The people right here in this room know exactly what I'm talking about. An officer in the LAPD who's a board chairman right here, I believe, in this organization, giving of his time, he knows what I'm talking about. Government alone cannot create the scale

administration waged a fight in Congress over this very issue, and we won. We kept choice of child care out of the hands of Government and put it where it belongs, in the hands of parents.

And now we're engaged in a similar fight over whether parents should have the right to choose their children's schools. We know the benefits of competition; it is the linchpin of American prosperity. And competition among schools will be the linchpin of education excellence, too. From Minnesota to Milwaukee to east Harlem, school choice works.

But you see, it's important for other reasons: It restores authority and responsibility to parents. And just as it makes our schools accountable, it also makes parents accountable for the decisions they make. Not only in child care and school choice but in other areas as well, a key to healing the American family will be restoring parental authority and accountability.

Another example, the initiative that we call HOPE, H-O-P-E. It took more than a year to get that program through Congress and another year to get even partial funding for it. But HOPE will be crucial to our success by offering low-income families a greater opportunity to own their own homes. HOPE is based on a simple principle: To survive, people need the intangible values of dignity and self-respect. Government can't provide those, but homeownership can, an education can, a job can, and being part of a family can.

The Federal Government has a positive role in preserving the family, and we welcome that role. It's guided the decisions that we make every single day. Since 1989, for example, we have more than doubled the funding for the program that I bet everybody in this room supports, Head Start, a program that brings children and parents into the classroom, strengthens family ties and reinforces parental responsibility. For the first time in the program's history, we can support now Head Start for all eligible 4-year-old children whose parents choose to have them participate.

There are many other examples. We've increased the earned income tax credit for low-income families. And since '89, we've in-

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creased the funding for WIC, the supplementary food program for women, infants, and children, by 47 percent to \$2.8 billion next year. We've increased other nutritional programs by similar percentages. And this year Federal support for childhood immunization grants will top \$340 million, an increase of 18 percent over last year's level. So all told, funding for children's programs, from nutrition and education to foster care and child immunization, has increased 66 percent since we took office.

But look, we will never measure, and I think you all would be the first to agree with this, we would never measure our compassion simply in dollars spent. We will measure it by results. The test will be the health and happiness of our children and, most important of all, their sense of well-being and self-reliance instilled by our families. Our administration has targeted funding to programs that efficiently fulfill Government's role in supporting families and keeping them together, programs that work for the family.

Yet, at the same time, we must face another fact. Government can sometimes be a burden as well as a boon. Over the past 40 years, the child tax exemption has lagged far behind the soaring costs of childrearing. And I have asked Congress to increase the exemption by \$500 per child. For a family with four children that's an increase of \$2000. And it's a crucial first step toward redressing the imbalance, and it's what we can afford to do right now.

And now I come to perhaps the most crucial matter of all. One that concerns you all. We must reform our Nation's welfare system. Americans are the most generous people on Earth, but they want to see, and they are entitled to see, some relationship between welfare and work. Welfare must never be what Franklin Delano Roosevelt warned it might become, "a subtle destroyer of the spirit." It is meant to be a way of life or a family legacy passed from one generation to the next. Welfare can eat away at the ties that bind a family together.

And State and local governments are undertaking the brave work of reform: Learnfare in Wisconsin; REACH, Realizing Economic Achievement in New Jersey; Washington State's FIP, Family Independ-

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ence Program. These are all demonstration projects that we support. And my administration is committed to reform, and we are acting now on waivers, to loosen up on waivers, to waive unnecessary redtape that impedes reform.

There's no hidden agenda here. This administration, the mayors, the State leaders who press for drastic reform of welfare aren't modern-day Scrooges chiseling one more dime out of some poor family. Democrat or Republican, California, New Jersey, Federal or State: In our heart of hearts, we really believe reforming the welfare system is the best way to serve people. Break this sorry cycle of despair. Give people real hope. And we're going to keep on trying to do just that because every single American deserves to believe in the American dream.

Today with family as the center I've highlighted the role of government, both positive and negative, because we're men and women of government. But let's never forget the work of private Americans dedicating themselves to the voluntary service of others, who create an environment where families can flourish. Each is a Point of Light, offering service with no thought of reward, though the reward will be reaped by every single American.

And let me be very clear. When I talk about Points of Light, they are not a substitute for the good that government can do, but it's more this: We will simply not solve our most pressing problems without the dedication of those Points of Light, of those volunteers. And I urge all of you, when you return to your cities, to do all in your power to encourage these caring men and women, to make yours a community of light.

In my State of the Union Address, I announced that we would soon institute a Commission on America's Urban Families. Your executive board or directors or whatever group it was—I've never been sure with whom I was dealing, but they were all big shots, believe me—[laughter]—came together. And their work will be one result of my meetings in January with some of your leaders.

And I have asked Governor Ashcroft of Missouri, a very caring man, Annette Strauss, the former mayor of Dallas, a very able

woman who also cares deeply, to lead the Commission and fulfill its mandate: To identify those government programs, at all levels, that weaken or strengthen urban families; to analyze ways to improve private efforts to strengthen urban families; and to recommend new policies to help families in our cities.

I am convinced that we can correct our mistakes, that we can learn from our failures and build on our successes. I do not exaggerate when I say that the future of America depends on our efforts. The family is the irreducible unit of comfort and love. And from families radiate neighborhoods, from neighborhoods come towns and cities, and their health determines the health of our country, for better or for worse. And like you, I am committed to making our health whole and to ensuring that our cities, as Theodore Parker said, "remain the fireplaces of America, radiating warmth and light against the darkness."

Thank you all very much for giving me this opportunity to visit with you today. And may God bless our great country. Thank you so much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:36 a.m. at the Washington Hilton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Glenda E. Hood, president, and Donald J. Borut, executive director of the National League of Cities; and Wallace E. Stickney, Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

Letter to Congressional Leaders on Nuclear Cooperation With EURATOM March 9, 1992

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

The United States has been engaged in nuclear cooperation with the European Community for many years. This cooperation was initiated under agreements that were concluded over 3 decades ago between the United States and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) and that extend until December 31, 1995. Since the inception of this cooperation, the Community has

and energy needed to transform the lives of the people in need.

