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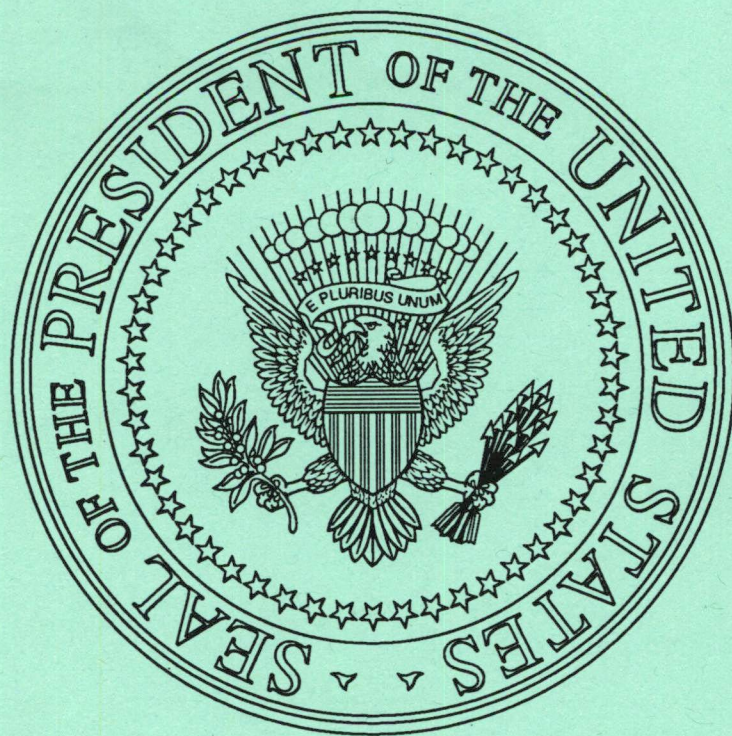
This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13822
Folder ID Number: 13822-005

Folder Title:
Captive Nations 7/21/92 [OA 7577]

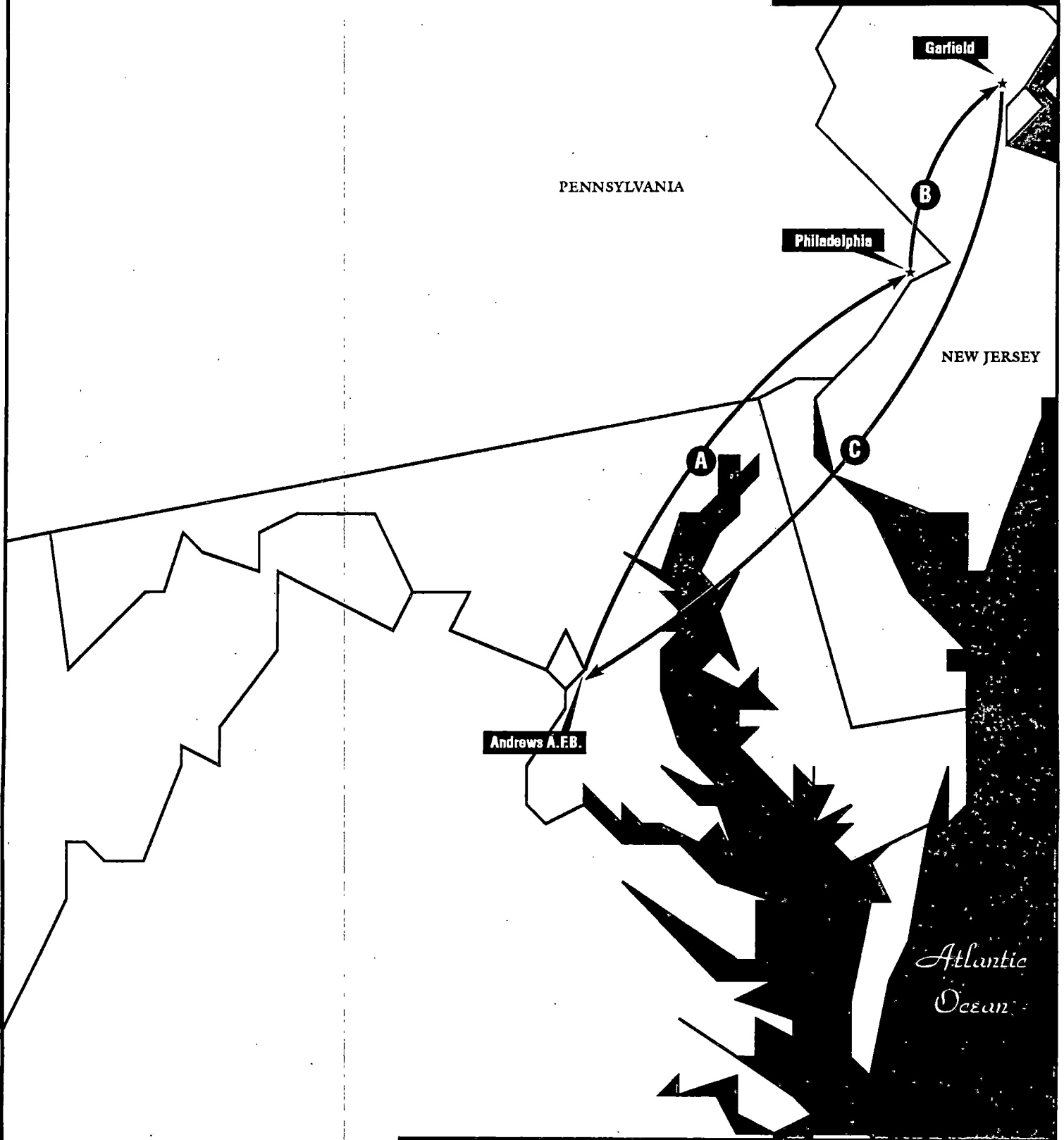
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**THE TRIP OF
THE PRESIDENT
TO
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
& GARFIELD, NEW JERSEY**

July 21, 1992

**The Trip of the President to
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
& Garfield, New Jersey
July 21, 1992**



LEGEND

 Air Force One flight

From/To	Statute Miles	Flying Time
A Andrews AFB to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	130	0 hours and 55 minutes
B Philadelphia to Garfield, New Jersey	085	0 hours and 45 minutes
C Garfield to Andrews AFB	210	0 hours and 45 minutes

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

JULY 21, 1992

EVENT:

Presidential Open Forum on Educational Choice

DRESS:

Men - Business Suit
Women - Day Dress

CONTACTS:

Presidential Advance Office
Ed Murnane - 202/456-7565

Trip Coordinator
Kris Goodwin - 202/456-7565

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Signal - 215/731-4700
- * 96 35 00

ADVANCE:

Tim Simonson	- LEAD	John Horne	- SITE
Scott Fassett	- PRESS	Lloyd Owens	- SITE
Mike Rose	- USSS	David Pasquesi	- SITE
Deb McGhee	- WHCA	Terry Brown	- PRESS SITE
Russ Cancilla	- MIL. AIDE		
Colleen Ryan	- AFI		

WEATHER:

Partly Cloudy/Mid 80's

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

JULY 21, 1992

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

9:35 am Vans depart West Basement
en route Andrews Air Force
Base.

9:55 am Guests and Staff with
own transportation should
arrive Andrews Air Force
Base, Distinguished
Visitors Lounge, at this
time for check-in.

10:20 am

THE PRESIDENT boards Marine One and departs White
House en route Andrews Air Force Base.

MARINE ONE MANIFEST:

THE PRESIDENT
H. Moore
M. Fitzwater
B. Farish
S. Biddle
Doctor
Mil. Aide
2 USSS

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

10:30 am

THE PRESIDENT arrives Andrews Air Force Base and
proceeds to board Air Force One (C-20).

10:40 am
(E.D.T.)

THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews Air Force Base en route Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

(Flying Time: 55 Minutes)
(Time Change: None)
(Interchange: Yes/C-20/C-9)
(Food Service: Continental Breakfast)

11:35 am
(E.D.T.)

THE PRESIDENT arrives Northeast Philadelphia Airport, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and proceeds to Motorcade.

Met by:

The Honorable Curt Weldon
U.S. Representative, 7th District, Pennsylvania

The Honorable Ed Rendell
Mayor of Philadelphia

The Honorable Joseph Loeper
Pennsylvania Senate Majority Leader

The Honorable Charles Dougherty
Bush/Quayle '92 Supporter

Mr. Jon Fox
Bush/Quayle '92 Supporter

Mr. Larry Hollin
Bush/Quayle '92 Supporter

Ms. DeLores Weaver
Bush/Quayle '92 Supporter

Point of Light Greeters:

Mr. Ed Kantor
Student Director of Hahnemann Homeless Clinics,
and 809th Daily Point of Light

Mr. Michael Friedman
Former Student Director of Hahnemann Homeless
Clinics, and 809th Daily Point of Light

11:45 am

THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Northeast Philadelphia Airport en route Archbishop Ryan High School.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead	T. Simonson
Spare	B. Farish Doctor
LIMO	THE PRESIDENT
Follow-up	
Control	H. Moore Mil. Aide
Support	M. Fitzwater E. Murnane Official Photographer Medic
WHCA	T. McBride
Camera I	J. Herrick
Staff I	R. Kaufman
Guest I	Sec. Alexander M. Matalin
Camera II	
Wire I	
Wire II	
Staff Van	All Remaining Staff
Guest Van	All Remaining Guests
Press Van I	M. Busch
Press Van II	
Press Van III	

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

11:55 am THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Secretary Alexander, arrives Archbishop Ryan High School and proceeds to Gymnasium Off-Stage Announcement Area.

Met by:

Anthony Cardinal Bevilacqua
Archbishop of Philadelphia

11:58 am THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Secretary Alexander and Cardinal Bevilacqua, arrives Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly.

EVENT: PRESIDENTIAL OPEN FORUM ON EDUCATIONAL CHOICE

OPEN PRESS

BOX LUNCH

OPENING STATEMENT

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

12:00 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Secretary Alexander and Cardinal Bevilacqua, is announced into Gymnasium and proceeds to Seat at Cafeteria Table.

12:02 pm THE PRESIDENT is Seated and begins participation in Lunch.

12:03 pm Michael Lynn, Blind 8th grade student, St. Lucy's Day School, gives Grace.

12:26 pm Kelly Geiger, 12th grade student, Roman Catholic High School, introduces Cardinal Bevilacqua for brief remarks.

12:27 pm Cardinal Bevilacqua gives brief remarks from Toast Lectern.

12:30 pm THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Opening Statement by Maria Manzoni, 11th grade student, St. Maria Goretti High School.

NOTE: THE PRESIDENT proceeds to Stool directly in front of Bleachers at this time.

12:32 pm THE PRESIDENT gives Opening Statement.

12:36 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Opening Statement and begins participation in Question and Answer Session.

NOTE: Runners with hand-held microphones will be available to assist attendees in asking questions.

THE PRESIDENT will remain at Stool for Question and Answer Session.

12:58 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Question and Answer Session, departs Gymnasium, and proceeds to Holding Area.

NOTE: Six Police Photos will be taken at this time.

1:00 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Area for Private Time.

(PRIVATE TIME: 55 MINUTES)

1:55 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Area and proceeds to Motorcade.

2:00 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Archbishop Ryan High School en route Northeast Philadelphia Airport.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival, except:

Guest I Delete Sec. Alexander

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

2:10 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives Northeast Philadelphia Airport and proceeds to board Air Force One.

2:15 pm
(E.D.T.)

THE PRESIDENT departs Philadelphia, Pennsylvania en route Garfield, New Jersey.

(Flying Time: 45 Minutes)

(Time Change: None)

(Interchange: Yes/C-20/C-9/Press Plane)

(Food Service: Sandwiches Available)

SCENARIO

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT

TO

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

JULY 21, 1992

EVENT: Presidential Open Forum on Educational Choice

DATE: Tuesday, July 21, 1992

TIME: 12:00 pm - 12:58 pm

LOCATION: Archbishop Ryan High School, Gymnasium

ATTENDEES: 500 Parents, students, faculty and administrators

PRESS: Open

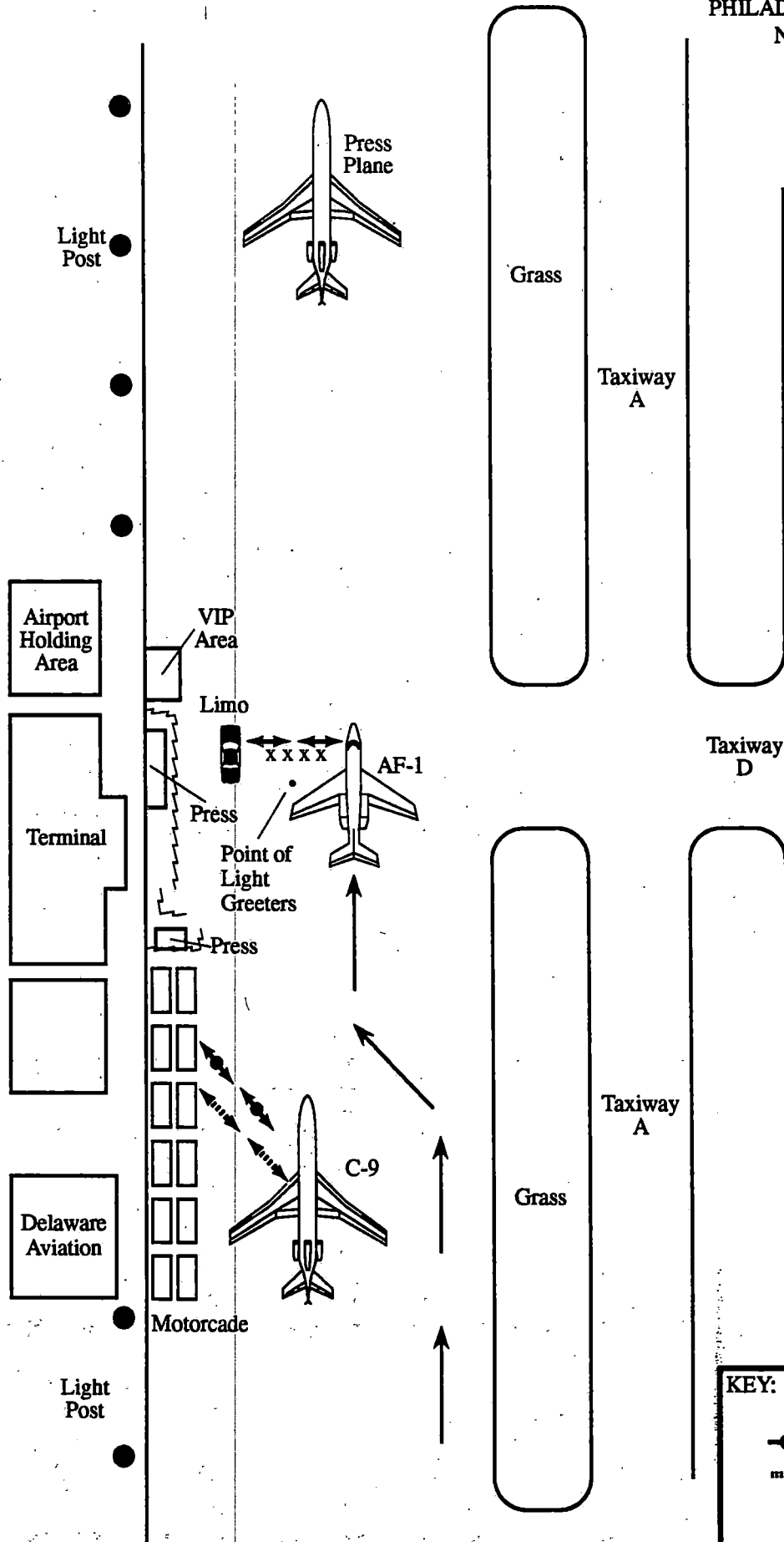
SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by The Honorable Lamar Alexander, U.S. Secretary of Education, arrives Archbishop Ryan High School and is met by: Anthony Cardinal Bevilacqua, Archbishop of Philadelphia. Following the Greetings, THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Secretary Alexander and Cardinal Bevilacqua, proceeds to Gymnasium Off-Stage Announcement Area. THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Secretary Alexander and Cardinal Bevilacqua, arrives Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly. THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Secretary Alexander and Cardinal Bevilacqua, is announced in Gymnasium and proceeds to Cafeteria Table. THE PRESIDENT is Seated and begins participation in Box Lunch. (NOTE: Michael Lynn, Blind 8th grade student, St. Lucy's Day School, gives Grace prior to Lunch.) Following Lunch, Kelly Geiger, 12th grade student, Roman Catholic High School, introduces Cardinal Bevilacqua for brief remarks. THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Opening Statement by Maria Manzoni, 11th grade student, St. Maria Goretti High School. (NOTE: THE PRESIDENT will proceed to Stool directly in front of Bleachers to deliver remarks.) THE PRESIDENT gives Opening Statement. THE PRESIDENT concludes Statement and begins participation in Question and Answer Session. THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Question and Answer Session, departs Gymnasium, and proceeds to Holding Area. (NOTE: Six Police

Photos will be taken at this time.) THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Area for Private Time. (PRIVATE TIME: 55 MINUTES) THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Area and proceeds to Motorcade.

