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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 90678
Folder ID Number: 90678-004

Folder Title:
Monday, May 11, 1992 [4]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redaction. (1 pp.)	05/11/92	(b)(7)(c)	
02. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; redaction. (1 pp.)	05/11/92	(b)(7)(c)	
03. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; redactions. (6 pp.)	05/11/92	(b)(7)(c)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
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WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Monday, May 11, 1992 [4]

Pinksheet Number: RML15899
OA/ID Number: 90678-004
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Processed by: Matt Lee
Processed by:
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R2

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

Monday, May 11, 1992

8:00 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Secretary Cheney</u>	Oval Office
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
9:15 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
9:45 am (30 min)	<u>Domestic Briefing</u> (Yeutter)	Oval Office
10:15 am (45 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
11:00 am (5 min)	<u>Photo with Trauma Society Poster Child</u> (Rollins)	Oval Office
11:10 am (15 min)	<u>Infant Health Event</u> (Holiday)	Rose Garden
11:30 am (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
12:00 pm (75 min)	<u>Lunch</u>	Oval Office
1:15 pm (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
1:30 pm (30 min)	B <u>Meeting with Terri Lacey</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
2:00 pm (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
2:30 pm (15 min)	<u>Meeting with Roland Dumas, Foreign Minister of France</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office

(Distributed Separately)

UNP 05/08/92
5:00 pm



2:50 pm	The President departs for <u>Philadelphia</u>	South Lawn (TAB D -- Trip Schedule)
TBD	<u>Arrives Philadelphia</u> (Holiday)	Philadelphia
TBD	Meeting with Weed and Seed <u>Project Community Leaders</u> (Holiday)	Philadelphia (TAB E)
TBD	Briefing with Violent Traffickers Project Members <u>in Spring Garden Neighborhood</u> (Holiday)	 (TAB F)
6:10 pm	Bush/Quayle '92 Fundraising Dinner at Hotel Atop the <u>Bellevue</u> (Kaufman)	 (TAB G)
8:25 pm	Departs Philadelphia for <u>Washington</u>	
9:25 pm	<u>Arrives White House</u>	South Lawn

SUPPLEMENTARY BRIEFING MATERIALS

TAB H -- Briefing on Local Issues, Pennsylvania (Rollins)

TAB I -- Pennsylvania Political Briefing (Kaufman)

UNP 05/08/92
5:00 pm

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 8, 1992

DOMESTIC POLICY BRIEFING

DATE: Monday, May 11, 1992
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 9:45 a.m.

FROM: Clayton Yeutter



I. PURPOSE

To provide an update on health care.

II. BACKGROUND

Gail Wilensky will provide an update on health care, which has been a relatively low profile issue since your Cleveland speech announcing the Administration's health care plan. That speech has thus far neutralized the issue that Senator Wofford used so effectively against Dick Thornburgh last fall. We, in fact, believe that health care can be a winning issue (though modestly so) for you in November.

Gail will summarize Congressional and public reaction to your plan, and also discuss our proposed legislative strategy for the coming weeks.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
The Vice President
Sam Skinner
Nick Brady
Dick Darman
Tom Scully
Roger Porter
Gail Wilensky
Clayton Yeutter

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Participants enter. Discussion takes place.
Participants depart.

VI. REMARKS

None required.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1992

Photo Opportunity with the 1992 American Trauma
Society Poster Child

DATE: May 11, 1992

TIME: 11:00 a.m.

LOCATION: Oval Office

THROUGH: SHERRIE ROLLINS

FROM: CECE KREMER

I. PURPOSE

To meet with the American Trauma Society Poster Child, Billy Crowley, and to recognize his achievements in dealing with the limitations he faces daily due to a serious car accident which left him a quadriplegic.

II. BACKGROUND

The American Trauma Society is a nationwide, non-profit, voluntary health organization dedicated to the prevention of trauma and the improvement of trauma care. Trauma is the number one killer of U.S. residents under the age of 44.

For several years, Congress has designated May as National Trauma Awareness Month. This year, the society decided the focus of this month would be "traffic trauma." Five year old Billy Crowley, is the 1992 Poster Child. In 1988, when Billy was two, he was in a serious car accident. Both Billy's mother and step-father were killed, and Billy was left a quadriplegic.

Billy underwent 9 months of intensive care and extensive rehabilitation. He still has a tracheotomy and requires night nursing. Despite his limitations, Billy has been integrated into a regular Kindergarten. He has become a powerful spokesperson for the Alliance Against Intoxicated Motorists.

Secretary Card will attend this photo opportunity. During this time you will also sign the National Trauma Month Proclamation.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Secretary Andrew Card
William Crowley (Billy - Poster Child)
William Crowley - father
Patricia Crowley - step-mother
Albert Fleider - grandfather
Caryl Fleider - grandmother
Patricia Mayer - nurse
Dr. John Hall - Billy's doctor
Dr. Robert Walker - President, American Trauma Society

IV. PRESS PLAN

Still Photographers Only.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- You greet participants as they enter Oval Office.
- You participate in brief photo opportunity.
- You sign American Trauma Month Proclamation.
- You give pen to Billy Crowley.
- The guests depart Oval Office.

VI. REMARKS

None required.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 8, 1992

INFANT HEALTH EVENT

DATE: May 11, 1992
LOCATION: The Rose Garden
TIME: 11:10 a.m.

FROM: EDE HOLIDAY *qwr for*

I. PURPOSE

To address an audience of parents, children, public health professionals, and community leaders on the Administration's initiatives to improve infant health and reduce infant mortality.

II. BACKGROUND

Last year, the Administration unveiled its Healthy Start program, targeted at 15 urban and rural communities with high rates of infant mortality. The program provides more accessible pre-natal care for expectant mothers and educates communities on the key aspects of maternal and infant health. Your FY 1993 budget proposes \$9.4 billion for all federal activities aimed at reducing infant mortality.

Your budget also increases support for childhood immunization grants by \$52 million. Last June in a Rose Garden ceremony, you announced that Secretary Sullivan and other HHS officials would visit six key cities to help coordinate federal, state and local immunization services. Those visits were highly successful and HHS has begun sharing the information about making immunization more accessible to communities across the country.

This Rose Garden event will re-emphasize the Administration's strong record on infant health. In addition, you will also announce an interagency immunization plan that harnesses the activities of eight federal agencies in an effort to get all American children vaccinated by age 2. Your remarks also refer to the release of new standards in immunization practices that will help health care workers screen and vaccinate children.

This event also marks the kick-off of a public service campaign by the Ad Council intended to promote the Healthy Start program through television, radio, magazine, and

billboard advertising. Two large posters from this campaign will be set up on the dais.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Secretary Sullivan

Secretary Madigan
Bill Roper, Director of the Centers for Disease Control
James Mason, Assistant Secretary for Health
Approximately two dozen expectant mothers and children
participating in the Healthy Start program
Members of the Ad Council
Approximately 180 community leaders and public health
officials

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open press.

V. SEQUENCE -OF EVENTS

- You will be announced into the Rose Garden with Secretary Sullivan.
- Sullivan will make brief remarks and introduce you.
- You deliver remarks and depart the Rose Garden at their conclusion.

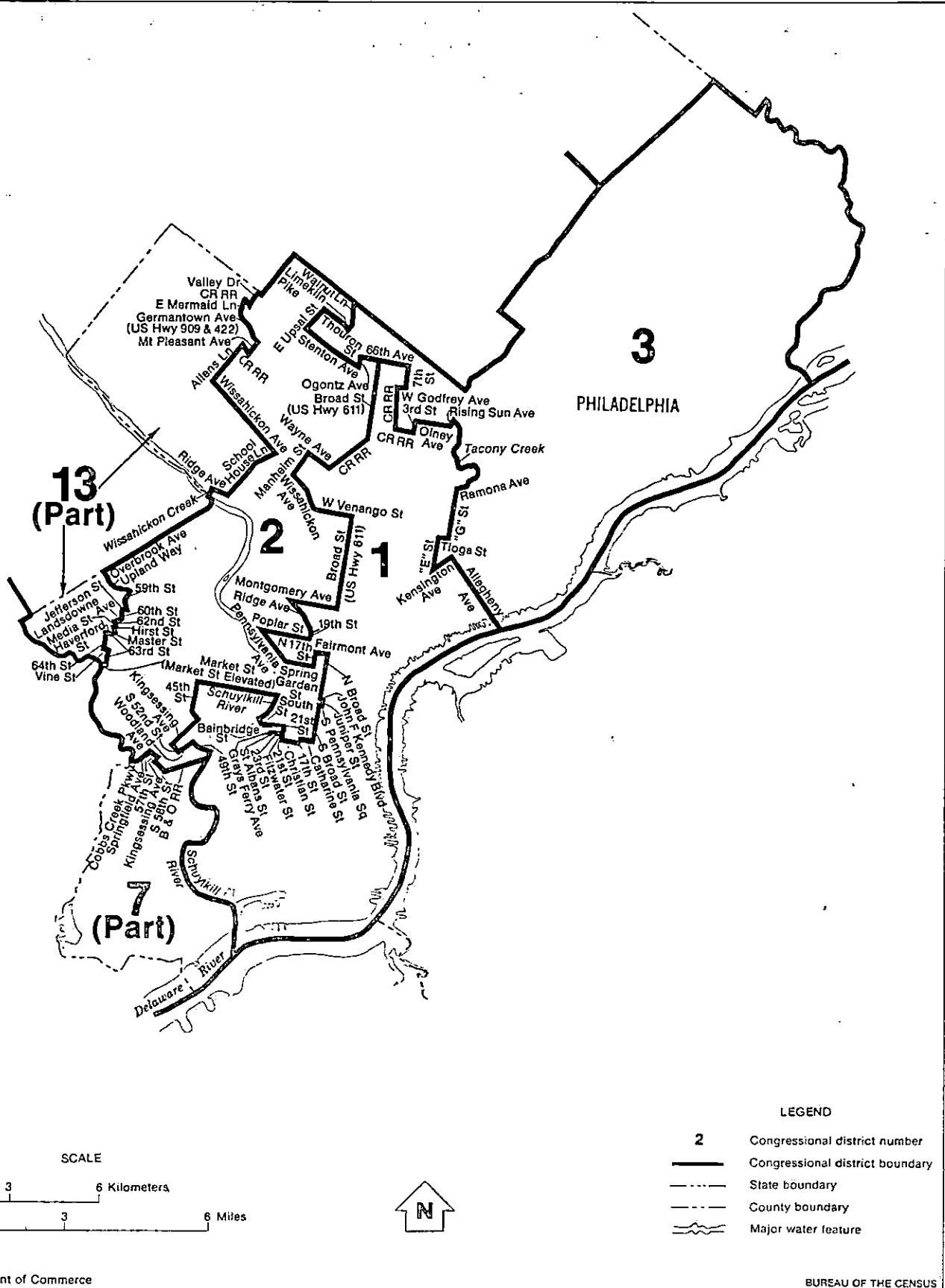
VI. REMARKS

To be provided by speechwriters.

ADVANCE MATERIAL WILL BE AVAILABLE ON
MONDAY MORNING.

PENNSYLVANIA — Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Places

PHILADELPHIA COUNTY



Congressional districts established March 3, 1982; all other boundaries are as of January 1, 1980.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 8, 1992

MEETING WITH WEED AND SEED PROJECT COMMUNITY LEADERS

DATE: May 11, 1992
LOCATION: St. Boniface Church/School
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
TIME: TBD
FROM: EDE HOLIDAY *Doe for*

I. PURPOSE

To meet with residents and officials in a Philadelphia community that has been selected to participate in the Administration's Weed and Seed program, and to drive through the drug- and crime-riddled neighborhood they are trying to take back.

II. BACKGROUND

The Department of Justice has selected the Norris Square and Fairhill neighborhood of Philadelphia as a Weed and Seed site. The Weed and Seed Program is a comprehensive approach to combatting violent urban crime. It first focuses federal, state, and local law enforcement efforts in weeding out violent criminals. It then coordinates federal, state, and local government activities with the private sector to "seed" the neighborhood with revitalization programs. This past Friday you announced a \$19 million Weed and Seed program for Los Angeles.

At the St. Boniface Church/School, you will meet with the local Weed and Seed committee and officials responsible for administering the project. The church is 125 years old and is picturesque in its rundown condition. After your brief remarks, the group will explain to you the extent of the area's problems and the effort they are mounting to overcome them.

Following the meeting, you will take a driving tour of the neighborhood and witness the extent of the crime and drug activity.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Attorney General Barr
Secretary Kemp
Governor Martinez
Digger Phelps

Mayor Edward Rendell
Sister Carol Keck, United Neighbors Against Drugs
Mr. Sid Haifetz, President of Coogan & Gordon, a local
business
Approximately 20-25 local resident members of the Weed and
Seed Committee

IV. PRESS PLAN

Press Pool coverage.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

--You will enter St. Boniface Church/School where community leaders and officials are assembled and you will make brief remarks.

--Following your remarks, the group will explain to you the extent of the area's problems and their plans to implement a Weed and Seed program.

--You will depart the church and then drive through this major drug-crime related area of Philadelphia.

VI. REMARKS

Talking points to be provided by Cabinet Affairs on Monday morning.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1992

BRIEFING WITH MEMBERS OF THE VIOLENT TRAFFICKERS PROJECT

DATE: May 11, 1992
LOCATION: Spring Garden Neighborhood
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
TIME: TBD
FROM: EDE HOLIDAY *Dal for*

I. PURPOSE

Tour the revitalized Spring Garden neighborhood, a former center of drug and crime activity, and meet with law enforcement officials in the local police substation.

II. BACKGROUND

The Department of Justice's Weed and Seed program was inspired by the Violent Traffickers Project in Philadelphia, a joint federal/state/local task force that used tough federal laws to eradicate a drug selling organization from the neighborhood. Community efforts in cooperation with the police have helped revitalize the area. The success of the effort is reflected in the dramatic drop in the crime rate in the Spring Garden neighborhood. From 1989 to 1991, there has been an 84 percent drop in arrests for narcotics and a 34 percent decrease in serious offenses. Of the ten largest cities in America, Philadelphia is the only one whose murder rate dropped last year, and its drug-related murders dropped by 38 percent.

Upon arriving in the Spring Garden neighborhood, you will visit the 9th Police District Substation, a small two-room building which serves as the community policing site. At the station you will be briefed on the Violent Traffickers Project by Commissioner Willie Williams, U.S. Attorney Mike Baylson, District Attorney Lynne Abraham, and local law enforcement officials. The briefing will include a three-minute video of the area filmed while it was still under siege.

Following the video, you will take a brief, one and one-half block walking tour of the neighborhood with the local law enforcement officials to witness its recovery.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Attorney General Barr
Secretary Kemp
Governor Martinez
Digger Phelps

Mayor Edward Rendell
Police Commissioner Willie Williams
U.S. Attorney Mike Baylson
District Attorney Lynne Abraham
Law enforcement officers from the 9th Police District

IV. PRESS PLAN

Press pool coverage.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

--You will arrive and enter the 9th Police District Substation and make brief remarks to the assembled officers.

--You will receive a briefing on the Spring Garden neighborhood.

--Following the briefing, Commissioner Williams and other officials will escort you on a walking tour of the neighborhood.

VI. REMARKS

Talking points to be provided by Cabinet Affairs on Monday morning.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1992

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

BUSH-QUAYLE '92 PHILADELPHIA DINNER CHAIRMEN AND MAJOR DONORS

DATE: Monday, May 11, 1992
LOCATION: Red and Clover Rooms
Hotel Atop the Bellevue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
TIME: 6:00 p.m.
FROM: RONALD C. KAUFMAN

I. PURPOSE

To raise funds in support of the Bush-Quayle '92 general election campaign in Pennsylvania.

II. BACKGROUND

This event is expected to raise \$500,000 toward the state goal of \$1,111,000. The price of the dinner ticket is \$1,000.

Approximately 200 supporters are expected to participate in 100 photographs. Participants in the photo opportunity sold at least one \$10,000 table for the dinner fundraiser.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Approximately 200 contributors

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed press
White House photographer
Political photographer

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

See Advance Office schedule

VI. REMARKS

None required

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1992

FUNDRAISING DINNER
FOR THE BUSH-QUAYLE '92 CAMPAIGN

DATE: Monday, May 11, 1992
LOCATION: Grand Ballroom
Hotel Atop the Bellevue
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
TIME: 6:30 p.m.
FROM: RONALD C. KAUFMAN (RC)

I. PURPOSE

To raise funds in support of the Bush-Quayle '92 general election campaign in Pennsylvania.

II. BACKGROUND

Approximately 550 supporters are expected to attend the dinner. Tickets sold for \$1000 per person.

You participated in an identical event in this same facility last September in support of the Thornburgh for Senate campaign. At a second fundraiser for the Thornburgh for Senate campaign in Pittsburgh, State Auditor Barbara Hafer was omitted from the acknowledgements. Attorney General Ernie Preate, Senator Arlen Specter and Hafer are the only statewide elected Republican officials. Specter and Preate were mentioned in the remarks. Hafer's pro-choice position on abortion during her campaign for Governor in 1990 was cited in a news article that followed the event as the reason for the omission. She also publicly criticized Mrs. Bush's participation with Democrat Governor Bob Casey in a literacy event in Harrisburg. This issue was also mentioned in the news article, stating that the failure to acknowledge her was intentional. Ms. Hafer will be in attendance at this event.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President

Head Table Guests:

Senator Arlen Specter, United States Senator
Governor Mike Castle, State of Delaware
Elsie Hillman, Bush-Quayle '92 Pennsylvania State Chairman
Charles Kopp, Bush-Quayle '92 Pennsylvania Finance Chairman
Anne Anstine, Chairman, Pennsylvania Republican Party

New York Bush-Quayle '92 Briefing
Page Two

Herb Barnes, Pennsylvania Republican National Committeeman
Bobby Holt, Bush-Quayle '92 National Finance Chairman
Peter Terpeluk, Dinner Chairman
Diane Terpeluk, Spouse of Peter Terpeluk
David Girard-diCarlo, Dinner Chairman
Connie Girard-diCarlo, Spouse of David Girard-diCarlo
Dexter Baker, Regional Dinner Chairman and CEO, Air Products
Dottie Baker, Spouse of Dexter Baker
Gordon Woodrow, Bush-Quayle '92 Regional Chairman
Congressman Curt Weldon
Congressman Larry Coughlin
Congressman Tom Ridge
Congressman Don Ritter
Barbara Hafer, Auditor General, State of Pennsylvania
Reverend Daniel Gambot, President, Allentown College
Approximately 550 supporters

Dinner Co-Chairmen include Drew Lewis who will be out of town for the event. Other dinner Co-Chairmen include George deB. Bell, a colleague of yours from high school; Francis "Reds" Bagnell; and Thomas Judge, Bush-Quayle '88 and '92 Co-Chairman. Robert Mumma, Bush-Quayle '92 Regional Chairman and Team 100 member, will be in attendance. You will participate in a fundraising event for Arlen Specter at Mr. Mumma's residence in Harrisburg on June 9.

IV. PRESS PLAN
Open Press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS
See Advance Office schedule.

VI. REMARKS
Provided by the Office of Speechwriting.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: SHERRIE ~~ROLLINS~~ *MR*

FROM: BOBBIE KILBERG *SK*
MARK FRANTZ *MF*

SUBJECT: PHILADELPHIA

I. Recent Correspondence

Philadelphia Councilman Happy Fernandez forwarded the City's resolution which calls on you and the Congress to break down the budget walls so that military savings can be transferred to domestic programs.

Philadelphia Councilman David Cohen forwarded the City's resolution which urges you to revise present policies relating to Haitian refugees.

Foster Township Chairman Robert Falatko asked for your help with the lead poisoning that is affecting the children in his area.

Meyersdale Mayor Paul Fuller expressed his concerns about the deletion of Federal funding for the re-building of his borough's playground.

II. Discussion

A. Governor Casey's State of the Commonwealth Address

In his state of the Commonwealth address, Governor Casey called last year's recession "crippling and unrelenting". He told his fellow Pennsylvanians that, "We're in a fight for our lives."

The main focus of Casey's address was the Commonwealth's economy. The Governor has begun, and pressed for the continuation of, "Operation Jump Start". Essentially a massive public works program, the project is fast-tracking billions of Federal and

state dollars into the construction and upgrading of highways, bridges, airports, clean water systems, prisons, mass transit systems and port development investments.

Casey also asked that a \$350 million clean water bond referendum for water and sewer projects be placed on the April primary ballot. That referendum was overwhelmingly approved two weeks ago and those monies will now be channeled throughout the Commonwealth.

B. FY 1993 Budget

In February, Governor Casey outlined a \$14.2 billion budget which included a 1.4 percent increase in overall state spending and established a \$400 million reserve fund. Although there were no new taxes per se, Casey did include a \$77 million revenue enhancement through increased utility gross receipts.

The main dispute that both the Republican-controlled Senate and the Democrat-controlled House have with the Governor's budget is that he is reneging on last year's budget agreement. In order to pass a record tax increase, Casey pledged to significantly increase spending for basic education in the following years. Casey's proposed FY 1993 budget freezes funding for basic and higher education at last year's level, while increasing funding for the Department of Welfare by almost a quarter of a billion dollars.

House Democrats introduced their own budget package two days ago, which increases spending by 1.3 percent. It does not contain any tax increases.

C. Unemployment Figures

Pennsylvania's rate was 7.2 percent for March of 1992 compared to 7.1 percent for March of 1991.

The city of Philadelphia's rate was 7.8 percent for February of 1992 compared to 6.5 percent a year before. The rate for area blacks was significantly higher than area whites, 14.3 percent versus 5 percent.

D. Welfare Reform

House Republicans have unveiled a six-point plan designed to move people off welfare and into the job market, while saving the Commonwealth approximately

\$500 million annually and the state and Federal government almost \$1 billion annually. Reforms include establishing a residency requirement, a Learnfare program, paternity establishment, elimination of non-Federally mandated Medicaid benefits, allowing AFDC families who have additional children to work and earn money without penalizing their established benefits, and elimination of the state's transitional needy program except for those receiving unemployment compensation.

E. Workers Compensation Reform

Late last year, the Compensation Rating Bureau asked the Commonwealth to approve a 52 percent increase in premiums for the worker's compensation system. This proposed increase would cost Pennsylvania employers an additional \$1.5 billion over what are already very high fees.

Governor Casey backs a plan passed by the House which would limit medical costs to 113 percent of the rates Medicare reimburses for specific medical procedures and would allow small businesses to form pools to buy coverage.

The Senate proposal is more acceptable to the medical community and would tie the fees to a Federal workers compensation plan, thereby offering doctors higher payments than the House plan. Also, the Senate plan would offset any social security and pension payments received by the injured worker when figuring compensation.

F. Surface Transportation Funding

Pennsylvania's 1992 apportionment is estimated at \$788.4 million compared to \$491.6 million in 1991. As of April 28th, the Commonwealth had already obligated \$522.8 million of the funding.

Last year's legislation allocates over \$5.4 billion for Pennsylvania from FY 1992 to FY 1997.

G. Drugs/"Weed and Seed"

Federal anti-drug assistance to the Commonwealth has climbed to \$62.5 million in FY 1992 from \$29.8 million in FY 1989.

Cocaine powder and crack cocaine are the drugs of choice in Philadelphia, while heroin and marijuana are also readily available.

Community involvement is the emphasis of the city's anti-drug strategy. Because of its tradition in neighborhood activism, Philadelphia is the recipient of a Federal Community Partnership grant worth \$3.4 million over five years.

The working relationship between Federal, state and local law enforcement officials in Philadelphia is an excellent one, born of the failure of the city's court system to effectively deal with the overwhelming drug problem. In fact, Philadelphia was recently awarded a \$1.1 million grant as part of the "Weed and Seed" initiative.

Much like the "Weed and Seed" initiative is Philadelphia's own Project PEARL II, which was launched in South Philadelphia in October of 1991. The program coordinates the resources of Federal, state and local governments with the efforts of community volunteers. A total of \$1.8 million in Federal and state funds will be applied to the effort. You praised the PEARL I project during your visit to the city in July of 1990.

H. Philadelphia Naval Shipyard

The Philadelphia Naval Shipyard has been targeted for closure by the Base Closure Commission. The Congressional delegations of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware are focusing their efforts on keeping the yard open. Senator Arlen Specter (R-PA) has fervently maintained that the Navy did not follow its own procedures in evaluating the closure of the yard. Currently there is a lawsuit filed against the Navy.

Discussions about future uses of the yard are being deferred until the closing is actually settled. But future uses may be complicated by concerns of just who would pay for the toxic clean-up of the area.

I. Head Start (In Philadelphia)

There are seven Head Start grantees located in the city, serving a total of 4,097 children and families. Total Head Start funds awarded in Philadelphia amount to \$17.3 million.

J. America 2000

As you know from your visit to the Lehigh Valley last month, the Pennsylvania 2000 effort is off and running with over 25 communities across the Commonwealth firmly committed to the National Education Goals.

However, the America 2000 effort in Philadelphia has yet to be cemented. The city's school superintendent, Dr. Constance Clayton, testified against legislation for choice at a recent hearing and has expressed no interest in establishing any of the America 2000 principles.

K. Educational Reform

For three years, the Pennsylvania Education Department has held public hearings and private work sessions on a bold reform for the Commonwealth's public school system. The result is a landmark revision of the Commonwealth's curriculum guidelines which will require students to attain minimum learning goals rather than merely meeting hour and course requirements before they can graduate from high school. The regulations are designed to produce a better-educated student, give local schools greater autonomy and make public education more accountable.

L. Exports

The Commonwealth's exports rose 22 percent in 1990 (the latest year figures are available) to \$10.4 billion. That figure is 70 percent above 1987 levels.

Primary exports are computer and industrial machinery, electronic equipment, transportation equipment, chemicals and primary metals.

M. Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area

The Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area and the New Jersey Division of Juvenile Services would like to allow juvenile delinquents, who have not been charged with violent crimes, to assist in the restoration and operation of old Boy Scout camp facilities at Long Pine Pond. Local residents are very worried about security and have voiced their opinions strongly.

The proposal was submitted to Secretary Lujan in early April and is awaiting approval.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 7, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: RONALD C. KAUFMAN *RC*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
POLITICAL AFFAIRS

FROM: LYNN LAWSON *LL*
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: PENNSYLVANIA POLITICAL BRIEFING

1992 ELECTION OUTLOOK

Presidential Campaign

The Pennsylvania Presidential Primary election was held on April 28. All delegates elected in the primary support your candidacy.

Presidential Primary Results:	Bush	77%
	Buchanan	23%
	Clinton	57%
	Brown	26%
	Tsongas	13%

Number of Delegates:	Republican -	91
	28 at large	
	3 per 21 CDs	
	Democrat -	169

Electoral College Votes:	23
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'88 Presidential Results:	Bush-Quayle	51%
	Dukakis-Bentsen	48%

Elsie Hillman serves as the Pennsylvania State Chairman for the Bush-Quayle '92 campaign. Retiring Philadelphia area Congressman **Larry Coughlin** and Congressman **Bob Walker** serve as a Co-Chairmen of the Pennsylvania Bush-Quayle '92 campaign. The Philadelphia regional chairman is **Gordon Woodrow**. All members of the Pennsylvania Republican Congressional delegation have expressed their support for your candidacy. In addition, the state Republican leadership, including Attorney General **Ernie Preate**, State Auditor **Barbara Hafer**, State Senate President **Bob Jubelirer**, State Senate Majority Leader **Joseph Loeper**, State House Republican Leader **Matt Ryan** and former Governors **Raymond Shafer** and **William Scranton** have endorsed your candidacy.

Pennsylvania Political Briefing
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Former Congressman Gene Atkinson serves as the Chairman of the Buchanan campaign in Pennsylvania. Atkinson was a Democrat who backed Kennedy in the 1980 Democrat presidential primary and joined the Republican party in 1981. Buchanan campaign activity in the state was minimal. Approximately four Buchanan delegates were on the primary ballot but were defeated.

In the Democrat race, Pennsylvania Governor Bob Casey, stating his preference for a pro-life candidate, did not endorse any of the Democrat candidates. He said " . . . at this point, it would be very difficult for any of the current candidates to beat President Bush." He called for an open convention, stating that Clinton had a minimal chance of defeating you.

Senator Wofford endorsed Clinton shortly after his personal friend, Tsongas, suspended his campaign. Clinton used Wofford's race last fall against Dick Thornburgh as a blueprint and, while campaigning in Pennsylvania, highlighted the need for health care reform.

The union endorsement of Clinton provided a boost to his campaign by energizing the state's large blue collar union population. However, the state's largest union, the steelworkers, did not endorse Clinton.

Of additional benefit to Clinton was and will be the fact that his consultants directed Wofford's successful Senate campaign and Casey's two gubernatorial victories.

Jimmy Carter lost Pennsylvania (and New York) to Kennedy in 1980.

U.S. Senate Campaign

Republican		Democrat	
Specter	65%	Yeakel	44%
Freind	35%	Singel	33%
		Colville	14%

The U.S. Senate Primary produced dramatic results among the Democrat candidates when newcomer and political unknown, Lynn Yeakel defeated former front runner, Lt. Governor Mark Singel. Yeakel registered with 6 percent of the vote three weeks prior to the primary. She focused her campaign on Specter's role in the Clarence Thomas hearings thereby capitalizing on the anti-Washington theme and the great amount of opposition directed toward Senator Specter from women's groups who believe that his role in the Thomas hearings was too critical of Anita Hill.

Pennsylvania Political Briefing
Page Three

Other Democrat candidates were Allegheny County District Attorney Robert Colville; Frederica Mann Friedman, a family therapist and Philip Valenti, a follower of Lyndon LaRouche.

Citing his unhappiness with Singel's switch to a pro-choice position, Governor Casey withheld an endorsement of his own Lt. Governor in the primary. Although Yeakel is pro-choice, Casey has endorsed her for the general election. He stated that since Specter is also pro-choice, the issue is not relevant. Fifty-seven percent of Pennsylvania Republicans believe that Roe v. Wade should not be overturned. Support for Arlen Specter among this group stood at 4 to 1.

Specter's Republican opponent, State Representative Steven Freind is the author of the restrictive Pennsylvania abortion law that is currently being heard before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Republican State Committee met last month and endorsed Specter over Freind. This included members from Freind's home county of Delaware County.

Specter has faced criticism for his role as the framer of the single-bullet theory during the investigation of President Kennedy's death. Specter's theory was highlighted in the movie, "JFK." Actor Kevin Costner insisted that Specter's name be inserted in the movie. Costner's character calls Specter's theory "one of the grossest lies ever forced on the American people."

The Office of Political Affairs and the Scheduling Office have been working closely with Senator Specter to accommodate his request for a Presidential fundraiser. Specter's initial request was to have the event prior to the April 28 primary. The Senator has accepted June 9 as the event date. The fundraiser will be in the Harrisburg area.

Speculation existed that Teresa Heinz, widow of the late Senator John Heinz, would switch parties and run as a Democrat for the Senate seat. Abortion rights advocates tried to recruit Heinz to challenge Specter after the Thomas hearings. Heinz has said that she is "not interested in becoming a Democrat."

Congressional and State Campaigns

Due to redistricting and retirements, the Pennsylvania congressional elections are quite competitive. Two seats have been lost through reapportionment and four Members of Congress have announced their retirement.

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Congressmen Lawrence Coughlin (R-13), Richard Schulze (R-5), Gus Yatron (D-6) and Joseph Gaydos (D-20) have all announced their retirement from the U.S. House of Representatives.

In the First Congressional District which includes center city Philadelphia, 12-year incumbent Democrat **Thomas Foglietta** will be challenged by Republican Party activist and former State legislative candidate **Craig Snyder**.

The Second District race places freshman Democrat **Lucien Blackwell** against Republican businessman **Larry Hollin**. Hollin is the President and owner of the Hollin Group, a management holding company. Blackwell replaced **Bill Gray** in a special election last Fall when Gray resigned to become the President of the United Negro College Fund.