And I look around this auditorium and I am preaching to the choir because you're the ones that have your sleeves rolled up in your churches and in your communities, trying to help the other guy. In my conversations with the leaders of L.A.'s many communities, I heard over and over again that L.A. has many of the answers within itself.

I see our friend Bill Milliken here. He lives halfway across the country. There are four of his Cities in School programs, helping children learn here. And many members of a group called 100 Black Men, an inspirational group, they mentor, for those not familiar with it, they mentor to the kids, the boys in south central.

Now, if instead of 4, there were 25 Cities in School programs, and instead of 100, 10,000 black men working with boys, and so on with the hundreds of people in groups that work with the kids, there is no question that what happened last week wouldn't have been as bad. And so it only makes sense that a large part of our challenge is to dramatically expand in community after community the scale of what we already know works.

The phrase that I've repeated a lot and perhaps more than any other is worth repeating: From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others. And when we look to restoring a decent and hopeful future for our children, I mean this about every community.

First, every group and institution in America, schools, businesses, churches, certainly, must do its part. We must praise what works and share what works.

And secondly, all leaders, all leaders—must mobilize and inspire their people to take action.

And third, community centers must link those that care with those that are crying out for help.

And fourth, with respect, the media needs to show from time to time what's working, needs to cover what is working. And that way would help us share, that would really help us share and repeat these successes many times over.

And finally, this one perhaps a little technical, but we've got to change our liability

May 8 / Administration of George Bush, 1992

laws that frighten people away from helping others. We ought to care for each other more and sue each other less.

But there's something else. There's something else that society must cultivate that Government cannot possibly provide. Something we can't legislate, something we can't establish by Government order. And I'm talking about the moral sense that must guide us all. The simplest, I guess the simplest way to put it is, I'm talking about knowing right from wrong and then trying to do what's right.

Let me come back again to the little boy I spoke about earlier, Rudy Campbell. Remember, "boulder, badder, badder?" There's a lesson he learned that survived the horror and the hate. And in the midst of all the chaos, in the midst of so much that's gone wrong, he knows what's right. When he was asked about the violence, here's what he said: "They should know what's right and wrong. Because when I was four, that's what I learned."

Now, that has got to give us hope. May God bless the person who cared enough to teach that little guy right from wrong. But it's up to us to guarantee that all the millions of kids like him grow up in a better America.

And I believe we are right about family. We're right about freedom and free enterprise. And we're right with respect to the clergymen here and the church men and church women here. We are right about faith. And most of all, we are right about America's future.

You see, I fervently believe that we have the strength and the spirit in our Government. You can see it here today in our communities and in ourselves to transform America into the nation that we have dreamed of for generations.

May God bless each and every one of you in your work. And thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 9:18 a.m. at the Challenger Boys and Girls Club. In his remarks, he referred to William Milliken, former Governor of Michigan. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Administration of George Bush, 1992 / May 8

Proclamation 6430—Mother's Day, 1992

May 8, 1992

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

When we Americans observed a National Day of Prayer earlier this week, we not only gave thanks for our many blessings but also prayed for the renewal of our Nation's moral heritage, beginning with that most precious and important of institutions: The family. It seems fitting, therefore, that we observe Mother's Day while those prayers still echo in our thoughts. A mother is the heart of the family and the light of the home, and the love and values that she imparts to her children profoundly influence the character of our communities and country.

"All that I am," said John Quincy Adams, "my mother made me." Who of us could not say likewise? A mother is her child's first and most influential teacher, and the lessons that one learns through her love and example last a lifetime. Ranging from simple lessons about courtesy and kindness to poignant lessons about duty, honor, patience, and forgiveness, they guide us even as we rear children of our own. Indeed, the older we become, the more deeply we appreciate our mother's wisdom—as well as the many worries and sacrifices that she has endured for our sake.

Today, as we honor all women who, by virtue of giving birth or through marriage or adoption, are mothers, we remember especially those who—despite even the most difficult social and economic circumstances—help their children to grow in love of God and neighbor and in understanding of the difference between right and wrong. Through their faith and courage, and through the unconditional love and acceptance that are the mark of motherhood, these women give their children hope, self-esteem, and direction. In so doing, they give them keys to a brighter future.

In grateful recognition of the contributions that mothers everywhere make to their families and to the Nation, the Congress, by a joint resolution approved May 8, 1914 (38 Stat. 771), has designated the second Sunday

in May each year as "Mother's Day" and requested the President to call for its appropriate observance.

Now, therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim that Sunday, May 10, 1992, be observed as Mother's Day. I urge all Americans to express their love and respect for their mothers on this day; to reflect on the importance of motherhood to our families and Nation; and to ask for God's blessing upon each. I also direct Federal officials to display the flag of the United States on all Federal buildings, and I encourage all citizens to display the flag at their homes and other suitable places on that day.

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

George Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:35 p.m., May 8, 1992]

Note: This proclamation will be published in the Federal Register on May 12.

Proclamation 6431—Public Service Recognition Week, 1992

May 8, 1992

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Good government is a reflection of the men and women who make it that way, and we Americans owe a great debt of gratitude to our Nation's 20 million public employees. Through their dedicated efforts at the Federal, State, and local levels, these men and women help to ensure our freedom, safety, security, and progress. Theirs is a noble yet challenging mission, and it is fitting that we set aside a week in their honor.

All public employees are dedicated to upholding the principles enshrined in our Constitution. They help to establish justice and ensure domestic tranquility by defending law

participated in any way in helping this great city of Los Angeles.

And the last point is this: I went around to a lot of the communities. And I have a genuine feeling in my heart that Los Angeles is going to bounce right on back and be this great city that it's always been.

So may God bless everybody here from Los Angeles, and my profound thanks to the rest of you. God bless you all. Thank you so very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 8:22 a.m. at the Los Angeles Coliseum. In his remarks, he referred to Scott Miller, a Los Angeles firefighter who was injured during the disturbances. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to Community Leaders in Los Angeles May 8, 1992

I would get off to a bad start if I didn't say what I think everybody else is feeling, and I want to just congratulate Larisse for that marvelous rendition of the Star-Span-gled Banner.