The Backdrop is a 25 X 8 banner, reading "Catholic Schools of Philadelphia, committed to, EDUCATIONAL CHOICE, for Everyone." The audience is seated at rectangular, Cafeteria-style tables throughout the Gymnasium and in Bleachers. (NOTE: 350 people are seated at Tables and 150 in the bleachers.)

The Press Platform is located straight-on at 40 feet.

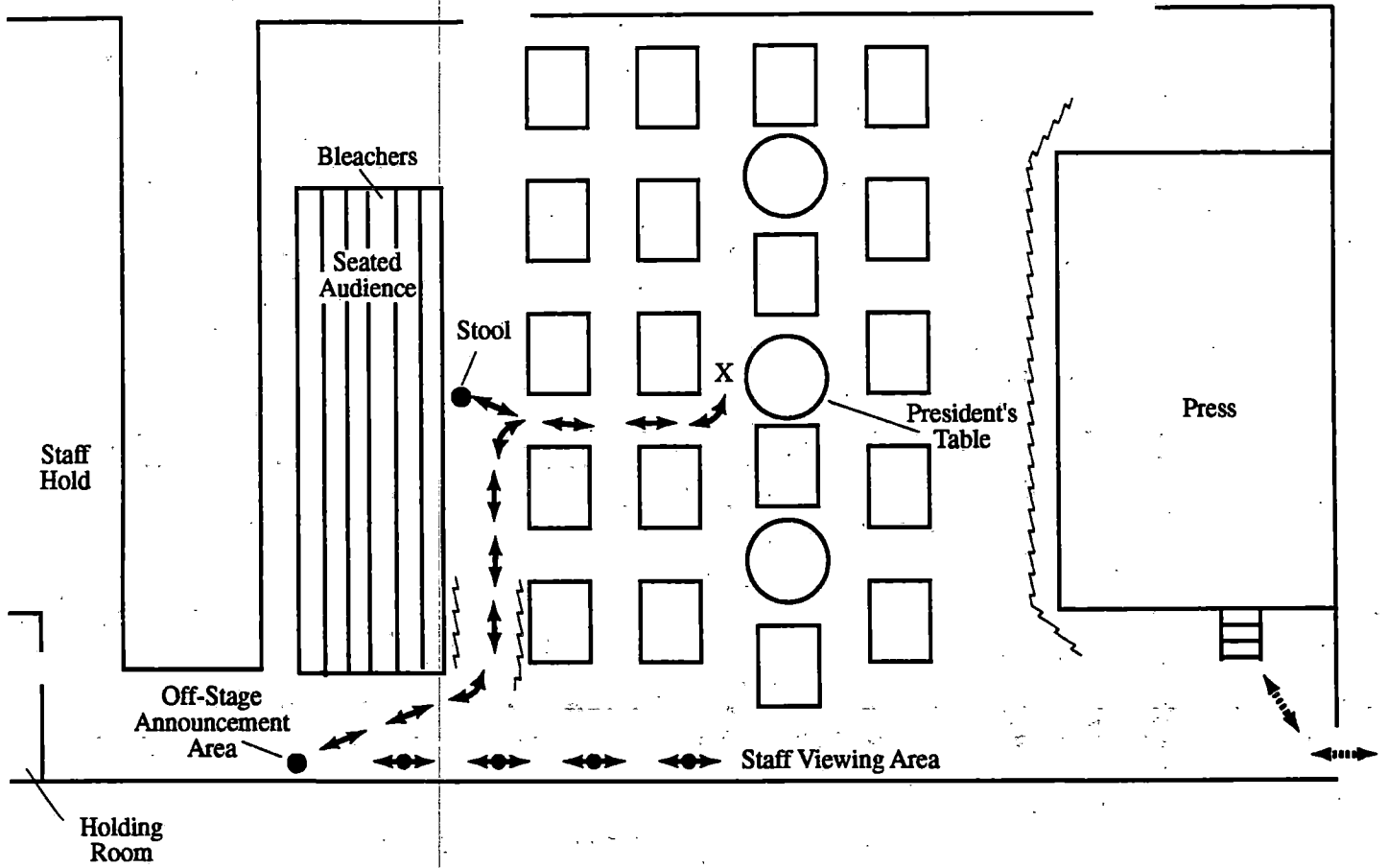
TAB A
 PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
 Northeast Philadelphia Airport
 Arrival/Departure Diagram
 Tuesday, July 21, 1992



KEY:

- THE PRESIDENT
- GUESTS / STAFF
- - - → PRESS POOL
- X GREETERS

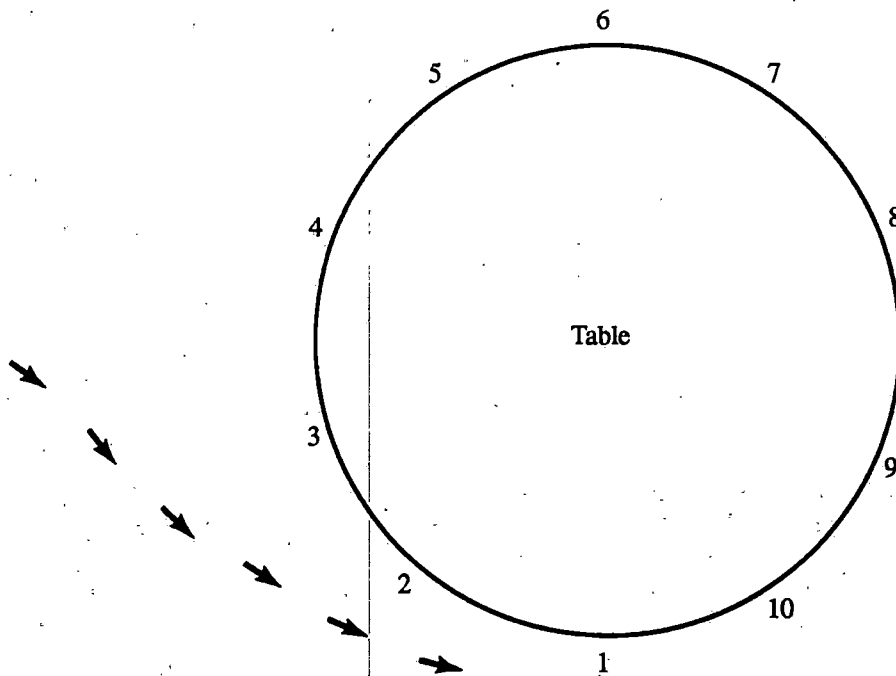
TAB B
 PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
 Archbishop Ryan High School
 Overview Diagram
 Tuesday, July 21, 1992



KEY:

- THE PRESIDENT
- GUESTS / STAFF
- ⚡→ PRESS POOL

TAB C
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Archbishop Ryan High School
Lunch Seating Diagram
Tuesday, July 21, 1992



1. THE PRESIDENT
2. Cardinal Bevilacqua, Archbishop of Phil.
3. Francis Reinsel, parent
4. Karen Reinsel, parent
5. Art Delancy, parent
6. Brother Kevin Stanton, chemistry teacher at a Catholic high school
7. Darlene Spoonbour, single parent
8. Sec. Alexander, Secretary of Education
9. Maria Tamburrino, single parent
10. James Kinslow, 12th grade student from North Catholic High

KEY:

→ THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

GARFIELD, NEW JERSEY

JULY 21, 1992

EVENTS:

Address Religious and Ethnic Leaders
Photo with Ethnic Leaders

DRESS:

Men - Business Suit
Women - Day Dress

CONTACTS:

Presidential Advance Office
Ed Murnane - 202/456-7565

Trip Coordinator
Kris Goodwin - 202/456-7565

Garfield, New Jersey - 201/491-9211
* 96 32 00

ADVANCE:

Bob Athey	- LEAD	Bill Craycraft	- SITE
Rob Vincent	- PRESS	Foster Harbin	- SITE
Tim O'Connor	- USSS	Damon Moley	- SITE
Gordon Koch	- WHCA	Craig Bergstrom	- PRESS SITE
Russ Cancilla	- MIL. AIDE		
John Young	- AFI		

WEATHER:

Partly Cloudy/Mid 80's

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

GARFIELD, NEW JERSEY

JULY 21, 1992

3:00 pm
(E.D.T.)

THE PRESIDENT arrives Teterboro Airport, Garfield, New Jersey, and proceeds to Motorcade.

Met by:

The Honorable Dean Gallo
U.S. Representative, 11th District, New Jersey
and Bush/Quayle '92 Co-Chairman

The Honorable Marge Roukema
U.S. Representative, 5th District, New Jersey

The Honorable Tom Kean
Bush/Quayle '92 Chairman and former Governor
of New Jersey

The Honorable Leanna Brown
New Jersey State Senator and Bush/Quayle '92 Co-
Chairman

The Honorable Donald T. DiFrancesco
New Jersey State Senate President and Bush/Quayle
'92 Co-Chairman

Mr. Joseph "Bo" Sullivan
Bush/Quayle '92 Co-Chairman

The Honorable Bob Franks
New Jersey State Representative, New Jersey GOP
Chairman, and Bush/Quayle '92 Co-Chairman

Ms. Karla Squier
Bush/Quayle '92 Supporter

Mr. Ed Rondinelli
Bush/Quayle '92 Supporter

Mr. Tom O'Neill

Mr. Thomas O'Neill, III

Mrs. Candice Brearley

3:10 pm

THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs
Teterboro Airport en route Three Saints Church.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead	B. Athey
Spare	B. Farish Doctor
LIMO	THE PRESIDENT
Follow Up	
Control	H. Moore Mil. Aide
Support	M. Fitzwater E. Murnane Official Photographer Medic
WHCA	T. McBride
Camera I	J. Herrick
Staff I	R. Kaufman
Guest I (minivan)	Rep. Gallo Rep. Roukema Gov. Kean M. Matalin
Camera II	
Wire I	
Wire II	

Staff Van	All Remaining Staff
Guest Van	All Remaining Guests
Press Van I	M. Busch
Press Van II	
Press Van III	

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Three Saints Church, Guests and Staff will be escorted to Staff Viewing Area/Holding Room.

Please board Motorcade no later than 4:05 pm for transport to Teterboro Airport.

3:20 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives Three Saints Church, Foyer, and holds briefly.

Met by:

The Honorable Edward J. Derwinski
U.S. Secretary of Veterans Affairs

The Honorable Garabed "Chuck" Haytaian
Assembly Speaker and Bush/Quayle '92 Co-Chairman

The Honorable William "Pat" Schuber
Bush/Quayle '92 Bergen County Chair

His Beatitude, Metropolitan Theodosius
Archbishop of Washington and Primate, Orthodox
Church in America

His Eminence, Most Reverend Archbishop Peter
Diocese of New York and New Jersey,
Orthodox Church in America

His Excellency, Most Reverend Bishop Paul
Vicar of the Patriarch of Moscow, Administrator
of the Russian Orthodox Church in the United
States and Canada

Very Reverend Alexander and Mrs. Golubov (Elena)
Pastor, Three Saints Russian Orthodox Church

3:25 pm

THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by His Beatitude
Metropolitan Theodosius, departs Church
Foyer and proceeds to Off-Stage Announcement
Area.

3:27 pm

THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by His Beatitude
Metropolitan Theodosius, arrives Off-Stage
Announcement Area and holds briefly.

NOTE: Remaining Dais participants are
announced onto Stage at this time.

EVENT: ADDRESS RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC GROUPS

OPEN PRESS

OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

REMARKS

3:30 pm

THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by His Beatitude
Metropolitan Theodosius, is announced onto Dais,
proceeds to Seat, and is Seated.

3:32 pm Governor Kean introduces Assemblyman
Haytaian.

3:35 pm THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks
by Assemblyman Haytaian.

3:38 pm THE PRESIDENT Remarks.

3:53 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks, departs Dais,
and proceeds to Church Foyer.

EVENT: PHOTO WITH ETHNIC LEADERS

CLOSED PRESS

3:55 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Church Foyer and begins
participation in Photo with Ethnic Leaders.

4:05 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Photo
with Ethnic Leaders, departs Church Foyer,
and proceeds to Motorcade.

NOTE: Six Police Photos will be taken
at this time.

4:10 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Three
Saints Church en route Teterboro Airport.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival, except:

Guest I Add Sec. Derwinski

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

4:20 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Teterboro Airport and proceeds to board Air Force One (C-20).

4:25 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Garfield, New Jersey
(E.D.T.) en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 45 Minutes)
(Time Change: None)
(Interchange: No)
(Food Service: Snacks and Beverages)

5:10 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Andrews Air Force Base
(E.D.T.) and proceeds to board Marine One.

5:20 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews Air Force Base en route White House.

MARINE ONE MANIFEST:

THE PRESIDENT
H. Moore
M. Fitzwater
B. Farish
S. Biddle
Doctor
Mil. Aide
2 USSS

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

5:30 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT

TO

GARFIELD, NEW JERSEY

JULY 21, 1992

EVENT: Address Religious and Ethnic Leaders

DATE: Tuesday, July 21, 1992

TIME: 3:30 pm - 3:53 pm

LOCATION: Three Saints Church

ATTENDEES: 5,000

PRESS: Open

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives Three Saints Church, Foyer, and is greeted by: The Honorable Edward J. Derwinski, U.S. Secretary of Veterans Affairs; The Honorable Garabed "Chuck" Haytaian, Assembly Speaker and Bush/Quayle '92 Co-Chairman; The Honorable William "Pat" Schuber, Bush/Quayle '92 Bergen County Chair; His Beatitude Metropolitan Theodosius, Archbishop of Washington and Primate, Orthodox Church in America; His Eminence, Most Reverend Archbishop Peter, Diocese of New York and New Jersey, Orthodox Church in America; His Excellency, Most Reverend Bishop Paul, Vicar of the Patriarch of Moscow, and Administrator, Russian Orthodox Church in the United States and Canada; and Very Reverend Alexander and Mrs. Golubov (Elena), Pastor, Three Saints Russian Orthodox Church. Following the Greetings, THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by His Beatitude Metropolitan Theodosius, departs Church Foyer and proceeds to Off-Stage Announcement Area. THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by His Beatitude Metropolitan Theodosius, arrives Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly. (NOTE: Remaining Dais participants are announced onto Stage at this time.) THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by His Beatitude Metropolitan Theodosius, is announced onto Dais and remains Standing. The Honorable Thomas H. Kean, Chairman, New Jersey Bush/Quayle '92, introduces Assemblyman Haytaian. THE

PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by Assemblyman Haytaian. THE PRESIDENT Remarks. THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks, departs Dais, and proceeds to Church Foyer.

The Backdrop for the Address will be the 24 captive nation flags flying above the Dais, in front of the Church itself. Five religious leaders will stand behind THE PRESIDENT in full dress. Coalition/Ethnic Leaders are seated on Stairs on either side of THE PRESIDENT.