Former Republican Congressman **Charlie Dougherty** will face incumbent Democrat **Bob Borski** in the race for the Congressional seat of the Third District.

The Fourth District's incumbent, Democrat **Joe Kolter**, was defeated in the Democrat primary by **Ron Klink**, who is a former Pittsburgh T.V. newscaster. Klink will be challenged in November by **Gordon Johnston**, who in 1990 received 45% of the vote against Kolter.

Incumbent Democrat **Gus Yatron** is retiring leaving the Sixth District seat open. This seat will be contested by Schuylkill County attorney/businessman **John Jones (R)** and Schuylkill County Sheriff **Tim Holden (D)**.

The Mayor of Media, **Frank Daly (D)**, resigned to run for the seat held by Congressman **Curt Weldon (R)**. Weldon would ordinarily be considered unbeatable, but the FBI's probe of the misuse of federal funds by a quasi-public agency that Weldon founded in 1984 could be a potential liability. Weldon has denied any wrongdoing.

Democrat incumbent from the Eight District, **Peter Kostmayer** will be challenged by Republican State Senator **Jim Greenwood**.

Republican Congressman **Bud Shuster** is unopposed in the Ninth District.

In the Tenth District, Republican 16-term incumbent **Joe McDade** won the Republican primary and the Democrat nomination as a write-in. He was indicted earlier this week on federal charges of accepting bribes from defense contractors. McDade held a press conference before the story was made public and stated that

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he did nothing more than assist a town in his district that was faced with 85 percent unemployment. Because of his long-term service to the district and the fact that he was out in front of the story, the indictment is not expected to affect his re-election. McDade is Vice-Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee and is the ranking Republican on the Defense Subcommittee that oversees the military budget.

The seat in the Eleventh District which is held by Democrat incumbent Paul **Kanjorski** will be challenged by a former CIA agent and Republican, Mike **Fecina**.

Democrat Congressman John **Murtha** is unopposed in the Twelfth District.

Montgomery County Commissioner, Republican Jon **Fox** and Democrat Marjorie **Mezvinsky** are competing in the general election race to fill the seat of retiring Congressman Lawrence **Coughlin** (R-13).

Pittsburgh Attorney Byron **King** will be the Republican challenger of incumbent Democrat Bill **Coyne** in the race for the Fourteenth District seat.

Fifteenth District incumbent Republican Congressman Don **Ritter** will be challenged by Democrat State Legislator and Desert Storm veteran, Paul **McHale**.

The Sixteenth District seat is held by Republican incumbent Congressman Bob **Walker**. Walker will be challenged by Chester County Democrat Attorney Robert **Peters**.

In District Seventeen Republican incumbent Congressman George **Gekas** will face Dauphin County businessman and former Democrat Bill **Sturges**.

The Eighteenth District seat is held by Republican freshman Congressman Rick **Santorum**. He will be challenged by State Senator Frank **Pecora** - a Republican who switched to the Democrat party.

Republican Congressman Bill **Goodling** was among the worst offenders in the Hill check writing scandal. Goodling allegedly bounced 439 checks in the amount of \$188,015. Goodling claims that his records indicate 51 bad checks in the amount of \$26,816. Goodling will be challenged by Democrat businessman Paul **Kilker**.

Democrat incumbent Austin **Murphy** holds the Twentieth District seat and will be challenged by Republican advertising agent Bill **Townsend**.

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The Twenty-first District seat is held by Republican incumbent Tom Ridge. Democrat John C. Harkins will challenge Ridge.

Due to redistricting, Republican incumbent Bill Clinger, Jr. will be unopposed in the fall. Clinger formerly represented the Twenty-third District which was lost to redistricting.

Both Republican statewide elected officials, Attorney General Ernie Preate and State Auditor Barbara Hafer, will face re-election this year. Preate has aspirations for Governor. Democrat State Senators Roy Afflerback and Craig Lewis have entered the race to challenge Hafer. The 1992 Pennsylvania ballot will also include one half of the State Senate seats and the entire 203 member State Representative body.

1991 ELECTION REVIEW

U.S. Senate

Harris Wofford (D)	55%
Richard Thornburgh (R)	45%

The death of U.S. Senator John Heinz on April 4, 1991, created an open Senate seat. Harris Wofford, a member of Governor Casey's cabinet was appointed to fill the seat and was challenged by former U.S. Attorney General and former two-term Pennsylvania Governor, Richard Thornburgh, in the general election. Early polls indicated a 40 percent lead for Thornburgh. Wofford positioned himself as a Washington outsider and used **national health care** as the foundation of his campaign. Thornburgh initially stated that he was opposed to a national health care plan. A Pittsburgh Post Gazette poll indicated that 94 percent of Pennsylvanians said that their decision in this race would be based on the candidate who could best ensure that adequate health care is available. Many believed that Thornburgh's message failed to provide any definition to his campaign and no articulation of his sense of the future for Pennsylvania. Following Wofford's 10 percentage point win, he defined the election as a referendum on the Bush Administration - and Congress. This is the first time in 23 years that Pennsylvania has sent a Democrat to the U.S. Senate. Wofford will face re-election to a full six-year term in 1994.

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U.S. House of Representatives / PA-02

Lucien Blackwell (D)	39%
Chaka Fattah (Consumer)	28%
John White (I)	27%
Nadine Bulford (R)	5%

Congressman Bill Gray resigned last fall from the U.S. Congress to become the President of the United Negro College Fund, thereby creating a special election to fill his seat. Former Philadelphia City Council member Lucien Blackwell defeated 3 other candidates to win the seat. Democrat ward leaders chose Blackwell as the nominee which caused former Democrats Fattah and White to file under the Consumer Party and as an Independent. Ninety percent of the registered voters in the district are Democrats. Seventy-six percent of the residents are black.

Philadelphia Mayoral

Ed Rendell (D)	64%
Joe Egan (R)	30%
Others	6%

Real estate executive and former Philadelphia Deputy Commerce Director Joe Egan (R) lost the Philadelphia Mayoral race to former District Attorney Ed Rendell (D). Frank Rizzo had won the Republican primary but died last summer from a heart attack. Egan's first try for elective office was earlier this year when he finished second in a race for an at-large city council seat. Egan emerged as a compromise choice in that the two Republican primary candidates whom Rizzo had defeated both elicited points of controversy among varying factions of the party. Many, including Republicans, criticized Egan's campaign for being issueless, lackluster and disorganized. Mayor Wilson Goode was prevented by law from seeking a third consecutive term.

Local

The Republican party was extremely successful at the local level in the recent elections. Twelve new 3-member county courthouse boards were won by the GOP, giving Republicans control of a total of 43 of the 67 courthouses.

Incumbent Philadelphia City Council members, Thatcher Longstreth and Joan Specter (spouse of Senator Specter) were re-elected.

1990 ELECTION REVIEW

Governor

Bob Casey (D)	69%
Barbara Hafer (R)	32%

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Democrat incumbent Bob Casey, a pro-life advocate, stressed his position on the issue throughout the campaign. This was his second successful gubernatorial election. State Auditor Barbara Hafer emphasized her pro-choice position during the campaign.

U.S. House / 18th District

Rick Santorum (R)	51%
Doug Walgren (D)	49%

REAPPORTIONMENT

Pennsylvania lost two Congressional districts through reapportionment. A state court has ruled in favor of a Democrat plan that puts Curt Weldon (R-07) and Dick Schulze (R-05) in the same district. Freshman member Rick Santorum's (R-18) Pittsburgh area district is now comprised of 29 percent Republican voters. His former district was 43 percent Republican. Congressman Tom Ridge (R-21) has received a portion of the Pittsburgh area district. The district of retiring member Joe Gaydos has been eliminated. The court failed to erase the district of retiring Congressman Gus Yatron. The plan seems to have created two majority-black districts.

PARTY STATUS / ACTIVITY

The state party is extremely well organized. They have been extremely successful in their registration drive this year, cutting the Democrat margin of registered voters by 28 percent. They are continuing to build and strengthen local leadership by increasing their involvement in activities such as candidate recruitment and special state party meetings and committees. The party raised \$1.6 million in 1991.

KEY REPUBLICAN LEADERS

Bush-Quayle '88 and '92 Chairman:	Elsie Hillman
GOP State Chairman:	Anne Anstine
National Committeeman:	Herbert Barness
National Committeewoman:	Elsie Hillman
U.S. Senator:	Arlen Specter
State Senate President:	Bob Jubelirer
State House GOP Leader:	Matt Ryan
Philadelphia GOP Leader:	Billy Meehan

VOTER REGISTRATION

Democrat	58%
Republican	43%
Other	5%

Presidential Support, Presidential Opposition: House

1. Bush Support Score, 1991. Percentage of 111 recorded votes in 1991 on which President Bush took a position and on which a representative voted "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with the president's position. Failures to vote lowered both support and opposition scores.

2. Bush Opposition Score, 1991. Percentage of 111 recorded votes in 1991 on which President Bush took a position and on which a representative voted "yea" or "nay" *in disagreement* with the president's position. Failures to vote lowered both support and opposition scores.

3. Bush Support Score, 1991. Percentage of 111 recorded votes in 1991 on which President Bush took a position and on which a representative was present and voted "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with the president's position. In this version of the study, absences were not counted; therefore, failures to vote did not lower support or opposition scores. Opposition scores, not listed here, are the inverse of the support score; i.e., the opposition score is equal to 100 percent minus the individual's support score.

Pennsylvania

1 Foglietta	23	72	25
2 Blackwell ⁴	31	69	31
3 Borski	36	59	38
4 Kohr	36	58	38
5 Schulze	73	22	77
6 Yatron	36	52	41
7 Weldon	54	41	57
8 Kostmayer	26	72	27
9 Shuster	68	28	71
10 McDade	68	25	73
11 Kanjorski	37	63	37
12 Murtha	44	52	46
13 Coughlin	66	33	66
14 Coyne	28	70	28
15 Ritter	70	30	70
16 Walster	81	19	81
17 Gekas	74	25	75
18 Santorum	72	28	72
19 Goodling	68	23	74
20 Goydos	36	57	39
21 Riego	58	41	59
22 Murphy	34	53	39
23 Clinger	76	23	76

Presidential Support and Opposition: Senate

1. Bush Support Score, 1991. Percentage of 81 recorded votes in 1991 on which President Bush took a position and on which a senator voted "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with the president's position. Failures to vote lowered both support and opposition scores.

2. Bush Opposition Score, 1991. Percentage of 81 recorded votes in 1991 on which President Bush took a position and on which a senator voted "yea" or "nay" *in disagreement* with the president's position. Failures to vote lowered both support and opposition scores.

3. Bush Support Score, 1991. Percentage of 81 recorded votes in 1991 on which President Bush took a position and on which a senator was present and voted "yea" or "nay" *in agreement* with the president's position. In this version of the study, absences are not counted; therefore, failures to vote did not lower support or opposition scores. Opposition scores, not listed here, are the inverse of the support score; i.e., the opposition score is equal to 100 percent minus the individual's support score.

⁴ Sen. Harris Wofford, D-Pa., was sworn in May 9, 1991, to succeed John Heinz, R, who died in a plane crash April 4, 1991. Heinz was eligible for 19 presidential support votes in 1991. His presidential support score was 79 percent; his opposition score was 21 percent; and his support score, adjusted for absences, was 79 percent in 1991. Wofford was eligible for 60 of the 81 presidential support votes in 1991.

Pennsylvania

Wofford ¹	27	67	29
Specter	68	32	68



Depart
Andrews AFB



Andy
Card
Sec. Transportation





French
FM

Dumas



Trauma
Society
Poster
Child



Police
Philadelphia





Newman Society
Roths Child



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH 11 MAY 92 P31532-06 PW





Terri Lacey



DATE: May 11, 92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

Polls Uncover Much Common Ground on L.A. Verdict

By Richard Morin
Washington Post Staff Writer

Smoke from fires continued to smudge the sun-washed Los Angeles sky, and looters carried off the last of their plunder as the first opinion polls reported initial public reactions to the verdict in the Rodney G. King beating case and to the violence that followed.

Such quick polls often are exercises in survey quackery. This time they were not. These polls were a public service, replacing hurtful conjecture with healing facts about the pain and disbelief that most Americans, black and white, shared over the verdict and the violence.

"The polls presented facts rather than pundits' theories about how people were thinking," said Jim Norman, polling coordinator for USA Today. "They answered some very important questions."

Such as: Did whites and blacks react oppositely to the verdict? Many politicians and pundits were saying yes, and saying it loudly.

The earliest polls, most conducted within three days of the verdict, suggested otherwise, as majorities of blacks and whites rejected the jury's findings and demanded federal action against the four police officers.

■ 86 percent of the whites and 100 percent of the blacks interviewed by USA Today said the verdict was "wrong."

■ 73 percent of the whites and 92 percent of the blacks questioned for Newsweek said the verdict was not justified.

■ 64 percent of all whites and 92 percent of all blacks questioned told Washington Post-ABC News interviewers that the officers in the King case "should have been found guilty of a crime."

■ 62 percent of all whites and 92 percent of all blacks interviewed for Time magazine and CNN said they would have voted to convict the officers.

■ Closer to the terror, a Los Angeles Times poll of area residents last week found that by wide margins, blacks, whites and Latinos condemned the King verdict and felt the violence was unjustified. Even in the jurors' home county—predominantly white and suburban Ventura County—seven out of 10

persons surveyed said they disagreed with the trial outcome, and eight in 10 said they sympathized with blacks who were angered by the verdict.

All the surveys showed Americans overwhelmingly wanted federal action taken against the police officers charged in the King case.

"The question was, did the verdict just surprise . . . some of us, or did it surprise the public too?" said Harold Quinley, senior vice president of Yankelovich Clancy Shulman, which conducted a post-verdict survey for Time and CNN. "We had civil rights groups and politicians saying they couldn't believe the verdict. The vast majority of the public could have reacted differently. In fact, they didn't."

Pundits and politicians also predicted that the riots had torn open old wounds and pushed whites and blacks farther apart.

"We had civil rights groups and politicians saying they couldn't believe the verdict. The vast majority of the public could have reacted differently. In fact, they didn't."

—Harold Quinley, senior vice president, Yankelovich Clancy Shulman

The correct but less newsworthy view is that it is much too early to tell. But it is encouraging to note that researchers were surprised when the first poll numbers suggested that whites and blacks were closer together on some issues than they were before the verdicts were announced.

"Our survey [for Newsweek] was done to measure initial reaction to the verdict and the violence, and to see if there had been polarization on

racial issues," said Larry Hugick, managing editor of the Gallup Poll. "In fact, we found the opposite. What might have led to increased polarization instead seemed to show that whites and blacks were coming closer on a number of things."

For example, Hugick noted that "both blacks and whites are saying black suspects are treated more harshly by police. In 1988, 66 percent of the blacks and 34 percent of the whites said blacks are treated

more harshly. After the rioting, 75 percent of the blacks and 46 percent of the whites said that.

"The major effect is to see an increase in understanding among whites for the black perspective on that issue," Hugick said.

Nor had the verdict and the violence initially appeared to increase racial hatred, though many Americans feared that it would.

"The result that surprised me the most was that blacks did not express significantly more negative views of whites," Hugick said. "Just a month ago in a Gallup poll, 28 percent of the blacks interviewed said most whites want to see blacks get a better break; after the riots, it was 31 percent. And 20 percent a month ago said most whites want to keep blacks down, and now it's 18 percent."

"It seems to me that one might have expected that there might

GLIMPSES OF UNDERSTANDING SHARED VIEWS OF AMERICANS

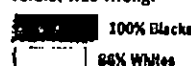


Koreans gather in Los Angeles to demonstrate for peace.

EARLY POLLS SHOW BROAD AGREEMENT AMONG BLACKS AND WHITES

USA TODAY

People of both races who say the King verdict was wrong.



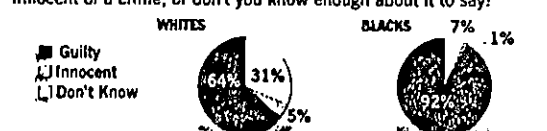
NEWSWEEK

From what you know of the Rodney King beating case, do you think the verdict finding the policemen not guilty was justified or not?

	Whites	Blacks
Justified	12%	4%
Not justified	73%	92%

POST-ABC NEWS

Q. Based on what you know, is it your opinion that the police officers in the Rodney King case should have been found guilty of a crime, or innocent of a crime, or don't you know enough about it to say?



TIME

If you had been on the jury, how would you have voted?

	Whites	Blacks
Guilty	62%	92%
Not guilty	4%	2%
Not sure	34%	6%

have been a whole lot of resentment toward whites, and we didn't pick it up. The survey did reflect the fact that blacks do have a very different view of racism than whites do. But it didn't get any worse."

With luck, these encouraging results are something more than mere flashes of tolerance and shared concern. Hugick, for one, said, "People are seeing each other's point of view, and people want healing . . . though it certainly is possible for it to go the other way, depending how it is played by the campaigns."

None of this should suggest that whites and blacks now think as one on racial issues. Just the contrary. The racial divide is, in the main, as deep and as wide and as troubling as it was before the King verdicts. While the days of overt racism sanctioned by law are gone forever, blacks and whites remain suspicious and uncomfortable with each other. And each group has very different views of the role race plays in society.

For example, when the Post and ABC asked if the King case "shows that blacks cannot get justice in this country," 78 percent of the black respondents but just 25 percent of the whites agreed. Similar results were obtained by other polling organizations.

And the next few weeks are critical, as political leaders and policymakers continue to announce their own verdicts on the verdict and the violence, further shaping and perhaps altering the magnitude and even the direction of public attitudes on these issues.

For now, the story told by the early polls is remarkably hopeful as America again confronts injustice and violence, the twin fruits of past and present racism.

"The polls put these issues back in front of us," said Yankelovich's Quinley. "It sensitized people to the differences between whites and blacks that have never gone away, that there has remained a wide gap between blacks and whites that is real and . . . has a human toll."

"It was disquieting . . . that there are these racial divides over whether the system works," said USA Today's Norman. "But at least it is all out there, in the open, and being looked at. And that's always to the good."

"I do hope these polls sent out a message of reassurance."

Dinner

CORRESPONDENTS, From B1

politics," Bush told the crowd of 2,500 journalists, politicians and power-staff. "A lot of name-calling out there. Candidates calling out terrible epithets like corrupt, liar, hypocrite, fascist, racist, incumbent."

Heh, heh, they laughed, uncomfortably, all-knowingly.

"I hope you'll excuse me if my normally hilarious one-liners are set aside for just a few minutes here, because I am just back in from L.A.," the usually jovial dinner guest added. "It was a very emotional and moving trip. The scenes of the wanton destruction just won't go away. Nor will the hurt of the people I met with. . . ."

"I talked to a woman who used to go to our church in Houston. . . . Her son and her brother climbed on a motorcycle and set out to see a friend, a young



Karen Hosler, White House Correspondents' Association president-elect, shares a rare laugh with President Bush at an unusually solemn dinner.

Afro-American living in a . . . riot zone. Their motorcycle was upended by a gang of these thugs. The woman's son was beaten, pistol held up to his head, and trigger pulled. It didn't go off. And her brother, a guy who had been deeply offended by the [Rodney] King verdict, and felt very close to the black community itself, was savagely beaten,

and then at close range, shot right through the head.

"Justice, you might say. What did any of this have to do with justice?"

At what is usually one of Washington's more lighthearted events, Bush wasn't the only one preoccupied with the Los Angeles riots.

"The president has the capacity to

lift the people's spirits," said Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.) at a pre-dinner reception. "Reagan and Bush have told us that the government is not here to take care of you. That is terribly demoralizing. Especially for someone living in the ghetto, out of work. Now, he's [Bush] out there picking up the ashes. The ashes he helped create."

"Race relations need priority attention," said Sen. John Danforth (R-Mo.), who sponsored Clarence Thomas in his tumultuous bid for a Supreme Court appointment last fall. "Finger-pointing doesn't do any good. It's not what the people want."

"Everyone is frustrated," said Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis Sullivan. "I was fortunate to break from [the world of poverty]," he said, "but the fact is there are a number of barriers. . . . We need to channel that anger into constructive situations."

"I understand [the anger]," the sec-

retary said. "It's not productive, but I understand it."

Even the evening's entertainer, comedian Paula Poundstone, jabbed at Bush's seeming disconnection from his own country these days.

"I saw the photo in the New York Times of the grocery store incident," she joked. "You know . . . the photo of him running the milk carton over the scanner thingy. They said that because he didn't know about the scanner thingy that meant he was out of touch."

And yes, she said, "it *did* look like an ape who had just discovered fire."

But, the comedian said, "the point at which I thought you were out of touch was when you said about the Thomas hearings that you were so sorry that the American people had to be exposed to that kind of language."

"Sir, I don't want to burn you out, but that's *why* the American people watched the Thomas hearings."

The dinner has become known for the competition among news organiza-

tions to land the flashiest newsmakers, who have included Fawn Hall, Donna Rice and Marla Maples. But this year the prize catch was a very different kind of celebrity.

Newsweek flew in actor Greg Williams, the country's most recent hero. During the riots in Los Angeles, Williams first chased away five angry youths who were stalking a light-skinned black man, then pulled a Japanese American out of his car as he was being brutally beaten. The large-set black ex-Marine carried the bleeding man away from the intersection, and eventually got him to a hospital.

"I'm still embarrassed by the term 'hero,'" Williams said. "I prefer to think of myself as a recipient of a gift, a gift to serve another human being. I'm so touched by that, and think it is a gift few people receive in a lifetime."

And does this great American have any words of advice for his president?

"I'd just tell him to hang in there," said Williams. "You have to stand up for something or you will fall for anything."

The Pall Over The Party

Riot Reminders at the Correspondents' Dinner

By Dana Thomas
Special to The Washington Post

What a difference a year makes. At last year's White House Correspondents' Association dinner, George Bush was at the peak of his popularity. His triumph in the Persian Gulf was still warm. Flags waved. Military songs blared. Generals were worshiped like movie stars.

Relection?

Not a problem at that juncture.

But at the 78th annual dinner Saturday night, there were no spotlights or applause when the military themes were played. When the head table was introduced, it was Barbara Bush who got the biggest ovation.

Perhaps outgoing association President Charles Bierbauer of CNN summed up the mood without even realizing it when he told Bush, "As you know, you are always welcome here. We don't get our invitations out until after November, but you can come back anytime, Mr. Bush."

There was an unsettling vibe in the immense ballroom at the Washington Hilton Saturday night. The kind of vibe you feel when someone at a party has a problem and everyone wants to act as though he doesn't.

George Bush was that someone. And he knew it.

"This is a strange and ugly year in

See CORRESPONDENTS, B2, Col. 1

JONATHAN YARDLEY

The Endowment's Acting Director and Her Artful Defense of Decency

It's far from clear whether, as acting director of the National Endowment for the Arts, Anne-Imelda Radice is keeping the seat warm for someone else or hoping to win a permanent appointment for herself. Whatever the case, she acquitted herself well last week in her first important statement since the involuntary departure of her predecessor, John Frohnmayer.

The subject, as so often it has been of late, was sexually explicit "art." Speaking first to the House Interior appropriations subcommittee and then to a reporter for The Washington Post, Radice left no doubt that, however she may feel about the overall character of Frohnmayer's stewardship, she is not going to emulate his capitulation to the so-called cutting-edge art community on the question of "difficult subject matter."

Specifically, she indicated that she is prepared to overrule the recommendations of the endowment's peer-review juries and advisory council when, in her judgment, those recommendations could be offensive "to the American public." This Frohnmayer declined to do. Complaining that he had not been appointed to serve as "decency czar," Frohnmayer backed up the juries and the council even when they proposed that government subsidies be given to "artists" whose work was patently offensive not merely to the great unwashed but also to people of discrimination and tolerance for artistic experimentation.

That this is what got Frohnmayer fired speaks far more tellingly about the Bush administration than it does about him. The decision to force his resignation had nothing

to do with artistic standards and everything to do with surrender to Patrick Buchanan, whose distorted representations of NEA policy threw the Bushies into a state of panic during the early presidential primaries. Inasmuch as they are, like their maximum leader, utterly devoid of courage or moral conviction, they took the easy course of using Frohnmayer as scapegoat rather than the more difficult one of devising a coherent, principled policy on subsidies for the arts.

But however cynical the administration's decision may have been, it remains that a legitimate public issue was raised, and left unresolved, by the "decency czar" controversy. Quite apart from the broader and more important question of whether the government should be in the business of giving grants to individual artists, the issue raised was: Is the government, as it exercises its power to expend public funds, entitled to make judgments about ethics, morals and taste?

In the view of those on the "cutting edge," who seem to have a disproportionately large voice in the grants process at NEA, it is entitled to do so if those judgments mirror their own. The members of the grants panels and the advisory council make such judgments every time they recommend public subsidy for "art" that reflects their own ethics, morals and taste. They contend, though, that what Radice calls "the concerns of the taxpayers, the concerns of the Congress" are irrelevant and beneath contempt, and thus should play absolutely no role in the process by which public funds are

disbursed, directly or indirectly, to persons calling themselves "artists."

This is the view to which Frohnmayer not merely acquiesced but for which, over time, he became an ardent if inarticulate spokesman. As so often happens to those who come to Washington and assume positions of importance in public agencies, he became a representative not of the people he was supposed to serve but of the interest group over which he was supposed to preside. In his earnest desire to please and to be respected as a person of commitment to art, he permitted himself to become the captive of those whose sole interest in the NEA lies in commandeering it to serve their own purposes.

Along the way to that unfortunate position Frohnmayer also permitted himself, as often happens to people of good intentions and imprecise minds, to lose all sense of the distinction between rights and privileges. He came to believe, or so at least his public pronouncements indicated, that once the government started handing out money for the arts, it lost all authority to make value judgments—except for those made in the cloistered privacy of jury and council meetings.

Like the avaricious pensioners of the American Association of Retired Persons, who believe that Social Security is a "right" no one can abrogate or diminish, Frohnmayer came to believe that NEA subsidy is a "right" to be enjoyed by any artist who passes muster within the closed circle of the endowment's various advisory groups. He believed—and of the sincerity of

this belief there can be no doubt—that the privilege of subsidy that had been extended to certain artists and arts agencies had somehow metamorphosed into a "right" that transcended any power of government to challenge or interfere, much less veto.

What we have here is a fundamental disagreement over the relationship between government and those it ostensibly serves. Needless to say George Bush and his lackeys treated it frivolously, playing on questions of explicit sex rather than those of rights and privileges, but this should not be permitted to divert attention from the larger issues at stake. What now remains to be seen is whether Anne-Imelda Radice is prepared to confront those issues directly or is merely content to emulate her ultimate master and take the low road in exploiting the controversies of the moment.

The preliminary evidence is, on balance, promising. Radice did talk about vetoing support for art "that does not have the widest audience," which seemed to be pandering to congressional rhetoric about "the people" rather than acknowledging the reality that no serious art enjoys a "wide audience," but in doing so she probably was just playing sensible and necessary politics. What is far more encouraging is that she declined all opportunities to grandstand, as Bush so readily does, as the representative of all that is good and true and pure. Instead she acknowledged that some "art" of an offensive nature "may have been done very sincerely and with the highest intentions," and she said she was prepared to help the makers of such

material find support from private rather than public sources.

This gets close to the heart of the matter. The question isn't whether artists must have the freedom to go wherever their inclinations may take them, however disagreeable it may be to thee or me. Of course they must. The question is whether the government has any obligation to support them in this endeavor, and the answer is unequivocal: No.

This is what the people on the "cutting edge" are incapable of comprehending. One of these—Charlotte Murphy of the National Association of Artists Organizations—said of Radice's testimony: "Clearly she is sacrificing challenging work, the First Amendment and the future of the arts to supposedly save the endowment." That is preposterous on its face. Challenging work, the First Amendment and the future of the arts are not at issue here, and for Murphy to claim they are is either disingenuous or duplicitous. What is at issue is the right of the people, through their government, to maintain some authority over how their money is spent.

Perhaps, on the other hand, it is indeed true that Radice is trying to save the endowment; as one who has spent her career administering cultural and artistic affairs, she can be expected to try to do so. But the early evidence suggests that she wants to save it not as the private preserve of the few but as an agency to bring art of worth and distinction to the many. Even in the eyes of those of us who question the endowment's very existence, that must be acknowledged as a legitimate and praiseworthy goal.

MONDAY, MAY 11, 1992

Peter Edelman

Build Consensus, Find Solutions

Stop playing politics and get serious, Mr. President.

When I saw the headline last week "White House Links Riots to Welfare", I could only wonder: Does the president have any idea what has been happening to the American economy?

Does he realize that the violence is the tip of an iceberg of deep and long-worsening economic pain? Young families in particular are experiencing a disaster because it has become so hard to break into the labor market. Families with children headed by people under 30 have a median income nearly a third lower than 20 years ago. Forty percent—two out of five—children in young families are poor. Young black families have lost even more. Their median income has been cut nearly in half. And by the way, in the supposedly terrible 1960s, which President Bush loves to bash, the income of young black families rose by nearly 60 percent.

Does Bush really believe the welfare rolls are peopled by deadbeats—that people don't prefer to work for a living? They do. But jobs are scarce, especially in a recession, and people who have been employed for 30 years are getting laid off. Good jobs are even scarcer. Does the president know that there are 2 million people who go to work every day in this country and are still poor? Does he know that there are 6.5 million more who have part-time jobs or work full time part of the year, most of whom would really like to work all year, every work day, all day?

And here's the rest of the equation. People are often worse off working than they are on welfare, and that's not because welfare is so generous. Welfare, which the administration loves to bash, is down by more than 40 percent (25 percent if you include food stamps) from what the typical family got in 1970. If you have to be on welfare, you are going to have an income that is less than two-thirds of the poverty level in half the states in our country, even with food stamps thrown in. Actually, if we didn't have all these programs that the White House says caused the violence, we would have more than 50 million poor people instead of the 30-plus million we do have.

There is something else the president ought to know. Race discrimination is endemic, especially against young people applying for entry-level jobs. The Fair Employment Council of Greater Washington released a study a couple of weeks ago of 468 instances in which Latino and Anglo individuals with matched resumes applied for the same job, either by telephone or mail. Overt discrimination occurred in over 20 percent of the encounters. The same thing happened to hundreds of matched African-American

and white applicants in the Washington area when they applied in person for a wide variety of jobs in 1990 and 1991. This is typical all across America. It surely contributes to the frustration we saw on the streets of Los Angeles last week.

George Bush is right about one thing: Welfare is not the answer. Opportunity is the answer, and in the inner city, community building has to be included in the answer, along with creating opportunity and offering the education and training people need to take advantage of opportunity. But for too many people in south-central Los Angeles, we have systematically left welfare out there as the only answer available, and then we blame them for being on welfare.

Let's have a rational debate. What is it about the Great Society that this administration

"In the supposedly terrible 1960s, which President Bush loves to bash, the income of young black families rose by nearly 60 percent."

objects to? Is it the historic civil rights laws of the time? Medicare and Medicaid? Head Start? The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which delivers help with reading, writing and mathematics to low-income children?

The president's complaint seems to be that we have not encouraged the building of a sense of community. With what resources? There has been no serious initiative taken from the national level to help build a sense of community in inner-city neighborhoods since Richard Nixon was elected president.

If the administration and Congress were actually going to do something, it should be to:

- Enact pending bills to add to the income of people who are working as hard as they can and can't make ends meet;
- Provide health coverage for everyone, so people don't lose Medicaid when they get a job and get off welfare;
- Keep working on implementing the 1988 Family Support Act to help people get off welfare and become self-sufficient. Bush signed

this legislation with great fanfare; he should at least give it a chance to work:

- Provide decent funding for programs that work, such as Head Start and Women, Infants and Children; and
- Enforce antidiscrimination laws vigorously and seriously.