And may I first thank all of you for being here today. I think they were introduced at the very beginning, but I want to single out two members of my Cabinet, Secretary Lou Sullivan of HHS and Secretary Jack Kemp from Housing and Urban Development who are here with me. We've really had a good tour. I want to salute Senator Seymour, Governor Wilson, who's been at my side, both of them, as we've made this tour through the city. Pat Saiki of SBA, the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, came out early and she is on the ground and doing a first-class job. And of course, I would like to also salute Mayor Tom Bradley who has been so extraordinarily helpful on this visit. And I'm not going to forget the inspirational leader of the Challenger, Lou Dantzier.

I would also say to the city officials that I can just imagine, given what you all have been through, the headache that this visit has caused. And I promise you we plan to leave right on schedule so things can get back to

normal. About I want to thank everybody involved in facilitating this visit that came, I'm sure, at a very complicated time for the city. The Governor, the Mayor, the police, the L.A. community, everyone has been just fantastic.

And let me say I am truly heartened by the speed with which the millions of dollars of Federal relief have reached the city, from FEMA grants to the small business loans to urgent food aid. And I salute David Kearns and others who came here to coordinate not to dictate, not to try to dominate but to coordinate with the city and local officials. And I'm very pleased to see that there is smooth coordination, everyone pulling together on the Federal, State, and local level.

It was important I feel that, as President, I come here to Los Angeles. The community has been the site of a terrible tragedy. Not just for you who were impacted the most, but for our entire country. And everyone around the world feels this trauma, everyone who looks to us as a model of freedom and justice.

And that's why I want to say just a few things about my visit, to speak to you about what I've seen in this city and, most importantly, as I said at that marvelous ecumenical church service yesterday at Mt. Zion, we are one people, we are one family, we are one Nation under God. And so I want to speak about our course as a nation.

I can hardly imagine. I try, but I can hardly imagine the fear and the anger that people must feel to terrorize one another and burn each other's property. But I saw remarkable signs of hope right next to the tragic signs of hatred. This marvelous institution, this boys and girls club stands unscarred, facing a burned-out block. And its leader is this wonderful man next to me, Lou Dantzier. And he started it on the back of an old pickup truck with a group of kids that wanted to get off the street. And its existence proves the power of our better selves. And let's never forget it, and let's count our blessings.

Now let me personalize it a little bit and tell you why clubs like this matter. A story about a little kid, Rudy Campbell. I saw him on television. He looked about 8 years old. His father was murdered a few years back, and I didn't see his mother. Rudy is raised

by his 22-year-old sister who has five kids of her own. And he lives in South Central. Think about what he has already been through. Now he says he fears that things will only get "badder and badder and badder." And it breaks your heart, and our children deserve better than that.

I talked a week ago about the law and the pursuit of justice. And today I want to talk about what went wrong in L.A. and the underlying causes of the root problems. It can all be debated, and it should be, but not to assign blame. Casting blame gets us absolutely nowhere. Honest talk and principled action can move us forward. And that's what we've got to do for Rudy; that's what we've got to do for our children, these kids right here.

This tragedy seemed to come suddenly, but I think we would all agree it's been many years in the making. I know it will take time to put things right. I could have said "put things right again," but that would miss a point I want to make: Things weren't right before a week ago Wednesday. Things aren't right in too many cities across our country. And we must not return to the status quo. Not here, not in any city where the system perpetuates failure and hatred and poverty and despair.

Most Americans now recognize some unpleasant realities. Let me just spend a minute on those. For many years we've tried many different programs. All of them, let's understand this, had noble intentions to meet the need of adequate housing or education or health care. Much of it went to construct what has been known as "the safety net," a compassionate safety net to provide security and stability for people in need. Many other programs and policies aimed at stemming the tide of urban violence and drugs and crime and social decay.

And we have spent huge sums of money. Some estimates are as high as \$3 trillion over 25 years. And even in the last decade Federal spending went up for these kinds of efforts, everything from child care to welfare to health care has been the subject of some Commission or report or study.

But where this path has taken us I think we would all agree is not really where we wanted to go. Put away the studies and just

look around. For anyone who cares about our young people, it is painful that in 1960 the percentage of births to unwed mothers was 5 percent, and now it is 27 percent. It's hard to read about a young black man dying when the odds are almost one out of two that he was murdered. Kids used to carry their lunches to school, and the parents that I've talked to know that today some kids carry guns. I'm afraid some of you kids, you know that, too. Everyone knows that drug and alcohol abuse are serious problems almost everywhere.

In the wake of the L.A. riots, in the wake of a lost generation of inner city lives, can any one of us argue that we have solved the problems of poverty and racism and crime? And the answer clearly is no. Some programs, ones like Head Start or Aid to the Elderly, have shown some time-tested, positive results. All programs were well-intentioned; I understand that very, very well. Many simply have not worked.

Our welfare system does not get people off of welfare, it keeps people trapped there. The statistics are sobering. The reality is sobering. The sum and substance is this: The cities are in serious trouble, and too many of our citizens are in trouble. And it doesn't really have to be this way.

Government has an absolute responsibility to solve this problem, these problems. I'm talking about all levels of government. And I've taken a hard look at what the Government can do and how it can help communities with concerns that really matter: how people can own property, own their own home, start a business, create jobs, and ensure that people, not Government, make the big decisions that affect the health and the education and the care of one's own family.

Think of the way that the world looks right now to the single mother on welfare. Government provides you just enough cash for the bare necessities. Government tells you where you can live, where your kids go to school. And when you're sick, Government tells you what kind of care you get and when. And if you find a job, the Government cuts the welfare benefits. And if you save, if you manage to put a little money away, maybe towards a home or to help your kid get through college, the Government says, hey, welfare

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... homily by David O. McKay, the former president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints:

"No other success can compensate for failure in the home. "

Bretzing, who has seven children ranging in age from 25 to 7, says he has adopted the statement as his personal creed.

He did not ...

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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January 11, 1987, Sunday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part 1; Page 1; Column 1; Metro Desk

LENGTH: 4671 words

HEADLINE: RICHARD T. BRETZING;
FBI'S L.A. BOSS PASSES HARDEST TEST

BYLINE: By WILLIAM OVEREND, Times Staff Writer

BODY:

Richard T. Bretzing had just completed the most important and glamorous assignment of a 24-year career with the FBI.