The Press Platform is located straight-on at 80 feet.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
TO
GARFIELD, NEW JERSEY

JULY 21, 1992

EVENT: Photo with Ethnic Leaders

DATE: Tuesday, July 21, 1992

TIME: 3:55 pm - 4:05 pm

LOCATION: Three Saints Church, Foyer

ATTENDEES: 20

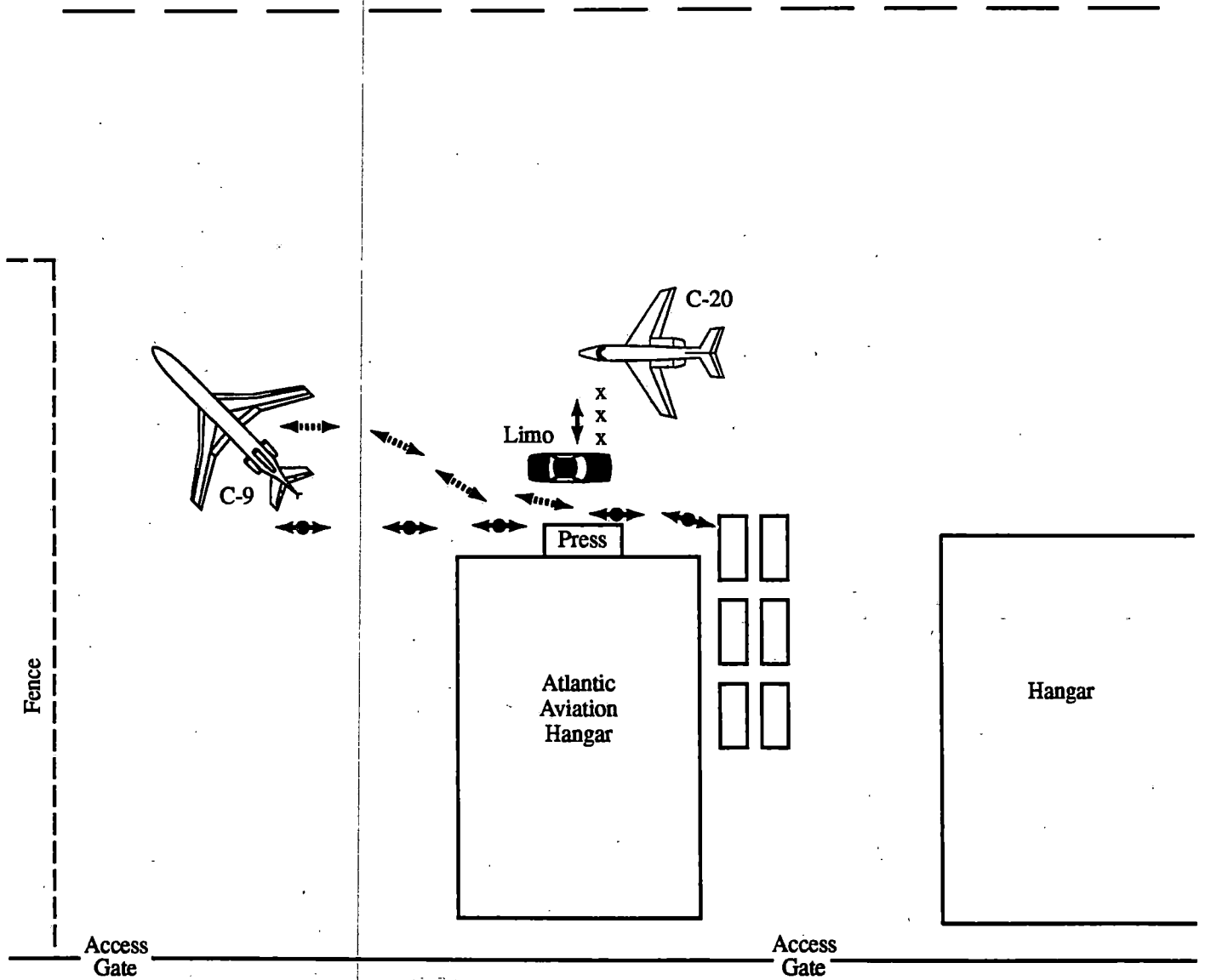
PRESS: Official Photographer Only

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives Church Foyer and begins participation in Photo with Ethnic Leaders.

(NOTE: Individual Photos will be taken.) Upon conclusion of Photo, THE PRESIDENT departs Church Foyer and proceeds to Motorcade. (NOTE: Six Police Photos are taken at this time.) THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Three Saints Church en route Teterboro Airport.

TAB A
GARFIELD, NEW JERSEY
Teterboro Airport
Arrival/Departure Diagram
Tuesday, July 21, 1992

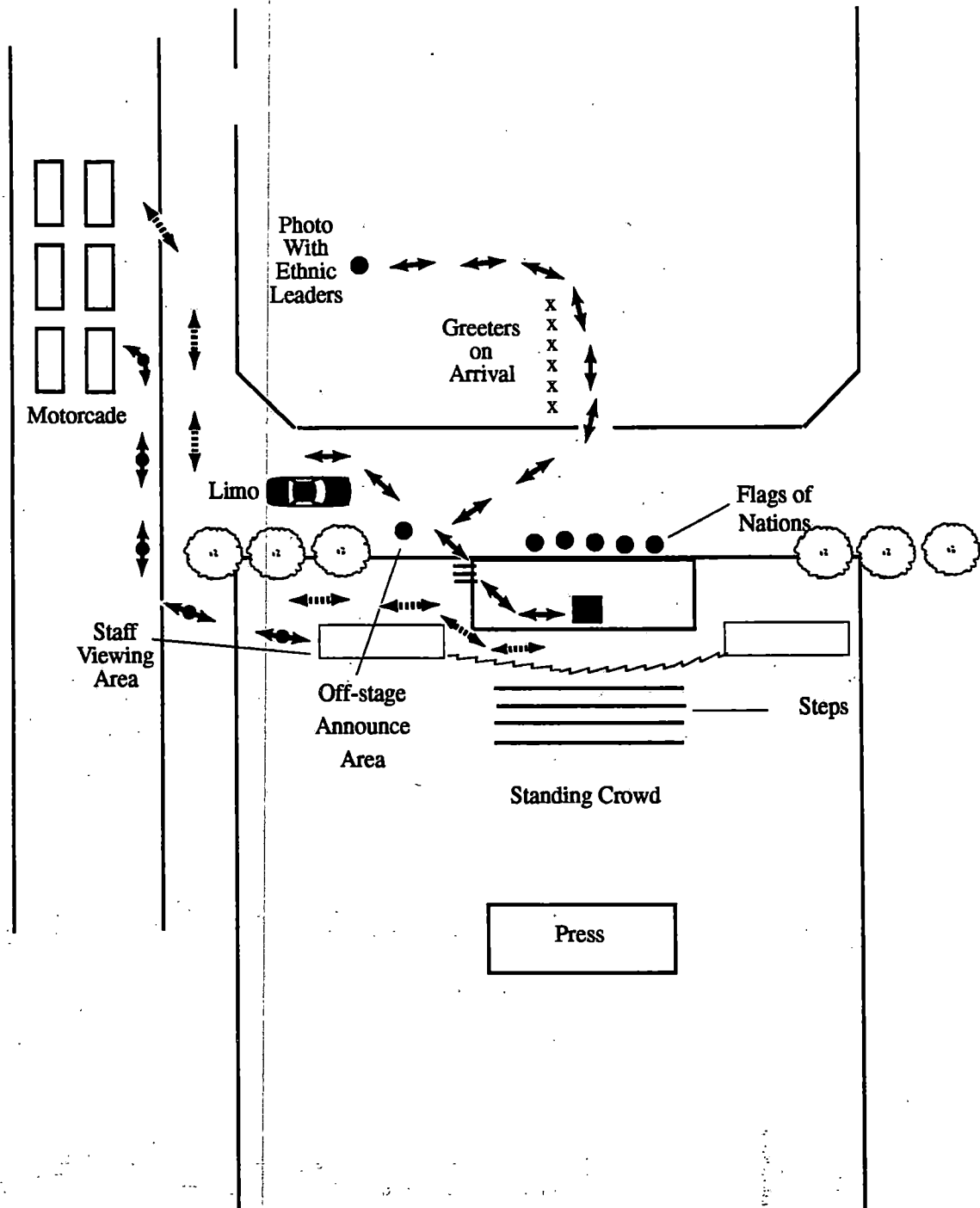
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KEY:

- ➔ THE PRESIDENT
- X GREETERS

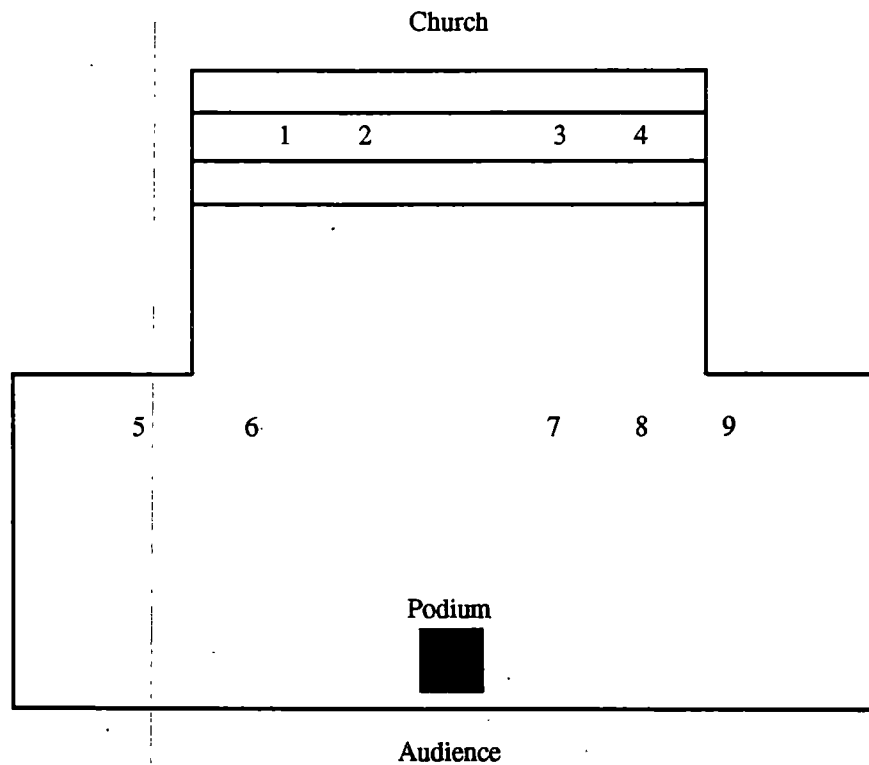
TAB B
 GARFIELD, NEW JERSEY
 Three Saints Church
 Overview Diagram
 Tuesday, July 21, 1992



KEY:

- THE PRESIDENT
- GUESTS / STAFF
- ▲→ PRESS POOL
- X GREETERS

TAB C
GARFIELD, NEW JERSEY
Three Saints Church
Dais Diagram
Tuesday, July 21, 1992



1. Archbishop Peter
2. Bishop Paul
3. Metropolitan Theodosius
4. Very Reverend Alexander Galubon
5. Governor Kean
6. THE PRESIDENT
7. Sec. Derwinski
8. Assembly Speaker Haytaian
9. Senate President Donald Di Francesco

KEY:
→ THE PRESIDENT

Your Eminence [Most Reverend Archbishop Peter], Your Excellency
[Reverend Bishop Paul, Vicar of the Patriarch of Moscow], Your
Beatitude [Metropolitan Theodosius, Archbishop of Washington,
Primate of the Church], Governor Kean, Secretary Derwinski,
Assembly Speaker Chuck Haytaian [ha TIE an], Senate President
Donald DiFrancesco, Representative Marge Roukema [ROCK a ma],
House Candidate Pat Roma,

Your Beatitude [Metropolitan Theodosius, Archbishop of
Washington, Primate of the Church], Your Excellency [Reverend
Bishop Paul, Vicar of the Patriarch of Moscow], Your Eminence
[Most Reverend Archbishop Peter], Governor Kean, Sec. Derwinski,
Rep. Marge Roukema [ROCK a ma], House Candidate Pat Roma,
Assembly Speaker Chuck Haytaian [ha TIE an],

Phil - 215 731-4747

NJ - 201 491-9340

(Duggan/Walters)
July 16, 1992
Draft One
Garfield

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: BUSH-QUAYLE RALLY
THREE SAINTS RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH
GARFIELD, NEW JERSEY
TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1992
[TIME]

*Gary Foster?
RNC-NJ*

[Acknowledgments] Father Golubov and members of the Three Saints parish, thank you for welcoming me and so many thousands of your New Jersey neighbors. You represent a rich array of heritage: Russian and Cuban, Jewish and Christian, African and Polish, Chinese and Ukrainian, and so many others. You're Americans all. \\ Your spirit enriches our country and fuels the flame of freedom all over our world.

These gleaming church domes remind me of the skyline of a great city I'll visit again soon. Since my last trip to Moscow, the Russian people have toppled the idols of Soviet Communism. They've begun renewing the Russian nation. Just consider the signs of the times: In Red Square this Easter, the gigantic picture of Lenin was gone -- and in its place was a massive icon of the risen Lord. I'm looking forward to seeing the changes with my own eyes. I'm looking forward to my next summit meeting later this year with President Yeltsin -- my first state visit to a free and democratic Russia. \\

*PRES-
DOC*

Yes, Russia once again is free to be Russia. Ukraine is free to be Ukraine, Poland free to be Poland. But our work is not finished. That is why, with your support, I want to serve four more years as your President. \\

I want to apply my experience -- to work with all my heart

and soul -- to consolidate the new democracies and make more gains for liberty and peace. Let's look just 90 miles south of the Florida coast: The Castro dictatorship is on its last legs. I'm firmly convinced of that. Within the next four years, I'm looking forward to becoming the first President of the United States to visit a free and democratic Cuba. \\\

misplaced?
~~misplaced?~~

Little more than two years ago, I welcomed to the White House Poland's first non-communist prime minister since Stalin's conquest of Eastern Europe. This brave man, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, spoke some of the clearest and wisest words I have heard about the times we live in. He said: "History is accelerating."

ELLEN
CONWAY
ST. DEPT.

[phonetic]
TAY-DAY-ooSH
MAH ZOH
VYET SKEE

With those words, he foretold the fall of Communism in Russia, and throughout Europe. And this wave of history, this surge of hope, is not confined to Europe. The people of Afghanistan have defeated Communism. In Ethiopia and other African nations, people are coming out from under the rubble of Communism.

And mark my words: During my second term as President, the probability is high -- it's very high -- that true freedom will come to more than a billion people in Vietnam and China. \\\

why?

Let's have some plain talk about China. I know and love that country and its people. I served as America's ambassador there. Our strategic relationship with China, for all the faults of that regime, played a crucial part in halting the Soviet threat. It's my policy to keep trade ties open to China as her system evolves and the people win more freedom. This policy is

based on my experience and my commitment to the peaceful advance of freedom for the Chinese people. \\ And it will be one of the highest aims of my second term to bring this goal to fruition. \\

I'm determined to keep America the leader in the struggle for world freedom. And I'm every bit as determined to protect the sources of our strength at home. During the next four years, I'll keep working to help American workers and entrepreneurs carry us to new heights of achievement. And I will fight with all my might for the rights of American parents and families. \\

The traditional family in this country is under siege. The New Age Liberals and the big-government bureaucracies have an aggressive agenda -- starkly different from the values you and I share:

They want to tighten a government monopoly on our kids' education. I'm fighting on your side for parents' rights to choose their children's schools -- public, private or religious.

They want a rigid national policy for abortion on demand. We know abortion is a needless tragedy, and we're working for positive alternatives. No child in America needs to go unwanted, uncared for, or unloved.

They tried to make bureaucrats supreme when we enacted the 1990 child care bill. I won my fight to let parents choose their children's care -- including care in religious institutions.

They believe public schools should hand out birth control pills and devices to teenage kids. They believe this is no business of parents -- that it's strictly a matter between our

could be positive.
How about
~~the~~
"expensive"
or
"expansive"
or
"dramatic"

children and the government. They think parents have no right to know if their teenage daughter has an abortion. I believe that the relationship between parent and child is sacred; it's fundamental -- and I'm ready to fight with all my strength for the next four years to protect the traditional rights of parents and families. \\

More than a century ago, Dostoyevsky imagined a nightmarish place where an all-powerful state attempted to take away the natural rights of individuals and families. "If God is dead," he wrote, "then everything is permitted."

Well, looking out over this magnificent audience, I know your faith is alive. And family is the most important thing we have here on this earth. We take to heart the words of "America the Beautiful" -- "confirm thy soul in self-control." We know that the America we love -- the America that's such a powerful beacon to the world -- will not stay strong if the culture and the government teach our kids that "anything goes."

Being here reminds me that next month marks the first anniversary of those fateful days of August, when Russia's future was on the line -- when world peace hung in the balance.

I'm sure each one of us has indelible memories of those days. I can remember vividly -- like a film replayed in slow motion -- my hours of preparation, my moments of action against the dictatorship. I'll never forget assuring Boris Yeltsin of our support, talking with him over the telephone even as he faced mortal danger.

Jim Mangis
St. Vladimir's
OCA 9/14/01
8313
FR. HOPKO

Prayer Breakfast
wasn't in August,
was it?

Recently I had the privilege to hear Slava Rostropovich^{see} speak about those days in August at the National Prayer Breakfast

in Washington. Slava had flown to Moscow at first news of the coup, and he stood for three days and nights with the defenders of freedom and democracy, protecting the Russian White House.

← that Deep in the night, he told us, the only sound was from the movement of tank treads. And "the aura of faith was almost palpable. That moment, and the salvation of all of us -- and of the future of the country -- came only from God."

My fellow Americans, we have the good fortune not to live in the shadow of machine guns and tanks. And Barbara and I count it as one of our greatest blessings that when our grandchildren go to bed each night, they don't have to fear the kind of nuclear threat that we faced just a few years ago.

Still we face tests. We have hard work to do in the coming years. We must keep our national security second to none. We must prove the pessimists wrong about America's ability to compete and create jobs. And we must protect and renew our most precious resource -- America's families.

(not fighting with them)

To meet these challenges, to lead the nation, to fight ^{together} with you for the values we share: That's why I ask your help to win another term as President.

Thanks to all of you, and may God bless the freest, greatest, most generous country on earth -- the United States of America.