And, yes, we might try enterprise zones, although their promise, like all magic-bullet solutions, is vastly overstated. Even with enterprise zones, though, this is a very limited agenda. It doesn't begin to provide the jobs that don't exist for the people of America's inner cities or the training people need to prepare for them. It doesn't begin to provide real resources to help in developing the economy and a sense of community in our inner cities. Even Jack Kemp, who is the only person in Bush's entourage with any demonstrated empathy for people with these problems, refuses to acknowledge the reality of the resources that are needed here.

Kemp is back in vogue these days, and much of what he says would make sense as part of a larger strategy that acknowledges the depth of the poverty out there and the need for adding education and other elements to the mix. Where we are headed at the moment, though, is toward a battle of buzzwords: Jack Kemp's "empowerment" vs. the Democrats' "investment in human capital." We need both, and we need real money to make the slogans into substance.

There is one other way in which the president might actually help if he were to stop playing politics and get serious. One of the lessons we really have learned from the 1960s is that what government can and should do is only part of the answer. While we need the president's leadership toward a real role for government, we also need his leadership to heal racial divisions and get people from every part of our society and all over the country to help build and rebuild a sense of hope and a sense of community in those areas that we have neglected so thoroughly for almost a quarter of a century. One or two speeches are not going to do it. The president would have to stay at it and personally enlist leaders from all over America to take serious part in the cause.

Let's stop the welfare-bashing and start some honest work on the problems facing our inner cities.

The writer is associate dean and professor of law at the Georgetown University Law Center.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak
George Bush's Foe

DALLAS—After concluding a 90-minute interview in his modest 17th-floor North Dallas office, Ross Perot stopped us at the door to confide his dream: a one-on-one debate with President Bush, with no questions from journalists and nobody else interfering.

But what about the third man in the hearts: California, Texas and Florida. By the same token, Perot traces inspiration from the Bush camp, not Clinton. Bush "started the character good." He also rejects redistribution of income via the tax system, which is inherent in the Clinton tax policy. In support to the Los Angeles riots, he organized religion in instilling ethical values among disadvantaged youth.

But Perot is no "policy wonk," and to define him in terms of his programs is a mistake. His appeal is based on homely formulations which come straight out of his head.

He praised California Gov. Pete Wilson's appointment of ex-baseball Commissioner Peter Uebberoth to succeed the rebuilding of Los Angeles. As president, "I would use a lot of these dollar-a-year men."

He told us his stem-to-stern recasting of health insurance would be preceded by long conversations in the East Room with health insurance executives. "I'd like for all of this to be done by the private system, because it's more efficient," he added.

As for the Caterpillar-United Auto Workers confrontation, "the moment the tensions started to build, I would ease out there to give this message: 'Divided teams lose.'"

But what about the anti-replacement workers bill demanded by the UAW to stop Caterpillar from threatening to use strikebreakers? Clinton would sign it. Bush would veto it. Perot's response: "Give me 18 months, and if we're going to have a winning economic-industrial team in this country, that issue will never come up."

Republican and Democratic politicians are terrified the public will buy such assertions. Clinton, representing his normally combative instincts, holds his fire. The GOP has opened its barrage, and that's where Ross Perot sees the real enemy.

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Mark Alan Stamaty

WASHINGTON



MONDAY, MAY 11, 1992

New Strategic Era Sees Transformation Of U.S. Nuclear Arms Establishment

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Staff Writer

After a year of breathtaking developments that completely altered the nation's strategic situation, the unthinkable has become commonplace.

The United States is not producing nuclear weapons or manufacturing plutonium or weapons-grade uranium. Information that it would have been treasonous to divulge for more than 40 years is routinely made public. And money is being taken out of the bomb-building budget to retrain laid-off workers.

In extensive testimony by Energy Secretary James D. Watkins and Assistant Secretary Richard A. Claytor, and in a written report delivered to Congress last week, the Energy Department piled up details of the astonishing transformation of the nation's nuclear weapons factories brought about by the end of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet Union.

In the crowded hearing room of the Senate Armed Services Committee last week, nobody blinked when Watkins observed that "for the first time since 1945, the United States is not building any nuclear weapons," or when he said that the nation's stockpile of nuclear warheads is likely to decline from 20,000 in 1991 to 6,300 or fewer by the end of the decade, or when Claytor informed the committee that the amount of radioactive tritium in the nation's arsenal—once the most closely guarded of secrets—will be declassified "in a matter of days."

The testimony and report contained little information not previously revealed in one way or another—a remarkable fact in itself, considering the nature of the subject matter. But cumulatively they showed the scope of the change in what had been a closed system with only one mission, the production of weapons of mass destruction.

As revealed in January by Army Gen. Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the "active stockpile" of about 20,000 nuclear weapons at the start of the current fiscal year is to be "below 10,000" by Sept. 30, 2001, and "as much as one-third lower" than that if the former Soviet republics accept reciprocal arms reduction proposals by President Bush. Some projections put the number closer to 3,000.

The Energy Department has abandoned plans to resume production of plutonium "pits," or triggers, at the Rocky Flats plant near Denver—once near the top of Watkins's priority list. Once Bush decided to cap the arsenal of W-88 warheads for Trident missile submarines at the current level of about 400, there was no further need for pit production.

Underground testing of nuclear weapons continues over the protests of anti-nuclear and environmental groups. But Watkins said that only six tests are planned in the

current year, the lowest level since a moratorium in 1961.

Watkins last week ordered a halt to the reprocessing of spent nuclear fuel from naval reactors because there is so much weapons-grade uranium in inventory that it is no longer necessary to extract it from spent fuel. This decision will mean a

Cleanup costs are estimated at up to \$200 billion.

reduction of 1,050 jobs at the department's Idaho National Engineering Laboratory by the end of fiscal 1993, Watkins said.

Earlier, Watkins had suspended production of new highly enriched, weapons-grade uranium at the department's Piketon, Ohio, plant for the same reason.

Similarly, Watkins told the Armed Services Committee that a plant at Hanford, Wash., where plutonium has been extracted from waste streams, will not be restarted. The nation has a huge surplus of plutonium, and the Energy Department is building storage "igloos" at its Pantex weapons plant in Amarillo, Tex., to hold additional stocks of plutonium retrieved from dismantled warheads.

Nearly 50,000 warheads have been disassembled at Pantex during the past 40 years, Watkins said, tossing out the kind of number that spies and scholars used to spend years trying to calculate.

Assuming that the stockpile level is reduced to 6,300, Watkins and Claytor said, the nation has enough tritium gas to last until about 2008. Tritium, a radioactive isotope of hydrogen, is used to enhance the explosive power of nuclear weapons. Because it decays at a rate of 5.5 percent a year, the supply must be replenished periodically.

The "stockpile memorandum," the annual directive from the White House setting nuclear weapons supply levels, requires a five-year reserve of tritium. Watkins said he would recommend dropping the reserve requirement if the department is successful in demonstrating that an overhauled 40-year-old reactor at its Savannah River, S.C., site could be restarted to produce tritium in an emergency.

Tests of that reactor are scheduled

to begin this week, three years after it was shut down for safety reasons.

Watkins's projections assume that a new tritium production facility, for which three competing technologies are being studied, will be ready early in the next century. Until last October, development of a new tritium facility was being rushed, "due to the large tritium requirements for former stockpile projections," as the Energy Department told Congress last week.

Nonnuclear plants in the 13-state weapons complex, such as factories for electronic components and high explosives, are to be consolidated at a single site in Kansas City, Mo.

With the phaseout of plants in Florida and Ohio, and the end of plutonium operations at Rocky Flats, more than 18,000 of the approximately 40,000 workers in the weapons factories are expected to lose their jobs by 1998, according to Energy Department figures.

Department officials said the agency "is developing a comprehensive retraining and relocation program" for these workers. As many as possible will be transferred to environmental restoration and cleanup work, Watkins said. For the rest, the Energy and Labor departments will provide money for placement assistance, résumé preparation and job training tuition.

The shrinking stockpile and the opening of the doors of secrecy do not necessarily mean the costs of the nation's nuclear arsenal are going down.

For one thing, Watkins said the Energy Department estimates the cost of cleaning up toxic and radioactive wastes and restoring the environment around its facilities at \$150 billion to \$200 billion over 30 years. For another, because so many of the bomb factories are obsolete and inefficient, the Energy Department is planning to "restructure" the entire complex—a plan that will include a replacement for Rocky Flats.

A decision on what facilities will be built, and where, is scheduled to be made in August 1993.

However sweeping the changes, they have not satisfied the department's most persistent critics. Last month, the Military Production Network, a nationwide alliance of watchdog groups, environmentalists and anti-nuclear activists, published "Facing Reality," a denunciation of an Energy Department it depicted as resistant to change and still committed to production of unneeded weapons.

Los Angeles Swept by Decade of Social, Economic Change

By Barbara Vobejda
Washington Post Staff Writer

Enormous social and economic changes swept over the city of Los Angeles during the 1980s, including rising poverty and unemployment and a wave of immigration that transformed the city's racial profile, according to census figures released today.

The detailed statistics, issued early by the Census Bureau to help guide the city in rebuilding from the recent riots, underscore the metamorphosis that many say helped set the stage for the violent upheaval.

At the heart of that change is an increasingly multi-ethnic population, fueled by the

arrival of more than 750,000 immigrants since 1980. When the census was taken in 1990, nearly 40 percent of city residents were foreign-born, an increase of two-thirds in just a decade.

Hispanics and Asians together now make up half of the city's population, while both the white and the black share fell. And language and cultural forces made the new racial dynamic even more complex: Half of all Los Angeles residents speak a language other than English at home and, of those, the majority said they did not speak English very well.

Referring to the "extraordinary demographic developments that help account for

these riots," Alan Heslop, professor of government at Claremont-McKenna College, located outside Los Angeles, cited the displacement of blacks by these newcomers in some areas of the city and the relative economic success of some immigrant groups.

"There was the emergence in the 1980s of a new commercial middle class," he said, made up mostly of Koreans and replacing the Jewish-owned corner stores destroyed in the 1965 Watts riots. These new shop owners, he said, "are attracting some of the same envy and enmity and becoming, unfortunately, the target of racial animosity."

The figures also point to other sources of social and economic anxiety: More than

40,000 teenagers—20 percent of the city's 16- to 19-year-olds—are both out of school and unemployed. Unemployment for all city residents grew from 6.8 percent to 8.4 percent over the decade and poverty among children rose 3 points to 27 percent.

In part, the statistics reflect the loss of manufacturing jobs available to unskilled workers, a long-term trend that has altered the employment picture nationwide.

Davis Rodgers, who spent much of his life in the Watts section of the city, remembers when two tire companies, a steel factory and an auto plant employed thousands of black men in his neighborhood. Rodgers, 71 and

See LOS ANGELES, A8, Col. 2

Census Shows City's Social, Economic Metamorphosis



BY FRED SWEETS—THE WASHINGTON POST

Watching over Koreatown
An armed man guards businesses in the Koreatown section of Los Angeles May 1. Asians and Hispanics now make up half of the city's population.

LOS ANGELES, From A1

head of the Watts branch of the NAACP, said most of those jobs are gone now.

"Then in the last 10 years, the Latinos have flooded this area," he said. And at the same time, tensions between blacks and Koreans have grown.

"This area is without jobs," he said. "If a kid wants to go to a movie, there's no movies. There's no skating rink. There's no recreation."

The south-central area hardest hit by the riots is also a portrait in contrast to the surrounding region. Nearly 17 percent of households in the south-central region are headed by a single mother, for example, compared to 8 percent in Los Angeles County as a whole, according to figures compiled by the National Planning Data Corp., a market research firm.

And the south-central area is overwhelmingly made up of minorities: 60 percent of residents are Hispanic and nearly 35 percent are black, compared to 38 percent Hispanic and 11 percent black in the county.

Like many urban centers across the country, said Stephen Levy, director of the Center for the Continuing Study of the California Economy in Palo Alto, the south-central area of Los Angeles has

been bypassed by economic progress during the past two decades.

While income in the area grew over the decade, so did poverty, the result of disproportionate gains among higher income groups while the plight of the poor did not change, Levy said.

The new census figures also point out the extent to which many city residents are house-poor. Among renters, for example, four out of 10 are spending at least 35 percent of their household income on housing. In the District, by comparison, another area where housing costs are high, the same is true for three out of 10 renters.

Underlying the shifting profile of the city was extraordinary population growth, among the fastest in the nation. A "demographic roiling of the waters" has left some areas of the city "deeply unstable," Heslop said, pointing to the departure of the middle class and the rise of a sweatshop economy of garment and furniture factories hiring mostly immigrants.

The phenomenal population changes have rewritten the mandate for public institutions in the area, none more so than the schools.

The Los Angeles Unified School District is growing by 15,000 students a year, crowding the system so much it has been forced to bus children across town, resort to a

year-round schedule, spill over into temporary trailers and jam classrooms with as many as 37 students per teacher.

More than half of the students are from families with incomes low enough to qualify for free meals and a third—up from 7 percent a decade ago—have limited English.

"On top of everything else, we've got the gang problem," said Patrick Spencer, public information officer for the school system. "The problem is once they get out the [school] door and jump in their cars, there are lots of drive-by shootings. There are frictions because of ethnicity and frictions caused by overcrowding."

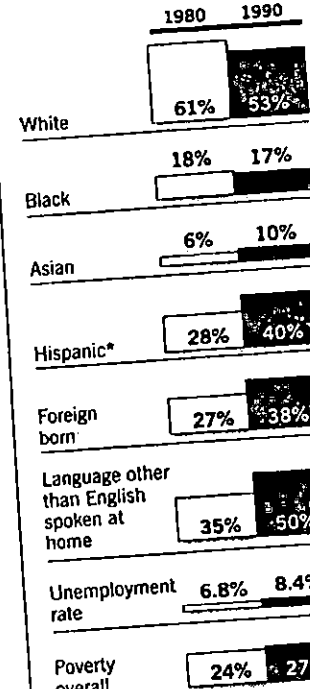
The Rev. Cecil L. Murray, who has watched the neighborhood surrounding his First AME Church in south-central Los Angeles shift from predominantly black to Hispanic, argued that the multi-ethnic character of the city could be a source of strength. He described a food distribution project that was set up jointly by whites, Latinos and blacks after the riots.

At the same time, he said, the "black-white society has died forever. We're going to have racial tension for the next 50 years. Then it will ease for the next 100 years."

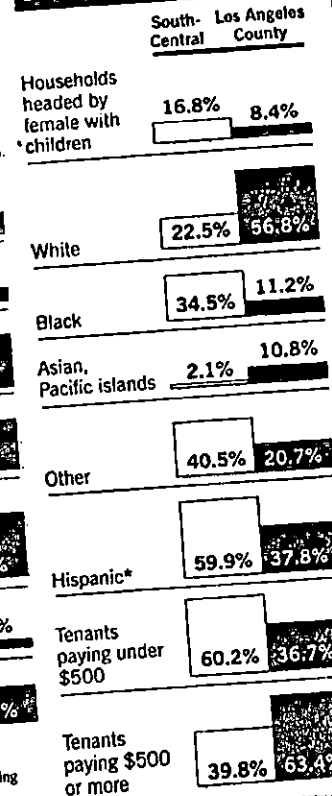
William Casey, director of computer-assisted reporting, contributed to this report.

PROFILES OF LOS ANGELES

Census data, Los Angeles City



Demographic data, south-central Los Angeles and Los Angeles County



* May be any race
SOURCE: Census Bureau, National Planning Data Corp.

THE WASHINGTON POST

MONDAY, MAY 11, 1992

A Degree—and No Job

In Recession, Seniors Reset Sights, Strategies

By Brooke A. Masters
Washington Post Staff Writer

Michael Smart graduated yesterday from George Washington University with a résumé to die for. An international affairs major with three years of Chinese, he has had internships or administrative positions on Capitol Hill, at the Smithsonian and with a defense consulting company.

He also has no job.

The Idaho senior sent out 40 résumés in the last two months and recently applied for a legislative affairs post with a private company, but was told that "three, four years ago they would have hired me. But they were offering \$25,000," he said, "so they think they can get someone who is already working [or] has a master's degree."

"My sights keep getting lower and lower, and I keep wondering why I went to college," said Smart,

22, who had four interviews last week and plans to stay in Washington and keep looking.

The estimated 17,000 area college seniors scheduled to receive diplomas this month are entering the job market as the nearly two-year-old recession shows signs of easing. But the turnaround is starting too late for many of them.

Employers expect to be hiring one-third fewer new graduates than they did just three years ago, and on-campus recruiting at area colleges plunged for the third straight year.

Unemployed "folks who are three and five years out [of school] will be assimilated into the job market a lot quicker than college students who need extensive training," said Jane Carey, executive director of Georgetown University's career center. "Graduation 1994 is going to be a lot better than graduation

See JOBS, A10, Col. 1

Area's Seniors Take On A Tough Job Market

JOBS, From A1

1992. Graduation 1993 is an open question."

But this crop of seniors has seen the hard times coming, and those without jobs are holding their heads high as they march from commencement to unemployment. Campus career counselors say most have set realistic goals and are pursuing them aggressively through job banks, fairs and counseling programs.

"Last year at this time, I was describing a paralysis among students. They were shellshocked from all the people being laid off," said Kathy L. Sims, executive director of George Washington University's career and cooperative education center. "This year, they're at least trying to get the job-search process in gear, looking at the first job as a steppingstone to what they really want to do."

Applications to graduate school have remained at peak levels, and many seniors are keeping their part-time jobs. Some are covering all the bases.

Karen Miller, 22, a biology major at Catholic University, filed applications to law school, but also applied for teaching and laboratory positions. When none of those jobs came through, she drew on her personal contacts. Now she has decided to take a job as a receptionist at a moving company back home in Buffalo, where she knows the owners.

"I'll give me some kind of thing to put on my résumé and I'll gain some skills. I'll also have the money to take some part-time classes," she said.

Hardest hit in the economic crunch have been the average students at mid-ranked schools, because many companies have trimmed the number of schools they visit and are seeing fewer students at each one, career counselors said.

Although prestigious schools such as the University of Virginia have experienced only a 10 percent decline in on-campus interviews, the University of Maryland at College Park was host to only 377 companies this year, down 34 percent from a 1988-89 peak, and Howard University saw only 300 companies—19 percent fewer than just last year.

"When I was in high school, all I heard was there was going to be this huge need for engineers, and it's just not true," said Jack Julo, 24, whose 3.1 grade-point average in aerospace engineering at Maryland falls short of the 3.5 many companies now demand.

Employers are being deluged. Mobil Corp. in Fairfax recently received 250 résumés—four or five times the number it normally would expect—after advertising a position for one day, spokesman John Lord said. On Capitol Hill, congressional offices now report receiving applications from people with law de-

grees for the entry-level jobs that used to go to graduating seniors.

The Class of 1992 numbers 1.06 million nationwide. A Michigan State University survey of 464 public and private employers across the country found that they expected to hire 10 percent fewer new graduates than they did last year, one-third fewer than they hired in 1988-89.

Linda K. Gast, U-Md.'s director of career development, says she now advises seniors that it could take six months to find a job related to their degree, instead of the three months expected by previous graduating classes.

Howard University advertising major Pamela D. Ford, 22, already is planning to work in a clothing store while she looks for a permanent job. "I'm not really panicked yet," she said. "Advertising agencies aren't hiring as many people... [so] that's a long shot. I'm also looking at companies that have promotions departments and at nonprofits that have public relations departments."

Some schools are trying to make it easier for their students. George Washington and U-Va. are working with three other schools to create a computerized national job bank that students can use by telephone. Georgetown University has an eight-week job-search training program. George Mason University has started running job search support groups, so students can share their experiences and frustrations.

"It's good to be with other people who are looking, and it reinforces their taking action because they have to report back," said Patricia Carretta, director of George Mason's career development center. "When you hear all the bleak pictures, it's hard to keep putting yourself on the line."

Such measures are paying off at Howard, where senior Marvin Hamilton, 23, said he spent several years tailoring his résumé to appeal to advertising firms, with part-time jobs and on-campus activities. Late last month, he received an offer from an ad agency he first approached at a career fair 18 months ago.

They also are paying off at U-Va.'s McIntire School of Commerce, where more seniors have jobs than did their counterparts at this time last year—41 percent vs. 36 percent. Assistant Dean Nevin E. Kessler said new job postings recently began to outpace last year's offerings, signaling a possible end to the economic slide.

After sending out nearly 75 résumés, George Mason senior David Diegtel, 24, said his search for an entry-level sales position is starting to bear fruit. He has had several second interviews, so he is optimistic that he will have a job when he graduates at the end of this week.

"My job hunt of late has become really good," Diegtel said. "People are starting to say [the economy] is going to get better."

MONDAY, MAY 11, 1992

Clinton Appeals for Votes Of Traditional Democrats

San Francisco Clergymen Offer Endorsements

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

SAN FRANCISCO, May 10—Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton campaigned on Mother's Day for the votes of traditional Democratic groups and was endorsed by a black minister whose interracial congregation figures prominently in this city's liberal politics.

Clinton, who on Saturday talked economic policy in a heavily Republican suburb of San Diego, today shifted his emphasis to compassion for AIDS victims and understanding for young looters as he spoke to activist parishioners of Glide Memorial United Methodist Church. He also campaigned for support in the June 2 primary from minority voters, visiting a black Baptist church and a Mexican-American parade.

At Glide Memorial, which runs food, anti-drug and AIDS programs, Clinton's presidential candidacy was embraced by the Rev. Cecil Williams, a self-proclaimed "minister of liberation" whose favor Democratic politicians routinely seek.

"We must have new leadership. There it is," Williams said, pointing to Clinton.

Clinton also was endorsed by the Rev. Amos C. Brown, pastor of Third Baptist Church, which considers itself the oldest black church in the West. "You are our choice for president. We're with you 100 percent," Brown said.

Parishioners at Glide, where the mostly white choir wears African robes and sings to the beat of a

four-piece band, applauded Clinton's appeal for attention for all those with AIDS.

"AIDS is a subject that comes up when a famous person gets it," Clinton said, mentioning former professional athletes Earvin "Magic" Johnson and Arthur Ashe. "But everyday people die in silence."

Remarking again on the Los Angeles riots, Clinton said: "Oh, to be sure, it was heartbreaking to see some little children going into the stores of Los Angeles stealing from their neighbors. But they live in a country where the top 1 percent of Americans have more wealth than the bottom 90 percent."

Glide's service included poetic tributes to mothers from 10 women, including the pastor's Japanese-American wife, Janice Mirikitani.

Clinton suggested the federal government ought to spend more on research on breast cancer and other diseases that afflict women. He said, "If you look at the way we do our medical research, it's hard to find any attention paid to the medical problems of women or mothers."

In more personal terms, Clinton paid tribute to his wife, Hillary, who accompanied him, and his mother, who he said gave him "unconditional love," discipline and values. As a presidential candidate, Clinton said he was "asking for a chance to bring a mother's love back to this country."

MONDAY, MAY 11, 1992

Campaign Leftovers for House Retirees

Some Pledge to Donate Unused Funds to Candidates, Charities

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

This is the last year that House members elected to Congress before 1980 can retire and take unspent campaign money with them, but so far only one—Rep. Walter B. Jones (D-N.C.)—has said he will make personal use of his leftover funds.

Jones, 78, chairman of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, has announced that he will use about \$282,000 in campaign funds to finance his retirement. He also will receive a federal pension based on his current congressional salary of \$129,500. That pension is estimated to be more than \$70,000, according to the National Taxpayers Union.

Congressional pensions are based on a formula that averages the member's three highest years of salary, multiplied by the number of years of service, multiplied by 2.5 percent. Service includes military service and other federal service, including work as a staff member or other federal employment.

Another four of the 30 departing members eligible to bank unused campaign contributions would not specify their plans for the money when surveyed by Public Citizen, an advocacy group founded by Ralph Nader. The four Republicans—Reps. Lawrence Coughlin (Pa.), Robert W. Davis (Mich.), Larry J. Hopkins (Ky.) and Carl D. Pursell (Mich.)—together could lawfully convert more than \$1 million to personal use.

The campaign leftovers of the 28 voluntary retirees and two members defeated in primaries total more than \$8 million.

Some departing members said in media statements or through aides that they would devote leftover funds to other candidates, political parties or charities, with education often being a favored beneficiary. A couple of members said they planned to refund recent donations, while several said they would save the funds for current or future campaigns for another office. Still others said they had not decided but pledged not to keep the money for themselves.

The most novel plan so far has come from Rep. Edward R. Roybal (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Select Committee on Aging, who said he would donate \$225,000 to a gerontology center named in his honor at California State University-Los Angeles.

The post-World War II record of 55 voluntary retirements from the House, which has coincided with the legal deadline for personal use of campaign funds, has raised voter suspicion that greed—and not reapportionment, frustration, more family time or other stated reasons—has motivated many retirees.

Joan Claybrook, president of Public Citizen, said few members have indicated they would convert campaign funds to personal use because watchdog groups like hers have tried to expose what in years past had been a routine, accepted practice. Public Citizen's survey updated another released in February.

"I think that they feel it's not a right thing to do, so they don't want to admit it," Claybrook said.

Rep. Brian J. Donnelly (D-Mass.) could legally take more than \$500,000, but in March he told the Boston Globe he would not do so because "I don't want my children reading that in my obituary." Instead, Donnelly, 46, has said he will donate the money to charities, scholarships and the Democratic Party.

CASH AND CARRY

DEPARTING HOUSE MEMBERS WHO CAN CONVERT
LEFTOVER CAMPAIGN MONEY FOR PERSONAL USE

Member	Can take	On hand
Glenn M. Anderson (D-Calif.)	\$164,198	\$20
Frank Annunzio (D-Ill.)	\$195,854	\$24,929
Les AuCoin (D-Ore.)	\$373,960	\$420,643
Doug Barnard Jr. (D-Ga.)	\$531,207	\$267,799
William S. Broomfield (R-Mich.)	\$652,550	\$810,866
Beverly B. Byron* (D-Md.)	\$72,638	\$8,330
Lawrence Coughlin (R-Pa.)	\$254,067	\$330,879
William E. Dannemeyer (R-Calif.)	\$38,742	\$309
Robert W. Davis (R-Mich.)	\$137,236	\$82,188
William L. Dickinson (R-Ala.)	\$444,360	\$306,545
Brian J. Donnelly (D-Mass.)	\$545,398	\$745,707
Joseph M. Gaydos (D-Pa.)	\$116,980	\$122,182
Frank J. Guarni (D-N.J.)	\$250,233	\$324,697
John P. Hammerschmidt (R-Ark.)	\$404,881	\$492,698
Larry J. Hopkins (R-Ky.)	\$658,031	\$689,494
Andy Ireland (R-Fla.)	\$96,852	\$43,038
Ed Jenkins (D-Ga.)	\$453,052	\$424,727
Walter B. Jones (D-N.C.)	\$282,323	\$324,214
William Lehman (D-Fla.)	229,657	\$338,522
Matthew F. McHugh (D-N.Y.)	\$135,638	\$130,766
Donald J. Pease (D-Ohio)	\$303,362	\$200,864
Carl D. Pursell (R-Mich.)	\$146,808	\$317,366
Robert A. Roe (D-N.J.)	\$874,387	\$899,468
Edward R. Roybal (D-Calif.)	\$194,434	\$225,364
Marty Russo* (D-Ill.)	\$60,458	\$88,669
Richard T. Schulze (R-Pa.)	\$352,943	\$280,731
Bob Traxler (D-Mich.)	\$294,626	\$434,491
Howard Wolpe (D-Mich.)	\$114,664	\$139,753
Chalmers P. Wylie (R-Ohio)	\$66,318	\$112,966
Gus Yatron (D-Pa.)	\$142,115	\$52,893

*Members who lost 1992 primaries who qualify
SOURCE: Federal Election Commission, Public Citizen, member
offices. Figures are as of March 31, 1992.

Despite existing law, Claybrook said keeping campaign funds is "inappropriate" because House members get a generous pension. She said those who wish to keep the funds should seek permission from each contributor, a procedure she acknowledged would be difficult.

A 1989 ethics law permitted members who entered the House before January 1980 to make personal use of leftover campaign funds if they left office before the 103rd session, which begins next January. The maximum they can take is the amount of their campaign funds on Nov. 30, 1989, the date President Bush signed the bill. Members can bring their current campaign funds up to that 1989 level before they retire.

The two members eligible to take the most money and retire appear to want to stay in the House. Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.) is running for reelection though he could convert as much as \$1.4 million to personal use. So is Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, who could pocket up to \$1 million.

Nothing except their word binds the "grandfathered" members who leave the House and forswear personal use of their campaign money.

Former representative Fernand J. St Germain (D-R.I.), when defeated in 1988, said he would give his surplus of \$245,000 to other candidates and charities. But St Germain notified the House clerk in January that he had shifted the remaining \$176,000 into his personal account. The transfer was entirely legal.

The Monday Interview

Busy on the Royal Beat

Ross Benson, Covering The Windsor Ties

"Fergie was talking to Diana and said, 'I am deeply unhappy, you are deeply unhappy. I'm going to leave. Why don't you leave with me?'" relates royal expert Ross Benson. Fergie bolted; so far Diana's stayed. Still, says Benson, for the suggestion even to be made means "there is something deeply disturbed in the House of Windsor."

Good thing for Benson, who earns his pay chronicling those disturbances for London's Daily Express.

Let's see: one divorce, one separation and reports of a suicide attempt. It's been a hectic spring for the columnist, in Washington to help launch this week's first edition of the *International Express*, the weekly version for British expats and royal obsessives.

Benson, an upper-crust classmate of Prince Charles ("Since I think he's a very insensitive and buffoonish man, the feeling is probably mutual," he tells *The Post's* Roxanne Roberts), professes to know the insiders and the real scoop:

On the separation of Andrew and Fergie: After years of criticism, she finally exploded at her in-laws: "I can't stand it anymore. You're appalling. You're all appalling," reports Benson. "They probably are."

As for rumors of a reconciliation, Andrew "wouldn't be averse to it. She doesn't really know what she wants." And lover-boy Steve Wyatt? "A friend of hers said, 'She's in love with him, but not in a physical way, in a spiritual way. He introduced her to this new age nonsense.'"

On reports of a suicide try two years ago by Diana: "I think what actually may have been said is, 'I might as well kill myself.' ... I don't think she actually took a razor and slashed her wrists."

Unlike the rest of the family, Benson believes, Diana has "genuine compassion ... and she looks so good. It's kind of Mother Teresa meets *Vogue* magazine."

On whether Queen Elizabeth will step



Columnist Ross Benson: Helping the Daily Express go international.

down: No way. "Abdication has a rather bad connotation" since the Duke of Windsor did it. "One member of the royal family who ... does take her royal responsibilities seriously is the queen."

The future of the Windsors isn't dependent on whether newly divorced Princess Anne marries her longtime escort or if Prince Edward is gay ("his sexuality is not relevant to the continuation of the royal

family. And therefore [it's of] no concern other than a prurient kind").

But it's a different story for the future king of England.

"If Charles and Diana split up, you could stick the 'For Sale' sign up outside Buckingham Palace," he says. "In return for all those palaces and horses and country houses and fabulous jewels, there is a price—and it's called responsibility."

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



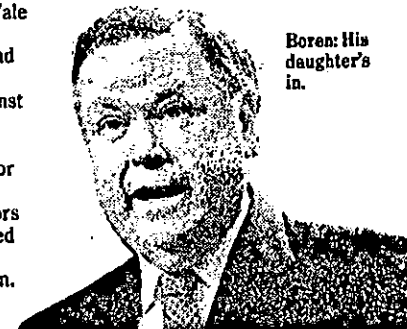
Keeping the Secrets in the Family

■ Don't tell a soul but secret sources say that Yale's very secret society Skull and Bones, whose alumni unsuccessfully tried to block the admittance of women last year, can now boast its first father-daughter legacy. Last week, Carrie Boren, 21-year-old daughter of Oklahoma's Sen. David Boren, was one of 15 Yale juniors (seven of them women) initiated into the school's oldest and most elite club.