As head of the FBI's Los Angeles office, he had supervised the largest FBI counterterrorist operation ever mounted to assure that the 1984 Olympic Games would unfold peacefully.

It was a time of hard work, glory and special memories -- including a private moment during opening ceremonies when Bretzing gave FBI Olympic pins to President and Mrs. Reagan.

Two weeks after the Olympics ended, Bretzing was celebrating both his professional triumph and his 25th wedding anniversary on vacation in Hawaii when he received an urgent phone call from a top aide.

A Change of Plans

"He was very cryptic," Bretzing recalled in a recent interview. "Something very serious had happened. He couldn't talk about it on the phone. I should change my plans and come back immediately."

The call shattered his blissful mood and led to a crisis that threatened his career.

Bretzing returned to discover that one of his own agents, Richard W. Miller, was suspected of being a Soviet spy. A month later, Bretzing himself arrested the first FBI agent ever charged as a spy, a moment he views as the "low point" of his career.

For Bretzing, however, the worst was still to come.

Miller, an agent on the Soviet counterintelligence squad in constant trouble with his superiors, had been an active Mormon before being excommunicated for adultery, and Bretzing, a Mormon bishop, was accused of having protected him.

'Mormon Mafia' Issue

The media pounced on allegations by some Los Angeles agents of a "Mormon Mafia" headed by Bretzing, and there were private predictions from agents in Los Angeles and Washington that Bretzing's job was "on the line" as a result of

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the Miller case.

Bretzing, who had arrived in Los Angeles in 1982, was outraged at the references to his religion and the media speculation of his pending demise. But even he had doubts that he could survive the highly publicized crisis.

"It was a disaster of major proportions," he recalled. "The prediction that my head would roll could be foreseen, considering the circumstances. I didn't know if you guys in the media would get the job done or not."

Last July, the Miller case finally ended and the convicted spy was sentenced to two life prison terms for espionage. But Bretzing has survived his predicted demise and remains the head of the FBI's Los Angeles office -- with assurances from Washington that his future is bright.

Bretzing is still a controversial figure among his own agents. He is praised by some for conducting himself during the Miller case with "courage and dignity." But others view him as distant and aloof and denounce him bitterly.

Unpopularity Is Common

"He is not a popular boss," one supporter conceded. "But that's not uncommon in the FBI. A lot of the agents in charge of the Los Angeles office have been unpopular with the troops."

Bretzing, who began his career as an FBI clerk in Phoenix, has now lasted longer than any of half a dozen other Los Angeles FBI chiefs since 1972, when an even more unpopular local FBI head, Wesley G. Grapp, retired after eight years in the job.

Not only has Bretzing survived in the job, but he said that he has been considered for two high-ranking posts in New York and Washington -- both jobs viewed as promotions by FBI officials.

Bretzing, however, has asked FBI Director William H. Webster to let him remain in Los Angeles. At 48, he is eligible for early retirement in two more years and would like to finish his career and settle permanently in Southern California.

"The point I've made is I was here handling the Olympics, then Miller for two years," Bretzing said. "I would like to have the opportunity of managing the office under more normal circumstances."

Excellent Chance

According to top FBI officials, Bretzing has an excellent chance of getting his wish.

"I know of no transfer plans for Bretzing at this time," said Assistant FBI Director Bill Baker, Webster's chief spokesman in Washington, who noted that it is FBI practice to transfer personnel frequently. "He continues to do a good job in a very productive office."

But Baker added that Bretzing will have headed the Los Angeles office for five years in June, a time when the FBI often "takes a hard look" at top

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managers.

"He continues to have the faith of the leadership back here," he said. "But the FBI is very goal-oriented. That faith has to be deserved every day."

Bretzing took a gamble in the early stages of the Miller investigation that added to the controversy surrounding his role in the case.

After Miller had failed polygraph tests on whether he had passed secret documents to the Soviet Union, Bretzing summoned the ex-Mormon agent to his office and delivered a lecture with clear religious implications.

Bretzing, reducing Miller to tears, urged the suspected spy to consider the "spiritual ramifications" of his actions and urged him to "repent" if he had violated the law.

Miller had not yet confessed to passing secret information to Soviet spies Nikolai and Svetlana Ogorodnikova, but he began to break down after the tough talk by Bretzing.

Defense lawyers later urged that all of Miller's subsequent confessions be excluded on grounds that they were extorted under religious pressure, and the judge in the Miller case rebuked Bretzing publicly for risking the government's case.

'A Dangerous Thing'

"It was a dangerous thing to do, at the very least," said U.S. District Judge David V. Kenyon. "It should not have been done."

But Kenyon permitted the prosecution to use the confessions on the ground that Miller had confessed for reasons other than the speech by Bretzing, and the potential problem for the prosecution was averted.

The silver-haired Bretzing, an imposing figure at 6 feet, 4 inches and 220 pounds, was grim with anger at times as he defended himself and the speech on the witness stand during the Miller trials. But in a recent series of interviews, his mood was more relaxed.

However, he still visibly tensed at questions about past charges made against him. He carefully guarded his personal and family life, and declined to discuss some aspects of his professional life -- including his popularity in the Los Angeles office.

But he controlled his anger at criticisms made by some of his own agents, and he even laughed at times as he spoke about the past, answering the charges of Mormon influence inside the FBI with an occasional joke about the bureau's many Roman Catholics.

Admits Taking Gamble

Finally able to speak casually of his controversial speech to Miller, Bretzing admitted that he had taken an unwitting gamble that he would not repeat.

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"Obviously, having seen the big play the defense made out of it, I would not provide them with that technique again," he said. "I'll just make sure the next time the person I'm talking to is a Catholic."

At the same time, Bretzing defended his motives in delivering the speech to Miller.

"It's been described in the media as a spiritual lecture. I take exception to that," Bretzing said. "It was an appeal to his moral and religious leanings. I was trying to remind him of his sense of right and wrong.

"He had made some admissions -- walked up to a certain point and then stopped," Bretzing added. "There were a number of operations going on that I believed he had gone out of his way to know about. That was my reason for the talk."

