FOURTH ANNUAL MESSAGE

Governor Kean delivered his Fourth Annual Message to the First Session of the 202nd Legislature on the afternoon of its organization, Jan. 14, 1986. The printed version of the message is much longer than the text the governor used for the speech.

The text from which the governor delivered the address, frequently departing as he spoke, appears below. The boldface headings were inserted by the Manual editors as reference aids for the reader.

IT IS MY HONOR and constitutional duty to report to you on the condition of the state.

I do so with an enthusiastic message of welcome to Speaker Hardwick and his new Republican majority and to Senate President Russo. I look forward to facing the challenges ahead with you, together. At the same time, I would like to offer my personal thanks and good wishes to Assemblyman Karcher and Senator Orechio. You have served the state well as leaders.

I would also like to welcome my two distinguished predecessors, Governor Cahill and Governor Hughes.

The strong economy

I am proud to report today that New Jersey is strong and healthy. The state of the state is good.

Three and a half million New Jerseyans are at work today—more than at any other time in our state's history.

Our standard of living is higher than 47 other states.

We have risen to fifth in the nation in tourism. Fourth in foreign investment. Our leadership in high technology is earning us the title of "Silicon Valley of the East."

Not content to rest on our laurels, New Jersey has moved confidently where other states dare not tread.

In the year past, we put in place the first law to prevent the accidental

release of toxic chemicals into the air. We raised our starting teachers salaries to the highest in the country. We became the first state to take action against the evil that is apartheid.

As 1986 begins, New Jersey is a leader. The people we represent know it.

As I traveled across the state last year, I saw New Jersey pride everywhere.

Pride in New Jersey

I saw New Jersey pride on the streets of Newark, as a group of citizens worked to rebuild a neighborhood. I saw New Jersey pride last month, in the smiles of Hudson County Hispanic children who decorated our Christmas Tree. I saw New Jersey pride in Cherry Hill, as policemen worked through the year to make sure that the handicapped children had a good holiday.

I saw New Jersey pride in many places and in many faces, but always the ingredients were the same. A knowledge that this state is on the move and a willingness of people to give something of themselves to keep that forward movement going.

We are fortunate. In the past, we have confronted crises. A budget crisis. A school crisis. A transportation crisis. An unemployment crisis. A prison crisis.

One by one, we worked together to solve these crises. Together, we made New Jersey a leader in the 1980's.

We should be proud of those accomplishments, but now is no time to relax.

The poet, Ralph Waldo Emerson, once wrote, "What we call results are really just beginnings."

The positive results we see today are the beginnings of a foundation we are laying for the next century.

Anticipating the future

Today, I ask you to think of what kind of state you want this to be in the year 2,000.

What are your hopes? Your dreams? Your expectations? What are you willing to do to make them come true?

Will our streams and lakes and ocean be clean? Will our children have received the kind of education they deserve?

Today, and for the next four years, I ask all New Jerseyans to work toward New Jersey 2000. To advance our efforts, I will create a special commission—the New Jersey 2000 commission—To study and identify the trends, problems and issues that we must anticipate.

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What do I think it will take to put New Jersey first in the year 2,000? Two things.

A state government that nurtures a climate that rewards the man or woman with a little money, a good idea and the determination to make that idea happen. A state government that agrees with Winston Churchill's belief that private enterprise is the sturdy horse that pulls the wagon. A state government that understands that private enterprise offers the best guarantee of opportunity for all New Jerseyans.

Consistent with that philosophy, we have a responsibility to invest now in those things which will determine the future health of a state. In education, in environmental protection, in transportation, in health care and in our cities. If we do this today, we can grow tomorrow.

Our overriding priority must always be to make sure that every New Jerseyan who wants decent work, at a decent wage, is able to find it.

That is why we have cut taxes, streamlined government, and improved assistance programs for businesses big and small.

Now, our business climate ranks number one among all the northeastern states. Let's keep it there.

The message is clear. The message is unequivocal. New Jersey is a state that welcomes new jobs.

Economic opportunity for minorities

New Jersey is a state of opportunity.

But we must make sure that it is a state of opportunity for all.

While I am pleased that employment among white male New Jerseyan has risen, I am particularly happy that employment of women and minority New Jerseyans has grown much faster. This means that our economic growth is reaching people who have not had a fair shot at a piece of the economic pie.