#

BUSH 92 QUAYLE

N E W J E R S E Y

FAX TRANSMISSION NOTICE

DATE:

7/20/92

RECIPIENT NAME:

Ed Walters

FIRM:

PHONE:

FAX:

202/456-6218

FROM:

Bill Palatucci / Marilla

SUBJECT:

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET):

2

MESSAGE:

FOLLOW UP:

PLEASE CALL UPON RECEIPT

NO REPLY NECESSARY

ANY PROBLEM WITH THIS TRANSMISSION PLEASE CONTACT:

908/245-5005

TO: GARY FOSTER
FROM: BILL PALATUCCI
DATE: JULY 18, 1992
RE: REMARKS FOR GARFIELD

Here are my reactions to the version marked "Draft Three" on July 16, 1992.

First, thank you for the reference to Cuba. This is an important issue in the state.

My problems are:

- A. The second reference to Russia on pages four to five is not necessary. The large majority of the audience will be from countries representing eastern Europe and will not welcome more talk of Russia.

Rather, I would say that being at a Russian Orthodox church reminds me that religious freedom now exists, not only in Russia, but in a united Germany, Poland and throughout eastern Europe.

- B. We need a larger reference to the state of New Jersey. As you know, New Jersey is a largely ethnic state. The speech seems to be stuck on the fact that the President is at a Russian Church, when in fact he is in the heart of ethnic New Jersey.

For example, the Speaker of the NJ Assembly is Armenian (Chuck Haytaian) and our Senate President is Italian (Don DiFrancesco.)

I would suggest that the President say that he's come to Garfield because it represents New Jersey diversity and values. The President should make reference to the fact that most of these hard-working and middle-class families share his view of family values.

- C. I assume that the reference to China on pages two and three comes from Washington. For your information, very few members of the audience will be Chinese.

Please advise.

cc: THK
Peggy Howard
Mary Matalin

BUSH 92 QUAYLE

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

N E W J E R S E Y

FAX TRANSMISSION NOTICE

DATE: 7.17.92
RECIPIENT NAME: Ed Walters / Joe Digan
FIRM: B. Q. Natl.
PHONE: _____
FAX: 202 456-6218

FROM: Bill Palatucci
SUBJECT: Pat Roma
NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET): 256
MESSAGE: INFO TO FOLLOW
ON HAITIAN +
DI Francesco

FOLLOW UP: _____ PLEASE CALL UPON RECEIPT
_____ NO REPLY NECESSARY

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01a. Memo	Cristyne Lategano to Ed Walters, re: The President's Speech, July 20, 1992; redaction of personal information. (1 pp.)	07/20/92	P-6, (b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Captive Nations 7/21/92

Date Closed: 12/2/2004	OA/ID Number: 07577
FOIA/SYS Case #:	
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	
MR Case #:	Appeal Case #:
MR Disposition:	Appeal Disposition:
Disposition Date:	Disposition Date:

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- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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MEMO

To: Ed Walters

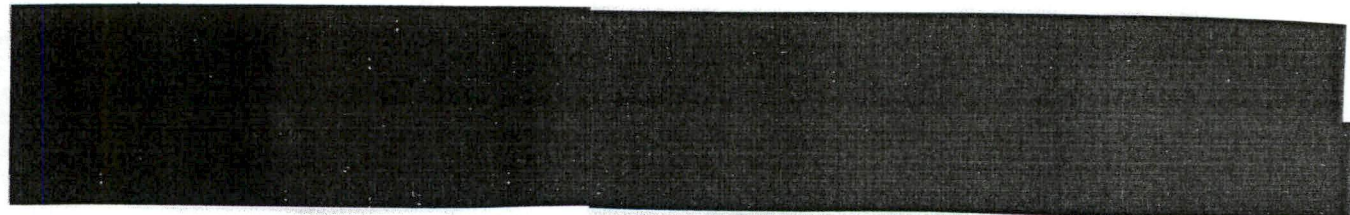
From: Cristyne Lategano, Press Secretary

Re: The Presidents Speech, July 20, 1992

Assemblyman Pat Roma from Bergen County, who is running for New Jersey CD-9 will be in attendance and would appreciate any help that the President could provide by a simple mention during the speech.

Pat Roma has been a defender of family values and law and order throughout his life. He is a strong environmentalist..and has the endorsements to prove it. In light of the President's speech..Pat is proud to call him self an Italian-American and relies on much of his support from the Italian and ethnic communities within his district. Hudson County's Cuban-Americans are staunch supporters of Pat. He can also count on labor, NRA and many other blue collar groups for support. One of his greater achievements is that he has been re-elected by larger margins with each successive election. Part of this is due to dedicated constituent service.

Personal: Pat is married to Maryanne.



If you need further information on Assemblyman Roma, contact Campaign Manager Pat Morrissey at (201) 845-3877.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
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PAT ROMA

FOR CONGRESS



5 Sampson Street, Saddle Brook, NJ 07662

Honorary Chairmen
Governor Thomas W. Kean

Hon. Chuck Hayden
Speaker of the Assembly

Hon. Donald Di Francesco
Senate President

Phone: 201-845-3977
201-845-0520
Fax: 201-845-6772

BIOGRAPHY OF PATRICK ROMA

Patrick Roma received the Republican nomination for Congress in the 9th District on June 2, 1992. A three term assemblyman, Roma was first elected to the state legislature in 1987.

Roma has held a host of leadership positions in the Assembly. He currently serves as Chairman of the State Labor Committee and is a member of the Military and Veterans' Affairs Committee. Previously, he was an assistant Republican whip and Vice-Chairman of the Law and Public Safety Committee.

From 1985-87, Roma was a Council member from Palisades Park. While on the Council, he served as Council President and Acting Mayor.

The Bergen County Republican has been involved in numerous community and charitable activities. In the past few years, he has assisted the Special Olympics, the Red Cross, the Bergen Irish Organization, the New Jersey Law Enforcement Officers Association and the Starlight Foundation for Terminally Ill Children.

An attorney for 16 years, Roma is a partner in the Jersey City law firm of Friedman, Pearlman & Roma. He received his law degree from Samford University and his post graduate law degree from New York University.

Roma is a longtime resident of North Jersey. He attended Cliffside Park High School and Seton Hall University.

Born on July 20, 1949, Roma is married to the former Mary Ann Caporale.

PAT ROMA
FOR CONGRESS 

5 Sampson Street, Saddle Brook, NJ 07662

Honorary Chairman
Governor Thomas H. KeanHon. Chuck Haytal
Speaker of the AssemblyHon. Donald Di Francesco
Senate President

Phone: 201-845-3977

201-845-0520

Fax: 201-845-6772

SOME FACTS ABOUT CONGRESSMAN BOB TORRICELLI

- 27 bounced checks
- uses campaign funds to pay personal bills
- has only passed 1 bill during a ten year stint in Congress
- Flip-flopped on balance budget amendment. (Pat Roma strongly supports a balanced budget amendment.)
- Tax and spend liberal (cut out of the same mold as Jim Florio)
- Defended Jim Wright
- Uses congressional seat as a feeding trough for his own interests
- Against flag burning amendment
- Sent franked mail into the new district in an effort to aid reelection efforts

Page 2 — THURSDAY, APRIL 16, 1992

Roma to face Torricelli for Congress

By Jack O'Shea

Republican Assemblyman Pat Roma, age 42, of Palisades Park has worked out the basic arguments to be used in his campaign to unseat veteran Congressman Robert Torricelli of Englewood, a Democrat who is seeking his 6th term in Congress in the November election.

The winner will represent the newly revised 9th district which includes south Bergen and west Hudson counties. Roma, who is a three-term Assemblyman, is expected to easily win the GOP nomination in the June 2 Primary as Torricelli is to get the Democrats' proposed approval.

In a Leader Newspapers interview, Roma said he will campaign pledging to work unsparingly to lift New Jersey out of the recession, to create more and better jobs for district residents and, if elected, to stand as an example of personal, independent integrity in the Congress.

Roma blasted Torricelli as a go-along member of an out of control, spend-crazy Congress that has repeatedly passed laws to raise its members' pay and pensions and perpetuate itself in office with every legal advantage possible in elections, all at the expense of taxpayers.

"Congress has been controlled for 35 years by one (Democratic) party," Roma said, "and we've got government gridlock. Nothing gets done year after year. They spend all their time bickering and fighting and thinking up ways to make sure they get re-elected, then writing laws to get those ways into action. Nothing gets done and crushing problems like the national deficit get ignored year after year and get worse and

worse. They can't decide what to do about it. Torricelli is part of that system. It's got to be changed if the nation is to survive.

"Governor (Jim) Florio has line-item veto but the Democrat-controlled Congress won't give President Bush or any president line-item veto because their favorite wasteful spending projects might be cut out. So Bush or any president has to approve projects he knows are wrong because they're cleverly included in bills with projects he knows are good and beneficial.

"Talk about an elitist Congress that takes unfair advantage after making the unfairness legal. Take the franking (free-of-charge) privilege. So far this term Bob Torricelli has spent \$160,000 in mailings in his district promoting himself as well as informing constituents about Congress' business as it affects the district. It's perfectly legal but it's unfair. My Assembly allowance for mailings is \$2,500 and I represent 200,000 people (about the size of the average Congressional district).

"Bob Torricelli makes practically full use of the mailing privilege with regular district-wide mailings. I can't compete with that. No one can. All the Congressmembers in office have that extra edge over challengers. Ninety percent of them get re-elected. Thanks to unfair advantage.

"But people are starting to ask questions and are getting uncomfortable about what's going on with Congress.

"Take campaign financing. Bob Torricelli already has \$1.2 million in campaign funds. That's a tremendous advantage over me or over anyone who challenges him. I can't

match his fund-raising. It's like a nuclear weapon in his hands.

"Recently Bob Torricelli went along as Congress voted at 2 o'clock in the morning to sneak a vote to give themselves a 30 percent pay raise. Plus a 3.5 cost-of-living raise that goes on forever. Right now, if Mr. Torricelli leaves office tomorrow, he'll get \$1.1 million worth of pension payments if he lives a normal life-span. If he should live to be 100, he'll get more than that. I didn't make this information up. I got it from the General Accounting Office which is a branch of the Congress itself.

"So you see, Congress takes care of itself and can't find the time or dedication to take care of their own people. They spend and spend and have no creative vision, no ideas of how to solve national problems that they're paid to solve. That they promised to try to solve when they ran for office.

"Torricelli is part and parcel of that dead, uncreative system that has failed America. The people are tired of it. They want new ideas. They want change.

"If I get elected, I would bring a record of honesty and integrity to Congress.

"Listen, already Torricelli is sending free-of-charge mailings into the new 9th District. Before it's even officially formed yet. I can't legally do that. But he can. It's legal. I could send private mailings if I can find the money to do that.

"What I want is a level playing-field. And if I can't get that, I want the voters to know that I'm running against an opponent that makes full use of unfair advantage.

"In this election, the economy... prosperly... these will be the big issues. I'm dedicated to the improvement of working man and woman. We've simply got to do more to help jobless people find work. Create economic opportunity. Work out of the recession into a decent economic landscape again.

"As Assemblyman, I've had the wholehearted backing of organized labor groups. The State AFL-CIO headed by Charlie Marciano. I've had the backing of the state and Bergen County Education Associations. Business and environmental

groups have helped elect me three times. The Sierra Club and the Environmental Federation have supported me. They know I keep my promises and commitments. I go out and meet people and get ideas from them. I get to know what they're thinking. I don't sit in the office and decide I know what's best for other people," he said.

Roma admitted that Torricelli would be tough to defeat despite a growing public revulsion against an elitist, self-protecting Congress. He admitted that Torricelli had impressive strengths: intelligence, activism, a talent for public relations and for constituent services. Roma shared Torricelli's support of the war on Iraq.

"Saddam Hussein was a tyrant terrorizing a vital area," Roma said. "President Bush had to act. No one wants war but action had to be taken."

In the Assembly, Roma served four years on the vital Appropriations Committee which decides which projects get how much money. He called his membership "the best practical education in government you can get."

An attorney, he also served on the Law and Public Safety Committee. He's now chairman of the Labor Committee and a member of the Military and Veterans' Affairs Committee.

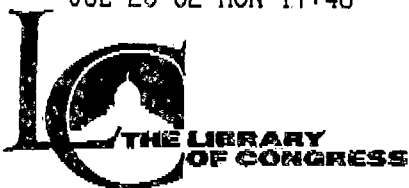
"Republicans switch committee membership around so as to make each member familiar with as many areas of state government as possible," he said.

Roma represents the 38th Legislative District. Though he lives in Palisades Park his legislative office is at 40 East Midland Ave., Paramus.

Observers say that Roma is the strongest candidate the Republicans have yet fielded against Torricelli. Other candidates were Neil Romano of Englewood Cliffs, a management specialist; Arthur Jones of Leonia, former Mayor and Freeholder; Roger Lane, former Mayor of New Milford; and Peter Russo, Lyndhurst park commissioner.

Congressman Torricelli has been contacted for a similar interview on his achievements and re-election strategies.





Date: July 20, 1992

FACSIMILE COVER PAGE

TO

Name: Ed Walters

Location: White House Research

Telephone Number: () 456-7750 FAX Equipment Number: () 456-6218

FROM

Name: Trene Stecker

Location: Librarian's office.

Telephone Number: () 207-6150 FAX Equipment Number: () 207-1714

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Will let you know tomorrow, if
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1 of 7 pages

THE BROTHERS KARAMAZOV

"And the old man?"

"The kiss glows in his heart, but the old man adheres to his idea."

"And you with him, you too?" cried Alyosha, mournfully.

Ivan laughed.

"Why, it's all nonsense, Alyosha. It's only a senseless poem of a senseless student, who could never write two lines of verse. Why do you take it so seriously? Surely you don't suppose I am going straight off to the Jesuits, to join the men who are correcting His work? Good Lord, it's no business of mine. I told you, all I want is to live on to thirty, and then . . . dash the cup to the ground!"

"But the little sticky leaves, and the precious tombs, and the blue sky, and the woman you love! How will you live, how will you love them?" Alyosha cried sorrowfully. "With such a hell in your heart and your head, how can you? No, that's just what you are going away for, to join them . . . if not, you will kill yourself, you can't endure it!"

"There is a strength to endure everything," Ivan said with a cold smile.

"What strength?"

"The strength of the Karamazov—the strength of the Karamazov baseness."

"To sink into debauchery, to stifle your soul with corruption, yes?"

"Possibly even that . . . only perhaps till I am thirty I shall escape it, and then."

"How will you escape it? By what will you escape it? That's impossible with your ideas."

"In the Karamazov way, again."

"'Everything is lawful,' you mean? Everything is lawful, is that it?"

Ivan scowled, and all at once turned strangely pale.

"Ah, you've caught up yesterday's phrase, which so offended Miusov—and which Dmitri pounced upon so naïvely and paraphrased!" he smiled queerly. "Yes, if you like, 'everything is lawful' since the word has been said. I won't deny it. And Mitya's version isn't bad."

Alyosha looked at him in silence.

"I thought that going away from here I have you at least,"

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25

THE BROTHERS KARAMAZOV

you must confess, too! You must, you must, we'll go together. That's how it shall be!"

Ivan said this solemnly and resolutely, and from his flashing eyes alone it could be seen that it would be so.

"You are ill, I see, you are quite ill. Your eyes are yellow," Smerdyakov commented, without the least irony, with apparent sympathy in fact.

"We'll go together," Ivan repeated. "And if you won't go, no matter, I'll go alone."

Smerdyakov paused as though pondering.

"There'll be nothing of the sort, and you won't go," he concluded at last positively.

"You don't understand me," Ivan exclaimed reproachfully.

"You'll be too much ashamed, if you confess it all. And, what's more, it will be no use at all, for I shall say straight out that I never said anything of the sort to you, and that you are either ill (and it looks like it, too), or that you're so sorry for your brother that you are sacrificing yourself to save him and have invented it all against me, for you've always thought no more of me than if I'd been a fly. And who will believe you, and what single proof have you got?"

"Listen, you showed me those notes just now to convince me."

Smerdyakov lifted the book off the notes and laid it on one side.

"Take that money away with you," Smerdyakov sighed.

"Of course I shall take it. But why do you give it to me, if you committed the murder for the sake of it?" Ivan looked at him with great surprise.

"I don't want it," Smerdyakov articulated in a shaking voice, with a gesture of refusal. "I did have an idea of beginning a new life with that money in Moscow or, better still, abroad. I did dream of it, chiefly because 'all things are lawful.' That was quite right what you taught me, for you talked a lot to me about that. For if there's no everlasting God, there's no such thing as virtue, and there's no need of it. You were right there. So that's how I looked at it."

"Did you come to that of yourself?" asked Ivan, with a wry smile.

"With your guidance."

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them denied God—and I believe that period, analogous with
geological periods, will come to pass—the old conception of
the universe will fall of itself without cannibalism and what's
more the old morality, and everything will begin anew. Men
will unite to take from life all it can give, but only for joy
and happiness in the present world. Man will be lifted up with
a spurt of divine Titanic pride and the man-god will appear.
From hour to hour extending his conquest of nature infinitely
by his will and his science, man will feel such lotry joy from
hour to hour in doing it that it will make up for all his old
dreams of the joys of heaven. Every one will know that he
is mortal and will accept death proudly and serenely like a
god. His pride will teach him that it's useless for him to repine
at life's being a moment, and he will love his brother without
need of reward. Love will be sufficient only for a moment of
life, but the very consciousness of its momentariness will in-
tensity its fire, which now is dissipated in dreams of eternal
love beyond the grave . . . and so on and so on in the same
style. Charming!"