'Terrible Impact'

Bretzing said the Miller case initially had a "terrible impact" on the Los Angeles office, traditionally the most productive field office in the FBI.

"Everybody talked about it for days. Then the work began to grind on again," he said. "In my case, the impact lasted longer. As the trials proceeded, we witnessed a shift of focus to me and my religion.

But the "Mormon Mafia" issue fizzled during the trials, as prosecutors pointed out that Bretzing had taken more punitive measures against Miller and had come closer to firing him than had any previous FBI official.

"The Mormon Mafia stuff was totally overblown. There's never been one in my office," Bretzing said. "There's never been any association by religion in the FBI except perhaps the Notre Dame alumni (composed of Roman Catholic agents).

"I was dismayed that the media would do this," he added. "To live with that for months, those were some tough days."

Some Early Complaints

While the charges of Mormon favoritism in the FBI's Los Angeles office did not surface publicly until the Miller case, one agent hostile to Bretzing said there were some complaints within the office beginning shortly after his arrival in July, 1982.

When Bretzing took over the Los Angeles office, the FBI assigned a Roman Catholic Latino agent, Bernardo (Matt) Perez, to be the administrative special agent in charge directly under him.

There was a personality clash between Bretzing and Perez that built steadily until July, 1983, when Bretzing rated him "minimally acceptable" in two categories in his annual performance rating. Three months later, Perez filed the first of a series of personnel complaints accusing Bretzing of discrimination.

Perez, whose performance had slipped to "unsatisfactory" in Bretzing's view by December, 1983, complained both to the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and to the FBI's Office of Professional Responsibility, charging

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that Bretzing was biased against Latinos.

When the Mormon issue surfaced in the Miller case, Perez -- who would not agree to be interviewed for this article -- amended his complaints to include charges of anti-Catholic bias.

Fight Continues

The bitter fight between the two top leaders of the Los Angeles office -- with agents lining up on both sides -- continued through the early months of 1984, when Perez was transferred to El Paso. An EEOC official later ruled that the charges were unfounded, but Perez's lawyers say he is still pursuing the case and plans a federal discrimination suit against Bretzing.

The Bretzing-Perez feud was just beginning when FBI Inspector Patrick Mullany, who is now retired, audited the Los Angeles office on orders from FBI headquarters in January, 1983. Mullany later spent two years as administrative assistant agent in charge of the Los Angeles office in the job once held by Perez.

"That entire fight was an inevitable situation," Mullany said. "You had a task-oriented special agent in charge, where Perez was more of a people person. There couldn't have been more opposite people.

"Unfortunately, Matt Perez was over his head in running that office," Mullany added. "He came up too quickly through the ranks. When he didn't produce the way Bretzing wanted, the battle started."

Mullany said that early in 1983, when he inspected the Los Angeles office, Bretzing had not yet reached the decision that Perez had to be transferred.

Cites Inexperience

"From the very start, he made it clear that Perez wasn't his choice for the job," Mullany said. "His attitude when I came out on inspection was to (help Perez develop), at the same time feeling it was unfair of Washington to have stuck him with an inexperienced ASAC (assistant special agent in charge).

"As time went on, he was convinced he couldn't rely on Perez for anything connected to the Olympics," Mullany added. "Meanwhile, the feud got worse and other agents got involved. Unfortunately, Perez had some strong friends in the office who believed the whole thing was because Matt was a Mexican."

Mullany said it was during the relatively early stages of the Bretzing-Perez dispute in 1983 that another move was made contributing to office talk of Mormon favoritism -- the promotion of a Mormon agent to the office's No. 3 job.

The agent was P. Bryce Christensen, who had been Miller's immediate superior on the Soviet counterintelligence squad. He was named to the post of assistant special agent in charge of all white-collar crime and counterespionage operations.

"One of the earliest things of the Mormon issue was the elevation of Bryce," Mullany said. "That was the sense of the inspection of 1983, that there was some resentment about it."

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Mormon Influence

Mullany, whose duties included all personnel matters, said the FBI's Los Angeles office has "always been a heavy recruiter of Mormons" and estimated that there are about 50 Mormons among the 450 agents in the Los Angeles office, but stressed that no religion count was ever taken during the Miller case.

"Mormonism was always something behind the scenes in L.A.," he said. "Back in the days of J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI had a feeling that Catholic colleges taught more discipline to people, so you had heavy recruitment from the Northeast and a predominance of Irish Catholics.

"The Mormons came mainly in the 1960s, more of them on the West Coast than in the East because of Salt Lake City," he added. "They also fell into that category. Good family, loyalty to country. Plus, because of their missionary work, a lot of them spoke foreign languages. They were good people."

Mullany, a Catholic, said his guess is that 10% of the agents in the Los Angeles office are "firm believers" that Mormon favoritism exists and another 50% probably are "mild believers in the possibility that it exists." Mullany, however, said he never sensed religious prejudice in Bretzing.

"You're going to get two views of Richard Bretzing," Mullany said. "There are the street agents, and then there are the ASACs who get to know him. The soldier in the ranks is not going to know him. He's always been regarded by them as aloof, but you can't get close to him without recognizing his genuineness.

'Good Human Being'

"I got to know him extremely well because of some personal problems in our families," Mullany said. "It wasn't that I agree with him at all times. My style was far more open, more friendly. But I came away thinking he's one of the finest people I've had to work with. He's an extremely good human being, and he'll go out of his way to help someone."

Mullany said he saw "enormous growth" in Bretzing as the Miller case unfolded.

"Personally it was a tremendous crisis for him and his family," Mullany said. "Bretzing and the FBI were as much on trial -- maybe even more so -- than Miller. The publication of the stories about him terribly wounded him. The leaks coming out of his own office terribly hurt him, because he felt a few agents had really placed the FBI second in trying to hurt him.

"There was no doubt there were times he was white with heat, but I admire the way he handled himself," Mullany said. "He's probably been through the worst he's ever going to go through, and he's survived with dignity. You just can't go to school to learn how to do that."

A year-old boy and his 56-year-old baby-sitter had been kidnaped at knifepoint near the child's home in Palos Verdes Estates.

Three nights later -- at an FBI command post set up near Los Angeles International Airport -- Bretzing had to make a potential life-or-death

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decision.