I dream that in New Jersey 2,000 the pages of successful business magazines will be packed with stories of women and minorities who have taken one idea and turned in into a corner shop, a thriving business or even an entire new industry.

Many New Jersey companies share my dream. Merck and Company Inc., and Pathmark, among others, have attracted national attention with programs to recruit and advance women and minority employees.

Today, I challenge the banking, insurance, and law firms within the state to appoint more qualified women and minorities to corporate

boards. I ask New Jerseyans involved in the casino industry to make a concerted effort to expand the use of minority and women-owned vendors, also.

Redevelopment of the cities

If we are to be the state of the future, then our cities must be reborn. We simply cannot have plenty and prosperity in the suburbs, next to poverty and privation in the cities.

In the past few years, we have advanced some of the most innovative urban renewal programs in this country. They are working.

Our urban enterprise zone program will bring over 6,000 new jobs into our most depressed urban areas over the next two years.

This year, our urban development corporation will begin working with private developers to help rebuild our inner cities. I will ask its Board of Directors to determine if we can extend our enterprise zone program further. I want the corporation to conduct a thorough evaluation of all our urban aid programs, and to present recommendations for improvements.

Trenton as a brighter capital city

This city, Trenton, once contemplated as the capital of our entire country, is rich in potential. It should be a showplace, true to its heritage.

I am working with Senator Gerry Stockman on a bill to create a Capital City Redevelopment Commission. The commission will include specialists in urban planning from both state and local government. It will plan the development of the area immediately surrounding the State House.

A great state deserves a great capital city. Let's all join together to make Trenton that city.

The Hudson waterfront

We are fortunate to have within our borders what many consider to be the most valuable piece of real estate in this country: The Hudson River waterfront.

Last month, we unveiled an \$825 million Hudson River transportation improvement plan to overcome the major roadblock to growth. We will build light rail and bus services, improve local roads and construct two new commuter parking lots. In this plan, we envision monies to meet the housing needs of our citizens. Any plan for the Hudson waterfront must include better housing for people who live in the neighborhood.

At long last, let's realize the dream of the Hudson waterfront.

I believe and hope that we are finally approaching the end of the 15-year debate over a fair housing policy in this state.

Power to decide residential zoning issues

Last July, you approved the Fair Housing Act and put the power to determine housing needs back where it belongs—back in the hands of local, elected officials.

The Fair Housing Act was good legislation and a good start.

Our towns must not zone out decent affordable housing. On the other hand, let us make it clear once and for all that we will not allow the rights of our local officials to be trampled by a combination of profit-minded builders and an over-active judiciary.

It is time to take a final step to end the controversy. Therefore, I will present to you a constitutional amendment to settle once and for all the role of the courts.

"Good faith" searches, and preventive detention

There are two more constitutional amendments I want this year. If a police officer conducts a search in good faith, that evidence ought to be used in court. And criminals who repeatedly injure or rape the innocent do not belong on our streets.

Judges must be given the power to hold them in prison awaiting

trial.

Improvements in education

There is nothing more important to New Jersey's future than our system of education.

When school began in 1983, I called you into session to outline a

series of steps to create excellence in our schools.

These programs are now in place.

I thank Senator Matthew Feldman and Assemblyman Joseph Doria for the \$18,500 minimum salary legislation for starting teachers.

I thank Assemblymen John Rocco and Joseph Palaia for our

teacher recognition program.

I don't have to talk about New Jersey's educational achievement because others do. In the past five weeks, four national education meetings convened here. If you want to talk about the future of education in America, you come to New Jersey. No one has done more than we have, and yet we can do more.

High school diploma standards

This year will be the first year of our new high school graduation

test. The test is extremely important in guaranteeing the integrity of a New Jersey high school diploma.

Benjamin Franklin was once asked what condition of a man

deserves the most pity. His reply? "A lonesome man on a rainy day who does not know how to read."

No one who graduates from a New Jersev school should have trouble reading and writing. Some people have asked me to delay the new graduation standards. They say that our children cannot make it. That many children simply cannot learn to read and write and do arithmetic.

Nonsense. I know our children have the ability to learn. The question is—do our schools have the capacity to teach? And if they

don't, that is our failure, not our children's.