Last year, Bones seniors—against the wishes of many alums such as conservative pundit William F. Buckley Jr.—tapped six women for the first time. The Bones board, however, promptly locked the doors to the windowless clubhouse, called "the tomb," and got a court order barring the initiation of the women. The historic group was finally

inducted when a majority of alumni voted thumbs up last October. The most famous grandfather-father-son membership goes to Prescott Bush, President George and George W., as the First Son is known.

As for the Borens, proud papa is sticking to the Bonesman's vow of silence: not a word from him!



Boren: His daughter's in.

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

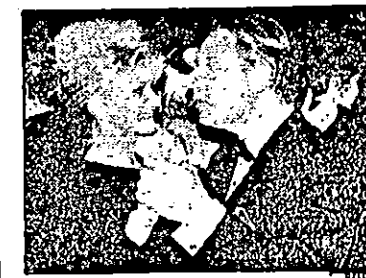
■ Bush political director Mary Matalin and Clinton adviser James Carville—the celebrated bipartisan couple who said in December they were splitting because of campaign conflicts—left the White House Correspondents' Association dinner together Saturday night. No word on whether they took separate cabs.

■ In another indicator that the Cold War must really be over, a host of CIA spooks

invited themselves over to the left-leaning Institute for Policy Studies Friday to hear Marcus Raskin describe "The Role of the CIA" and Saul Landau explain why "Covert Action Is Anathema to Democracy." Now that's progress.

■ Ivana Trump plans to relight the flame of her sizzling romance with Italian businessman Riccardo Mazzucchelli, returning next month to the Royal Ascot races in England where they met a year ago.

■ Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates will be here May 27 waving his controversial flag to promote his book "Chief: My Life in the LAPD" for Bantam.



Ivana Trump with beau Mazzucchelli.

MONDAY, MAY 11, 1992

A4 MONDAY, MAY 11, 1992

Blacks Join Forces With GOP on Remap

Minority Districts at Issue in Florida Alliance

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Staff Writer

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Florida state Rep. Darryl Reaves, a young black politician from the mean streets of Miami's Overtown neighborhood, thinks it's time for a payback from the Democratic Party.

"For 40 years blacks have been the party backbone," Reaves said. "Now we've come to collect, but all we get is 'thanks but no thanks.' It's time to cut the umbilical cord and learn to feed ourselves."

Suiting actions to words, Reaves, like several other black Florida legislators and interest groups, has joined forces with the Republican Party in the battle over congressional redistricting in the nation's fourth largest state. By Thursday, senior U.S. District Judge C. Clyde Atkins's appointed expert is expected to unveil a court-approved plan here.

Reaves and his colleagues want "majority-minority" districts where blacks can win. Republicans will concede black districts to the Democrats for a chance at winning everything else. Putting black Democrats together, they say, will end what they describe as the Democratic Party's practice of creating ready-made constituencies by spreading black voters among several districts.

The black-Republican alliance is a strategy that the GOP has attempted to some degree all over the country, and to hear Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond tell it, it has been a wild success:

"We have won the redistricting war," Bond said in an interview. "It is our assertion that we have made 80 [previously Democratic] seats competitive for the '90s... [and] minority representation is going to be dramatically increased because of the Republican Party."

Democrats acknowledge that Republicans will gain in the House in November—"perhaps 20 seats," according to Rep. Vic Fazio (D-Calif.), chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, and acknowledge that 30 to 40 more seats will remain competitive throughout the decade.

But the big reason Democrats will lose some ground, the party says, is not because white candidates are losing black voters, but because incumbents have too much ground to defend. Currently, the House has 268 Democrats, 166 Republicans and one independent. "We're not far from the saturation point on seats that we could win," said one source. "We hold more marginal seats now. Sure we're going to lose some."

Redistricting—shuffling the House's 435 seats among and within the 50 states—occurs every 10 years, and is based on the decennial census. States gain and lose seats based on their rates of growth, and district maps must be redrawn to reflect shifting concentrations of people within states. This year's redistricting will be in effect for the November elections.

Primary responsibility for drawing new maps rests with state legislators, an advantage for Democrats, who control a majority of the legislatures. But impasses must be resolved in federal court, and 12 years of GOP presidents have ensured that the vast majority of federal judges are Republican appointees.

As a result, Republicans have tried to kick individual redistricting battles into the courts whenever possible. The GOP credits the courts for what Bond regards as "clearly a great success" in California, and damns a Democratic-controlled legislative plan in Texas for its greatest defeat.

California, with seven new seats and 52 total, is the biggest jewel in the redistricting crown, while Texas, with three new seats and 30 total, is third. New York, which must lose three seats, and will have 31, is second, and Florida, which gains four to 23, is fourth.

New York's plan appears to be headed to the courts, while Florida's is already in the hands of Atkins, a "special master" appointed

by a three-judge federal panel after bickering Democrats in the legislature failed to agree on a plan. The mere fact that the case went to court, Fazio conceded, means Florida "is not a victory for us."

What drives redistricting in Florida—and in much of the country—is the need to comply with recent changes in the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The law, enforced by the Justice Department, demands that minority districts be created wherever possible.

This simple requirement has an enormous implication: It virtually guarantees that many southern states—Florida among them—will elect their first black representatives since the 19th century. In all, Fazio estimated, the new Congress will have 15 to 16 new black and Hispanic members.

Drawing minority districts, however, is anything but simple, and in Tallahassee last week the job occupied more than two dozen lawyers representing a dozen different clients for five days of hearings.

Florida's redistricting offered a full menu of the political savagery that has dominated the process throughout the country: bitter partisanship, blatant individual greed and hidden agendas.

A plan presented by retiring Rep. Andy Ireland (R-Fla.) was funded by Florida's Republican incumbents, whose interests were closely attended. A plan submitted by state Senate President Gwen Margolis (D) carved out a handsome district for congressional candidate Gwen Margolis to run in, and also fixed it so two pairs of Republican incumbents would have to run against each other.

Former Tallahassee City Commissioner Jack McLean (D) testified in favor of a plan with a north Florida minority district that stretched from Jacksonville to Tallahassee. The plan, he said, "offers blacks the opportunity to vote for the candidate of their choice." That candidate, suggested opposing attorneys, is likely to be Jack McLean.

State Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart (R) wanted a second, compact Hispanic district anchored in Miami. Yes, his brother Lincoln planned to run in it, he told attorneys. And yes, Mario planned to run for the state Senate seat vacated by Lincoln.

Despite all the elbowing and 12 separate proposed redistricting plans, it was clear that Democrats and Republicans were locked in a partisan joust, and that many black politicians and interest groups—to a greater or lesser degree—had decided that the Democrats did not have their interests at heart.

Reaves and several other Democratic black legislators and community leaders joined Mario Diaz-Balart and other Hispanic Republicans pushing three proposed plans that would create six minority seats—four black and two Hispanic. The state and national Republican parties supported one of these, although their representatives bridled when attorneys for the Democrats began referring to it as "the Republican plan."

The NAACP advocated a plan with two Hispanic seats, two majority black seats and a third black "influence" district.

Leon Russell, first vice president of the Florida NAACP, suggested the dissidents' plans were too ambitious. "The question is, 'Can that black person win that district?'—We're saying, 'Not necessarily.'"

State Rep. Willie Logan Jr. (D), chairman of the Florida legislative black caucus, said the caucus officially backed the NAACP plan, but "wouldn't be upset" at a plan providing three or four black districts.

Democrats in the state Senate and House have proposed plans that offer two Hispanic seats, but only one or two black seats. In other parts of Florida with heavy black populations, the voters have been divided among several white majority districts, all of which become overwhelmingly Democratic.

Republicans describe this practice as "cracking," and it is the main reason why some blacks have gravitated toward the Republicans. "It's an issue of voting rights, not partisan politics," said Rodney G. Gregory, an attorney representing the Reaves group. "We will coalesce or discuss with any individuals who come up with a plan to make the best deal for African Americans."

Democrats deny "cracking," and instead accuse the Republicans of "packing" the two GOP Hispanic seats—ghettoizing two districts by overfilling them with Hispanics—and creating four weak black seats that will not "perform," that will not ensure a black candidate victory.

Creating a weak black "influence" seat in southern Florida is a viable strategy, said state Rep. Peter R. Wallace (D), chairman of the House Reapportionment Committee, because liberal white Democrats will vote for a black candidate. In North Florida, however, "historically if a black is nominated, white Democrats will vote for a Republican." Republicans, he said, are trying to

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Not in session.
Committee:
Governmental Affairs—9:30 a.m. Ad hoc consumer affairs sub.
Implementation of Endangered Species Act for native Hawaiian plants, wildlife.
342 Dirksen Office Bldg.

HOUSE

Meets at noon.
Committees:
Appropriations—2 p.m.
Labor-HHS-Education sub. FY93 approps. 2358 Rayburn House Office Bldg.
Armed Services—2 p.m. May close.
Military installations & facilities sub.
Markup to auth. FY93 defense approps. 2212 RHOB.
Budget—2:30 p.m. Proposed constitutional amendment to require balanced federal budget. 210 Cannon House Office Bldg.

THE WASHIN



"Minority representation is going to be dramatically increased...."

—Richard N. Bond, chairman,
Republican National Committee

sell the black dissidents a bill of goods.

Everyone agrees that Florida should have at least two black districts. One will be carved out of Miami. A second, known as the "I-95 corridor district," will probably—but by no means certainly—be created from rural and urban concentrations of black voters just north of Miami.

After that, however, it gets ugly. Modern computer science has enabled mapmakers to rejigger districts precinct by precinct, or even block by block, creating strange shapes that strain traditional definitions requiring districts to be "compact" and "contiguous." Florida, almost for certain, will have one of these odd creations.

The NAACP's second black majority district, for instance, is a northeast Florida "bug splat" that picks up black voters in and around Jacksonville by meandering about in a helical smear across several hundred square miles of territory.

The Hispanic Republican/black dissident Democrat plans reject the northeast bug splat in favor of a "pearl necklace" district stringing together black neighborhoods in several Central Florida cities. They also add a bug splat/pearl necklace picking up black areas in North Florida.

Right now, Florida's Republican-black alliance is a marriage of convenience. Reaves plans to run for Congress as a Democrat from Miami but says there's "no way" whites in the state Democratic Party are going to support him financially "after this is over."

He has been wooed heavily by the Republicans, enjoying lunch with President Bush and pep talks from presidential son Jeb Bush, the Florida state Republican Party chairman. Reaves is not convinced, but he is not shutting the door, either: "I am not assigned by my blackness to be a Democrat."

5/11/92

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

The appearance of Bruce Springsteen on "Saturday Night Live" was worth an 11.8 rating and a 32 percent audience share in Nielsen's 25-city overnight poll...

That's the best overnight performance by the NBC late-night show since 1988. But who knows where it will all end? SNL overnight records only go back to 1988, for gosh sakes!...

The network estimates that some 25 million viewers saw the Boss, who sang three songs and intrigued the studio audience by signing off with, "I'll see you this summer." Wow! A tour, maybe?

The Boss drew an early roar from the audience as he went onstage during a commercial break to prepare for his first song. After a two-minute wait he said, "I've never stood this long without moving before in my life" (I guess you had to be there)...

In Washington, the Boss attracted a 10.9 rating and a 30 share on Channel 4—the best for SNL since December 1989 and the appearance of "Andie MacDowell"...

NBC also reported yesterday that, again according to Nielsen big-city overnights, the final episode of "The Golden Girls" averaged a 20.4 rating and a 38 share...

As part of a series marking the 50th anniversary of World War II on the network, Charles Kuralt and retired Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf have been paired again by CBS News to host a two-hour special called "The Year of the Generals," which will air June 4 at 9 p.m....

The date coincides with the 50th anniversary of the end of the Battle of Midway and is just two days short of the 48th anniversary of the invasion of Normandy...

"The Generals" (whose table of organization also includes an admiral, Chester Nimitz, and two field marshals, Bernard Montgomery and Erwin Rommel) are Dwight Eisenhower, Douglas MacArthur, George Patton and George C. Marshall...

On Dec. 7, CBS aired "Remember Pearl Harbor," with Kuralt and Schwarzkopf...

Vanity Fair this month includes an article about the always-interesting but elusive Diane Sawyer and her growing success on "PrimeTime Live." Writer Edward Klein concludes with references to her still-unrealized "potential," which is the standard put-down for somebody a writer can't quite figure out...

Sam Donaldson—who is in the final stages of crucial negotiations with ABC News—does a couple of walk-ons in the article and, interestingly enough, Klein doesn't argue with Sam's attempts at self-deprecation. "There was never any real competition between her and Donaldson," Klein writes, "a point underscored when ABC didn't rush to meet Donaldson's demands when his contract came up for renewal this spring"...

Klein is kind to Donaldson, but seeing it all in print last week, the "PrimeTime Live" co-anchor wasn't entirely pleased. He told acquaintances that he and correspondent Chris Wallace were virtually nonexistent in the article. This is at a time when Donaldson is insisting that his desire for "respect" is at the heart of the protracted negotiations between his lawyer, Bob Barnett, and Steve Weiswasser, the tough ABC News executive vice president who is handling day-to-day salary talks...

Donaldson has been working on one-month and, finally, two-week contract extensions while the parties talk. It is believed at ABC News in Washington that this is probably the final week ("I don't see Sam getting another extension after Friday," one executive told us last week, when Donaldson agreed to sit in for David Brinkley on yesterday's "This Week With David Brinkley")...

About the time "PrimeTime Live" debuted in the summer of 1989, Donaldson's salary jumped from an entirely respectable \$700,000 to something close to \$1.7 million annually. The reward, after years of service at the White House, may well have been deserved, but the realities of a declining economy were already looming and ABC has since instituted a major salary-cutting drive across the board as contract renewals come up...

It is believed that Weiswasser initially wanted Donaldson to cut back all the way to \$1 million (which would match Brinkley) but has relented somewhat in the past couple of months...

Rumors abound in Washington that Donaldson, George Will and former "Nightline" executive producer Dorrance Smith (who is now at the White House) are poised to explore the syndicated market if all three choose to spring loose from their current jobs...

But the betting is that Donaldson will remain with the network; the money and the potential are too good. He stands a good chance of inheriting "This Week" when Brinkley decides to retire, and there's talk of still another primetime magazine show being bandied about at ABC...

board starts a two-day meeting here one week from today...

Disgruntled Republicans have held up the bill since before the end of the year, but the Senate is expected to vote tomorrow on the Corporation for Public Broadcasting authorization bill, which calls for \$310 million in fiscal 1994, \$375 million in FY '95 and \$425 million in FY '96. It's already passed the House...

On Friday, Senate communications subcommittee Chairman Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii) received a letter from Capital Cities/ABC Inc.'s top two executives expressing their "support for a fully funded, strong and independent public broadcasting system"...

ABC and PBS have collaborated on several projects, including the broadcast last year of "In the Shadow of Love: A Teen AIDS Story," which aired on both networks...

President and CEO Daniel B. Burke and board chairman Thomas Murphy told Inouye that "we continue to need a strong broadcast system free from day-to-day commercial constraints to ensure that high-quality programming that may not be commercially viable is delivered to all Americans regardless of their ability to pay. An arbitrary cap on federal payments to the system would endanger the ability of public broadcast to fulfill this mandate. ... We know from direct experience that public broadcasting has a special educational role that could not easily be replaced"...

ABC owns three cable programming services: ESPN, Arts & Entertainment and Lifetime. In their letter, Burke and Murphy concede that while "some cable services such as these provide programming that to some degree overlaps with what public broadcasting provides ... 40 percent of the nation's households do not subscribe to cable television, with the result that public television reaches a larger audience than any cable programming service can reach"...

NBC won Thursday night, but the season finale of "Beverly Hills, 90210" on FOX challenged the big boys at 9...

NBC averaged a 14.0/23 for the evening, with "Cheers" averaging a 17.4 national Nielsen rating and a 27 share at 9 and the season finale of "Wings," a 15.1/23 at 9:30. "L.A. Law" did a 14.1/23 at 10...

The two-hour FOX lineup averaged a 13.3/21, with "90210" averaging a 14.1/21. That included a 72 percent share of female teens...

ABC was third as the original "Columbo" movie, "Prescription: Murdered," did an 11.1/18. "PrimeTime Live" once again took the measure of "L.A. Law," averaging a 14.1/23...

CBS was mired in fourth place for the night with a mere 7.8/13 thanks to a repeat of "Sea of Love," which did only a 7.4/12 from 8:30 on...

In Washington, it was pretty FOXy on Channel 5. "The Simpsons" did a 16.8/27, the "In Living Color" special a 17.6/28 and "90210," a 17.4/25...

Also in Washington, the "Wings" finale on Four did a 17.1/25, while "L.A. Law" managed a 14.5/24...

"PrimeTime Live" on Seven did a 13.3/22; "Sea of Love" on Nine, a 7.3/11...

"Nightline" and Johnny Carson keep battling it out locally. Thursday night, Ted Koppel did a 7.6/22, Johnny a 7.2/24. Arsenio Hall on Nine did a 4.4/15...

You've been incredibly patient this morning, TV Column fans. But now it's time to reveal that each national ratingzzz point represents 921,000 TV homes; a Nielsen overnight point, 431,028; and a Washington ratingzzz point, 18,199...

From the Billboard

Mark Fichandler has been promoted from manager to head of acquisitions for National Geographic Explorer. He and a staff of six secure documentary films from around the world for the Sunday TBS series...

There will be four Redskins games on Channel 7 this fall, starting with the Dallas season opener on Monday, Sept. 7, followed by Denver on Monday, Oct. 12; the Giants on Sunday, Nov. 1; and the New Orleans Saints on Monday, Nov. 23...

Bob Dalton will host a one-hour WUSA special—"Middleburg: Horses, Heritage & History" at 8 p.m. on Sunday, May 24, preempting a rerun of "Murder, She Wrote" that night...

C-SPAN will preview a couple of congressional primaries tonight. At 8, the public affairs cable network will look at a race in West Virginia between Democratic Reps. Harley Staggers and Alan Mollohan, which goes to a vote tomorrow. At 8:40, there will be a preview of the California Republican and Democratic Senate primaries on June 2...

Channel 7 says it mistakenly threw Mobil's name in the hopper last week when the station told us corporate underwriting stops May 15 for the closed-captioning of WJLA's 6 p.m. newscast. "Mobil was perfectly willing to continue funding if three partners could be put together," a spokesman for the station said Friday. "We didn't make that clear."

USA
TODAY
5/11/92

IN WASHINGTON

GUARD LEVELS: The chairman of the House Armed Services Committee Sunday called on the Pentagon to reduce planned cuts in the Army National Guard. Rep. Les Aspin, D-Wis., said the total number of guardsmen should be between 375,000 and 380,000 by the end of 1997. That's about 40,000 more than the Pentagon's proposed level for the reserves. Aspin's plan comes as the full committee prepares to write its version of the fiscal 1993 defense budget.

THANK YOU CALL: Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir phoned President Bush to thank him for sending greetings on Israel's national day Friday. White House spokesman Michael Busch said continuing Mideast peace talks weren't discussed. Israelis are boycotting this week's talks in Ottawa, Ontario, and Brussels, Belgium; they object to participation by Palestinian exiles. They're expected to attend other sessions in Washington and Vienna, Austria.

SUMMIT RSVP: The White House is expected to announce this week that President Bush will attend the U.N.-sponsored Earth Summit scheduled June 3-14 in Rio de Janeiro. The announcement could come Tuesday when U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Ghali visits the White House.

REPORTING AWARDS: Nine journalists, including USA TODAY's Tom Squitieri, received reporting awards at the White House Correspondents Association dinner Saturday. Squitieri was honored for a series on Haiti.

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

CANADIAN MINERS: Rescue workers picking their way deep into an explosion-wrecked coal mine in Plymouth, Nova Scotia, found 11 bodies Sunday, amid fears the other 15 missing miners may also have died.

TAJIKISTAN FIGHTING: KGB forces in the former Soviet republic of Tajikistan fired on an opposition crowd in Dushanbe. Local TV reports said eight people had been killed. The fresh bloodshed in the Central Asian state brought an end to negotiations aimed at forming a coalition government of national unity.

ALSO: A South Korea news agency reported North Korea plans to return the remains of 30 more U.S. soldiers killed during the Korean War. ... Gunfire and explosions rocked a Lima, Peru, prison where officials

Woman alleges affair with priest



Danbury News-Times
MURPHY

The talk of Ireland: An alleged love affair between an Irish-American woman from Connecticut and an Irish priest, whom she identifies as widely known Bishop Eamonn Casey. Annie Murphy, 44, of Ridgefield, Conn., held Ireland spellbound when she said on national radio Friday that her 17-year-old son Peter was born after a "magical" love affair with Casey in the mid-1970s.

Casey, 65, resigned last week as bishop of Galway, a post he held 16 years. He is believed to be in the USA preparing to go to Latin America for missionary work.

said jailed Shining Path rebels had surrendered the night before. At least 39 people were reported killed and more than 75 wounded before the new fighting. ... Ex-

plosions and mortar fire shook Bosnia's capital of Sarajevo as the president of the strife-torn former Yugoslav state, Alija Izetbegovic, appealed for U.N. intervention.

ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

Bush economist scoffs at Perot math

Independent presidential candidate-to-be Ross Perot, who says he'll spend the next few weeks away from the limelight studying issues, may want to start with the \$100 billion he said could be saved by eliminating Social Security and Medicare for "folks like me."



AP
PEROT: Could not be reached Sunday

The Texas billionaire's case seemed to hinge on calculations by a prominent economist he declined to name. But after reporter Tim Russert pressed him on NBC's Meet the Press a week ago, Perot said privately his source was, amazingly, Michael Boskin — President Bush's chief economist — The Washington Post reported Sunday. A surprised Boskin told the Post he hasn't talked to Perot in several years. And Boskin scoffed at Perot's math.

"This number is nonsense. If he claims he got it from me, he is horribly confused about anything I ever told him the one time we ever met in the mid-1980s," the Post quoted Boskin.

Neither Perot nor Boskin could be reached Sunday. The Post said Perot spokesman James Squires wouldn't say if the economist was Boskin.

Meanwhile, Perot's bandwagon rolls on. Today in Austin, volunteers plan a parade and rally when they deliver nominating petitions to the statehouse. They reportedly have at least four times as many signatures as they need. (Comment, 10A; Perot not loved by fellow tycoons, 2B)

OREGON RECALL DRIVE LOSES, REGROUPS: In this Year of the Angry Voter, one of the angriest suffered a setback last week in Oregon. Petitions to recall Gov. Barbara Roberts fell 4,671 short of the 166,928 signatures needed to put the issue on the ballot. Recall leader Herschel Taylor — a Democrat like Roberts — immediately started over. Taylor, 62, who spent five months on the drive, plans to mail 165,000 petitions to people who signed the first time around.

He says Roberts is doing a lousy job with the budget since voters approved a 20% spending cut. His crusade was joined by the timber industry, which sees her as too interested in saving the northern spotted owl rather than jobs.

When state officials announced the recall campaign had come up short, Roberts told reporters: "Of course I'm happy." She suggested Taylor and his supporters would be better off putting their energy into improving the state. Taylor's retort: "That's exactly what we're going to do with the second recall — make state government more efficient."

Election coverage

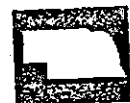
- Comment, 10A
- Interview, 11A

PRIMARIES TUESDAY

Voters go to the polls in Nebraska and West Virginia on Tuesday. Here's a quick look at the voting:

Key votes in Nebraska

PRESIDENT: Democrats — With native son Bob Kerrey out of the race, voters appear more interested in a tax amendment to the state constitution than in the presidential primaries. In a poll last week, ex-candidate Paul Tsongas beat Jerry Brown for second place: Bill Clinton 51%, Tsongas 16%, Brown 13%.



► Republicans — Neither President Bush nor Pat Buchanan visited. Bush led 78%-13% in a poll last week.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT: This went on the ballot after a 21-year-old tax formula was ruled unconstitutional last year. The aim: to restore a property tax system that exempted livestock and business inventories, while tax on business and farm equipment produced enough revenue to hold down real estate taxes.

Key votes in West Virginia

PRESIDENT: Democrats — The state lost 8% of its population in the 1980s and continues to lose jobs in the steel, glass and chemical industries and in coal mining. Clinton visited coal miners suffering from black lung disease and pledged higher-paying jobs and affordable health care. He's backed by Sens. Robert Byrd and Jay Rockefeller and Gov. Gaston Caperton. Brown made a flurry of appearances, but he's been sliding since an April 7 thrashing in New York.

► Republicans — The state party has lined up behind President Bush. Buchanan made no appearances here, instead spending his time in California. Embarrassing the president with a strong showing in California's June 2 primary has long been Buchanan's goal.

GOVERNOR: Democrats — First-term Gov. Caperton, who broke his no-new-taxes pledge and switched from abortion foe to abortion-rights backer, faces two challengers: Attorney General Mario Palumbo and Charleston-area state Sen. Charlotte Pritt. Pritt has gained in recent polls and passed Palumbo — still about 10 points behind Caperton.

► Republicans: Agriculture Commissioner Cleve Benedict, a one-term congressman who won just 31% of the vote against Byrd in a 1982 Senate contest, is expected to defeat former legislator Vernon Criss easily.

U.S. HOUSE: 1st District — Two five-term incumbent Democrats face off because their districts were combined after the 1990 Census, when population losses cost the state one of its four seats. Reps. Harley Staggers Jr. and Alan Mollohan both are sons of longtime congressmen. Staggers has condemned his opponent for 15 bounced checks at the House bank and for voting for a pay raise. Mollohan has concentrated on his membership on the Appropriations Committee, where he's won federal dollars for his state.

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrats Jerry Brown: Babcock State Park, Clifftop, W.Va., outlines environmental policy; Fayetteville, W.Va., whitewater river rafting; Huntington, W.Va., Harris Riverfront Park rally; Buckhannon, W.Va., West Virginia Wesleyan College rally, addresses Teamsters Union via satellite to San Francisco; Scotsbluff, North Platte and Omaha, Neb. Bill Clinton: Little Rock, addresses Teamsters union via satellite to San Francisco.

Republicans George Bush: White House, sees Foreign Minister Roland Dumas of France; Philadelphia, fund-raising dinner. Pat Buchanan: Cincinnati, meets with press; Delhi Hills, Ohio, rally.

Compiled by Gwen Flanders. Contributing: Carol J. Castaneda, Brian O'Connell

Bush takes urban push on road

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

President Bush today takes his newly displayed passion for curing urban woes to Philadelphia, the next test of the depth of a commitment some suspect is transitory and political.

Bush ended a two-day visit to Los Angeles' riot zone promising new efforts to enact tax breaks to draw businesses to cities and home-ownership incentives for the poor.

His top priority, he said in a Saturday radio address: "Build a bipartisan effort in support of immediate action."

Bush was moved by "the scenes of the wanton destruction. ... We will find many

"
We ought to be preaching and talking about giving a person a hand-up rather than a handout.
"
— Vice President Quayle

ways to help," he said at Saturday's White House Correspondents Association dinner.

But John Mack, president of Los Angeles' Urban League, said, "His actions are going to speak louder than his visit."

On NBC's *Meet the Press*, Sen. Bill Bradley, D-N.J., said that Bush's plans will help, but that up to \$15 billion a year in

The political complexity of Bush's new agenda was underscored Sunday by Vice President Quayle. "We ought to be preaching and talking about giving a person a hand-up rather than a handout," he said on CBS's *Face the Nation* — a reassuring signal to conservatives who might fear Bush is co-opting liberal social policies.

Quayle also praised the Los Angeles Police Department.

Some who met with Bush in Los Angeles last week doubt his interest will endure:

► "If the past is any indication, I don't expect to see the vigor sustained," said Clyde Oden, president of the Watts Health Foundation, who's waiting for Bush to prove commit-

ment by decrying the urban decay that exacerbated the riots.

► "If the president had been really sincere, he'd have come much earlier and tried to help us prevent this problem," said the Rev. Larry Kirkland, Brookins A.M.E. Church. "He didn't offer any ... solutions."

► "I think he understood what the people were saying, but if he's in Washington and things have calmed down, he might forget," said Jing Ho Lee of Los Angeles' Radio Korea.

Even if Bush doesn't forget, government can't end inner-city residents' anger and deprivation, Lee said. "The best he can do is not enough."

► Los Angeles Index, 3A

Sizing up the Philippine electorate



Agence France-Presse

ELECTION EVE IN MANILA: To the delight of other shoppers, Imelda Marcos shops for shoes — size 8½ — in a department store.

Marcos: Voting procedure 'not fair'

From wire reports

Former Philippines first lady Imelda Marcos, among seven presidential candidates in today's elections in that nation, cast her ballot in Manila — complaining the voting procedures were unfair.

"This is not a fair procedure," she said as she struggled with her ballot. "There is not even a list of the national candidates in the polling booth."

Voters must fill in a blank ballot with the names of their choices for president, vice president, 24 senators, a congressman and local officials.

Marcos, her heavily powdered brow creased in concentration, took 23 minutes to

write the names of her 40 or so choices on the ballot.

The watchdog Commission on Elections warned voters they would be evicted from polling places if they deliberately took 20 minutes or more.

"Democracy cannot be built on cardboard," Marcos declared as she sat at a desk with a flimsy cardboard booth tacked to the top. "There is no secrecy of the ballot."

Apparently unruffled by the fact that her name was spelled incorrectly on the list of voters, Marcos lined up to collect her ballot and to dip her right forefinger in indelible ink to show she had voted.

► Filipinos vote, 1A



By Alberto Marquez, AP

VOTERS: Nuns were among millions of Philippine voters. About 340,000 church volunteers guarded precincts from violence.

Next leg of Gorbachev tour: Rockettes

By Johanna Neuman
USA TODAY

Former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev, halfway through a \$3 million fund-raising tour of the USA, has a front-row seat tonight to see New York's Radio City Rockettes.

Fresh from a weekend in San Francisco, Gorbachev, wife Raisa and daughter Irina arrived Sunday in Atlanta.

The Gorbachevs met with former president Jimmy Carter and his wife, Rosalynn.

Gorbachev, without mentioning the Los Angeles riots,

told reporters: "We need justice for ethnic groups and minorities that would create a more democratic society."

Today, he speaks at Emory University's graduation.

Then on to New York, where he receives the United Nations' Albert Schweitzer Leadership Award. The award, sponsored by the Hugh O'Brien Youth Foundation, will be presented at a dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria that features the high-stepping Rockettes.

O'Brien, who played Wyatt Earp on TV, says he "lassoed" Gorbachev for the dinner,

which he claims is the "anchor around which all the other events were built."

And Gorbachev, flying around on a Forbes Inc. Jet dubbed Capitalist Tool, has plenty of those:

► Wednesday in New York he addresses the Economic Club and receives a medal from Yeshiva University.

► Thursday in Washington he addresses Congress, visits the Library of Congress and dines at the White House.

► Friday in Boston he speaks at Harvard and has dinner with the Kennedy family.

The tour has been controversial. Jim Garrison of Gorbachev Foundation USA sought \$100,000 a speech to raise \$3 million for the foundation.

That's fueling worries Gorbachev, unpopular at home, is lining his pockets in the USA to resurface as a political force.

"This is giving a lot of grief to (Russian President Boris) Yeltsin's officials," says Harvard analyst Marshall Goldman.

"It's a People magazine approach to foreign policy by the White House," says Paul Goble, a former State Department expert on the Soviet republics.

Democrats see public financing as another equalizer and limits on spending by challengers as a way to protect majorities in both chambers.

Bush and the GOP see outlawing PACs, private financing of campaigns and unrestricted fund-raising by challengers as a way to break the Democrats' hold on Congress.

But the anti-incumbency fervor of 1992 may accomplish what Bush's veto could not. The Federal Election Commission reports that fund-raising by challengers has increased sharply above 1990 levels.

