

Transcript: Governor Thomas H. Kean Colloquium April 15, 2009

Ruth B. Mandel: Good morning, everyone. Great to see you! It's a great morning here at the Eagleton Institute of Politics. I'm Ruth Mandel, Director of the Institute, and it is my pleasure, deep pleasure to welcome you to a day we've been looking forward to for a very long time. A very special event. We're here today to consider, and also to celebrate the administration of Governor Thomas H. Kean. And we're delighted and honored, Governor Kean to have you with us for this happy occasion. We'll look forward to hearing from you shortly, and repeatedly throughout the day. Today's program showcases the most recent efforts of the Rutgers Program on the Governor. In 2006, the Rutgers's libraries were the fortunate recipient of a gift from former Governor Brendan Byrne, who donated papers and other memorabilia from his distinguished career. He and his wife, Ruthie raised funds to support processing, cataloging and preserving the materials here at Rutgers. This coincided with Eagleton's interest in complimenting our long-standing work on state legislatures with a new focus on state executive leadership. Perhaps it will surprise you, as it did me and it has really everyone I've mentioned it to, to learn that nowhere in this country is there an academic center dedicated to the study of the office of governor. This, in fact, now what we're developing is a unique program. Eagleton and Rutgers aim not only to take on that role, but to do it with distinction, and to begin with a special emphasis on our own Garden State. And notably, while this program studies history, we're designing it to utilize evolving technologies with an online archive of documents, images and publications, and a series of video interviews with each recent governor, and with the governor's key associates. We're also ensuring that noteworthy events, including this program today, are recorded and will also be made available online for present and future researchers and political practitioners. We're well on our way in compiling the Byrne Virtual Archive, and I'm thrilled that today we're taking a major step toward creating the Kean virtual archive. We're able to take today's step in large measure because of support provided by Governor Kean, himself, and in his honor significantly by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. And, please, I'd like everyone to join me in thanking them for their generosity and foresight.

<applause>

Ruth B. Mandel: They value and recognizing us to preserve this important historical record. Many people have helped to make all of this possible, as you can imagine, but there's no way to thank and introduce all of them by name. However, there's one person who's central to the entire Program on the Governor here at Eagleton, my colleague, Don Linky. He has worked closely with the Byrne Archive from Day 1. And now he has become a deeply learned student of the Kean Administration as well. In fact, his knowledge of the Kean Family now extends back to-- and we've all been hearing about this and enjoying it-- extends back to the 13 th Century King of Scotland. You're not going to hear all of this today. <laughs> But Don will be, I can tell you, he is so immersed in this, he'll be happy to talk to you informally and after today about what he's discovered. This incredible history goes on through major figures of the colonial period, and up to the present day. If you imagine this Program on the Governor as a major construction project, Don is the one who helped to design the blueprint, and he's also there every day hammering in many of the nails. Although, I can't take the time to show you the hundreds of interviews and artifacts Don has amassed and digitized, we can send you to the website to see this rich resource under construction. Now I'd like Don to come forward to tell you just a bit about the virtual archives and about what's on display right here today. Don?

<applause>

Don Linky: Thanks, Ruth. I'm going to yield most of my time, since we started a little bit late, but I did want to speak just for a few minutes about our concept in putting this program together. I was, as Ruth

was, I think surprised at the lack, not only of an academic center, but the lack of any serious scholarship around the country on the office of governor. Particularly, since governors have become such significant actors in setting not only state policy agendas, but the national policy agenda. Four of the last six presidents have been governors. The states have been models for public policy, as we learned in basic civics, in the Kean administration. I think the National Welfare Reform Program owes much to what New Jersey did with the State Reach program. Other things in New Jersey like the New Jersey Spill Fund, become models for the Federal Super Fund. So the states have been probably the beehive of activity in developing new policies. But governors, sadly, have been sort of not looked at in a serious way in higher education. And there are even very few academics around the country who seem to focus on the governor as a serious topic for their research in publications. That's what we really want to try to make Rutgers as the national center for the study of the governor on a national basis, as well as with a special focus on New Jersey. Our program includes a national component. Hopefully, conferences on issues, such as crisis management, particularly with Governor Kean and his background, talking about how states organize for future crises. And also special topics related to New Jersey. We've already held roundtable discussions on the trades, and politics and elections in New Jersey. We held one in Atlantic City on the History of Casino Development, and where the current economic situation is bringing Atlantic City. And we have future programs scheduled for the Meadowlands and other topics. We encourage you, I think, to give us your ideas on how we should shape this program. There's nothing really fixed about how we proceed with the Kean Archive. And I think Nancy Becker will talk a little bit later, more specifically about the Kean Project. So we would encourage you to contact either Nancy or me about what you think we should be doing over the next several weeks and months. As Ruth said, I've started to delve into the rich history of the Keans and Livingstons and have found, I think, a wealth of material. Most of what I've tried to put into your program, and into the beginnings of the biography of Governor Kean have been excised out by my superiors here at Eagleton. Largely because of length. Because when you go back to the 12th and 13th Century in Scotland, it tends to overwhelm current days. But as you can see in the next room with the PowerPoint presentation, the Kean and Livingston families have been really at the history of this country from colonial days they were there. A Livingston swore in George Washington as the first President. A Livingston negotiated the treaty for the Louisiana Purchase. The Livingstons hosted Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders before they went to Cuba. And that's going back a way. We won't talk about the more recent generations of Governor Kean's father and grandfather and uncle, great uncle. But it has been, I think, a rich wealth of material. One Livingston development that I came across, which I haven't put in the written profile, is that Robert Livingston, the elder, was the first of the Livingstons to come to this country and went to upstate New York, was, and this is relevant to current news, the financier of Captain Kidd, who later became a pirate. He created some controversy at the time, and Livingston claimed that he wasn't aware that Kidd was starting to turn pirate. But there's been some dispute about that.

Voice: So that's where the money came from! <laughter>

Second voice: They never told him!

Don Linky: But for Governor Kean, I think the basic idea is that we're going to create a virtual archive like we've tried for Governor Byrne, to bring all the disparate materials, documents, photos together on an Internet site where people can have ready access. I was again surprised when we looked around the country that so few governors in any state really have an archive that's accessible. Many of them have their papers stuffed in state archives or university libraries. But very few of these materials are available to the general public. What we're trying to do is show how New Jersey governors, beginning with Governor Byrne, now with Governor Kean, working on, make their day-to-day decisions. How policy is evaluated, how they organize their offices, how they write their speeches, and let scholars, students and the general public get an idea of what it's like to be a governor. I think I'll let Nancy fill in the blanks in terms of the Kean Archive a little bit later, and turn the program back to Ruth. Thank you.

<applause>

Ruth B. Mandel: Thank you, Don. You get a sense there of how deeply he's been involved with Governor Kean and all the hundreds of years in your history. And I want you to know that we have stopped him from getting too involved in your present personal life. Because he is a true historian, and nothing is off limits. While we'll have, as Don pointed out, major distinct programs on the administrations, each governor, we also plan to document themes and events that may have involved governors from multiple states, or that united several governors from the same states. To take a prime example here, the Rutgers Program on the Governor website will be sure to note the decades of bipartisan collegiality between Governors Byrne and Kean. A theme that has always been central to Governor Kean's leadership. This is an inspiring example to us all, and like some of their accomplishments and challenges during their time in the State House should be a lesson to states across the country. This summer the Program on the Governor will begin gathering information on the administration of Governor Florio. Ultimately, we believe this program will be the primary national resource for examining how governors run for office, evaluate policy options, and handle their day-to-day responsibilities. While we're starting from New Jersey, as Don pointed out, we envision a broader national focus that might have us holding interstate forums addressing issues that confront leaders in the States. For example, the one on crisis management. Looking at crisis management and using as case studies 9/11, Hurricane Katrina and the recent floods in the Midwest. This is just one example of the kinds of things we envision for the future and are very excited about as we think about this Program on the Governor and its potential. Now it's time to present the man who's at the center of today's program. Certainly, in this company he needs no introduction, but we might also think of this entire day as re-introducing him and his legacy. He led New Jersey from 1982 to 1990, becoming one of the most popular political figures in our state's history. And his administration provided a launching pad for many distinguished careers, including some of the careers among you here today. A champion of education, he's been a frequent visitor in our classrooms. I am deeply honored and pleased to welcome back to the Eagleton Institute of Politics, Governor Thomas Kean.

<applause>

Governor Thomas H. Kean: Thank you all. Welcome! You know, Don, when you were talking about the fact that you got me traced back to some Scottish king, when I first got elected, I got a very important visit from the Irish Tourist Board. And they said, "You may think you're Scottish, but you're not." And they gave me, which I still have, a whole linkage. And I said, "Where does this go?" And they said, "Of course, in the mist with the Irish kings." And so at least for the next campaign, I was from Ireland. But anyway. Thank you all, it was-- it doesn't seem as long ago as it was. Seems like yesterday in a way. A group of us back in the middle of, at that point, the worst recession since the Great Depression, found ourselves in Trenton. And a very diverse group it was. We had individual people, and we were trying so hard after that very narrow election victory to find the right people. And we had a search firm working, and I hadn't met some of the best people we found. They came out of the search firm based on quality. I'd never met Ken Biederman before I interviewed him, and without question he was outstanding. Our very best possible candidate, the Treasurer of the state. It was a little bothersome when I found out he wasn't a Republican, but. So anyway.

But his qualifications were so outstanding that he was obviously the right pick. Ming Hsu, you know, I asked Ming, I said, "One of things I think we have to do for economic development of the state is really explode our relations and our attempts to get business from overseas, because the Southern states, particularly, were beating us to death. And we weren't attracting the headquarters of the companies, or helping our firms to expand abroad. And I said, "I really want to expand that area." And I said to Ming, who was Vice President of RCA, I said, "Can you find me somebody? Can you find me somebody?" I

never thought she herself, because she was very important in her own career. And she came back to me, and I said, "Ming, have you been able to find me anybody who could really do this for the state?" And she said, "I'll never forget, she said, "This country has done so much for me when I came here as an immigrant. And I think I'd really like to give something back now. And what about me?" And of course, she was better than anybody any other state had, and we beat every other state in what we tried to do abroad from then on. But they were representative of the kind of people we found. Not all Republicans. Many of them people I didn't know. Never met Saul Cooperman. Never met Bob Hughey, never met a tremendous number of people that would be picked simply because they were the most outstanding men and women that we could find to put together an administration. And then we had done another thing which may be a little strange in this modern era. We talked to the other party a lot and worked with them. And came up with common policies and became friendly with them. My two greatest mentors, you know, probably when I was governor, I used to talk to after the workday was over, and all of that, were former Governor Dick Hughes, and former Governor Brendan Byrne. Who did everything they could. I would call them at night sometimes, and say, "God, I have a problem with these Democrats in the legislature. What could you do?" Well, you know, you could do this or that, and so on. And they were helpful to me. I reached out to them, and they were helpful to me every single step of the way. And we tried some new things and some different things, because we had people who were thoughtful and who were innovative, and gradually as they got to know each other and started working together as a team. And I think you all know the accomplishments. We were able to, despite the recession, and among other things, to maintain one of the few triple A bond ratings in the country for our state right through our administration. We were able to not only get through that, but to keep our taxes lower than the states around us. And partly because of that, and partly because so much other work we did. Thus Borden Putman was another one-- he's not here, but he did a tremendous job for us in economic development. We had a flow in of three-quarters a million new jobs during that administration. And I remember going to a dinner at the Hilton in New York, I was there with Governor Cuomo, and Governor Cuomo got up and said, "You know, I've told the Hilton here to tie down the hotel. Because if not, Tom Kean will take it back to New Jersey " <laughter> But all that, and so many other accomplishments, we were complimented for leading the states in environmental protection. We were mentioned in three presidential addresses as a leader in the country in education reform. All those things and so many more, without me. I may have been there as governor, and the governor gets the-- as Cary used to point out to me again and again, "It doesn't matter who starts things, the Democrats-- the governor always gets the credit, so just accept it." But it was because of all of you. And so many people who aren't here, that I wish were here. Some who couldn't be here today like Peggy Howard, who got summoned down here, and this morning she finally come, called me late last night and said that because of the difficulties in the state right now, she's on the Merit Board, and they're making some tough decisions and getting picketed by people while they do it. And Peggy said, "I just have to be there." As Peggy would say that. When there's difficulty and she's got a job to do, she's there. Like Bill Gomley and Ed McGlynn who had obligations they just couldn't get out of, who would have loved to be here. And of course, the people we miss so much. Greg Stevens, in particular, who meant so very, very much to our administration. And then we have others as well. General Gerard, whose funeral I attended this year. Good people who really worked hard and did tremendous things for us all. But it was a team. It was a team. And the ideas came out of you, and out of people in this room, and people who aren't in this room. That's where the ideas came from. They came from Democrats and they came from Republicans and we were able to put them together and we were able to do something which I'm still very proud of. And I hope that each of you are very proud of the part you played, because you should be. And somebody said the other day said to me-- somebody on the street actually. They said, "You know, your administration from New Jersey was really Camelot as far as this state is concerned." I don't know whether that's quite true, but I do know that we did a lot for people to look back fondly, and say, "That was good. And New Jersey was in a good place at that point." And I want to thank you. Those who were in the administration, those who served the legislature, Democrats, Republicans, all of us. We did something that's very important. We worked together. We worked together and we had one bottom line. And the bottom line was, "Were we going to make this state better? Were we going to lay the foundation?"

Were we going to make it better for future governors and future legislators?" And I think we left that kind of a legacy. And that's why I'm proud of people that people look back at it. And I'm proud of each and every one of you, and you know, as far as I'm concerned, "You and New Jersey were always just perfect together."

<applause>

Ruth B. Mandel: Thank you to Governor Kean. He will be back later, and here all day will be participating in the program. I just might add a note to what he said about you and his administration and his memories of the team. A role that we've heard often about those years. Our experience in putting this program together has been that his team also shares an experience of a word you don't often use from a podium like this, but I want to use it, and that is love. I think that there is among the people who worked together and worked with him, there is really love for this governor and that time. And it's been our privilege as we put this together to feel how deeply felt that experience of those years was. And just as mentioned, the Governor mentioned, Ming Hsu being here today, which was very exciting for me, because we have a long history that goes back as well. But just, you call Ming, she lives in California now, and say, "You know, we're having a program in honor of Governor Kean and putting together an archive," and she says, "I'll be there." And indeed she is. And not the only one who's flown in from California just to join us today. Before turning to our first panel, I just want to do the inevitable couple of logistical notes, get some business out of the way. You've probably noted that the biography of Governor Kean authored by Al Felzenberg is on sale in the foyer. That was the very site where we celebrated the publication when the book came out, published by Rutgers University Press not all that long ago. Al himself, very much regretted that a prior obligation prevented him from joining us today, but in his absence it's possible, if some of you are interested in another copy, because I know you all have one, but another copy of that book, it's possible that Governor Kean might be prevailed upon to sign a copy. And I think that would be okay with Al. <laughter> As you've noted, I'm sure, this event is being recorded, and as I mentioned will be part of the archive itself, and will be available online. It's imperative that when members of the audience want to speak as we go forward, or you ask questions, that you raise your hand and wait for a microphone, because of the recording. Make sure also, please, to-- we may have to remind people, because we all forget about these things-- but to identify yourselves so that our transcribers and online viewers will know who you are 50 years from now when they're looking at this archive and doing research and admiring this period. Many, if not most of you, in the audience could easily be part of the program. That's been one of the very tough parts of putting it together. I know that not everyone is going to get a chance to speak today, but as the program moves forward, we will be gathering written and oral comments from many people for the archive. And I want to encourage you, urge you, to contact us, particularly Nancy Becker or Don Linky, if you would like to be part of this process. And we'll be getting in touch with people, too, as we go forward. To save time we've provided a program book. I think everyone has the program book, and that has basic information about background for our speakers and panelists, and therefore, we're going to dispense with lengthy introductions. However, I am going to introduce the moderators. So now to lead our first panel Kean Administration veterans, I'm going to welcome another veteran. His name is Michael Aron. We're delighted that he is going to be moderating this session. Since joining New Jersey network back in 1982, he's become a fixture on the TVs of the state's political and news junkies. Not to mention the often hilarious star of the annual Legislative Correspondents Dinner that some of you may have attended. He's conducted many of the interviews for the Byrne and now the Kean archives. In fact, we confess that we find it easy to schedule these appointments when people learn that they'll get to spend an hour in his company. He's the senior political correspondent and interim director of news and public affairs for NJN, and it's my great pleasure to present Michael Aron.

<applause>

Michael Aron: Good morning, everybody. Good morning, Governor Kean. Thank you, Ruth. Why don't you, good panel, come on up. All right, as Ruth noted, I've been doing a number of interviews for both the Kean Archive, and the Brendan Byrne Archive of the Rutgers Program on the Governor. And it's been a tremendous learning experience for me. There's a real rich reservoir of material in that archive. For those who want to know the foundation of many of the issues that we grapple with today, they were being grappled with back then, most of them. I've enjoyed participating in the debriefing of people like these and the Governor and several of you. I started at NJN in 1982, June of 1982. The Kean Administration was about five months old then. It's amazing that we all look exactly the same as we did back then. <laughter> Shortly after I started Greg Stevens came in as Chief of Staff, and immediately the station started getting complaints about the liberal political commentator they had just hired. And there was a little bit of friction in that first term between me and the administration. But it all was kind of patched up after the huge reelection victory. And somebody, perhaps Stevens or perhaps Carl Golden had the idea that I should sit down with Governor Kean at Drumthwacket in front of a roaring fire and do an hour-long interview, which we did in early 1986. And I was very nervous. I prepared for weeks for that, but it was quite successful. Governor Kean discussed for the first time, publicly, his stuttering problem as a young man. I don't know why that is the high point in my memory, but it is. <laughter> And the Governor just used the phrase "Camelot." I'm a journalist, I have to remain impartial, but I will go so far as to say that when you look back on those eight years-- and I must say the eight years of the Byrne Administration, which I didn't cover as directly, but which I've learned an awful lot about from participating in this Program-- it's hard to see a subsequent governorship that accomplished as much, and had quite as much impact on the state. And I want to explore with this really terrific panel here today a little of why that is, and how that is. Jon Hanson, I haven't seen you in a long time, how are you?

Jon F. Hanson: Fine, I grew more hair since I left. <laughter>

Michael Aron: Tony Cicatiello, who I have interviewed for the archive. Bob Grady, who I haven't seen in a while, but we were in touch some couple of years ago. Bob Franks, who we all see frequently on the state scene. And Ken Merin, who I also had the privilege of interviewing for the archive. I had asked, through Nancy Becker, each of you to think about the most important thing that you did for Tom Kean, as a starting point for this discussion. So let's start there. Jon Hanson, what's the most important thing you did?

Jon F. Hanson: Well, I had the privilege of being the chairman of the sports complex from 1982 to 1990. And with the hard work of Bob Mulcahy and others, we had some great successes. We were able to bring the Colorado Rockies, now known as the New Jersey Devils, to the Meadowlands. We negotiated with Mr. Hess and brought the Jets to New Jersey. We had the Kickoff Classic, which was the first football game-- college football game of the year. And we were able to buy Monmouth Raceway. And all of those, I think, were great accomplishments that helped develop the Meadowlands as a Mecca for business and industry. But I think the most important thing I did for Candidate Kean, not Governor Kean, but Candidate Kean, was in the area of fundraising. I went to a function in early 1981. I was accosted by the gentleman on my right. He said, "We lost the primary in 1977, because we ran out of money in April! Can you raise the money?" And I had never raised money before. I had spent-- I'd raised money in my own business, but not in a political way. So a group of us, who had not raised money-- we'd raised some money, but not in the political area-- and we were, Ken and I were based in Bergen County in those days, we were the out-party. The people who controlled the county, it was a Republican party, the county chairman who was not in Tom Kean's corner, and in fact, told both of us, "You better not do this." So we began to work hard, Fletch Kramer, Sr., Mark Marley Hagar [ph?], Phil Kaltenbacher, and we managed to raise the money that was necessary. And as you know, they called it a landslide, Kean won by 1,797

votes. And the night of the primary, a very interesting thing happened. Bo Sullivan appeared to congratulate the winner, and after making some very nice comments, he walked off, and he said to me, "Do you know Larry Bathgate?" I said, "No, I don't know Larry Bathgate." He said, "You ought to call him, he was helpful in raising funds." So I called Larry, he joined forces with us, we continued to raise dollars, as you know, the outcome of the election. And then Larry carried for the next degree, we raised money for what was known as the Governor's Ball. And that really provided the dollars so you could build a party. And you mentioned Greg Stevens before. It's 1994, Ronald Reagan's been reelected. I get the call, like the next day. We have to raise all the money for the primary for Governor Kean's second term. I said, "Well, we might not have a primary." "We'll raise it anyway." So, the difference between '81 and '85 is my youngest son had just graduated from college. And he was a little green, so I said, "C'mon, I have a job for you." So I said, "Send out all these letters, and then we'll have to follow-up." So we sent out the letters, and within days this money started to come in. So we raised all the money, if you will, for the primary by January. So I said, "Well, that's over." And the next thing I know, good old Greg was on the telephone, said, "Well, we got to raise for the general election." I said, "Greg, it's only January." "Nope, got to raise it." So we raised the money and as well as what we call Governor Kean won by the widest margin in the history of the state. So I thought my fundraising days were over for Governor Kean. And Tony in 1989 came up with another bright idea. "We ought to raise some money for his post-career. The governor could do certain things as post being governor." So in December 1989, we organized a fundraiser at the Meadowlands, and by that time, Bob Mulcahy and I had become good friends with George Steinbrenner. And we got George to come over for this function. And we raised the grand sum of \$750,000. Those funds-- he said he was Irish, he's really Scotch-- because those funds lasted till last year! <laughter> One funny little story that happened that night. I said to George Steinbrenner, "George, Mort Pye is going to be here. There's a question in New Jersey whether you really were ever serious about bringing the Yankees. So would you be sure that you talk to Mort Pye. Well, halfway through the cocktail party, Percy Pine, runs over to me. He said, "I just spent 15 minutes with George Steinbrenner. He's going to bring the Yankees to New Jersey." So I walked over to George, it was at the end. I said, "George, I told you his name was Mort Pye." He said, "They all begin with P, what difference does it make?" <laughter>

Michael Aron: Thank you, Jon. Mort Pye, for the archive, was the long-time editor of the *Newark Star Ledger*. And *Newark News* before that?

Several: *Star Ledger*.

Michael Aron: *Star Ledger*. I want to go down to the end of the table. Ken Merin, what's the most important thing you did for Tom Kean?

Kenneth D. Merin: Wow, when I think about the Kean Administration and Governor Kean, it's hard for me to think of anything I did as being really important or critical. But there are a couple things that I talk about. I think Governor Kean, believed in government. Believed government could do good for people. And there are two examples that I give you. When I got to the Insurance Department in 1984, I found a department that was not operating, not working. My predecessor during the Byrne years, Commissioner Jim Sheeran, had requested money from the legislature for upgrading the department. In 1984 we found that the department had an American flag with 48 stars on it. <laughter> So that was the time warp that we had. And so over the next four to five years, we're able to build the department back up, get some computers in addition to the electric typewriters we had, and get people in that were able to do the job of regulating an industry. We tried computerizing the examination system. And talking with people in Washington, I'm told that if the federal government had done the type of computerization for solvency that we had done for the insurance industry, much of what has happened in the last couple of years might have been averted. The second thing that I talk about would be the summer of 1985, which as Director of

Policy and Planning at that point, my summer was occupied by asbestos abatement in schools. There had been a terrible experience the previous year around the country with schools not being able to open in the fall because of raw asbestos being present. And the effort required the coordination of about eight or nine state departments. Everything from treasury to health, education, of course. So my summer was spent working with the different agencies to make sure that everybody did what they had to do to make sure that schools opened safely, and opened on time. And with the exception, I think, of three schools, everybody opened on time, everything was safe. But the three schools that did not open on time, it had been well-publicized. There was no furor, there were no outcries, so everything worked smoothly. And I raise those two, because it's in the context of making state government work. Making sure that the government has the capability to do what it should do to enforce the laws that had been enacted, and I'd say those were representative of it.

Governor Kean: Ken was always too modest. Insurance in those days was probably the biggest aggravation on the mind of the average voter. The lack of regulation, the cost of insurance and everything else. Ken took that from an insolvent administration and did something, at least for a while. Ken deserves a tremendous credit for that, he really does.

Michael Aron: So Jon Hanson's contribution was in the area of fundraising, and Ken's was in the area of policy and government administration. Bob Grady, what's the most important thing you did for Tom Kean?

Robert E. Grady: Thank you, Mike. Before I jump and say that, I just want to say thank you to Rutgers and to Ruth Mandel of Eagleton Institute, and to Nancy Becker, and all those who organized this event. It's great to be back in New Jersey and be among old friends. It's especially great to be with the Governor. And Michael, back to your opening comment about Greg calling you up and yelling at you, you're a basketball fan, right? And so you know the importance of yelling at the ref, so you'll get the next call. <laughter> I think the most important thing that I tried to do was to bring focus to the administration. And by the way, you have to look a little bit at the context. I came in a little bit after things had started, but in 1982, the Governor's first year, as he mentioned at the outset, unemployment in New Jersey was over nine percent, 9.3 percent. It was the highest it's been until-- in the last 25 years. And that first year, in addition to the roaring landslide that Jon mentioned of a thousand votes, it was a tough year for the Governor. Had back surgery, had to-- he sort of got back to signing the modest tax increase, people may remember there was a little flack while we're moving into Drumthwacket and the furniture, which I'm not going to go into, in deference to someone who's not here today. But at the time, the Governor had a 38 percent approval rating in his first year, and the media was kind of writing this story and what he was about. You guys were in charge. And I came in at the beginning of 1983, at the same time as Greg Stevens, about whom I'm going to say a word in a minute. But my job is kind of operated at the nexus of policy and politics and communication. And what we tried to do is just to bring focus to the administration. And we really thought about three issues that were usually important to the state. Environmental protection, and if you went on over the next couple years on the leadership of Bob Hughey and others, we did an environmental trust fund to build resource recovery facilities around the state. We radically advanced hazardous waste cleanups in the state, because in those days, the early Reagan Administration, Super Fund was operating very slowly. We did the first steps, thanks to Dennis Thornburg [ph?] and others here in tackling the problem of ocean pollution, and suing New York over the garbage falling out of Fresh Kills. We sued the EPA, and closed up a 106 mile site off of Atlantic City, and so on. The second was the economy. I said we had a 9.3 percent unemployment rate, and we said, "We have to do everything we can to create jobs. So we did a transportation trust fund to create a revolving fund to build a lot of highways. And we went around the state and did ribbon cutting with Route 55 in South Jersey, and Route 24 in Morris County, which has been kind of delayed for 20 years. And we first called it the infrastructure fund. But a lot of other initiatives there, urban enterprise zones,

efforts everywhere from downtown Newark with the Arts Center to South Jersey to the Hudson Waterfront. And I was here a couple of weeks ago, and it's amazing to remember, I drove from South Jersey up to New York City, and just driving by the Hudson Waterfront and thinking what it was like 25 years ago and what it looks like today. And none of that, the marinas, the high-rises, none of that was there! And now you look at it and it's amazing what came. And the third priority was education. And as everybody remembers that that was the time of the famous national report on the "Rising Tide of Mediocrity." And the Governor proposed merit pay, he proposed alternative certification bill, proposed an increase in starting salaries for teachers in New Jersey, got all three of them passed, over the objection of the NEA. And a lot of states still haven't adopted merit pay, still haven't adopted alternative certification. So we were a quarter century ahead. So when I say-- when you do it then in terms of working with Mr. McKitish, who's over here and others, in developing the project was to radically increase those three areas. Anything to do with the economy, environment or education. And basically freeze most of everything else. And so the kind of press, and because that was the focus of the project, the story kind of wrote itself, if you know what I mean. And the media had to be driven to those three topics, which we believed to be "our" topics. And we did a lot of things to try to underline that. We were worried that the state house reporters were more interested in the kind of gossip in the state house than the state house, so when we signed a bill on the environment, we did it on the Jersey Shore. And we signed a bill on education, we did it at a schoolhouse. When a signed about the Waterfront, we used the Waterfront. We didn't do it in the state house. But I do think there was a certain law, this was run with a certain discipline and order, and the importance of discipline in underlining those three priorities. And on that, I really think it's very hard to overstate the importance of Greg Stevens, and we all miss him. He was a spectacular Chief of Staff. Probably one of the best political officers ever, and I really think he reached the prime of his career, hit his stride here in New Jersey . And just wish he didn't smoke too many cigarettes and drink so many Diet Cokes when we'd be all sitting around. You know, I think there's a lesson in that idea of focus. Pick three priorities and do nothing but that for other politicians in other contexts. And you see a lot of people get too scattered. We tried to do other things around to sort of emphasize that New Jersey was emerging, so to emphasize New Jersey Pride, we did do the "New Jersey and You: Perfect Together" ads. We did some things that I think emphasize the unique character of Tom Kean, as a person and as a governor. I remember being so proud of a telethon we did-- we can talk about it in the Q&A-- to raise money for people who were starving in Ethiopia, where the governor hosted, and we got the whole legislature to stand behind him on the stage, answering the phones, some members of the senate and assembly, and a lot of families, New Jersey personalities kind of coming on TV, and it ran on your network. We signed a bill to divest the pension fund from companies doing business in South Africa, which at the time was the first pension fund to do so. And obviously freedom did come to South Africa. The town meetings around the state. We started doing a cable TV show, we started our own radio call-in show. So we did some things that were unique. We did a terrific effort in that first term. David Kotok is here who spearheaded it. We built, and just drove by this the other night, the Holocaust Memorial at Liberty State Park in New Jersey , which was a tremendous effort and a real moment of pride for the state. And I think if you add all that up, I look at those three priorities and say, "The Governor was a compassionate conservative before it was popular." With the radio show, and the call-ins and the town meetings, he was accessible and transparent. And to this day people worry about whether government is trustworthy and accessible. But most of all, he was a spokesman for New Jersey's resurgence, for not only the economy, but the state's sense of self. For the pride of the state. And you know, later back when we won the election, thanks to the efforts of everybody here, and a lot of the people in this room, by the largest margin-- I think it's the largest margin ever to be achieved in this state at any level by any politician-- it came to be called the politics of inclusion. What I think there's an important thing here, it was not that we practiced constituency politics. We did get the majority labor vote, we got the majority of the African-American vote, and yes, we took our message to every corner of the state. We had targeted radio, and Spanish meetings, and campaign in black churches, which prior governors have done, but we didn't practice constituency politics. What we did was emphasize three things, environment, education and economy that were important to everyone. Young and old, black and white, frankly, Republican and

Democrat. And that's why it was inclusive. It's not because we ran around and said, "Oh, we got to get this constituency prepared." But so anyway, that's my take. I think the importance of focus when you're trying to govern is huge on the day when your inbox is full. And now as then, life is complicated, the economy is complicated, there are a lot of priorities. But the economy brought focus to his job and the result was a stunning reelection.

Michael Aron: You're reminding me that back in those days we called them the Three E's.

Robert E. Grady: Exactly.

Michael Aron: The environment, the economy, education. Bob Franks, most important thing that you did for Tom Kean.

Robert Franks: By sitting in a living room in Short Hills in 1967 and emerging as a junior at Summit High School, and I was co-chairman of Youth for Kean and Kaltenbacher. <laughter> Fast forward, 1981, when you win a statewide election by 1,700 votes, you needed to have done just about everything right during the course of that campaign. But too often, I think people overlook the primary, which was in and of itself an enormously challenging environment. Let me just refresh our memories. Kean followed by order of finish in the primary: Kean, Kramer, Sullivan, Wallwork, Parker, Imperiale, Rafferty, McGlynn. These were quality people, each of whom had their own constituency. And our challenge was to put together a team in the primary, an effort that began in February of 1980, where something that became a hallmark of the Governor's leadership style as governor, he trusted people who had not been with him at every turn of his career to help put together the apparatus that allowed him to achieve the nomination in June, and then the governorship in November. I went out, and candidly because of another guy who I see in the room, my friend Ray Bateman, another mentor for a lot of us in this business-- I went back to the 1977 primary where I supported Ray, and drew on the people who I felt had demonstrated a capacity to get over this hurdle in '81. And I started with my friend, Roger Bodman, and I got to tell ya, that decision to put Roger in charge of the '81 campaign, which was supported, not only obviously by the candidate, but by people like Tony, and people who'd been in the '77 effort, really allowed for a melding of the various constituencies that work in the party in 1981 to come together around Tom Kean. And against the scope of opposition of a Pat Kramer or Bo Sullivan, we needed to have that marriage of interest and we did. Al Fasola, that name, Jon are you then smiling, nothing I'm told, no document, has ever been more interesting in the history of state government than Al Fasola's four-way. I wouldn't know anything about it. <laughter> But it's been said he's my roommate in college remains my closest friend, godfather of my little daughter, and Al had a remarkable ability to marshal resources, work with people, and that was a phenomenal effort to make sure that the money was raised on time, and it was just a terrific effort. So oh, we needed to find somebody to do the issues in the campaign. And the Governor had said he heard something about this guy from Long Island, worked for some member of the House. And so I'm in my legislative office in New Providence and Ken Merin comes in to see me. And I went back to the Governor and I said, "There's this guy, he's just incredibly capable! Do a phenomenal job on that." Dave Murray came by, and he'd done work in Pennsylvania in the preceding couple of years. And I just felt that there was a synergy among a lot of us then, and I guess many of us in our late 20s. But the Governor had entrusted to do this. And we were young, had some experience, but his ability to allow others to help organize efforts, I think stimulated an environment for Republicans and those interested in good governance, for him to allow us to work out opportunities that he could capture, and leverage. And it's been a great ride, Governor. So I guess that was it. My being an organizer in 1981.

Governor Thomas H. Kean: I just want to say one thing before we go on. You know, when you're running in a primary, you're running hard against other people, but you sometimes travel almost in a pack, because you have to be at the same debates, the same Republican clubs, the same whatever, and you

get to know each other pretty well. And if you do issues, and don't really do personalities, you get sort of friendly with them. And I became pretty friendly with those people who were running against me. And so I-- and they weren't all friendly with each other. <laughter> And so not only election night did Bo Sullivan come that very night-- and it was tough, and he'd run hard in the primary, and to come to the winner's headquarters that night and bring your family—which Bo Sullivan did, too wonderful. But the next day Pat Kramer called me, and said, "Next weekend I'm having a barbecue at my house. And all of us are coming, and the barbecue is simply so that right away each one of us can decide what they're going to do to help you to become governor." Now, if I hadn't started that way, and if those six other people hadn't rallied behind me that way, I mean, when you're that close, a lot of things could have happened. A tremendous start. And there've been very few primaries since then where that kind of thing has happened. There was a lot of credit to those people.

Robert E. Grady: Something else happened after that Michael, which is some years later, Doris Kearns Goodwin wrote a book called "Team of Rivals," about Lincoln. Governor Kean could have written that book. Because seriously, all those people who were in that primary ended up with jobs in state government. They didn't have a primary in 1985.

Michael Aron: I'm calling on Tony Cicatiello last, because I thought that he had the longest or deepest background with Governor Kean, but Bob Franks is reminding me that he started with the Governor when he was in high school in the '60s. And Tony, I know from our interview for the archive, joined the governor around '74 or thereabouts, right?

Anthony S. Cicatiello: Uhm hm.

Michael Aron: What's the most important thing you did for Tom Kean?

Anthony S. Cicatiello: I was the designated Italian. <laughter> If you campaign in New Jersey, you have to have a designated Italian <laughter> or you won't get in the North Ward. The one thing that at that time in my life I was-- my business had gotten started, and we were doing a lot on Wall Street and things like that. So it was very difficult for me to get away. And that's when the whole sensitivity to bringing the party together that Roger and Bob and a lot of the people came together. The thing that I think I provided was just being there and being part of that group. Making sure that all the Kean people stayed together during that period. But the most important thing was afterwards when I told Tom that I couldn't-- you know, he asked me if I wanted to do something in government, and I said, "I couldn't at this time." Basically, because my company was just getting started. So he said to me, "Go out and get me the very best people we can find." And that was the role I played in terms of working with all the search firms. The search firm, and we had little communities. Like Ray Bateman was part of the Treasury Committee, because Tom had a lot of trust that Ray knew what we needed in Treasury, and so we had a small group of people that we had, two or three people in that committee. They went out and they were filtering people. You know, we had lost a month because of the recount. And Tom and everybody, all politicians get very superstitious, and he wasn't going to let anybody do anything regarding hiring people until there was a clear win. So I remember, Thanksgiving, I think it was, when you called me. And we always said, "You have to call me and tell me when the fat lady's finally sung." And he did, and he said, "She finally sang." So we started. And the process of doing the searches, that was the big thing. One of the funny stories, one of the interesting stories, and Bob knows this and Roger knows this. Roger and Al sat me down, about three weeks before the election and they had this whole-- they thought they were going to win and they had this whole staff in front of them laid out. They had a structure, they had all of this, and I'm going, "Dear God, don't let Tom see this." <laughter> He will die if he sees this, because they had who was going to be chief of all these different things. And I said, "Thank you very much, I'll discuss it with Tom. See, one of the roles I played was that I was the closest guy to Tom and could call

him. I usually talked with him at 11 o'clock, twelve o'clock at night. Actually, I would talk with him at eleven and then I'd talk with Cary at 12. <laughter> Cary was always up. I could call Cary at one o'clock, probably in the Princeton Diner. But the role I played was the search firm. And getting people like Ken Biederman, Borden Putnam. You should know that I was on the Transition Committee. I think there were 15 people on the Transition Committee Who didn't get a job? Me. <laughter> Everybody got a job. You know, I don't understand that. I said to Tom, "I'm the Designated Italian here and I'm not getting a job!" But we had a process by which we went through. One of the reasons I was sensitive to that structure that Al and Roger had given us is that when you hire, when you come out of a campaign, and you'll see it happen-- that night, as a matter of fact, Ed Koch, it happened directly to him. He brought all of his political people into running government. That is not the best thing, because you bring all your political chips into the governor's office. Structurally, it makes it very difficult for you in dealing with the kinds of issues that you have, because you're dealing with all those political promises that Jon Hanson made. You know, he's over there raising money and making all these horrible promises. Now we got to take that all away from him and put it into a policy-making way. So basically what we did in the search process was go out and get very good people. Tom is very clever. I mean, we would go ahead and hire the commissioners. And we made mistakes. I mean, this is why I looking at Obama and the fact that he made a few mistakes, and people had this problem or that problem. You don't know, often you can't find out everything. We hired a very nice person to be the Commissioner of Education. Bob Braun went and read his dissertation. Now I didn't go read his dissertation to do the vetting of this guy, but he found some lines that he may have plagiarized from something, but here you are, education. So we had that problem that we had to deal with. Lew Thurston helped very much with the Commissioner of Transportation. We thought we needed an engineer in there, and Lew kept saying, "John Sheridan, John Sheridan, John Sheridan." And eventually, I mean, you remember Lew, I mean, we kept going back and forth on that. All this stuff. When you're hiring the government, and you sit across the table and you look at Bob Hughey, "Now is this guy going to ruin the environment, right?" Because first of all, true to form, he doesn't have his tie on now! <laughter> He's still out in the environment, I know. <laughter> So you look across the table at these people. I remember when somebody coming in and said they wanted to be Commissioner of Human Services, I think at the time. And I think I said, "How many psychiatric hospitals have you run?" You know, these jobs can not only make or break a person, an individual, but it can ruin a governor if you make mistakes. And if there's anything that I knew, when Tom Kean wakes up in the morning and the front page of the *Star Ledger*, he hears somebody in a psychiatric institution that had this problem or that problem, there would be hell to pay! So I-- we took the time. All the time that was necessary to get the structure in place. And one of the important structures was really that governor's office. And that's when we-- and Tom and I discussed this very extensively. We decided on a strong Chief of Staff, which is what Brendan Byrne had. If you remember, there was basically a strong Chief of Staff where everything went through. Or fragment the power so that you have the policy and planning in one area, you have the legislative in the other area, and then you have the Chief of Staff, which is doing the operational. We decided to go with that. Because one, Tom is comfortable with dealing with a lot of bright people. And we knew-- and he in particular, likes all that information coming up. Now, does that make for an easy management of the Governor's office? Ask Ken Biederman! <laughter> I mean, Ken? We used to have these...

Ken Beiderman: I thought everybody got along great!

Anthony S. Cicatiello: We used to have these little soirees periodically at restaurants in the basement where everyone would shout with one another, because who was doing what, and I used to try to referee some of this. But I was the outside person. If there's any role that I played, I helped him with this transition. People had access to me. That they can talk with me and know-- and I didn't go to him with everything, but if there was a problem. One time he called me and he said, "You know, George Albanese, he's got to get either one of the key staff people in my office supporting him, because I can't go against all three people!" George had a way of just making everybody mad at him. Because he knew better than

anybody. So I went to George. I said, "George, you know, pick one of them and then get him on your side. Because the Governor can't just go around all the three key people in his office on a policy issue." And George figured that out. I think finally got Gary Stein. But that's the kind of role that I can play. And also the most important role was watching Jon Hanson. <laughter>

Jon F. Hanson: You gonna start? Well, the first thing I was told by Tony, "You have to fire Bob Mulcahy." <laughter> Today they're closest friends. And to Governor Kean's credit, I started getting all this pressure, starting with Tony, Senator Hagedorn. "What should I do about Bob Mulcahy?" Who I had not met. So he said, "Good government's good politics. If you think that Bob is qualified to do the job, go ahead and retain him, and I'll take the political heat." Well, the political heat was coming from Tony and <inaudible>. <laughter>

Anthony S. Cicatiello: Bob knows that story!

Jon F. Hanson: Did you apologize?

Anthony S. Cicatiello: No, I didn't apologize. <laughter> This is how Tom Kean works. This is how...

Robert Mulcahy: Don't ask for favors. <laughter>

Anthony S. Cicatiello: This is how Tom Kean works. Every time Bob's contract came up, every county chairman would come to us. Now I'm dealing with the politics of things. Governor doesn't pay attention to that. He lets us deal with that. Every County Chairman comes up and says they want that job. All right. So I went to the governor and I said, "Look, it wasn't Bob Mulcahy, he was doing a good job. You got to de-politicize this job. You got to get somebody in there that doesn't have a background being a former Chief of Staff of a Democratic governor." So he says, "All right, go find me somebody." So I went and found, is it Peter Ueberroth that did the-- so I find Peter Ueberroth just did the Olympics out in LA. So I said, "Now this guy would be good!" He said, "All right, go find out how much he wants." Half-a-million dollars. So Tom said to me, "Now, you want me to go before the Democratic legislature for a half-a-million when I'm paying somebody," at that time, Bob, I think you were making 175 or something. Whatever it was, he said, "I'm not doing it! We're going to keep Bob Mulcahy." And that's how he works the staff around him, and he did these little outside research jobs to keep everybody happy, and to keep everything going.

Michael Aron: We have until 10:30 here, and I want to invite you all to ask a question, make a comment. But I just want to focus the discussion from here on in helping us understand what the keys to success of this administration was. You heard some of them already. And I think it's interesting that everybody up here played a slightly different role. Fundraising, search firm, communications and focus, getting him elected, and issues and policy. But what were the keys to success? And I do see someone who wants to make a comment. Go ahead.

Dennis Sternburg: My name is Dr. Dennis Sternburg. And I'm here with my sons, Jordan and Sandy, and I'll be stuck in the tunnel in Manhattan. I want to tell you Governor, you helped change my life. I'm born and bred in New Jersey. I'm a dentist. And Michael, you might remember me from years ago, too. And I used to chase Tom Kean, until I met Robert Grady, who helped me chase him better. And I used to say, "There's a big thing happening in the ocean." What Tom Kean meant to the people of this state, and to me, especially, was that he was a communicator, he was accessible. Your communication and accessibility helped me to become political. I used to follow him until he finally says, "Yes, sir?" And I told him, "Governor, there's a problem in the ocean. And I knew New Jersey and me were perfect together, but there was a big problem. I want to thank you for making the big tent in our state, turning

New Jersey from a bad joke to truly the Garden State on the ocean. I want to thank Mr. Grady for all the help he gave before the accessibility to the governor. I listened to all of you, and you had things wonderfully political for the governor. I even ran for state assembly because of the Governor and because of Mr. Grady. As a citizen who wanted to change this state, and I taught my sons this. And to this day, Governor, until I die, I will thank you for being the governor who made a person from your state, our state, feel that the governor was really truly for the people and for good government. And for Mr. Grady, who has been my friend since those days, making me feel that it isn't all bad. And Mr. Franks, who I know, it isn't all bad. This is a great state. It isn't what it was when Tom Kean ran it. I hope it will someday be again, because that's part of the problem of what we need to do. You had the communication. You had the accessibility. And you had very special people who really cared. So as a citizen, and I think as a friend, I want to thank you very much, and Mr. Grady very much.

Michael Aron: Well, there's another Tom Kean coming along. <laughter>

Robert E. Grady: You know, Michael, one thing we should mention, since we're up here talking about a lot of different things that happened. Like the state of accomplishments of one person probably should be on this panel, Cary Edwards, it's just great to see him here.

Michael Aron: Is he on the next panel? He's on the next panel.

Robert E. Grady: All that stuff.

Michael Aron: Wait, you get-- take-- we need to get you the microphone! And identify yourself.

Cary Edwards: Cary Edwards.

Michael Aron: You remember, Chief Counsel. <laughter>

Cary Edwards: I might be talking to Tony at twelve o'clock at night. Too many nights. The primary was mentioned as a key to the success of the election process and the ability to win the primary, because we didn't win in '77, but we did win in '81. And there was a certain piece of legislation that was passed that was, I believe, the most important key to the success of that election, it was a marriage between some of us, Bill Gormley who's not here, who all may not be here. Bob, me, Doc Villane, some others, was the Open Primary Act.

Robert Franks: And Byrne Democrats.

Cary Edwards: And Byrne Democrats. And the arrangement was really, I think, done by the governor. Brendan Byrne's side of this story would be to give John Degnan an honest chance in the primary on the Democrats side. So perhaps, Tony, Bob, you might want to comment a little bit about the politics of the primary, and what a difference that made. Two areas, one, how it helped them get elected, but the freedom it gave him when he was governor with reference to the political organizations in the state, and the reasons he could keep Bob Mulcahy as the Director of Sports Authority.

Robert Franks: I'm really please that Cary brought it up, because he was the prime mover, along with Bill Gormley, and a number of our friends. But this is a great bridge issue to the next panel, but let's remember back in 1981, Pat Kramer had spent four years soliciting the endorsement of Republican County chairmen. As I recall he had 13 or 14 going in. Would we have won absent that change in the law? I don't know. It certainly would have been much closer, and you can honestly foresee a scenario under which we would not have succeeded. So the change in that law was pivotal to our strategy and to

our ultimate success. There were three early conventions. And we had, as a campaign strategy, the notion that we needed to disabuse people of the notion that there was an inevitability to Pat Kramer's success. He had all these chairmen, he had former Governor Cahill, he had all these people in his camp. We had to go into the organizational environment of the party nominating conventions, and try to deny Pat Kramer. The first three were the largest ones. They were Middlesex, Union and Ocean. In Middlesex, we won that convention. We did some great grassroots work. We won it narrowly. Union, Bo Sullivan spent a ton of money. And while we didn't like to see anyone other than Tom Kean prevail in Union County, the fact that Kramer now had gone through two conventions, had not succeeded, was critical. The cap on our strategy was really Ocean County. Where, I'll never forget, Barry Parker making his victory speech, pounding out, telling everybody how this was going to be his launching pad to be the governor, when actually it was an effort by our campaign and Bo Sullivan's to deny Pat Kramer the opportunity to prevail. So we were able to go through the first three large conventions, and not allow Kramer to demonstrate organizational strength. And that really began an unraveling. But the key was "no county lines." Because the Governor had legislators in key locations, who without the county line advantage, the legislators were able to bring their own sphere of influence to their legislative districts and provide organizational support. I remember going to the Governor's house on a lot of occasions, he would bring me shoeboxes full of card files with coffee spills on them. It wasn't a high-tech environment at that point. Nothing was computerized, but the Governor did have an extensive network, and absent the county line, those volunteers who were there in '77 and sometimes before that-- and a lot of people that we worked to recruit, we had great organizations. Thank you Cary and Bill Gormley, and John Degnan's support, and all those folks who changed the rules for subsequent elections.

Michael Aron: Ken, you want to jump in?

Kenneth D. Merin: Yeah, I just wanted to pick up one point. Clearly the County Conventions were extremely important, and I was not clearly the political guy in the campaign. But given how pivotally important the Union Convention was, I will never forget that had that convention, a consultant to the campaign distributed some materials that were not quite correct about one of Tom's opponents in that election. Tom heard about it. Demanded that those pamphlets be withdrawn, and issued an apology on the site at the Union County Convention. And giving the importance of that thing, I just-- it just says something about Tom as a person a man, as a candidate.

Michael Aron: What made the Kean administration successful? The Governor, in his opening remarks, stressed how he was bi-partisan. I remember when we were covering the administration back in the '80s, we had the sense that this was as somewhat decentralized government. That there was a laissez faire approach to the cabinet officers making policy, and speaking to the media. There was the governor's ten years or thereabouts in the legislature as a foundation. What's your goals, or what else made this administration? Or maybe it was just a good economy. I don't know. What was it?

Anthony S. Cicatiello: Well, I think, having watched him over those years. One, and I say this often when I introduce him. This was a Governor who knew what he wanted to do and where he wanted to go, and knew where New Jersey was in terms of its status as a state. He knew that it was just ready to explode in terms of the kinds of things that could be done. But the key thing for Tom Kean was around the selection of the people, he really took the time to get good people. The second thing, he gave them the flexibility. Now there wasn't-- we always put in, if everybody remembers, that every commissioner, and Bob Hughey complains to me to this day of who we put into the Department of Environmental Protection. But there was always a Kean person in each of the cabinets, each of those positions, so that they were watching various things. I mean, we weren't asking them to watch commissioners. We just wanted them to be a part of the overall environment and the culture. And there was-- the key thing, I think, in terms of the people, the ability, the structure in the governor's office worked very effectively. That three person

troika was very, very helpful in that all that information came into that governor's office. In many respects it came in different channels, but it all came in and Kean really had good information. People don't remember this, but he never had, until the second term, he never had a Republican legislature. He basically had a Democratic legislature to deal with all the time. So everybody thought through things to the nth degree. I mean, we were not going out-- and Bob can speak to it more specifically, but this administration was not going out flippantly with issues. They were analyzing them, thinking about them. A lot of the ideas were brand new. We opened up-- and before when Brendan Byrne was in, I think there were two investment banking firms that worked in New Jersey. Merrill Lynch and Goldman Sachs. What's wrong with all the rest? We opened that up. Those investment banking firms came into this state in droves with ideas. Feather could talk about this, Ken could talk about this-- I mean, you couldn't-- there were ideas flowing all the time. The point is, and bottom line for him, it was the people and the flexibility he had with a strong central information gathering system in the governor's office. The third thing, he was a communicator. People don't realize the impact of the Reagan years on government. People have to go and look at Reagan and what he did. The State of the States, the State of the Union, bringing people out, and highlighting people. Tom did that. And the influence of communication. The fact that he was the Great Communicator. Tom very much was, in many respects, similar, in how effective he was in communicating and how good he was. And Bob can tell you, I mean, 'cause he, Bob and Carl Golden, and Greg, I mean, that communication structure worked exceedingly well. But they had a guy who knew what he wanted to do, and how he wanted to do it. And everybody just worked to that comfort level. And once the speech was done, one of the funny stories. The first speech is his acceptance speech. We were driving in a-- and we had three drafts. Bob wasn't on yet. I needed him then. Three drafts. The first time I drove in a State Trooper car going 100 miles an hour down Atlantic City in the backseat going over drafts. No seatbelt. But it didn't matter. I said, "Stop the car." I had to go out. On the middle of the Garden State Parkway, that time, remember, we were doing the speech in the backseat, and I had to leave and relieve myself, because backseat driving and trying to edit things. He says, "Well, maybe we'll finish this in the hotel room." I said, "Yeah." But he knew what he wanted to say, and he was a good effective communicator, Bob.

Robert E. Grady: Michael, two things. One, I would take issue with one of your premises. I don't think it as actually a laissez faire administration. I think we had a lot of planning and coordination in the governor's office. We met three mornings a week. We met extensively on Wednesday mornings to just plan what we were to talk about. What were the legislative issues? What were we going to stress? What were the communication issues? And frankly, some of the commissions who were here, they chafed under that a little bit. I mean, we had a rule, we tried to enforce, didn't work that well. Anyway that was bad news, you can go ahead and announce. Anything that was good news, we'll announce out of the governor's office.

Michael Aron: Compared to the governors who came after. Cabinet officers had more autonomy during the Kean years than during subsequent administrations, from my vantage point.

Robert E. Grady: Well, the second thing I was going to say, just to echo something Tony said, it's not just communications, but Governor Kean himself was a unique person, in terms of being able to use staff, because he'd been an operative, and then he'd been a legislator. And he knew, he was not only the best speechwriter on the staff, I mean, we'd do a speech and he'd be coming up with quotes from Lincoln and all these people that I hadn't thought of. Churchill, J. B. Hughes would be thrown in every now just to throw that in. But also the best vote counter on the staff. He'd been a legislator. He'd been famously elected through Democratic votes, as Speaker in a prior life.

Voice: What an astute... <laughter>

Michael Aron: Who would have ever guessed?

Robert E. Grady: So he was the best vote counter on the staff. I mean, he knew how to get that last one or two votes, even if it was from the other side of the aisle. And could give Cary or Greg or anybody else some advice in that regard. And lastly, he was the best, probably the most knowledgeable policy operative. I mean, we talk about the achievement in education. Governor Kean, he was on the Steering Committee of Education of the Commission of States. He was on the National Assessment of Education Progress, is that what it was called? NAEP? He was on all these bodies, so he was sitting there actually driving the intellectual sets and certainly...

Michael Aron: He wanted to be a teacher, not a governor, right? Yeah, Rick.

Richard Goldstein: I think one of the statements here...

Michael Aron: Identify yourself, and wait for the mike.

Robert E. Grady: The vote counting was key, because success builds upon success. You need that one win in the legislature to get to the next one. Sorry.

Richard Goldstein: I'm Rick Goldstein, I was the Commissioner of Health in that administration. And I think one of the most important elements of that is character and integrity. I think that Governor Thomas H. Kean set a standard just by being himself. We never had to save him. That really, for the newcomers, like myself, that came into the administration, we clearly got the message of what this was all about. So I think that it starts with integrity and character and purposefulness. And that we all just routed around to make that happen.

Michael Aron: Anybody else? Governor?

Governor Kean: Can I just say one thing? These people are all terrific. Everything they say is, except some of the compliments to me, is probably correct. <laughter> But you know, in the middle of all this planning, all this concentration on the Three E's and everything else, we had a crisis all the time. Every few days, something unexpected would hit you. And the first year, Ken Biederman may want to talk about it later, but we had a terrible budget crisis that we had to deal with in the middle of all this, try and put a budget together. We had-- I hired Gary Stein, and told him, "I want you to look long-range in policy and planning. What's good for the state in the future, what can we do now?" I said, "By the way, the courts are about to shut the prisons. And so in this budget climate, you've got to find a way to build new prisons, even though we don't have the money to do it! Because otherwise the courts are going to let the prisoners back out on the streets!" Midway, I guess, the first year-and-a-half, walked in my office and said, "You know, the bridges that hold some of the highways together are in such bad shape that we may have to close them for safety reasons." And one of them I think is the highway going past the Meadowlands into New York City, Route 3, and you'll know what to do with the traffic. So we had to find a way without any money again to try and do something for the roads and bridges. So I mean, these while the planning was going on. And all these things were ripe. Every few days somebody would walk in with a new crisis. And that crisis had to be dealt with. No matter what the long-range plan was. And that's one of the best things, I think, some of the cabinet members did, and some of the government staff did, was basically crisis management.

Michael Aron: From a media standpoint, I'm reminded of when dioxin was found in the Passaic River in Newark, and you were up there within an hour or two in a moon suit, I believe, showing us that you were hands-on.

Governor Kean: You know, the scary thing about that dioxin crisis was that dioxin was, at that point, the scary material in the country. The Times Beach in Missouri, people really thought if dioxin's around, they were going to die. And then we find it in the middle of the state's largest city. And when, I guess, Bob came in and started talking about it, we had a rumor that the *Ledger* had the story. Now we weren't ready yet to move, because we had to coordinate the health department, environmental protection, and all the other departments of government to deal with this, and the mayor of Newark, and everybody else to deal with this crisis in the middle of a population center. And so I called Mort Pye, and said, "Look, you might be coming up with something tomorrow morning. And I think it'd be a really bad thing for the state if the scare headlines had landed across the front page, before we had all the means to deal with it." And I remember Mort, I told Mort what the problem was, he said, "You know, we're working on that story. It's not going to be ready for a couple days." <laughter> And so everybody including-- he wasn't going to lose his journalistic integrity. It was his story and he was going to write it. He said, "It's not quite ready yet." So by the time it was ready, we had our departments to-- they were the ones to do battle.

Anthony S. Cicatiello: One thing. Periodically I would see Tom's briefing books. Just because at home he would just leave them out there. And I went to Cary. Now just to give you an idea of the man and how he worked, I told Cary, I said, "Cary, you know, these brief-- if they get any bigger, I mean, you're going to kill the guy." I said, "First of all, he doesn't sleep as it is." I said, "Debbie tells me that if he gets three or four hours of sleep." And then she learned to sleep with the lights on. So I said, "Can't you?" He said, "Tony, c'mere, c'mere." So he brings me-- the Governor had just come in. He brought me back and showed me his briefing books. And the briefing books, he'd been-- he pulled one out. He said, "Now look through that briefing book." And I looked through the briefing book, and you see comments from Tom on page 50 of something that was read. And you just say to yourself, "How the hell does he get through all this stuff?" But New Jersey got a governor for eight solid years. He worked like I have never seen any public official work. If there is a noblesse oblige of the people to give something back, he gave eight years, and the people were the beneficiaries of a very hard-working governor. We were, in many respects, the students of this teacher. And he was a teacher. And as Bob said, "He had that broader perspective, but we all went along. And we added a little bit here and there. But he worked very, very hard as governor and he was committed to it in a way like I had not seen before. And it was a standard by which I have a hard time dealing with other public officials, because I know how hard he worked.

Michael Aron: Ken? Stand up and identify yourself.

Ken Lefevre: My name is Ken Lefevre, I'm the former power forward for the New Jersey Nets. <laughter> I think it's important that one of the early defining policies, of this administration was, the decision that the state needed to be rebranded. That it needed a new identity, and I think Tom used to use a phrase that he was tired of the state being the butt of bad jokes. And it was in the early or mid-part of '82, when the idea of coming up in New Jersey and You: Perfect Together, as the earlier gentleman spoke about, and how he became the chief salesman for New Jersey. And how, over the years that message burned in, and burned in very well, and with the help of a lot of people, Ming Hsu is here today. Coming up here on the Turnpike at Exits 8, 8A, Exit 7A, the landscape is littered with companies that came here. Not only domestic companies, but international companies during those eight years. And today, you can't call New Jersey a good place to come and do business. But in those days we did. And it worked and people bought it. And thank you for doing that, because it made New Jersey a different place.

Michael Aron: I'm glad you pointed that out, because I think the state's image is an important part of the legacy of Tom Kean. I think Jon Hanson talked about what they accomplished at the Sports Authority in the '80s, and that was a piece of making New Jerseyans feel like they lived in a first-class state. John Weingart

John Weingart: My name is John Weingart. I was a midlevel environmental bureaucrat before I got in this administration. And in answer to your question, Michael, it was more fun during the Kean years to work in government. And of course, part of it was there was more money. But more of it I think was that you had a sense of the general direction of where the administration was going, and then you had the freedom to go that way. And to make decisions and to make plans. And to know that-- and I was on occasion overrules, but it was after a clear discussion where I felt like I got to say my peace, and say why I thought, and then have a discussion and then be overruled. So it was a time when-- and I was a-- I'm a Democrat, and as a result spent three years as the "Acting" Director of the Division of Coastal Resources. I went through two boxes of business cards that said "Acting Director." <laughter> But there was no sense of partisanship in that. And I remember one executive staff meeting shortly after an election. It must have been '87 when the Kean person who was referred to before, who was in the administration in the Department of Environmental Protection, the start of the meeting as everyone sat down and said, "Well, how did we do yesterday?" And everyone sort of looked around and said, "Who's we?" She meant the Republican party, but there weren't a lot of it in the room at that moment. And it was fun. I mean, you got behind-- it was easy to say to people, "Come work in government because you're going to do something meaningful, and it's going to be enjoyable." And there were nice people. And that was something about the people in the Kean administration. They were-- when you just met with people in the governor's office there was a nicer friendly atmosphere.

Michael Aron: When did you serve on that waste site? Was that during the Kean?

John Weingart: Nah, that was during the Whitman administration.

Michael Aron: And what was the title of your book again?

John Weingart: My book was "Waste is a Terrible thing to Mind." <laughter>

Robert Franks: You can put copies out there. Michael, I just want to point to something that was not around in 1981 through 1989. There was no politicsnj.com website. There was no bluejersey.com website. There was not the proliferation of cable news, and localized news channels. There was no YouTube. It has transformed the ability of people to work together in a very negative way, in my judgment. What we could do in the Kean era, I think if you talk to the Senate Republican leader today, he would tell you that that is just not the framework of how we conduct our political discourse, and it makes it more difficult for people to act outside of others' expectations of how they ought act. And you get slammed down and discouraged from working across party aisles. It is-- there are some very good things about improving the volume of political discourse, but it's also had a very detrimental effect, and I don't think this discussion could be taking place about an administration, any administration that's serving today, because of those constraints.

Michael Aron: Tony, we got about two minutes left.

Anthony S. Cicatiello: Yeah, basically just to point to the significance of that, in that environment, and also the candidate in a campaign; during that campaign in 1981, Tom Kean got 15 out of 18 endorsements by the newspapers. There were that many daily newspapers in the state. 15 out of 18 endorsements for the governorship. That was all him. Because we had to drag him out of those editorial board meetings. It was just a and Bobbie can tell you. You'd tell him to stop answering questions. I mean, just literally drag him out. "Do you have anything more?" "No, Tom, let's go!" But I mean, it was the personal effort by him, his commitment, and also his sensitivity. I mean, if Carl Golden were here, he would tell how-- this is a man who understood the media, and understood-- and Bob knows that, too. Understood the media, understood the importance of it at that particular time. It's going to be as Bob said, it's a completely

different environment today. I mean, we see the media-- the papers in particular-- there isn't the series of writers that you have on the subject areas like education, environment. You don't have that. And you have to literally, how one man raised 750 million dollars, Jon, that's pretty good, for President of the United States is just beyond my-- I don't even know how you do that. And how he did that and was able to defeat an incumbent Democrat-- someone who should have been the candidate is beyond anything I've ever seen. It goes to show you the difference in politics from when we were there to what it is now.

Michael Aron: Bob, you want to say something?

Robert E. Grady: I just want to say one thing about that, though, Michael, because I think even with the integration of highly partisan websites, and highly partisan non-profit, or political organizations, I still think that it's possible. And I think if you look-- I've spent the last decade or so in California. In the last two cycles, very involved. Shared part of Governor Schwarzenegger's initial campaign and served on his transition team, worked on his reelection. And if anything the politics in California is more poisonous than it is here. I mean, you go up to Sacramento, legislators hate each other. But Governor Schwarzenegger in 2006 like Governor Kean in 1985, won the gigantic reelection. Wasn't even close. One by, in this case, 65-35. And we won 70-30, so a better margin. But the formula was the same, regardless of what the people in the extremes are doing, they're well motivated, and a lot of people in the legislature, with redistricting creating saved seats in general are actually trying to win primaries, but if you are running for a statewide office, or for that matter, a national office, and you look at that formula, and the formula Governor Kean had, which was to be very conservative on taxes and spending. And you know, we cut-- as I was doing the math on the way out here-- a billion dollars worth of taxes a year. That was back when a billion dollars was a lot of money before federal government was printing out money at a trillion dollars a throw. But anyway, very conservative on crime, but very progressive, as Bob and Jon mentioned on environmental protection and on education. And happened to be pro-choice. And that's exactly the formula of governor Schwarzenegger in California where he remains pretty popular. And the truth is, I actually believe the majority of New Jerseyans are conservative on economics and moderate on social issues and the environment and things like that. The majority of Californians are, and I would just state the majority of Americans are. The politicians just have to figure out how to get there. And Democrats have a sort of Pavlovian response to spending and taxes, and Republicans get in trouble on some of the other issues on the social and environmental. But there is a middle. And the polling shows where the public is. It's just a matter of us the politicians being creative and really supporting it enough to get there themselves.

Michael Aron: That's the note we're going to wrap up on. We've got to move the program forward. Thank you all very much.

<applause>

End of Session 1 Kean Colloquium

Ruth Mandel: Welcome back. No more breaks for you. You're too rowdy. Welcome back everyone. We want to move into the next session because if you thought-- and a number of people have come up during the break and agreed with me that it was a magnificent morning and magnificent opening. If you thought that was good you've got to give us time to do the next one and the next one be considered all at that level. The moment that President McCormick, our president here at the state university, Rutgers University learned about this program he was eager to join us even if his jam-packed schedule and I can tell you it is jam-packed today including several major events kept him from spending the entire day with

us but he wanted to be here. After all, this colloquium includes several things that he loves, history, politics, education and a chance to recognize someone who has been a greater supporter of Rutgers for many years. This moment also allows me to thank the president for his firm and continuing support of the Rutgers program on the governor for which we're very grateful. It's my honor to present the 19th president of Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, Richard L. McCormick. Thank you, Ruth.

Richard L. McCormick : I appreciate this opportunity to stand up on this raised platform. It would be helpful to me if I could always do that. Good morning and I want to express my appreciation to Governor Kean and to everyone who is here. It is comforting to have Governor Kean at Eagleton. A former university president and a former governor he has the best understanding of both the politics of government and the politics of academia. And on some days it may be hard to say which is the bloodier sport. On that note Governor, let me thank you for your recent statements about the need to make higher education a priority in New Jersey and to see it as an investment in creating opportunity and jobs. These statements made recently by Governor Kean are, of course, entirely consistent with his record as governor, a record of unwavering support for colleges and universities during his service to our state. We saw that leadership in the high technology bond issue and the establishment of centers for excellence such as the center for advanced biotechnology and medicine and the environmental and occupational health sciences institute both operated joint by Rutgers and UMDNJ. We saw that support in his transformative challenge grants which put our institutions on a pathway to distinction. Here at Rutgers we saw it in his strong close relationship with Ed Bloustein, President Ed Bloustein. And in the funds he allocated to help Rutgers and others attract world class faculty. Tom Kean always showed support for students and financial aid beginning with the educational opportunity fund program that he invented and championed before he was governor indeed in his very earliest days in Trent . In all of these actions and more Governor Kean sent a clear message that our colleges and universities are great assets for New Jersey and were essential to opportunity and economic development, a perspective that has been too often missing in the years since he was governor. Coming into the middle of this event I know that you've all ready heard a lot about the Rutgers Program on the Governor. This initiative which is the only academic center of its kind in the nation to focus on the office of the governor builds on existing Rutgers strengths of which I'm proud both here at Eagleton and in related fields such as political science and public policy. So many in this room beginning with Tony, where is Tony?, have done so much to build this program and in bringing us to this day and I thank all of you very much. We couldn't be prouder to be launching the program for the governor here at Rutgers . And it's fitting that Tom Kean joins with Brendan Byrne, his partner on the tennis court and on the printed page, in launching a new program. And let me echo Ruth Mandel's earlier wishes to Governor Byrne for a speedy convalescence. With your help, the Rutgers Program on the Governor will promote both scholarship and public understanding of how governors do their jobs and make decisions. We pledge to the governor and to those of you who have been associated with him that Rutgers will be a careful steward of the Kean legacy. We'll work with the governor to develop an agenda that while giving proper recognition to the past clearly looks to the future. This project will be a platform for exploring what's happening now to shape public policy in the 50 states. It will allow Governor Kean to continue his passion for teaching by developing and hosting conferences and other forums. Like me, Governor Kean is a former history teacher, there the comparison ends however, because he has, of course, made his own distinguished contributions to the history of the state and the nation. In doing so, he's added to a proud Kean family tradition of service and accomplishment. The Kean family's history in America has tracked that of the nation with ancestors who signed the Declaration of Independence, negotiated the Louisiana Purchase from France and hosted Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders before they shipped off to Cuba . All of this in addition to the statesman, judges and entrepreneurs in the family's long line of leaders. Most important is the Kean legacy of standing up for what's right and just for all particularly for those lacking in influence or wealth. The governor's father was one of the few in Congress to press for a more aggressive efforts to halt the Holocaust and to expand social security to cover more Americans. Tom Kean himself after the civil unrest of the 1960s fought to expand access to college by establishing as I already mentioned the EOF program in his first term as assemblyman. He

championed social programs for the disadvantaged in the legislature and, again, as governor. And most recently the nation has watched him steer the 9/11 Commission on a bi-partisan course to disclose the mistakes that were made and to propose new reforms in a much admired report. Governor Kean is a political marvel and a national treasure. On behalf of Rutgers I'm very pleased to be here today to welcome him and all of you as we commence this important and exciting project. Thank you.

<applause>

Ruth Mandel: Thank you, President McCormick, we appreciate that very much. We're going to move to the next panel now and as with the last one I'm only going to make a couple of comments about the moderator. But I know we've been joined by several people who weren't here when I did the opening business. And so I want to remind you and explain that the reason-- it's not that we're trying to be annoying, the reason that it's important to wait for the microphone and to speak your name is you may think you're here just to have an exciting and important day but, in fact, you're here because you're all on a movie set. We are recording this for the archive, this event. And it is absolutely necessary for us to have you identify yourself and also to be heard as you stand and speak to essentially the film not just to those of us in the room. So with apologies for the awkwardness of that but to emphasize the importance of it I'd appreciate it at the end when you ask questions and make comments if you'd wait for the microphone. Our next moderator is a dear colleague here at Eagleton and Rutgers, Alan Rosenthal, who is a professor of public policy and political science and indeed the former director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics for many years. He is widely acknowledged as one of a very small handful of top national experts on the subject of state legislatures. Now, he has begun taking up the study of executive leadership in the states. We've had an important influence on him and this program on the governor has been so exciting in its early stages of development that Alan has moved over and is now working on a book about governors and we're very, very pleased about that. It makes him the perfect person to lead a discussion of the relationship between the governor and the legislature. It's my pleasure to present Alan Rosenthal.

Alan Rosenthal: Where's the panel? Isn't there a panel around this part of the program?

Ruth Mandel: We fooled you. It's just you.

Alan Rosenthal: It's just me. Well, fortunately, I've written out an hour-and-a-half statement. There is a panel. Well, I'll tell you it's very difficult to follow an act as moderator, to follow Michael Aron. I'm a university professor and Michael Aron is in show business. So I want you to bear with me. I will be very dry and dull. I thought Michael Aron's first question for the panel his only question because the panel then went on for about an hour but his first question was what did you do for Governor Kean? I thought that was a good question and it really reminded me that as a-- that I did something for Governor Kean and I'm not sure I've been properly acknowledged for it and it's not too late I want you all to know. I have not stooped but it has come back to me. At the beginning of Governor Kean's administration we at Eagleton learned through our sources in Trenton that Governor Kean had a bad back and he had just come off of a back operation and he needed to stand up while doing his work. And we had a podium at Eagleton a little higher than this and we sent it down to Trenton, delivered it to Governor Kean and I am told, I didn't monitor this, that he did use it for much of his administration standing up in his office doing his work because it was much easier than sitting down with his back problem.

Governor Kean: That was your podium?

Alan Rosenthal: That was-- just as I thought. Now, we never got that podium back. Furthermore, I don't think that Governor Kean ever declared it as a gift. And you didn't even acknowledge that you borrowed it like other politicians I know who would borrow gifts.

Governor Kean: I must have <inaudible>.

Alan Rosenthal : Good. That's what a staff should do?

Cary Edwards : Did he return it?

Alan Rosenthal : No. As a matter of fact, no. And I had used that podium in class for my lectures. And that if there's any moment in my career when I started to go downhill that's the moment when I no longer had the podium, no longer could see my notes and the lectures, which were never very good, deteriorated further. Let's move on. I don't think this is an appropriate occasion to settle old scores. This is a panel on the governor and the New Jersey legislature. And from the little I know about legislatures and governors from my work on legislatures is that the governor normally in New Jersey and in most other states has the upper hand if the governor chooses to raise his arm. An advantage? Yes, governors have an advantage but by know means is it a slam dunk for any governor working with any legislature. Making policy and making budgets when people-- including-- I refer to legislatures as people as well, when legislatures and people disagree about what ought to be law and how much should be spent on whom and by whom that's quite a difficult job. Both Kean and the legislature worked together and apart for eight years four with Republicans controlling both houses and four with Republicans controlling the assembly and Democrats controlling the senate. Now, our panelists were all part of the policy and budget making process at the time. You know them, of course, it's not necessary, I'll just sort of mention them. Cary Edwards who was a legislator at the beginning of the Kean administration, a legislative leader. He went over to the dark side to serve in the executive. I mean we in the legislative business refer to the executive as the dark side. There's a light side but what do we care. The Kean administration offered him the opportunity first as chief counsel to the governor and then as attorney general to continue working with and on the legislature. Donald DiFrancesco, despite his service in the assembly in the senate, as president of the senate and as acting governor I remember Donnie D. as he is known to so many people as the sponsor of a bill to change the name of Rutgers to the University of New Jersey. I will never forget that.

Donald DiFrancesco: Neither will I.

Alan Rosenthal : After all, Rutgers could have never built a football powerhouse as the University of New Jersey , only as Rutgers . John Paul Doyle, few other members of the New Jersey legislature had as tough a district to win as did John Paul Doyle. Indeed, he had a huge bulls-eye painted on his back. I think it's a testament to something that he managed to win nine elections. But look at how punchy he still looks after almost 20 years out of the legislature. Jim Hurley, 22 years in the legislature, 14 in the assembly and eight in the senate as minority leader and majority leader. A champion of South Jersey during a period when South Jersey saw itself as a vassal region. Since then and perhaps do, in part, to Hurley's efforts, South Jersey has come into its own in the legislature. It is North Jersey that may be the vassal region now. And finally, Lisa Randall starting out as an assistant counsel and deputy attorney general during Governor Kean's administration. She went from the dark side to the light side when she ran for the assembly in 1985. Incidentally, it's called the light side because people in the legislature unlike those in the executive have so much fun. But Lisa Randall went back to the other side serving then in the Whitman administration. So we'll have a conversation with these five panelists and I'll begin by throwing out a question or two and then sort of opening it up for comments, for questions, for challenge or for attack at each of them. Now, the first question is simple, what were the toughest obstacles that Governor Kean faced in the legislature during his eight years as governor? And how did he try to overcome them? And how effective was he in overcoming them? Anyone can start, anybody.

Jim Hurley: Jim Hurley. The toughest obstacle was first and last. The toughest obstacle was the fact when he came into office we were in a national recession. We had a very difficult time and we needed

revenue to balance the budget. That didn't change a whole lot, perhaps but that issue remained paramount and was a very huge obstacle because the legislature was in the control of the opposition party. And the opposition party had its own idea on how to raise revenue and the governor and his staff and those of us in the legislature of the same party had our idea. And so it took the governor's talent to compromise and reconcile the differences between the two parties and between the two houses. That, I think, is the toughest obstacle in my opinion he faced was a fiscal one, a budgetary one and all precipitated by what was happening at a national level, the Iranian crisis, the national recession. Of course, it was nothing like the recession of today perhaps but it was a national recession.

Donald DiFrancesco: I'm shocked Cary Edwards is not speaking.

Jim Hurley: Why do you think I spoke first?

Donald DiFrancesco: Jim and I thought we were just going to like chime in every once in a while, but certainly I agree with Jim about everything he said. But let me add— and I was the senate minority leader in the first three years of the Kean administration and then in the state senate for the balance and we were in the minority. Al, let me give you a little history thing here. We were-- Tom was governor with Democratic majorities in both houses for four years. It was that decade where we didn't-- unfortunately the senate didn't run with the Governor. So, of course, in 1985 when he was very popular and won overwhelmingly we weren't on the ballot. So the assembly then switched back to Republican control for the next four years. Chuck Hardwick was the speaker for those four years. So we languished in the senate in the minority. But, I think, given the slight margin of-- I'm going to add to what Jim said, the slight margin of victory and everything that surrounded that recount and everything Tom had to-- and now with a Democratic senate and assembly he had to establish credibility with the legislative leaders in the other party. And he had to establish a working relationship with them and during that first year that was very difficult. So I thought that was the major challenge given the small majority that he had as an elected governor and then having to deal with, unfortunately, he's not here, Alan in the assembly and-- Alan Karcher that is, and then Carmen was senate president for the first four years and John Russo was senate president for the next four. But during that first year I thought it was very difficult to get going. You know we had to wait for the hearings with respect to the cabinet because of the recount so it was hard to get started during the first several months and I thought that was a major obstacle to immediately getting in there and getting work done. The first few months we were kind of languishing because he had to develop this relationship which he eventually obviously did. And he had a really great relationship with the legislative leaders on the Democratic side except for Alan Karcher. But ...

Alan Rosenthal : Except for the speaker of the assembly.

Donald DiFrancesco: That was a whole different scenario. I mean that's a whole discussion in and of it self and I guess you'll get to that. But I thought that the beginning of that '82 year was very difficult.

Alan Rosenthal : John Paul, I guess you were there.

John Paul Doyle: I think that's the bridge to speaking about that first year. I kept a diary for the first three months and I went back and I looked at it and we were very preoccupied in the legislature. We had just come through a very difficult speaker battle between Chris Jackman, beloved by both sides, Alan Karcher, obviously younger, feistier, a lawyer. And so we had some sorting out to do. Jim is absolutely right, the economy was extraordinarily difficult. So the question becomes, given all of that, how did the Governor and to some degree with and sometimes without the legislature get through it? I think a few things and particularly rereading the diary I got a sense of that a little bit better but too often when you look at a diary it's a day-by-day thing. You have to look at the bigger picture as we are today. I think one

of the things is despite the margin of victory the Governor was the governor from the beginning. He didn't govern with the sense of diminished responsibility or executive power. I think that was exceedingly important to be strong. I know that we tried because of the budgetary process, I put in a three bill package that might be seen as infringing on the governor's powers to have budget transfers of \$200,000 what a minimal sum now, have to come back to legislative financial arm for approval, as well as certain other information that would have had to have been gotten. It often was done by way of policy but we wanted to and maybe it was little tweaked to put it in the...

Jim Hurley: There was a lot of tweaking, I thought of.

John Paul Doyle : You will get recognized when you were in charge. We're talking about when we were in the majority now. And the Governor did the right thing as the chief executive, he vetoed it. On the other hand there were some other housekeeping things we could do to help. And I think they get lost in the shuffle. We had to delay the budget message, the senate confirmation process was a little bit put on the shelf because Senator Russo was chair of the judiciary committee, my running mate, went on a skiing trip and he got a lot of abuse for that.

Donald DiFrancesco: That's right.

John Paul Doyle: But ultimately I think we got through those first few months. Then we got to the budget battle and the Governor was for a gas tax and Alan wasn't. Alan was for something else and the Governor wasn't. When the Governor ran a little bit to the left, Alan found his right side. When the Governor ran to the right, Alan found the left side. But ultimately what happened was despite the threats of taking what gross receipts especially from towns like Sayreville which showed to me the chief executive's strength and Tom's willingness to go toe-to-toe. People say that one of his weaknesses is he didn't have the killer instinct. I think he showed that appropriately with the velvet glove when necessary. I think the critical thing that was done by accident that helped to make the whole rest of his administration was the New Year's Eve tax package. He said he signed it holding his nose, I think, which of course Governor...

Donald DiFrancesco: You remember that, huh?

John Paul Doyle: Yes. But I was a conservative Democrat. I voted against both of them. I think some of my Republican colleagues on this voted for it but that gave the governor and the state enough money to invest in the kinds of things that the governor did during the first administration that allowed, in my judgment, his overwhelming victory in the second administration in 1985. So I think by happenstance and with the agreement of people like Chris Jackman, who the Governor and Hudson County always had an affinity as you know, were able to get the taxes passed. So the Governor learned when you need to lead, lead. When you need to step back and let it sort itself out we did but that was his, I think, individual skills more than a legislative battle.

Ruth Mandel: Welcome back. No more breaks for you. You're too rowdy. Welcome back everyone. We want to move into the next session because if you thought-- and a number of people have come up during the break and agreed with me that it was a magnificent morning and magnificent opening. If you thought that was good you've got to give us time to do the next one and the next one be considered all at that level. The moment that President McCormick, our president here at the state university, Rutgers University learned about this program he was eager to join us even if his jam-packed schedule and I can tell you it is jam-packed today including several major events kept him from spending the entire day with us but he wanted to be here. After all, this colloquium includes several things that he loves, history, politics, education and a chance to recognize someone who has been a greater supporter of Rutgers for

many years. This moment also allows me to thank the president for his firm and continuing support of the Rutgers program on the governor for which we're very grateful. It's my honor to present the 19th president of Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, Richard L. McCormick. Thank you, Ruth.

Richard L. McCormick : I appreciate this opportunity to stand up on this raised platform. It would be helpful to me if I could always do that. Good morning and I want to express my appreciation to Governor Kean and to everyone who is here. It is comforting to have Governor Kean at Eagleton. A former university president and a former governor he has the best understanding of both the politics of government and the politics of academia. And on some days it may be hard to say which is the bloodier sport. On that note Governor, let me thank you for your recent statements about the need to make higher education a priority in New Jersey and to see it as an investment in creating opportunity and jobs. These statements made recently by Governor Kean are, of course, entirely consistent with his record as governor, a record of unwavering support for colleges and universities during his service to our state. We saw that leadership in the high technology bond issue and the establishment of centers for excellence such as the center for advanced biotechnology and medicine and the environmental and occupational health sciences institute both operated joint by Rutgers and UMDNJ. We saw that support in his transformative challenge grants which put our institutions on a pathway to distinction. Here at Rutgers we saw it in his strong close relationship with Ed Bloustein, President Ed Bloustein. And in the funds he allocated to help Rutgers and others attract world class faculty. Tom Kean always showed support for students and financial aid beginning with the educational opportunity fund program that he invented and championed before he was governor indeed in his very earliest days in Trent . In all of these actions and more Governor Kean sent a clear message that our colleges and universities are great assets for New Jersey and were essential to opportunity and economic development, a perspective that has been too often missing in the years since he was governor. Coming into the middle of this event I know that you've all ready heard a lot about the Rutgers Program on the Governor. This initiative which is the only academic center of its kind in the nation to focus on the office of the governor builds on existing Rutgers strengths of which I'm proud both here at Eagleton and in related fields such as political science and public policy. So many in this room beginning with Tony, where is Tony?, have done so much to build this program and in bringing us to this day and I thank all of you very much. We couldn't be prouder to be launching the program for the governor here at Rutgers . And it's fitting that Tom Kean joins with Brendan Byrne, his partner on the tennis court and on the printed page, in launching a new program. And let me echo Ruth Mandel's earlier wishes to Governor Byrne for a speedy convalescence. With your help, the Rutgers Program on the Governor will promote both scholarship and public understanding of how governors do their jobs and make decisions. We pledge to the governor and to those of you who have been associated with him that Rutgers will be a careful steward of the Kean legacy. We'll work with the governor to develop an agenda that while giving proper recognition to the past clearly looks to the future. This project will be a platform for exploring what's happening now to shape public policy in the 50 states. It will allow Governor Kean to continue his passion for teaching by developing and hosting conferences and other forums. Like me, Governor Kean is a former history teacher, there the comparison ends however, because he has, of course, made his own distinguished contributions to the history of the state and the nation. In doing so, he's added to a proud Kean family tradition of service and accomplishment. The Kean family's history in America has tracked that of the nation with ancestors who signed the Declaration of Independence, negotiated the Louisiana Purchase from France and hosted Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders before they shipped off to Cuba . All of this in addition to the statesman, judges and entrepreneurs in the family's long line of leaders. Most important is the Kean legacy of standing up for what's right and just for all particularly for those lacking in influence or wealth. The governor's father was one of the few in Congress to press for a more aggressive efforts to halt the Holocaust and to expand social security to cover more Americans. Tom Kean himself after the civil unrest of the 1960s fought to expand access to college by establishing as I already mentioned the EOF program in his first term as assemblyman. He championed social programs for the disadvantaged in the legislature and, again, as governor. And most recently the nation has watched him steer the 9/11 Commission on a bi-partisan course to disclose the

mistakes that were made and to propose new reforms in a much admired report. Governor Kean is a political marvel and a national treasure. On behalf of Rutgers I'm very pleased to be here today to welcome him and all of you as we commence this important and exciting project. Thank you.

<applause>

Ruth Mandel: Thank you, President McCormick, we appreciate that very much. We're going to move to the next panel now and as with the last one I'm only going to make a couple of comments about the moderator. But I know we've been joined by several people who weren't here when I did the opening business. And so I want to remind you and explain that the reason-- it's not that we're trying to be annoying, the reason that it's important to wait for the microphone and to speak your name is you may think you're here just to have an exciting and important day but, in fact, you're here because you're all on a movie set. We are recording this for the archive, this event. And it is absolutely necessary for us to have you identify yourself and also to be heard as you stand and speak to essentially the film not just to those of us in the room. So with apologies for the awkwardness of that but to emphasize the importance of it I'd appreciate it at the end when you ask questions and make comments if you'd wait for the microphone. Our next moderator is a dear colleague here at Eagleton and Rutgers, Alan Rosenthal, who is a professor of public policy and political science and indeed the former director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics for many years. He is widely acknowledged as one of a very small handful of top national experts on the subject of state legislatures. Now, he has begun taking up the study of executive leadership in the states. We've had an important influence on him and this program on the governor has been so exciting in its early stages of development that Alan has moved over and is now working on a book about governors and we're very, very pleased about that. It makes him the perfect person to lead a discussion of the relationship between the governor and the legislature. It's my pleasure to present Alan Rosenthal.

Alan Rosenthal: Where's the panel? Isn't there a panel around this part of the program?

Ruth Mandel: We fooled you. It's just you.

Alan Rosenthal: It's just me. Well, fortunately, I've written out an hour-and-a-half statement. There is a panel. Well, I'll tell you it's very difficult to follow an act as moderator, to follow Michael Aron. I'm a university professor and Michael Aron is in show business. So I want you to bear with me. I will be very dry and dull. I thought Michael Aron's first question for the panel his only question because the panel then went on for about an hour but his first question was what did you do for Governor Kean? I thought that was a good question and it really reminded me that as a-- that I did something for Governor Kean and I'm not sure I've been properly acknowledged for it and it's not too late I want you all to know. I have not stooped but it has come back to me. At the beginning of Governor Kean's administration we at Eagleton learned through our sources in Trenton that Governor Kean had a bad back and he had just come off of a back operation and he needed to stand up while doing his work. And we had a podium at Eagleton a little higher than this and we sent it down to Trenton, delivered it to Governor Kean and I am told, I didn't monitor this, that he did use it for much of his administration standing up in his office doing his work because it was much easier than sitting down with his back problem.

Governor Kean: That was your podium?

Alan Rosenthal: That was-- just as I thought. Now, we never got that podium back. Furthermore, I don't think that Governor Kean ever declared it as a gift. And you didn't even acknowledge that you borrowed it like other politicians I know who would borrow gifts.

Governor Kean: I must have <inaudible>.

Alan Rosenthal : Good. That's what a staff should do?

Cary Edwards : Did he return it?

Alan Rosenthal : No. As a matter of fact, no. And I had used that podium in class for my lectures. And that if there's any moment in my career when I started to go downhill that's the moment when I no longer had the podium, no longer could see my notes and the lectures, which were never very good, deteriorated further. Let's move on. I don't think this is an appropriate occasion to settle old scores. This is a panel on the governor and the New Jersey legislature. And from the little I know about legislatures and governors from my work on legislatures is that the governor normally in New Jersey and in most other states has the upper hand if the governor chooses to raise his arm. An advantage? Yes, governors have an advantage but by know means is it a slam dunk for any governor working with any legislature. Making policy and making budgets when people-- including-- I refer to legislatures as people as well, when legislatures and people disagree about what ought to be law and how much should be spent on whom and by whom that's quite a difficult job. Both Kean and the legislature worked together and apart for eight years four with Republicans controlling both houses and four with Republicans controlling the assembly and Democrats controlling the senate. Now, our panelists were all part of the policy and budget making process at the time. You know them, of course, it's not necessary, I'll just sort of mention them. Cary Edwards who was a legislator at the beginning of the Kean administration, a legislative leader. He went over to the dark side to serve in the executive. I mean we in the legislative business refer to the executive as the dark side. There's a light side but what do we care. The Kean administration offered him the opportunity first as chief counsel to the governor and then as attorney general to continue working with and on the legislature. Donald DiFrancesco, despite his service in the assembly in the senate, as president of the senate and as acting governor I remember Donnie D. as he is known to so many people as the sponsor of a bill to change the name of Rutgers to the University of New Jersey. I will never forget that.

Donald DiFrancesco: Neither will I.

Alan Rosenthal : After all, Rutgers could have never built a football powerhouse as the University of New Jersey , only as Rutgers . John Paul Doyle, few other members of the New Jersey legislature had as tough a district to win as did John Paul Doyle. Indeed, he had a huge bulls-eye painted on his back. I think it's a testament to something that he managed to win nine elections. But look at how punchy he still looks after almost 20 years out of the legislature. Jim Hurley, 22 years in the legislature, 14 in the assembly and eight in the senate as minority leader and majority leader. A champion of South Jersey during a period when South Jersey saw itself as a vassal region. Since then and perhaps do, in part, to Hurley's efforts, South Jersey has come into its own in the legislature. It is North Jersey that may be the vassal region now. And finally, Lisa Randall starting out as an assistant counsel and deputy attorney general during Governor Kean's administration. She went from the dark side to the light side when she ran for the assembly in 1985. Incidentally, it's called the light side because people in the legislature unlike those in the executive have so much fun. But Lisa Randall went back to the other side serving then in the Whitman administration. So we'll have a conversation with these five panelists and I'll begin by throwing out a question or two and then sort of opening it up for comments, for questions, for challenge or for attack at each of them. Now, the first question is simple, what were the toughest obstacles that Governor Kean faced in the legislature during his eight years as governor? And how did he try to overcome them? And how effective was he in overcoming them? Anyone can start, anybody.

Jim Hurley: Jim Hurley. The toughest obstacle was first and last. The toughest obstacle was the fact when he came into office we were in a national recession. We had a very difficult time and we needed revenue to balance the budget. That didn't change a whole lot, perhaps but that issue remained paramount and was a very huge obstacle because the legislature was in the control of the opposition party. And the

opposition party had its own idea on how to raise revenue and the governor and his staff and those of us in the legislature of the same party had our idea. And so it took the governor's talent to compromise and reconcile the differences between the two parties and between the two houses. That, I think, is the toughest obstacle in my opinion he faced was a fiscal one, a budgetary one and all precipitated by what was happening at a national level, the Iranian crisis, the national recession. Of course, it was nothing like the recession of today perhaps but it was a national recession.

Donald DiFrancesco: I'm shocked Cary Edwards is not speaking.

Jim Hurley: Why do you think I spoke first?

Donald DiFrancesco: Jim and I thought we were just going to like chime in every once in a while, but certainly I agree with Jim about everything he said. But let me add— and I was the senate minority leader in the first three years of the Kean administration and then in the state senate for the balance and we were in the minority. Al, let me give you a little history thing here. We were-- Tom was governor with Democratic majorities in both houses for four years. It was that decade where we didn't-- unfortunately the senate didn't run with the Governor. So, of course, in 1985 when he was very popular and won overwhelmingly we weren't on the ballot. So the assembly then switched back to Republican control for the next four years. Chuck Hardwick was the speaker for those four years. So we languished in the senate in the minority. But, I think, given the slight margin of-- I'm going to add to what Jim said, the slight margin of victory and everything that surrounded that recount and everything Tom had to-- and now with a Democratic senate and assembly he had to establish credibility with the legislative leaders in the other party. And he had to establish a working relationship with them and during that first year that was very difficult. So I thought that was the major challenge given the small majority that he had as an elected governor and then having to deal with, unfortunately, he's not here, Alan in the assembly and-- Alan Karcher that is, and then Carmen was senate president for the first four years and John Russo was senate president for the next four. But during that first year I thought it was very difficult to get going. You know we had to wait for the hearings with respect to the cabinet because of the recount so it was hard to get started during the first several months and I thought that was a major obstacle to immediately getting in there and getting work done. The first few months we were kind of languishing because he had to develop this relationship which he eventually obviously did. And he had a really great relationship with the legislative leaders on the Democratic side except for Alan Karcher. But ...

Alan Rosenthal : Except for the speaker of the assembly.

Donald DiFrancesco: That was a whole different scenario. I mean that's a whole discussion in and of it self and I guess you'll get to that. But I thought that the beginning of that '82 year was very difficult.

Alan Rosenthal : John Paul, I guess you were there.

John Paul Doyle: I think that's the bridge to speaking about that first year. I kept a diary for the first three months and I went back and I looked at it and we were very preoccupied in the legislature. We had just come through a very difficult speaker battle between Chris Jackman, beloved by both sides, Alan Karcher, obviously younger, feistier, a lawyer. And so we had some sorting out to do. Jim is absolutely right, the economy was extraordinarily difficult. So the question becomes, given all of that, how did the Governor and to some degree with and sometimes without the legislature get through it? I think a few things and particularly rereading the diary I got a sense of that a little bit better but too often when you look at a diary it's a day-by-day thing. You have to look at the bigger picture as we are today. I think one of the things is despite the margin of victory the Governor was the governor from the beginning. He didn't govern with the sense of diminished responsibility or executive power. I think that was exceedingly

important to be strong. I know that we tried because of the budgetary process, I put in a three bill package that might be seen as infringing on the governor's powers to have budget transfers of \$200,000 what a minimal sum now, have to come back to legislative financial arm for approval, as well as certain other information that would have had to have been gotten. It often was done by way of policy but we wanted to and maybe it was little tweaked to put it in the...

Jim Hurley: There was a lot of tweaking, I thought of.

John Paul Doyle : You will get recognized when you were in charge. We're talking about when we were in the majority now. And the Governor did the right thing as the chief executive, he vetoed it. On the other hand there were some other housekeeping things we could do to help. And I think they get lost in the shuffle. We had to delay the budget message, the senate confirmation process was a little bit put on the shelf because Senator Russo was chair of the judiciary committee, my running mate, went on a skiing trip and he got a lot of abuse for that.

Donald DiFrancesco: That's right.

John Paul Doyle: But ultimately I think we got through those first few months. Then we got to the budget battle and the Governor was for a gas tax and Alan wasn't. Alan was for something else and the Governor wasn't. When the Governor ran a little bit to the left, Alan found his right side. When the Governor ran to the right, Alan found the left side. But ultimately what happened was despite the threats of taking what gross receipts especially from towns like Sayreville which showed to me the chief executive's strength and Tom's willingness to go toe-to-toe. People say that one of his weaknesses is he didn't have the killer instinct. I think he showed that appropriately with the velvet glove when necessary. I think the critical thing that was done by accident that helped to make the whole rest of his administration was the New Year's Eve tax package. He said he signed it holding his nose, I think, which of course Governor...

Donald DiFrancesco: You remember that, huh?

John Paul Doyle: Yes. But I was a conservative Democrat. I voted against both of them. I think some of my Republican colleagues on this voted for it but that gave the governor and the state enough money to invest in the kinds of things that the governor did during the first administration that allowed, in my judgment, his overwhelming victory in the second administration in 1985. So I think by happenstance and with the agreement of people like Chris Jackman, who the Governor and Hudson County always had an affinity as you know, were able to get the taxes passed. So the Governor learned when you need to lead, lead. When you need to step back and let it sort itself out we did but that was his, I think, individual skills more than a legislative battle.

Alan Rosenthal : Let me just open this up. Yes, Lew Thurston.

Lew Thurston : Lew Thurston. I want to say a few more words following up on what Tom and others said about personal relationships. Really important, as chief of staff in the first year I oversaw the Governor's schedule. And after the first meeting of each day the Governor was behind schedule and it continued and it got worse throughout the day which was a challenge to us. But it was very good in the sense that he was behind schedule because he related to people, he listened, as Lisa said. He listened very well and he related to people. And he related to their personal interest in some cases. If he was dealing with Carmen Orechio, he related to the New York Yankees, Carmen's favorite team. Or John Russo with the New York Giants or tennis even though Tom was a Redskins fan. And Alan Karcher, as everybody talked about. He would talk to Alan about the latest books that he read and that kind of thing. And that

built a trust and a relationship that was really important. And also your powers of persuasion were mentioned. It brings to mind a story. Cary , you'll remember this because you and I were involved. Early in the administration in the first year Governor Kean had a meeting with Governor Carey of New York and it was at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City . And we-- the Governor and Cary and I arrived early for the meeting and Governor Carey was late. So we had about a half-an-hour to kill. And it turned out that the Governor decided to use that half-an-hour to convince Cary and myself of the merits of opera. <laughter> Remember, that Cary ? And he was very persuasive with most people but I'm not sure he was persuasive wit us. It would have been better talking about golf.

Alan Rosenthal : But he never tried to convince legislators of the merits of opera, did he?.

Cary Edwards: Yes, he did.

Lisa Randall : Oh, yes.

Alan Rosenthal : Oh, he did?

John Paul Doyle : It was one of the common interests that he and Alan had.

Alan Rosenthal : Okay. Any remarks, comments, arguments, oh my God. Yes, Jim Goodman.

Jim Goodman : No, Jim Goodman, not God.

John Paul Doyle : He might have thought he was God.

Jim Goodman : I'm retired...

Voice : I know-- identify.

Jim Goodman : Jim Goodman, former reporter, Trenton Times. John Doyle, identified property taxes, one of the longest lingering issues. And it's also the one issue of which I think some people think Tom Kean at the height of his popularity could have achieved more than any other governor. He choose, I think, not to I think call it communism but-- and some people who criticized his choice at the time said he was-- his idea was focusing on maybe becoming the vice-presidential nominee. I wonder if anybody agrees with anything I just said or doesn't?

Donald DiFrancesco : Are you still a reporter? <laughter>

Jim Goodman : No.

Donald DiFrancesco : We don't agree with you.

Jim Hurle y: Very seldom.

John Paul Doyle : I think the Governor referred to Mount Laurel too as sounding like a communism plot. I think one thing that hasn't entered into this discussion sufficiently is as you raised the differences between the two administrations, the first and the second. If you want to go to the who won part we won in '83. We went from 43 seats to 44 seats, the 44 th, in effect, being my running mate Marlene Ford. The tax rebate was given to her, a front page picture, which really ticked of Mort Pye I understand who was

away that weekend. It helped her get reelected with a big check. In any event, obviously by the same numbers we lost '85, 50 to 30. The Governor won and instead of Alan he got Chuck Hardwick, whether that was-- and he got John Russo. And John-- and I was in the unusual position John was my running mate, Alan was with me as a speaker and I as the majority leader and they didn't necessarily get always along well and I was the common denominator. John explained the second administration very easily and he said, "He is the governor. There's three of us. My job is to make sure if it's two to one, I'm one of the two." <laughter> And I think he had a head start against Chuck on that even though he wasn't a Republican. But there is the thought that the Governor doesn't have to address it himself, today, I think, that we had that he saw the possibilities of national office. He certainly had the talent, the leadership and the electability. Did that make his second administration and I'd like to hear maybe from-- a little more conservative than the first and he now had a majority and John Russo by nature was conservative? I don't know. I looked at those state of the state speeches and they were still doing things environmental trust, civil service reform. There were a couple that were left over from the first administration. So I think that's a question that ought to be answered and is better left for others. But I think the second administration, I'll come back to the chief justice question, it took I mean a lot of-- I don't know what it was like in the Republican senate caucus but I can only imagine. I know there were times I'll give you two instances. One was on that one and getting it passed 21 to 19. And the other one I think was the last budget. By this time we had 39 Democrats. John Villapiano won the special election in 1988. And it was the last Kean budget and it had passed the senate. And it came over to our house. And 39 Democrats were locked against it. And Jeff Moran and Chris Connors assemblymen from Southern Ocean County were really opposed to the budget. And the other 39 Democrats were for it. We had John Russo over lobbying his fellow Ocean County Republicans to pass the budget. And on our side, Dick Coffee was going crazy and he was turning to me, and he said, "Look at your running mate John Paul do something about that?" And I said, "You think I can do something about Russo?"

Donald DiFrancesco : Was it late at night he wanted to go home perhaps?

John Paul Doyle : No, he wasn't flying in those days. But I think that whole dynamic of change in the speakership in the second administration some of the signal of issues in that second administration is something for Kean colloquium II.

Cary Edwards : Yes. I was attorney general during the second administration as opposed to being in the governor's office. And people didn't quite understand it but Tony and I used to talk about this on the phone the world didn't know we had a plan but we did in the first term and we were executing it. Bob Grady knows that, that there was really an evolution of that plan and where we were going. We didn't get our first cabinet appointment-- our last cabinet appointment was John Sheridan in June of the first year. So getting our executive branch up and running was very, very difficult as result of that recount. Most people don't get all of that. Tom was committed to certain policies. And you've heard of education environment and the economy but the economy was really at the top of that list. By the time we got to 1985, we had achieved every objective we had laid out at the beginning of that administration specifically. We had gotten to a level, the state economy was better. Everything was better but now it was time to take the second step. And the second step required activities outside of New Jersey . It wasn't fixing the mechanics of how we operated in the state. It required a lot more. I see Ming Hsu sitting here and I think you'll talk about this probably in the panel later on this afternoon. There was an emphasis on international trade, on the states, on the National Governors Association, on what we could do and how we grew our economy, our economy in New Jersey as a solid foundation to move us into the 21 century. It required a governor to do more than just be locked in his office at his desk. He did that. And he did it all over. He got a lot of-- I think-- unnecessary flack for this having-- some how being linked to his personal ambition, which people always to do people in public life when they do something to try to accomplish something they think, "He must be doing that for some other reason." I'm not denying that a lot of people

whether there wasn't collateral benefit to that. But the primary benefit was taking that same-- those same issues and solidifying them into the future. And it required Tom to move outside of New Jersey. He had a terrific cabinet back then. I mean the quality of that cabinet and the things that were done during that period and his ability now to really trust and be trusted by the administration and by the whole executive branch. Everyone who worked there from toll takers on the parkway to secretaries in the offices they just believed this administration knew what we were doing and I think we did. But it required him as a leader to take that next step and move out of New Jersey to some significant degree and he did that. That helped us in an economy that sustained itself through recessions in the end of the '80s, into the '90s and even ahead of the country into this century, the 21st century, because of the economy was put together in that period. And so, did it benefit him in some way or allow him to do something else? I didn't see him doing anything of any great-- I haven't seen him run for vice-president or anything like that. And I know the opportunities were available for him to run for the senate. We talked about that and he opted not to do that. So I don't know that that's the primary motive if I could add that comment.

Alan Rosenthal : We shouldn't just be discussing his motives while he's sitting there.<laughter>

Cary Edwards : Great bait.

Ray Bateman : I hesitate to get into this discussion...

Voice: Name.

Alan Rosenthal : What's your name? I know who you are.

Ray Bateman : Yes, Alan knows me. Ray Bateman. I was retired by the public before you kids were ever involved in the process. <laughter> But maybe I can kind of sum up a lot of what Cary always says in too many words ...<laughter>

Cary Edwards : I blame it on the drugs.

Ray Bateman : There are three aspects to this discussion. One of them is the qualities of the candidate himself, his legislative background. And it's been said and it's true. The inter-relations in the legislature for a period of time are wonderful for a governor to be able to do things. The second was Alan Karcher. And I think Tom Kean played Alan Karcher like a virtuoso on a violin. I mean I think Karcher was-- I mean despite all of the nice things you say and I can say them too, he was a foil that was ideal for the Governor, there's no question about it. And the third Cary, what was the third?

Cary Edwards : I forgot. Too many words.

John Paul Doyle : Maybe the accomplishments. I think the strength of the administration was the third point he had made...

Ray Bateman : No, no, no I'm sorry. The third part was the most significant part. The third part was the powers of the governor, of the office of governor, properly used the office of governor even though we had strengthened the legislative process, we had permanent leadership and we have all of the things that Alan Rosenthal and Don Hertzberg right here in this room gave us forty years ago. Despite all of that the office of governor is awesome in its powers and properly used, effectively used which they were properly used and effectively used became wonderful tools for a guy who knew what he was doing. And if there's anything that comes out of this discussion is that Tom Kean knew what the hell he was doing when he

was governor. This panel is really proof that what he learned in the legislative process and understood them very well.

Alan Rosenthal : Yes.

Jim Hurley : I don't want to close your meeting on a lighter note but one thing you should all know, most of you do, about Tom Kean is that he never had any money in his pocket, never, ever. ...<laughter> Some of these friendships were forged at the snack stand because we had to pay, we had to buy, am I right?

Governor Kean : You're right.

Jim Hurley : Until Cary Edwards came into his full blossom he-- Governor Kean was the number one junk food eater in the state house. He was replaced by Cary but he was the first one in the house. But I want to tell you a quick story about Bud Read. I don't know how many of you know Bud Read. Bud Read was a predecessor of mine. He was chairman of the Casino Control Commission. He told me something about the Governor that really because I thought I knew a lot about him but he said, never in his eight years as the chairman, did he hear from the political organization in Trenton, the governor's office and it as a testament, testimony and a testament to you Governor, and to the people around you because a regulatory body of that nature does not need to be tampered with by the political apparatus. And we weren't. And he wasn't and he told me that and I have a great deal of believability in him. So that's something, I think, you all should know.

Voice : Explain that in Washington .

Jim Hurley : Pardon?

Voice: Explain that in Washington .

Donald DiFrancesco : On that note and having served in the general assembly with the Governor and then in the senate, of course, while he was governor, there were a number of issues that-- bills that come up. Now, being in the minority I didn't really pick them. You posted. And from time to time and it's just really what you say you know lots of times the senate presidents, governors, will say you've got to vote for this in different ways. Many times Tom, and the income tax vote was one of them, when I was in the general assembly, would say, "Look, you all know what it is. You know what it says. Vote your conscience" I swear to God that happened many times. I could name other bills on which he said that, much to your chagrin perhaps ...<laughter> and many times I want to know how he wants me to vote. I'll say, "Tom, what do you want me to do?" "Well, do what you think is best." I hated that. But serious-- as the minority leader for those three years and then subsequent to that there were a number of times when he said, "Look, just do what you think you need to do." He didn't really pressure-- obviously there were times when their policy issues had to be passed and they worked hard to do it. And getting back to his skills and he has great skills legislatively and I know-- and I always say it wasn't a legislative process when people ask me about the differences. I said it's dealing with the media that was my hardest problem because every day legislators don't realize that they can hide in their offices, they can hid in their districts, they can disappear just like U.S. senators. But the governor every day the media is going to ask him questions about this or about that and you have no where to go. I mean that was the hardest part of the job for me during the course of particularly the first few months of both jobs. And he, as I think, Tony said earlier he knew how to deal with the media, but also legislatively Cary and I learned this from you and from Governor Kean you get-- you have to know what each legislator what his priorities are. I mean what does he really like? Is it a job he wants for somebody? Is it a bill he wants passed? What's important to

that legislator? What makes that person tick because at some point you're going to ask that person to vote for something they don't want to vote for. So if you haven't set the groundwork, if you haven't in some way developed that knowledge or that relationship you're never going to get that person's vote. And that was our problem early in the term, Cary, on the-- which was a good bill to pass the dedicated, I think your idea actually, that's probably why it didn't pass, but the five cent-- as I recall right out of the box as soon as we took-- Tom was sworn in office you wanted us to vote for a five cent increase in the gas tax dedicated constitutionally, I believe, and it didn't pass in the senate. And the reason it didn't pass in the senate, I mean I was brand new, everybody was brand new. We just didn't lay the ground work for developing relationships that would cause a Len Connors or Joe Bubba...

Cary Edwards : John Paoletta.

Donald DiFrancesco : John Paoletta to say-- to vote for it. You know you couldn't paint the picture quick enough for them to tell them that this vote is not-- you're not going to lose the election over this election over this vote. Believe me. So that takes time. But I watched-- I learned from the both of you some valuable lessons during the '80s that fortunately I was able to use in the '90s to help create legislative activity.

Alan Rosenthal : Well, thank you. We learned from all of you a lot more about the governor and the legislature. Thank you very much. <applause>

Ruth Mandel : Thank you, Alan and thanks everyone on the panel. If you will just hold it for one moment. You want to keep talking? <laughter> Thank you. It was another remarkable session. And I know I speak for everyone in the room in saying how privileged we are to sit here and listen to this. Really, talk about an education. The-- I want to make two comments before I let you go to have some lunch. Number one, every one in the room really or almost every one I can see a couple of exceptions but almost every one deserves a special introduction but I-- we can't do that. But I do want to make note for anyone who doesn't just know it that the clone sitting next to Governor Kean is his son Reed and we're very pleased to have Reed Kean here with us. <applause> Very obvious power of genetic transfers.

John Paul Doyle : Just to put everything in perspective in how long we've come in reading the speeches, the Governor mentioned we've got to do something about auto insurance. That was another thing that differentiated Alan and he. But he said, "Just this past week my sons went down to get their driver's license having turned 17." So you've aged well.

Ruth Mandel : Having turned a certain age that's the other comment I want to make before or information I want to share with you before we go to lunch and that is that we have a little lunch waiting for you. We're very pleased to provide it but we're especially pleased and we want you to save room for dessert because it so happens that next week on April 21, the Governor is going to be celebrating his birthday and so we have a birthday cake for dessert. So save room for his birthday and happy birthday in advance Governor Kean. <applause> We will begin again promptly at 1:15 .

End of Session 2