If we are not motivated by compassion, we should be motivated by economic necessity. In order to grow, our economy will require the talents of every single young person. Our schools must be equal to the

State aid formula changes

In the budget I submit to you next month, I will ask you to provide further assistance for those children who need help in meeting those new, tough standards. I will also ask for a change in the compensatory aid formula. Right now, districts get additional money if more children fail. That is backward. It provides a reward for failure and a penalty for success. Let's provide more funds for schools that prevent failure.

Intervention in sub-standard districts

Another failure concerns me. Since last January, all New Jersey schools have been required to pass state review. A handful of schools continue to fall short of the requirements.

I will ask our education commissioner, Saul Cooperman, to devote even more time to these problem districts. But if the schools do not improve; if children are still not learning, then the state will intervene directly in the operation of the districts.

I realize this is an extraordinary step. But the future of the children

in these districts justifies the action.

When businesses consider whether to come to New Jersey, they look at our business climate, at our schools, at our roads and sewage capabilities. But they also pay attention to our system of higher education.

Challenges in higher education

We cannot legislate quality from Trenton. We can challenge the leadership of our campuses to improve. We can give state money to those who answer the call.

Last year I offered a series of challenges to our colleges and universities. The response has been tremendous.

Rutgers and the New Jersey Institute of Technology have devised plans to grow into first-class research and technology institutions.

Our state colleges came up with individual proposals for achieving academic distinction. Kean College and Jersey City College were picked by a national panel to receive funding to help them reach their goals.

Recently, the former secretary of education, Terrel Bell, Kenneth Clark and Barbara Newell reviewed our state challenge grant program. They said, "The program has the potential to reshape higher education in New Jersey and to show the way for the rest of the country...the eyes of the nation's education community are on New Jersey. and rightly so."

Next month, I will ask you to approve another significant challenge fund to state colleges. I want to bring the leaders of all our state colleges together. I will tell them this money isn't simply to fund programs that were not funded last year. I want them to re-examine last year's proposals. I want our colleges to come up with new plans, with new ideas. Each college can rise to a higher standard.

College autonomy

There is something else we can do.

Our state colleges are strangled by bureaucratic control from Trenton.

I don't want New Jersey to be the only state with professors in civil service. I don't want the Treasury Department telling colleges what to do. I don't like reading, as I did a month, ago, a report that placed New Jersey colleges at the top of the list in terms of restraints placed upon them by state government. I don't think presidents ought to be above being held accountable at the bargaining table.

Give the colleges a chance. Give our children a chance. Let's approve legislation to give our colleges freedom to grow and improve.

Pass the college autonomy legislation.

Rutgers and N.J.I.T. are on the move. In the past year, the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey has added to its national reputation as a leader in research and patient care. I want it to

continue to attract the best and I will include money in the next budget to help make this happen.

Accomplishments in environmental management

In this message last year, I proclaimed 1985, "The Year of the Environment." I called upon you to join me in a comprehensive assault on the problems that threaten the quality of life for our children and grandchildren.

You responded.

By far the biggest accomplishment was passage of the Environmental Trust Fund. I thank the leadership of both parties, particularly Senator Gormley, for your cooperation and persistence.

It was worth our effort. Out of three years of hard work, will come many, many years of clean water.

But there is more to do.

Recycling, and wetlands and shore protection

First, I ask you to approve mandatory recycling legislation, as suggested by Assemblyman Arthur Albohn.

Second, we must protect our wetlands from haphazard development, as recommended by Assemblywoman Maureen Ogden and Senator John Lynch.

Third, we must follow the lead of Assemblyman "Doc" Villane, and work together to find a long-term stable source of funding for shore protection.

I support the compromise reached last session. If that is not viable, I will work with you on another approach. But the bottom line is our shore must be protected.

Assessment of environmental health dangers

We represent a public that is increasingly apprehensive about complex environmental issues. When substances such as radon or dioxin are discovered, our citizens demand, and deserve, answers about relative dangers to human health. In the past, those answers have always been difficult to obtain.

Therefore, I am asking the Department of Environmental Protection to establish an environmental health assessment program.

It will show us the risks of various substances—it will allow us to act. People have a right to know.

In this area, as in so many others, New Jersey should lead. Other states will follow.

One area in which New Jersey is unquestionably the leader is in the cleanup of abandoned toxic waste sites. Last year, I stood before you

and said that before the year was out action would be initiated at over two thirds of our Superfund sites. I am proud to say today that this has been accomplished. More work is going on everyday.