Republicans May Have Fared Surprisingly Well In Redistricting Wars, Once the Democrats' Forte

By DAVID SHRIENMAN
And JACKIE CALMES

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — In this noisy political season, one of the most important political struggles has been proceeding largely unnoticed. The preliminary returns show a remarkable result: The Republicans didn't lose.

The struggle is congressional redistricting, the arcane science of political geography that the Democrats have dominated for a generation, with their deep roots in state capitals. Though it's too early to declare winners—this fall's elections, when voters rather than politicians take control, will produce the definitive verdict—the Republicans have a slight edge.

The Democrats still dominate the state capitals; they control both houses of the legislature in 30 states, while Republicans control both houses in only five states, mostly small ones. But thanks to several factors—especially the increasingly GOP cast of the judicial system—the Republicans have become, for the first time in years, more than spectators in the map wars.

Possible Gains in House

The result is that reapportionment could, all by itself, result in a GOP pickup of a dozen House seats this November. "Redistricting will in and of itself cost us some number of seats," according to Les Francis, executive director of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

Rep. Vic Fazio of California, the committee's chairman, blames that on a combination of "partisan Republican judges and a Republican strategy [in the statehouses] to frustrate the process so it would be thrown to the courts wherever opportunities existed."

The courts have already helped Republicans dismiss Democratic redistricting plans in two big states, California and Illinois, and may help them prevail in another prize state, Florida, where legal action is under way. Already Florida's map is being described as "the greatest triumph of redistricting," in the phrase of Benjamin Ginsberg, chief counsel of the Republican National Committee, and as "a total disaster," in the words of the Democrats' authority on redistricting, Mark Gersh of the liberal National Committee for an Effective Congress.

While Democrats predict that the redistricting process may deprive them of 10 to 20 seats, experts agree that it's impossible to make accurate forecasts, especially in such a politically volatile year.

Population Trends

"So much depends on the national tide," says Thomas Mann, director of governmental studies at the Brookings Institution, "and so much depends on who the candidates are."

Much depends, too, on election turnout

and—because maps drawn this year last for a decade—on population trends. "In areas that are growing very rapidly, the composition of a district at the beginning of a decade may have little relationship to the district at the end of the decade," says William O'Hare, director of the Population and Policy Research Program at the University of Louisville.

Given the population shifts to the west and south and to the suburbs, the Republicans had some demographic advantages as this process began. And though Democrats strengthened their grip on the state legislatures, the Republicans picked up some trump cards two years ago, retaining the governors' offices in California and Illinois and recapturing them in Michigan and Ohio. California gained seven seats, giving it 52 members of the House and the largest congressional delegation in history. The other three states lost two seats each, ensuring bitter redistricting struggles.

Meanwhile, Democrats bungled some efforts, even in places like Georgia and Florida where they controlled the entire process—both houses of the legislature and the governor's office. In Georgia, which gains a seat, statehouse Democrats overreached: After Justice Department scrutiny, the party had to settle for a map so much more competitive that Democrats, who now have a 9-to-1 advantage in the state's House delegation, could be the minority before long.

Another dynamic that may have worked against the Democrats was the current interpretation of the Voting Rights Act, which forced the creation of new black and Hispanic districts. While the new minority members of the House will likely be Democrats, their districts often came at the expense of white Democratic incumbents.

That's one of the reasons the Republicans were so willing to help create minority districts. This was particularly true in the South, a longtime Democratic stronghold, but also in key states such as Illinois, New Jersey and Michigan.

Democratic Rep. Frank Guarini announced his retirement after the New Jersey map gave him a largely Hispanic district. Democratic Rep. Ben Jones now must run in a GOP district after many of his dependably Democratic black voters were siphoned off to create a second black district in Atlanta. In Alabama, conservative Democratic Rep. Claude Harris is retiring rather than run in a new black district, while Democratic Rep. Ben Er-dreich, having lost voters to the black district, has one with a plain GOP tilt.

Democrats' Potential Victories

"Demographic shifts and the Voting Rights Act have made a lot of districts that were heretofore safe for Democrats very marginal now," says the Democrats' Mr. Gersh.

The Democrats, however, aren't without possible triumphs of their own. In Texas, where Ann Richards' 1990 victory returned the governor's office to the Democrats, the new map could hold Republicans to their current eight seats in a delegation that will have 30 members, the nation's

third-largest. All three new seats are earmarked for minorities and are all but certain to be Democratic.

More than a third of the states will see little if any change. That's good news for Democrats, who have a 268-166 advantage in the House right now. "We came out of it better than a lot of people thought we would," said the Democrats' Mr. Francis.

Not so, however, in California, where the Democrats now hold 26 seats to the GOP's 19. The new map with its seven additional seats may produce a 26-26 deadlock—or even GOP control. "They could [get a majority] if you look at registered voters," says Bruce Cain at the University of California at Berkeley. "There's enough districts where there are at least 35% Republican registration."

That's a big change from the Democratic gerrymandering of a decade ago. "We need a competitive redistricting plan more than anyone else in the country because we are changing faster than any other state in the country," says Alan Heslop, a Claremont-McKenna political scientist who has been active in GOP efforts.

GOP Gov. Pete Wilson, elected in 1990, vetoed all plans from the Democratic-controlled legislature and forced the process into the hands of the state Supreme Court. Court-appointed special masters drew their own lines—and sent Democrats into a fury. "The outrage is the perception that it's a fair or non-partisan plan," says state Assemblyman Richard Katz. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown adds: "If we had pulled something like this, it would have been thrown out in a second."

The struggle isn't over yet in New York. The Democratic Assembly and the Republican Senate submitted separate maps to a

Winners and Losers

States that gain and lose congressional seats based on the results of the 1990 Census

GAINERS		LOSERS	
Calif.	+7	N.Y.	-3
Fla.	+4	Ill.	-2
Texas	+3	Mich.	-2
Ariz.	+1	Ohio	-2
Ga.	+1	Pa.	-2
N.C.	+1	Iowa	-1
Va.	+1	Kan.	-1
Wash.	+1	Ky.	-1
		La.	-1
		Mass.	-1
		Mont.	-1
		N.J.	-1
		W. Va.	-1

Source: Congressional Quarterly

federal court in Brooklyn. Tensions are high because the state loses three House seats, making it impossible to avoid setting one incumbent against another in some races this fall.

The Democratic plan has four districts that pit incumbents against each other, including one that forces two New York-area Democrats, Eliot Engel and James Scheuer, to run against each other and one that forces two Long Island-area Republicans, Norman Lent and Raymond McGrath, against each other. The GOP plan doesn't pit any two Republicans against each other, but includes three districts where Democratic incumbents have to face each other.

"This has been a real partisan battle," says Jeffrey Wice, counsel to the New York State Assembly. "but it can be resolved." But, some close observers believe, possibly not before the legislature fails and turns the matter over to a special master appointed by a federal court. And that, again, could give Republicans the edge.

Climate-Change Pact Is Reached By 143 Nations

Treaty Begins Initial Attack On Global Warming; Bush May Go to Summit

By RISE GUTFIELD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
The new international accord on climate change launches an initial, modest attack on global warming that is designed to allow for stronger action as scientific evidence becomes clearer and world-wide resolve strengthens.

The agreement, reached after a week of often-tense negotiations among the major developed countries, was formally accepted late Saturday by a full session of 143 nations meeting here to forge a climate-change treaty. The accord will be presented to more than 100 heads of state at next month's Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

Many scientists contend that the buildup of so-called greenhouse gases will cause a significant warming of the Earth by the middle of the next century, potentially resulting in droughts, floods and damage to agriculture and ecosystems.

Under the pact, the major developed nations would agree to try to bring their emissions of greenhouse gases—including carbon dioxide, methane and nitrous oxide—to 1990 levels by the end of the decade. At the insistence of the U.S., the countries wouldn't be required to limit their emissions or to stabilize them at 1990 levels into the next century. The U.S. argued that there is enough scientific uncertainty that it would be unwise to take actions that could impede economic growth.

Agreement on the treaty paves the way for President Bush's attendance at the Rio session; an announcement is expected soon.

Environmental groups and diplomats from some European countries had pushed for stronger language and expressed disappointment that the treaty is imprecise and wouldn't require specific emissions cuts. Jean Ripert, chairman of the U.N. group that drafted the agreement, conceded that the text contains "constructive ambiguities."

Still, the accord would require that the developed nations submit periodic reports, starting six months after the treaty takes effect, on policies designed to reduce emissions. The treaty will take effect after 50 of the 143 nations have signed. The agreement also would set up a procedure for continued monitoring of scientific advancements on the issue so that further modifications could be undertaken if needed.

John Shlaes, executive director of the Global Climate Coalition, an association of energy-related and business groups, said: "It's a delicately balanced treaty. We're going to have to see how the implementation develops." He said that with the

Economy May Have Little Room to Grow

Many Measures Suggest Recovery Won't Be Able to Go Far

By ALFRED L. MALABRE JR.

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
The economy may have less elbow room to keep expanding easily in coming years than is commonly supposed.

The unusually weak recovery now under way has prompted the notion that a large amount of slack, built up during the latest recession, still exists within the economy. With so much room to grow, the theory holds, business activity can rise briskly for a long time without bumping up against the physical and financial constraints to further growth that invariably bring expansions to an end.

These constraints, typically, range from shortages of labor and materials to production-line bottlenecks and lengthening delays in delivery. In the process, inflationary pressures build, bringing higher interest rates and a tighter monetary policy. This, in turn, stifles further economic gains and sets the stage for a new recession.

There is no question that the economy is operating well below its potential; this is to be expected in a recession's wake. Most measures of this shortfall, however, show a substantially narrower gap than has existed after most recessions in recent decades.

Hitting Constraints

In the short run, this could produce such welcome developments as faster-than-expected reductions in joblessness and gains in capital spending. But ultimately, with growth becoming increasingly labored, it could act to shorten the expansion. And, ironically, the faster the economy grows in coming months, the sooner it could run up against constraints that could cause a new recession.

"It's a myth, plain and simple, that the economy is wallowing somewhere in the deep depths, far below its full capacity to produce," says David Bostian, chief economist of Herzog, Heine, Geduld Inc., an investment firm. While there is still ample room for expansion as 1992 goes along, he believes that "a year or so from now, we'll begin to see limits emerging

negotiations completed, the business community would turn its attention to defeating pending congressional legislation that would require the U.S. to unilaterally stabilize emissions at 1990 levels by the year 2000.

Daniel Becker, director of the Sierra Club's global warming and energy program and a harsh critic of the language, conceded that "there is the possibility of improvement later on."

Developing countries would be required to establish policies to control their emissions, which are expected to increase substantially. The developed nations would provide financial aid and technological assistance to the developing world, although no amounts have been agreed upon.

that may restrict the economy's continued advance."

One measure of physical elbow room is a Federal Reserve Board measure showing how much of estimated capacity manufacturers actually utilize. Last month, this operating rate stood at 77%. This was about the same rate that prevailed last spring, around the end of the latest recession. (The end is widely deemed to have been May, but no turning point has yet been set by the National Bureau of Economic Research, the official arbiter.)

As low as 77% may seem, it is appreciably higher than comparable rates at the finish of the five other recessions that have slowed the economy in the past three decades. In the spring of 1975, near the end of the 1973-75 slump, the factory operating rate was 70.3%. In the fall of 1982, at the bottom of the severe downturn of 1981-82, the rate was 69%. Lower operating rates than of late also followed the recessions of 1960-61, 1969-70 and 1980.

A similar pattern is apparent on the labor front. At slightly over 7% of the labor force, unemployment is lower now than in three of the five earlier recessions. But a more accurate gauge of labor supply is the percentage of the working-age population not at work. At 38.6%, this measure has recently been a good deal lower than near the end of any of the earlier slumps. In the earlier recessions, the rate was never below 41%. In the fall of 1982, it was 43.4%. In early 1961, near the end of the relatively mild recession of 1960-1961, it was 45.7%.

Tight Inventory

The inventory picture also suggests a tighter situation than normally has prevailed around the end of a recession. The inflation-adjusted ratio of manufacturing and trade inventories to sales reached a low of 1.43 near the finish of the latest slump and remains there. This is far lower than in any of the earlier recessions. The ratio was 1.75 in late 1982 and as high as 1.81 in the spring of 1975.

After the borrowing binge of the past decade, most measures of financial elbow room also show a pattern of unusual con-

straint for such a point in the business cycle.

The amount of consumer installment debt outstanding comes to nearly 17% of after-tax personal income, a far higher share than near the end of any of the earlier recessions. The rate was only about 13.5% after the recessions of 1973-75 and 1981-82. By no coincidence, the number of personal bankruptcies per 1,000 individuals, recently at about 3.4, also exceeds comparable readings for the earlier periods. The bankruptcy rate was only 1.3 after the 1981-82 recession and 1.1 after the 1973-75 slump.

The corporate picture is much the same. Corporate debt outstanding has recently amounted to some 38% of gross domestic product, appreciably higher than in the earlier periods. The comparable rate was about 30% when the 1981-82 recession ended and 34% after the 1973-75 recession.

The debt burden becomes still greater when governmental borrowing is taken into account. Total debt outstanding—personal, corporate and governmental—now exceeds 195% of gross domestic product. This tops the earlier readings, which ranged between 135% and 150% of GDP.

Meanwhile, savings are at unusually low levels. The personal saving rate has recently been running at about 5% of after-tax income, substantially lower than near the end of the earlier recessions. Corporate saving is also at an exceptionally low level. As a result, net national saving—the sum of business and personal savings, minus the federal budget deficit—amounts to less than 3% of GDP, which is far less than in the earlier periods.

Yet another sign of unusual financial constraint is the relatively high level of real interest rates, or the cost of borrowing after taking inflation into account. Real rates are generally higher now than after all but one of the five earlier recessions. The exception was the 1981-82 slump, when rates soared as the Federal Reserve severely tightened its reins in a successful effort to bring down double-digit rates of inflation.

Tracking the Economy

May 11, 1992

This week's economic data will be strong enough to suggest an economic recovery but weak enough to raise doubts about its duration, says Sung Won Sohn, chief economist of Norwest Corp. in Minneapolis.

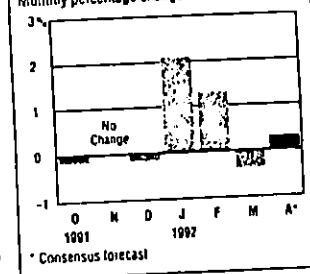
April retail sales, for example, "basically moved sideways," Mr. Sohn says, after a quick start this year. Unseasonably warm weather and the early distribution of tax refunds had conspired to boost consumer spending, but with those stimuli gone, retail sales rose only 0.1% last month, Mr. Sohn estimates.

Such sluggish consumer demand does little to encourage industrial production. In April, factory output likely rose 0.3%, Mr. Sohn says, more evidence that the "economic recovery is moving ahead at a painfully slow pace." Most of the output increase was concentrated in durable goods, such as automobiles and appliances, the economist says.

With both demand and production barely temperate, inflation has been held in check. The April Consumer and Producer price indexes rose 0.3% and 0.4%, respectively, Mr. Sohn estimates, with

Small Rebound for Retail Sales?

Monthly percentage change in retail sales



the volatile food and energy components swelling the price rises about one-tenth percentage point.

Mr. Sohn says that with the economic data soft and money supply and loan demand growth stubborn, the Federal Reserve Board should cut its discount rate one more time. "It's not a bad idea to take out an insurance policy."

—Andrew Sabel

Statistics to Be Released This Week

ECONOMIC INDICATOR	PERIOD	RELEASE DATE	PREVIOUS ACTUAL	TECHNICAL DATA CONSENSUS FORECAST
Producer Prices	April	May 12	+0.2%	+0.3%
Consumer Prices	April	May 13	+0.5%	+0.3%
Retail Sales	April	May 13	-0.4%	+0.3%
New-Car Sales (ann. rate)	Early May	May 13	6.0 million	6.0 million
Business Inventories	March	May 14	No change	+0.1%
Initial Jobless Claims	Week to May 2	May 14	415,000	410,000
Money Supply: M1	Week to May 4	May 14	-\$4.3 billion	+\$5.0 billion
Money Supply: M2	Week to May 4	May 14	-\$9.7 billion	+\$6.5 billion
Money Supply: M3	Week to May 4	May 14	-\$0.1 billion	-\$2.3 billion
Industrial Production	April	May 15	+0.2%	+0.3%
Capacity Utilization	April	May 15	78.1%	78.2%

Statistics Released Last Week

Consumer Credit	-\$1.61 billion	Nonfarm Payrolls	109,031,000
March (annual rate)	-2.7%	April	+126,000
Unemployment Rate	7.2%	New-Car Sales	1,123,580
April	-0.1	April	+8.0%*

* Change from April 1991

Source: Technical Data

What's News—

Business and Finance

THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE fell to 7.2% in April from 7.3% in February and March, for its first decline in nine months. Payrolls grew by 126,000 people, mostly in the service and retail sectors. The data, adding to evidence of a slow economic recovery, may be enough to keep the Fed from cutting interest rates. But bond prices surged amid signs that the job growth isn't great enough to spur inflation.

The economy may have less room to keep expanding easily in coming years than is commonly supposed, based on such measures as unemployment, corporate and personal debt, and utilized manufacturing capacity.

(Stories on Pages A2 and C1)

GM's Hughes Aircraft is expected to announce today that it has agreed to pay around \$450 million in stock for General Dynamics' missile business, say people familiar with the deal. The sale marks a major consolidation of the missile industry at a time of rapidly declining U.S. defense spending.

(Story on Page A3)

Olympia & York could receive word as early as this week on whether the British government will move some of its offices to the developer's Canary Wharf project in London. Such a move could help rescue the real estate concern and its troubled project.

(Story on Page A3)

Time Warner is talking to two European companies about their possibly investing in the U.S. company's entertainment business, according to people familiar with the negotiations. The investment could exceed \$1 billion. The discussions are further along than Time's wide-ranging talks with IBM.

(Story on Page B5)

The TVA is buying from a Wisconsin utility the right to pollute the air with about 10,000 tons of sulfur dioxide. The transaction is believed to be the largest under a 1990 law that authorized the sale of emission allowances.

(Story on Page A12)

Chrysler is considering eliminating its Plymouth or Eagle brand, with a decision possible in a year, the car maker's chairman-designate said. Chrysler is concerned that it lacks the resources to develop unique vehicles for each of its five current divisions.

(Story on Page A3)

ABC, CBS and NBC should be allowed to participate in the lucrative TV syndication market, U.S. antitrust officials urged in a court filing, saying the three networks don't dominate the television industry as they once did.

(Story on Page B1)

Helleman is reintroducing its high-alcohol PowerMaster malt liquor under the new name of Colt 45 Premium, regulators say, less than a year after they vetoed the PowerMaster name.

(Story on Page B1)

The proportion of stock held directly by individuals fell last year to a record 53.5%, as investors poured money into mutual funds instead. In 1965, the proportion was 84.1%.

(Story on Page C1)

Kendall Co. is preparing to restructure \$830 million in debt as part of a prepackaged bankruptcy-law filing by the hospital-supplies company.

(Story on Page B4)

Markets—

Stocks: Volume 168,670,000 shares. Dow Jones industrials 3369.41, up 6.04; transportation 1399.66, up 4.67; utilities 214.01, up 0.56.

Bonds: Lehman Brothers Treasury Index 4264.02, up 30.64.

Commodities: Oil \$20.86 a barrel, up 15 cents. Dow Jones futures index 118.87, off 0.12; spot index 117.67, up 0.91.

Dollar: 133.35 yen, up 0.59; 1.6445 marks, up 0.0075.

World-Wide

U.S. TROOPS WITHDREW from Los Angeles as Bush weighed urban proposals.

California Gov. Wilson thanked the 4,000 Army troops and Marines for helping restore order to the riot-torn city. A total of 10,000 National Guardsmen remained on duty alongside the city's police force. In Washington, President Bush's advisers will meet today to discuss programs for improving the nation's urban areas. Vice President Quayle, meanwhile, told CBS News that law enforcement was crucial to the administration's urban policy. (Story on Page A12)

Democrat Clinton said inner-city turmoil showed the country was "in the grip of a selfishness that would kill any nation" because of 1980s policies that favored the rich and ignored the needy.

Small-town developers are making quick profits of 700% or more from a rental housing program for the rural poor. Scores of developers involved in the \$12 billion federal loan program have been caught misapplying housing project funds and padding construction costs, according to government investigators. (Story on Page A3)

An accord on climate change was forged by 143 nations after a week of negotiations at the U.N., launching a modest attack on global warming. Saturday's pact, which calls for efforts to limit emissions of greenhouse gases, will be presented to over 100 heads of state at next month's Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. (Story on Page A7)

Two astronauts stepped into space from the shuttle Endeavour in an unsuccessful attempt to rescue and repair a stranded Intelsat-6 satellite. The crew planned to try again today. The shuttle was launched Thursday on its mission to boost the satellite out of the low orbit in which it has been marooned for more than two years.

Relief workers in Nova Scotia recovered the bodies of 11 of the 26 coal miners who were trapped early Saturday by an explosion at the Westray mine, located about 75 miles northeast of Halifax. The fate of the other miners was still unknown.

Bosnia accused Serb troops of preparing to undertake a final air and ground offensive to capture Sarajevo, where buildings were burning after a heavy overnight bombardment. Serb guerrillas opposed to Bosnia's independence from the Yugoslav federation pounded the city's center and suburbs with mortar and artillery fire.

Bush vetoed legislation to overhaul campaign financing. The president, in a statement released Saturday, condemned the measure's public funding of congressional races and said it would perpetuate the "corrupting influence of special interests." He repeated his call for a ban on special-interest political action committees.

Mexico's state oil company called for the urgent evacuation of 5,000 families from houses built near pipelines in the northern state of Coahuila. Pemex said the evacuations were necessary to avert a tragedy like that in Guadalajara, where over 200 people died in sewer-line explosions last month.

Tajikistan's security forces fired on an opposition crowd in the capital of the former Soviet republic, Dushanbe, and Tajik television said that eight people had been killed and 12 others seriously wounded.

At least 28 people were killed in the Philippines over the weekend in advance of today's presidential election. The violence included a guerrilla ambush, shootings and bomb attacks on political rallies.

Peruvian police put down the last resisters in a rebel uprising at a prison where Shining Path guerrillas had controlled a cellblock for five years. President Fujimori said 28 rebels had been killed at the Canto Grande prison in Lima.

Thailand's opposition ended its protests in Bangkok after the ruling coalition agreed to constitutional reforms that could result in Prime Minister Suchinda's resignation within months. The eight days of rallies represented the country's largest demonstrations in two decades.

Another labor clash is looming in Germany, this time involving the country's automotive, machinery and electrical industries. An employers association declared Friday that the 8,000 companies in those sectors would rather accept a strike than match last week's 5.4% wage increase for public workers. (Story on Page A7)

North American Free Trade Agreement Appears Within Reach as Talks Resume

By JOHN URQUHART

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

OTTAWA — U.S., Canadian and Mexican officials are to resume their trade negotiations in Toronto Wednesday amid indications that a North American free trade agreement is now within reach.

"We've got good momentum," a senior Canadian official said Friday. He predicted an agreement could be reached "in the fairly near future."

Lawyers have started drafting the legal language of various proposed provisions of the planned accord. Many issues in the services area, such as cross-border bus and truck transport, have been largely resolved. The trucking provisions would allow U.S. and Canadian trucks to enter the Mexican market with cargoes of U.S. and Canadian goods. Currently such cargoes have to be reloaded onto Mexican trucks at the Mexican border.

The negotiators also were said to be near agreement on telecommunications provisions that would allow cross-border access of enhanced telecommunications services to basic communications networks.

The proposed accord will extend to Mexico the benefits of the three-year-old free trade agreement between Canada and the U.S. Mexican businessmen, for example, are to be covered by an existing U.S.-Canada arrangement that facilitates cross-border business travel.

The planned North American free trade agreement is to largely take over from the existing U.S.-Canada pact, replicating its provisions. However, the tariff elimination schedule agreed to in the U.S.-Canada agreement will continue to govern trade between the two countries. It calls for tariffs to be eliminated by Jan. 1, 1995. Mexico is seeking a long phase-out for its tariffs.

Canada has refused to accept Mexican and U.S. proposals for a complete liberalization of trade in agricultural products, insisting on keeping import quotas on various commodities, such as dairy products, that are subject to supply management in Canada. The U.S. and Mexico are expected

to proceed with a bilateral plan for removal of barriers to their two-way agricultural trade.

The planned agreement is expected to have improved rules of origin for identifying goods that qualify for preferential trade treatment among the three countries. "I think we are close to having an agreement that is clear and not difficult to administer," the Canadian official said.

The negotiators still must resolve thorny issues on trade in autos, textiles and on laws governing cross-border investment. But the official said the Canadian government was hopeful of an early agreement given the "signs of flexibility" that have been seen in the recent negotiations.

COMMENCEMENTS

Skinner Urges Service Roles For Graduates

George Washington University conferred 1,290 undergraduate degrees and 1,159 advanced degrees yesterday on the Ellipse in Washington at its 167th commencement exercises.

The White House chief of staff, Samuel H. Skinner, who received an honorary degree, gave the commencement address. Mr. Skinner encouraged the students to "cast off the politics of division" so the United States could "build a society in which people respect each other, work with — not against — each other."

Emphasizing that "the power of one individual" can make a difference, Mr. Skinner cited examples of individual bravery during the riots in Los Angeles.

Mr. Skinner said that "perhaps the most dramatic story was the rescue of Reginald Denny, a white man who was pulled from his truck and then beaten with a fire extinguisher." One woman who saw that Mr. Denny's eyes were swollen fought her way through the crowd and, Mr. Skinner said, asked if Mr. Denny could see. "When he shook his head, she said, 'Then I will be your eyes.' Along with three other blacks, she helped Denny inch away from the rioters and to the hospital," he said.

Mr. Skinner told the students that the most important thing in life is the "call to serve" because it is through self-sacrifice that "our finest discipline and best traits" are developed.

Also receiving honorary degrees were Christopher F. Edley, president emeritus of the United Negro College Fund; the artist Helen Frankenthaler; and Robert C. Maynard, publisher and editor of The Oakland Tribune.

Benefits Are Refused More Often To Disabled Blacks, Study Finds

By STEPHEN LABATON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 10 — For 30 years, blacks with serious ailments have been much more likely than whites to be rejected for benefits under Social Security disability programs, a Congressional investigative agency has found.

From the initial claim through the appeals process, blacks have had a more difficult time obtaining benefits from the two largest Federal programs for people with severe disabilities, which together now provide \$43.2 billion in disability checks annually to millions of workers and their families, the study by the General Accounting Office concludes.

The study is the most comprehensive ever undertaken by the Government about race and disability benefits.

Investigation Is Started

The report does not conclude that the disparities are due to racial discrimination but rules out every other explanation and recommends that the Social Security Administration conduct an investigation to determine whether the programs are racially biased. While the Social Security Administration questioned the study of the two Social Security programs for people with severe disabilities, the Disability Insurance and Supplemental Security Income programs, it said the report had already prompted it to begin an investigation to make sure its decisions were not motivated by race.

The study found that in 1988, the latest year analyzed, whites had an 8

percent better chance of receiving benefits after being initially turned down for Disability Insurance and a 4 percent advantage under the Supplemental Security Income program. This was the case, the accounting office found, even accounting for the applicants' ages, education and types of disability.

In general, the study found that blacks had a far harder time in the appeals process than in filing initial claims. And in the appeals process, the greatest racial disparities were in Chicago, where blacks had a 10 to 17 percent disadvantage, and in New York, where they had a 15 percent disadvantage, on average.

"The factors we analyzed could not explain most of the racial difference in allowance rates," the report said. "At

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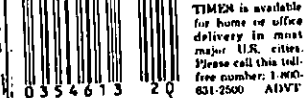
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Benefits Are Refused More Often To Disabled Blacks, Study Finds

Continued From Page A1

the administrative law judge level, the largely unexplained racial difference in allowance rates calls into question the equity of treatment between black and white appellants under the Disability Insurance and Supplemental Security Income programs."

Disparities Back to 1961

Significant disparities were found for every year as far back as 1961 for the Disability Insurance Program, which began in 1956, and for many years for the Supplemental Security Income program, which was created in 1972.

The study did find that blacks as a group were receiving more benefits than whites from the Disability Insurance and Supplemental Security Income programs. It attributes this to the fact that blacks have a higher rate of work-related disabilities, earn lower incomes and file a greater number of claims. While the study did not explain that situation, other experts have pointed out that blacks tend to have jobs that are more labor intensive.

The Social Security Administration received a draft of the report several weeks ago and responded by questioning the statistical methods used by the accounting office. But it also said that the report had prompted it to begin taking steps to reduce any racial disparity. It also said that it had begun to investigate the administrative law judges with records of the greatest disparities between their decisions on claims by blacks and whites.

"Despite our very serious concerns with the G.A.O.'s methodology, the mere suggestion of bias in our adjudicatory process must be dealt with vigorously and decisively," said Gwendolyn S. King, Commissioner of Social Security. "All Americans seeking assistance from their Government must know that the principles of fundamental fairness and equity will be afforded them regardless of race, sex, or national origin."

Disability Insurance is the nation's primary source of income for disabled workers covered by Social Security, and payments depend in part on the

amount that employees have contributed to the program. Supplemental Security Income provides Federal and state assistance to the disabled, regardless of whether they are insured, if their savings are less than \$2,000 and their monthly income is less than \$422.

Billions Each Month

The Government pays \$2 billion in Disability Insurance each month to 3.2 million workers and 1.3 million children and spouses. The average payout is \$610 a month. The Supplemental Security Income program provides \$1.6 billion each month to 3.5 million Americans. The highest payout is \$422 monthly.

Senator William S. Cohen, the Maine Republican who provided a copy of the report, said the evidence clearly sup-

Blacks lose appeals more often than whites.

ported the conclusion that race played an important part in the awarding and rejection of disabilities claims.

"There appears to be a racial bias within the the administrative process of the Social Security system," said Mr. Cohen, the ranking minority member of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, which oversees the Social Security Administration.

He said that at least 1 administrative law judge in 10 had denied claims by blacks 25 percent more often than those by whites, and that one judge in three had a 15 percent difference. In one instance, which he did not elaborate upon, he said there was a judge who had a 50 percent disparity.

Despite these problems, Mr. Cohen said it would be unwise to take any legislative steps that would diminish the independence of the examiners and administrative law judges and subject them to political pressures that could lead to reductions in aid to minorities in a more conservative climate.

STATES ARE MOVING TO RE-REGULATION ON HEALTH COSTS

PLANNING IS BACK IN FAVOR

Breaking With Federal Policy,
Legislatures Try to Rein In
Medicine's Free Market

By ROBERT PEAR

After a decade in which health costs rose rapidly and many people lost access to care, state and local health officials around the country are returning to the kind of planning denounced by the Reagan Administration as a tool of heavy-handed government regulation.

State officials are adopting new laws and regulations to slow the construction of hospitals and nursing homes and the purchase of costly medical equipment. At the same time they are convening groups of doctors, consumers, hospital executives, insurers and employers to negotiate the distribution of health-care resources.

In 1974, Congress created a national network of state and local agencies to develop plans for the number and distribution of hospital beds. Hospitals generally had to get approval from a state agency before offering new services or buying major medical equipment. In the 1980's, at the urging of the Reagan Administration, Congress and many states abandoned formal health planning as an onerous form of regulation that choked off competition in the market for health care.

\$448 Billion Rise in 10 Years

But from 1981 to 1991, medical prices rose more than twice as fast as the Consumer Price Index for all items. Total national spending on health care soared to \$738 billion last year, from \$290 billion in 1981. Insurance premiums also soared, and health insurance became unaffordable for many people.