Ivan sat with his eyes on the floor; and his hands pressed to
his ears, but he began trembling all over. The voice continued.
"The question now is, my young thinker reflected, is it
possible that such a period will ever come? If it does, every-
thing is determined and humanity is settled for ever. But as,
owing to man's inveterate stupidity, this cannot come about
for at least a thousand years, every one who recognises the
truth even now may legitimately order his life as he pleases, on
the new principles. In that sense, all things are lawful for
him. What's more, even if this period never comes to pass,
since there is anyway no God and no immortality, the new
era may well become the man-god, even if he is the only one
in the whole world, and promoted to his new position, he may
legitimately overthrow all the barriers of the old morality of
the old slave-man, if necessary. There is no law for God.
There God stands, the place is holy. Where I stand will be at
the foremost place . . . all things are lawful, and that's
the end of it! That's all very charming; but if you want to
understand why do you want a moral sanction for doing it? But
let's our modern Russian all over. He can't bring himself to

I V A N

Достоевский, Федор Михайлович

THE MODERN LIBRARY COLLEGE EDITIONS

The Brothers KARAMAZOV

BY FYODOR DOSTOYEVSKY

TRANSLATED BY *Constance Garnett*

INTRODUCTION BY *Marc Slonim*

English Faculty, Sarah Lawrence College



The Modern Library · New York

2. *The Agony of Populist Art*

425

In *The Possessed* we are led to believe that the entire intelligentsia is possessed, that Verkhovensky and Stavrogin are the true and logical heirs of Stepan Trofimovich. There is no way out, and Stepan Trofimovich's last repentant wanderings are even less convincing than Raskolnikov's final "conversion" in *Crime and Punishment*. In *The Brothers*, however, Dostoevsky, unlike Musorgsky, is able to end on a note of hope, without either the melodramatic *deus ex machina* of eleventh-hour repentance and conversion or the romantic blending of religion with nationalism. Dostoevsky had experimented earlier with both answers, and there is both a melodramatic murder and a romantic image of the "Russian monk" at the center of *The Brothers*. But both the "repentance" and the "conversion" of the Karamazovs is incomplete and unconventional.

Yet Dostoevsky does conclude that man can eliminate the need for salvation by raising himself to the level of a superman for whom "all is permissible" since there is no God. The idea of a new breed of men "beyond good and evil" motivated the ideological murder by Raskolnikov and ideological suicide by Kirillov and lies behind much of Ivan Karamazov's thinking about the central crime in *The Brothers*. Yet Ivan is a tortured figure who comes close to the madness that was so characteristic of the age. Ivan wants to believe in God but is visited only by the devil; and there is, seemingly, no way out.

But Ivan is only one of three brothers, all of whom share in the common crime of patricide. The name of Smerdiakov, the illegitimate fourth brother who actually commits the crime, suggests the word for "stink" (*smerdet'*); and the word Karamazov is a compound of words meaning "black" (Tatar *kara*) and "grease" (*maz*). Like Sophocles in *Oedipus Rex* and Shakespeare in *King Lear*, Dostoevsky's drama deals with injustice to one's father. Yet unlike these, *The Brothers Karamazov* is not a tragedy. None of the three brothers dies; and the story sounds a final message of redemption.

Essential to any understanding of this "message" is the fact that it is conveyed dramatically and not didactically. The "Legend" in itself solves nothing for Dostoevsky—although it may for those who read it and take sides between the protagonists. It occurs relatively early in the novel and is itself an episode in the confrontation of the two extremes among the brothers: the humble Alyosha and the proud, intellectual Ivan. The movement toward resolution of this familiar Dostoevskian antinomy proceeds through the third brother, Dmitry, the most original creation of the novel. Dmitry is closest to the crime and is put on trial for it—thereby becoming the focus for most of the drama.

Dostoevsky's allusions to dramatists help us to understand Dmitry's

THE ICON AND THE AXE



*An Interpretive History
of Russian Culture*

by James H. Billington



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I.

THE MORE I IMMERSE MYSELF IN MY MUSIC, THE MORE CERTAIN I AM THAT SOUND IS A BRIDGE BETWEEN OUR REAL WORLD AND THE WORLD INTO WHICH WE ALL WILL EVENTUALLY PASS -- A GODLY WORLD, A SPIRITUAL WORLD. PERHAPS AN OBLIQUE PROOF OF THIS IS THE EXISTENCE OF SOUND IN ALL OF THE DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS TEMPLES AND CHURCHES: I'VE HEARD THE CHOIRES IN THE GREEK AND RUSSIAN ORTHODOX, THE ORGANS IN THE CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT, THE CANTORS IN THE JEWISH, AND THE DRUMS IN THE BUDDHIST. SOMETIMES, IN SOME RARE CASES IN MY IMAGINATION, TOGETHER WITH THE MUSIC RISING OUT OF THE SILENCE, I WOULD EXPERIENCE AN EMOTIONAL COMMUNIQUE WITH MY DEPARTED FRIENDS.

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED ON THE EVENING OF AUGUST 19th OF LAST YEAR.

I HAD LEARNED OF THE PUTSCH IN MOSCOW, AND WAS THEN WAITING IN MY PARIS APARTMENT FOR THE BROADCAST OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE OF THE JUNTA LEADING THE COUP. WATCHING AND LISTENING, I WAS HORRIFIED. I UNDERSTOOD THAT THE CURSED TERROR THAT HAD REIGNED IN MY COUNTRY FOR OVER 70 YEARS WAS RETURNING.

I CLOSED MY EYES, THEN FELT IN MY INNER BEING THE SOUNDS OF THE MUSIC OF THE 8TH SYMPHONY OF DIMITRY SHOSTAKOVICH. THE MUSIC WAS QUIET, DEVASTATINGLY EVOCATIVE OF THE INHUMAN SUFFERING OF ITS COMPOSER. WHAT I FEARED WAS

THE RETURN OF THE TIME WHEN THAT MUSIC WAS WRITTEN; THE TIME OF LIES, OF DECEIT, OF TRAMPLED HUMAN DIGNITY.

I UNDERSTOOD IN THAT MYSTIC MOMENT THAT I WAS BEING SUMMONED BY A POWER IT WAS USELESS TO RESIST. THE NEXT MORNING I FLEW TO MOSCOW, THEN WENT TO THE PARLIAMENT BUILDING--THE RUSSIAN WHITE HOUSE WHERE I SPENT THE FOLLOWING THREE DAYS.

DURING THOSE 3 DAYS -- LIKE NEVER BEFORE IN MY LIFE -- I FELT IN ME THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST.

DURING THAT FIRST NIGHT, WHILE WAITING FOR THE IMMINENT ATTACK, WE WERE SURE OF THE INEVITABILITY OF DEATH. THERE WERE OVER 30,000 UNARMED PEOPLE DEFENDING THOSE OF US WHO HAD VOLUNTARILY LOCKED OURSELVES IN THE PARLIAMENT BUILDING. BUT WHAT WERE THOSE NUMBERS TO THE COMBINED FORCES OF THE KGB, THE ARMY AND THE MILITIA, UNITED AS THEY WERE BY THE PRESENCE THEIR MINISTERS IN THE JUNTA?

IT POURED RAIN ALL NIGHT AND FOG SHROUDED THE ROOF-TOPS. AS WE LEARNED LATER, THE ATTACK HAD BEEN PLANNED BY HELICOPTERS, DEPOSITING THEIR FORCES ON THE ROOF OF THE WHITE HOUSE. BUT THE FOG AND GUSTING WIND ABORTED THAT PLAN. THE JUNTA COULD NOT KNOW THAT THEY HAD PLANNED THE OVERTHROW FOR THE HOLY FEAST OF THE TRANSFIGURATION. I AM SO CERTAIN THAT WE HAD BEEN SAVED ONLY THROUGH THE INTERVENTION OF GOD. GOD DID NOT LOOSE YET EVEN GREATER SUFFERING ON A PEOPLE TORTURED BY THEIR MERCILESS HISTORY.

WHEN I LEFT THE WHITE HOUSE AT 3 O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING, AMID THE CONSTANT EXPECTATION OF ATTACK, TO WALK AMONG THE VOLUNTEER DEFENDERS SURROUNDING THE BUILDING, I SAW MANY, MANY, MANY WITH SYMBOLS OF THEIR FAITH -- USING THEM AS DEFENSE AND SALVATION. IN THE SILENCE OF THE NIGHT, BROKEN BY THE SOUNDS OF MOVING TANK-TREADS, THE AURA OF FAITH WAS ALMOST PALPABLE. THAT MOMENT, AND THE SALVATION OF ALL OF US -- AND OF THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY -- CAME ONLY FROM GOD.

THERE ARE NOT WORDS ENOUGH TO COVER THE SPECTRUM OF EMOTION I FELT DURING THOSE 3 DAYS. 3 HAPPIEST DAYS: AS THEY WERE DAYS OF CLOSENESS TO GOD, AN ALMOST PHYSICAL AWARENESS OF HIS POWER, DAYS OF A UNITY OF FAITH WITH MY PEOPLE.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 16, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: STEVE PROVOST

FROM: JOSEPH P. DUGGAN

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS FOR CAPTIVE NATIONS

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, July 21, at 2:30 p.m., you will address approximately 5,000 supporters ~~at~~ ^{on the grounds of} the Three Saints Russian Orthodox Church in Garfield, New Jersey.

II. DISCUSSION ^{Soviet}

^{protecting the rights of families} Your remarks (approximately 10 minutes / cards), focus on the fall of Communism in Europe ^{and prospects} for a free and democratic world. They also stress the importance of faith and values, highlighting differences between your Administration and "New Age Liberals and the big government bureaucracies."

Page 2, para. 1, last sentence: "Within the next four years, I'm looking forward to . . ." sounds like he's looking forward not now but some time in the remote future.

Pg.2, para. 3, last two sentences strike a strange alliteration, each ending with the word "communism," but not in parallel construction. It just sounded strange reading it to myself.

Pg. 2 para.4, first sentence: if you strike that first "And", the sentence becomes a lot more powerful. Instead of flowing from the last paragraph, it kind of grabs you by the lapels and says, "hey, Mark my words -- this is important!" Also, why is it probable that true freedom will come to countries that have resisted it so successfully for so long?

Pg. 3, para. 2, third sentence: "I'll keep **working** to help American **workers** . . ."

Pg. 3, para 3, last sentence: "aggressive agenda" can be seen as a positive thing. Let's make it sound dirtier; like an **expensive** agenda, or a **draconian** agenda.

Pg. 3, last para., first sentence: is a condom rightly called a "device?"

Pg. 5, first sentences of first two paragraphs: I'm confused about the parts of these sentences that give a sense of time. I'll explain these in person.

Pg. 5, para. 5, first sentence: "**to fight with you** for the values we share. . ." we're not fighting with **them**, so maybe we should say "**to fight together** for the values . . ."

Public Law 86-90

July 17, 1959
[S. J. Res. 111]

JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing for the designation of the third week of July as "Captive Nations Week".

Whereas the greatness of the United States is in large part attributable to its having been able, through the democratic process, to achieve a harmonious national unity of its people, even though they stem from the most diverse of racial, religious, and ethnic backgrounds; and

Whereas this harmonious unification of the diverse elements of our free society has led the people of the United States to possess a warm understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of peoples everywhere and to recognize the natural interdependency of the peoples and nations of the world; and

Whereas the enslavement of a substantial part of the world's population by Communist imperialism makes a mockery of the idea of peaceful coexistence between nations and constitutes a detriment to the natural bonds of understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples; and

Whereas since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of the United States and of all the free peoples of the world; and

Whereas the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkistan, North Viet-Nam, and others; and

Whereas these submerged nations look to the United States, as the citadel of human freedom, for leadership in bringing about their liberation and independence and in restoring to them the enjoyment of their Christian, Jewish, Moslem, Buddhist, or other religious freedoms, and of their individual liberties; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States that the desire for liberty and independence on the part of the peoples of these conquered nations should be steadfastly kept alive; and

Whereas the desire for liberty and independence by the overwhelming majority of the people of these submerged nations constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of the best hopes for a just and lasting peace; and

Whereas it is fitting that we clearly manifest to such peoples through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July 1959 as "Captive Nations Week" and inviting the people of the United States to observe such week with appropriate ceremonies and activities. The President is further authorized and requested to issue a similar proclamation each year until such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all the captive nations of the world.

Approved July 17, 1959.

Captive Nations Week.

Public Law 86

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Practices

Week Ending Friday, July 19, 1991

Proclamation 6315—Captive Nations Week, 1991

July 12, 1991

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Each July 4, we Americans celebrate our Nation's Independence with a profound sense of gratitude for the blessings of liberty. Yet, as we rejoice in our freedom, we also remember our solemn obligation to speak out in behalf of those peoples who suffer under tyranny and oppression. Thus, this month we also observe Captive Nations Week.

Established at a time when Marxist-Leninist regimes had enslaved many nations of the world and overshadowed others with the very real threat of expansionism, our annual observance of Captive Nations Week has underscored our determination to defend the ideals of national sovereignty and individual liberty. It has also underscored our belief in the inevitable triumph of freedom and democratic ideals. Now, after more than three decades, we can see that our faith has been well founded; our vigilance and resolve have borne fruit.

The world has entered a promising new era. Communism has failed throughout Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union has taken important steps toward democracy and openness. More and more regimes that once ruled by terror and force have fallen, swept away by courageous peoples who are eager to take their rightful place in the community of free nations—a community that is marked by respect for human rights and the rule of law.

Tragically, however, despite these welcome changes, there remain captive peoples whose sufferings cannot be overlooked. The United States is determined to keep faith with all oppressed peoples and to assist peaceful efforts to promote democracy and freedom. Indeed, until freedom and independence have been achieved for every

captive nation, we shall continue to call on all governments and states to uphold both the letter and the spirit of international human rights agreements, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the more recent Charter of Paris.

The Congress, by Joint Resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July of each year as "Captive Nations Week."

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning July 14, 1991, as Captive Nations Week. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge them to reaffirm their commitment to upholding the God-given right of all peoples to liberty, justice, and self-determination.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twelfth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-one, 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, 11:01 a.m., July 15, 1991]

Note: This proclamation was not received in time for inclusion in last week's issue.

White House Statement on the Trade Enhancement Initiative for Central and Eastern Europe

July 12, 1991

During President Walesa's visit to Washington in March, President Bush announced a trade enhancement initiative for the Cen-

Robert Byrd and Jamie L. Whitten, chairmen of the Senate and House of Representatives Committees on Appropriations, respectively.

Remarks at a Ceremony Commemorating Captive Nations Week July 21, 1989

Thank you all for coming today to the White House. And I want to welcome you to the White House and to an occasion, Captive Nations Week, marked by sadness, but blessed by hope. And today we meet to signal our deep concern at the fate of nations, and peoples as well, whose liberty has been held captive. And we applaud the movement toward democracy taking place in the world and the changes yet to come.

Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree." Well, I have just returned, hopeful and encouraged, from visits to Poland and Hungary, two nations on the threshold of historic change. And I can say to you: The old ideas are blowing away; freedom is in the air.

For 40 years, Poland and Hungary endured what's been called the dilemma of the single alternative: one political party, one definition of national interest, one social and economic model—in short, one future, prescribed by an alien ideology. But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to nations, self-determination. And yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to despair. There, as elsewhere, the light of liberty would not go out.

And 10 days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion, and filled a square in Budapest named after a freedom fighter who believed in that democracy which linked the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world. Lajos Kossuth arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had temporarily been lost. And yet in his remarks to

the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "steady faith in principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality.

The heroism of such patriots inspires us and teaches us. For they embody the spirit of Captive Nations Week, the spirit which says that freedom around the world is not divisible, and which lives in the brave immigrants from captive nations who are beside me: Polito Grau de Aguerro, for instance, a political prisoner in Cuba before fleeing to America, or Haing Ngor, who fled Cambodia after the Holocaust and won an Academy Award for his role in "The Killing Fields." These seven people are heroes, for they have shown the power of courage and free expression.

And last week, I saw how the peoples of Poland and Hungary are leading the way toward this democratic future, casting rays of light on other nations that are not as fortunate. For within these nations, men and women are standing up for the cause of liberty often at enormous cost, a cause the Czech writer Václav Havel once called the "living in truth."

This truth forms the heart of Captive Nations Week, for it dictates that liberty be political and economic, religious and intellectual. "Living in truth" suggests that democratic ideals can make all things possible for a nation and for its people, and that the individual, not the state, is the voice of tomorrow.