Need for federal "Superfund"

As I speak, the shape of our future cleanup effort is uncertain. Congress has been derelict in it's duty. Deadlines have passed and still the nation has no Superfund.

Today I ask the New Jersey congressional delegation, which has worked so hard already, to get us that Superfund bill. We need it now.

Regardless of the size of the Superfund, we will need new state money. This year, I will propose to you an \$800 million program to clean up toxic waste in New Jersey. There will be no more important priority.

Toxic waste disposal sites

We have learned many lessons in dealing with the cleanup of toxic waste, but one lesson stands out: Toxic waste is not an export product. If we are to prevent the creation of more toxic waste dumps in the future, we must find a safe disposal place for the tons of toxic waste we produce every day.

This is an emotional issue. No one wants a facility in his or her backyard. As elected leaders, we have a responsibility to educate the public and to reduce fears when they are unreasonable and not based on scientific evidence. I hope I can count on all of you to uphold that

responsibility in the coming months.

Our toxic waste cleanup program is an investment in the long-term health and well being of New Jerseyans. But there are other health problems that affect our citizens. As we move ahead, let us be particularly sensitive to the needs of the very young and the very old.

Preventive health programs

Remember the old television commercial with the auto mechanic repairing a car that hadn't been maintained. The tag line for the commercial was: "You can pay me now, or you can pay me later."

We have that same choice.

If we prudently spend a relatively small sum of money now, we can prevent a vast number of illnesses and diseases that afflict New Jerseyans. Or we can ignore the wisdom of prevention and pay a vastly higher cost at a later time.

We can pay now, or we can pay later.

Teen pregnancy and infant care

During the past 25 years, teen-age pregnancy has soared. New Jersey's infant mortality rate is much too high. The number of teenage parents receiving welfare jumped 60 percent.

Did you know that fully half of the cases of serious mental retarda-

tion are preventable?

Let me tell you a story.

There is a young mother in Jersey City. She is 16 years old. About four hours from now, she will be standing behind the counter of a fast food restaurant.

She first got pregnant at 14. The first baby died. Six months later she was pregnant again. Her second child is a year and a half old. The father ran off. So this 16-year-old will be serving hamburgers until midnight tonight.

The first baby died. The second baby is sick.

This young girl's lack of understanding, combined with her poverty, keeps her from seeing a doctor.

So she's been trying remedies she's heard on the street. She heard that eating sweet potatoes will make children grow. She fed her daughter sweet potatoes when the girl was three months old.

This girl wanted desperately to stay in school. Obviously, she could not. She has dropped out and is supporting herself and her child by

serving burgers and collecting welfare, when possible.

What chances does this girl have? What chance does her child have? We have to help these women. Today, I am proposing a series of initiatives to provide better education for young women about pregnancy, and to provide better health care for women who do become pregnant, and for their children.

We know what has to be done. We know that for \$1 we spend on

prevention, we will save more than \$3 in later medical bills.

If we can get these mothers into clinics; if we can get them not to drink or smoke; if we can counsel them about the effect of diabetes or hypertension on their babies; if we can teach them about proper nutrition, we are likely to see healthier babies born to healthier mothers.

We owe it to our children, we owe it to our future and we owe it to ourselves to make sure that children are given the love, care and protection they need to grow.

We owe that same love, care and protection to our elderly. They are

the fastest growing segment of our population.

I believe in home health care and I propose that we expand it this year.

Expanded health care for elderly people

I am recommending major changes in the laws governing nursing homes to better protect those among our elderly who cannot live at home.

We will also establish geriatric centers at teaching hospitals.

New Jersey's citizens are growing older. Let's make sure they are allowed to do so with dignity and with independence.

I have asked you thus far to plan for the future. But some problems

are upon us today.

Reforming the Division of Motor Vehicles

Among the most pressing f these is the operation of our Division of Motor Vehicles.

There hasn't been a governor in the last two decades who has not received plenty of complaints about the Division of Motor Vehicles.

Our people are fed up with incompetence and discourtesy. They are tired of unanswered phones and miserable service. All they want is to get their licenses, registrations and titles easily and quickly.

Let me share with you a typical letter. It is from Patricia Burger, of

Wavne.

Mrs. Burger misplaced her drivers' license and assumed it would be

easy to replace. It was not.

Mrs. Burger made repeated trips to various agencies, only to be told the computers were "down." After several weeks of scurrying from agency to agency, she went to the State Police, who helped her finally get her license.