The kidnaper had threatened to kill both his hostages if he did not receive \$100,000 ransom, and he was about to pick up the money at a drop site in the congested airport area.

Two shopping bags containing the ransom had been left near a trash dumpster at Century and Aviation boulevards, and dozens of agents were in the area to close in on the kidnaper once he had picked up the money.

Question of Timing

The question for Bretzing was whether to arrest the kidnaper at the money drop or to follow him from the scene, hoping that the kidnap victims were still alive and that the kidnaper would lead the FBI to them.

Bretzing's second-in-command, James Nelson, was with Bretzing that night and remembers the decision he made.

"You have to realize that in the FBI the agent-in-charge is responsible for even a lot of on-the-scene responsibility in a major case," Nelson said.

"There was heavy traffic around the airport and Bretzing was afraid we might lose the kidnaper," Nelson added. "He made the decision to take him at the drop site."

For the next six hours, the best FBI interrogators in Los Angeles, working in teams of two, took turns trying to find out if the kidnap victims were still alive and where they were.

Says He Killed Them

The Iranian immigrant arrested when he picked up the ransom, Farhad Rahimi Kashani, told agents at one point that he had killed the victims, and the FBI relayed that grim news to the parents of the boy.

But the confession was false. After an Iranian interpreter was found, the kidnap suspect, who later pleaded guilty in court, finally gave the location of a Toyota van a few blocks away where both the child and his baby-sitter were found unharmed.

By 4 the next morning, the child, Clayton Anthony, had been returned to his parents, Philip and Kimberly Anthony.

"Bretzing came personally to our house with our son," Philip Anthony recalled. "He was tremendously helpful throughout the situation. I didn't expect it from a man in his position."

Bretzing's memory of that long night last August was that it ended in "a very rewarding morning."

Recalls the Night

Nelson, who is being transferred to an executive post in Washington, spoke in stronger terms as he recalled the night and the four years he spent in Los

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Angeles under Bretzing.

"We had been up together for three nights and two days," he said. "I never had a happier moment than when we found that boy and the baby-sitter alive.

"That's what I'll remember when I leave here," Nelson added. "It's not the stuff about the Mormon Mafia or whether office morale is up or down.

"When I look back on Richard Bretzing it will be as a friend," Nelson said. "I think he has tremendous personal courage and strength. He's the man in charge of this office, and he was in charge that night."

Nelson said he is still angry at the charges of Mormon favoritism leveled against Bretzing during the Miller case.

"I'm not a religious man at all," he said. "But I believe people were very insensitive because Mormons don't have lobbyists. The media wouldn't have talked about a religious issue at all if Bretzing had been Jewish or Catholic or a Baptist."

Dominating a wall in Bretzing's office on the top floor of the Federal Building in Westwood is the emblem of the FBI. Less prominent is a small plaque on his desk -- a Mormon homily by David O. McKay, the former president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints:

"No other success can compensate for failure in the home."

Bretzing, who has seven children ranging in age from 25 to 7, says he has adopted the statement as his personal creed.

He did not start out to be a special agent in the FBI, Bretzing said. For that matter, there were times in his life when it seemed highly unlikely that he would also wind up as a Mormon bishop.

Appointed Bishop

Bretzing, was appointed bishop of the 550-member Newbury Park Third Ward of the Mormon Church in Ventura County shortly after his arrival in Los Angeles in 1982.

In his church role, Bretzing presides over Sunday church services called sacrament meetings and conducts "priesthood" meetings of all male members of the church. He also counsels church members on personal problems, presides over funerals and occasionally performs marriages for new church members not eligible to be married in the Mormon Temple.

"I've only married four or five couples," he said. "The Mormon ideal is to be married in the temple. I marry newcomers and those not yet prepared to go to temple."

Bretzing wears a business suit, not church robes, at the weekly sacrament meetings. His function is to introduce prayers, songs and speakers and to announce church business. Occasionally, he delivers the Sunday sermon.

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He never considered resigning his church position during the public controversy over his twin roles as a Mormon religious leader and FBI official, Bretzing said.

'Don't Step Down'

"Active Mormons don't step down from anything," he explained.

Bretzing said he spends about 20 to 30 hours a week on church business, and denied charges that he has sometimes done church work during FBI business hours.

"Sometimes I'll have to take leave from work, but I don't do church work on business time," he said. "Work takes precedent over my duties to the church."

Bretzing cited the Aug. 31 Cerritos air crash as an example of how he places his FBI duties above his obligations to the church.

"It was a Sunday and the priesthood meeting was just starting when my beeper went off," he said. "I left the meeting immediately to supervise the FBI investigation of the crash."

Parents Were Mormons

Bretzing was born in Salt Lake City to Mormon parents, but his family moved to Phoenix when he was 10 and he drifted away from the Mormon church during his teen-age years.

"I was what we call inactive in the Mormon faith, what others call a 'jack Mormon,'" Bretzing said. "I drank. I smoked a pack of Pall Malls a day. I swore now and then. And I went into the Army instead of going on a Mormon mission."

"I had just fallen into some activities of teen-age-hood that were not conducive to the Mormon faith," Bretzing recalled. "That period ended relatively quickly. I regret I did not go on a mission. But a consolation for me is that one of my children is now on a mission in Spain and another is going on a mission to Spokane, Wash."

Bretzing enlisted as an Army paratrooper at 17 and was stationed in Germany with the 11th Airborne Division. He made 30 parachute jumps and has a bad knee as a reminder of his military service.

His father, a German immigrant who worked as office manager for a Phoenix cattle company, died while Bretzing was in the Army. He returned to help his mother raise her six children and credits her with guiding him back to the Mormon church.

Takes Police Job

Enrolling first in business and then political science at Arizona State University, Bretzing initially hoped to be a college professor. To pay his way through school, however, he took a job as an officer with the Phoenix Police Department.

After a few months as a policeman, Bretzing, already married to his wife, Diane, heard about an opening in the Phoenix FBI office and was hired as a

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clerk in 1960. He spent most of his college days working nights for the FBI, then was accepted as an agent in May, 1964.

During the next 18 years, working his way up the FBI's promotional ladder, Bretzing moved his growing family to a dozen cities.