We see that truth in the successful return of democracy to Pakistan. And in Africa, where liberty lights those nations moving away from state socialism with new success. The hated system of apartheid is on the defensive. And in our hope for a Cambodia with self-determination for her people, and a complete and verified Vietnamese withdrawal with no return to power by the Khmer Rouge. And today the light of liber-

ty is illuminating the face of Eastern and central Europe and reflecting the changes taking place within the Soviet Union toward greater openness at home and away from confrontation abroad. Such openness prompted the barbed wire fence between Austria and Hungary to be dismantled. And the portion I received—sitting right here—the portion I received as a gift is now on display, and I'd love to have you all take a look at it after this. And a spirit of renewal lights the Baltic States—Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia—striving to recapture their national history.

These nations know, as we know, that that tide is moving toward change, economic and political. For around the world, we see democracy opening markets and boundaries, freeing hearts, freeing minds.

And therefore, to nations of Eastern and central Europe striving to reclaim their national heritage, we say: America stands with you. And to the peoples of China and Vietnam and Laos, Ethiopia and Nicaragua, striving for freedom, we say: America stands with you. And to the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria uprooted from their homes and forced to flee across the border, we say: America stands with you. Indeed, to all nations, America proclaims that the truth cannot forever be intimidated by force. For history shows and the human will proclaims that liberty can light the darkest night.

Last Tuesday thousands filled the streets in Gdansk—peacefully, movingly—to honor the spirit of Solidarity. But their presence did more. It expressed the belief that de-

mocracy underscores the dignity of man. Among the celebrants was the patriot who, above all others, has made Poland's future possible. Astonished by the turnout, he found pride in freedom's past and hope in its tomorrow. As Poles—cheering, many crying—flanked our motorcade, Lech Walesa turned to me and said simply, "This is fantastic." And he was moved and stirred by the wonder of the moment and the crowds that came out to pay their respects to the freedom that the United States of America epitomizes.

And in coming years, that wonder can uplift the world—in Prague and Kabul, Tallinn, Riga, Vilnius—in the hopes and dreams of people who believe in an open and peaceful world, and who have endured much, and who will survive everything, through the triumph of the heart.

To love freedom, to overcome oppression—this is their spirit and the meaning of Captive Nations Week. We love them, and we are with them, for we will never waiver nor surrender. And so, together, let us raise what Lajos Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty," the star that can help all captive peoples know the dignity that sets men free.

Thank you for your participation in this wonderful occasion. I'll never forget it. And God bless you, and thanks for coming to the White House. And God bless the United States of America, and all that we stand for. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:02 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Remarks on Transmitting to the Congress Proposed Legislation To Amend the Clean Air Act

July 21, 1989

Welcome to the steamy Rose Garden, Mr. Speaker and distinguished Members of the Congress.

Something that was truly striking during my recent travels in Europe was this genuine excitement and enthusiasm spreading about the environmental issues. And the

economic summit in Paris was largely devoted to the environment and what it means for the quality of life on our planet. Our neighbors abroad feel a sense of shared commitment. They're cooperating to find solutions, and we're working very closely with them.

ence D. Rappleyea, State assembly minority leader; Pat Barrett, State Republican Party committee chairman; Dick Rosenbaum, Republican national committeeman; Ned Regan, State comptroller; Bernard Smith, Republican candidate for State attorney general; John Bush, former official of the State Republican Party; Rita DiMartino, State Republican Party committee vice chairwoman; Joe Mondello, Nassau County

Republican Party chairman; Geff Yancey, Republican candidate for Lieutenant Governor; Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Richard A. Gephardt, House majority leader; Robert H. Michel, House Republican leader; Robert Dole, Senate Republican leader; and George J. Mitchell, Senate majority leader. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at a Ceremony Commemorating Captive Nations Week July 25, 1990

The President. Thank you very much, and welcome—welcome to the Rose Garden. And a special welcome to some of our guests—to all of you—but to some special guests today. Of course, I'm very pleased the Vice President is with me for this special occasion; Secretary Derwinski over here, who's been a leader in all of this for many, many years; and of course, our Deputy Secretary, Larry Eagleburger—Deputy Secretary of State; and Dick Carlson, the head of the Voice. And so many of our friends from Congress, welcome to all of you. And a special, again, salute and welcome to all of you who have been in the forefront of the captive nations cause for so many years.

You know, for the last 32 years, Presidents from Eisenhower to Reagan have commemorated the ongoing struggle of captive nations. And traditionally, this one has been the ceremony to commemorate the ongoing struggle of these nations, to bear witness to the suffering of millions—a ceremony to honor courage, a ceremony to tell everyone still in captivity that they are not forgotten. These previous captive nations ceremonies have not been moments of joy but really, rather, of serious rededication and sadness that so many in our world lived in the throes of tyranny.

The Revolution of 1989 was stunning—thrilling, clearly a historic time. And at this ceremony last year, we told the world that we would keep faith with those who were oppressed; and we did. And then taking

their lives into their own hands, the very people who are in our hearts crafted an unforgettable year of triumph—the triumph of brave hearts, the triumph of people declaring they would control their own destinies. And last summer while we were in Eastern Europe, Barbara and I sensed that excitement in the air, that some of you here had been telling me about. In meetings with the people of Poland and Hungary, I pledged America's strong support for their historic struggle. And like most Americans, we watched in joy as the barbed wire on that Austrian-Hungarian border came down. And we were deeply moved as the changes swept across the continent bringing within reach the vision of a Europe truly whole and free.

For four long decades, America and her allies have remained united and strong in our mission for peace and freedom. That strength has at long last borne some fruit. What an amazing year this has been—a year of technicolor glory in lands that had been defined by these black watchtowers and walls, and the drab emptiness of lost dreams.

But we are gathered here today not just to celebrate the joyous change of this past year but to celebrate it in a very special way. With us today are some of the young people whose countries were a part of this Revolution of '89. And each is proud of his country. And it's easy to understand why they believe in themselves and in their homelands. For the bold and brilliant light

of freedom now illuminates their world. And so, to honor that shining faith in the future, I dedicate this day to this new generation of freedom and to future generations who will never have to bear the burden of tyranny. For some of this new generation this freedom means a whole new world in their own backyard. On that unforgettable morning when the East German borders fell, parents gathered up their kids and brought them to the Brandenburg Gate, the final symbol of tyranny in Berlin. And still in their pajamas, these children on this day of new freedom were passed up from friendly hand to friendly hand to have the thrill of sitting on top of the wall, looking across at the endless horizon of their dreams. And now, a new generation is coming of age in freedom.

In the audience today is a group of young interns from Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Supported by funding from private American organizations, they are spending the summer working and learning in our great country. And one is working with the speaker of North Carolina's House of Delegates, another with a television station in Washington, another with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. And they are here learning how a free society works and will return to build a free Poland, a free Hungary, a free Czechoslovakia.

But while we celebrate for those who are now free, we must also remember those who are not. And I continue to be moved by what I see and hear throughout the rest of the world where unfinished revolutions continue, one heroic story at a time. In the Americas, where a boy with nothing but a board and sail windsurfed to escape the politics of repression. In Asia, where iron tanks were met by the iron will of a courageous lone man. And today, I also want to remember especially the people of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, and renew our unflagging support for their long quest for national self-determination. The road ahead is going to be difficult. But we can now join them in looking forward with hope to the day when their long-cherished dreams will become reality.

Alongside this success story of nations, we also hear quiet stories of individuals who, even in darkness, could see the vision of

liberty; those who have risked everything in countries not yet free—the countries we must still remember today; the desperate people we must never forget, boys like Quang Trinh, a young Vietnamese teenager. He almost died escaping from the shattered life of a country where he had seen his mother killed, his father jailed, his brother's spirits broken. Quang fled the only life he had known for freedom. And he jumped into shark-infested waters for freedom. And he starved in delirium for freedom. And after he was finally rescued and told he could enter the United States, he wept all night long.

When did something touch our lives so completely that we cried for joy through the entire night? Quang calls America "freedom country." And how many of us have stopped to think of our homeland in those terms? You know, on my desk inside there in the Oval Office, I have two special mementos with me at all times. One is a small American flag, given to me in an army hospital by a soldier wounded while fighting to free our friends in Panama. It represents America's commitment to freedom and to proud people wherever they may be who seek that freedom. And the other souvenir is a piece of the Berlin Wall, one of the very first chiseled from that horrifying affront to humanity. I keep it as a reminder of the miracle which courage, strength, and unity can achieve. It's sitting right here. And I also wanted to bring with me today this piece of barbed wire which I brought to last year's ceremony—some of you may remember. It came from the Austria-Hungary border. And these two symbols of tyranny should never be forgotten.

Sitting in this peaceful Rose Garden today are several generations of these nations of miracles, including the new generation. But there are also countries that are still waiting to be free. So let us all work together so that next year this dream of freedom extends to all those countries where it is now denied. Let us pray together that the light of liberty will shine across our entire planet and that the next Captive Nations Week will be the last. Thank you all for coming here, and God bless you for your steadfast commitment to freedom around the world.

Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:35 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his

opening remarks, he referred to Secretary of Veterans Affairs Edward J. Derwinski and Richard W. Carlson, Associate Director for the Voice of America.

Appointment of Richard W. Porter as Special Assistant to the President and Executive Secretary for the Domestic Policy Council July 25, 1990

The President today announced the appointment of Richard W. Porter to be Special Assistant to the President and Executive Secretary for the Domestic Policy Council. Mr. Porter succeeds Kenneth P. Yale, who is assuming the position of Chief of Staff in the Office of Science and Technology Policy, Executive Office of the President.

Since February 1989 Mr. Porter has been the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy Review and Analysis at the Department of the Treasury. Prior to this he was an analyst and the chief writer on the domestic policy staff of Bush/Quayle '88. Mr. Porter also

served as a law clerk to Judge Richard A. Posner on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit and worked as a lawyer/economist at Lexecon, Inc., a law and economics consulting firm in Chicago, IL.

Mr. Porter is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Middlebury College and received his law degree from the University of Chicago Law School, where he was awarded the John Olin Prize as the outstanding graduate in law and economics. Mr. Porter was born and raised in Mount Kisco, NY. He is married to the former Karen Louise Anderson of Barrington Hills, IL.

Remarks on Signing the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 July 26, 1990

Evan, thank you so much. And welcome to every one of you, out there in this splendid scene of hope, spread across the South Lawn of the White House. I want to salute the Members of the United States Congress, the House and the Senate who are with us today—active participants in making this day come true. This is, indeed, an incredible day—especially for the thousands of people across the Nation who have given so much of their time, their vision, and their courage to see this act become a reality.

You know, I started trying to put together a list of all the people who should be mentioned today. But when the list started looking a little longer than the Senate testimony for the bill, I decided I better give up, or that we'd never get out of here before sunset. So, even though so many de-

serve credit, I will single out but a tiny handful. And I take those who have guided me personally over the years: of course, my friends Evan Kemp and Justin Dart, up here on the platform with me; and of course—I hope you'll forgive me for also saying a special word of thanks to two from the White House, but again, this is personal, so I don't want to offend those omitted—two from the White House, Boyden Gray and Bill Roper, who labored long and hard. And I want to thank Sandy Parrino, of course, for her leadership. And I again—it is very risky with all these Members of Congress here who worked so hard, but I can say on a very personal basis, Bob Dole has inspired me.

This is an immensely important day, a day that belongs to all of you. Everywhere I

BUSH 92 QUAYLE

NEW JERSEY

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/ 908/245-5005

July 16, 1992

TO: ED WALTERS
FR: BILL PALATUCCI
RE: PRESIDENT BUSH'S REMARKS FOR GARFIELD
FREEDOM DAY EVENT

In remarks for the Garfield event, I recommend that they include a reference to Cuba.

In New Jersey, the single dominating issue within the Cuban communities of Union City, West New York, North Bergen and Elizabeth is a liberated Cuba. New Jersey Cubans consider Cuba a captive nation.

A large and vocal pro-Bush Cuban group will be in attendance at the Freedom Day event. Any mention of a post-Castro nation would carry the day in the Cuban and Latino media.



City/State: Garfield, NJ
 Event: Three Saints Church
 Date: 7/21/92

OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE
 CONTACT SHEET

Name	Office	Phone Number
Presidential Advance Office		202/456-7565
Presidential Advance Fax Number		202/456-2820
<u>Mel Lukens</u>	<u>WH Advance</u>	<u>202/456-7565</u>
<u>Mrs Goodwin</u>		
<u>Lori Rosso</u>	<u>WH Advance</u>	<u>202/456 7565</u>
<u>Rob Vincent</u>	<u>W.H. Press Advance</u>	<u>Radisson Hotel</u>
<u>Paul Cuba</u>	<u>N.J. B-QD. Press Secretary</u>	<u>908-245-5005</u>
<u>CRISTYNE CATELANO</u>	<u>NJ B-Q Press Sec.</u>	<u>" " "</u>
<u>ROB VIVIAN</u>	<u>NT B-Q SITE ADVANCE</u>	<u>" " "</u>
<u>Jim Schaefer</u>	<u>W.H. Office of Public Liaison</u>	<u>(202) 456-7845</u>
<u>Carol Aarhus</u>	<u>WH Speechwriting</u>	<u>202-456-7750</u>
<u>JIM KALAFATIS</u>	<u>USSS Newark Field Office</u>	<u>201 645 2334</u>
<u>DICK RATHMEL</u>	<u>USSS W DC</u>	<u>202-395-6340</u>
<u>Jack Ross</u>	<u>Military Aide</u>	<u>202 395 1727</u>
<u>CHRIS ALGERI</u>	<u>USSS - N.J. F.O.</u>	<u>201-645-2334</u>
<u>DAVE HAND</u>	<u>USSS - NEWARK Field Office</u>	<u>201-645-2334</u>
<u>John Davis</u>	<u>White House Communications Agency</u>	<u>201-491-9211</u>
<u>Gordon Koch</u>	<u>White House Communications</u>	<u>201-491-9211 #1215</u>
<u>MARK BARNETT</u>	<u>WHITE HOUSE COMMUNICATIONS OPERATIONS</u>	<u>202-395-4040</u>
<u>EMILY REYNOLDS</u>	<u>B/Q National Coalitions</u>	<u>202 336 7171</u>
<u>THOMAS KAMANTIA</u>	<u>GARFIELD P.D. (Dep. Chief)</u>	<u>201-478-8500</u>
<u>Chief AL CIMINO</u>	<u>Garfield Police Dept.</u>	<u>201-478-8500</u>
<u>ANDREW J. PAVLICA</u>	<u>GARFIELD ACTING CITY MANAGER</u>	<u>(201) 340-2000</u>
<u>TRIF RIZZO</u>	<u>Rep MUNICIPAL CHAIRMAN</u>	<u>201-478-4952</u>
<u>JERRY BINNEY</u>	<u>OFFICE OF COUNTY EXEC</u>	<u>201-645-3685</u>
<u>Bill Palatucci</u>	<u>NJ B-Q '92</u>	<u>908-245-5005</u>
<u>FR ALEXANDER GOLUBOV</u>	<u>PASTOR 3 SAINTS CHURCH</u>	<u>(201) 478-7202</u>

Anthony Sitorenko, Jr

Past-President 3 Saints Church

201-478-1418

Gregory Tolischak

Controller 3 Saints Church

201-471-1645

MARK WOLCHKO

CHURCH COMMITTEE

201-470-0755

Libby Knowles

church committee

201-478-4589

Thomas Yurkoff

CHURCH COMMITTEE

201-478-8981

John S. Wolchko,

1st V. P. Church

201-478-5433

CHATLUP GARROD - ADVISOR TO
CAMPAIGN

908-463-9642

Post-it[®] brand

Fax Transmittal Memo 7672

To **ED WALTERS**
 Company **WH**
 Location
 Fax # **456-6218** Telephone #

Comments

No. of Pages **2** Today's Date **7/16** Time **10:10**
 From **N. LEFRENKO**
 Company **NSO**
 Location Dept. Charge
 Fax # Telephone # **416-8135**
 Original Disposition: Destroy Return Call for pickup

1.

THE MORE I IMMERSE MYSELF IN MY MUSIC, THE MORE CERTAIN I AM THAT SOUND IS A BRIDGE BETWEEN OUR REAL WORLD AND THE WORLD INTO WHICH WE ALL WILL EVENTUALLY PASS -- A GODLY WORLD, A SPIRITUAL WORLD. PERHAPS AN OBLIQUE PROOF OF THIS IS THE EXISTENCE OF SOUND IN ALL OF THE DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS TEMPLES AND CHURCHES: I'VE HEARD THE CHOIRES IN THE GREEK AND RUSSIAN ORTHODOX, THE ORGANS IN THE CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT, THE CANTORS IN THE JEWISH, AND THE DRUMS IN THE BUDDHIST. SOMETIMES, IN SOME RARE CASES IN MY IMAGINATION, TOGETHER WITH THE MUSIC RISING OUT OF THE SILENCE, I WOULD EXPERIENCE AN EMOTIONAL COMMUNIQUE WITH MY DEPARTED FRIENDS.