"The kindest constructive suggestion I can make concerning the agency," says Mrs. Burger, "is to blow it up and start all over again,

Nothing could possibly be worse."

Mrs. Burger, we can't blow up the agencies, but we are going to

start all over again.

We need to create a new Division of Motor Vehicles that is efficient and professional and responsive to the needs of every New Jerseyan.

We want agencies that respond to the consumer. Agencies that—for the first time in 40 years—are free of politics.

The plan I present to you today can do just that.

Today, I propose that the state take over the motor vehicle agencies and turn them into non-profit, customer-oriented offices.

The workers in the agencies must have one guiding principle, to take care of their customers—New Jersey's motorists.

There will be calls to study the matter further. The Division of

Motor Vehicles has been studied and reported on no less than six times during the past ten years. The time for study commissions is past.

It is time to act.

Let us turn challenge into opportunity. Let us create the best Division of Motor Vehicles in the country.

Insurance availability and rates

We have a similar challenge with our insurance woes.

Almost every one in New Jersey is faced with an insurance problem of one kind or another. Auto insurance remains unacceptably high. Many towns and businesses can either get no liability insurance at all or must pay rates so high that they cannot afford coverage.

Doctors are near to drowning in a flood of ever-rising malpractice insurance rates. Small businesses are threatened with closing their doors because they cannot afford the insurance protection they need.

This is not unique to New Jersey. This is a national problem.

Here's what I propose to do about it.

First: auto insurance.

When I signed the 1983 compromise auto insurance reform, I said that it was incomplete.

It's time to finish the job. Our drivers can no longer pay for

astronomical legal settlements.

Our auto reforms will save money. The only people who oppose these reforms are a small number of trial lawyers who realize their extraordinarily high fees will be a thing of the past if these reforms become law. It is time to take on the special interests in the name of the public interest.

It is time to establish a verbal threshold. Second: Medical malpractice insurance.

We should move ahead with the recommendations of the special task force I convened in 1984.

Third: Commercial liability insurance.

The commercial liability insurance market has turned into a nightmare.

Horror stories abound. Last year the state paid \$400,000 for \$3 million of coverage. We had paid only one fourth that amount for 30 times that coverage in 1984.

Things are just as bad locally.

When the Monmouth County Board of Social Services received its insurance bill, its director nearly went into shock. The cost of insuring itself had jumped 4,500 percent.

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We cannot stand by and allow our municipalities and citizens to be stripped of their insurance.

Last September, I signed an emergency regulation that stopped the cancellation of insurance and mid-term premium increases. This was the first action of its kind taken in the nation:

That was only a stop-gap. Now we must work toward a longer-term solution, which will require the co-operation of the Department of Insurance and Legislature.

We will need federal and state cooperation in order to accomplish

this goal.

I will not let this insurance crisis imperil our ability to clean up toxic waste. I thank you for passing Senator Contillo's legislation. I will soon send you a package of legislation to keep the cleanups going by limiting the liability of contractors, municipalities and state agencies. It is a critical priority.

Let's keep the cleanups on schedule.

We are going to attack the root causes if the insurance crisis. We want to make sure that insurance is available at an affordable price. We are not going to quit until the marketplace in New Jersey has become sane again.

Initiative and referendum

We have good government in New Jersey, but we can make it better—more responsive—more efficient.

The people of most states have the right to directly change their

laws. People in New Jersey deserve the same right.

We should not be afraid of direct democracy. We should not be afraid of the people who elected us. I ask you to pass Assemblyman Zimmer's legislation to give people the right of initiative and referendum.

Campaign finance law changes

I call on you to change our campaign financing laws. There is too much public money and too little private money, too many fringe candidates who can qualify for taxpayers' funding.

We must raise the limit on campaign spending, increase the thres-

hold, and change the way we match funds.

These changes would make running for public office a fairer proposition—and make our laws work better.

Congressional districting procedure

Fairness is also at the heart of another change I support. Twice in the last ten years, New Jersey has ended up in court while Republicans and Democrats brawled over the redrawing of its congressional districts.

There is a better way. Assemblyman Bob Franks has a bill that would create a special commission to draw the boundaries based on sound public policy—not politics. You should pass it.

I strongly urge you to consider another change.

An earlier presidential primary

I worry that New Jersey is getting lost in the presidential primary shuffle. Coming at the end of the primary schedule, New Jersey's presidential primary has made little difference in the selection of presidential candidates. Our voices are not being heard.