Early in his career, he spent a year at the FBI language school in Monterey, learning to speak Italian and Sicilian. Developing into a specialist on the Mafia, he later handled investigations of major organized crime in Tucson, Phoenix, Detroit, Buffalo and New York City.

In 1973, while assigned to FBI headquarters in Washington, Bretzing led the bribery investigation that resulted in the resignation of Vice President Spiro Agnew. Two years later, in Detroit, he was assigned to head the FBI's probe into the disappearance of former Teamsters Union President Jimmy Hoffa.

'Never Found Him'

"He disappeared the day after I arrived in Detroit," Bretzing recalled. "We've never found him. He was kidnaped and murdered by the Cosa Nostra because he was presenting a threat of control to the Teamsters Union."

For Bretzing, one of the toughest times of his FBI career came two years before his move to Los Angeles, when he was transferred from Buffalo to New York City in 1980 as assistant agent in charge of the criminal division in the FBI's largest field office -- a force of more than 1,000 agents.

Bretzing was unable to sell his house in Buffalo, so his wife and children stayed there while he lived in Manhattan in an apartment near the United Nations that served as an FBI lookout. The apartment was infested by mice and cockroaches.

"The work was exciting, but living was difficult," Bretzing said. "We were right on the brink of financial disaster. It was very lonely. I didn't get home very often. My memory of New York is being alone there on Thursday nights watching 'Hill Street Blues' by myself."

'The Polyester Prince'

Besides Bretzing's economic problems, he reportedly had other troubles in New York. One FBI boss who did not like him nicknamed him "The Polyester Prince," because of the polyester suits he frequently wore.

During the EEOC hearings on the Perez discrimination complaint in Los Angeles, Bretzing was accused of using an FBI car without authorization for trips to Buffalo during his stay in New York, but Bretzing said that charge, along with all others, has been rejected by the FBI as unfounded.

Bretzing now earns \$68,700 a year as head of one of the FBI's most important field offices. According to one FBI source, he earned a substantial bonus for his handling of the Olympics and recently told agents of another \$2,000 bonus for having organized a strong local FBI recruitment program.

Bretzing would not discuss the size of the reported bonuses, saying only: "From time to time the FBI awards moderate bonuses to agents, and I am glad

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that I have received my share."

Since taking over the Los Angeles office, Bretzing has reorganized the division, streamlined the satellite system of FBI offices that surround Los Angeles from Ventura to Palm Springs and successfully lobbied Washington for an additional assistant agent-in-charge to prepare for an increased crackdown on white-collar crime.

Office Ranks Third

Throughout the Miller case, the Los Angeles office remained the most productive FBI office in the nation -- topping New York and Philadelphia in both 1984 and 1985 in the number of felony convictions obtained by agents, with more than 600 a year. In fiscal 1986, Los Angeles was third in total convictions, behind Philadelphia and New York.

"There was some talk during the Miller case that the Los Angeles office is held in low esteem, but that's never been the case," Bretzing said. "We have always been one of the most productive offices in the nation, and we are the West Coast flagship for the FBI."

His own proudest moments in Los Angeles are linked to the Olympics, and the massive show of force that helped prevent a major incident of terrorism.

"We had more serious firepower than any FBI office has had up to that time," Bretzing said. "We have learned subsequently that we did deter terrorist activity because of the well publicized references to the available force. There were plans for terrorist action, and we were aware of them at the time."

But despite his successes in Los Angeles, he remains known to the public primarily because of his role in the Miller case. He has not yet outlived the allegations of Mormon favoritism, and the reviews of his performance are mixed.

Morale Is 'the Pits'

"The Mormons like him, but probably 70% of the other agents would like to see him go," said one of Bretzing's critics. "Morale problems are the pits here. When they do have a going-away party for Bretzing, it will be held in a phone booth."

Countering that view, Christensen -- who received a transfer to Washington last week, reportedly unrelated to his own controversial role in the Miller case -- said he hopes that Bretzing's performance has won the respect of at least a few former critics.

"I think he's been able to gain the respect of the bulk of this office, if not everyone in it, by the way he has weathered this storm," Christensen said. "He's been able to maintain a tremendous degree of integrity in everything he's done. He has never slipped into venom or poison."

"He was also able to maintain his sense of humor," Christensen added. "He now introduces me as the other half of the Mormon Mafia."

Bretzing's own assessment of himself is that he is not an easy boss.

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"Prior to coming here, I was probably regarded as tough," he said. "I consider myself as a fair boss, but one who is firm and expects the job to be done right the first time."

GRAPHIC: Photo, Richard T. Bretzing 'There was some talk during the Miller case that the Los Angeles office is held in low esteem, but that's never been the case. We have always been one of the most productive offices in the nation and we are the West Coast flagship for the FBI.'; Photo, Agent Richard T. Bretzing heads the FBI's Los Angeles office. KEN LUBAS / Los Angeles Times

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION; BRETZING, RICHARD T; UNITED STATES --
GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Presidential Remarks
Bush-Quayle Rally
Provo, Utah
18 July 1992
Draft

Good morning everybody. It's great to be out West ... and to visit this outstanding university ... and to be here where the Cougars have devoured so many victims.

"The West is where we all go someday" ... a famous writer once wrote. "It's where we go when we hear there is 'gold in them thar hills.' Where we go to grow with the country. Where we chase our young dreams ... or spend our old age."

And today I can add ... with complete authority ... that the West also isn't all that bad a place to be ... when your personality is being pummelled ... your character questioned ... and your administration verbally assassinated ... 2,000 miles away.

I spent the past couple days away from a television set ... up in Wyoming trout fishing with Secretary of State Jim Baker ... and our sons, Jamie and Jeb.

But I am aware that something else was going on in America this week. Something real important.

This is the week when all across America ... crowds of panting, sweating people overran their neighborhood video stores. From Tallahassee to Tempe ... Americans turned on their TV and decided they'd rather rent "Action Jackson" than listen to: Well, never mind.

Now ... please don't get the idea that this is some kind of partisan attack. Stop by Rich's Video down on Freedom Boulevard ... and I'm sure Rich'll tell it to you straight. Sales aren't all that bad during the Republican Convention either.