In 1981, the Government spent more than \$150 million on health planning. President Ronald Reagan's argument for ending Federal support of the program was that it discouraged competition and protected high-cost suppliers of goods and services. Some California officials still express that view.

'A Way to Control Costs'

But in many other states, officials say the free-market model of unchecked competition failed to curb the growth of health costs and spending. The market, in fact, is not free in the traditional sense because private health insurers and the Government pay much of the cost of medical care, reducing the pressure that consumers might otherwise exert to hold down costs. The Commerce Department estimates that the United States will spend \$817 billion on health care this year, up 11 percent from last year.

"Clearly, there's a revival of interest in health planning," said James R. Kimmey, dean of the School of Public Health at St. Louis University. "It

States Try Re-Regulation of Health Care

Continued From Page A1

comes from business coalitions that see planning as a way to control costs for their members. It comes also through the efforts of state and local governments, reflecting their concern with the problems of the uninsured and the escalating cost of Medicaid."

The White House plans several events this week to underline President Bush's concern about the nation's health-care problems, including infant mortality and the failure of many youngsters to get fully immunized against childhood diseases. Administration officials say the events are part of Mr. Bush's election-year effort to show that he is taking a more active interest in domestic issues, largely left to his subordinates over the last three years.

The President wants to set Federal standards for the underwriting practices of health insurance companies, to help slow the rapid increase in premiums for people with chronic medical problems.

But the Administration has shown no interest in reviving a national network of state and local health planning agencies. And it has opposed efforts by Democratic members of Congress to control costs by setting an overall annual budget for public and private spending on health care.

States Take Action

Ted R. Mannen, executive vice president of the Health Industry Manufacturers Association, whose members produce medical equipment, said: "Unfortunately, it appears there has been an upturn in state regulation of medical technology. States are frustrated by the increase in health costs and are latching onto discredited tools of the past to deal with the problem."

Even in the South and the West, where commercial health-care ventures have been most popular, there is a resurgence of interest in health planning. Georgia and Virginia, for example, have passed legislation expanding the coverage of state laws that require a "certificate of need" for new medical services and equipment.

To be sure, medical technology can save lives and money. But health-care economists say that spending on new buildings and equipment often generates additional spending in later years, as hospitals and clinics hire employees and perform additional procedures to keep the machinery in continuous use.

In Georgia, investors must have a certificate of need from the State Health Planning Agency before they can buy or operate any medical equipment valued at \$500,000 or more. The requirement, which previously applied

to hospitals, now covers free-standing clinics and doctors' offices as well.

The Virginia General Assembly, which abolished such requirements a few years ago, did a 180-degree turn and reinstated them this year.

Adele B. Cohen, vice president of the Atlanta Health Care Alliance, which represents employers like Coca-Cola, Delta Air Lines and BellSouth, said: "We have supported the certificate-of-need law and health-planning regulations as a way to assist in the appropriate allocation of services and capital expenditures. Duplicative, unnecessary health-care services have been very costly to our members."

Colorado Governor's Proposal

In Colorado, Gov. Roy Romer, a Democrat, wants to revive health planning as part of a comprehensive plan to control costs and guarantee health in-

has imposed a one-year ban on major new spending by hospitals, clinics and nursing homes so that the state will have time to put together "a comprehensive health-care plan."

The moratorium, imposed on March 26, was challenged in a lawsuit filed last month by two Kentucky hospitals and a nursing home company.

In Missouri, Thomas R. Piper, director of the state's certificate-of-need program, said, "Health planning is coming back into vogue."

Hospitals and nursing homes in Missouri need state approval for any construction project costing \$600,000 or more. The current session of the Missouri Legislature is expected to pass a bill that would require a certificate of need for any new nursing home beds, regardless of the cost.

More Machines, Higher Costs

Virginia has just reimposed a requirement for state approval of the equipment used for services like radiation therapy, neonatal intensive care, CAT scans, magnetic resonance imaging, organ transplants and lithotripsy, which smashes kidney stones. Since 1988, when Virginia abolished state review of such services, the number of magnetic resonance imaging machines in the state has doubled, to 58, and spending for other high-technology equipment has risen rapidly.

David G. Brickley, a member of the Virginia House of Delegates who sponsored the new law, said: "Our premise in 1989 was that health care was based on supply and demand. If there were more M.R.I. and CAT scanners available, the price would go down. What happened was just the opposite. More machines are available, they're not being fully used and costs are higher than ever."

On April 27, Gov. Tommy G. Thompson of Wisconsin signed into law a measure that requires state review of hospital construction projects worth more than \$1 million and purchases of medical equipment exceeding \$500,000. The state repealed such requirements in 1987.

Under a Minnesota law, signed last week by Gov. Arne Carlson, health-care providers must report any spending of more than \$500,000 for medical equipment, services or construction. While the outlays are not usually subject to state approval, the Health Commissioner can require companies to get such approval if they refuse to cooperate with state efforts to rein in health costs.

James F. Ahrens, president of the Montana Hospital Association, expressed concern over this trend, saying: "There's a rush back to command-and-control type legislation intended to restrain health costs. It's an overreaction."

Legislatures repudiate Federal faith in a free medical market.

insurance coverage for all Coloradans.

In a speech to the Colorado General Assembly on Jan. 9, Mr. Romer said: "In 1987 we suspended the hospital certificate-of-need program. I think that was a mistake. We've seen an explosion of costly and duplicative services since then. Let's re-establish the certificate of need."

New Jersey has established an elaborate new system of health planning that includes a statewide limit of \$225 million a year in hospital spending for construction, renovations and new medical equipment.

A plan proposed this year by the New Jersey Health Department would close 15 underused hospital pediatric units and convert six underused hospitals to other purposes, like long-term care of the elderly.

The proposal would also prevent the opening of additional open-heart surgery units, cardiac catheterization laboratories and magnetic resonance imaging centers, because they are not needed. New Jersey already has 80 M.R.I. machines, which cost \$1 million to \$2 million apiece.

Health Planning in New York

Some states, like Connecticut and New York, never lost interest in health planning. The New York State Health Department approved \$2 billion in projects last year, half of them in New York City.

In Kentucky, Gov. Brereton C. Jones

Continued on Page A10, Column 4

Primaries

Ignoring Brown, Clinton Focuses on Fall

By ROBERT PEAR
Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, May 10 — Over the next three weeks, Bill Clinton can reasonably expect to win approval from Democratic voters in all the remaining Presidential primaries except possibly the one in California, where he runs as the underdog against a former Governor whose family has been involved in state politics for more than three decades.

Attes to Mr. Clinton say that in most of the remaining primaries he will ignore the former Governor of California, Edmund G. Brown Jr., and will try to give voters a clearer sense of his own personality and his positions on major issues, in preparation for a general election campaign against President Bush.

Presidential primaries will be held in Nebraska and West Virginia on Tuesday, in Oregon on May 19 and in Kentucky and Arkansas on May 26. Mr. Clinton's aides are planning a ticker-tape parade to celebrate the Arkansas Governor's homecoming just before the primary there.

Seeking "Reagan Democrats"

The primary season ends June 2, when Alabama, New Jersey, New Mexico, Montana and Ohio vote, along with California, the biggest prize of all.

Mr. Clinton's strategists say that in campaign appearances leading up to those contests, he will test themes intended to attract "Reagan Democrats," those who abandoned the party's candidates over the last 12 years because Ronald Reagan's conservative Republican agenda more closely matched their own views.

"The people of California, just like the people of Pennsylvania, want a

discussion of the important national issues," said William M. Wardlaw of Pasadena, chairman of the Clinton campaign in California. "What's important for us is to focus on national issues without being distracted by Jerry Brown. That is the strategy Bill Clinton will follow in California."

Over the weekend, Mr. Clinton began to campaign in California, like an explorer discovering a strange new world. He addressed diverse audiences, from the politically conservative suburbs of San Diego, near the Mexican border, to affluent areas of

Clinton will test general-election themes in last primaries.

Pasadena, Los Angeles and the San Fernando Valley, to San Francisco, where he visited churches and a Mexican-American festival.

Chance to 'Define Himself'

James Carville, senior strategist for the Clinton campaign, said that though the fight for the Democratic nomination had lost some of its intensity, the remaining primaries "offer us a good opportunity to have Governor Clinton get out there and define himself and talk about what he wants to do as President."

Fund-raising needs will be almost as important as strategy in determining Mr. Clinton's itinerary in the next three weeks. His campaign, which has raised

nearly \$12 million in contributions from 39,300 people since November, estimates that California alone will cost more than \$1 million.

The states holding primaries in the next three weeks include more than one-fourth of the nation's population.

Mr. Clinton already has 1,665 of the 2,145 delegates needed to clinch the nomination at the Democratic National Convention in New York City from July 13 to 16. Nearly 900 delegates are at stake in the remaining primaries.

George Devanney, executive director of the New Jersey Democratic State Committee, said the Clinton campaign was just beginning to organize a network of volunteers in that state. Asked if he had seen any political activity in support of Mr. Brown, he said, "None," and added: "Brown did have appeal at one time, but it seemed to peak during the New York primary. Once he lost the New York primary, interest in Brown waned."

Known in New Jersey

Mr. Devanney said that the Governor of New Jersey, Jim Florio, "has provided information to the Clinton people and has been helpful with fundraising and organizing," but has not formally endorsed the Arkansas Governor. Clinton aides say they assume that Mr. Clinton is known to New Jersey residents from his campaigning and advertising in New York and Pennsylvania, which held primaries last month.

Sam Barone, executive director of the Ohio Democratic Party, said that "if Brown does well in California, Clinton will have to look to Ohio and possibly New Jersey to put him over the top."

Mr. Barone said: "Clinton has been extremely well organized in Ohio since December, when there was a cluttered field of six Democratic candidates for President. Clinton has the state well wired." The manager of Mr. Clinton's national campaign, David Wilhelm, is from Athens, Ohio, and one of the deputy managers, George Stephanopoulos, is from Cleveland.

Looking to the general election on Nov. 3, Mr. Barone said: "Ohio is a classic bellwether state. It's also a quintessential swing state, very unpredictable, and cannot be taken for granted by either party. There is one issue here. It's the economy. If the economy does not significantly improve by June or July, it probably won't trickle down in time to help Republicans here in the general election."

The Ohio primary, originally scheduled for May 5, was shifted to June 2 because of delays in drawing new Congressional and state legislative districts.

In California, Mr. Clinton is not well known. "The California primary cam-



Gov. Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, at a service at Glide Memorial Methodist Church in San Francisco.

Republican Donation Put in Escrow

LOS ANGELES, May 10 (AP)

— The Republican Party has placed in escrow a \$400,000 contribution in response to reports that the donor, a California businessman, owes more than \$1 million to various former associates.

The money, from Michael Kojima, was removed from party accounts on Friday until party officials or a court decide what to do with it. The Los Angeles Times reported today. Mr. Kojima's contribution, in two \$200,000 checks, was the largest single contribution at the President's Dinner, a money-raising event on April 28 that collected \$9 million for Republican candidates.

A lawyer for the Republican Party, Jan Baran, said party offi-

cials "have referred the issue to legal counsel," adding, "It all has to be sorted out."

In addition to business debts, Mr. Kojima has two former wives, each with two children, who claim he owes them child support. One of them, Chong Kojima, said she had been trying for five years to track him down for \$700 monthly payments. The other, Soon Kojima, said she and her two sons had given up searching for Mr. Kojima until his name emerged in news reports from the Republican event.

In addition to the child support, at least two companies have court judgments against Mr. Kojima, who has not been available for comment.

paig is a critical period for Clinton to come into the state and get ready for the general election campaign," said William A. Carrick, a Democratic strategist and consultant in Los Angeles.

Mr. Wardlaw, the chairman of the Clinton campaign in California, said: "We start here with Jerry Brown having many built-in advantages, a long history in the state and a reservoir of support among Democratic Party activists, who are important in the prima-

ry. Early polls showed Brown with a substantial lead. But I believe the gap will close as we introduce Clinton to more and more people in California. We have nowhere to go but up."

Mr. Brown was Governor of California from 1975 to 1983. His father, Edmund G. Brown Sr., was Governor from 1959 to 1967. His sister, Kathleen Brown, is the State Treasurer.

Philip N. Angelides, chairman of the California Democratic Party, said, "I'd expect Jerry, at the worst, to get

35 to 40 percent of the vote" in the Democratic primary.

In Oregon, Carol H. Auger, executive director of the state's Democratic Party, predicted that Mr. Clinton would win the Presidential primary there by a comfortable margin, because he was seen as "the most viable candidate we have." But she said Mr. Brown would get "at least 15 percent of the vote." Mr. Brown campaigned in Oregon on Thursday, and Mr. Clinton plans to visit the state this week.

Despite Recession's End, Bush May Face Unusually Harsh Public Judgment

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 10 — Bush Administration officials are hoping that the President's sagging approval ratings will surge if the nation's economic recovery continues through November. Economists note that when the economy has grown in the six to nine months before an election, voters have tended to ignore earlier economic worries and focus on the recent good news.

But some political experts, including many Democrats, predict that voters will judge President Bush harshly because of the unusually weak economic growth during his Administration. And with the Northeast and California hit hardest by the recession, many of these experts say Mr. Bush and other Republican candidates will have a tough battle in those areas.

Many Republican strategists fear that economic woes could cause the President to lose California, which they consider a crucial state with its 54 electoral votes and where he won only narrowly in 1988.

"Even New England, which was the worst economic basket case, is showing signs of recovery stronger than California," said James Q. Wilson, a political scientist at the University of California, Los Angeles. "If we limit the race to President Bush against one challenger, then I think California is up for grabs."

Bush Heartened by Jobs Data

The White House was heartened on Friday when the Labor Department announced that the nation's jobless rate fell for the first time in nine months, dipping to 7.2 percent in April from 7.3 percent the previous month. Most economists say that an economic recovery began taking hold in January, and that the economy will grow at a moderate 2 percent to 3 percent this year.

"Probably by the time of the election, the economy will not be a negative," said Robert G. Dederick, a Reagan Administration economist who is now chief economist for the Northern Trust Company of Chicago. "I don't think it requires a boom. All it requires is that the economy be seen to be pointed in the right direction."

Yet many other economists say they will be shocked if voters, even after six months of recovery, give President Bush good marks in November. These economists say that more than at any time since World War II, Americans are experiencing profound uneasiness about the direction of the nation's economy: about declining competitiveness, stagnating incomes and uncertain prospects for their children.

"Even if economic indicators get better between now and Election Day, the economy will be a reason for voters

The Economy According to the Fed, by Region

A Boston Fed District
Guarded optimism that recovery is imminent, if not already under way. Retail reports are mixed, while manufacturers report sales are flat or up slightly.

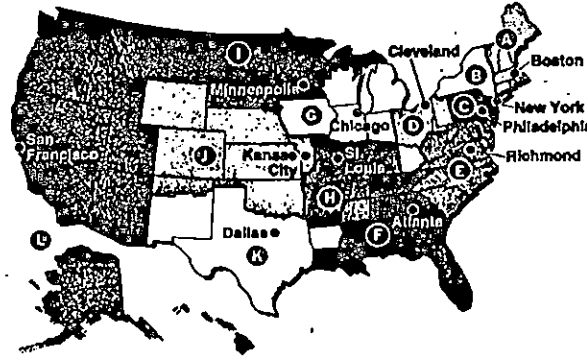
B New York Fed District
Developments are mixed, but outlook is positive. Home-builders see increased buyer interest; retail sales are mixed.

C Philadelphia Fed District
Economy appears to be steady at best, with some signs of improvement. Retail situation is weaker, but manufacturers see rise in orders.

D Cleveland Fed District
Retailers, manufacturers and builders are cautiously optimistic that recovery will be sustained.

E Richmond Fed District
Economy picked up steam. Retail sales, including big-ticket items, rose broadly. Manufacturers post strong gains, while home sales strengthen.

Source: Federal Reserve Board



F Atlanta Fed District
Businesses are more upbeat about economy. Retailers note slightly higher sales, auto dealers report modest gains, factories observe increased orders.

G Chicago Fed District
Activity is expanding. Retail sales are higher, manufacturers see continued upward movement, and commercial lending is mixed.

H St. Louis Fed District
Economy begins to recover. Several manufacturers plan expansions. Home-building spurred by low interest rates.

I Minneapolis Fed District
Modest signs of recovery continue. Unemployment dips, consumer spending shows strong

signs of improvement. Car sales rise, home sales surge.

J Kansas City Fed District
Economy appears to be growing slowly. Retail sales improve, housing starts remain strong, and auto sales inch upward. Energy sector remains depressed.

K Dallas Fed District
Activity is increasing moderately. Growth is broad-based, although energy and farm sectors are weak. Manufacturing rises modestly, home building picks up.

L San Francisco Fed District
Slowly improving conditions. Retail and auto sales are soft, and layoffs continue at military contractors. Home sales are up.

Politicians and Government officials have joined the debate over whether the rich are indeed getting richer at the expense of the poor. Business Day, page D1.

not just see, but feel."

If a plebiscite were held in California over whether President Bush should serve for four more years, 60 percent of the state would vote against him, Mr. Field said. But he said there was little enthusiasm for the two main Democratic candidates, Bill Clinton and Edmund G. Brown Jr. And he said that if there were a vote today in California and the candidates were President Bush, Governor Clinton and H. Ross Perot, Mr. Perot would win.

Larry Huggick, a vice president with the Gallup Organization, said that if the recent signs of recovery were supposed to help the President, he had not seen it. "We haven't seen any significant increase in Bush's approval rating on the economy or in general," he said. "The only thing that stands out is people in the South are a little more likely to say things are getting better."

In the battle for the South, this could help President Bush against his expected Democratic challenger, Mr. Clinton, who is Governor of Arkansas.

The South is Upbeat

In an economic survey issued Wednesday, the Federal Reserve reported that the Southern states were generally upbeat, with retailers, auto dealers and real estate agents reporting better business.

In the Midwest, manufacturers, stores and construction companies said they were optimistic, and many factories reported growing order books.

The sentiment is less buoyant in the Northeast, and many analysts say this will hurt Mr. Bush in November. New England has been hurt by overbuilding in commercial real estate, the banking crisis, layoffs in military industries and the consolidation of the computer industry.

"I think Bush will have a hard time picking up states in the Northeast because of the economy," said Cellinda Lake, a Democratic poll taker. "For instance, it's making Connecticut much more Democratic in its mood."

One Who Likes Bush's Chances

The Presidential contest in the Northeast was relatively close in 1988. In his race against Michael Dukakis, Mr. Bush won Connecticut with 52 percent of the vote and Vermont with 51 percent. He won Maine with 55 percent and New Hampshire with 63 percent. Mr. Bush lost in Massachusetts,

Rhode Island and New York, and he won New Jersey with 56 percent.

Notwithstanding voters' dismay about the economy, Ray C. Fair, a Yale University economist, said President Bush had a good chance of being re-elected. Mr. Fair predicts that judging from studies of past elections, if the economy grows at a 3 percent rate in the six months before the election, President Bush will win 57 percent of the vote in a two-candidate contest.

Although many economists expect the jobless rate to remain above 7 percent in November — up from 5.4 percent when President Bush took office — Professor Fair says the important factor for Mr. Bush's chances are the direction, not the level, of the unemployment rate.

"It's not the level of the unemployment rate that counts," he said. "It's that it's changing. It's the change in the economy, not the level."

Roger E. Brinner, chief economist for DRI/McGraw Hill, a consulting-

Many economists detect a deep and lingering public uneasiness.

firm based in Massachusetts, agreed. "Voters are so myopic that they vote only on what's happened in the last year on income growth," he said. "It seems that if times are improving they go with it."

Anti-Incumbent Mood Is Cited

Many Democrats argue that with the anti-incumbent mood and profound worries about the economy's long-term health, a swing in the economy over the next few months may not sway as many voters to the incumbent as past studies would indicate. Indeed, other major events, like the riots in Los Angeles, could divert the public's attention from an improving economy.

"Yes, the economy will rebound," said Neil Newhouse, a Republican poll taker. "But because there are other issues out there right now, it will not have as much of a positive impact on the President as we would have once hoped."

He added: "I don't think anyone can predict how the economy will play in November. We don't know who the players are, whether Perot is real or not, whether he will suffer the same fate as other third-party candidates and fade in October."

to make changes rather than a reason for voters to stand pat," said Geoffrey Garin, a poll taker for Democratic candidates. "The American people believe our economy is in deep trouble in fundamental ways. This is not just a matter of a few tenths of a percent in the unemployment rate."

Unhappiness Over the Economy

A New York Times/CBS News poll of 1,530 Americans, taken between April 20 and 23, found that many people were unhappy about the economy. In the poll, 24 percent of respondents said the economy was in very good or fairly good condition, while 40 percent said it

was fairly bad and 34 percent said it was very bad. Eighteen percent said the economy was getting better, 31 percent said it was getting worse, and 50 percent said it remained the same.

"The fact that Bush isn't an odds-on favorite is really the result of the economy," said Alan Rosenthal, director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics in New Brunswick, N.J. "The economy has made Bush liable to these charges of no domestic program and no vision. Had the economy never declined, people wouldn't really care about whether he has a vision."

The New York Times/CBS News poll found attitudes on the economy were

less favorable in the Northeast and West than elsewhere in the country. Eighty-three percent of the respondents in the West and 78 percent in the Northeast said the state of the economy was very bad or fairly bad. That compared with 73 percent in the Middle West and 68 percent in the South.

California Is in 'Bad Shape'

Mervin Field, who heads California's leading polling organization, commented: "The economy of California is in very bad shape, actually and psychologically. To turn around attitudes, the economy would have to have a striking upturn that the public would have to

The New York Times

Los Angeles Riots Are a Warning, Americans Fear

Country Must Deal With Troubles of the Cities, Many Say in Poll

By ROBIN TONER

Most Americans view the riots in Los Angeles as a "warning" about the state of race relations, and say it is time for a new emphasis on the problems of minorities and the cities, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll.

The new survey, conducted Wednesday through Friday, found the public in a shaken, worried mood, more likely to see the unrest as a symptom of festering social needs than as a simple issue of law and order. Majorities of both whites and blacks said that investing in jobs and job training programs was a better way of preventing future turmoil than strengthening the police forces.

More Money Needed

A strong majority of the respondents, 61 percent, said the nation was spending "too little" on improving the conditions of black Americans, up from 35 percent who expressed that view in 1988. And 63 percent said the Federal Government was not paying enough attention to the needs and problems of minorities, a striking increase from the 34 percent who felt that way four years ago.

President Bush, who pledged his commitment to the stricken neighborhoods of Los Angeles last week, was given poor marks by both blacks and whites for his response to the riots. Moreover, 53 percent of all whites and 76 percent of all blacks said they disapproved of the way Mr. Bush was handling race relations in general.

There was no indication that Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, the likely Democratic nominee, or Ross Perot, a likely independent candidate, was gaining much of an immediate advantage from the episode. Still, the poll suggested that the issues of race and poverty weigh heavily on the public's mind these days, and will doubtless figure in the campaign debate.

A Sign of Confusion

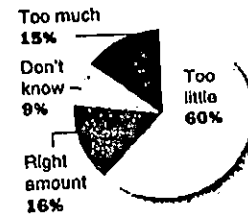
The poll, telephone interviews with 1,253 adults, reflected a nation still struggling with the causes of urban turmoil and the most effective response to it.

For example, most people did not see a lack of government money as the biggest impediment to solving "the problems of the cities"; more than half said the biggest difficulty was "a lack of knowledge and understanding about how to solve the problems," and a third said it was simply a lack of national concern.

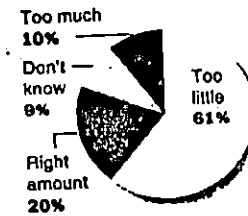
Still, 60 percent said the nation was spending "too little" on urban woes, up

Are we spending too much money, too little money or about the right amount of money on . . .

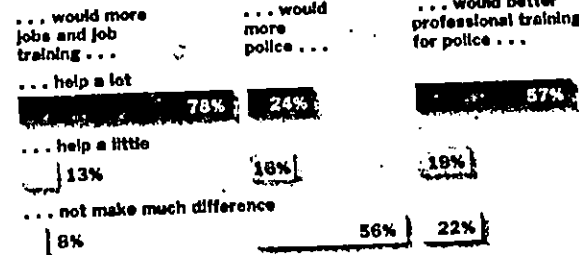
Problems of the big cities



Improving conditions of blacks



To reduce racial tension and prevent riots, . . .



Based on telephone interviews with 1,253 adults nationwide conducted May 6-8.

New York Times

Views on Race Relations

Do you think race relations are generally good or generally bad?

In the United States

May 1992

Good 25%

Bad 68%

May 1990

Good 41%

Bad 50%

In your community

Good 75%

Bad 20%

Question not asked in May 1990 poll

Will there always be racial prejudice and discrimination or is there real hope of ending them?

In the United States

Will always be discrimination 53%

Hope of ending them 40%

No discrimination now 2%

In your community

Will always be discrimination 27%

Hope of ending them 49%

No discrimination now 19%

Based on telephone interviews with 1,253 adults nationwide conducted May 6-8.

Continued From Page A1

from 46 percent in 1988, contradicting a widely held theory in politics that big cities are an unpopular cause.

The survey, which had a margin of sampling error of three percentage points, detected a clear sense of alarm over race relations. Sixty-seven percent of the whites and 75 percent of the blacks said the nation's race relations are "generally bad." Just 53 percent of the whites and 29 percent of the blacks say there has been "a lot" of progress in ending racial discrimination since the 1960's, a percentage that varied little with age.

Seventy-one percent of the whites and 75 percent of the blacks agreed with the statement that "the recent rioting is a warning to the United States that race relations must improve to prevent more trouble and violence." Only 21 percent of the whites and 19 percent of the blacks took the view that "the rioting was an isolated incident."

There were some hopeful signs. People rated race relations in their own communities far higher than they did in the nation, and they were far more optimistic about ending discrimination in their home towns than in the nation as a whole.

But in general, the survey seemed to catch Americans in a grim mood, with 53 percent of the whites and 55 percent of the blacks saying there will always be "a lot of prejudice and discrimination" in America. Similarly, more than half of both whites and blacks predict that there will still be racial riots in American cities 25 years from now.

On several issues, blacks held bleaker outlooks than whites. For example, just 23 percent of the blacks said they had more opportunities than recently arrived immigrants. Twice that many whites said they had more opportunities than new immigrants.

There was a consensus across racial lines that the verdict in the Los Angeles police brutality case was wrong: 76 percent of the whites and 95 percent of the blacks said they disagreed with the acquittal of four police officers charged in the beating of Rodney G. King. But whites were more likely to there might have been evidence that could change their minds: 41 percent of the whites felt that way, while 8 percent of the blacks did.

Blacks and whites also differed on the causes of the riots. Whites were most likely to place "a lot" of the blame with "irresponsible people just taking advantage of the situation," while blacks were more likely to say the jury's verdict was to blame.

But few people of either race were likely to place the blame where the White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, did last week: on Government

programs enacted by Democratic administrations in the 1960's.

Still, the survey was hardly an endorsement of those programs: 26 per-

cent of all respondents said the programs made things better for poor people, 20 percent said they made things worse and 44 percent said the

The New York Times | CBS NEWS Poll

The Candidates and Race Relations

Are race relations something a President can do a lot about, or are they beyond a President's control?

60% A President can do a lot or something about them

45 Beyond a President's control

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling race relations in the United States?

30 Approve

57 Disapprove

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way George Bush has responded to the situation in Los Angeles?

41 Satisfied

46 Dissatisfied

Which candidate would do the best job of handling race relations?

27 George Bush

28 Bill Clinton

17 Rosa Perot

Based on nationwide telephone interviews with 940 registered voters including 660 whites and 280 blacks, conducted May 6-8.

Special to The New York Times

How the Poll Was Conducted

The latest New York Times/CBS News Poll is based on telephone interviews conducted Wednesday to Friday with 1,253 adults around the United States, excluding Alaska and Hawaii. Of those called, 940 said they were registered to vote.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was selected by a computer from a complete list of exchanges in the country. The exchanges were chosen to assure that each region of the country was represented in proportion to its population. For each exchange, the telephone numbers were formed by random digits, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers. The numbers were then screened so that calls would be placed to residences only. Within each household one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the respondent for the poll.

To reach enough black respondents to allow for more detailed analysis of their opinions, another sample was drawn from surveys conducted during the previous four months by The Times and CBS News.

Telephone numbers of black respondents from those polls were called again, yielding 233 additional blacks, for a total of 318 in the new poll. The results were then weighted to reflect the racial composition of the adult population in the U.S.

The results have also been weighted to take account of household size and number of telephone lines into the residence, and to adjust for variations in the sample relating to region, sex, age, and education. In theory, in 19 cases out of 20 the results based on such samples will differ by no more than three percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by seeking out all American adults.

The potential sampling error for smaller subgroups is larger. For example, for blacks it is plus or minus six percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the poll.

programs enacted by Democratic administrations in the 1960's.

Still, the survey was hardly an endorsement of those programs: 26 per-

cent of all respondents said the programs made things better for poor people, 20 percent said they made things worse and 44 percent said the

programs had little impact.

Most of the respondents saw the lack of jobs as the root of the troubles. The survey asked people to react to six steps that might be taken to reduce racial tensions and future riots. Most put jobs and training programs at the top of the list, followed by better professional training for the police, increased minority participation in government, stronger laws to protect civil rights, black and Hispanic ownership of local businesses and, lastly, more police.

Similarly, when offered a choice of strengthening police forces or investing in job training, 88 percent of the whites and 90 percent of the blacks said jobs and job training was a more effective way of preventing unrest.

Mr. Bush, confronted with one of the biggest crises of his Presidency, did not overwhelm people with his performance, a reaction that is a striking contrast to his skyrocketing approval rating during the crisis in the Persian Gulf more than a year ago. Forty-three percent of the whites and 66 percent of the blacks said they were dissatisfied with Mr. Bush's response to the rioting in Los Angeles, compared to 41 percent of all whites and 26 percent of all blacks who said they were satisfied with it. For example, after the end of the ground fighting in the Persian Gulf war, 88 percent approved of the way Mr. Bush handled Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

Still, neither of his rivals seemed to be moving to fill the void. Only 26 percent of the whites and 41 percent of the blacks said they were satisfied with Mr. Clinton's response to the Los Angeles riots, but many had no opinion. Two-thirds had no opinion on Mr. Perot's response.

Whites split roughly evenly among Mr. Bush, Mr. Clinton and Mr. Perot on who could best handle race relations, best improve education and jobs in the cities, best bring the races together. Mr. Clinton was generally given the edge on these issues among blacks, but only by small majorities. It was not as great an edge as one might expect, given the historical Democratic advantage among blacks.

The survey showed the standings in the Presidential race had changed little since April, although there was some tightening. In a two-way contest, Mr. Bush still leads by six percentage points: 47 percent of the registered voters preferred Mr. Bush, 41 percent Mr. Clinton. In a three-way race, 36 percent backed Mr. Bush, 30 percent Mr. Clinton, and 25 percent Mr. Perot.

In April, that three-way race showed Mr. Bush at 38 percent, Mr. Clinton at 28 percent and Mr. Perot at 23 percent. There are continued signs of vulnerability for Mr. Bush, whose approval rating remains at 39 percent, a standing similar to President Carter's in May 1980.

However You Slice the Data The Richest Did Get Richer

By SYLVIA NASAR

When Bill Clinton wants to galvanize his audience, he thunders from the podium that the top 1 percent of families got 60 percent of the gains from economic growth during the 1980's and owns more wealth than the bottom 90 percent.

Governor Clinton, the likely Democratic Presidential nominee, had been searching for months for facts to illustrate his claim that America's



Alison Shaw

Paul R. Krugman, an M.I.T. economist whose claim that the gains of the Reagan era went mostly to the rich has provided campaign material for Gov. Bill Clinton.

middle class benefited little from 12 years of Republican rule. The explosion of riches at the top struck him as a perfect vehicle. Not only did the widening gap between the rich and the rest of Americans conflict with traditional notions of democracy, but, it also went right to the pocketbook sources of middle-class discontent.