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED ON THE EVENING OF AUGUST 19th OF LAST YEAR.

I HAD LEARNED OF THE PUTSCH IN MOSCOW, AND WAS THEN WAITING IN MY PARIS APARTMENT FOR THE BROADCAST OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE OF THE JUNTA LEADING THE COUP. WATCHING AND LISTENING, I WAS HORRIFIED. I UNDERSTOOD THAT THE CURSED TERROR THAT HAD REIGNED IN MY COUNTRY FOR OVER 70 YEARS WAS RETURNING.

I CLOSED MY EYES, THEN FELT IN MY INNER BEING THE SOUNDS OF THE MUSIC OF THE 8TH SYMPHONY OF DIMITRY SHOSTAKOVICH. THE MUSIC WAS QUIET, DEVASTATINGLY EVOCATIVE OF THE INHUMAN SUFFERING OF ITS COMPOSER. WHAT I FEARED WAS

THE RETURN OF THE TIME WHEN THAT MUSIC WAS WRITTEN; THE TIME OF LIES, OF DECEIT, OF TRAMPLED HUMAN DIGNITY.

I UNDERSTOOD IN THAT MYSTIC MOMENT THAT I WAS BEING SUMMONED BY A POWER IT WAS USELESS TO RESIST. THE NEXT MORNING I FLEW TO MOSCOW, THEN WENT TO THE PARLIAMENT BUILDING--THE RUSSIAN WHITE HOUSE WHERE I SPENT THE FOLLOWING THREE DAYS.

DURING THOSE 3 DAYS -- LIKE NEVER BEFORE IN MY LIFE -- I FELT IN ME THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST.

DURING THAT FIRST NIGHT, WHILE WAITING FOR THE IMMINENT ATTACK, WE WERE SURE OF THE INEVITABILITY OF DEATH. THERE WERE OVER 30,000 UNARMED PEOPLE DEFENDING THOSE OF US WHO HAD VOLUNTARILY LOCKED OURSELVES IN THE PARLIAMENT BUILDING. BUT WHAT WERE THOSE NUMBERS TO THE COMBINED FORCES OF THE KGB, THE ARMY AND THE MILITIA, UNITED AS THEY WERE BY THE PRESENCE THEIR MINISTERS IN THE JUNTA?

IT POURED RAIN ALL NIGHT AND FOG SHROUDED THE ROOF-TOPS. AS WE LEARNED LATER, THE ATTACK HAD BEEN PLANNED BY HELICOPTERS, DEPOSITING THEIR FORCES ON THE ROOF OF THE WHITE HOUSE. BUT THE FOG AND GUSTING WIND ABORTED THAT PLAN. THE JUNTA COULD NOT KNOW THAT THEY HAD PLANNED THE OVERTHROW FOR THE HOLY FEAST OF THE TRANSFIGURATION. I AM SO CERTAIN THAT WE HAD BEEN SAVED ONLY THROUGH THE INTERVENTION OF GOD. GOD DID NOT LOOSE YET EVEN GREATER SUFFERING ON A PEOPLE TORTURED BY THEIR MERCILESS HISTORY.

WHEN I LEFT THE WHITE HOUSE AT 3 O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING, AMID THE CONSTANT EXPECTATION OF ATTACK, TO WALK AMONG THE VOLUNTEER DEFENDERS SURROUNDING THE BUILDING, I SAW MANY, MANY, MANY WITH SYMBOLS OF THEIR FAITH -- USING THEM AS DEFENSE AND SALVATION. IN THE SILENCE OF THE NIGHT, BROKEN BY THE SOUNDS OF MOVING TANK-TREADS, THE AURA OF FAITH WAS ALMOST PALPABLE. THAT MOMENT, AND THE SALVATION OF ALL OF US -- AND OF THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY -- CAME ONLY FROM GOD.

THERE ARE NOT WORDS ENOUGH TO COVER THE SPECTRUM OF EMOTION I FELT DURING THOSE 3 DAYS. 3 HAPPIEST DAYS: AS THEY WERE DAYS OF CLOSENESS TO GOD, AN ALMOST PHYSICAL AWARENESS OF HIS POWER, DAYS OF A UNITY OF FAITH WITH MY PEOPLE.

1992 GROUPS

1. Ethnic Groups

A. Armenian

Chuck Haytaian
John Hovnanian

B. Asian

Stephen Ko

C. African-American

Joe Anderson, RFA
Gordon Govens
John Smith

D. Chinese

Joshua Chow
Alan Chin

E. Cuban

Albio Sires
Jose Arango

F. Danish

Carl Peterson

G. Estonian

Dr. Ants-Pallop
K. Jaak Roosaare

H. Greek

Michael Pappas
Steve Corodemus

I. Hungarian

Gabor Bodnar

J. Indian

Cy Thannikary
Sar Khurami
Devarajan Surjata

K. Irish

Joseph "Bo" Sullivan
Pat Schuber
Gene McCaffrey

L. Italian

Frank Campione
John Renna
Dean Gallo
Angelo Valente
Matthew Rinaldo
Don DiFrancesco

M. Japanese

N. Jewish

David Kotok
Syd Sussman
Cheryl Halpern
Jerry Forman

O. Korean

Hwa Soon Meyer
J. R. Kim

P. Mongolian

Paul Wolcott

Q. Native American

Chief Roy Crazyhorse

R. Pakistani

Shahid Mahmood
Morad Abou-Sabe

S. Philippino

Gonzalo Velez
Norman San Agustin

T. Polish

Peter Chutzikiewicz
Steve Markowski
Kazmier Wysocki
Bill Kogut

U. Portuguese
Manuela Chaplin

V. Puerto Rican
Jose Sosa
Dennis Gonzalez

W. Slovak
Albin Stolarik

X. Ukranian
Andy Keybida

Y. Vietnamese
Long Lam

Z. West Indies
Robert Gangadeen

'Caravan' will roll into Jersey on Friday

NEW YORK—Bill Clinton's post-convention campaign tour bus will roll into New Jersey on Friday and roll down the New Jersey Turnpike for a stop in either Burlington or Camden County, Democratic campaign officials said yesterday.

New Jersey will be the first stop on an eight-state, six-day, tour that will take Bill Clinton, Al Gore and their wives on a bus caravan that will stop for rallies, town hall meetings and visits to factories.

Officials were to decide today whether Clinton's entourage will stop at a GE plant in Camden or a job training site in Mount Holly in Burlington County.

GE runs a training program for its own employees to up-

grade technical skills. In Mount Holly there is a "build me-keep me" training program for teenagers aimed at keeping kids in school. The program is funded by the Joint Training Partnership Act and sponsored by the Burlington County Industry Council. Teenagers involved in the program learn to build their own computers or television sets.

From New Jersey, the buses are supposed to roll into Pennsylvania and then on to West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri.

Gov. Jim Florio said in a statement, "We're delighted that Bill Clinton recognizes the significance New Jersey has in this election."

BUSH-QUAYLE '92 GARFIELD CONTACT LISTING

Tuesday, July 21

Three Saints Russian Orthodox Church
454 Outwater Lane, Garfield, New Jersey

NEW JERSEY BUSH-QUAYLE '92:

908-245-5005
Fax 908-245-5570

Executive Director: Bill Palatucci
Press Secretary: Cristyne Lategano
Deputy Press Secretary: Paul Cuba
Site advance: Mary Warner
Rob Vivian

Three Saints Church: Father Alexander Golubov 201-478-7202
Garfield Contact: Triff Rizzo 201-478-4952

COUNTY GOVERNMENT: (Contact for County Police/Airport)

Bergen County Executive: William "Pat" Schuber 201-646-3630
Chief of Staff: Jerry Binney 201-646-3685

Bergen County GOP: John Schepisi, chairman 201-487-5551
Benedict Focarino 201-487-5551
Christine Farrington

BERGEN COUNTY FREEHOLDERS:

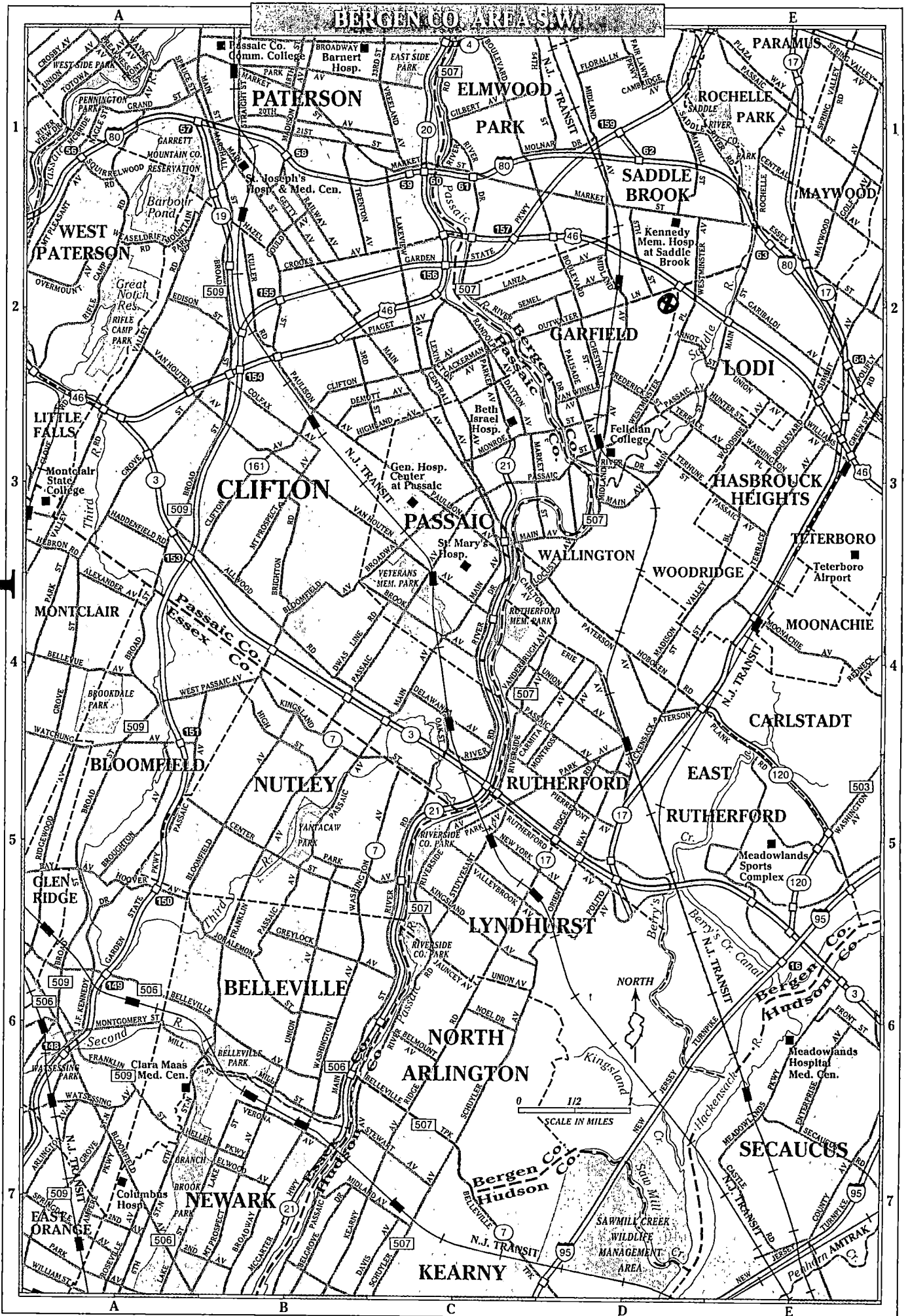
Charles "Jim" O'Dowd - Chairman
J. William Van Dyke
Barbara Chadwick
Richard Mola
Anthony Cassano
James Sheehan

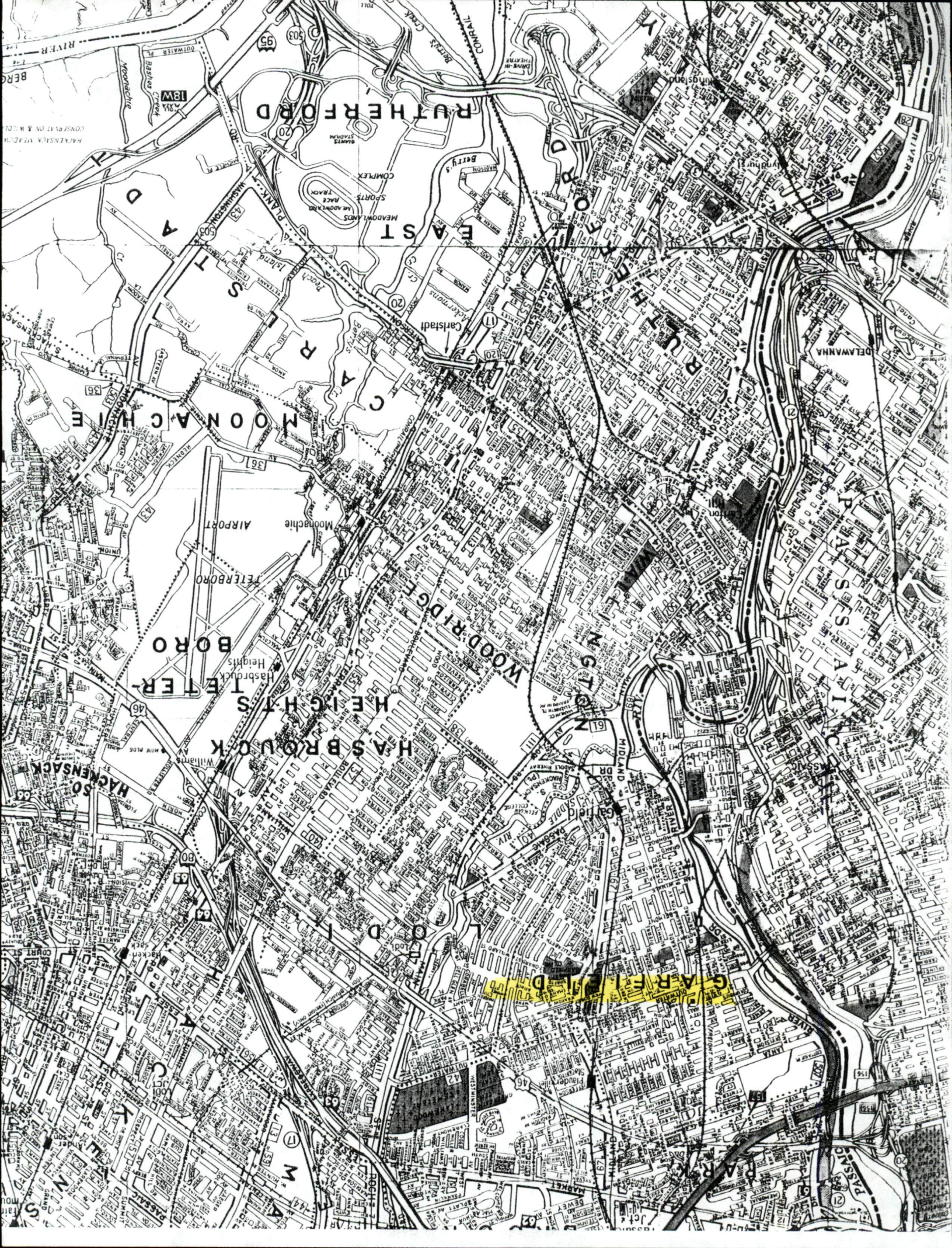
Congresswoman Marge Roukema (R-5th) 201-447-3900

District 36: Senator John Scott 201-939-9288
Assemblyman Paul DiGaetano 201-933-0533
Assemblyman John Kelly 201-667-2123

District 38: Senator Lou Kosco 201-712-1221
Assemblyman Pat Roma 201-265-6680
(Congressional candidate for Garfield - Dist. 9)
Assemblywoman Rose Heck 201-777-6344

Maps





RUTHERFORD

EAST

MOONACHIE

BORO

HEIGHTS

HASBROUCK

OLD

GARFIELD

DELWANHNA

PARMESA

WINDY

WINDY

WINDY

WINDY

WINDY

WINDY

WINDY

WINDY

WINDY

WINDY

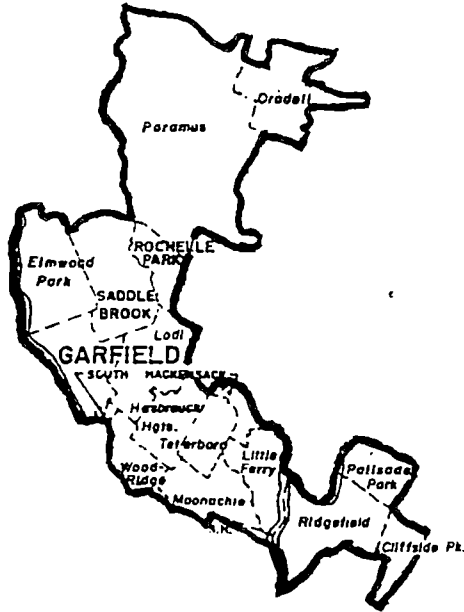
WINDY

WINDY

WINDY

WINDY

38TH DISTRICT



The Thirty-eighth District includes municipalities located in a broad arc swinging through central Bergen County. The district's declining population includes only a small number of Black persons. Fiscal resources are considerable, especially in relation to school enrollments, and state aid makes up a small part of school budgets. The average residential property value is high. Tax rates, particularly for county and school purposes, are low, and the total tax rate is the second lowest in New Jersey. The district is politically competitive, though leaning toward Democratic legislative candidates in recent years.