I suggest that the chairmen of the Republican and Democratic Parties appoint three people to a committee to study whether we

should move our primary in a presidential year.

The State of New Jersey should play a vital role in the selection of our next president. The nation will benefit. New Jersey's voice should be heard.

There is one final change.

An office of lieutenant governor

We have been blessed with a string of healthy governors who have served out their terms. Some day—I hope far in the future—that will not be the case. The state would be well served to have an experienced man or woman, elected by all the people, to be the natural successor. For that reason, I suggest that it is the time New Jersey had an elected lieutenant governor.

Our evolution should not be restricted to our elective government.

It should apply to our permanent bureaucracy, as well.

Civil service reform

Nineteen hundred eight was a great year. William Howard Taft captured the presidency, the Cubs won the world series and newspapers cost a penny. It was also the last time New Jersey reformed its civil service.

The system is no longer capable of doing the job. Is is Byzantine. It

is archaic, it is unwieldy, slow, sloppy and arrogant.

It preserves the inefficient and drives out the able.

At long last, this is the year to pass civil service reform in the state of New Jersey.

Drawing young people into government

I have thought long and hard about ways to attract more of our

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talented and bright young people to government service.

Today, I propose we establish a Governor's Fellows Program for our brightest college graduates. We should offer talented graduates positions as assistants to commissioners and other key government officials

The program will be modeled after the prestigious White House Fellows Program in Washington.

In a democracy there is no reason why we should not attract the best and brightest to government.

State House renovation

Today is the last time for a few years that I will deliver this address in this chamber. Time has taken its toll on the State House. Ceilings are falling. The upholstery on the chairs is torn—it is time for repair and renewal.

In a short time, the repairs will begin. First they will fix the emergencies-the leaky roof, the damaged ceiling. Later, they will paint the walls and put down new rugs. They will make this chamber worthy of the people you serve.

In three years, when you return to this chamber, you will witness a beautiful new structure. A structure that should serve our needs well into the next century.

We should look at the state in the same way. Four years ago, our

state was in disarray, years of neglect had taken its toll on New Jersey. We have started to make repairs. Our economy has been set on the right track. Our school reforms are in place. We are investing in our roads, in our colleges, in tourism, and high technology.

But we can't stop now. We have a lot of work ahead of us. The crises

may be over but the real work lies ahead.

Thank you.

Jonathan Robeson shipped the first iron from his furnace at Oxford on March 9, 1732. He hauled it overland to the Delaware River below Foul Rift, and then travelled by boat to Philadelphia.

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Governor Kean delivered his Second Inaugural Address from the stage of the War Memorial Building, Trenton, after taking his oath a few minutes after noon on Jan. 21, 1986. Below is the text, slightly abridged, from which the governor read, occasionally departing as he spoke.

I HAVE JUST RAISED my hand to participate in a ritual; a ritual that is unique to democracy.

It is a ritual in which power—the power to serve—is conferred, and sometimes transferred, by the will of the majority.

It is a ritual which has been carried out in this great country, in America, with a success virtually unparalleled in human history.

It is a striking reminder of the strength of our nation, and of those things from which it springs.

So today, I am compelled to think of our democracy.

I am humbled by its strength and its durability. I am stirred by the memory of its foundations, and awed by its capacity for self-renewal. I am confident about its future.

Today, as they did four years ago, my thoughts go back to those who have stood in this place before me.

I think first of the revolutionary heroes—the spirited William Livingston, and the brilliant lawyer William Paterson; of Richard Howell, who participated in the Greenwich Tea Party, and Joseph Bloomfield, the first Jeffersonian to take this oath; of Aaron Ogden, and of William Pennington, war hero and entrepreneur, who used the opportunity spawned by the successful revolution to build a thriving business in Newark.

To those men, democracy, freedom, and opportunity were not words—but ideals to live by, and, if necessary, to die for. They fought, and they suffered, to "secure those blessings of liberty," not only for themselves, but for "posterity"-for you and me.

Today, the price may be different. The nature of the threats may have changed. But we have that same duty-to secure the blessings of freedom and opportunity for the generations to come.

For freedom and opportunity must not be just part of our history. They are not abstract words from centuries past.

They are the yardsticks by which today we should measure our progress as a state, as a country, and as a society.