"He was reading the paper that morning and went crazy," said Dee Myers, the campaign's press secretary, referring to a New York Times article in March that reported on the wildly disproportionate gains of the top 1 percent. "The story proved a point he had been trying to make for months, so he added the statistic to his repertoire."

"The L.A. riots underscore the problem," she added.

Response by Republicans

Mr. Clinton is one of the few Presidential candidates since Harry S. Truman to woo the middle class by bashing the rich. And the Texas billionaire Ross Perot has climbed aboard the same bandwagon by casting himself as a tax-the-millionaires populist.

The furor over the rich getting richer infuriates Republicans. And they have responded to the Times story and Mr. Clinton's claims with vitriolic salvos of their own. The Joint Economic Committee annual minority report accuses Democrats of using Joseph Stalin's approach to rewriting history. Supply-side architects of the Reagan tax cuts blasted the figures as "propaganda, not data." Even the President's notably unemotional economic adviser, Michael A. Boskin, claimed to be livid.

The White House itself took the unusual step of delivering an editorial



The New York Times

Michael A. Boskin, President Bush's economic adviser, claims that the database used by Mr. Krugman is flawed and that it exaggerates the gains of the rich.

response signed by the President's counselor for domestic policy, Clayton K. Yeutter. The piece, which ran on the Op-Ed page of The New York Times in March, stressed that everybody gained from the 1980's economic expansion.

A Slow-Boiling Issue

Ironically, when the Congressional Budget Office first released its income data — the numbers on the top 1 percent that are being hurled on the hustings — only a handful of Congressional aides and professional economists paid much attention. And even after the economist Paul R. Krugman of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology crunched the numbers

Continued on Page D5

However You Slice Data The Richest Got Richer

Continued From First Business Page

and concluded that the major share of the gains in average family income between 1977 to 1989 had gone to the richest of the rich, he had trouble getting anyone to listen.

But Mr. Krugman's arithmetic ultimately crystallized the issue in much the same way as the misery index — the sum of inflation and unemployment — confirmed what ordinary voters felt had gone wrong during the years of Jimmy Carter's Presidency. And Mr. Krugman's calculation also helped focus the fierce political debate over who won — and who lost — from economic growth in the 1980's.

One reason that the issue remained relatively invisible for so long — in spite of broad agreement among academic economists that income and wealth have grown more unequal — is that statistics on distribution are among the muddiest and murkiest in economics. There are literally dozens of ways to slice and dice the data, not to mention hundreds of different data series.

Alternate Measures

Confronted by Republican legislators after Governor Clinton started peppering his speeches with the statistic on the top 1 percent, the budget office was called upon to assess the Krugman calculation. Several weeks later, it issued a report that gave a number of alternate measures the gains by the top 1 percent. Every measure showed that the top 1 percent of families reaped an outsized share of the gains.

By one calculation 70 percent of the rise in average after-tax family income went to the top 1 percent, rather than the 60 percent figure that Mr. Krugman had initially estimated and Governor Clinton has been using. If income gains for the top 1 percent had been the same as for the average

family, the budget office economists point out, just 7 percent of the rise would have gone to the very rich.

Adjusting for the fact that families in 1989 were smaller, on average, than families in 1977, 44 percent of the gains went to the top 1 percent. Budget office economists argue that adjusting the average income gain for all families upward to reflect that each family's income was spread over fewer people is a more accurate way of portraying what happened to the well being of families in the middle. Mr. Krugman responds that the adjustment is irrelevant to the question of what happened to the fruits of economic growth.

Other Gains by the Very Rich

The Congressional Budget Office also reports other ways of looking at the gains of the very rich. The top 1 percent's share of total after tax income jumped from 7 percent to 12 percent, for example. And 25 percent of the \$830 billion rise in the aggregate income of all families — two-thirds of which reflected an increase in the number of families — went to the top 1 percent.

Most conservatives, including Mr. Boskin, are not happy with the budget office's figures even after they have been adjusted to accommodate some of their criticisms.

Arguing that the office's data base is flawed, they say that the figures exaggerate the income gains of the rich by including, for example, capital gains; understate the income of everyone else by underestimating incomes in the bottom quintiles; and lump together the Carter and Reagan years by using 1977 or 1979 as a base year.

Conservatives' Arguments

"The numbers show that the worst of inequality seems to have built up between 1977 and 1981," said Lawrence A. Kudlow, chief economist at Bear Stearns and a former budget official in the Reagan Administration.

"While there has been some increase in inequality in the last two decades, it is far less than some people allege and its causes — primarily demographic and labor market shifts — have little to do with economic policy," Mr. Boskin said.

"Krugman's 70 percent calculation is not the answer to meaningful question you'd want to ask," he added. Besides, Republicans say, measuring income shares in a mobile society is as meaningless as measuring which bubbles are at the top of the blender at a given moment in time.

"The whole concept of a static layered society is false except for the underclass," said George Gilder, author of "The Spirit of Enterprise."

Liberals, including Mr. Krugman, see things differently. They argue that capital gains do not distort the

Two Views of Changes in Family Income

How total family income was divided among categories of families in 1977 and 1989, and each group's share of the overall gain in income over the same span of years. The first set of figures is based on the actual income of families. The second set is adjusted for the shrinking size of average families during the period.

Income category	UNADJUSTED DATA			ADJUSTED FOR FAMILY SIZE		
	Share of total income	Share of the average gain in income between '77 and '89		Share of total income	Share of the average gain in income between '77 and '89	
	1977	1989		1977	1989	
Highest 20 percent:			70 %	8 %	13 %	44 %
Top 1 percent	7 %	12 %	25	12	13	19
Next 4 percent	11	12	10	10	10	8
Next 5 percent	10	10	11	16	15	11
Next 10 percent	16	16	8	22	21	15
Second-highest 20 percent	23	22	2	15	15	11
Middle 20 percent	16	15	- 7	11	10	3
Second-lowest 20 percent	12	10	- 11	6	4	- 7
Lowest 20 percent	6	4	- 8			- 4

No income or negative income

*Amount of income gained by families in each category as a percentage of the average gain in income for all families. Negative figures mean that income of families in that category declined an amount equivalent to that percentage of the net gain. All the positive and negative figures total 100 percent of the net gain.

Source: Congressional Budget Office

overall income data nearly as much as conservatives have claimed, largely because the fastest-growing component of the income at the very top was salaries.

They also respond that measuring the growth of inequality from 1982, the bottom of the worst postwar recession, as Republicans wish to do, swamps any trend in the data. Even so, they point out, the rich even got richer during the expansionary portion of the business cycle — a time when the poor generally increase their share of total income.

And they maintain that mobility was just as great in 1977 as in 1989, so the fact that people can move up and down the economic ladder does nothing to offset the trend toward greater inequality.

Republicans Foresaw a Problem

And, while no single calculation represents the truth and every data set has drawbacks, Mr. Krugman and others said, a large number of different measures using different data sources show that the very rich have done far better than everyone else.

"Take wages. There is complete unanimity on the facts," said Lawrence H. Katz, an economist at Harvard University.

"The farther up you were the more you gained, the farther down you were, the more you lost," said Finis Welch, an economist at the Rand Corporation and U.C.L.A.

By one calculation, 70% of the rise in family income went to the top 1%.

The fact is that even before Mr. Krugman rolled his grenade under the tent, the Republicans had recognized inequality as a potential political bombshell and had attempted to diffuse it. Two out of nine chapters in this year's Economic Report of the President, for example, tackled the touchy topic.

Though the report acknowledges that the well-off gained more than anyone else, that poverty was higher in 1989 than in 1979 and that the income prospects of families headed by younger and less educated workers were dismal, its main emphasis is on overall growth, rather than on how much more some benefited than others.

"It's much more important for economic policy to promote growth in family incomes than to redistribute it," Mr. Boskin said.

But some conservatives are fuming because of what they see as the White House's wimpishness on this

issue. "The White House is terribly suited to take this issue on," said Republican aide who spoke on condition that he not be named. "Who's going to fight the fight on fairness? Nicholas Brady? Rob Mossbacher? George Bush? Quayle? There's no one there who comes from the middle class."

Change in Image of the Richest

And some Republicans are up by the notion that some folks at top got there not by hard work, entrepreneurship or even luck, but by pithiness, often at the expense of middle-class consumers or taxpayers.

"Voters are less happy with people at the top," said Kevin Phillips, the political commentator and author of "The Politics of R and Poor." "By the end of the 1980s Horatio Alger got replaced by Charles Keating, Michael Milken and Leona Helmsley."

"People are concerned whether their kids can do better than they did," said Edward Gillespie, the publicist staff director of the Joint Economic Committee. "When economy is stagnating and middle class workers are losing jobs, it's easier to stoke the class war."

"If everybody had done better even if Donald Trump had got three times wealthier — we would be worrying about inequality," said Richard B. Freeman, an economist at Harvard University.



THE PRESIDENT

May 11, 1992

Dear Jerry,

Just a quick note to let you know I read with great interest your speech to the Women's National Republican Club. Congratulations, too, on the public service award. Well deserved.

Hastily, but with best wishes,

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Jeremiah Milbank
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York 10165-1644

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C

Mr. William F. Carroll
Carroll & Donaldson
101 North Main Street
Crown Point, Indiana 46307-4083



THE PRESIDENT

May 11, 1992

Dear Mr. Carroll,

Bob Blake shared your wonderful letter with me. In these tough times, your kind of understanding and support mean a lot to me.

Thanks to a fellow WWII good guy, and best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "G. Bush".

cc: Robert W. Blake

PRESCOTT SHELDON BUSH, JR.

110 EAST 42ND STREET, SUITE 1300

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

Letter

5/11

File 5/11

FAX: 212-599-2235

May 6

TEL: 212-599-1409

Dear George,

The enclosed letter from Takez Galt was written at my request so that I could pass his views on to you for submission to those working on your Hospital and Medical insurance plan. I also sent it to Manger to factor into the paper he is having prepared for a meeting with your people.

T.V. handling of the L.A. riots is disgraceful. Still running the same pictures over and over again one week later. The only people benefiting from their coverage are the gangs who started it all and are basking in the glory of their destructive power. God help them!

Hang tough. You're doing OK.

Love,
Chris

5/11

Phil Brady

Please have Roger or Gail write a reply to Dr Galt saying "The prez asked me to reply to the letter your wrote hisd brother etc etc"

Send ASB Tr.
a copy

5/20 Ede Holiday will have HHS draft reply for her signature. Shell cc wa

6/15 Roger Porter will reply. They'll cc: GB, F42.

7/2 still w/ Roger Porter's qc

7-10 Roger Porter still has.

8/6 Beth to check w/ Porter

8/11 Received Porter Hrs.
DONE

JABEZ GALT, M.D.
FELLOW AMERICAN COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS
DIPLOMATE AMERICAN BOARD OF INTERNAL MEDICINE
3434 SWISS AVENUE, SUITE 304
DALLAS, TEXAS 75204
(214) 827-5031

May 4, 1992

Mr. Prescott Sheldon Bush, Jr.
110 East 42nd Street
Suite 1300
New York, New York 10017

Dear Pres and Betty ~~Sue~~: Lou:

Your most welcome letter was here upon by return from an arduous stay at the pecan orchard.

I note that Dr. Manger's letterhead features that he too is proud of being a Fellow of the American College of Physicians. Also like Dr. Manger I speak only for myself in spite of my contributing to the position taken by the College. In recent years I chose not to longer belong to "organized medicine".

My thesis is that enough money is currently being spent on health care to look after everyone if the insurance premium dollar or tax dollar was truly spent on medical care. I quickly caution that on their page two clarification is critically needed for to the incidental reader "Managed Health Care" and HMO's are the same. Whereas HMO's do manage health care the term describes an expensive and ineffective and demeaning business to which the medical insurance companies farm out the physician-patient-hospital supervision. There is so much money taken by these entrepreneurs that an investor can buy shares in the their companies and so far they have fared well by doing so. If you need more information on this, Dr. Manger can fill you in or if you prefer I can brief you on this costly atrocity.

Most plans currently proposed are mainly concerned about how to get the money and how to disburse it and pay no heed to two obstacles that must be eliminated or least extensively modified. The first of these is the trait that individuals or organizations that were conceived and engaging in service functions become power centers and in so doing divert money from health care and their existence and expansion is a goal in itself. My vintage lets me recall then Blue Cross consisted of being the bookkeeper for Dallas school teachers who individually put a very few dollars per year into a fund and hence were truly protected from financial wipe-outs by illness. I remember when hospitals

Mr. Prescott Sheldon Bush, Jr.
May 4, 1992
Page Two

were limited to providing excellent facilities and personnel where doctors, nurses and assorted technicians could care for patients. There is now evidence that institutional chauvinism is rampant; it seems to me that the hospitals are very big business, patients are customers, and fiats directed at doctors are so frequent and nonproductive that we could be regarded as employees.

One of the biggest of this costly harassment without significant yield is caused by the Joint Commission of the Accreditation of Hospitals. It began as a badly needed service organization to upgrade hospital care. Having done that it has expanded its name and now insists that it is the total monitor and guardian of health care in or out of the hospital.

It seems to be that every regulation or law whose intent is to bring reason to the conduct of hospitals and doctors creates a burgeoning speciality in how to circumvent it. Note the activities to specialization by hospitals, and doctors that are now subject to DRG or other financial limits.

The second obstacle to any program is that we must have relief from the incessant fear of malpractice suits wiping us out and this forces us to have added expense in "documenting" the correctness of what we do for a patient. I have avoided giving vignettes that would confiscate your time but here one will succinctly give the picture: In doing my required ^{SUNT} step in the hospital emergency room adjacent to my patient was one who reported a blow to the head; another had fallen on a swimming pool walkway. Neither of them seemed to be significantly impaired and yet the neurosurgeon who, like I was also on call, ordered a MRI (plus or minus \$1,400.00) and the orthopedist for the other ordered a CAT Scan (plus or minus \$1,000.00). Patients initiate similar demands in my office.

I differ with the current position of the College and of Dr. Manger's group in that I think it destructive of our shared goal to have health insurance tied to employment in any way.

Truly most students upon graduation are in debt but I am not totally sympathetic to their plight for they seem to want the rewards of life before they have necessarily earned them. Your brother and Barbara did not have that attitude while they were scrounging around in West Texas or while he was making Zapata go. In summary I tell you that I am in accord with Dr. Manger's group's goal and differ in only some technicalities. I repeat that if all

Mr. Prescott Sheldon Bush, Jr.
May 4, 1992
Page Three

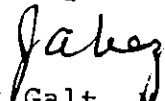
the money now spent on "health care" was actually spent on health care no more money would be needed.

I abstract and abbreviate from something Thomas Jefferson wrote in his Notes on Virginia in which he says that our Creator looks with favor on those who labor in the earth.

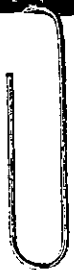
The jonquils are allowed to persist in bloomless disarray because of the good that they have done and will do again; the irises are radiant; the hedgerows of wild roses and honeysuckle perfume the air; the sweetpeas are high on their trellis; and the rosebed is all-giving. The pecans are about three weeks behind schedule due to the climatic effect and the ocean current off of Peru.

With fond regards to you two.

Sincerely,


Jabez Galt, M.D.

JG/jc



Rose,

This speech is already
attached to a notecard
to Milbank in for
signature.

Jan

A Vision for America

Remarks by Jeremiah Milbank, Jr.

Women's National Republican Club
Annual Awards Dinner

April 9, 1992

GWB
Excellent!
On Speech, Contains
much of your philos.
and what you've been
saying all along

Thank you, Alicia Woodeson, for your kind introduction. I must be honest and say that I am usually uncomfortable about awards, especially if I am receiving, rather than giving one. But Posy and I are delighted to be with you tonight because of our great respect for the Women's National Republican Club and our personal admiration for the other honorees.

If you are judged by the company you keep, this is surely my finest hour. No one has helped to convey the values we share more than Peggy Noonan. And her unique talents will be even more important as Republicans strive to get their message across to the American people. I am pleased to be here with Secretary Dick Cheney, whom I first met when he was Chief of Staff in the White House and whom I have long admired for his integrity and leadership, through the Mid-East crisis and right up to the present time. Finally, I am honored to share this evening with Lynne Cheney, whom I consider the nation's leading spokesperson for academic freedom and cultural values which unite, rather than divide us.

As a lifelong Republican who has worked nearly full time for 6 of the last 8 presidential campaigns, I know how important evenings like this are -- and since you have given me this great honor, I want to spend a few minutes outlining a domestic agenda for America which puts Republicans back where they belong -- the party of vision, the party of values, and the party of opportunity.

I will focus my brief remarks on domestic issues because they are where Republicans are most misunderstood and misrepresented. Also, I believe they hold the key for us to become America's majority party once and for all. Although it has been passed over by many in Washington, the "New Paradigm" of James Pinkerton, Deputy White House Assistant for Policy Planning, provides an excellent framework for our future activities. It consists of five principles: market-orientation; choice; empowerment of the poor; decentralization; and an emphasis on what works. Let me stress that last point -- government programs must be judged on measurable outcomes, not on intent or emotions.

The astonishing thing is that while some in our own party denigrate such principles, many Democrats and even some Democrat governors are beginning to sound suspiciously like Republicans. In their new book, Reinventing Government, David Osborne and Ted Gaebler recommend that public agencies empower communities rather than simply deliver services; encourage competition rather than monopoly; meet the needs of the consumers, not the bureaucracy; concentrate on earning, not spending; decentralize authority; and invest in prevention, rather than continued dependency. Doesn't this sound like a Republican Party Platform? What a tragedy it would be if we abandoned our own principles just as others discover how well they work!

I want to stress especially the last point -- we must be the party of prevention. Instead of trapping people in a seamless web of dependency, we need to offer the right kind of assistance at the right time to help people help themselves. Most of you know that the best way to keep people out of troubled waters is to strengthen families and help them foster personal character and positive values. We have spent hundreds of billions of dollars to alleviate the results of family breakdown, including alcohol and drug abuse, teenage pregnancy, youth gangs and violence, homelessness, and illiteracy. Instead of waiting until such problems overwhelm society, we should put more emphasis on the family, our most powerful social institution, to prevent the problems from happening in the first place.

For many years now, our society has had a love affair with rights and entitlements without a word for the need to develop along with these a real sense of personal responsibility. We must overcome the incessant whining about perpetual victimization which pervades our public discourse. Too often government programs fail to help people enter mainstream society because they do not obligate benefit recipients to behave responsibly, such as by working, finishing school, obeying the law, and caring for one's own family.

Louis Sullivan, Secretary of Health and Human Services, has been a leading spokesman for a "culture of character." He describes character as "personal values and qualities such as self-discipline, integrity, taking responsibility for one's acts, respect for others, perseverance, moderation, and a commitment to serve others and the broader community." Dr. Sullivan quotes his beloved mentor, the late Dr. Benjamin Elijah Mays, former president of Morehouse College, who said, "It is not your environment, it is you -- the quality of your mind, the integrity of your soul, the determination of your will -- that will decide your future and shape your life."

People like Lynne Cheney remind us that we must stand for positive cultural and spiritual values as well as a strong economy. Those who control our culture teach our children. One need not be

a student of popular culture in America today to know how damaging it has been to our young people and their future. Although values and personal responsibility must be mainly nurtured by parents in the home, they can be reinforced at every turn by neighbors, churches, schools, colleagues at work, the media, and, I might add, the Republican Party!

America is blessed with a vast reservoir of ingenuity, altruism, and untapped human potential which can resolve our serious social problems. There are now over a thousand community coalitions across the country fighting drug and alcohol abuse. The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation has earmarked 26 million dollars toward community-wide projects in this regard and the challenge of that money has stimulated the leadership of many communities to organize in the fight against drugs and alcohol besides just those which won Johnson Foundation awards. The Boys & Girls Clubs of America, which serve close to a million-and-3/4 youngsters from disadvantaged backgrounds, have established over 170 satellite clubs in public housing projects across the nation. These and nearly 1200 other clubs are revitalizing devastated neighborhoods and providing positive alternatives to crime, drugs, teenage pregnancy, and despair.

We must design social programs that reward success rather than maintain dependency! The most successful programs will be those that evaluate performance, utilize market forces, create choice for individuals and families, and empower people by encouraging them to make their own decisions. Tenant management and tenant ownership of public housing is a good example of this, and so too is giving parents greater choice over their children's schools and encouraging continued parental involvement in those schools.

Everyone is talking about health care today -- well, I can assure you, a centralized, government-controlled system is not the answer. The only way to cure our ailing health care system and to control rising cost is to promote quality services through consumer choice and competition among providers. No one has developed this concept better than our friends at the Heritage Foundation in their "Consumer Choice Health Plan."

I believe that uncontrolled government growth and lack of accountability at all levels -- Federal, state, and local -- are the primary reason why people are so disillusioned with politicians and have become disconnected from the political process in this country. Government can work, but it must be downsized and virtually recreated along the principles I mentioned earlier. One promising development for new ideas and strategies are the dozens of state-based policy research centers which have been established across the country and which are already giving necessary factual information to state governors, legislators, and opinion leaders.

As we end a troublesome recession, it is easy to forget that more people throughout the world are suddenly experiencing freedom than at any time in this century. The startling collapse of Communist ideals has created an unparalleled opportunity for representative democracy, market-based incentives, and individual liberty. I agree with former President Nixon and others that we must "seize the moment" to promote freedom and democracy abroad and prevent the revival of the various "isms" that have brought disaster to so many peoples of the world. Our pluralistic society and free institutions offer hope to oppressed peoples everywhere.

Paradoxically, many in our own country have declared Western civilization and its continued emphasis in our schools and colleges irrelevant, unnecessary, and oppressive. Thus, although we have won the "cold war," the Republican Party's focus on family, individual opportunity, private initiative, and market incentives is more important now than ever. We are truly one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. With your vigilance and President Bush's strong leadership, we can revitalize the values of our common heritage and ensure that America remains a beacon of hope in a troubled world.

Thank you all again -- very, very much!



Research Recommendations

Issued weekly since 1937 by the National Institute of Business Management, Inc., 1328 Broadway, N.Y. NY 10001

SECTION ONE OF TWO SECTIONS/MAY 4, 1992/VOLUME 43, NUMBER 18

How to motivate employees

Dear Subscriber:

Good news: It's time to rev up your engine. The green light of growth is flashing again, and with more brilliance than we anticipated when we wrote to you Apr. 20. Then, you'll recall, we restated our belief that the economy would improve markedly in 1992's second half but remain vulnerable to shocks.

We're less concerned about the "shocks" now because signs of improvement are increasing almost daily, and while they shouldn't be regarded as portents of a boom, they do indicate that faster economic growth is already underway.

Housing starts are strong, fueled by the lowest interest rates in years.

Skimpy business inventories will force sharp near-term production gains.

The unemployment situation is definitely improving; hiring's picking up.

Durable goods orders surged 1.6% in March, with gains across the board.

Exports continue to hit new highs, despite slowing economies overseas.

To round out this upbeat picture, the Federal Reserve's huge reductions in short-term interest rates since '89 have yet to make themselves fully felt. As they do, they'll add even more zip to our breakout from a growth recession. There is another reason we feel more confident: history. Note the record:

Most post-recession forecasts have UNDERstated the vigor of recoveries.

That happened at the end of 1970, again in '75-'76, and also in the aftermath of the '81-'82 slump. In January 1983, two months after that downturn ended, the consensus call was that the nation's economy would grow just 2.5% in '83.

But, in point of fact, the Gross Domestic Product grew 3.9% that year.

Today's consensus is that the year-over-year increase in "real" GDP for 1992, that is, GDP adjusted for inflation, will be a meager 2%, compared to average growth of 5.5% in the first recovery year after every other slump since 1960.

Our view? History will repeat. 1992's growth rate will be more than 2%, and by late summer, strong enough to lift both consumer spirits and spending to a degree exceeding most forecasts. Next question: What should YOU do now?

Answer: Make sure your company is poised to gain from a faster pick-up.

Unless you're in a structurally hard-hit industry or area, the coming months will bring steadily rising demand for goods & services. Some recommendations:

...Review inventory levels and their relationship to sales; stocks that were ample in January could be woefully inadequate by July if demand surges. It might pay to order more from suppliers now, avoid getting on waiting lists.

...If you plan to hire, do it pronto, before best people are snapped up.

...Move from caution to aggressiveness in promotion & sales strategies.

Look closely at your ad budget, too. You might be scrimping too much, failing to maintain a high profile. Finally, if you need a loan, apply soon, because borrowed money will cost more as accelerating growth pushes interest rates up.

George
Good News!
Things will shape up well for you yet.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 31, 1992

Dear Dr. Galt:

The President read with interest your letter to his brother and asked me to thank you for sharing your ideas with us. You make a clear statement about many of the forces that are shaping our health care system.

The fact that you recall when Blue Cross was in its infancy speaks of a career that has spanned a transformation in health care. As you note, the rise of Blue Cross and other prepaid plans tied to employment has led to significant changes in the relationship of physicians to the institutions around them. Today more than 180 million Americans have some form of employer-provided health benefits.

Prepaid plans, like Blue Cross, that combine prepayment of predictable costs with insurance against catastrophic costs, have done little to restrain the tremendous increase in health care costs. Indeed, prepaid plans, by insulating consumers from costs, have helped increase dramatically the costs of such plans.

The increased cost of prepaid plans has created demand for alternatives like HMOs and other forms of coordinated or managed care. The last decade has witnessed much consumer interest in coordinated care.

The President has offered a plan for comprehensive health care reform. I am pleased to enclose a copy of the paper that presents his plan in detail. The President's plan emphasizes consumer choice. For low-income individuals without health insurance, the President's plan provides a transferrable tax credit that would allow the medically indigent to choose the insurance plan of their choice. We leave to the individuals the choice among catastrophic insurance coverage, prepaid plans or more structured arrangements like HMOs.

The President's plan respects consumer choice. In a market economy like ours, the choices consumers make about the relationships they have with physicians and insurers will be the most significant force in shaping the future of our health care system.

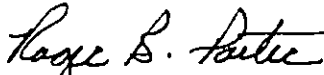
Your anecdote about the pernicious effects of our tort system on the practice of medicine is telling. While malpractice cases are costly, it is apparent that even greater resources go

to the delivery of services motivated by the desire to avoid lawsuits. We do not need and cannot afford such defensive medicine.

The President has transmitted malpractice reform legislation to the Congress, and we are hopeful that malpractice will be part of any comprehensive health reform legislation.

America's health care system offers the best care in the world because of physicians like you. Thank you again for sharing your ideas and perspective on-the changes in our health care system with us.

Warmest regards,



Roger B. Porter
Assistant to the President
for Economic and Domestic Policy

Jabez Galt, M.D.
3434 Swiss Avenue
Dallas, Texas 75204

cc: Prescott S. Bush, Jr.



BF

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

Monday, May 11, 1992

8:00 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Secretary Cheney</u>	Oval Office
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
9:15 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
9:45 am (30 min)	<u>Domestic Briefing</u> (Yeutter)	Oval Office
	(TAB A)	
10:15 am (45 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
11:00 am (5 min)	<u>Photo with Trauma Society</u> <u>Poster Child</u> (Rollins)	Oval Office
	(TAB B)	<i>Wiles</i>
11:10 am (15 min)	<u>Infant Health Event</u> (Holiday)	Rose Garden
	(TAB C)	<i>open</i>
11:30 am (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
12:00 pm (75 min)	<u>Lunch</u>	Oval Office
1:15 pm (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
1:30 pm (30 min)	B <u>Meeting with Terri Lacey</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
2:00 pm (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
2:30 pm (15 min)	<u>Meeting with Roland Dumas,</u> <u>Foreign Minister of France</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
	(Distributed Separately)	<i>open</i>

UNP 05/08/92
5:00 pm

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redaction. (1 pp.)	05/11/92	(b)(7)(c)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

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Date Closed:	8/29/2024	OA/ID Number:	90678-004
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.



2:50 pm	The President departs for <u>Philadelphia</u>	South Lawn (TAB D -- Trip Schedule)
TBD	<u>Arrives Philadelphia</u> (Holiday)	Philadelphia
TBD	Meeting with Weed and Seed <u>Project Community Leaders</u> (Holiday)	Philadelphia (TAB E)
TBD	Briefing with Violent Traffickers Project Members <u>in Spring Garden Neighborhood</u> (Holiday)	 (TAB F)
6:10 pm	Bush/Quayle '92 Fundraising Dinner at Hotel Atop the <u>Bellevue</u> (Kaufman)	 (TAB G)
8:25 pm	Departs Philadelphia for <u>Washington</u>	
9:25 pm	<u>Arrives White House</u>	South Lawn

SUPPLEMENTARY BRIEFING MATERIALS

TAB H -- Briefing on Local Issues, Pennsylvania (Rollins)

TAB I -- Pennsylvania Political Briefing (Kaufman)

7:04 POTUS In	11:11 POTUS, Sec. Sullivan Announced Out to the Rose Garden.
8:10 Sec. Cheney, Scowcroft, Skinner In	11:26 Sec. Sullivan, Fitzwater, Holiday In
8:35 Cheney Out	11:27 Holiday, Sullivan Out
8:36 Skinner Out (b)(7)(c), Howe In	11:41 Fitzwater Out
8:50 (b)(7)(c) Out	12:05 Sec. Baker, Scowcroft, Eagleburger In
8:52 VPOTUS In	1:02 All out for walk on South Grounds
9:10 Scowcroft, Howe Out	1:11 All back In
9:13 Skinner In	1:14 All out but POTUS
9:15 Henson Moore In	1:15 D. Rhodes, Terri Lacey
9:45 Skinner Out Sec. Brady In	1:30 Chris Vein, Patty Presock In
Yenther, Porter, Gail Wilensky In	1:37 " Out
9:46 Darnan, Scully In, VPOTUS Out	1:47 D. Rhodes Out
10:25 All Out	
11:01 Sec. Card, Billy Crowley, William Crowley, Patricia Crowley, Mr. & Mrs. Fleider, Patricia Mayer, Dr. Robert Walker In	
11:09 All Out	
11:10 Sec. Sullivan, Ede Holiday In	1:55 Skinner In
	1:57 Skinner, Lacey, Presock, Out

2:10 Adm. Howe In
2:21 Adm. Howe Out
2:22 Moore, Darman, Calio In
2:28 Sec. Baker In/Then Out
2:32 Darman, Calio, Moore Out
2:33 Baker, Scowcroft In
2:34 FM Roland Dumas, Jacques Andreani, Philippe Delmas
Alain Dejarmet, Adm. Curley, Thomas Niles,
Tony Wayne In
All Out

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

May 11, 1992

Dear Jesse:

What a great win on Tuesday! Your hard work was evident in the final results, and we are proud of your efforts. It was a victory not only for the Bush-Quayle campaign, but for Republicans throughout North Carolina.

Please know that I am grateful for all you do, and for your continued strong support and friendship. We still have a big job ahead of us, but I am confident that we will prevail in November.