I know you have a lot on your minds beside politics. And I hate to poison the air with partisan talk. But let me respond just a little to what went on in Manhattan.

If you're one of those who prefer video renting to politicians venting ... I'll put it simple. You can sum up all you need to know about the Manhattan meeting with the title of a 1965 Cliff Robertson comedy: "Masquerade."

From what I heard about the convention ... I wonder if the Democrats are donning a disguise.

They're saying the right things. Pride in America's strength. Support for entrepreneurs. Respect for law and order.

In fact ... if it weren't for the \$9,000 stuffed ponies at the toy store on the corner ... and the bullet proof vests being sold on street corners ... you could close your eyes and think they were at this "home on the range" in Provo ... not the "home of the hockey Rangers" in New York City.

But you know ... I couldn't help but wonder ... do they really mean what they say? Or is this new costume something the Democrats plan on discarding ... maybe sometime right after Halloween?

Think about it. If they celebrate the end of the Cold War ... how come they never supported the strength that won it?

If they claim to be buddies with business people ... how come they want to load 'em down with new taxes?

If they are really the party of new ideas and open ears ... why not allow just one speaker to talk about the rights of the unborn?

And if they start their convention with a prayer ... how come you can read all 10,000 words in their party platform ... and never run across three simple letters: G-O-D.

Now ... don't take my word that the Democrats may not be what they appear to be. I'm a little biased.

Listen instead ... to a party elder. A guy named McGovern. First name George. He called this year's Democratic Party ... "a Trojan Horse."

He said ... and I quote ... "they're much more liberal underneath ... and will prove it when they're elected."

I know I've never said this publicly. But that McGovern. He's an incredibly insightful man!

Now ... let me be straight with you. This election isn't going to be decided on what we say about the other side ... or what they say about us ... for that matter.

What matters ... is what we have to offer the American people.

My view of America is a little different than what you may have heard this week. I'd like to explain it.

I know at BYU you like to say ... that the world is your campus. Let me say ... that campus has been through incredible change in four years. Because of our leadership ... because of your sacrifice and commitment ... millions of people breathe free today.

That poses challenges ... and opportunities.

The question is this ... can we compete ... now that so many other nations are playing our game?

We need to understand something. If we can win this competition ... and we will ... to the victors will go bigger spoils than ever before in human history.

Today ... far more people are eager for the fruit of our labors. That means more jobs ... more prosperity for our kids ... and their kids.

Now ... that's the opportunity I see today. But how do we take advantage of it?

Our first priority ... is to create and protect jobs.

Listening to Madison Square Garden this week ... you probably got the impression that our economy was second rate ... second class.

But keep in mind a few facts.

We are still the world's largest and most vibrant economy.

Second to no one.

We've tamed inflation ... the last time interest rates stayed this low ... the Brady Bunch hadn't started re-runs.

Our factories produce a higher percentage of the world's manufactured goods than we did 20 years ago.

What a Japanese worker can produce in five days ... an American can make in four.

Today ... we have emerged as the world's export champion.

Last year ... the Japanese government asked who leads the world in 143 critical technology industries. Japanese firms led in 33. The United States in 43.

And I wouldn't be suprised to learn ... if that report was put together on WordPerfect software ... made right here in Provo.

Our economy is growing today. But not fast enough.

Too many people have worked for a company for twenty years ... only to fear that the next mail run will bring a pink slip. And many of you young people are working your way through Brigham Young ... you deserve to be able to find a job on graduation day.

I used to run a business ... meet a payroll. I learned the only way that government can create jobs ... is to support the people who create jobs.

This is the creed Governor Norm Bangerter follows. He understands that the only surefire way to give people unlimited dreams ... is by limiting the size of government.

We're going to bring some of Norm's attitude to Washington.

Like your Governor ... we need a line-item veto ... and I'm going to get it.

Like your Governor ... we need a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution ... and I'm going to get it.

And despite 31 vetoes in three years ... we need even more discipline on the Potomac.

With the help of Senator Jake Garn and Senator Orrin Hatch ... a new Congressman named Richard Harrington ... we're going to treat

wasteful government spending the way Karl Malone will treat a jump shot in Barcelona. We're going to swat it back into the front row!

Here's my second priority. A moral revolution in America.

Americans need to understand something you all know very well.

"No success can compensate for failure in the home."

David O. McKay said those words many years ago ... and they harken back to a different age in America.

Today we can fly from Paris to New York and arrive earlier than we left ... but do we too often leave behind the difference between right and wrong?

We can explore a world beyond the stars ... but do we too often ignore a neighbor down the street?

We can turn natural ingredients into miracle medicines ... but why do we feel the need to turn every argument into a lawsuit?

America won't get better until we start suing each other less ... and serving each other more.

We learn these values in our living rooms and around our kitchen tables. But while families help keep our lives together ... government can help keep our families together.

By giving parents the freedom to choose their kid's schools. By reforming welfare ... so that we reward work and families can stick together ... not fall apart.

Only then ... can our nation find its way back to our foundation.

My third priority. Quite simple. Restore respect for the law.

Elderly women in this country ... watch the Berlin Wall fall on television ... but are afraid to walk to their neighborhood grocery store.

There are kids in our cities ... who hear of the Russians reducing nuclear weapons ... but then have to walk through a metal detector at school every morning.

What do you say to these Americans? You say enough is enough. Let's put an end to the lawlessness. Let's put an end to the illegal behavior.

These are my principles ... the things in which I believe. I hope you agree ... because they are the key to our future.

Those of you in the BYU summer school program ... are here to be prepared to "go forth to serve." But you might be wondering where America is going forth.

The question on your minds ... is one that's been asked for generations. Can I do better than my mom and dad? Will the dream still be alive for me and my kids.

Well ... I've been around for a couple years. If you'll excuse some advice from an elder ... I really do believe America's best days are ahead.

Yes ... we face challenges today ... but I've seen this nation climb much taller mountains.

If we can topple the Berlin Wall ... we can build a strong economy. If we can lift the iron curtain .. we can bring the curtain down on immorality and indifference. If we can help people walk free in Eastern Europe ... we can take back the streets of America.

This is our mission. Together we'll accomplish it.

God bless you and God bless America.

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