INCUMBENT LEGISLATORS RESIDENT IN DISTRICT

Senator Paul Contillo
 Assemblyman Thomas J. Duch
 Assemblywoman Rose Heck
 Assemblyman Patrick J. Roma
 (See Table 1 (page viii) for addresses and telephone numbers)

		Index	
POPULATION	1980 Total Population	203,893	1.1075.
	1990 Total Population	197,532	1.0221.
	1980-90 Percentage Change	- 3.1%	-.6200.
	1990 Percentage: Black Population	1.5%	-.1119.
	Hispanic-Origin Population	7.2%	.7500.
1980 Percentage:	Population Age 65 or Over	13.4%	1.1453.
	College Graduates in Population Age 25 or Older	14.8%	.8087.
ANCESTRY	Largest Ancestry Groups (1980)	Not Available	
AREA AND	Land Area in Square Miles	36.19	1.952.
DENSITY	1990 Population per Square Mile	5,458	5.2380.
FISCAL	1990 Equalized Valuation per Capita	\$ 89,305	1.3397.
	1987 Personal Income per Capita	\$ 15,613	1.0389.
RESOURCES	1990 Equalized Valuation per Public School Pupil	\$ 864,567	1.8759.
	1987 Personal Income per Public School Pupil (1990 Enrollment)	\$ 151,147	1.4576.
	1990 Residential Property Assessments as % of Total Assessed Value	63.2%	.9267.
	1990 Average (Mean) Estimated True Value of Residential Property	\$ 213,301	1.2027.
	1990-91 State Aid as Percentage of School Budgets	11.0%	.3507.
GOVERNMENTAL EXPENDITURES	1990 Municipal Budget per Capita	\$ 746	1.0332.
	1990-91 School Budget per Resident Pupil	\$ 7,986	1.0757.
EQUALIZED PROPERTY TAX RATES	1990 Average Local Tax Rate per Hundred Dollars of Equalized Value	\$.24	.5455.
	Municipal	\$.51	1.0000.
TAX RATES	School	\$.75	.7895.
	Rebate	-.04	.8000.
	Total Tax Rate	\$ 1.46	.7892.
VOTERS AND VOTER TURNOUT	1990 Registered Voters	101,749	1.0949.
	1990 Registered Voters as Percentage of Population	51.5%	1.0707.
ELECTION RESULTS	1987 State Senate: D-All Democratic Candidates	29,163 (55.8%)	1.0963.
	R-All Republican Candidates	23,101 (44.2%)	.9002.
	1988 President: D-Michael S. Dukakis	35,287 (40.4%)	.9374.
	R-George Bush	52,146 (59.6%)	1.0475.
1988 U.S. Senate:	D-Frank R. Lautenberg	44,227 (53.4%)	.9852.
	R-Peter Dawkins	38,560 (46.6%)	1.0175.
1989 Governor:	D-James J. Florio	39,659 (62.3%)	1.0016.
	R-James A. Courter	24,019 (37.7%)	.9974.
1989 General Assembly:	D-All Democratic Candidates	62,908 (51.7%)	.9682.
	R-All Republican Candidates	58,844 (48.3%)	1.0365.
1990 U.S. Senate:	D-Bill Bradley	27,881 (51.0%)	.9884.
	R-Christine Todd Whitman	26,802 (49.0%)	1.0124.
1990 Congress:	D-All Democratic Candidates	26,395 (48.0%)	.9979.
	R-All Republican Candidates	28,596 (52.0%)	1.0019.

38th DISTRICT (Part of Bergen County)

TABLE A COMMUNITY	TYPE OF MUN. COUNTY	TOTAL POPULATION			AREA IN SQ. MILES	1990 DEN- SITY	TYPE OF COM.	1990 PCT.		1980 PCT.		LARGEST ANCESTRY GRUUPS	1990 PER CAP.		1990 RES. VALUE	1990 EQUALIZED PROPERTY TAX RATES					1987 PER CAP INCOME			
		1980	1990	PCT. CHANGE				BLCK	HISP	AGE 65+	COLL. GRAD.		PROP. TAX BASE INDEX	PCT. RES.		INDEX	CG	MG	SD	REB.		TOTAL	INDEX	
CLIFFSIDE PARK	BOR. BERGEN	21,464	20,393	-5.0	.96	21,243	U-S	1.8	10.9	15.9	19.5	8 4 7	77,751	1.166	180.1	201,831	1.138	.24	.63	.64	-.04	1.47	17,696	1.178
ELMWOOD PARK	BOR. BERGEN	18,377	17,623	-4.1	2.65	6,650	U-S	.8	8.6	14.5	10.4	8 10 7	70,504	1.058	175.7	196,568	1.108	.25	.53	.73	-.05	1.46	13,775	.917
GARFIELD	CITY BERGEN	26,803	26,727	-.3	2.13	12,548	UC	2.2	9.0	15.6	7.4	8 10 4	51,673	1.775	174.0	189,619	1.069	.23	.61	.95	-.05	1.75	11,944	.795
HASBROUCK HTS.	BOR. BERGEN	12,166	11,488	-5.6	1.51	7,608	U-S	.8	4.2	15.4	18.7	8 7 4	83,810	1.257	171.8	204,809	1.155	.24	.67	.90	-.05	1.77	17,099	1.138
LITTLE FERRY	BOR. BERGEN	9,399	9,989	6.3	1.53	6,529	U-S	3.7	8.4	10.1	14.6	8 7 4	70,044	1.051	60.8	186,773	1.053	.23	.64	.72	-.04	1.55	16,027	1.066
LODI	BOR. BERGEN	23,956	22,355	-6.7	2.26	9,892	U-S	2.9	9.2	11.5	10.0	8 7 4	58,012	.870	162.4	196,410	1.107	.23	.74	1.03	-.04	1.95	13,415	.893
MOONACHIE	BOR. BERGEN	2,706	2,817	4.1	1.72	1,638	U-S	.8	5.4	9.5	4.8	1 4 7	202,694	3.041	23.1	216,004	1.218	.26	.29	.41	-.01	.94	14,065	.936
ORADELL	BOR. BERGEN	8,658	8,024	-7.3	2.44	3,289	U-S	.3	1.9	11.7	34.5	8 4 7	117,967	1.770	86.5	294,112	1.658	.23	.47	.94	-.04	1.60	23,753	1.581
PALISADES PARK	BOR. BERGEN	13,732	14,536	5.9	1.21	12,013	U-S	1.6	11.5	14.4	13.3	8 7 4	69,759	1.046	69.1	229,603	1.295	.23	.49	.77	-.03	1.46	14,747	.981
PARAMUS	BOR. BERGEN	26,474	25,067	-5.3	10.48	2,392	IS	.8	3.6	10.6	22.9	8 4 7	149,368	2.241	51.5	254,578	1.435	.25	.42	.69	-.03	1.33	17,874	1.189
RIDGEFIELD	BOR. BERGEN	10,294	9,996	-2.9	2.61	3,830	U-S	.8	6.8	16.0	13.9	8 4 7	96,825	1.452	166.7	233,406	1.316	.24	.05	.77	-.03	1.03	15,180	1.010
ROCHELLE PARK	TWP. BERGEN	5,603	5,587	-.3	1.05	5,321	U-S	.3	3.4	17.4	11.6	8 4 7	101,772	1.527	58.3	186,153	1.050	.23	.55	.65	-.04	1.40	15,411	1.025
SADDLE BROOK	TWP. BERGEN	14,084	13,296	-5.6	2.72	4,888	U-S	1.1	3.4	10.0	12.6	8 7 4	107,659	1.615	59.3	193,562	1.091	.23	.39	.63	-.04	1.21	16,437	1.094
SOUTH HACKENSACK	TWP. BERGEN	2,229	2,106	-5.5	.71	2,966	U-S	2.1	8.3	11.6	6.3	8 4 7	181,234	2.719	27.2	192,663	1.086	.25	.72	.55	-.02	1.51	13,057	.888
TETERBORO	BOR. BERGEN	19	22	15.8	1.11	20	U-S	0.0	0.0	15.8	0.0	. . .	9845446	147.7	.324	.77	.00	0.00	1.01	19,248	1.281
WOOD-RIDGE	BOR. BERGEN	7,929	7,506	-5.3	1.10	6,824	U-S	.7	3.9	13.6	14.2	8 7 4	83,953	1.259	175.6	191,900	1.082	.25	.61	.77	-.06	1.57	16,944	1.127

Type of Community Codes:
 MUC-Major Urban Center
 UC -Urban Center
 UCR-Urban Center-Rural
 U-S-Urban-Suburban
 S -Suburban
 S-R-Suburban-Rural
 RC -Rural Center
 RCR-Rural Center-Rural
 R -Rural
 SSR-Seashore Resort

Ancestry Group Codes:
 1-Dutch
 2-English
 3-French
 4-German
 5-Greek
 6-Hungarian
 7-Irish
 8-Italian
 9-Norwegian
 10-Polish
 11-Portuguese
 12-Russian
 13-Scottish
 14-Swedish
 15-Ukrainian
 21-Black
 22-American Indian
 23-Asian
 24-Spanish-origin

TABLE B COMMUNITY	1990 REG. VOTERS	PCT. OF POP.	PER CENT VOYER TURNOUT				1987 STATE SENATE		1988 PRESIDENT		1988 U. S. SENATE		1989 GOVERNOR		1989 GENERAL ASSEMBLY				1990 U. S. SENATE		1990 CONGRESS			
			1987	1988	1989	1990	DEM.	REP.	DEM.	REP.	DEM.	REP.	DEM.	REP.	DEM. 1	DEM. 2	REP. 1	REP. 2	DEM.	REP.	CD	DEM.	REP.	
CLIFFSIDE PARK	9,910	48.6	5,839	59.6	81.7	66.6	58.9	3,984	1,838	4,382	4,575	5,230	3,090	4,632	1,940	4,079	4,038	2,178	1,994	3,274	2,017	9	3,455	2,079
ELMWOOD PARK	9,095	51.6	5,093	55.1	83.0	63.9	56.0	3,334	0	3,315	4,320	4,135	3,139	3,540	1,946	3,441	3,298	1,781	1,760	2,369	2,324	9	2,487	2,143
GARFIELD	10,852	40.6	4,820	52.8	74.6	58.7	44.4	2,878	2,886	4,164	4,983	4,936	3,461	4,313	2,098	3,674	3,836	2,512	2,233	2,225	2,103	9	2,449	1,884
HASBROUCK HTS.	6,515	56.7	3,770	56.2	82.2	69.6	57.9	1,609	2,346	1,855	4,022	2,556	3,080	2,269	1,994	1,559	1,541	2,692	2,594	1,480	2,114	9	1,604	1,987
LITTLE FERRY	4,806	48.1	2,789	53.2	79.4	65.1	58.0	1,425	1,454	1,560	2,602	2,014	1,923	2,009	1,134	1,454	1,398	1,669	1,600	1,350	1,250	9	1,462	1,153
LODI	10,915	48.8	4,733	44.1	77.7	60.8	43.4	2,972	1,682	4,105	4,512	4,712	3,301	4,394	1,592	3,679	3,328	2,050	2,167	2,636	1,817	9	2,836	1,686
MOONACHIE	1,503	53.4	1,000	55.7	78.3	59.0	66.5	447	387	518	749	658	544	615	346	491	502	426	390	500	407	9	541	388
ORADELL	5,025	62.6	2,959	53.1	83.9	67.0	58.9	951	1,697	1,344	3,215	1,857	2,544	1,449	1,877	887	935	2,375	2,287	1,128	1,838	5	1,032	2,286
PALISADES PARK	6,528	44.9	4,303	50.7	71.9	63.3	65.9	1,776	1,793	2,213	3,183	2,677	2,463	2,494	1,543	1,868	1,755	2,163	2,215	1,724	9	2,203	1,854	
PARAMUS	14,285	57.0	8,963	47.5	80.6	62.8	62.7	4,215	2,951	4,734	7,735	6,256	5,773	5,284	3,589	4,046	4,034	4,813	4,540	4,188	4,261	5	2,079	6,126
RIDGEFIELD	5,629	56.3	3,387	55.8	86.5	67.9	60.2	1,558	1,873	1,972	3,157	2,387	2,463	2,325	1,537	1,902	1,938	1,813	1,687	1,412	1,784	9	1,400	1,791
ROCHELLE PARK	3,153	56.4	2,063	46.8	82.0	69.3	65.4	701	778	1,011	1,729	1,272	1,319	1,175	921	779	755	1,244	1,214	877	1,067	5	403	1,482
SADDLE BROOK	7,521	56.6	5,277	40.7	80.8	63.2	70.2	1,671	1,344	2,316	4,081	3,161	2,984	2,818	1,794	1,991	1,894	2,372	2,314	2,436	2,290	9	2,581	1,990
SOUTH HACKENSACK	1,403	66.6	1,006	66.5	50.7	75.8	71.7	343	496	394	681	471	517	608	377	450	440	471	419	431	437	9	435	444
TETERBORO	19	86.4	16	85.0	94.4	77.8	84.2	11	6	2	13	5	9	4	8	3	2	11	10	3	13	9	7	44
WOOD-RIDGE	4,590	61.2	2,767	61.7	81.1	67.8	60.3	1,288	1,570	1,402	2,589	1,900	1,950	1,730	1,323	1,430	1,481	1,557	1,393	1,357	1,356	9	1,421	1,294



Date: 7/21/92

FACSIMILE COVER PAGE

TO

Name: Ed Walters

Location: White House Research

Telephone Number: () _____ FAX Equipment Number: () 456-6218

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Name: Irene Stecker

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Messages (if any): This long passage is Ivan's dialogue with the "devil" in Chapt IX, Book XI, "The devil. Ivan's nightmare," Brothers Karamazov.

1 of 2 pages

"I forbid you to speak of 'The Grand Inquisitor,'" cried Ivan, crimson with shame.

"And the 'Geological Cataclysm.' Do you remember? That was a poem, now!"

"Hold your tongue, or I'll kill you!"

"You'll kill me? No, excuse me, I will speak. I came to treat myself to that pleasure. Oh, I love the dreams of my ardent young friends, quivering with eagerness for life! 'New men are there,' you decided last spring, when you were meaning to come here, 'they propose to destroy everything and begin with cannibalism. Stupid fellows! they didn't ask my advice! I maintain that nothing need be destroyed, that we need to destroy only the idea of God in mankind; that's how we have to set to work. That's what one should begin with. That's what, that's what one should begin with. Oh, blind race of men who have no understanding! As soon as men have all of them denied God—and I believe that period, analogous with geological periods, will come to pass—the old conception of the universe will fall of itself without cannibalism and, what's more, the old morality, and everything will begin anew. Men will unite to take from life all it can give, but only for joy and happiness in the present world. Man will be lifted up with a spirit of divine Titanic pride and the man-god will appear. From hour to hour extending his conquest of nature infinitely by his will and his science, man will feel such lofty joy from hour to hour in doing it that it will make up for all his old hopes of attaining the joys of heaven. Every one will know that he is wholly mortal, that there is no resurrection, and will accept death proudly and serenely like a god. His pride will teach him that it's useless for him to murmur because

life is but a moment, and he will love his brother without need of reward. Love will be sufficient unto the moment of life, but the very consciousness of its momentariness will intensify its fire, which now is dissipated in dreams of eternal love beyond the grave' . . . and so on and so on in the same style. Very charming!"

Ivan sat with his eyes on the floor and his hands pressed to his ears, but he began trembling all over. The voice continued.

"The question now is, my young thinker reflected, is it possible that such a period will ever come? If it does, everything is determined and humanity is settled for ever. But as, owing to man's inveterate stupidity, this cannot come about for at least a thousand years, every one who recognises the truth even now may legitimately order his life as he pleases, on the new principles. In that sense, 'everything is permitted' for him. What's more, even if this period never comes to pass, since there is anyway no God and no immortality, the new man may well become the man-god, even if he is the only one in the whole world, and, promoted to his new rank, he may lightheartedly overstep all the barriers of the morality of the old slave-man, if necessary. There is no law for God. Where God stands, the place is holy. Where I stand will be at once the foremost place . . . 'everything is permitted' and that's the end of it! That's all very charming; but if you want to swindle, why do you want a moral sanction for doing it? But that's our modern Russian all over. He can't bring himself to swindle without a moral sanction. He is so in love with truth . . ."

The visitor talked, obviously carried away by his own eloquence, speaking louder and louder and looking ironi-