Again, many thanks and warm regards.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Jesse Helms
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

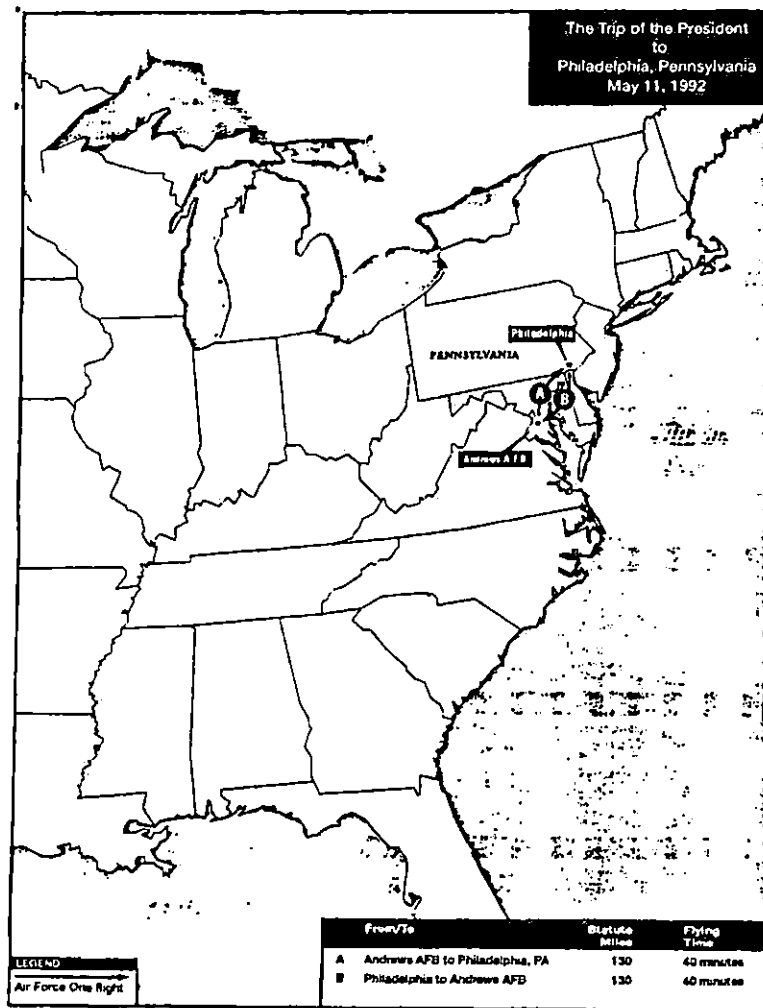
Outgoing letter given to OPA for transfer to B/Q for dispatch



**THE TRIP OF
THE PRESIDENT
TO
PHILADELPHIA,
PENNSYLVANIA**

May 11, 1992

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION



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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
MAY 11, 1992

EVENTS:

Briefing with Violent Traffickers Project Members
Spring Garden Neighborhood Greeting
Meeting with Weed and Seed Project Community Leaders
Major Donor Photo
Address Bush/Quayle '92 Fundraising Dinner

DRESS:

Men - Business Suit
Women - Day Dress

CONTACTS:

Office of Presidential Advance
Ed Murnane - 202/456-7565

Trip Coordinator
Kris Goodwin - 202/456-7565

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Signal
- 215/731-4700
- 96-35-000

ADVANCE:

Lyn D. Kennelly	- LEAD	Anne Dickerson	- SITE
Topper Ray	- PRESS	P.J. O'Hall	- SITE
____(C)(X)(C)____	- USSS	Randy Snow	- SITE
Jake Rose	- MIL. AIDE	Adrienne Cisneros	- SITE
Randy Horn	- WHCA	Maryot McGuinness	- PRESS SITE
John Kirk	- AFI		

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]

P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]

P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]

(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
MAY 11, 1992

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

- 2:00 pm Vans depart West Basement
en route Andrews Air Force
Base.
- 2:20 pm Guests and Staff with own
transportation should
arrive Andrews Air Force Base,
Distinguished Visitors Lounge,
at this time for check-in.

2:45 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Marine One and departs
White House en route Andrews Air Force Base.

MARINE ONE MANIFEST:

(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(f)

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

2:55 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Andrews Air Force Base
and proceeds to board Air Force One.

3:05 pm
(E.D.T.)

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

(Flying Time: 40 Minutes)
(Time Change: None)
(Interchange: No)
(Food Service: Snacks and Beverages)

3:45 pm
(E.D.T.)

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

Met by:

The Honorable Ernie Preate
Attorney General of Pennsylvania

The Honorable Arlen Specter
U.S. Senator, Pennsylvania

The Honorable Don Ritter
U.S. Representative, Pennsylvania

Mr. Charles Kopp
Bush/Quayle '92 State Finance Chairman

Mr. Francis J. "Reds" Bagnell
President, Resource America

Mr. David Girard-diCarlo
Bush/Quayle '92 Philadelphia Finance Committee

Mr. Herb Barnes
Pennsylvania Republican National Committeeman

Mr. Donald Jamieson
Chairman, Philadelphia Republican Party

Mr. Frank Rizzo, Jr.
Son of the late Mayor Frank L. Rizzo

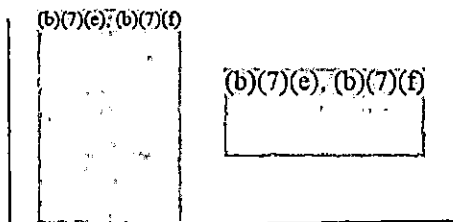
Page Two

3:55 pm

THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs
Philadelphia International Airport en route
9th District Police Mini-Station.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:	
(b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(D)	(b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(D)
	(b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(D)
(b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(D)	(b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(D)
(b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(D)	(b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(D)
(b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(D)	(b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(D)

Page Three



(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Police Station, Guests and Staff will be escorted to Viewing Area.

Please board Motorcade no later than 4:40 pm for transport to St. Boniface Church.

4:15 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives 9th District Police Mini-Station and proceeds inside.

Met by:

The Honorable Ed Rendell
Mayor of Philadelphia

The Honorable Michael Baylson
U.S. Attorney, Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Mr. Willie Williams
Philadelphia Police Commissioner

Page Four

EVENT: BRIEFING WITH VIOLENT TRAFFICKERS PROJECT MEMBERS

POOL COVERAGE (AT BEGINNING ONLY)

4:20 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mr. Baylson and Mr. Williams, arrives Mini-Station and begins participation in Briefing with Violent Traffickers Project Members.

NOTE: THE PRESIDENT will remain Standing and view a four-minute video of the neighborhood under siege by drug dealers in 1989 at this time.

4:30 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Briefing, and, accompanied Mr. Baylson and Mr. Williams, departs 9th District Police Mini-Station and proceeds to 17th Street Community Mural (via Foot).

EVENT: SPRING GARDEN NEIGHBORHOOD GREETING

EXPANDED POOL COVERAGE

4:32 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mr. Baylson and Mr. Williams, arrives 17th Street Community Mural and begins participation in Greeting Spring Garden Neighborhood Residents.

4:40 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Greeting, departs 17th Street Community Mural, and, accompanied by Mr. Williams, proceeds to Motorcade.

Page Five

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

4:45 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs
9th District Police Mini-Station en route
St. Boniface Church.

NOTE: THE PRESIDENT will proceed on
a brief Driving Tour through the
neighborhood en route St. Boniface
Church.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival, except;

Add Mayor Limc Mayor Rendell
(behind Camera I)

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

5:05 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives St. Boniface Church and
proceeds to Holding Room.

Met by:

Father Thomas O'Connor
Pastor, St. Boniface Church

Father Sean McGillicuddy
St. Boniface Church

5:10 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds
briefly.

5:13 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mr. Michael
Bayison and Mr. Willie Williams, departs Holding
Room and proceeds to Alphonsus Hall Gymnasium.

Page Six

EVENT: MEETING WITH WEED AND SEED PROJECT COMMUNITY LEADERS

EXPANDED POOL COVERAGE

5:15 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mr. Sayson and Mr. Williams, arrives Alphonsus Hall Gymnasium, proceeds to Seat, and begins participation in Community Leaders' Meeting.

5:40 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Community Leaders' Meeting, departs Alphonsus Hall Gymnasium, and proceeds to Holding Room.

5:42 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds briefly.

5:45 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Motorcade.

5:50 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs St. Boniface Church en route Hotel Atop the Bellevue.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival, except:

(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)

(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

Page Seven

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Bellevue Hotel, Guests and Staff will be escorted to assigned Dinner Tables or to Holding Rooms.

Please board Motorcade no later than 7:50 pm for transport to Philadelphia International Airport.

6:05 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Hotel Atop the Bellevue and proceeds to Red Clover Room.

Met by:

Mr. Chris Van Der Baars
General Manager, Hotel Atop the Bellevue

Mr. Ruadi Bertschinger
Hotel Manager, Hotel Atop the Bellevue

EVENT: MAJOR DONOR PHOTO

CLOSED PRESS

6:10 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Red Clover Room and begins participation in Major Donor Photo.

6:35 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Major Donor Photo, departs Red Clover Room, and proceeds to Grand Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area.

NOTE: Upon conclusion of Major Donor Photo,
Six Police Photos will be taken.

Page Eight

6:40 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly.

NOTE: Remaining Dais Participants will be on Stage at this time.

EVENT: ADDRESS BUSH/QUAYLE '92 FUNDRAISING DINNER

OPEN PRESS

RUFFLES AND FLOURISHES

OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

HAIL TO THE CHIEF

DINNER

REMARKS

TELEPROMPTER

6:42 pm THE PRESIDENT is announced onto Stage and proceeds to Seat.

6:44 pm Mr. David F. Girard-diCarlo, Dinner Co-Chairman, asks the guests to remain standing for National Anthem and Invocation.

6:45 pm Mr. Malcolm Evans, Singer, performs National Anthem.

6:48 pm Rev. Daniel G. Gambet, President, Allentown College, gives Invocation.

6:50 pm Dinner is served.

7:30 pm Mr. Charles Kopp, Bush/Quayle '92 State Finance Chairman, introduces Mr. Peter Terpeluk, Jr., Dinner Co-Chairman.

Page Nine

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

Page Ten

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

8:20 pm

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:	
Same as on Arrival, except:	
(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(d)	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(d)
(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(d)	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(d)

THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Hotel along the Beltway en route Philadelphia International Airport.

8:00 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Motorcade.

7:55 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds briefly.

7:52 pm

THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks, departs Stage, and proceeds to Holding Room.

7:50 pm

THE PRESIDENT Remarks.

7:35 pm

THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by Mr. Peter Terpstra, Jr.

7:32 pm

8:25 pm
(E.D.T.)

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

(Flying Time: 40 Minutes)
(Time Change: None)
(Interchange: No)
(Food Service: Sandwiches Available)

9:05 pm
(E.D.T.)

THE PRESIDENT arrives Andrews Air Force Base and
proceeds to board Marine One.

9:15 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews Air Force Base on
route White House.

MARINE ONE MANIFEST:

(b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(F)

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

9:25 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
TO
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
MAY 11, 1992

EVENT: Briefing with Violent Traffickers Project Members
DATE: Monday, May 11, 1992
TIME: 4:20 pm - 4:30 pm
LOCATION: 9th District Police Mini-Station
ATTENDEES: 10 Members of the Violent Traffickers Project
4 Police Mini-Station Personnel
PRESS: Pool Coverage (At Beginning Only)

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives 9th District Police Mini-Station and is greeted by: The Honorable Michael Baylson, U.S. Attorney, Eastern District of Pennsylvania; and Mr. Willie Williams, Philadelphia Police Commissioner. Following the Greetings, THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mr. Baylson and Mr. Williams, proceeds inside and begins participation in a Briefing with Violent Traffickers Project Members. (NOTE: THE PRESIDENT will remain Standing and view a four-minute videotape of the neighborhood under siege by drug dealers in 1989 at this time.) THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Briefing and, accompanied by Mr. Baylson and Mr. Williams, departs 9th District Police Mini-Station and proceeds to 17th Street Community Mural (via Foot).

The Press Pool will be located straight-on at fifteen feet in the rear of the room.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
TO
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
MAY 11, 1992

EVENT: Spring Garden Neighborhood Greeting
DATE: Monday, May 11, 1992
TIME: 4:32 pm - 4:40 pm
LOCATION: Corner of 17th and Wallace Streets
ATTENDEES: 60
PRESS: Expanded Pool Coverage

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by The Honorable Michael Baylson, U.S. Attorney, Eastern District of Pennsylvania; and Mr. Willie Williams, Philadelphia Police Commissioner, arrives 17th Street Community Mural and begins participation in Greeting Spring Garden Neighborhood Residents. (NOTE: During the Greeting, THE PRESIDENT will be briefed on some of the previous neighborhood drug-related problems by Mr. Baylson and Mr. Williams.) THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Neighborhood Greeting, departs Mural, and, accompanied by Mr. Williams, proceeds to Motorcade. THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs 9th Street Police Mini-Station en route St. Boniface Church.

The Backdrop for the Greeting is the 17th Street Community Mural, painted by Mr. Diego Rivera, Artist.

The Press Pool will be located in two positions on platforms across 17th Street at sixty feet.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
TO
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
MAY 11, 1992

EVENT: Meeting with Weed and Seed Project Community Leaders
DATE: Monday, May 11, 1992
TIME: 5:15 pm - 5:40 pm
LOCATION: Alphonse Hall Gymnasium, St. Boniface Church
ATTENDEES: 26
PRESS: Open

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives St. Boniface Church and is greeted by: Father Thomas O'Connor, Pastor, St. Boniface Church, and Father Sean McGillicuddy, St. Boniface Church. Following the Greetings, THE PRESIDENT proceeds to Holding Room. THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds briefly. THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and, accompanied by The Honorable Michael Baylson, U.S. Attorney, Eastern District of Pennsylvania; and Mr. Willie Williams, Philadelphia Police Commissioner, proceeds to Alphonse Hall Gymnasium. THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mr. Baylson and Mr. Williams, arrives Gymnasium, is Seated, and begins participation in Meeting. THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Meeting, departs Gymnasium, and proceeds to Holding Room. THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds briefly. THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Motorcade. THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs St. Boniface Church en route Hotel Atop the Bellevue.

The Press are located straight-on at fifty feet, with a position stage right at thirty feet. The Platform itself is "L" shaped.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
TO
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
MAY 11, 1992

EVENT: Major Donor Photo
DATE: Monday, May 11, 1992
TIME: 6:10 pm - 6:35 pm
LOCATION: Red Clover Room, Hotel Atop the Bellevue
ATTENDEES: 175 Major Donors
PRESS: Closed
SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives Hotel Atop the Bellevue and is greeted by: Mr. Chris Van Der Baare, General Manager, Hotel Atop the Bellevue. Following the Greeting, THE PRESIDENT proceeds to Red Clover Room. THE PRESIDENT arrives Red Clover Room and begins participation in Major Donor Photo. (NOTE: Approximately 100 photographs will be taken. Six Police Photos will be taken upon conclusion of the Major Donor Photo.) THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Major Donor Photo, departs Red Clover Room, and proceeds to Grand Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area.

The Backdrop is Blue Pipe and Drape with the Presidential and U.S. Flags placed on either side of THE PRESIDENT.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

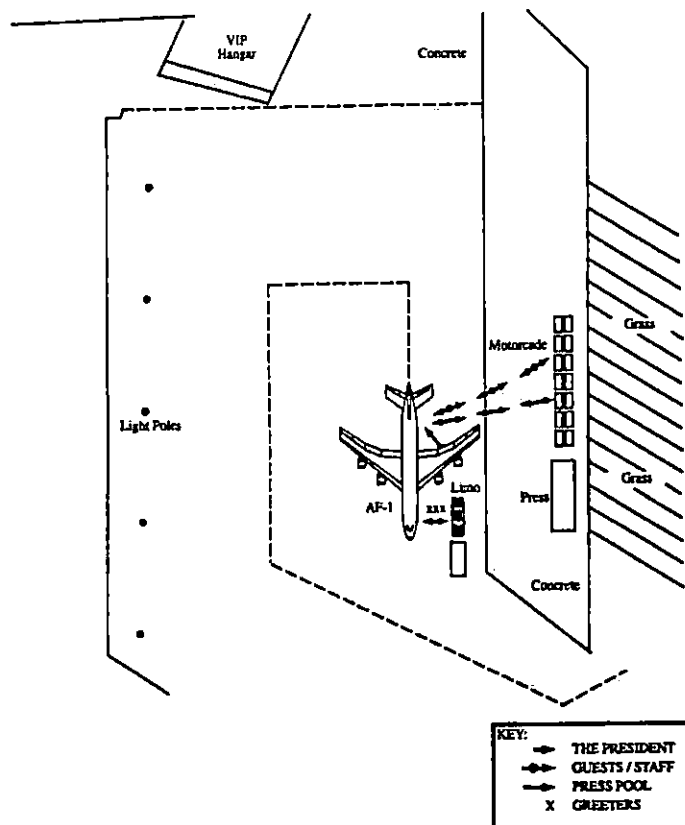
VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
TO
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
MAY 11, 1992

EVENT: Bush/Quayle '92 Fundraising Dinner
DATE: Monday, May 11, 1992
TIME: 6:42 pm - 7:50 pm
LOCATION: Grand Ballroom, Hotel Atop the Bellevue
ATTENDEES: 600 Bush/Quayle '92 Donors
PRESS: Open

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives Grand Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly. (NOTE: Remaining Dais participants are on Stage at this time.) THE PRESIDENT is announced onto Stage to Honors by the Valley Forge Military Academy Band, proceeds to Seat at Head Table, and is Seated (Enter Stage Left). Mr. David Girard-diCarlo, Dinner Co-Chairman, asks Guests to remain Standing for the National Anthem and the Invocation. The National Anthem is then performed by Mr. Malcolm Evans. The Reverend Daniel G. Gambat, President, Allentown College, gives the Invocation. Following the Prayer, Dinner is Served. Upon conclusion of the Dinner Service, Mr. Charles Kopp, Pennsylvania Bush/Quayle '92 Finance Chairman, introduces Mr. Peter Terpeluk, Jr., Dinner Co-Chairman. THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by Mr. Terpeluk. THE PRESIDENT Remarks. (NOTE: A Teleprompter will be used.) THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks, departs Stage, and proceeds to Holding Room (Exit Stage Left). THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds briefly. THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Motorcade. THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Hotel Atop the Bellevue en route Philadelphia International Airport.

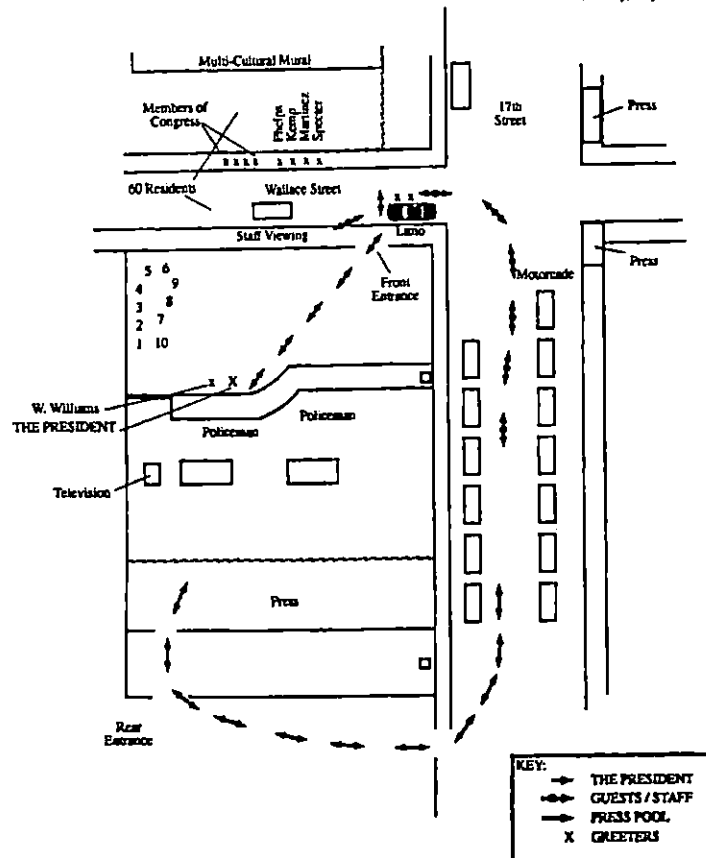
The Backdrop is red pipe and drape with blue and white swag drape
at the top and on either side of the Head Table.
The Press Platform is located straight-on at seventy feet.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia International Airport
Arrival/Departure Diagram
Monday, May 11, 1992



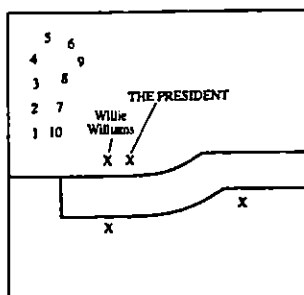
BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
 9th District Police Mini-Station
 Violent Traffickers Briefing
 Monday, May 11, 1992



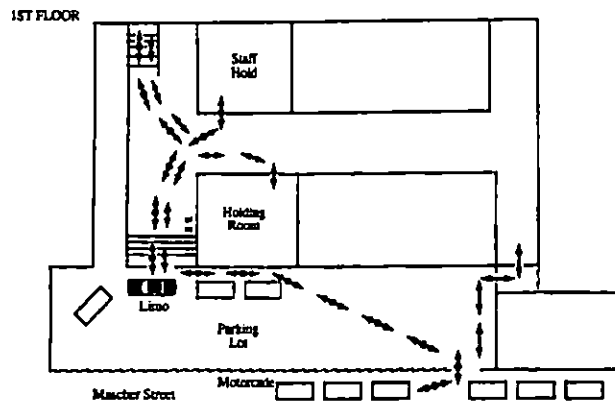
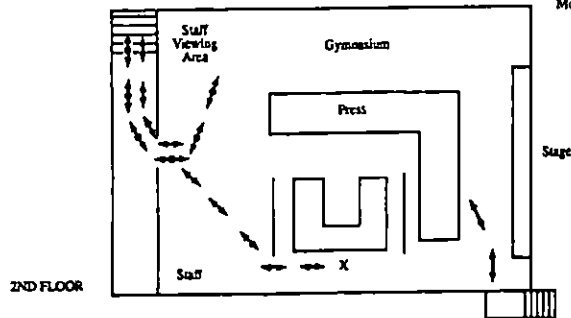
BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
9th District Police Mini-Station
Briefing Positions Diagram
Monday, May 11, 1992



1. Glenn A. Walp - Commissioner, Pennsylvania State Police
2. Henry J. Bailen - Special Agent in charge, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms
3. Lyle L. Karn - District Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service
4. Bob C. Resner - Special Agent in charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation
5. Lou Rice - Special Agent in charge, Drug Enforcement Administration
6. Michael M. Bayhoo - United States Attorney, Eastern District of Pennsylvania
7. Ernest D. Prosser, Jr. - Attorney General, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania
8. Lyane M. Abramson - District Attorney, City of Philadelphia
9. Ed Rendell - Mayor, City of Philadelphia
10. William Barr, US Attorney General

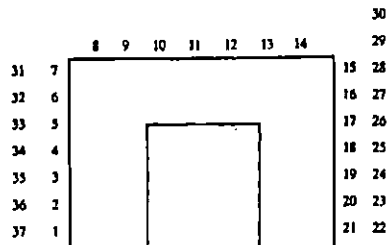
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
 St. Boniface Church
 Arrival/Departure Diagram
 Monday, May 11, 1992



KEY:

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

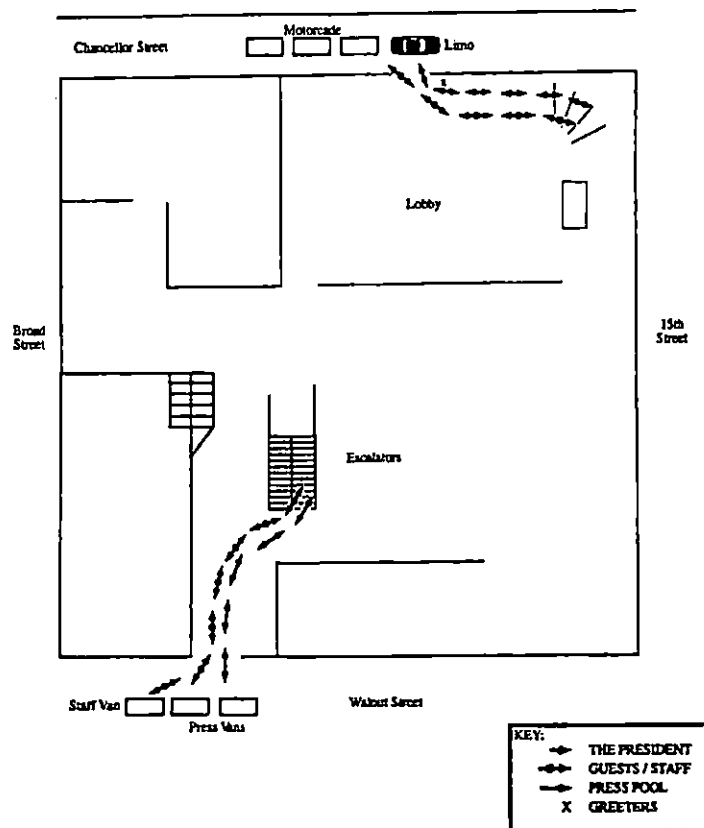
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
St. Boniface Church Gymnasium
Leaders Meeting
Table Diagram
Monday, May 11, 1992



1. Mr. Dave Harris - Resident
2. Ms. Mina Rivers - Member, Community United Neighbors Against Drugs (C.U.N.A.D.)
3. Mr. Parbè Bowers - Minister, Hunting Park Task Force
4. Ms. Felicia Mcleander - Principal, Potter Thomas School
5. Inspector Carl Bouchender - East Police Division
6. Ms. Florence Richardson - Hunting Park Task Force
7. The Honorable Ed Rendell - Mayor, Philadelphia
8. Mr. Sid Neftitz - American Street Corridor Association
9. Ms. Marlene Colon - Parent, C.U.N.A.D.
10. Mr. Willie Williams - Philadelphia Police Commissioner
11. THE PRESIDENT
12. Sister Carol Keck - St. Boniface Church
13. Ms. Efrain Rice - Community Leader
14. The Honorable Lynn Abrams - Philadelphia District Attorney
15. The Honorable Michael Baylen - United States Attorney
16. Mr. Thomas Romero - Member, St. Boniface and Lathum Community Leader
17. Mr. Edward Zabrow - Special Assistant for Drug Policy, Philadelphia School District
18. Ms. Milagros Soto - Member, C.U.N.A.D. and Parent
19. The Honorable Ernie Preate - Pennsylvania Attorney General
20. Ms. Hilda de la Rosa - Community Member
21. Ms. Ruth DuBois - Executive Director, Corporate Alliance for Drug Education
22. The Honorable Carl Weldon - U.S. Congress, Pennsylvania 7th District
23. The Honorable Tom Ridge - U.S. Congress, Pennsylvania 21st District
24. The Honorable Larry Coughlin - U.S. Congress, Pennsylvania 15th District
25. The Honorable Dan Rosten - U.S. Congress, Pennsylvania 15th District
26. Mr. Diggs Phelps
27. Secretary Jack Kemp - HUD
28. Governor Bob Maritz
29. The Honorable William Barr - U.S. Attorney General
30. The Honorable Arlen Specter - U.S. Senator
31. Mr. Tom Garbino - Member, Philadelphia Small Business Association
32. The Honorable Jane Grooms - Judge, Court of Common Pleas
33. Mr. Michael Gallagher - Philadelphia Department of Commerce
34. Mr. Ron George - Mayor's Office for Criminal Justice
35. Ms. Doris Alvarado - Coordinator, Fekih School
36. Mr. Chuck Lewis - U.S. Department of Labor
37. Mr. Bill Sales - Member, Hispanic Chamber of Commerce

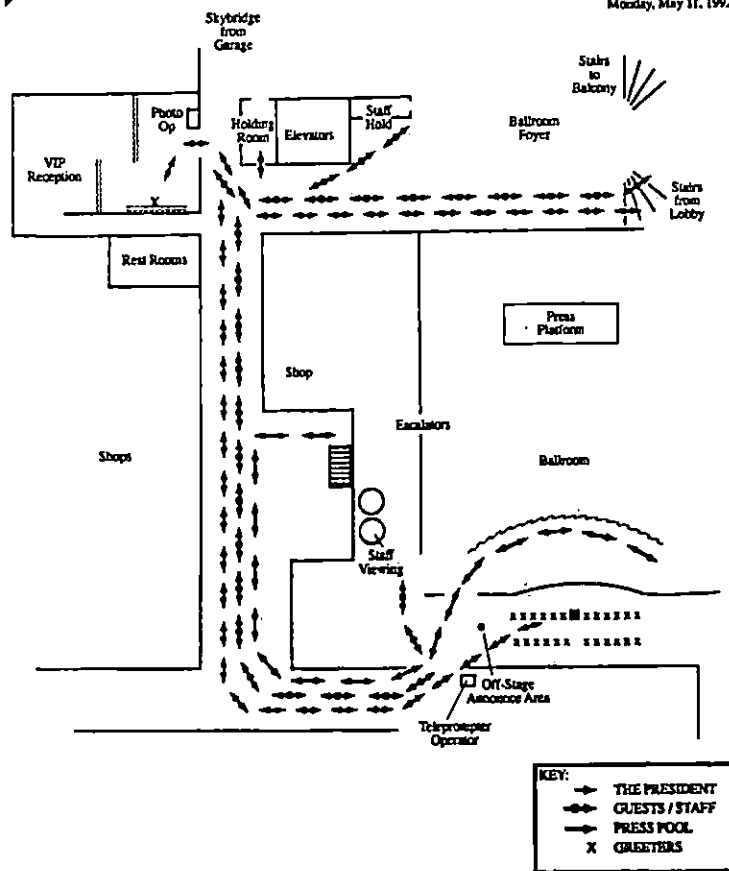
BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
 Hotel Astop the Bellevue
 Arrival/Departure Diagram
 Monday, May 11, 1992



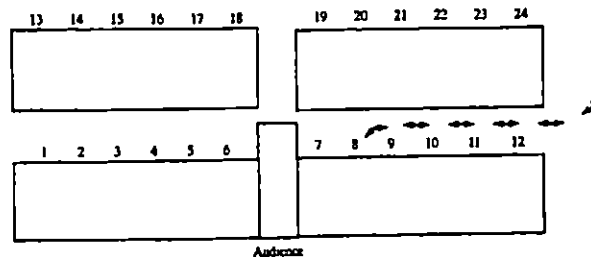
BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
 Hotel Atop the Bellevue
 Grand Ballroom Level
 Monday, May 11, 1992



BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Hotel Atop the Bellevue
Grand Ballroom
Dinner Diagram
Monday, May 11, 1992



Audience

1. Mr. Herb Barrios, Republican National Committee
2. Ms. Anne Aronson, Pennsylvania State Republican Chairwoman
3. The Honorable Robert Mottbacher, Campaign Chairman
4. The Honorable Mike Castle, Governor of Delaware
5. The Honorable Arlen Specter, U.S. Senator, Pennsylvania
6. Mr. Peter Terpelek, Dinner Chairman
7. Mr. Charles Kopp, Bush/Quayle Pennsylvania Finance Chairman
8. THE PRESIDENT
9. Mr. David Girard-diCarlo, Dinner Chairman
10. Mr. Dexter Baker, Bush/Quayle Regional Chairman
11. Mr. Bobby Holt, Bush/Quayle National Finance Chairman
12. Ms. Elsie Hillman, Bush/Quayle State Chairman
13. Mr. Gordon Woodrow, Bush/Quayle Regional Coordinator
14. Mrs. Dottie Baker, Wife of Mr. Dexter Baker
15. Ms. Barbara Hefner, Auditor General, Pennsylvania
16. The Honorable Carl Weldon, U.S. Congressman
17. The Honorable Tom Ridge, U.S. Congressman
18. Mrs. Connie Girard-diCarlo, Wife of Mr. David Girard-diCarlo
19. The Honorable Larry Coughlin, U.S. Congressman
20. Mr. Ray Smith, Regional Vice President of Bell Atlantic
21. Mrs. Diane Terpelek, Wife of Mr. Peter Terpelek
22. Mr. Joe Paquette, Dinner Co-Chairman
23. The Honorable Don Rader, U.S. Congressman
24. The Honorable Wally Gensi, National Finance Co-Chairman

KEY:
→ THE PRESIDENT

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION