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OA/ID Number: 13704
Folder ID Number: 13704-007

Folder Title:
California State GOP Fundraiser 2/6/90 [OA 8310] [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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California's Tribute To President George Bush

Governor
George Deukmejian

U.S. Senator
Pete Wilson

Frank A. Visco
California Republican Party Chairman

Karl M. Samuelian
California Republican Party Finance Chairman

and the

Dinner Co Chairmen

cordially invite you to join with us
at a special gala evening

with

President George Bush

Tuesday, February 6, 1990

Century Plaza Hotel
Los Angeles Ballroom
2025 Avenue of the Stars Los Angeles, California

Reception: 6:30 p.m.
Dinner: 7:30 p.m.

Reply Card Enclosed
Business Attire

Dinner Co Chairmen

Howard P. Allen
George L. Argyros
James P. Baldwin
Peter B. Bedford
William Belzberg
Sam Bamieh
Craig Berkman
Benjamin F. Biaggini
J. Neal Blue
Herbert F. Boeckmann, III
Joseph J. Bogdanovich, Sr.
William G. Bone
Katherine E. Boyd
Donald L. Bren
Margaret M. Brock
Christopher Cohan
Lodwrick M. Cook
Hon. Mike Curb
Stephen Dart
Marwin Harold Davis
William Lloyd Davis
Robert A. Day, Jr.
Tirso Del Junco, M.D.
Kenneth T. Derr
Michael D. Dingman
Hon. Leonard K. Firestone
Bradford M. Freeman
Sheldon Gordon
John B. Kilroy, Sr.
Donald M. Koll
Howard H. Leach
Gordon C. Luce
General William Lyon
Howard P. Marguleas
Parker G. Montgomery
David H. Murdock
Michael E. Parker
Gerald L. Parsky
Robert E. Petersen
David G. Price
Kenneth Rainin
Meshulam Riklis
Duane R. Roberts
George R. Roberts
Hon. Peter F. Schabarum
Hon. Rockwell A. Schnabel
Hon. John Seymour
Anwar Soliman
Alex G. Spanos
Burt Sugarman
Kathryn G. Thompson
Robert Tuttle
Jerry C. Weintraub
Gary Winnick

An Evening With
President George Bush
811 West Seventh Street
Suite 320
Los Angeles, California 90017

Acceptance

An Evening with President George Bush
February 6, 1990
Century Plaza Hotel, Los Angeles, California

DINNER CO-CHAIRMAN

☐ Yes, I (we) will be pleased to serve as a Dinner Co-Chairman by sponsoring a table of ten at $10,000. Table sponsors will be invited to attend the Private Reception with President George Bush with a photo opportunity prior to the dinner.

☐ Yes, I (we) will be pleased to reserve _____ tickets at $1,000 per person.

☐ I (we) cannot attend. Enclosed is a contribution in the amount of $_____.

Name _____ Spouse _____

Residence Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Employer _____

Business Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Occupation or Title _____

If self-employed. Place of Business _____ Business Telephone (___) _____

Social Security # _____ Birthdate _____

Please make checks payable to The California Republican Party

Both Corporate and personal contributions are legal and acceptable under California law. Corporate contributions may only be used in state elections. Personal contributions are solicited for and will be used in both state and federal elections.

For contributions allocated by the California Republican Party to the "Federal Account," contributors will be notified, as appropriate, for the purpose of compliance with federal contribution limitations. Contributions to the "Cal Plan State Account" for direct candidate support are limited to $2,500 per fiscal year. Any contribution in excess of this amount will be allocated to the federal or the General Operating Account. Contributions allocated to the General Operating Account for non-direct candidate support are not subject to limitations.

Contributions are not charitable deductions for income tax purposes.

An Evening With
President George Bush

811 West Seventh Street, Suite 320
Los Angeles, California 90017

PAID FOR BY THE CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PARTY

Grant/Nappo
January 30, 1990
Draft one
A:GOPCAL

REMARKS: CALIFORNIA STATE G.O.P. FUNDRAISER
LOS ANGELES, CA
FEBRUARY 6, 1990
7:15 P.M.

Thank you. Governor Deukmeijian, it's always a pleasure to see you. I'd like to thank our state party chairman, Frank Visco, for that warm introduction. And it's great to be here with **the next great governor of California, Pete Wilson.** \\\

We've got quite a few celebrities here tonight ... Frank Sinatra, Bob Hope, Charlton Heston. When I first saw this star-studded audience, I thought I had accidently wandered into a Lakers' game.\\\

I don't think there have been so many celebrities in one place since the days when visitors were allowed in Tommy Lasorda's office at Dodger Stadium.\\\

Despite the good time tonight, I've come here to talk to you about about a serious subject: **competitiveness.** Making America #1 in the world. Of course, that means economic strategies for the global marketplace, and a strong military at the ready. It means excellence in our schools. **And it means political competition -- and victory -- in the voting booth.**\\\

Let me begin with the economy. Everyone here knows the news: Greatest economic expansion in American peacetime history. 20 million new jobs created since 1982. Lowest unemployment rate

in 15 years. And everyone here knows what's needed to keep our economy strong: **the capital gains tax cut.**\\\

It's time we gave American business the tools necessary to give our competitors a run for the money. A capital gains tax cut will spur investment, create jobs, and promote opportunity for all Americans. It's been a hard fight for our proposal, but it's far from over. Your support has been crucial in the past. This year, it's critical. **And with your help, this year there will be victory.**\\\

And there's another investment we must make for the future of this country: research and development in technology. California has long been pushing the envelope on high-tech research, from Berkeley's work in micromotors and chemical catalysts, to Cal Poly at Pomona's aerospace design, to Cal State at Los Angeles' DNA research and U.C.I's brain imaging research. Programs like these are the cornerstone of our economic power in the years to come, and that's why my 1991 budget includes a record high $71 billion proposal for research and development, and a permanent tax credit for research and experimentation.

A sound education for our children is first and foremost. Contrary to popular belief, real improvement in our schools in **not** simply a matter of spending more. It's a matter of asking more -- of our students, our teachers, our parents and our schools. Earlier this week, I announced America's education goals in the State of the Union address, ones agreed upon with the Nation's Governors:

By the year 2000, every child in America must start school ready to learn. The United States must increase the high school graduation rate to **no less than 90%.** And we're going to make sure our schools' diplomas **mean something:** at the critical grades -- 4th, 8th and 12th -- we must check all our students' progress. By the year 2000, U.S. students must be **first in the world in math and science skills.** Every American adult must be literate. Every school in America must offer the kids of disciplined environment that makes it possible for our kids to learn. And every school in America must be **drug-free.**

Here in California, Director Bennett has just designated Los Angeles as a "high intensity drug trafficking area" -- because we've got to get our kids away from savage gangs like the "Bloods" and the "Crips," get the PCP and the crack off the streets and out of the schools, get more Federal resources into the hands of those brave souls out on the front lines. If we are to compete internationally, we've got to have a drug-free, well-educated America ready to do the job right.

NDCS

Effiency and productivity in our workforce are the cornerstones to our competitiveness strategy. And effiency in our military is just as important to me. Tomorrow, I'll be visiting the National Training Center base in Barstow, California for briefings and exercises, as well as the Strategic Air Command base near Omaha. Because as the nature of the Soviet threat changes, so do our defense needs. We'll be looking at closing some of our bases to improve efficiency, **but we will not cut into**

the muscle of our defense. Our forces will remain robust, well-trained, highly professional. Our administration will be working with the Congress -- to ensure that the process is a careful one, to help the communities affected accomodate the changes, and to move wisely into this era of challenge.

And as long as we're talking about the future, the modern era, let's talk about art -- **modern art.** There's a technique known as "gerrymandering," and the California version was created by Congressman Phil Burton of San Francisco in 1982. With a pencil and a paper, Mr. Burton sat in a restaurant in Sacramento and drew what he termed "my contribution to modern art." Lines were drawn across communities, towns, even streets into twisted, contorted crazy shapes as if by some angst-ridden artist.

Since that night, there have been 180 individual elections for California's congressional seats, and only **once** has a seat changed party control. In 1984, in fact, Republican Congressional candidates in the state won **more votes** than the Democratic candidates, **yet won fewer seats.** How can any citizen feel that his vote matters in a situation like this? **We've got to end the charade of Democratic gerrymandering.**\\\

The time has come for **redistricting reform.** It's a return to a **competitive** political process, more grass-roots participation, and higher voter turnout.

We don't need gerrymandering, because Republicans are ready to fight on the issues. State Democratic Chairman and former Governor Jerry Brown admitted as much in a debate with your state

GOP chairman, Frank Visco, last year when he said that a **fair** set of district lines **would put the Democrats "out of business."**

We **can** put them out of business -- on the issues. Look at what Gov. Deukmeijian's Republican administration has accomplished since 1983: Employment has been cut from 11 percent to 5.3 percent, and **2.7 million new jobs have been created in California.** That's the same as giving a job to every man, woman and child living in the entire state of Oregon. A $1.5 billion budget deficit has been turned into a substantial surplus -- one with a prudent reserve and **no general tax increases.**

But the list keeps going: Fourteen new prisons have been built, education funding has been more than doubled, and drug education is now included in every school from grades four to eight. Governor Deukmeijian's Children's Initiative has brought improved health care, day care and child support collections, as well as better protection from child abuse. California now has some of the toughest environmental laws in the nation, with thousands of acres of sensitive lands acquired and preserved. Thanks to common sense policies and strong leadership, California is better off than it ever has been. **Let's keep it that way. Let's keep it Republican.**

We're ready to take on all comers. Republicans welcome competition, **because we are prepared to win -- with Pete Wilson.**

Pete Wilson is a proven winner -- and the voters know it. In fact, Pete has won more votes in a single election than anyone

in the history of the United States Congress -- **5.1 million votes in the last statewide race.** And as he sets his sights on the governor's chair, there's no stopping him now. A strong environmentalist, a leader in the war on drugs, and a key member of my team in the U.S. Senate. But it's time now to elect Pete Wilson **governor.**\\\

The choice is clear: a return to the failed policies of the state Democrats, to the days of practicing yoga and staring at belly-buttons for policy guidance. Or a move forward with the energetic leadership and clear vision of Pete Wilson. Liberal policymakers in the 1970s gave us stagflation, record unemployment, "malaise," the "era of limits" ... **and a Republican landslide in 1980.** And Republican policies in the 1980s -- Ronald Reagan's policies -- gave us tax cuts, peace through strength, and the beginning of the greatest peacetime economic expansion in American history. **The choice is clear.**

And come 1992, the choice will be crucial. Because after Pete Wilson wins the gubernatorial race, both Senate seats will be open and quite a few House races will be very competitive. In addition, the 1990 Census will give California up to seven new House seats -- meaning that nearly **1 of every 8 Congressmen in Washington will represent California.** And all existing California Congressional district lines will have to be redrawn -- this time not with pencils in a restaurant, but by state-of-the-art advanced computer programs.

So Californians face a large number of competitive races for the first time in a decade. And as I said, we know we can win on the issues. We're ready for the fight. The other party is dependent upon gerrymandered districts and pro-incumbent campaign laws for their victories. They may have written themselves into power years ago, but this time, **the writing's on the wall.**\\\

Pete will be leading a solid team of GOP candidates for state office to victory. They'll be the ones to keep taxes low, the environment clean and the economy going strong. And when it comes time for redistricting, Governor Wilson will need **their** support as office holders, and they need **your** support in the voting booth.

That's what the battle to end gerrymandering is all about -- it's about sticking to the ideas and principles -- Republican ideas and principles -- that have brought America to a position of leadership once again, **and California to a new era of greatness.** And our ability to do so depends on putting an end to the facade of gerrymandered districts. **I'm counting on your support in this battle. I'm counting on your support as we work to make politics competitive again.** \\\

The California Republican Party has a proud history of victory. In one of the tightest races in the nation, you handed me a close win here on election night in 1988, and I will never forget it. This is my first trip as President on behalf of the California state party, and I wanted the occasion to thank you for the months -- and for some, years -- of hard work,

canvassing, phone calls, working the factories and union halls for me. You have my gratitude and my appreciation for a job well done.

And I've come to California to tell you this: I believe in the wisdom of our policies. I believe in making America as competitive as possible. And I believe, as do a few others, that **Pete Wilson will be the next governor of California. In the tradition of Ronald Reagan and George Deukmeijian, let's keep California great. And keep it Republican.**

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

# # #

916 Sacramento
445-2841
Lori 916-445-1764

Tues Feb 6

CA Event

GOP St. Fundrsr
Century Plaza
15,000 people
$1,000/plate dinner
BR w/ teleprompter

CA CONTACTS:

818-841-5310
* Rick Davis
Marty Wilson - Sen Wilson
A Gov's St. of St. address
B Gov's speechwtrs CA
joke file

6510
213-613-1776
L.A. staff

6:45p Arrive C.P.
40 Celebs photo-op 10 min
7:00p Staff photo
$25000 donor
25 clicks Bel Air Rm
grip + grin
7:15p General Reception Pacific
$10,000 donors Pallisad
200 people Rm



POTUS speaks 8-10 after anthem + prayer
* If dinner, speaks aftward

1st political event back in CA

Frank Visco
Cal Rep Party Chairman

Earl Samuelian
Party Finance Chairman

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 2, 1990

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: MARY KATE GRANT *MKG*

SUBJECT: CALIFORNIA STATE G.O.P. FUNDRAISER

I. SUMMARY

Attached for your review are remarks prepared for the California Republican Party fundraiser which you will be attending on Tuesday, February 6 at the Century Plaza hotel in Los Angeles. Your remarks will be teleprompted, and you will address a crowd of 1500.

II. DISCUSSION

The theme of the speech is America's future competitiveness, with references to parts of the State of the Union. Redistricting reform is a major issue in California and is on the ballot in the upcoming referendum. As a result, we talk about "competitiveness in the voting booth" as well.

You also thank the state party for its hard work and show your support for Pete Wilson's gubernatorial run.

Grant/Nappo
February 2, 1990
Draft five
A:GOPCAL

REMARKS: CALIFORNIA STATE G.O.P. FUNDRAISER
LOS ANGELES, CA
FEBRUARY 6, 1990
7:15 P.M.

Thank you. Governor Deukmeijian, it's always a pleasure to see you. ((Names of Members of Congress pending)) I'd like to thank our state party chairman, Frank Visco, for that warm introduction. And it's great to be here with **the next great governor of California, Pete Wilson.** \\\

We've got quite a few celebrities here tonight ... Frank Sinatra, Bob Hope, Cheryl Ladd, Charlton Heston, Jaclyn Smith. When I first saw this star-studded audience, I thought I had accidently wandered into a Lakers' game.\\\

I don't think there have been so many celebrities in one place since the days when visitors were allowed in Tommy Lasorda's office at Dodger Stadium.\\\

And of course, I see Arnold Schwarzenegger is here -- "Conan the Republican." But I'm worried that Arnold is taking his new job as Chairman of my Council on Physical Fitness too seriously. When I saw his darling new baby daughter, I bent over to kiss her. \\\ She tried to bench-press me. And that's when I realized that any kid with her own set of free weights doesn't need a teddy bear.\\\

And there's one more person I'd like to mention tonight. Even though he's not here, he's a friend of everyone in this

room, and tonight he's celebrating his 79th birthday. So for everyone here, I'd like to say "Happy Birthday, **President Reagan,**" best wishes from all of us.\\\

This is my first trip as President on behalf of the California state party, and I want to thank all of you for the victory you gave me here on election night. I will never forget the close win here, and you have my gratitude and my appreciation for your hard work and commitment. A job well done.

But tonight, I want to talk to you about another job: the job of preparing America for the future. Last Wednesday, I made my first State of the Union address to the Nation. \\\

I covered a lot of territory, because our country faces diverse challenges that will test every American as we enter this new decade.

Around the world, there is rapid and welcome change, as people from Panama to Prague strive for democracy. Millions of people are looking to America for the hope and encouragement they need as they seek the same freedom, security and opportunity we enjoy. **And America will be there to help.**

But if America is to continue its traditional leadership role, we must be competitive enough to **take on** the job, and strong enough and smart enough to **do the job right.**

Today, economic times in the United States are good. We are enjoying the greatest economic expansion in American peacetime history. Twenty-one million new jobs have been created

since 1982. And during this expansion, we have seen the lowest unemployment rate in 15 years.

But to maintain the growth that has provided better lives for millions of Americans, we have to take steps today to make sure America becomes **even stronger. We have to invest in our future.**

A sound education for our children must be first and foremost, and it is. We have proposed the largest education budget in history. But real improvement in our schools is not simply a matter of spending more. As I said in the State of the Union, it's a matter of asking more -- of our students, our teachers, our parents and our schools. And while the federal government will help meet this national challenge, the states -- the "laboratories of democracy," as Jefferson put it -- will do a much better job than we ever can. That's why we've announced new education goals for America, developed with the Nation's Governors:

By the year 2000, every child in this country must start school ready to learn and we must increase our high school graduation rate to **no less than 90%.** And we're going to make sure our schools' diplomas **mean something:** in critical subjects -- at 4th, 8th and 12th grades -- we must assess our students' performance. By the year 2000, U.S. students must be **first in the world in math and science skills.** Every American adult must be a literate worker and citizen. Every school in America must offer the kids of disciplined environment that makes it possible for

our kids to learn. **And every school in America must be drug-free.**

Here in California, we have just designated Los Angeles as a "high intensity drug trafficking area" -- to help this great city rid itself of the scourge of drugs. Gang violence must stop, and we've got to get PCP and crack off the streets and out of the schools. And it's time we got more Federal resources into the hands of those brave men and women out on the front lines. If we are to compete internationally, America must be drug-free, well-educated and **ready to do the job right.**

And there's another investment we must make for the future of this country to keep us competitive: **research and development.** California can be proud of the long tradition of high-tech innovation, scientific breakthroughs and medical advances at its research institutions -- from Berkeley and the state polytechnic universities, to Irvine and Stanford. Schools like these will dream the dreams and create the ideas that will form the cornerstone of our economic power in the years to come. That's why my 1991 budget includes a record-high $71 billion proposal for research and development, and a permanent tax credit for research and experimentation. **California is a pacesetter in the race for the latest in research and development. And with the best young minds of the next generation, it's a race America will win.** \\\

Education, a drug free workplace, and research and development are part of the mix for economic competitiveness.

But there is one more important ingredient -- investment. Savings and investment -- together -- create jobs and promote opportunity for all Americans.

We've proposed the Savings and Economic Growth Act, which includes our "Family Savings Account" proposal, and provisions to allow first-time home buyers to make an early withdrawal from their IRAs without penalty.

And it does one more thing. It proposes a cut in the rate on the capital gains tax. Last year, a majority in both Houses of Congress showed their support of a cut in the capital gains tax. This year, with your help, we'll **pass** a capital gains tax cut to **give our competitors a run for the money and keep the American economy going strong.**

But if we are to remain competitive, government -- like the private sector -- must also reflect the new world emerging around us. Tomorrow, I'll be visiting the National Training Center base in Barstow, California for briefings and exercises, and later the Strategic Air Command base near Omaha.

We must take into account that as the nature of the threats to American security change, so too must our response. We must change with the times. We have proposed closing some of our military bases, **but we will not cut into the muscle of our defense.** Our forces will remain robust, well-trained, highly professional but geared to the new array of challenges in the 90's. Our Administration will work with the Congress -- to ensure that the base-closing process is a careful one, to help

the communities affected accomodate the changes, and to move wisely into this new era of challenge.

Finally, there is one more kind of competitiveness I'd like to talk about. Let me tell you a story about a summer night in 1981 when a group of California Democrats sat in a restaurant in Sacramento with a pencil and paper, redesigning California's political landscape. They drew what one of them called at the time their "contribution to modern art." **Well, we've got a name for it, too.\\\ We call it gerrymandering.**

Lines were drawn across communities, towns, even streets into twisted, contorted crazy shapes -- without the slightest regard for either the will of the people or the rules of fairness.

Since that night, there have been 180 individual elections for California's congressional seats, and only **once** has a seat changed party control. In 1984, in fact, Republican Congressional candidates together won **more total votes** than the Democratic candidates, **yet won nine fewer seats.** The 1990 Census may give California up to seven new House seats -- meaning that nearly **1 of every 8 Congressmen in Washington will represent California.** And **all** existing California Congressional district lines will have to be redrawn -- this time not with pencils in a restaurant, but by state-of-the-art advanced computers. **The time has come for redistricting reform. We've got to end the charade of Democratic gerrymandering.**

Unlike the Democrats, Republicans don't need gerrymandering, because Republicans can win on the issues. In fact, we can put the Democrats out of **business** -- on the issues. Look at what Gov. Deukmeijian's Republican administration has accomplished since 1983: The unemployment rate has been cut from 11 percent to 5.3 percent, and **2.7 million new jobs have been created in California.** 5.2

But the list keeps going: Fourteen new and expanded prisons will open in 1991, education funding has been more than doubled, and drug education is now included in every school from grades four to eight. California now has some of the toughest environmental laws in the nation, with thousands of acres of sensitive lands acquired and preserved. Thanks to common sense policies and strong leadership, California is better off than it ever has been. **Let's keep it that way. Let's keep it Republican. Let's elect Pete Wilson.** \\\

Pete Wilson is a proven winner -- and the voters know it. In fact, Pete has won more votes in a single election than anyone in the history of the United States Congress -- **5.1 million votes in the last statewide race.** Pete is a strong environmentalist, a leader in the war on drugs, and a key member of my team in the U.S. Senate. And believe me, we'll miss Senator Wilson. But come to think of it, I really like the sound of **Governor Pete Wilson.**\\\

Pete will be leading a solid team of GOP candidates for state office to victory. With him, they'll be the ones to keep taxes low, the environment clean and the economy going strong.

People say I'm a cautious guy. I can't understand that. \\\ Well, I'm going to go out on a limb tonight and make a prediction: **1990 will be a great year for the Golden State because Pete Wilson will be your next governor.**

**In the tradition of Ronald Reagan and George Deukmeijian, let's keep California great. And keep it Republican. **

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

# # #

Grant/Nappo
February 1, 1990
Draft four
A:GOPCAL

REMARKS: CALIFORNIA STATE G.O.P. FUNDRAISER
LOS ANGELES, CA
FEBRUARY 6, 1990
7:15 P.M.

Thank you. Governor Deukmeijian, it's always a pleasure to see you. I'd like to thank our state party chairman, Frank Visco, for that warm introduction. And it's great to be here with **the next great governor of California, Pete Wilson.** \\\

Bert Coleman 6573 Faith Donovan, Visco's office

We've got quite a few celebrities here tonight ... Frank Sinatra, Bob Hope, Charlton Heston. When I first saw this star-studded audience, I thought I had accidently wandered into a Lakers' game.\\\

Joyce Valdez 213-624-1934

I don't think there have been so many celebrities in one place since the days when visitors were allowed in Tommy Lasorda's office at Dodger Stadium.\\\

This is my first trip as President on behalf of the California state party, and I want to thank all of you for the victory you gave me here on election night. I will never forget the close win here, and you have my gratitude and my appreciation for a job well done.

60P

1990 political Almanac p 76

But tonight, I want to talk to you about another job: the job of preparing America for the future. Last Wednesday, I made my first State of the Union address to the Nation. \\\

I covered a lot of territory, because our country faces diverse challenges that will test every American as we enter this new decade.

Around the world, there is rapid and welcome change, as people from Panama to Prague strive for democracy. Millions of people are looking to America for the hope and encouragement they need as they seek the same freedom and opportunity we enjoy. **And America will be there to help.**

But if America is to continue its traditional leadership role, we must be competitive enough to **take on** the job, and strong enough and smart enough to **do the job right.**

Today, economic times in the United States are good. We are enjoying the greatest economic expansion in American peacetime history. Twenty million new jobs have been created since 1982. And we see the lowest unemployment rate in 15 years. BABA

But to maintain the growth that has provided better lives for millions of Americans, we have to take steps today to make sure America becomes **even stronger. We have to invest in our future.**

A sound education for our children must be first and foremost, and it is. We have proposed the largest education budget in history. But contrary to popular belief, real improvement in our schools is **not** simply a matter of spending more. As I said in the State of the Union, it's a matter of asking more -- of our students, our teachers, our parents and our Budget p 95-6 State of Union p 3

schools. And I also announced new education goals for America, developed with the Nation's Governors:

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And there's another investment we must make for the future of this country to keep us competitive: **research and development.** California can be proud of the long tradition of high-tech innovation, scientific breakthroughs and medical advances at its research institutions -- from Berkeley, to Cal Poly, to U.C.I.

Schools like these will dream the dreams and create the ideas that will form the cornerstone of our economic power in the years to come. That's why my 1991 budget includes a record-high $71 billion proposal for research and development, and a permanent tax credit for research and experimentation. **California is a pacesetter in the race for the latest in research and development. And with the best young minds of the next generation, it's a race America will win.** \\\

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Budget 152-b

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National Review CSM

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Since that night, there have been 180 individual elections for California's congressional seats, and only **once** has a seat changed party control. In 1984, in fact, Republican Congressional candidates together won **more total votes** than the

WSJ 12/20/89 CSM 1/30/90

CSM

Democratic candidates, **yet won fewer seats.** The 1990 Census will give California up to seven new House seats -- meaning that nearly **1 of every 8 Congressmen in Washington will represent California.** And **all** existing California Congressional district lines will have to be redrawn -- this time not with pencils in a restaurant, but by state-of-the-art advanced computer programs. **The time has come for redistricting reform. We've got to end the charade of Democratic gerrymandering.**\\\

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New Republic 2/5/90
CSM

Unlike the Democrats, Republicans don't need gerrymandering, because Republicans can win on the issues. State Democratic Chairman Jerry Brown admitted as much in a debate with your state GOP chairman, Frank Visco, last year when he said that a **fair** set of district lines **would put the Democrats "out of business."**

We **can** put them out of business -- on the issues. Look at what Gov. Deukmejian's Republican administration has accomplished since 1983: Employment has been cut from 11 percent to 5.3 percent, and **2.7 million new jobs have been created in California.** A $1.5 billion budget deficit has been turned into a substantial surplus -- one with a prudent reserve and **no general tax increases.**

But the list keeps going: Fourteen new prisons have been built, education funding has been more than doubled, and drug education is now included in every school from grades four to eight. California now has some of the toughest environmental laws in the nation, with thousands of acres of sensitive lands acquired and preserved. Thanks to common sense policies and

strong leadership, California is better off than it ever has been. **Let's keep it that way. Let's keep it Republican. Let's elect Pete Wilson.** \\\

Pete Wilson is a proven winner -- and the voters know it. In fact, Pete has won more votes in a single election than anyone in the history of the United States Congress -- **5.1 million votes in the last statewide race.** Pete is a strong environmentalist, a leader in the war on drugs, and a key member of my team in the U.S. Senate. And believe me, we'll miss Senator Wilson. But come to think of it, I really like the sound of **Governor Pete Wilson.**\\\

Pete will be leading a solid team of GOP candidates for state office to victory. With him, they'll be the ones to keep taxes low, the environment clean and the economy going strong.

People say I'm a cautious guy. I can't understand that. \\\ Well, I'm going to go out on a limb tonight and make a prediction: **1990 will be a great year for the Golden State because Pete Wilson will be your next governor.**\\\

In the tradition of Ronald Reagan and George Deukmeijian, let's keep California great. And keep it Republican. ///

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

# # #

CALIFORNIA STATE G.O.P. FUNDRAISER / LOS ANGELES, CA
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1990 / 7:15 P.M.

Thank you. Governor Deukmeijian, it's always a pleasure to see you. ((Names of Members of Congress pending)) I'd like to thank our state party chairman, Frank Visco, for that warm introduction.

We've got quite a few celebrities here tonight ... Frank Sinatra, Bob Hope, Cheryl Ladd, Charlton Heston, Jaclyn Smith. When I first saw this star-studded audience, I thought I had accidently wandered into a Lakers' game.\\\

I don't think there have been so many celebrities in one place since the days when visitors were allowed in Tommy Lasorda's office at Dodger Stadium.\\\

And of course, I see Arnold Schwarzenegger is here -- "Conan the Republican." But I'm worried that Arnold is taking his new job as Chairman of my Council on Physical Fitness too seriously. When I saw his darling new baby daughter, I bent over to kiss her. \\\ She tried to bench-press me. And that's when I realized that any kid with her own set of free weights doesn't need a teddy bear.\\\

And there's one more person I'd like to mention tonight. Even though he's not here, he's a friend of everyone in this room, and tonight he's celebrating his 79th birthday. So for everyone here, I'd like to say "Happy Birthday, **President Reagan,**" best wishes from all of us.\\\

This is my first trip as President on behalf of the California state party, and I want to thank all of you for the victory you gave us here on election night. I will never forget the close win here, and you have my gratitude and my appreciation for your hard work and commitment. A job well done.

But tonight, I want to talk to you about another job: the job of preparing America for the future. Last Wednesday, I made my first State of the Union address to the Nation. \\\

I covered a lot of territory, because our country faces diverse challenges that will test every American as we enter this new decade.

Around the world, there is rapid and welcome change, as people from Panama to Prague strive for democracy. Millions of people are looking to America for the hope and encouragement they need as they seek the same freedom, security and opportunity we enjoy. **And America will be there to help.**

But if America is to continue its traditional leadership role, we must be competitive enough to **take on** the job, and strong enough and smart enough to **do the job right.**

Today, economic times in the United States are good. We are enjoying the greatest economic expansion in American peacetime history.

But to maintain the growth that has provided better lives for millions of Americans, we have to take steps today to make sure America becomes **even stronger. We have to invest in our future.**

A sound education for our children must be first and foremost, and it is. We have proposed the largest education budget in history. But real improvement in our schools is not simply a matter of spending more. As I said in the State of the Union, it's a matter of asking more -- of our students, our teachers, our parents and our schools. And while the federal government will help meet this national challenge, the states -- the "laboratories of democracy," as Jefferson put it -- will do a much better job than we ever can. That's why we've announced new education goals for America, developed with the Nation's Governors:

By the year 2000, every child in this country must start school ready to learn and we must increase our high school graduation rate to **no less than 90%.** And we're going to make sure our schools' diplomas **mean something:** in critical subjects -- at 4th, 8th and 12th grades -- we must assess our students' performance. By the year 2000, U.S. students must be **first in the world in math and science skills.** Every American adult must be a literate worker and citizen. Every school in America must offer the kids of disciplined environment that makes it possible for our kids to learn. **And every school in America must be drug-free.**

Here in California, we have designated Los Angeles as a "high intensity drug trafficking area" -- to help this great city rid itself of the scourge of drugs. We've got to get PCP and crack off the streets and out of the schools. And it's time we

got more Federal resources into the hands of those on the front lines. If we are to compete internationally, America must be drug-free, well-educated and **ready to do the job right.**

And there's another investment we must make for the future of this country to keep us competitive: **research and development.** California can be proud of the long tradition of high-tech innovation, scientific breakthroughs and medical advances at its great research institutions. Schools like these will dream the dreams and create the ideas that will form the cornerstone of our economic power in the years to come. That's why my 1991 budget includes a record-high $71 billion proposal for research and development. **With the best young minds of the next generation on our side, America will win the race in research and development.**

Education, a drug free workplace, and research and development are part of the mix for economic competitiveness. But there is one more important ingredient -- investment. Savings and investment -- together -- create jobs and promote opportunity for all Americans.

We've proposed the Savings and Economic Growth Act, which includes our "Family Savings Account" proposal, and provisions to allow first-time home buyers to make an early withdrawal from their IRAs without penalty.

And it does one more thing. It proposes a cut in the rate on the capital gains tax. Last year, a majority in both Houses of Congress showed their support of a cut in the capital gains tax. This year, with your help, we'll **pass** a capital gains tax

cut to **give our competitors a run for the money and keep the American economy going strong.**

But if we are to remain competitive, government must also reflect the new world emerging around us -- like the National Training Center base I'll visit in Barstow tomorrow, and later the Strategic Air Command base near Omaha. We must take into account that as the nature of the threats to American security change, so too must our response. Our forces will remain robust, well-trained, highly professional but geared to the new array of challenges in the 90's.

Finally, there is one more kind of competitiveness I'd like to talk about. Let me tell you a story about a summer night in 1981 when a group of California Democrats sat in a restaurant in Sacramento with a pencil and paper, redesigning California's political landscape. They drew what one of them called at the time their "contribution to modern art." **Well, we've got a name for it, too.\\\ We call it gerrymandering.**

Lines were drawn across communities, towns, even streets into twisted, contorted crazy shapes -- without the slightest regard for either the will of the people or the rules of fairness.

Since that night, there have been 180 individual elections for California's congressional seats, and only **once** has a seat changed party control. In 1984, in fact, Republican Congressional candidates together won **more total votes** than the Democratic candidates, **yet won nine fewer seats.** The 1990 Census

may give California up to seven new House seats -- meaning that nearly **1 of every 8 Congressmen in Washington will represent California.** And **all** existing California Congressional district lines will have to be redrawn -- this time not with pencils in a restaurant, but by state-of-the-art advanced computers. **The time has come for redistricting reform. We've got to end the charade of Democratic gerrymandering.**\\\

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But the list keeps going: Fourteen new and expanded prisons will open in 1991, education funding has been more than doubled, and drug education is now included in every school from grades four to eight. California now has some of the toughest environmental laws in the nation, with thousands of acres of sensitive lands acquired and preserved. Thanks to common sense policies and strong leadership, California is better off than it ever has been. **Let's keep it that way. Let's keep it Republican. Let's elect Pete Wilson.** \\\

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In the tradition of Ronald Reagan and George Deukmeijian, let's keep California great. And keep it Republican. \\\

Thank you, God bless you, and God bless America.

# # #

Why voters are so crabby in California

by MICHAEL BARONE

No other election this year will tell more about the future of American politics than the race for governor in trend-setting California. America's outpost on the Pacific Rim has been surging with economic growth and boasts a political system that is the product of nearly a century of reforms. Its three gubernatorial candidates—Democrats Dianne Feinstein, former San Francisco mayor, and Atty. Gen. John Van de Kamp, and Republican U.S. Senator Pete Wilson—are competent, honest, principled and tested in high office. Yet despite all this, the mood of the state is anything but sunny. While millions cheer democracy and look forward to affluence in Eastern Europe, those who enjoy both in California are cynical and crabby. Why?

The media's message. The work of state government does not register with the public. None of the TV stations in Los Angeles has a bureau in the state capital, Sacramento. Instead, newscasts concentrate on hideous crimes and their aftermaths, endless footage of freeway tie-ups and lifestyle stories. In this climate of personal self-absorption and political alienation, candidates and officeholders must appeal to voters primarily through 30-second TV ads or targeted direct mail, often simplistic in content and negative in tone.

Mistrust of Sacramento. Legislators have cemented themselves in power by drawing pro-incumbent district lines and raising lots of money from special interests. Well-placed lobby groups can easily work their will. For instance, the criminal-lawyer bar always blocks anticrime proposals in the Assembly.

In response, outsiders have taken to using the referendum process to bypass Sacramento. Since the success of tax-cutting Proposition 13 in 1978, ballot measures have become the central focus of state politics. In 1988, the voters revised campaign-finance rules, mandated education-spending levels, and chose among auto-insurance proposals whose proponents spent $80 million on campaigns. In each case, they took power away from the Legislature, lobbyists, and Governor George Deukmejian. In theory, this gives power to the people; in practice, it creates unworkable laws and more discontent.

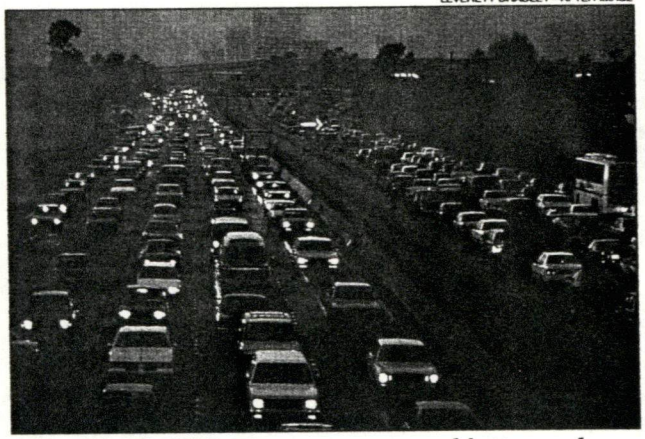
The potency of the referendum process at the expense of the legislative process is highlighted this year as the gubernatorial candidates use referenda to signal voters their stands on issues. Republican Wilson is touting the crime-victims initiative on the June primary ballot, while Democrat Van de Kamp opposes it, saying it jeopardizes the pro-abortion California privacy guarantee. Van de Kamp has sponsored an environmental initiative and one limiting legislators' terms in office, attacking the Sacramento powers directly. Democrat Feinstein is boosting a measure to raise tax limits and allow more spending on transportation and education.

Consensus on government's role. Despite those differences, a remarkable agreement exists among the candidates about the need for a more aggressive state government—a trend that augurs important national change. When Californians elected Ronald Reagan governor in 1966, it signaled a trend to less government. Now, the pendulum is swinging back. All look back past the Deukmejian, Jerry Brown and Reagan administrations and admire the examples of Governors Pat Brown and Earl Warren, who from the mid-1940s to the mid-1950s built the state's freeways, water system, public schools and universities. The candidates agree that California's schools were turning out better students 25 years ago, when Pat Brown lost to Reagan, than they do today. In a state where freeway traffic jams have spurred record sales of cellular phones, they want to abandon Jerry Brown's "small is beautiful" opposition to new freeways.

Reinventing political organization. The antipolitics sentiment has led politicians into new methods of plying their trade that could lead to similar changes in other states. Republicans won the close races in the 1980s with TV spots, targeted direct-mail and absentee-ballot drives. The Democrats countered with targeted registration of blacks, Hispanics and Asians and by building old-fashioned precinct organizations. They almost won the state for Michael Dukakis.

Neither of those methods is cheap, however, and that has put a premium on fund-raising. Republicans retain an advantage, raising much of their cash from tax haters, who were happy to back a candidate like Wilson who is pro-choice and against coastal oil drilling. Democratic money comes from more sources such as Sacramento lobbyists, Hollywood feminists and personal-injury lawyers. As in national politics, Democrats are less disciplined, and their activists and money givers tend to move candidates away from mainstream positions. The good news is that the state will get a competent leader. The bad news is that voters aren't much pleased with the process and seem indifferent to the result. □

LEVERETT BRADLEY—AFTER-IMAGE



Fix this mess! *Californians want more and better roads*

The 10-seat congressional swing

The California governor's race may well decide the balance of power in the U.S. House through 2002. California is expected to get 52 House districts from the 1990 census (up from 45 today), and if Democrats hold the Legislature, as seems likely, the districts are likely to be drawn by L.A. consultant Michael Berman—heir to the late master redistricter, Representative Phil Burton. A Republican governor could veto such a plan and force a compromise, or lead a referendum fight. At stake: As many as 10 congressional seats. □

A megabuck nightmare in '92

This year's gubernatorial race could also pave the way for an astronomically expensive political showdown in 1992. If Senator Wilson is elected governor and if Senator Alan Cranston is still reeling from the Charles Keating S&L scandal, the races for both Senate seats may be wide open in 1992. The last two Senate races here cost more than $50 million. With multiple entrants, two simultaneous Senate races in California could dry up California political money that often is exported to other candidates around the nation. ■

To Kill a Gerrymander

National standards for reapportionment and citizens' commissions to implement them would do the trick

By William M. Thomas

WITH 1990 already here, almost every member of Congress is thinking about next November's elections. I say "thinking" because few are worried: the congressional reelection rate last year was 99 percent. And the main reason for this incredible rate was that hundreds of congressional elections were rigged when politicians, for narrow partisan reasons, drew the district lines after the 1980 census to make sure they were reelected.

Can we insure that broader interests, rather than just those of a small cabal of politicians, are protected when they redraw the legislative district lines in 1991? Yes, we can: by supporting redistricting standards that require districts that are compact, contiguous, and where possible, follow existing city and county boundaries, and by having those standards judged by broad-based citizen commissions, not by legislatures. The new lines should preserve *communities, not incumbents.*

Politicians' self-interests explain why some California congressional districts look like the creations of tormented modern artists. Each nook, cranny, and bulge represents a pocket of voters who are Democrats, Republicans, conservatives, or liberals. The lines divide towns, cities, and counties to concentrate voters of one party in each district.

The art of drawing legislative district lines to enhance the election of one party or candidate is called "gerrymandering," after a governor of Massachusetts named Elbridge Gerry. In 1812, Governor Gerry crafted a legislative district resembling a salamander, which caused an exasperated legislator to dub the governor's design a "Gerry-mander."

Governor Gerry would no doubt be impressed by the skill of the legislators who drew the California districts, because they have effectively killed competition in California congressional races.

In 1980, the Democrats held 22 California congressional seats and the Republicans held 21. New district lines were drawn after the 1980 census with an eye to enhancing Democratic prospects. The effect was immediate. In 1982, the Democrats' advantage in the California congressional delegation jumped from 22-21 to 28-17. At the end of the decade, after more than 100 races, the ratio is virtually the same, 27-18.

Just how thoroughly California's congressional elections were rigged was demonstrated in 1984, when Republican congressional candidates collected *more votes* than the Democratic candidates, but won *fewer seats* – only 40 percent. California's citizens almost didn't need to vote. Their representative was decided behind closed doors back in 1981.

While gerrymandering's most obvious effect is fattening incumbents' reelection margins, it has other negative consequences:

•Campaigns become more expensive. The tortured gerrymanders which twist, slice, and cut across communities often scatter voters and ensure that only the incumbent is well-known throughout the district. It is difficult to mount grass roots or volunteer campaigns in modern gerrymandered districts.

•Candidates become less responsive. Because it is nearly impossible to defeat an incumbent, the incumbent is less and less concerned with keeping in touch with his constituents.

The California gerrymanders were drawn by the late Rep. Phil Burton of San Francisco. With pencil and paper, Mr. Burton "held court" at a favorite restaurant in Sacramento and drew what he termed "my contribution to modern art." There have been 180 individual elections for California's congressional seats since Burton's lines were drawn, and only *once* has a seat changed party control. The frightening thought is how effectively Burton engineered California's elections for a decade with a stroke of his pencil.

The districts designed in 1991 will be drawn with computer accuracy and Burton's contorted gerrymanders will look like child's play in comparison. The politicians licking their chops in Sacramento will be using advanced computers and programs that weren't available 10 years ago. For the first time, the Census Bureau will be providing states with demographic data down to the block level; politicians drawing the district lines will know the race, incomes, and ages of citizens block by block.

What can Californians do to prevent self-preserving politicians from using computers to draw politically motivated district lines? They can support national redistricting standards that will clarify current case law and previous requirements that legislative districts be of equal population, be contiguous and compact, and protect minority rights. Standards should require that county and city lines be followed in order to keep communities intact.

Why, for example, should the city of Palmdale in Los Angeles County's Antelope Valley, with a population one-tenth that of a congressional district, be divided between *three* congressional districts?

Shouldn't the citizens of Palmdale, or any community, be able to speak with one strong voice to one congressman, rather than as slivers of a city to three?

Wouldn't the costs of campaigning be lower, and the quality of information about candidates higher, if members had compact districts within community lines instead of scattered fragments of territory in multiple media markets?

Of course, no plan that meets the population-equality and minority representation requirements can completely avoid the division of some communities. But simple national standards would ensure that community interests, not those of politicians, would come first.

Public access and involvement in the redistricting process should also be required by any national redistricting reform. Information used to prepare redistricting plans should be available to the public, and the redistricting plan should be available in advance of adoption for public inspection.

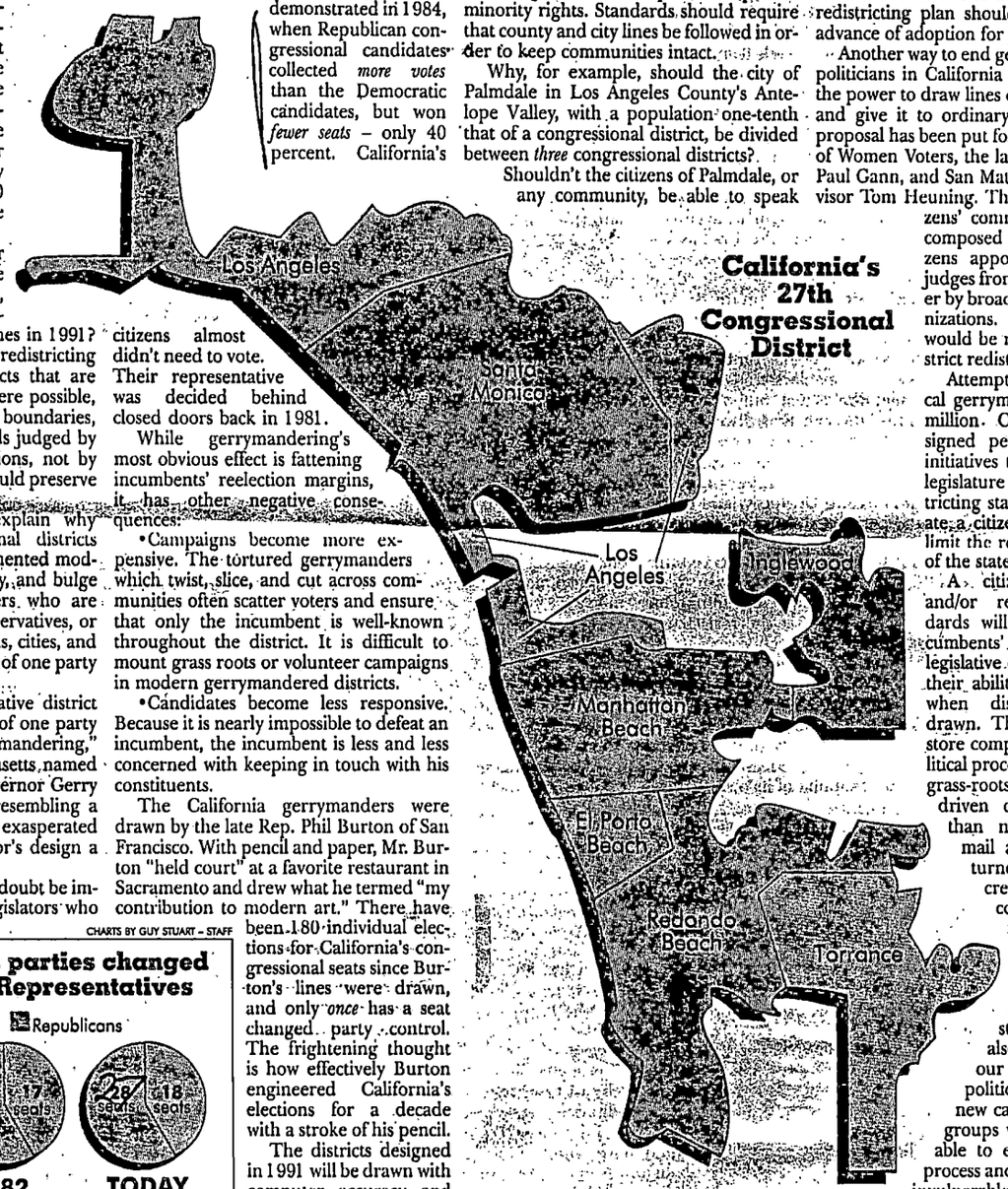
Another way to end gerrymandering by politicians in California would be to take the power to draw lines out of their hands and give it to ordinary citizens. Such a proposal has been put forth by the League of Women Voters, the late anti-tax activist Paul Gann, and San Mateo County supervisor Tom Heuning. Their proposed citizens' commission would be composed of ordinary citizens appointed by retired judges from a list put together by broad-based civic organizations. This commission would be required to follow strict redistricting standards.

Attempting to end political gerrymandering, over 1 million Californians have signed petitions for ballot initiatives to make the state legislature abide by redistricting standards or to create a citizen commission to limit the redistricting power of the state legislature.

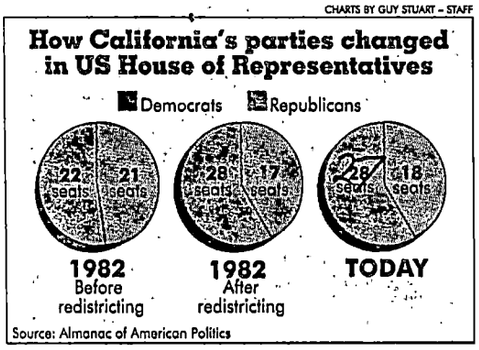
A citizen commission and/or redistricting standards will help loosen incumbents' stranglehold on legislative offices by limiting their ability to fix elections when district lines are drawn. They will help restore competition to the political process and encourage grass-roots and volunteer-driven campaigns rather than negative TV and mail advertising. Voter turnout rates will increase when races become more competitive and when every vote matters. A citizen commission and/or redistricting standards would also help to make our legislators more politically responsive, as new candidates and new groups will once again be able to enter the political process and defeat previously invulnerable incumbents.

While it is impossible to completely take politics out of the redistricting process, the narrow self-interest of incumbents should not be the basis of such decisions. Reform of the current system can ensure broader political interests are protected.

■ *Congressman William M. Thomas of Bakersfield, Calif., is vice-chairman of the House Republican Task Force on Reapportionment and National Republican Congressional Committee vice-chairman for Reapportionment.*



CHARTS BY GUY STUART – STAFF



Photocopy-Preservation

probably worth a couple of points in 1988. In a state with some excruciatingly close races, Cranston was reelected in 1986 and Deukmejian won his first term as governor in 1982 by 49%–48% margins. Politicians from both parties have an incentive to innovate and organize where they have not before.

A case can be made that California's decline in political interest is a sign of health. Hostilities between different cultural groups produced a politics of enthusiasm and nomination victories for ideological candidates like Barry Goldwater in 1964 and George McGovern in 1972, neither of whom would have been nominated if they had not won California's then winner-take-all presidential primary; as those hostilities have declined, California primaries have produced more moderate winners, like Pete Wilson and Ed Zschau, and general elections have produced divided government, in which Deukmejian is checked by Speaker Willie Brown, while Bradley is balanced by a conservative Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors and Republican Presidents by a supertalented Democratic congressional delegation. The result is a government fiscally restrained and culturally tolerant, but ready at the same time to pump more money into education and to insist on stricter standards for students, sterner restrictions on drug use, and tougher penalties for crime. California, as it approaches the 1990s, after all, is a story of success and not of failure. Its supple and strong economy, its capacity and willingness to welcome newcomers and help them rise, its tolerance of eccentricity but insistence on standards, are all in the best of American traditions. They show what many Americans in the 1960s and 1970s forgot, that America works; and if Californians are less interested in politics and less inclined to call on government than they were in more troubled times, that is perhaps not cause for despair.

Presidential politics. For most of the 1980s California did not seem to count much in presidential politics. Its primary, coming at the end of the season, was pivotal in 1964 and 1972. Since then it has produced such winners as Jerry Brown, Edward Kennedy and Gary Hart for the Democrats, and has been won without serious contest by Ronald Reagan three times. Its 1988 winners were Michael Dukakis and George Bush—after they had already clinched their nominations. It's possible that California could play a critical role in 1992, but unlikely unless it is rescheduled. Otherwise, it's likely to result in the renomination of George Bush and the ratification of whoever has emerged as the leading Democratic opponent of Jesse Jackson—if he decides to run again for President.

In the general election, California may be more pivotal—and could easily have been in 1988 if the national race had gone a little differently. The fact that California ended up Republican by small margins in the close elections of 1960, 1968 and 1976, and that it gave Ronald Reagan two easy victories in 1980 (53%–36%) and 1984 (58%–41%) led many to chalk it up as straight Republican. But its liberal trend on cultural issues made it competitive in 1988 and, though it finally went for George Bush, may already have had its effect on public policy. Republican national chairman and Bush campaign manager Lee Atwater noticed the trend in California during the primary season, and the even stronger trend in Oregon and Washington, both of which Dukakis ultimately carried, and it may have contributed to George Bush's calling for a "kinder, gentler" nation. Certainly the Bush Republicans are not conceding the black, Hispanic, Asian and baby boom voters who are the Democrats' hopes for carrying California.

The 1988 election had one additional result worth noting. Despite the carping of West Coast politicians about the network projections of the election winner, California has usually produced a higher than average percentage for the *loser* of the presidential election, and it did so again in 1988. It's possible that Dukakis won a plurality among West Coast voters who went to the polls on election day, and that Bush's narrow margin was due entirely to absentees.

Governor. At the beginning of the 1980s, few would have picked George Deukmejian as the man who would stand astride California state government for most of the decade; but as the decade was ending there he was, in place and on top. His first victory over Tom Bradley in 1982 was by the narrowest of margins; his second in 1986 was won with a higher percentage than

Ronald Reagan ever got in California. Deukmejian is orderly and aloof, a believer in pomp and ceremony; he is not close to other officials, not even Republicans though he spent four years as attorney general and 16 years in the legislature in Sacramento. He sticks closely to a tight-knit staff and, mostly, to his principles. His first term was marked by his stubbornness and success in sticking to his promise of no new taxes; in his second term, when the state was facing a $1 billion post-tax reform shortfall, he proposed a tax increase in 1988 and then had to back away from it. Critics charged that the state was neglecting education, highways and research, and would pay for it with a weaker economy and slower growth in the 1990s. Deukmejian replies that "we have become the gold at the end of the rainbow."

Deukmejian also made some mistakes. He angered many by abolishing without any notice the state worker health and safety program; organized labor retaliated by pumping crucial money into a close state Senate race and putting the issue on the 1988 ballot and winning. And he was unsuccessful in getting Congressman Dan Lungren confirmed as state treasurer to replace the late Jesse Unruh. Lungren was blocked in the state Senate, largely because he opposed monetary compensation to victims of the Japanese American internment in World War II. Unruh had become a power in the investment world by keeping careful control over the investment of California's pension billions. Probably one of Deukmejian's more notable successes was the defeat of Rose Bird and two other Supreme Court justices in the 1986 election, which gave him new appointments that would make the California Supreme Court, dominated by liberals since 1940, for the first time a bastion of judicial conservatism. And he was proud that the number of prisoners in California, in line with national trends, nearly doubled since he came to office.

These setbacks did not hurt Deukmejian much with the voters, however, and he probably could have been reelected in 1990. But he chose to retire instead. This caused considerable gnashing of teeth among Republicans, who fear that the Democrats will regain the governorship and, with control of the legislature, will control redistricting for the 1990s as Phil Burton did for the 1970s and 1980s. For that reason Senator Pete Wilson was trotted forward by Republican leaders, who were afraid that a little-known candidate couldn't raise the money under the new rules to compete.

The one Democrat clearly in the race in early 1989 was John Van de Kamp, who as attorney general holds an office that is easily portrayed as divorced from politics; a possible contender is Controller Gray Davis, a former top aide to Brown; a bit more colorful and considerably more likely to run is former (1978–87) San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein. All except Feinstein are rather colorless politicians—which seems to be what California has wanted since Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown left Sacramento. Leo McCarthy is running again for lieutenant governor, and the jockeying for other California statewide offices chould be fierce: Van de Kamp will not be running for reelection as attorney general, Secretary of State March Fong Eu may get a primary opponent, and the new insurance commissioner post set up by Proposition 13 could attract multiple entrants. Treasurer Thomas Hayes is a civil servant type who may be opposed in the primary by Angela (Bay) Buchanan, former Treasurer of the United States and sister of conservative columnist, Pat Buchanan. If he were to win that election he may face Jerry Brown's sister Kathleen. These offices may attract some of the state legislators and so there is likely to be some turnover in the capital.

One who will not be leaving Sacramento, it seems, is Willie Brown. In 1988 he seemed on the ropes, and his prominence in Jesse Jackson's campaign seemed an attempt to make a national political career by a man whose state career seemed in decline. A "Gang of Five" Democratic legislators were prepared to run against him, and Assembly Minority Leader Pat Nolan was hoping to overturn the Democrats' 44–36 majority. But after the election it was Nolan who lost his leadership post and Brown who was stronger than ever. The Democrats increased their lead to 47–33, eliminating the leverage of the Gang of Five (who, one might guess, were assigned office space together in the same broom closet), and reducing downward toward zero the

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had ads on the air attacking Zschau
im through November. At the same
with all the best things in California,
households on environmental issues.
paigning as a management exercise,
nd an opponent of the death penalty
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In that environment, turnout was low
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a young journalist he published an
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colleague who later admitted to a

drinking problem to change his mind. On the Banking Committee for years he looked out for the now beleaguered savings and loans. He also became known as a good vote-counter, cultivating not so much the strongest, best-known Senators as those who are obscure and in some cases of limited talents; and when Robert Byrd moved up to the majority leadership in 1977, Cranston became Democratic whip.

Since his 1984 campaign, his career has been in something of an eclipse. While he was out on the road in 1983 and 1984, he had for the first time a colleague, Pete Wilson, who also looked after the state's economic interests. No longer was Cranston indispensable. In much of 1985 and 1986 he was preoccupied with his campaign. In 1987, when the Democrats regained control of the Senate, Majority Leader Robert Byrd gave him a cold shoulder; he liked to be his own vote counter. In 1989, new Majority Leader George Mitchell seems to be using as his lieutenant South Dakota's Tom Daschle, who is a contemporary and campaign helper to many of the younger Democrats, while most of the men Cranston started off with are gone. Cranston easily beat back opposition from Wendell Ford for the whip post, and he has work that he cares about as chairman of the Veterans Committee.

In California, Cranston has worked hard on registering voters and developing a new Democratic organization with appeal to Hispanics and Asians. Many assume he will quit in 1992 when he turns 78. Cranston says he *is* running; he is a physical fitness buff (a champion sprinter into his seventies) and does not seem disposed to retire. If he is not as much at the center of things as he once was, he retains both his idealistic goals and his insider's skills, and there is more than one tenant in the political graveyard who underestimated his determination and political sense.

The man who has won more votes in a single election than anyone in the history of the United States Congress, could walk down just about any street in Washington or in his home state and not be recognized. He is nonetheless a politician of considerable competence and impressive accomplishments. Pete Wilson grew up in an affluent part of St. Louis, went to Yale, then joined the Marines and went to law school at Boalt Hall in Berkeley; he moved to San Diego, where he was elected assemblyman in 1966 and mayor in 1971. His reputation was as a moderate Republican and an environmentalist, interested in nuts-and-bolts state and local government; he supported Gerald Ford over Ronald Reagan in the 1976 presidential primary (better not bring up his name with Reagan even now), opposed Proposition 13 in 1978, and finished fourth in the Republican gubernatorial primary that year, with 9% of the vote. In 1982, still with the handicap of being well known only in the San Diego media market, which has only 8% of the state's voters, he ran in a 13-candidate primary field for Senator, and finished first, with 38% of the vote, as Pete McCloskey was unable to expand beyond his Bay area base, Barry Goldwater Jr. fizzled, and Robert Dornan and Maureen Reagan never got well enough known to be taken seriously. Wilson was then the beneficiary of the unpopularity of Jerry Brown, and beat him 52%–45%. Six years later, he beat Leo McCarthy, who grew up in the same St. Francis Wood neighborhood of San Francisco as Brown, by the almost identical margin of 53%–44%. In the 10 years between his first and his latest statewide race, Wilson increased his vote total from 230,000 to 5.1 million. In the process, he also broke the jinx that has clung to the seat he holds: no one had been reelected to it since 1952.

How did he do it? His voting record, despite his un-Reaganish past, was mostly pro-Reagan, with dissents on issues like offshore drilling, clean air and highways. On military issues, he has been an enthusiastic supporter of the Reagan defense buildup on the Armed Services Committee and on the floor—which evidently doesn't hurt in California, with its big defense industries—and he was one of those ready to move the military into the fight against drugs. He is an SDI enthusiast and the leading opponent of the Midgetman. In 1985, he showed up in pajamas while recovering from surgery to cast a decisive vote for the balanced budget constitutional amendment. He has worked for research on Alzheimer's disease and AIDS, and

wants government to do more about transportation and child care. George Will called him a rarity: a conservative who understands the discriminating, but vigorous use of government for conservative purposes."

He has spent much time working for California interests and on California issues. On the Agriculture Committee he looks out for California's huge food industry and tries to increase its exports. He was the lead advocate of amendments to the immigration bill allowing in more guestworkers for California growers; he took on the chief sponsor of the immigration bill, Alan Simpson, and won. With less success he tried in 1984 to increase tuna tariffs (the U.S. tuna fleet is based in San Diego). He worked with Cranston and against some Republicans on the California wilderness bill, but broke with him over the Mojave Desert wilderness area; he was one of the leaders against offshore oil drilling off California's coast. Wilson was the chief Senate sponsor of the "wine equity act." He also maintained careful ties with California's entertainment industry, pushing bills to keep the TV networks from sharing syndication profits, to stop foreign pirating of films and videocassettes, and to get favorable transition rules for studios in the 1986 tax reform. And he has been a staunch supporter of Israel.

To all these issues Wilson has brought a strong intellect, a willingness to work hard and master details, and a steely and not terribly pleasant competitiveness. He brought those qualities to campaigning as well. With clockwork precision, he raised a record amount of money, calling in many of the chits he had accumulated, particularly among Los Angeles's usually Democratic west side fundraisers. And he spent his money effectively. His opponent was Leo McCarthy, a similarly quiet but also competent officeholder, a former Assembly speaker and now lieutenant governor, who in California's apolitical environment was scarcely known in any substantive way to the voters. McCarthy made some mistakes in the spring: he attended a fundraiser at which anti-nuclear activist Helen Caldicott called Reagan a lunatic and compared Gorbachev to Jesus Christ (statements which McCarthy did not immediately renounce); he was reluctant to release his income tax returns; he was not endorsed by Dianne Feinstein because he opposed homeporting the battleship Missouri in San Francisco; he was hurt by his opposition to capital punishment and 1986 support of Rose Bird; he was attacked by Wilson for a vote against aid to the elderly in the legislature. Wilson, meanwhile, was running ads saying he didn't send out newsletters but gave the money for research on Alzheimer's disease. In November, Wilson ran slightly better in Los Angeles and the South than he had against Brown, while McCarthy did better than Brown in the Bay area and the Coast. But the overall result was similar, and one Wilson would surely settle for if he runs for governor.

If Wilson is elected governor, he will get to pick the next Senator himself. But Wilson's successor will serve only two years and so will come up for reelection, to a two-year term, in 1992. Alan Cranston's term expires then too, and so it is possible that California will have two Senate races, one with an incumbent with less than two years' service, the other, either with no incumbent or with one who will be 78 years old. The incentive for ambitious politicians to run must be overwhelming, and the potential total cost of those campaigns must be frightening—perhaps as much as the insurance industry spent in this apolitical commonwealth on the referenda of 1988.

Congressional districting. California's House delegation of 45 is the largest since New York had that many districts in the 1940s; it is lopsidedly (27–18) Democratic. That is attributed to the redistricting plans drawn up by the late San Francisco Representative Phillip Burton and Michael Berman, an aide to Representative Henry Waxman and brother of former Assembly majority leader and now U.S. Representative Howard Berman. Republican efforts to forge an alliance with Hispanic legislators failed when Burton figured out how to draw one more Hispanic district than the Republican computers did. The Republicans turned to referenda and won at the polls in 1982, only to have Burton draw another plan before Jerry Brown left office, and the Republican's efforts to create a commission of retired judges to draw the district lines was

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turned down by the voters in 1984; the final court challenge wasn't dismissed until early 1989. The Burton plan is not quite as unfair as the Republicans claim, however. Any districting plan will tend to understate Republicans' popular vote strength, because so many of their votes are cast in a few high-income, high-turnout areas. And the Republicans' failure to capture majorities in the legislature in the 1980s is due more to their candidates' weaknesses than to the district lines.

In any case, Burton died in 1983, and by 1989 the focus was on what will happen after 1990. The census is expected to give California five or six new seats, to make it the largest state delegation in history. At least two, in southern California, will be Republican no matter who draws the lines: there are no Democratic precincts in this rapidly growing territory. Otherwise, the key is the governor's race in 1990. If the Democrats win, they will probably totally control redistricting, subject only to a court case. If Pete Wilson or another Republican wins, there will be pressure for a compromise. There is, at this point, a good government argument for drawing safe seats for most if not quite all of California's incumbents, since the state has many talented, well-placed and powerful House members, most of them Democrats but some Republicans too. This is rather remarkable because it is hard to be a good legislator if you must fly five hours over three time zones to California on weekends and then take the redeye back to Washington.

The People: Est. Pop. 1988: 28,168,000; Pop. 1980: 23,667,902, up 19% 1980–88 and 18.5% 1970–80; 11.19% of U.S. total, 1st largest. 23% with 1–3 yrs. col., 20% with 4+ yrs. col.; 11.4% below poverty level. Single ancestry: 8% English, 5% German, 3% Irish, 2% Italian, 1% French, Russian, Portuguese, Polish, Swedish, Dutch, Scottish, Norwegian. Households (1980): 69% family, 37% with children, 55% married couples; 44.1% housing units rented; median monthly rent: $253; median house value: $84,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 17,278,944; 16% Spanish origin, 7% Black, 5% Asian origin, 1% American Indian. Registered voters (1988): 14,004,873; 7,052,368 D (50%); 5,406,127 R (39%); 1,546,378 unaffiliated and minor parties (11%).

1988 Share of Federal Tax Burden: $113,203,000,000; 12.80% of U.S. total, largest.

1988 Share of Federal Expenditures

	Total		Non-Defense		Defense	
Total Expend	$102,366m	(11.58%)	$66,020m	(10.07%)	$42,398m	(18.56%)
St/Lcl Grants	11,676m	(10.19%)	11,674m	(10.20%)	2m	(2.16%)
Salary/Wages	16,380m	(12.20%)	6,240m	(9.31%)	10,140m	(9.31%)
Pymnts to Indiv	41,941m	(10.25%)	39,199m	(10.04%)	2,741m	(14.71%)
Procurement	29,457m	(15.61%)	6,052m	(13.02%)	29,457m	(15.61%)
Research/Other	2,913m	(7.80%)	2,855m	(7.70%)	58m	(7.70%)

Political Lineup: Governor, George Deukmejian (R); Lt. Gov., Leo T. McCarthy (D); Secy. of State, March Fong Eu (D); Atty. Gen., John Van de Kamp (D); Treasurer, Thomas Hayes (R); Controller, Gray Davis (D). State Senate, 40 (24 D and 15 R and 1 I); State Assembly, 80 (47 D and 33 R). Senators, Alan Cranston (D) and Pete Wilson (R). Representatives, 45 (27 D and 18 R).

1988 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	5,054,917	(51%)
Dukakis (D)	4,702,233	(48%)

1988 Democratic Presidential Primary

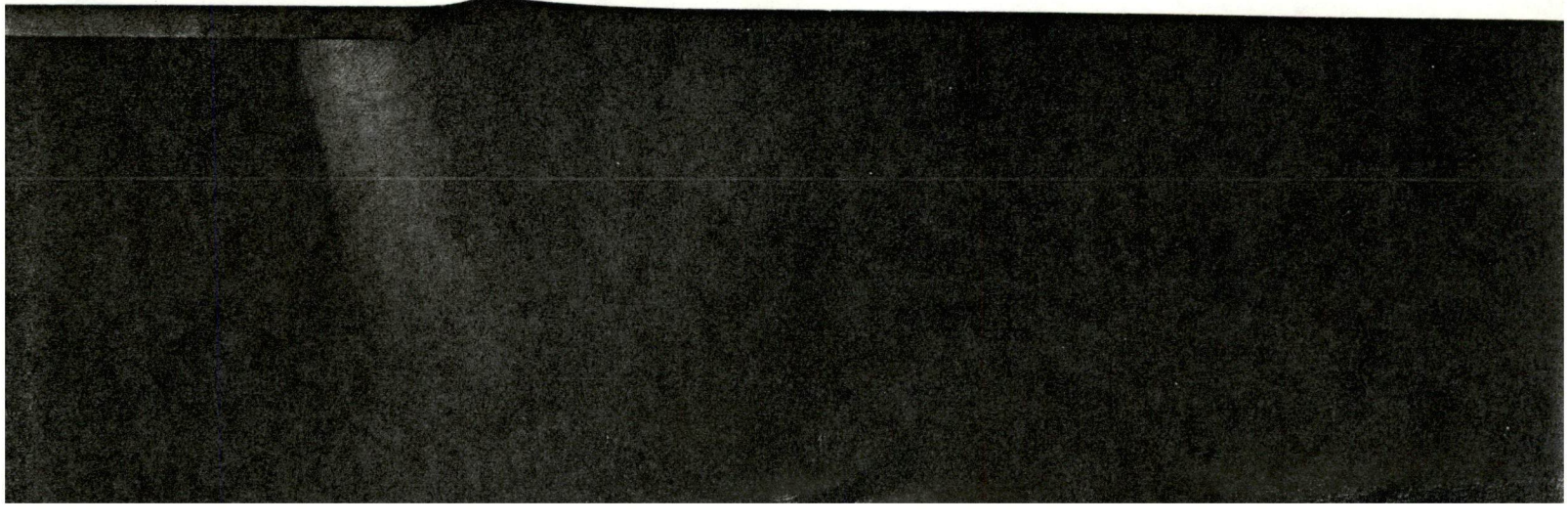
Dukakis	1,910,808	(61%)
Jackson	1,102,093	(35%)
Gore	56,645	(2%)
Simon	43,771	(1%)

1984 Presidential Vote

Reagan (R)	5,467,009	(58%)
Mondale (D)	3,922,519	(41%)

1988 Republican Presidential Primary

Bush	1,856,273	(83%)
Dole	289,220	(14%)
Robertson	94,779	(4%)



GOVERNOR

Gov. George Deukmejian (R)



Elected 1982, term expires Jan. 1991; b. June 6, 1928, Menands, NY; home, Long Beach; Sienna Col., B.A. 1949, St. Johns U., J.D. 1952; Episcopalian; married (Gloria).

Career: Practicing atty., 1952–53, 1958–62; Army, 1953–55; Atty., Texaco Inc., 1955–58; CA Assembly, 1962–66; CA Senate, 1966–78; CA Atty. Gen., 1978–82.

Office: State Capitol Bldg., Sacramento 95814, 916-445-2841.

Election Results

1986 gen.	George Deukmejian (R)	4,506,601	(61%)
	Tom Bradley (D)	2,781,714	(37%)
1986 prim.	George Deukmejian (R)	1,927,290	(94%)
	William H. R. Clark (R)	132,126	(6%)
1982 gen.	George Deukmejian (R)	3,881,014	(49%)
	Tom Bradley (D)	3,787,669	(48%)

SENATORS

Sen. Alan Cranston (D)



Elected 1968, seat up 1992; b. June 19, 1914, Palo Alto; home, Los Angeles; Pomona Col., U. of Mexico, Stanford U., B.A. 1936; Protestant; separated.

Career: Foreign Correspondent, Intl. News Srvc., 1936–38; Lobbyist, Common Council for American Unity, 1939; Army, WWII; Real estate business, 1947–67; Pres., United World Federalists, 1949–52; CA Controller, 1958–66.

Offices: 112 HSOB 20510, 202-224-3553. Also 1390 Market St., Ste. 918, San Francisco 94102, 415-556-8440; 5757 W. Century Blvd., #620, Los Angeles 90045, 213-215-2186; and 880 Front St., #5S31, San Diego 92188, 619-557-5014.

Committees: *Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs* (2d of 12 D). Subcommittees: Housing and Urban Affairs (Chairman); Securities. *Foreign Relations* (4th of 10 D). Subcommittees: African Affairs; East Asian and Pacific Affairs (Chairman); Western Hemisphere and Peace Corps Affairs. *Veterans' Affairs* (Chairman of 6 D). *Select Committee on Intelligence* (5th of 8 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	95	87	91	100	70	0	7	0	29	20
1987	75	—	91	75	—	0	—	—	33	21

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	71% — 28%	59% — 37%
Social	76% — 23%	88% — 10%
Foreign	86% — 0%	74% — 19%

expires Jan. 1991; b. June 6, 1928, Menands, ach; Sienna Col., B.A. 1949, St. Johns U., J.D. married (Gloria).

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ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
0	7	0	29	20
0	—	—	33	21

1987 LIB — 1987 CONS

59%	—	37%
88%	—	10%
74%	—	19%

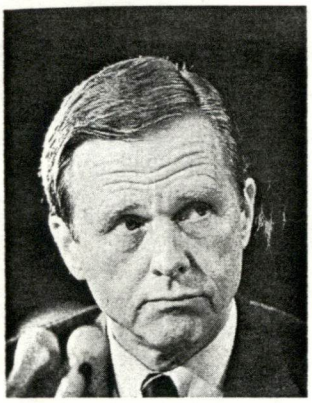
Key Votes

1) Cut Aged Housing $	AGN	5) Bork Nomination	AGN	9) SDI Funding	AGN
2) Override Hwy Veto	FOR	6) Ban Plastic Guns	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	7) Deny Abortions	AGN	11) Aid To Contras	AGN
4) Min Wage Increase	FOR	8) Japanese Reparations	FOR	12) Reagan Defense $	AGN

Election Results

1986 general	Alan Cranston (D)	3,646,672	(50%)	($11,037,707)
	Ed Zschau (R)	3,541,804	(47%)	($11,781,316)
1986 primary	Alan Cranston (D)	1,807,244	(81%)	
	Charles Greene (D)	165,594	(7%)	
	John Hancock Abbott (D)	124,218	(6%)	
	Two others (D)	142,193	(6%)	
1980 general	Alan Cranston (D)	4,705,399	(57%)	($2,823,462)
	Paul Gann (R)	3,093,426	(37%)	($1,705,523)

Sen. Pete Wilson (R)



Elected 1982, seat up 1994; b. Aug. 23, 1933, Lake Forest, IL; home, San Diego; Yale U., B.A. 1955, U. of CA at Berkeley, J.D. 1962; Protestant; married (Gayle).

Career: USMC, 1955–58; Practicing atty., 1963–66; CA Assembly, 1966–71, Minor. Whip, 1967–69; Mayor of San Diego, 1971–83.

Offices: 720 HSOB 20510, 202-224-3841. Also 2040 Ferry Bldg., San Francisco 94102, 415-556-4307; 11111 Santa Monica Blvd., #915, Los Angeles 90025, 213-209-6765; Fed. Bldg., 1130 O St., Rm. 4015, Fresno 93721, 209-487-5727; and 401 B St., Ste. 2209, San Diego 92660, 619-557-5257.

Committees: *Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry* (8th of 9 R). Subcommittees: Agricultural Production and Stabilization of Prices; Agricultural Research and General Legislation (Ranking Member); Domestic and Foreign Marketing and Production Promotion. *Armed Services* (3rd of 9 R). Subcommittees: Conventional Forces and Alliance Defense (Ranking Member); Manpower and Personnel; Strategic Forces and Nuclear Defense. *Governmental Affairs* (6th of 6 R). Subcommittees: Investigations; Federal Services, Post Office and Civil Service; Oversight of Government Management. *Special Committee on Aging* (5th of 9 R). *Joint Economic Committee*. Subcommittees: Economic Goals and Intergovernmental Policy; Education and Health; National Security and Economics.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	15	46	15	42	70	75	67	100	77	53
1987	30	—	13	42	—	75	—	—	87	62

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	30% — 69%	29% — 70%
Social	54% — 45%	50% — 49%
Foreign	13% — 84%	0% — 76%

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2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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HEADLINE: Beware the gerrymander, my son: creative redistricting

BYLINE: Fund, John H.

BODY:

DURING THE sultry summer of 1981, the nation's political attention was focused on Washington. President Reagan and House Speaker Tip O'Neill were locked in fierce combat over the White House's budget and tax-cut proposals. Reagan ended up winning, and Washington observers predicted a new era of Republican dominance. But as Reagan accepted the cheers of the conservative faithful, 2,500 miles away a rumpled political junkie named Phil Burton was gerrymandering California's 45 congressional districts to ensure continued Democratic control of the House and help place a decade-long political roadblock in front of the conservative political agenda.

Phil Burton was a liberal hero who represented the Democratic stronghold of San Francisco in Congress. He watched with dismay as the Reagan political juggernaut rolled through Washington. He heard rumors that if the GOP gained any House seats at all in the 1982 elections, up to thirty House Democrats might bolt their party and vote with the Republicans to elect a conservative-coalition Speaker. He vowed to use the power the Democratic state legislature had given him to dictate the new congressionaldistrict lines so as to prevent that from ever happening.

Through many warm nights that summer of '81, Burton held court at a back-room table in Frank Fat's Chinese restaurant in Sacramento, a two-block walk from the state-capitol building. Proud of his mastery of political demographics, Burton brazenly held late-night sessions to bargain over the shape of California's future congressional districts. He would call visiting members of Congress over to Frank Fat's, spread out his maps, listen to their desires for a redrawn district, hint at his own plans, and then dismiss them. He would always promise, "You're in your mother's arms," GOP redistricting consultant Henry Olsen recalls. "The one thing he didn't tell the Republicans was that their mother was about to drop them."

When Burton finally unveiled his computer-drawn magic-what he called his "contribution to modern art"politicians were struck dumb by his genius. One said that the drawers of the original gerrymander, an 1812 Massachusetts legislative plan supported by then-Governor Elbridge Gerry, "would have had to concede the trophy to Phil." One district, drawn specifically for Burton's ally Howard Berman, was an incredible 385-sided figure that meandered through most of the San Fernando Valley.

The "Burtonmander" worked just as its creator had hoped it would. It turned a 22 to 21 Democratic edge in the congressional delegation into a 28 to 17 majority after the 1982 election. All 22 Democratic incumbents were given safe

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districts, while only 15 of the 21 Republicans kept their seats. Political scientist Bruce Cain has shown that Phil Burton's sessions at Frank Fat's netted the Democrats at least five extra House seats. While that would probably not have been enough to elect a coalition Speaker, a shift of five seats can still have a large impact. A recent House Republican conference report showed that from 1983 through 1987, at least seventy votes on substantive issues of foreign and domestic policy were decided by five votes or less.

BURTON HIMSELF died of a heart attack in 1983, and so did not see the long-term success of his artwork. Since the Burton plan was implemented only one of California's 45 districts has shifted party control. The rest have been frozen in political time. In 1984, Republicans won 50.5 per cent of the state's two-party vote for Congress; yet Democrats won 60 per cent of the seats. In both 1986 and 1988, the GOP won 47 per cent of the vote, and Democrats won 60 per cent of the seats.

Other gerrymanders enacted in 1981 and 1982 in states such as Illinois and Texas also solidified or expanded Demcratic strength. In the 367 congressional races both parties entered in 1984, the Republicans won 500,000 more votes, but the Democrats ended up with thirty more seats.

Partisan gerrymandering largely benefits Democrats, who control both houses of the state legislature in 28 states. But in many states political gerrymandering is still held in check by the fact that a governor of the other party can veto a gerrymander. A more serious problem is the prevalence of bipartisan gerrymandering. Incumbents of both parties now routinely conspire to draw districts that will re-elect them. The only losers are potential challengers in both parties-and the voters .

This bipartisan gerrymandering coupled with other protections for incumbents produced House elections in 1986 and 1988 that were structurally the most uncompetitive since 1832, according to noted political scholar Walter Dean Burnham. Both times, only six incumbents-less than 2 per cent of those running-lost, and in more than four out of five House districts the winner took home over 60 per cent of the vote.

HE DANGER in the redistricting that will take place

after the 1990 census is that state legislators of both Tparties now have the data and computers to make even Phil Burton's gerrymander look like the work of an amateur. Last month, the Census Bureau announced that it will now be able to provide redistricting officials with census data down to the block level. "That means I could decide I liked the demographics of people on one side of a street more than on the other and draw the district line down the middle between them," says Republican National Committee consultant Tom Hofeller.

In this light, take a look at some highpoints of the Burton err mander. One of the most frequently cited ex- amples of creative gerrymandering is California's 27th CD, held by Democratic Representative Mel Levine. The area floating apart from the rest of the district is not land-it represents whatever people were on docked boats in Los Angeles Harbor the day the 1980 census was taken. Another stylized dragon is called the 32nd CD. The 32nd was a first-prize winner at the Burton School of Art and is currently in the possession of Representative Glenn

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Opponents of gerrymandering complain that it is almost impossible to educate voters about the serious nature of the problem-it is inherently an issue only for those who follow political "inside baseball." While this is generally true, there are exceptions. Republican opponents of Phil Burton's handiwork put an initiative on the June 1982 ballot asking voters to overturn it. After a fierce campaign, voters rejected the Democratic districting lines by margins of nearly 2 to 1. The legislature was instructed to prepare new plans.

Unchastened, the Democratic legislature rammed through a new set of district lines that differed only slightly from the ones the voters had just rejected. Departing Democratic Governor Jerry Brown signed the legislature's new gerrymander -dubbed Son of Burton-into law only hours before his Republican successor, George Deukmejian, was sworn in. When this blatant defiance of the people's will was challenged, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown had a succinct reply: "Screw the peopl e!"

Opponents of the Burtonmander did not give up. In 1983, a young Republican assemblyman and wine grower named Don Sebastiani collected 600,000 signatures for a

good government" redistricting plan that largely followed city and county boundaries. Republicans would clearly have been helped by the new lines, but a few of their incumbents would have been threatened. Not surprisingly, the State Supreme Court led by the judicial activist Rose Bird threw the initiative off the ballot, preserving the status quo. More surprising was the opposition Mr. Sebastiani encountered from within his own party. " Gerrymanders really do entrench incumbents of both parties," he says. "I found that out when GOP incumbents told me not to upset the apple cart."

While everyone acknowledges the existence of gerrymanders, there is vast disagreement about their importance. Norman Ornstein, a scholar at the American Enterprise In- stitute, points out that, all o a party that wins 52 per cent of the vote for Congress will probably capture 55 per cent or more of the seats. "The minority is simply less efficient in being able to translate its overall support into the maximum number of seats," he contends. Tom Hofeller agrees that Ornstein has a point, but says gerrymandering still locks players out of the political arena. "Anyone who says gerrymandering can only play a small role in reducing political competition should let me draw their state's districts," Hofeller says. "There wouldn't be another real race for the House in that state for ten years."

But even some conservatives who believe gerrymandering distorts electoral outcomes think that very little should be done to correct it. "Trying to define gerrymandering is even more difficult than defining pornography," says columnist Malcolm Forbes Jr. "The only way to correct gerrymandering is to adopt proportional representation. That would have a baleful impact on this country by increasing instability and encouraging special-interest parties."

While such concerns are certainly valid, gerrymandering on the scale allowed by the new computers will clearly dilute the ability of millions of Americans to influence the electoral process. Fewer than two dozen congressional districts were considered truly marginal by political handicappers in 1988-that is, winnable by either party under normal circumstances. Elections have thus largely become pro-forma exercises that inhibit the open and vigorous political debate that is the essence of democracy.

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Voters have responded to this lack of competitive House elections by not going to the polls. In the 1986 mid-term election, only 33 per cent of eligible voters cast ballots in House elections-the lowest turnout since 1942. But they will still turn out for a hot contest. In Florida, 38 per cent voted in the lively 1986 U.S. Senate race, but only 25 per cent in that state's h umdrum U.S.

House elections.

What can be done to limit the corrosive effect of gerrymandering? Until recently, very little, since the U.S. Su- preme Court had not decided whether or not the victims of gerrymandering could be granted constitutional relief.

Many critics of gerrymandering have proposed that gerrymanders be curbed through state constitutional provisions or congressional action that would strictly implement a set of rules limiting partisan line-drawing, such as compactness and the use of city and county boundaries. Such standards would be welcome, but neither Congress nor state legislatures are likely to limit their own redistricting power. In California, where voters in 1980 passed a constitutional amendment mandating guidelines on redistricting, the legislature has completely ignored them.

Another way to reform the redistricting process is favored by President Reagan. He promises to make an antigerrymandering campaign a top priority now that he has left office. He told David Brinkley in a farewell interview that "the Founding Fathers made something of a mistake" in allowing self-interested state legislators to draw their own districts. President Reagan supports removing redistricting from the legislature and placing it with a "bipartisan" commission of prominent citizens. Some ten states currently use some form of commission to redraw district lines, but since members tend to be appointed by the political parties, they typically pass bipartisan "incumbent preservation" gerrymanders.

MORE PROMISING avenue of relief was opened up in

1984 when a U.S. District Court in Indiana held in ADavis v. Bandemer that Indiana Republicans had unfairly gerrymandered the state's legislative districts. In 1982, Indiana's Democratic slate had won 52 per cent of the popular vote for the lower house, but only 43 out of one hundred seats.

Bandemer was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which in 1986 ruled that claims of partisan gerrymandering could be heard by federal courts. A decision by four Justices further found that gerrymandering that artificially entrenches one party in power over a period of time was unconstitutional. However, it ruled that Democrats opposing the Indiana plan, resting their case on the results of a single election, could not convince the Court that Democrats were doomed to perpetual minority status. And indeed the effect of the Indiana gerrymander -unlike the "Burtonmander" and others-was eventually diluted by population shifts and other factors. By 1988 Democrats were able to win a tie in the Indiana House even with the gerrymandered districts.

The Court's ruling was a reasonable compromise between the conflicting constitutional demands of federalism allowing states to design their own political subdivisions-and the principie that districts should not be drawn so that they consistently discriminate against members of any particular voting group, be they black, Hispanic or-GASP!even members of an opposing political

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party.

In late 1986, five months after the ruling in Bandemer, a three-judge District Court in California finally held a hearing on Badham v. Eu, a Republican challenge to the 1982 Burtonmander. The 2 to I decision dismissing the Republican challenge was finally handed down in May 1988. The District Court basically asserted that since Republicans had clected a state governor and a U.S. senator, and "given also that a recent former Republican governor of California has for seven years been President of the United States," Republicans were still able to "exercise potent power" in the political process as a whole. But as Professor Gordon Baker, a redistricting specialist for over thirty years, points out, much the same argument was voiced in the 1960s by segregationists and others who defended districts with clearly unequal populations that favored rural interests. They insisted that urban and suburban voters were not really shut out of the political process since they could still elect candidates on a statewide basis.

Yet on January 17, the U.S. Supreme Court dismissed the Republican challenge to the Burton gerrymander without hearing oral argument or issuing an opinion. Roy Schotland, a Georgetown University Law School professor, said the Justices may have decided to affirm the plan because Phil Burton's maps were due to expire after the 1990 elections anyway. Still, the Court's decision disappointed those who thought it might finally provide a firm legal precedent for evaluating future redistricting plans. The Court's upholding of the Burton maps means that any test case of the gerrymander's limits won't be heard until after the next congressional-district lines are drawn.

Obviously the Court is still bitterly divided over what restrictions it can place on legislative majorities seeking political advantage in the drawing of district lines. Its hesitation is understandable. Creation of a true Ievel playing field" is impossible and would mean that unclected judges would probably end up drawing most redistricting plans. But the Supreme Court is Just as correct in implying that a meaningful political contest can't take place if one party uses its power to such an extent that it locks the other player out of the stadium entirely. Professor Baker believes the Supreme Court must set some standards. "Failure to reverse Badham would tell legislators that after the 1990 census no holds would be barred," he says. "With increasingly sophisticated computers, voters could be fenced in and out of districts all over the country with no justification other than keeping the minority party out of power."

Professor Bernard Grofman, a frequent expert witness for Democrats in redistricting cases, believes the Court can construct standards that would throw out egregious gerrymanders such as Burton's but would maintain a sufficiently high standard to avoid an overload of the judicial system. In 1962, in the famous Baker v. Carr decision, the Supreme Court ruled that voting districts must be populated equally. Later in the 1960s the Court also said that courts may throw out districting plans where there is evidence of racial discrimination, and this is routinely done today. There is legitimate argument over the extent to which the federal courts should have intervened in such local matters. But both decisions are now generally acknowledged as a functional part of American democracy.

Today, in the last part of the twentieth century, the major danger to effective democracy is rooted in political gerrymandering and the vast array

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of incumbent protections Congress and state legislatures have erected in order to give themselves de-facto lifetime tenure. The polity can no longer afford to allow sophisticated computers and abstract redistricting art to limit political competition and thwart the democratic decisions of the American people. The political creature known as the gerrymander must be caged and the will of the people, as reflected in their votes, set free.

GRAPHIC: Cartoon; Map; Caption: Burton's and Sebastiani's versions of 27th CD

SUBJECT: California, administrative and political divisions; Gerrymander, analysis

NAME: Burton, Philip, political activity; Sebastiani, Don, political activity

GEOGRAPHIC: California

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HEADLINE: WALKING A FINE LINE;
ALATORRE MUST BALANCE VARIED INTERESTS WHILE DRAWING NEW COUNCIL BOUNDARIES

BYLINE: By VICTOR MERINA, Times Staff Writer

BODY:

Seated before the panel of visiting Los Angeles City Council members, the speaker in the Sun Valley gymnasium carefully delivered his arguments on how to proceed with the complicated task of reapportioning the city's political boundaries.

As a sparse audience listened, the auto worker addressing the meeting paused to look directly at the head of the council's Charter and Elections Committee. Smiling, he reminded the chairman that the successful redrawing of City Council district lines may depend largely on the political skills of one man.

"I don't know how you got stuck with this job," he told Richard Alatorre, "but this can either make you or break you."

That vignette -- in a predominantly Latino section of the east San Fernando Valley that could change dramatically through reapportionment -- reflects the stature of, and the challenge facing, the chief architect of the city's redistricting plan.

As a former state assemblyman in charge of the last such exercise at the state level, Alatorre is no stranger to the political perils or peculiarities of redistricting. Along with the late Rep. Philip Burton, widely acknowledged as California's past master of the artful gerrymander, Alatorre once drew the boundaries of congressional districts on a restaurant tablecloth that was later sold at a political auction.

Now, as a freshman council member tackling his first major issue, Alatorre again finds himself dealing with reapportionment -- that complicated and potentially volatile task of shaping district boundaries. And his fellow council members, some of them potential rivals for higher office, find their immediate fortunes tied to Alatorre and his computer. The repositioning of voting districts can bring about not only new power alignments within the electorate but also the downfall of incumbents who become victims of constituencies pulled out from under them.

Already there are grumbles and signs of discord. Voters who reside in those new districts and council members who will run in them are pressing to find out what those borders will entail. Latinos, who applauded the election of one of their own to the City Council five months ago, are now questioning whether Alatorre can uphold their interests and, at the same time, avoid gerrymandering his council colleagues into political oblivion.

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(c) 1986 Los Angeles Times, April 21, 1986

Black voters are voicing concerns that a new redistricting plan could undercut their own political strength, and Asians -- an emerging power base in local government -- are moving quickly to ensure that they are not left out of any shift in council alignments.

Meanwhile, looming in the background are the courts and he U.S. Justice Department, which kindled the latest reapportionment controversy by filing a lawsuit against the City of Los Angeles, accusing local officials of discriminating against Latinos when they redrew council district boundaries in 1982.

"I knew it was going to be a challenge and it is," Alatorre said. "Most people don't realize just how important reapportionment is. It determines the quality and type of representation that people are going to have."

In a city as ethnically diverse as Los Angeles -- where the population is more than 51% black, Asian and Latino -- the council makeup has failed to keep pace with the burgeoning racial minorities. There are three blacks, one Latino and one Asian on the 15-member council, and the aim of the new reapportionment is to help ensure that targeted ethnic groups have a fair shot at representation beginning with the 1987 elections.

In practical terms, drawing new boundaries can mean not only a different cast of incumbents but also different priorities when it comes to apportioning public services, ranging from street cleaning and crime to housing and recreation. The changes can also tilt the council's political balance on key issues, affecting overall city policy.

If the importance of reapportionment is lost on most people, the process itself is equally obscure.

"It's not glamorous. It's frustrating. It's tedious. It's long, and it's hard to do because you have to balance so many interests," Alatorre said in an interview. "You have to balance the interests of the people versus the interests of politicians, and you have to balance this group against that group."

Alatorre and his fellow council committee members -- Michael Woo and Hal Bernson -- have embarked on that balancing act with a promise to produce a new reapportionment plan by July 31, a proposal that will need at least eight votes on the council for approval and then probably face a legal challenge.

The remapping will affect all 15 council districts, but it is expected to touch primarily on the downtown core of the city, as well as Northeast Los Angeles and portions of the San Fernando Valley, where Latino voters are found in large numbers.

The Justice Department, in its lawsuit filed last November, charged that the city violated the 1965 Voting Rights Act by slicing up the Latino community into seven different council districts and deliberately diluting its voting strength. Scattering Latino voters over various districts has made it difficult for them to influence city elections, according to the federal government.

Although city officials steadfastly deny any wrongdoing, the council decided to redraw the lines -- which divide the city into individual districts of about 200,000 residents -- in an effort to avert a divisive court battle.

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Council President Pat Russell, who headed the earlier redistricting effort, chose Alatorre to lead the latest attempt, and said his experience with the state redistricting and his political skills made him "a natural" for the city job.

Accusations Deflected

It also did not hurt that the new chairman was a Latino whose visibility could deflect the accusation that the city has engaged in historic discrimination against Hispanics.

"I don't want my plan to be thrown out by the Justice Department, so that means I have to make substantial changes," Alatorre said when asked about the plan. "How dramatic I think that is going to be will be in the eyes of the beholder. Any change could be dramatic."

Alatorre, who helped draw political boundaries for legislative and congressional districts in 1982, said no prospective new lines have been drawn for the city yet, and will not be until public hearings are concluded.

Those public meetings, which began nearly two weeks ago, will continue today with an afternoon and evening session at downtown City Hall. Earlier meetings were held in South-Central Los Angeles, as well as the San Fernando Valley, and another meeting is slated next week in the mid-Wilshire area.

But today's hearings are expected to attract residents from the downtown and East Los Angeles neighborhoods, where some of the largest concentrations of minority groups live. "That will be the battleground," Alatorre said of a possible clash between competing interests groups.

Own Redistricting Plan

Latinos, for example, have long chafed at their lack of council seats despite representing 27.5% of the city's population. After the Justice Department filed its lawsuit, a major Latino organization -- the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund -- joined as a co-plaintiff and proposed its own redistricting plan to the city.

That plan, summarily rejected by the council, suggested radically altering council lines to create another district more favorable to Latinos in addition to the 14th District represented by Alatorre. That realignment would have cut deeply into the districts of several incumbents, eroding their chances for reelection and threatening the council's political alliances.

The National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People also expressed alarm at the plan to switch the downtown business district from a largely black district into a new and predominantly Latino one. And it questioned the wresting of the Crenshaw District from Council President Russell, who is white but enjoys strong support from blacks.

Join in Lawsuit

The NAACP asked the court to join in the lawsuit to protect the interests of black voters. Lawyers for Chinese-American residents and businesses quickly did the same. Both requests were granted last week by U.S. District Judge James

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Ideman, who said that the Justice Department could not be expected to protect the interests of all groups in pursuing a new reapportionment plan.

Stewart Kwoh, director of the Asian Pacific American Legal Center, said an ad hoc group representing other segments of the Asian community is also prepared to enter the legal fray.

"We feel that the Latinos have a valid claim and we support the (reapportionment) process," Kwoh said, "but since this is going to be a very political process, unless we have a voice in all the compromising and negotiating, our interests may be ignored."

Some of Alatorre's own colleagues also are uneasy about exactly what kind of plan his committee will produce.

"Keep in mind that redistricting comes down to every councilman and councilwoman for themselves," said one City Hall staff member who asked not to be identified. "This where it gets to be fun watching the 15 members scramble to protect themselves."

Increased Attendance

That growing interest -- at least among council members -- has meant increased attendance at community hearings. Staff members have begun shuttling back and forth with proposals. Some council members have already met with Alatorre in his office to talk about their individual districts and what they feel is important to retain or what they are willing to lose in any redistricting plan.

Alatorre reiterated that he does not think any incumbents will be ousted -- much to the dismay of some Latino groups.

At the first public hearing in Sun Valley, about a dozen Latinos picketed the sessions as a "sham" and boycotted the meeting. Others participated but remained skeptical.

"We really don't believe that the council can put aside all its political concerns and meet our community needs," said Richard Alarcon, president of the San Fernando Valley chapter of the Mexican American Political Assn., who said the solution may rest with the courts.

But Alatorre remains unperturbed, and scoffs at those who worry about back room deals and who refuse to compromise on a workable plan.

"I'm sure everybody is not going to be happy with the plan," Alatorre said. "If everybody's happy then you know something is wrong. I'll be very honest with you, I don't see getting 15 (council) votes for this plan. There's no way.

"But if it can be done, I will come up with a plan, and get the votes to pass it," he said. Then, waving to the array of maps in his office, he added, "If they don't like it, they start again with somebody else."

GRAPHIC: Photo, Councilman Richard Alatorre, Los Angeles Times; Map, CURRENT LOS ANGELES CITY COUNCIL DISTRICTS, Los Angeles Times

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SUBJECT: REAPPORTIONMENT -- LOS ANGELES; ALATORRE, RICHARD

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to Warren Burger's majority opinion in *Lynch* v. *Donnelly*. In that opinion, having likened government religious displays to Presidential proclamations marking Christmas and the Jewish High Holy Days, Burger observed that the fears of religious divisiveness that gave rise to the First Amendment's religion clauses "are of far less concern today. . . . Any notion that these symbols pose a real danger of establishment of a state church is farfetched indeed."

The accommodationist view makes sense if one accepts that the only "establishment of religion" proscribed by the First Amendment is the creation of a national or state church. That is too big an "if" for me, but there is no doubt that a triumph for the accommodationist view would discourage holiday horror shows like the litigation over the miracles on Grant Street. But so would an acceptance by the Court of the counsel of Justice Stevens in his dissent (joined by Brennan and Thurgood Marshall) in last summer's ruling: "In my opinion the Establishment Clause should be construed to create a strong presumption against the display of religious symbols on public property. There is always the risk that such symbols will offend non-members of the faith being advertised as well as adherents who consider the particular advertisement disrespectful."

The life of the law, Holmes said, has not been logic; it has been experience. Pittsburgh's experience suggests that the wiser reading of the law may be Justice Stevens's.

MICHAEL MCGOUGH is editorial page editor of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette.*

The end of California's political gold rush.

THE BUCK STOPS

By Norman J. Ornstein and Mark Schmitt

For the decade since California bequeathed Ronald Reagan to the nation, it has been a relatively quiet player on the national political scene, calmly re-electing pragmatic, moderate officials who appear to lack wider ambitions. But as 1992 approaches, the state is getting ready to set in motion a triple play that could transform the game of politics throughout the nation.

It begins with California's own 1992 elections, which promise to be more numerous, competitive, and costly than any in the history of the state, or any other state. For the rest of the nation as well, the 1992 elections will be stormy and expensive. And because of California's peculiar role in financing political campaigns nationwide, the state's impending turmoil threatens to reshape the system of campaign finance just as we are in the midst of efforts to reform it.

In 1992, for the first time since direct election of Senators began, both California Senate seats might be up for grabs in the same election, along with about a half-dozen brand-new open U.S. House seats and a higher than average number of genuinely competitive House races. The political forces behind this confluence were set in motion last February, when Republican Senator Pete Wilson, whose term expires in 1994, announced that he was running for Governor in 1990. If Wilson wins the statehouse—he is currently the favorite—he will appoint his own successor to the Senate until the next general election, in 1992, determines who will fill the remaining two years of his Senate term.

The seat of California's senior Senator, Alan Cranston, also will be up in 1992. At 78, tainted by the Lincoln Savings and Loan scandal, Cranston is facing pressure within his own party to retire. Whatever he decides to do, California voters would face two highly competitive, extremely expensive Senate races at once.

Dual Senate races have occurred under similar circumstances before, most recently in Minnesota in 1978, when two Republicans replaced two liberal Democrats. But this time they would occur in the biggest and most expensive state in the nation, where even routine Senate races cost twice as much as anywhere else. Further, they would coincide with an upheaval in the state's House delegation caused by redistricting. The 1990 Census will give California six or seven new House seats, which means that nearly one in every eight Congressmen will represent the Golden State. Just as significant, all the existing California Congressional district lines will have to be redrawn in response to the changing population numbers throughout the state.

The process of redistricting—which will involve the new, probably Republican Governor, the almost certainly Democratic legislature, possibly an independent commission, and probably the courts—is unlikely to give either party the advantage that the Democrats obtained in 1982 after the 1980 Census. But by changing the constituency of nearly every one of the state's 45 current Congressmen, then adding several open seats, redistricting could create a large number of competitive races for the first time in a decade—and, at the least, generate panic among incumbents. That in turn will prompt Congressional candidates to spend far more than the $26.3 million they spent in the state in 1988.

To top it all off, the California state legislature is considering a bill that would move the 1992 Presidential primary from June (where it has been irrelevant to the nomination in both parties since 1972) to early March, right after Iowa and New Hampshire but before any other state. Such a move would mean not only that Californians would choose the front-runner for each

party's Presidential nomination, but also that no candidate who didn't have at least a million dollars in hand well in advance could even think about running for President.

In the 1980s California came to serve as the political piggy bank for the rest of the country. A few years ago a quick trip to a fund-raiser at Barbra Streisand's Malibu ranch netted an easy $1 million for six Senate candidates, but the entertainment community was only the most visible of the state's money machines. Real estate interests in the Los Angeles area and high-technology entrepreneurs from Silicon Valley bankrolled Senate and Presidential candidates of both parties. Every prospective candidate for the 1992 Democratic Presidential nomination has already made at least one fund-raising trip to California. Senate candidates, aware that 1992 means 34 or 35 contests nationwide, including 13 in which the incumbent squeaked by with less than 53 percent of the vote last time, are gearing up for fund-raising pilgrimages of their own.

But even in California money is not without limits, and in 1992 Californians will want to save more of their cash for their own state. Its last two Senate general elections cost a total of $43 million. With primaries in both parties, two simultaneous elections in 1992 could easily surpass $60 million in spending. If California House candidates could find ways to spend $26 million in 1988, when not one seat changed parties, they could easily lay out $40 million or $50 million in the newly competitive, redrawn districts of 1992. That's $110 million just for Congressional races in California. To put that prudent estimate in perspective, it would be more than all the political action committees put together spent on all the House races in the country in 1988.

Much as a tight supply of money in the economy benefits those who are already rich, a tight supply of campaign money would help the three kinds of politicians who already have it: millionaires willing to bankroll their own campaigns, particularly heirs who don't have to work at the businesses that generated their millions; incumbents, particularly those legislators whose committee spots give them influence over specific industries and make them prime recipients of PAC money; and ideologues on both sides but especially on the right, who can draw on mailing lists of reliable cause-minded donors.

In Congressional races, neither party, on balance, would gain an obvious advantage if money is tight in 1992. But especially if California holds an early primary, the normal pattern of a Presidential race could be turned on its head. Only a very few candidates in either party could think about running for President, which is fine for the Republicans, who presumably already have their Presidential nominee in mind. For the Democrats, though, it would restrict the field to a very few proven fund-raisers: Lloyd Bentsen, Mario Cuomo, Bill Bradley, and perhaps Michael Dukakis. Instead of a few thousand voters in Iowa and New Hampshire, a handful of big donors would winnow the field of candidates—not necessarily a wiser and certainly a less democratic procedure.

With campaign finance reform high on the agenda for this year's Congressional session, the end of the California political gold rush offers warnings and lessons. The bottom line is that politicians in 1992 will be more obsessed with money than ever before. The sight of politicians too consumed with fund-raising to govern effectively has been a driving force behind the push to reform political money. If reform curtails or eliminates PACs, as seems likely, without also freeing up other sources of money, it will result in another of those unintended consequences, worsening the political system's obsession with fund-raising.

If money can't come from PACs, the next source on the list is wealthy individuals, many of whom happen to live in California. California has been one of the few big sources of non-PAC money: nationwide it ranked 37th last year in the percentage of House campaign funds that came from PACs, and the PAC percentage in the Senate race was also among the lowest in the country, despite the staggering costs of that race.

With PACs and California money constrained, campaign finance reform, if it is to work, has to create access to other sources of money—ideally, sources unconnected to special interest privileges or pressures. It should either create new ways for middle-income individuals to contribute easily to campaigns or provide some form of public financing. We could do both by restoring a tax credit for small donations to Congressional candidates, up to perhaps $250, then supplement it by matching the first $100,000 or so of such small contributions to each candidate with federal dollars. The credit and matching funds should apply only to in-state contributions; realizing the havoc that a heavy election year in California could cause, the most valuable reform we could make would be to force candidates to rely on their own constituents for funds, rather than on industries, ideologues, and interest groups concentrated on either coast. These or similar changes would have the added benefit of enhancing competition by helping challengers to get past the threshold of funds that are necessary just to be noticed in a Congressional race.

Attempts to clean up the messier aspects of American politics have often backfired, as the 1974 campaign finance reforms did, with strange and unintended results. In retrospect, it is usually explained that the reforms foundered on unforeseeable circumstances. But the circumstances that could cause many of today's reform proposals to fail are actually quite foreseeable. It is not too early to start thinking about 1992, not when an odd coincidence in a single state could set off a new crisis in campaign finance even before we have figured out what to do about the last one.

NORMAN J. ORNSTEIN is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. MARK SCHMITT is a research associate at AEI.

they could no longer afford, the Dukakis administration and its allied interest groups have allowed the fiscal crisis to deepen so as to provoke a stampede for tax increases.

Edward Lashman, the Dukakis secretary of finance, says that without a major tax increase the state's notes may fall into the junk-bond category. Mr. Lashman claims the budget has been cut to the bone, but he also admits spending this year is running $400 million ahead of last year.

groups that, in turn, provide money and votes at election time. But voters have caught on and have rejected liberalism at the polls.

The formula for electoral success popularized by FDR aide Harry Hopkins—"Tax, tax, spend, spend, elect, elect"—now is discredited, killed by a new political ethic that holds the line on taxes, forces elected officials to make choices and demands accountability.

Assault on the Gerrymander

Opponents of gerrymandering—the drawing of district lines to distort the will of the electorate—often complain it is hard to educate voters about the problem. They lament it is an "inside baseball" issue for political junkies. Well, it looks as if the public may be waking up.

A group known as Californians for Political Reform has just submitted more than 950,000 signatures on behalf of an initiative to take the drawing of California's district lines away from self-interested state legislators. The initiative is all but assured of a spot on next June's ballot. At least one other initiative to limit gerrymandering may also qualify.

The problem of gerrymandering is especially acute in California, which served as the political canvas for the late Democratic Rep. Phil Burton, a genius at sketching bizarre-looking districts. He called his 1982 redistricting plan "my contribution to abstract art." It has virtually ended competitive races for California's 45 House seats. In 180 races for Congress in the state since 1982, only one seat has changed parties.

Californians tried to overturn the Burtonmander, but were stymied by an arrogant State Supreme Court led by then-Chief Justice Rose Bird. In June 1982, voters rejected the Burton-drawn maps by margins of nearly 2 to 1. When the Legislature merely changed a few details and reapproved the gerrymander, the court threw off the ballot an initiative to repeal Burton II.

Californians for Political Reform is now giving voters a chance to curb the gerrymander once and for all. Its initiative would take the power to redistrict away from the state legislature and place it with a 12-member commission selected by three retired judges. No party would be allowed to hold a majority on the commission, any outside group would be welcome to submit proposed maps, and voters would retain the power to reject any final redistricting plan through the initiative process.

The initiative is supported by an impressive number of groups across the political spectrum, including the League of Women Voters and an anti-tax group founded by the late Paul Gann, co-author of Proposition 13.

The initiative's backers are optimistic, especially since an amazing 23,000 individuals contributed money to place the measure on the ballot. Its author, San Mateo County Supervisor Tom Huening, believes voters have tolerated gerrymandering only because they are largely unaware of it. A California Field Poll taken in April found that 41% of those polled had no opinion about the current redistricting plan. However, when voters were read a description of gerrymandering, a whopping 82% disapproved of the process.

Today, the major danger to effective democracy is rooted in political gerrymandering and the vast array of incumbent protections Congress and state legislatures have erected to gain de facto lifetime tenure.

Limitations on political competition and the democratic process through the abstract redistricting art produced by vote-counting computers are becoming expensive. As Members of Congress have become increasingly certain of re-election, their performances have deteriorated. Once again, just as with Proposition 13, Californians may lead the nation in bringing the public's latent dissatisfaction with the status quo to the surface.

Asides

Authoritarian Art

The art establishment is up in arms over the Helms amendment, but we'd say these folks have some soul-searching of their own to do. They've just forced out the director of the Corcoran Gallery, Christina Orr-Cahall, who decided in June to cancel the Mapplethorpe show. The merits of this issue aside, the apparent need to ostracize and punish Ms. Orr-Cahall reveals much about the culture of the U.S. art world.

12/20/89

Wall Street Journal

not inescapable. Ba... solved by brief references to "educating ourselves." The tensions between the new Industrial Revolution and the basic patterns of human nature demand serious and continuing intellectual confrontation.

EDWARD A. WYNNE
Professor
College of Education
University of Illinois at Chicago
Chicago

* * *

Mr. Bartley's article is a remarkable mixture of sense and nonsense about, arguably, the single most important issue of our time.

Mr. Bartley can scarcely be faulted for his incisive analysis of the emerging "information economy" as the key to a world-wide decrease in the power of governments, democratic as well as totalitarian, and of corporations; to a world-wide increase in the influence, even control, exerted by the citizenry of each nation; and, more familiar, to an increase in economic interdependence among nations. Nor would one wish him to mute his challenge to us to respond to the promise of the new age: "The task before us is not to stop the new information age, but to take advantage of its vast opportunities."

His attempt to ground this, alas, in his uncritical enthusiasm for the prosperity of the 1980s and then to tie critical-mindedness to the Malthusian pessimism of an earlier age of great change is another matter.

First, our prosperity in the 1980s, or the reverse had history been otherwise, is nearly irrelevant to the coming of the global-information economy.

Second, Mr. Bartley does a disservice to his own end of responding to the hope offered by the new age when he equates criticism he personally rejects with mere "hypochondria." Only the unexamined life, as Socrates noted long ago, is not worth living. The free and full examination of ideas is the first and irreducible requirement for fulfilling the promise of the information economy.

JOSEPH PATTISON
Osterville, Mass.

* * *

The piece by Mr. Bartley and one by L. Brent Bozell III, "And Now a Word From the Hypochondriacs," appearing below Mr. Bartley's, both champion causes that ultimately will be fought out in the halls of government of this nation and very possibly thereafter in its streets. The current polyglot U.S. population of different nationalities, races and social backgrounds makes a dangerous political mixture for any country to assimilate and it will continue to threaten domestic tranquility for perhaps another century. Messrs. Bartley and Bozell should keep this in mind.

In many ways a nation-state is akin to a large clan. And clans can live amicably in close proximity if each is careful to make allowances for the mores of the other. But

Cambridge, ...

Viable Reform Needed, Not Empty Promises

In regard to your Dec. 20 editorial on California's reapportionment process ("Assault on the Gerrymander"): While your point is indisputable—that political gerrymandering is based on political, rather than public, interest—revision of the reapportionment process must offer real and viable reforms instead of empty promises.

Though the proposal submitted for the ballot by Californians for Political Reform is well-intentioned and contains several attractive components, it unfortunately does not offer the impartiality or independence claimed, nor can it guarantee an end to gerrymandering.

Of the other states in which a reapportionment commission has been used, 75% of the plans have been challenged in court, with almost half being overturned. Bases for the challenges have ranged from population deviation to racial-vote dilution to gerrymandering—clearly refuting the claim that a commission will necessarily function "in the public interest." Moreover, the proposal offers no real system of checks and balances other than a time-consuming and expensive court challenge, and unlike legislators, the appointed commissioners are not accountable to voters.

Because the proposal requires comprehensive plans to be submitted to the commission for evaluation, only those groups with adequate financial and staffing resources will realistically be able to submit plans. Those groups with the greatest resources primarily will include major political parties and narrowly focused special-interest groups—which may be one of the reasons Republican heavy-hitters are backing the measure financially.

The current system of reapportionment may be imperfect, but it does guarantee independence by virtue of a built-in system of accountability—by both parties in the state Legislature as well as a gubernatorial signature. The system has withstood numerous court challenges in the past decade—most recently under the conservative State Supreme Court this past January.

Finally, it is important to note that in this decade alone, California voters have twice rejected ballot proposals mandating reapportionment commissions. Creation of a "pristine" system may sound good on paper but, in reality, offers little in the way of "reform."

REP. DON EDWARDS
Chairman
California Congressional Delegation
DAVID ROBERTI
State Senate President Pro Tempore
WILLIE L. BROWN JR.
California Assembly Speaker
Sacramento, Calif.

Pepper . . . and Salt

Advice to Advocates

In this country of many causes
It's hard to say what we're all for,
So be bold in what you stand for
And careful what you fall for.

—Ruth Boorstin.

No-Fault Assurance?

Perfectionism is a curse
I'd part with very gladly
For the joy of doing everything
Just moderately badly.

—Lillian Jockheck.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL



"Now I know what it feels like to stand up and be counted."

one-year ... banks was 7.64%, up ... earlier.

1/31/90

Labor Dept

ANNUAL AVERAGE POPULATION CONTROLLED
CPS ESTIMATES FOR CALIFORNIA
(NUMBERS IN THOUSANDS)

YEAR	CIVILIAN NONINSTI-TUTIONAL POPULATION	CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE	EMPLOYMENT	UNEMPLOYMENT LEVEL	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE
1970	13532.0	8167.0	7575.0	592.0	7.3
1971	13894.0	8407.0	7669.0	739.0	8.8
1972	14233.0	8653.0	7996.0	656.0	7.6
1973	14590.0	8910.0	8286.0	624.0	7.0
1974	14975.0	9317.0	8638.0	679.0	7.3
1975	15386.0	9539.0	8598.0	941.0	9.9
1976	15824.0	9896.0	8990.0	906.0	9.2
1977	16278.0	10367.0	9513.0	853.0	8.2
1978	16762.0	10911.0	10137.0	775.0	7.1
1979	17214.0	11268.0	10566.0	702.0	6.2
1980	17687.0	11584.0	10794.0	790.0	6.8
1981	18069.0	11812.0	10938.0	875.0	7.4
1982	18427.0	12178.0	10967.0	1210.0	9.9
1983	18725.0	12281.0	11095.0	1187.0	9.7
1984	19162.0	12610.0	11631.0	980.0	7.8
1985	19644.0	12981.0	12048.0	934.0	7.2
1986	20065.0	13332.0	12442.0	890.0	6.7
1987	20512.0	13729.0	12938.0	791.0	5.8
1988	20840.0	14036.0	13292.0	743.0	5.3
Nov 1989		14 468	13,761,300	707.00	4.9

California Republican Party

Frank A. Visco
Chairman

TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

DATE: 2-1-90

TO: Jeannie Nappo

COMPANY: The White House

FAX#: (202) 456-6218

FROM: Kelly Bryan
Assistant to the Chairman

FAX#: 805-942-6093

COMMENTS: Jeannie - per your request attached is the back-up on the event that J. Brown made his famous statement. If you have any questions, please contact me at (805) 945-3494.

Kelly Bryan

PAGES INCLUDING COVER PAGE: 4

Any problems or questions with this FAX, please call:
(805) 945-3494

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Joint Appearance by Viso & Brown

May 9, 1989

University Club in L.A.

Q + A session

"we need some handicapping because I believe a fair reapportionment would put the Democrats out of business."

Roger Scott, Kelly Bryan

(Viso's sec)

no media present

REED & DAVIDSON
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
888 WEST SIXTH STREET, 12TH FLOOR
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90017
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FACSIMILE (714) 546-1003

April 17, 1989

Mr. Frank Visco
Chairman
California Republican Party
44822 North Cedar
Lancaster, California 93534

Dear Chairman Visco:

On behalf of the Second Friday Group, I am pleased to confirm your participation at our upcoming meeting:

Tuesday, May 9, 1989
University Club
640 West Sixth Street
Los Angeles, California
11:30 A.M. - Reception followed by lunch
1:30 P.M. - Adjourn

As we discussed, the Second Friday Group is comprised of public affairs officers and political action committee managers who are key decision-makers concerning how funds will be spent by their corporations or associations. The format for the discussion of "the Political Parties in the Proposition 73 Era" will afford both you and Mr. Brown five minutes each to present your views on this topic.

Following these remarks, we expect questions and answers to last some thirty minutes. Margie McCallister of ARCO will serve as moderator for the discussion.

We are delighted that you will be participating in our discussion on May 9th. If you have any further questions, please feel free to call me at my Los Angeles office, or Margie McCallister at (213) 486-0273.

Sincerely,

Walter J. Mix III
Director of Research and
Legislative Affairs

WJM:tn

cc: Margie McCallister

ARCO

515 South Flower Street
Los Angeles, California 90071
Telephone 213 486 0273

M. M. McCallister
Manager
Political Affairs

May 17, 1989

Mr. Frank Visco
Chairman
California Republican Party
Post Office Box 2659
Lancaster, CA 93534

Dear Frank:

Thank you for joining me and the 2nd Friday Group for lunch last week in Los Angeles. I have had a number of favorable phone calls from attendees about the comments you and Governor Brown shared with us.

As you know, the 2nd Friday Group is an informal, unaffiliated group of PAC managers, association representatives and corporate government relations people from the Los Angeles area. Attached please find the list of those who attended the lunch.

I understand that ARCO CAP -- ARCO's political education program -- has contacted your office requesting that you speak at an employee luncheon forum at ARCO Plaza. Please let me know if there is anything I can do to help schedule this event.

I enjoyed meeting you last week and hope to visit with you again soon.

Sincerely,

Margie McCallister

attachment

2ND FRIDAY GROUP LUNCHEON
Tuesday, May 9, 1989
University Club of Los Angeles

ATTENDEE LIST

1. Governor Jerry Brown (guest)
2. Frank Visco (guest)
3. Susan Ambrose, Hughes
4. Melinda Bittan, Bank of America
5. Doug Boyd, Noble & Campbell
6. Linda Braunschweiger, Union Bank
7. Stuart Byer, FHP
8. Kim Custer, Thomas & Assoc.
9. Jeanene Deardoff, Northrop
10. Ken Fisken, Hospital Council
11. Ed Goldstein, Rockwell
12. Betsy Graves, First Interstate
13. Linda Gwyn, Great Western
14. Kirk Hallahan, Cal. League of Savings Inst.
15. John Hartnet, Cal. League of Savings Inst.
16. Peter Hedrick, Security Pacific
17. Jean Horwatt, Rockwell
18. Jim Jackson, Transamerica
19. Gail Johnson, Ameron
20. Paula Johnston, ARCO
21. Terry Jonisch, Jonisch Communications
22. Sarah Kelly, County Assessor's Office
23. Doyen Klein, Ameron
24. Debbie Kurilchyk, Cong. Chris Cox's Office
25. Steve Lenzi, Auto Club
26. Cal Lockett, Security Pacific
27. Walt Mix, Reed & Davidson
28. Yvonne Nix, ARCO
29. Dave Oppenheim, Great Western
30. Mark Palotay, MCA
31. Pilar Perry, Watson Perry
32. Dennis Sondker, Cal Fed
33. Don Sorensen, Occidental Life
34. Peter Summerville, Coast Savings
35. Lauren Tabor, ARCO
36. Pat Trendacosta, Union Bank
37. George Williams, Pacific Enterprises
38. Debra Von Ehrenberg, Cal Fed

39. Kelly Bryant, Visco staff
40. Kathleen Phipps, Brown staff
41. other - Visco staff
42. other - Nissan representative
43. Margie McCallister, ARCO (host)



California Republican Party
1903 West Magnolia Blvd. • Burbank, California 91506 • (818) 841-5210

January 19, 1990

Hon. Tim Leslie
State Capitol
Sacramento, CA 95814

Dear Assemblyman Leslie,

I'm writing to invite your participation in a 1990 California Republican Party Speakers Bureau. Its emphasis will be on conveying a consistent, repeated message to large numbers of voters over broadcast talk shows and through the news media. We intend to set the terms of the election-year debate. If we succeed, we will win in June and November. In broad outline, our argument will be:

(1) the choice for the '90s is between either moving forward with Republican policies that have proven successful, represented by Pete Wilson, or returning to the failed liberalism of the '70s, embodied by John Van de Kamp and Jerry Brown,

(2) real ethics reform in government means redistricting reform - making office holders once more accountable to the voters by ending the gerrymander, and

(3) Republicans don't need to gerrymander because we've already won on the issues. Jerry Brown admitted as much during a debate with CRP Chairman Frank Visco last year when he said a fair set of district lines would put the Democrats "out of business."

Our immediate campaign will key on four fast-approaching events the media will cover, which will provide us several opportunities to be quoted: the 27th A.D. special election (1/30), Bush's State of the Union Address (1/31), the Bush Los Angeles dinner for CRP (2/6), and the upcoming CRP Convention in Santa Clara (3/9-11). The convention's theme is "Fair Representation for the '90s."

Our Speakers would use broadcast talk shows, news conferences, actualities through the RNC, and one-on-one interviews to convey our message. These would be backed up by news releases, op-ed pieces, articles in CRP publications (that would also be sent to reporters), and talking points and sample letters to the editor sent to Republican activists statewide.

The Speakers Bureau will be made up of GOP office holders,

candidates, and other Republican leaders. I will immediately begin arranging talk show appearances for Speakers Bureau members and also arranging for our speakers to be available to give reaction to the State of the Union address the night of January 31.

I'll call your office to follow up on this letter. I look forward to working together with you to insure Republican victory in 1990.

Sincerely,

John Kurzweil
Communications Director

WHEN YOU'RE A CRIP (OR A BLOOD)

The drive-by killing is the sometime sport and occasional initiation rite of city gangs. From the comfort of a passing car, the itinerant killer simply shoots down a member of a rival gang or an innocent bystander. Especially common among L.A.'s Bloods and Crips, the drive-by killing is the parable around which every telling of the gang story revolves. Beyond that lies a haze of images: million-dollar drug deals, ominous graffiti, and colorfully dressed marauders armed with Uzis. The sociologists tell us that gang culture is the flower on the vine of single-parent life in the ghetto, the logical result of society's indifference. It would be hard to write a morality play more likely to strike terror into the hearts of the middle class.

Many questions, though, go unasked. Who, really, are these people? What urges them to join gangs? What are their days like? To answer these questions, *Harper's Magazine* recently asked Léon Bing, a journalist who has established relations with the gangs, to convene a meeting between two Bloods and two Crips and to talk with them about the world in which the drive-by killing is an admirable act.

The following forum is based on a discussion held at the Kenyon Juvenile Justice Center in south central Los Angeles. Parole Officer Velma V. Stevens assisted in the arrangements. Léon Bing served as moderator.

LÉON BING
is a Los Angeles–based journalist. She is currently writing a book about teenage life in Los Angeles.

LI'L MONSTER
was a member of the Eight-Trey Gangsters set of the Crips. He is twenty-three years old and currently on probation; he has served time for first-degree murder, four counts of attempted murder, and two counts of armed robbery.

RAT-NECK
was a member of the 107-Hoover Crips. He is twenty-eight years old and currently on probation after serving time for attempted murder, robbery with intent to commit grave bodily harm, assault and battery, burglary, and carrying concealed weapons.

TEE RODGERS
founded the first Los Angeles chapter of the Chicago-based Blackstone Rangers, affiliated with the Bloods. He is currently the resident "gangologist" and conflict specialist at Survival Education for Life and Family, Inc., and an actor and lecturer.

B-DOG
is a pseudonym for a twenty-three-year-old member of the Van Ness Gangsters set of the Bloods. After this forum was held, his telephone was disconnected, and he could not be located to supply biographical information.

Getting Jumped In

LÉON BING: Imagine that I'm a thirteen-year-old guy, and I want to get into a gang. How do I go about it? Am I the right age?

LI'L MONSTER: There's no age limit. It depends on your status coming into it. It's like, some people get jumped in, some people don't.

BING: Jumped in?

LI'L MONSTER: Beat up.

B-DOG: Either beat up or put some work in.

RAT-NECK: Put some work in, that's mandatory, you know, a little mis [misdemeanor]—small type of thing, you know.

It's like this: say I get this guy comin' up and he says, "Hey, Cuz, I wanna be from the set." Then I'm like, "Well, what you *about*, man? I don't know you—you might be a punk." So I might send him somewhere, let him go and manipulate, send him out on a burg' or—

BING:—is that a burglary?

LI'L MONSTER: Yeah. But then, you might know some person who's got a little juice, and, like, I might say, "You don't got to go through that, come on with me. You *from* the set."

TEE RODGERS: If you click with somebody that's already from a set, then you clicked up, or under his wing, you his protégé, and you get a ride in. Now, even though you get a ride in, there's gonna come a time when you got to stand alone and hold your own.

BING: Stand alone and hold your own? Does that mean I might have to steal a car or beat up somebody or commit a burglary?

RAT-NECK: Right.

BING: Is there another way?

RAT-NECK: You can be good from the shoulders.

LI'L MONSTER: Yeah. Fighting.

TEE: That's one of *the* best ways. A homeboy says:

I'm young and mean and my mind's more keen
And I've earned a rep with my hands
And I'm eager to compete with the bangers
on the street
'Cause I've got ambitious plans.

LI'L MONSTER: See, when Tee was comin' up—he's *first* generation and we *second* generation. Now, if he saw me, he wouldn't be comin' from the pants pocket with a gat or a knife, he'd be comin' from his shoulders like a fighter. That's what it was established on. Then, later on, come a whole bunch of cowards that *can't* come from the shoulders, so they come from the pocket—

RAT-NECK: —he unloads!

BING: What's the most popular weaponry?

B-DOG: Whatever you get your hands on.

TEE: Keep in mind we don't have no target ranges and shit where we get prolific with these guns.

B-DOG: Shoot 'til you out of bullets, then back up.

RAT-NECK: Bullet ain't got no name, hit whatever it hit.

TEE: Wait a minute! That was a hell of a question, 'cause the mentality of the people that gonna read this be thinkin'—

LI'L MONSTER:—every gang member walks around with that type of gun—

TEE:—and I can hear the police chief saying, "That's why we need bazookas!" Look, put it on the record that everybody ain't got a motherfuckin' bazooka—or an Uzi. Okay?

BING: It's all on the record.

B-DOG: There *are* some people still believe in .22s.

TEE: Or ice picks. And don't forget the bat.

RAT-NECK: And the lock in the sock!

BING: Are there little peewees, say, nine- to ten-year-olds, in the sets?

RAT-NECK: Yeah, but we say "Li'l Loc" or "Li'l Homie" or "Baby Homie." We never use "peewee" because then people think you're a Mexican. Mexicans say "peewee."

TEE: If it's a Blood set, they use a *k* instead of a *c*. Li'l lok with a *k*. See, Bloods don't say *c*'s and Crips don't say *b*'s. To a Blood, a cigarette is a "bigarette." And Crips don't say "because," they say "cecause."

BING: What prompted you to join, Li'l Monster?

LI'L MONSTER: Say we're white and we're rich. We're in high school and we been buddies since grammar school. And we all decide to go to the same *college*. Well, *we* all on the same street, all those years, and we all just decide to—

RAT-NECK:—join the gang.

TEE: What I think is formulating here is that human nature wants to be accepted. A human being gives less of a damn what he is accepted into. At that age—eleven to seventeen—all kids want to belong. They are un-people.

BING: If you move—can you join another set?

LI'L MONSTER: A couple weeks ago I was talking to a friend 'bout this guy—I'll call him "Iceman." He used to be from Eight-Trey, but he moved to Watts. Now he's a Bounty Hunter.

B-DOG: Boy, that stinks, you know?

BING: He went from the Crips to the Bloods?

LI'L MONSTER: Yeah. And he almost lost his life.

TEE: When you switch sets, when you go from Cuz to Blood, or Blood to Cuz, there's a jacket on you, and you are really pushed to prove yourself for that set. Sometimes the set approves it, and other times they cast you out. If you don't have loyalty to the *first* set you belong to, what the fuck makes us think that you gonna be loyal to us? That's just too much *information*. Shit, we kickin' it, we hangin', bangin', and slangin'. But who the fuck are you, and where are you *really* at? Where your *heart* at?

B-DOG: Perpetrated is what he is!

BING: What does that mean?

TEE: A perpetrator is a fraud, a bullshitter.

BING: How can someone prove himself?

LI'L MONSTER: All right, like the cat Iceman. They might say, "To prove yourself as a Bounty Hunter you go hit somebody from Eight-Trey."

B-DOG: If you got that much love.

BING: Hit somebody from the very set he was in?

RAT-NECK: Yeah. Then his loyalty is there.

BING: But is it really? Wouldn't someone say, "Hey, he hit his homeboy, what's to say he won't hit us if he changes his mind again?"

TEE: Look, when he changes sets, he's already got a jacket on his ass. And when he goes back and takes somebody else out, that cuts all ties, all love.

B-DOG: Can't go to no 'hood. Can't go nowhere.

RAT-NECK: There it is.

TEE: The highest honor you can give for your set is death. When you die, when you go out in a blaze of glory, you are respected. When you kill for your set, you earn your stripes—you put work in.

RAT-NECK: But once you a Crip—no matter what—you can't get out. No matter what, woo-wah-wham, you still there. I can leave here for five years. Then I gets out of jail, I gets a new haircut, new everything. Then, "Hey, there goes Rat-Neck!" You can't hide your face. You can't hide nothin'! All that immunity stuff—that's trash. Nobody forgets you.

TEE: That's how it goes. Just like L.A.P.D.—once he retire and shit, that fool still the police! He's still strapped, carrying a gun. He's *always* a cop. Same with us. If you know the words, sing along: "When you're a Jet, you're a Jet all the

way, from your first cigarette to your last dying day."

LI'L MONSTER: There you go.

Hangin', Bangin', Slangin'

BING: Once you're a Blood or a Crip, do you dress differently? We hear about guys with their jeans riding low, their underwear showing up top, wearing colors, and having a certain attitude.

TEE: See, a lot of that is media shit. A brother will get up, take his time, spray his hair, put his French braids in, fold his rag, press his Pendleton or his khaki top, put creases in his pants, lace his shoes, and hit the streets.

LI'L MONSTER: He's dressed to go get busy!

TEE: He's dressed, pressed, he's down!

BING: Is that the way you dress after you're in?

TEE: The reason a lot of brothers wear khaki and house slippers and shit like that is because it's cheap and comfortable.

B-DOG: Ain't no dress code nowadays.

LI'L MONSTER: Look, Rat-Neck got on a blue hat, I got on this hat, we Crips. B-Dog's a Blood: he got red stripes on his shoes, and *that* is that. Now I can be in the mall, look at his shoes, and know he's a Blood. He can look at my shoes—these B-K's I got on—and say, "He's a Crip."

RAT-NECK: But then again, might be none of that. Might just be ordinary guys.

BING: I've always thought that B-K stands for "Blood Killers" and that's why Crips wear them.

LI'L MONSTER: It stands for British Knights. I don't buy my clothes because they blue. My jacket and my car is red and white. I wear the colors I want to wear. I don't have no blue rag in my pocket. I don't have no blue rubber bands in my hair. But I can be walking down the street and, nine times out of ten, the police gonna hem me up, label me a gangbanger—

RAT-NECK:—or a dope dealer.

LI'L MONSTER: There's only one look that you got to have. Especially to the police. You got to look black. *That's* the look. Now B-Dog here's a Blood, and he doesn't even have to be gangbanging because if I'm in a mall with some of my homeboys, nine times out of ten we gonna look at him *crazy*. That's how you know. He don't have to have no red on, we gonna look at him crazy. *That's* the mentality.

TEE: Let me give up this, and you correct me if I'm wrong: police officers can recognize police officers, athletes can recognize athletes, gay people can recognize gay people. Well, we can recognize each other. It's simple.

BING: When someone insults you, what happens?

LI'L MONSTER: Depends on what he saying.

BING: Say he calls you "crab" or "E-ricket." Or, if you're a Blood, he calls you a "slob." These are fighting words, aren't they?

RAT-NECK: It's really just words. Words anybody use. But really, a lot of that word stuff don't get people going nowadays.

LI'L MONSTER: That's right.

TEE: There was a time when you could say something about somebody's mama, and you got to fight. Not so anymore.

LI'L MONSTER: Now just ignore the fool.

TEE: But if somebody say, "Fuck your dead homeboys," oh, *now* we got a problem.

LI'L MONSTER: Yeah, that's right.

TEE: Somebody call me "oo-lah" or "slob," fuck 'em. My rebuttal to that is "I'm a super lok-ed out Blood." There's always a cap back, see what I'm saying? But when you get down to the basics, like, "Fuck your dead homeboy," and you *name* the homeboy, that is death. Oh man, we got to take *this* to the grave.

BING: Well, let's say you're with your homeboys and someone does say, "Fuck your dead homeboys." What happens then?

B-DOG: That's it. The question of the matter is on, right there, *wherever* you at.

LI'L MONSTER: He's dead. And if he's not, he's gonna—

B-DOG:—wish he was.

BING: What does that mean?

TEE: I cannot believe the readers of this magazine are that naive. The point of the matter is, if he disrespects the dead homeboys, his ass is gonna get got. Period. Now let your imagination run free; Steven Spielberg does it.

BING: Why this intensity?

TEE: Because there's something called dedication that we got to get into—dedication to the gang mentality—and understanding where it's coming from. It's like this: there's this barrel, okay? All of us are in it together, and we all want the same thing. But some of us are not so highly motivated to be educated. So we have to get ours from the blood, the sweat, and the tears of the street. And if a homeboy rises up—and it is not so much jealousy as it is the fear of him *leaving*

me—I want to come up *with* him, but when he reaches the top of the barrel, I grab him by the pants leg and I—

TEE and LI'L MONSTER:—pull him back down.

TEE: It's not that I don't want to see you go home, but *take me with you!* As a man, I'm standing alone as an individual. But I can't say that to him! I got that manly pride that won't let me break down and say, "Man, I'm scared! Take me with you—I want to go with you!" Now, inside this barrel, we are in there so tight that every time we turn around we are smelling somebody's ass or somebody else's stinky breath. There's so many people, I got to leave my community to change my fuckin' mind!

RAT-NECK: Yeah!

TEE: That's how strong peer pressure is! It's that crab-in-the-barrel syndrome. We are just packed in this motherfucker, but I want to feel good. So how? By bustin' a nut. So I fuck my broad, she get pregnant, and now I got *another* baby. So we in there even tighter. In here, in this room, we can relax, we can kick it, we can laugh, we can say, "Well, shit—homeboy from Hoover's all right." Because we in a setting now, and nobody's saying, "FUCK HIM UP, BLOOD! FUCK HIS ASS! I DON'T LIKE HIM—*KICK* HIS ASS!" You know what I'm saying? That's *bullshit!* We can't just sit down and enjoy each other and say, "Are you a man? Do you wipe your ass like I wipe my ass? Do you cut? Do you bleed? Do you cry? Do you die?" There's nowhere where we can go and just experience each other as *people*. And then, when we *do* do that, everybody's strapped.

RAT-NECK: Seems like nothin' else . . .

BING: You make it sound inescapable. What would you tell someone coming along? What would you tell a younger brother?

RAT-NECK: I had a younger brother, fourteen years old. He's dead now, but we never did talk about it. He was a Blood and I am a Crip, and I *know* what time it is. I couldn't socialize with him on what he do. All he could do is ask me certain things, like, "Hey, bro, do you think I'm doing the right thing?" And, well, all I could say is, "Hey, man, choose what you wanna be. What can I do? I love you, but what do I look like, goin' to my mama, tellin' her I *smoked* you, *smoked* my brother? What I look like? But why should I neglect you because you from there? Can't do that. You my love." And if I don't give a fuck about my love, and I don't give a fuck about my brother, then I don't give a fuck about my mama. And then your ass out, when you don't give a fuck about your mama.

Like some people say, "I don't give a fuck, I'll *smoke* my mama!" Well, you know, that's stupidity shit.

BING: I realize that loyalty is paramount. But what I want to know is, if a rival set has it out for someone, does it always mean death?

LI'L MONSTER: Before anybody go shooting, it's going to be, "What is the problem?" Then we are going to find the root of the problem. "Do you personally have something against Eight-Trey?" You say, "No, I just don't like what one of your homeboys did." Then you all beat him up.

There's only one look you got to have. Especially to the police. You got to look black. That's the look

B-DOG: Beat him up, yeah.

LI'L MONSTER: Just head it up. Ain't nobody else going to get in this.

BING: Head it up?

LI'L MONSTER: Fight. One on one. You know, head up. And then it's over.

BING: Are you friends after that?

LI'L MONSTER: Well, you not sending each other Christmas cards.

BING: What if you just drive through another gang's turf? Are you in danger?

LI'L MONSTER: Yeah. I mean, I could be sitting at a light, and somebody say, "That's that fool, Li'l Monster," and they start shooting. That could be anywhere. Bam! Bam! Bam!

BING: Are you targeted by reputation?

LI'L MONSTER: Yeah. That's my worst fear, to be sitting at a light.

B-DOG: That's one of mine, too.

LI'L MONSTER: So I don't stop. I don't pull up right behind a car. And I am always looking around.

B-DOG: Always looking.

LI'L MONSTER: That's my worst fear because *we* did so much of it. You know, you pull up, man, block him in, and—

B-DOG:—that was it.

LI'L MONSTER: They put in work. That is my worst fear. And if you ever ride with me, you notice I always position myself where there is a curb. That middle lane is no-man's-land.

B-DOG: That's dangerous.

LI'L MONSTER: You know how they say, "Look out for the other guy"? Well, I *am* the other guy. Get out of my way. Give me the starting position. You know, because I can—phew! Claustrophobia. I seen that shit happenin', man. I *be* that shit happenin', man, and I don't *never* want that to happen to me, just to be sitting at the light and they take your whole head off.

BING: Say everybody's fired up to get somebody from an enemy set, but there's this young kid who says, "I can't do that. I don't feel right about it—this is a friend of mine." What's going to happen?

LI'L MONSTER: There's many ways that it can be dealt with. Everybody can disown him, or everybody can just say, "Okay, *fine*, but you gotta do something else." See what I'm saying?

B-DOG: But he's gonna be disciplined one way or the other.

RAT-NECK: 'Cause he know everything, man, and he think he gonna ride on up outta here?

LI'L MONSTER: So you go home and say, "Yeah, mama. I got out, mama. Everything's cool." And mama looking at *you* like—"Son, are you sure?" 'Cause she knows damn well those motherfuckers ain't gonna let you go that easy.

TEE: Now that's the flip side to those motherfuckers who say, "I smoke *anybody*—I'll smoke my mama!" We, as homeboys, look at him and say, "Your mama carried you nine months and shitted you out, and if you'll kill your mama, I know you don't give two shakes of a rat's rectum about me!"

RAT-NECK: He'll kill me. He'll smoke me.

BING: What's going to happen in 1989? Los Angeles has the highest body count ever. More deaths than in Ireland.

RAT-NECK: Not more than New York. In New York they kill you for just a penny. I took a trip to New York one time. This guy wanted me to see what it was like.

BING: You mean gang life in New York City?

RAT-NECK: No, to see how people live—gang life, the whole environment, the whole everything. I was there for two days, right? He took us to Queens, Harlem, the Bronx—everywhere. We talked about going out strapped. He said, "What the fuck, you can't go out there strapped! What's wrong with you?" But I say I gotta let 'em know what time it is and carry *something*, you know, 'cause we don't really know what's going on in New York. But we hear so *much* about New York, how they operate, how rough it's supposed to be. So, okay, we decide we gonna carry a buck knife—something. So we kickin', walkin', cruisin' the street, everything. And then I see a homeboy standin' right here next to me.

And he come up to us and do some shit like this: he take three pennies, shake 'em, and throw 'em down in front of his shoe. We, like, what the fuck is this? Is it, you got a beef? Like, he knew we weren't from there. So we not lookin' at him, but, like, why the fuck he throw three pennies down there? Like, was it, "Get off our turf"? But we didn't understand his language. Out here, it's like, "What's happenin'? What's up, Cuz? What's up, Blood?" But in New York, you lookin' at the damn pennies, and maybe he come back and hit you. Maybe if you pick up the pennies, then you got a beef with him. Maybe if you don't pick 'em up, then you supposed to walk off. But shit, we lookin' at the pennies, and lookin' at him, and it's like god*damn*! So we walks off and leaves the Bronx and goes to Harlem.

Oh, man—*that*'s what you call a gutter. You get to lookin' around there and thinking, "God*damn*, these my people? Livin' like *this*? Livin' in a cardboard box?" I mean, skid row got it goin' *on* next to Harlem. Skid row look like *Hollywood* to them.

Kickin' It

BING: Did you vote in the last election?

TEE: Yeah, I voted. But look at the choice I had: Bush bastard and Dumb-kakis.

RAT-NECK: A bush and a cock.

BING: Why didn't you vote for Jesse in the primary?

TEE: I truly believe that shit rigged. Everybody I know voted for Jesse, but—

B-DOG:—Jesse was out.

RAT-NECK: It's different for us. Like, what's that guy's name shot President Reagan? What happened to that guy? *Nothin'*!

BING: He's in prison.

LI'L MONSTER: Oh no he's not. He's in a *hospital*.

TEE: They're *studyin'* him.

RAT-NECK: See, they did that to cover his ass. They say he retarded or something.

B-DOG: See, if I had shot Reagan, would they have put *me* in a mental facility?

RAT-NECK: They would have put you away right there where you shot him. Bam—judge, jury, executioner.

TEE: Why is it they always study white folks when they do heinous crimes, but they never study us? *We* got black psychiatrists.

BING: What about all this killing, then?

TEE: I'm gonna shut up now, because the way the questions are coming, you portray us as animals. Gangbanging is a way of life. You got to touch it, smell it, feel it. Hearing the anger, the frustration, and the desperation of all of us only adds to what the media's been saying—and it's worse, coming out of *our* mouths. There has to be questions directed with an understanding of our point of view. Sorry.

BING: All right. Ask one.

TEE: It's not my interview.

BING: I'm trying to understand your motives. Let me ask a different question: If a homeboy is killed, how is the funeral conducted?

TEE: You got four different sets here in this room, and each set has its own rules and regulations.

RAT-NECK: Okay, like, my little brother just got killed. You talkin' funeralwise, right? At this funeral, Bloods *and* Crips was there. But didn't nobody wear nothin', just suits. *Every* funeral you go to is not really colors.

TEE: Thank you! Yeah!

RAT-NECK: You just going to give your last respect. Like my little brother, it really tripped me out, the way I seen a big "B" of flowers with red roses in it, and one tiny *blue* thing they brought. And these were *Bloods!*—goddamn! Like one of my homeboys asked me, "What's happenin', Rat?" and I said, "Hey, man—you tell *me*." And I

A Gangbanger's Glossary

Baller: a gangbanger who is making money; also *high roller*

Cap: a retort

Click up: to get along well with a homeboy

Crab: insulting term for a Crip; also *E-ricket*

Cuz: alternative name for a Crip; often used in a greeting, e.g., "What's up, Cuz?"

Down: to do right by your homeboys; to live up to expectations; to protect your turf, e.g., "It's the job of the homeboys to be down for the 'hood"

Gangbanging: the activities of a gang

Gat: gun

Give it up: to admit to something

Hangin', bangin', and slangin': to be out with the homeboys, talking the talk, walking the walk; slangin' comes from "slinging" or selling dope

Head up: to fight someone one-on-one

Hemmed up: to be hassled or arrested by the police

'Hood: neighborhood; turf

Homeboy: anyone from the same neighborhood or gang; a friend or an accepted person; in a larger sense, a person from the inner city; also *homie*

Jacket: a record or a reputation, both within the gang and at the police station

Jumped in: initiated into a gang; getting jumped in typically entails being beaten up by the set members

Kickin' it: kicking back, relaxing with your homeboys

Loc-ed out: also *lok-ed out;* from "loco," meaning ready and willing to do anything

Make a move: commit a crime; also *manipulate*

Mark: someone afraid to commit a crime; also *punk*

O.G.: an abbreviation for Original Gangster; i.e., a gang member who has been in the set for a long time and has made his name

Oo-lah: insulting term for a Blood; also *slob*

Perpetrate: betray your homeboys; bring shame on yourself and your set

Put in work: any perilous activity from fighting to murder that benefits the set or the gang

Set: any of the various neighborhood gangs that fit within the larger framework of Bloods and Crips

Smoke: to kill someone

Top it off: to get along well with someone; reach an understanding

looked around, saw some other guys there, you know? They ain't *us*, but they came and showed respect, so—move back. Couple of them walked by us, looked at us, and said, "That's our homeboy, that's Rat-Neck's brother."

When he got killed, you know, I had a whole lot of animosity. I'd smoke any damn one of 'em, but one thing—one thing about it—*it wasn't black people who did it*. That's the one thing that didn't make me click too much. Now, if a black person woulda did it, ain't no tellin' where I'd be right now, or what I'd do, or how I'd feel. I'd be so confused I might just straight out fuck my job, my wife, my kid, whatever, and say, "I don't give a fuck about you—bro got killed!"

BING: How did he get killed?

RAT-NECK: I don't really know the whole rundown.

He got a Ph.D. from SWU. That's a Pimp and Hustler Degree from Sidewalk University

TEE: What Rat-Neck's saying is the respect. We buried three of our own yesterday, and for each one we went to the mother to see how *she* wanted it—

LI'L MONSTER:—how she wanted it! That's it!

TEE: 'Cause the mother carried that baby for nine months—that's her *child*. It's *her* family, and we're the extended family. She got the first rights on what goes on there. It's the respect factor that lies there, and if the mother says there's no colors, you better believe ain't no colors!

RAT-NECK: And no cartridges in the coffin.

TEE: If he went out in a blaze of glory, and his mama say, "You all bury him like you want to bury him"—oh, then we *do* it."

BING: How would that be?

TEE: If he was a baller—you know what I'm saying—then everybody get suited and booted.

BING: Do you mean a sea of colors?

EVERYONE: *NO!* Suits and ties! Shined shoes!

LI'L MONSTER: Jump in the silk!

TEE: We own suits, you know! Brooks Brothers, C and R Clothiers! And some of the shit is tailored!

BING: You mention your mothers a lot, and I sense a love that's very real. If you do love your moms so much and you kill each other, then it has to be the mothers who ultimately suffer the worst pain. How do you justify that?

B-DOG: Your mother gonna suffer while you living, anyway. While you out there gangbanging, she's suffering. My mother's suffering right now. All my brothers in jail.

RAT-NECK: My mother's sufferin', sittin' in her living room, and maybe there's a bullet comin' in the window.

BING: What do you say to your mother when she says, "All your brothers are in jail, and you're out there in danger"?

B-DOG: We don't even get *into* that no more.

RAT-NECK: She probably don't think about that at all—just so she can cope with it.

B-DOG: Me and my mother don't discuss that no more, because I been into this for so long, you know. When me and my mother be together, we try to be happy. We don't talk about the gang situation.

LI'L MONSTER: Me and my mother are real tight, you know? We talk like sister and brother. I don't try to justify myself to her—any more than she tries to justify *her* work or how she makes her money to me. What I do *may* come back to hurt her, but what *she* does may also come back to hurt me. Say I'm thirteen and I'm staying with my mother, and she goes off on her boss and loses her job—how does she justify that to *me*?

BING: Well, the loss of a job is not quite the same as an actively dangerous life-style in the streets, wouldn't you agree?

TEE: "An actively dangerous life-style"—that really fucks me up. Okay, here we go. "Woman" is a term that means "of man." Wo-*man*. My mother raised me, true enough. Okay? And she was married. There was a male figure in the house. But I never accepted him as my father. My mother can only teach me so much 'bout being a man-child in the Promised Land. If, after that, there is nothing for me to take pride in, then I enter into manhood asshole backwards, and I stand there, a warrior strong and proud. But there is no outlet for that energy, for me or my brothers, so we *turn on each other*.

So, Mom sends us to the show, and all we get is Clint Eastwood, *Superfly*, and *Sweet Sweet Bad Ass*. Now what goes up on the silver screen comes down into the streets, and now you got a homeboy. And mama says, "I don't want you to

go to your grave as a slave for the minimum wage." So you say, "I am going to go get us something, make this better, pay the rent."

The first thing a successful athlete does—and you can check me out—is buy his mama a big-ass house. That's what we want. And if we have to get it from the streets, that's where we go.

BING: Why?

TEE: It's the same *everywhere*. A sorority, a fraternity, the Girl Scouts, camping club, hiking club, L.A.P.D., the Los Angeles Raiders, are all the same. Everything that you find in those groups and institutions you find in a gang.

BING: So are you saying there's no difference between the motives of you guys joining a gang and, say, a young WASP joining a fraternity?

RAT-NECK: You got a lot of gangbangers out there who are smart. They want it. They *got* what it takes. But the difference is they got no money.

TEE: I know a homie who had a scholarship to USC. But he left school because he found prejudice *alive* in America, and it cut him out. He said, "I don't have to stand here and take this. As a matter of fact, you owe my great-grandfather forty acres and a mule."

LI'L MONSTER: Forget the mule, just give me the forty acres.

TEE: So he took to the streets. He got a Ph.D. from SWU. That's a Pimp and Hustler Degree from Sidewalk University.

BING: If it went the other way, what would your life be like?

RAT-NECK: I'm really a hardworking man. I make bed mattresses now, but I would like to straight out be an engineer, or give me a day-care center with little kids coming through, and get me the hell away as far as I can. All I want to do is be myself and not perpetrate myself, try not to perpetrate my black people. Just give me a job, give me a nice house—everybody dream of a nice home—and just let me deal with it.

BING: And how do drugs figure into this?

LI'L MONSTER: Wait a minute. I just want to slide in for a minute. I want to set the record straight. People think gangs and drugs go hand in hand, but they don't. If I sell drugs, does that make me a gangbanger? No. If I gangbang, does that make me sell drugs? No. See, for white people—and I am not saying for all white people, just like what I say about black people is not for all black people—they go for college, the stepping-stone to what they want to get. And some black people look to drugs as a stepping-stone to get the same thing.

B-DOG: They want to live better. To buy what they want. To get a house.

RAT-NECK: Not worry about where the next meal come from.

TEE: To live comfortable and get a slice of American Pie, the American Dream.

B-DOG: There it is.

TEE: The Army came out with a hell of a slogan: "Be all you can be." And that's it.

We all want the same thing. We've been taught by television, the silver screen, to grow up and have a chicken in every pot, two Chevys, 2.3 kids in the family. So we have been taught the same thing that you have been taught, but there is certain things that we can hold on to and other things that—we see them, but we just cannot reach them. Most of us are dealing with the reality of surviving as opposed to, "Well, my dad will take care of it."

BING: Are you saying that gangbanging is just another version of the American Dream?

LI'L MONSTER: It's like this. You got the American Dream over there, and you reaching for it. But you can't get it. And you got dope right here, real close. You can grab it easy. Dealing with the closer one, you might possibly make enough money to grab the other one. Then you throw away the dope. That's a big *if* now.

BING: Seriously, does anybody ever stop dealing?

B-DOG: If you was making a million dollars off of drugs, you know what I'm saying, are you gonna give that up for a legitimate business?

TEE: This goes back to it. You started out for need, and now you stuck in it because of greed. That's when you play your life away. There comes a time when you have to stop playing, but as far as the streets go, you are a *street player*. Now there may come a time when you say, all right, I've played, I've had time in the gang, now I got to raise up. But if you is so greedy that you cannot smell the coffee, then you're cooked.

BING: But if you do get out, do you always have to come back when your homeboys call?

LI'L MONSTER: It ain't like you gonna be called upon every month.

B-DOG: But if you gets called, then you must be needed, and you must come.

LI'L MONSTER: It's like this—and I don't care who you are, where you started, or how far you got—you *never* forget where you come from.

TEE: That's it.

B-DOG: You *never* forget where you come from. ■

California Republican Party
1903 West Magnolia Blvd. - Burbank, California 91506 - (818) 841-5210

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(Telecopier Operator)

STATEMENT OF VOTE
GENERAL ELECTION
NOVEMBER 6, 1984

In the Matter of the
ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR
of the State of California,
held November 8, 1898.

Affidavit and Statement of Receipts and Expenditures of the Republican Committee of the

Itemized Statement of moneys contributed, received and paid out by him for the purpose of procuring his election:

18		Voucher No.	Cr.
	...ows, to-wit:		
Sept. 23.--Railroad fare from Los Angeles to Santa Barbara			$3.55
Sept. 23.--Hotel, board and lodging--one day			2.00
Sept. 23.--Railroad fare from Santa Barbara to Ventura			.85
Sept. 24.--Hotel Rose, board and lodging---one day		1	3.75
Sept. 24.--Railroad fare from Ventura to San Bernardino			4.25
Sept. 24.--Two telegrams			.61
Sept. 25.--Railroad fare from San Bernardino to San Diego			5.55
Sept. 27.--Railroad fare from San Diego to Riverside (stop-over at Santa Ana)			3.25
Sept. 28.--Hotel Mill at Riverside for board and lodging			4.00

$500 Voucher No. 1 San Francisco Nov 14 1889 Received from Henry T. Gage Five Hundred 00/100 Dollars On account of Gubernatorial Campaign Fund Hanford Loughlin

Compiled by March Fong Eu
Secretary of State

	Dems	Reps		
1.	157,037	95,186	D	
2	69,793	158,679		R
3	131,369	0	D	
4 -	130,109	77,773	D	
5	139,692	45,930	D	
6	162,511	71,011	D	
7	158,306	76,985	D	
8	144,316	94,907	D	
9.	136,511	51,399	D	
10	102,469	56,256	D	
11	193,607	59,625	D	
12	91,026	155,795		R
13.	139,851	70,666	D	
14	58,384	179,238		R
15	109,590	54,730	D	
16	153,373	60,065	D	
17.	48,888	128,802		R
18	128,186	62,339	D	
19.	70,278	153,189		R
20,	62,307	151,332		R
21,	62,085	173,504		R
22	0	184,981		R
23	140,461	84,093	D	
24	97,340	51,010	D	
25	74,261	241,968	D	
26	117,080	69,372	D	
27	116,933	88,894	D	
28	113,076	33,511	D	

	29	108,777	16,781	D	
	30	64,378	53,900	D	
	31	100,655	41,691	D	
	32	102,961	62,176	D	
	33	54,147	147,363		R
3580824	34	87,060	58,467	D	

	D	R	MEL	
35	0	176,477		R
36	107,432	80,212	D	
37	85,908	149,955		R
38	73,231	86,545		R
39	54,869	175,768		R
40	86,348	164,257		R
41	85,495	161,068		R
42	60,025	177,783		R
43	50,996	165,643		R
44	99,378	39,977	D	
45	45,325	149,011		R
	1,327,237	1,423,736		

2

United States Representative in Congress

First Congressional District

	Douglas H Bosco (Dem-Inc)	David Radick (Rep)
Del Norte	4,432	2,550
Humboldt	35,801	15,787
Lake	10,857	7,506
Mendocino	19,131	11,029
Napa	16,686	14,234
Sonoma	70,130	44,080
District Totals	157,037	95,186
	62.3%	37.7%

Second Congressional District

	Gene Chappie (Rep-Inc)	Harry Cozad (Dem)
Butte	45,142	24,262
Colusa	4,102	1,038
Glenn	6,422	2,045
Lake	706	379
Napa	10,397	4,280
Nevada	3,553	1,353
Shasta	35,878	14,240
Siskiyou	11,392	5,902
Sutter	14,512	3,899
Tehama	11,929	5,538
Trinity	4,043	2,072
Yuba	10,603	4,785
District Totals	158,679	69,793
	69.5%	30.5%

Third Congressional District

	Robert T Matsui (Dem-Inc)
Sacramento	131,369
	100%

Fourth Congressional District

	Vic Fazio (Dem-Inc)	Roger Canfield (Rep)	Roger Conant Pope (Lib)
Sacramento	58,495	39,811	2,150
Solano	37,048	23,102	983
Yolo	34,566	14,860	906
District Totals	130,109	77,773	4,039
	61.4%	36.7%	1.9%

Fifth Congressional District

	Sala Burton (Dem-Inc)	Tom Spinosa (Rep)	Joseph Fuhrig (Lib)	Henry Clark (P&F)
San Francisco	139,692	45,930	4,008	3,574
	72.3%	23.8%	2.1%	1.8%

Sixth Congressional District

	Barbara Boxer (Dem-Inc)	Douglas Bindarup (Rep)	Howard Creighton (Lib)
Marin	70,480	40,446	3,195
San Francisco	48,457	10,905	1,085
Solano	22,456	8,063	541
Sonoma	21,118	11,597	753
District Totals	162,511	71,011	5,574
	68%	29.7%	2.3%

Seventh Congressional District

	George Miller (Dem-Inc)	Rosemary Thakar (Rep)
Contra Costa	158,306	78,985
	66.7%	33.3%

Eighth Congressional District

	Ronald V Dellums (Dem-Inc)	Charles Connor (Rep)
Alameda	119,755	46,574
Contra Costa	24,561	48,333
District Totals	144,316	94,907
	60.3%	39.7%

Ninth Congressional District

	Fortney Peter Stark (Dem-Inc)	J T Eager Beaver (Rep)	Martha Fuhrig (Lib)
Alameda	136,511	51,399	7,398
	69.9%	26.3%	3.8%

Tenth Congressional District

	Don Edwards (Dem-Inc)	Robert P Herriott (Rep)	Perr Cardestam (Lib)	Edson V Kaiser (A-I)
Alameda	38,304	27,104	1,038	989
Santa Clara	64,165	29,152	1,751	1,674
District Totals	102,469	56,256	2,789	2,663
	62.4%	34.3%	1.7%	1.6%

Eleventh Congressional District

	Tom Lantos (Dem-Inc)	John J "Jack" Hickey (Rep)	Nicholas W Kudrovzeff (A-I)
San Mateo	147,607	59,625	3,883
	69.9%	28.3%	1.8%

Twelfth Congressional District

	Ed Zschau (Rep-Inc)	Martin Carney (Dem)	Bill White (Lib)
San Mateo	23,430	9,699	757
Santa Clara	121,900	74,269	4,398
Santa Cruz	10,465	7,058	717
District Totals	155,795	91,026	5,872
	61.7%	36.0%	2.3%

Thirteenth Congressional District

	Norman Y Mineta (Dem-Inc)	John D 'Jack' Williams (Rep)	John R Redding (Lib)
Santa Clara	139,831	70,666	3,836
	65.2%	33%	1.8%

Fourteenth Congressional District

	Norm Shumway (Rep-Inc)	Ruth 'Paula' Carlson (Dem)	Fred W Colburn (Lib)
Alpine	303	128	20
Amador	8,096	2,283	246
El Dorado	31,513	9,415	931
Lassen	6,194	2,164	192
Modoc	3,241	822	90
Nevada	18,257	6,753	965
Placer	41,550	14,598	2,598
Plumas	5,614	2,221	234
San Joaquin	63,305	19,404	1,521
Sierra	1,165	596	53
District Totals	179,238	58,384	6,850
	73.3%	23.9%	2.8%

Fifteenth Congressional District

	Tony Coelho (Dem-Inc)	Carol Harmer (Rep)	Richard M Harris (Lib)
Fresno	20,164	9,092	553
Mariposa	3,678	2,615	172
Merced	27,364	11,418	832
Stanislaus	58,384	31,605	1,529
District Totals	109,590	54,730	3,086
	65.5%	32.7%	1.8%

Sixteenth Congressional District

	Leon E Panetta (Dem-Inc)	Patricia Smith Ramsey (Rep)	Bill Anderson (Lib)
Monterey	71,786	26,988	1,227
San Benito	5,372	3,329	217
San Luis Obispo	19,344	11,763	547
Santa Cruz	56,875	17,985	1,254
District Totals	153,377	60,065	3,245
	70.8%	27.7%	1.5%

Seventeenth Congressional District

	Charles 'Chip' Pashayan (Rep-Inc)	Simon Lakritz (Dem)
Fresno	50,369	14,040
Kern	9,233	8,139
Kings	13,746	7,292
Tulare	55,454	19,417
District Totals	128,802	48,888
	72.5%	27.5%

Eighteenth Congressional District

	Richard H Lehman (Dem-Inc)	Dale L Ewan (Rep)
Calaveras	6,201	5,516
Fresno	66,294	23,471
Madera	11,076	8,423
Mono	1,835	1,729
San Joaquin	32,652	14,070
Tuolumne	10,128	7,130
District Totals	128,186	62,339
	67.3%	32.7%

Nineteenth Congressional District

	Robert J 'Bob' Lagomarsino (Rep-Inc)	James C Carey Jr (Dem)	Charles John Zekan (P&F)
Santa Barbara	96,204	43,183	2,472
Ventura	56,983	27,095	1,689
District Totals	153,187	70,278	4,161
	67.3%	30.9%	1.8%

Twentieth Congressional District

	William M Thomas (Rep-Inc)	Mike LeSage (Dem)
Inyo	5,749	2,202
Kern	90,708	37,278
Los Angeles	26,417	7,407
San Luis Obispo	28,858	15,420
District Totals	151,732	62,307
	70.9%	29.1%

Twenty-first Congressional District

	Bobbi Fiedler (Rep-Inc)	Charles 'Charlie' Davis (Dem)	Robert T Leet (Lib)
Los Angeles	78,695	25,171	1,805
Ventura	94,809	36,914	2,574
District Totals	173,504	62,085	4,379
	72.3%	25.9%	1.8%

Twenty-second Congressional District

	Carlos J Moorhead (Rep-Inc)	Michael B Yauch (Lib)
Los Angeles	184,981	32,036
	85.2%	14.8%

Twenty-third Congressional District

	Anthony C Beilenson (Dem-Inc)	Claude Parrish (Rep)	Larry Leathers (Lib)
Los Angeles	140,461	84,093	3,580
	61.6%	36.9%	1.5%

Twenty-fourth Congressional District

	Henry A Waxman (Dem-Inc)	Jerry Berg (Rep)	James Green (P&F)	Tim Custer (Lib)
Los Angeles	97,340	51,010	2,780	2,477
	63.4%	33.2%	1.8%	1.6%

Twenty-fifth Congressional District

	Edward R Roybal (Dem-Inc)	Roy D 'Bill' Bloxom (Rep)	Anthony G Bajada (Lib)
Los Angeles	74,261	24,968	4,370
	71.7%	24.1%	4.2%

Twenty-sixth Congressional District

	Howard L Berman (Dem-Inc)	Miriam Ojeda (Rep)
Los Angeles	117,080	69,372
	62.8%	37.2%

Twenty-seventh Congressional District

	Mel Levine (Dem-Inc)	Robert B Scribner (Rep)	Thomas L O'Connor Jr (P&F)	Jeff Avrech (Lib)
Los Angeles	116,933	88,896	3,815	3,137
	54.9%	41.8%	1.8%	1.5%

Twenty-eighth Congressional District

	Julian C Dixon (Dem-Inc)	Beatrice M Jett (Rep)	Don 'Swamimurti' Federick (Lib)
Los Angeles	113,076	33,511	2,930
	75.6%	22.4%	2%

Twenty-ninth Congressional District

	Augustus F 'Gus' Hawkins (Dem-Inc)	Echo Y Goto (Rep)
Los Angeles	108,777	16,781
	86.6%	13.4%

Thirtieth Congressional District

	Matthew G 'Marty' Martinez (Dem-Inc)	Richard Gomez (Rep)	Houston A Myers (A-I)
Los Angeles	64,378	53,900	6,055
	51.8%	43.3%	4.9%

Thirty-first Congressional District

	Marvyn M Dymally (Dem-Inc)	Henry C Minturn (Rep)
Los Angeles	100,658	41,691
	70.7%	29.3%

Thirty-second Congressional District

	Glenn M Anderson (Dem-Inc)	Roger E Fiala (Rep)	Marc F Denny (Lib)	Patrick J McCoy (P&F)
Los Angeles	102,961	62,176	2,517	2,051
	60.7%	36.6%	1.5%	1.2%

Thirty-third Congressional District

	David Dreier (Rep-Inc)	Claire K McDonald (Dem)	Gail Lightfoot (Lib)	Mike Noonan (P&F)
Los Angeles	147,363	54,147	4,738	2,371
	70.6%	26%	2.3%	1.1%

Thirty-fourth Congressional District

	Esteban E Torres (Dem-Inc)	Paul R Jackson (Rep)
Los Angeles	87,060	58,467
	59.8%	40.2%

Thirty-fifth Congressional District

	Jerry Lewis (Rep-Inc)	Kevin Akin (P&F)
Los Angeles	7,172	1,669
San Bernardino	169,305	28,321
District Totals	176,477	29,990
	85.5%	14.5%

Thirty-sixth Congressional District

	George E Brown Jr (Dem-Inc)	John Paul Stark (Rep)
Riverside	29,798	21,858
San Bernardino	74,640	58,354
District Totals	104,438	80,212
	56.6%	43.4%

Thirty-seventh Congressional District

	Al McCandless (Rep-Inc)	David E 'Dave' Skinner (Dem)
Riverside	149,955	85,908
	63.6%	36.4%

Thirty-eighth Congressional District

	Robert K 'Bob' Dornan (Rep)	Jerry M Patterson (Dem-Inc)	Michael Schuyler Bright (P&F)
Los Angeles	9,641	8,162	274
Orange	76,904	65,069	2,747
District Totals	86,545	73,231	3,021
	53.2%	45%	1.8%

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Thirty-ninth Congressional District

	William E 'Bill' Dannemeyer (Rep-Inc)	Robert E Ward (Dem)
Orange	175,788	54,889
	76.2%	23.8%

Fortieth Congressional District

	Robert E Badham (Rep-Inc)	Carol Ann Bradford (Dem)	Maxine Bell Quirk (P&F)
Orange	164,257	86,748	3,969
	64.4%	34%	1.6%

Forty-first Congressional District

	Bill Lowery (Rep-Inc)	Bob Simmons (Dem)	Sara Buase (Lib)
San Diego	161,068	85,475	7,303
	63.4%	33.7%	2.9%

Forty-second Congressional District

	Dan Lungren (Rep-Inc)	Mary Lou Brophy (Dem)	John S Donohue (P&F)
Los Angeles	92,812	30,690	2,850
Orange	84,971	29,335	2,961
District Totals	177,783	60,025	5,811
	73%	24.6%	2.4%

Forty-third Congressional District

	Ron Packard (Rep-Inc)	Lois E Humphreys (Dem)	Phyllis Avery (Lib)
Orange	58,065	14,670	2,034
San Diego	107,578	36,326	4,844
District Totals	165,643	50,996	6,878
	74.1%	22.8%	3.1%

Forty-fourth Congressional District

	Jim Bates (Dem-Inc)	Neill Campbell (Rep)	Jim Conole (Lib)
San Diego	99,378	39,977	3,206
	69.7%	28%	2.3%

Forty-fifth Congressional District

	Duncan Hunter (Rep-Inc)	David W Guthrie (Dem)	Patrick Wright (Lib)
Imperial	14,992	7,220	370
San Diego	134,019	38,105	3,601
Total	149,011	45,325	3,971
	75.1%	22.9%	2%

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January 31, 1990

TO: Jeannie Nappo

FROM: Yvonne Baskin, Science Writer

Attached is information on six key research efforts at UCSD:

--Neural Computation or Neural Network Computing

--Seismic Safety and Structural Testing

--Gene Therapy for Cancer, Heart Disease and Brain Disorders

--Molecular and Cellular Biology

--Advanced Materials

--Global Climate Change

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Yvonne Baskin

exceptions and get better at giving back responses, just like a child."

Sejnowski has taken advantage of this talent of neural nets by teaching one to predict how linear strands of protein will fold into three-dimensional shapes. The network can now look at the sequence of chemical units in a strand and predict with 65 percent accuracy how it will fold. So far, that's the best that either human experts or machines can do, and the network should get better as it gains experience.

Critics of the field contend that back-prop models may be clever, but they are not brainlike—no resident "teacher" has been found in the brain, and electrochemical signals can't run backward in brain tissue the way they can in computer circuits.

However, even the sternest critics such as Nobelist Francis Crick of the Salk Institute, who is also a member of the NCP, admit that progress is being made.

Such nets have already allowed researchers to make useful predictions, which can be tested in the biology lab, about how nerves work. Selverston, Sejnowski and a number of other UCSD scientists maintain parallel research efforts in both "wet lab" neurobiology and neural computation.

A dozen years ago, for instance, Sejnowski predicted from a model that when two nerve pulses in the brain's memory center are timed just right, the result should be a selective weakening of certain connections. This spring, he reported finding the predicted activity—called associative long-term depression—in the brains of rats.

Even those who find back-prop models useful consider them only a first step. Last fall, UCSD cognitive science professor David Zipser developed a new learning algorithm called a recurrent back-prop network. In such a net, the output layer does not just adjust connections in the hidden layer, but continuously feeds back information to the input layer, updating it and keeping it aware of its own internal state, its current "thoughts."

"Recurrence allows you to deal with the phenomenon of time, to have a memory," Zipser says. "It allows you to remember specific past events and integrate those with current inputs or perceptions."

Not all neural networks claim to be brainlike. Researchers working on invertebrate systems such as those of the leech and lobster have the advantage of being able to mimic in silicon the interactions of every nerve in a simple circuit that produces an identifiable behavior.

Selverston's team, for instance, has studied in minute detail the 14-nerve cell circuit that controls the grinding of food by three teeth in the lobster stomach.

"We know a great deal about this circuit from the molecular events right up to the behavioral output, but the truth is that we can't really say how it works or predict the effect of removing any single cell in the circuit," he notes. "Yet a very simplified recurrent back-prop network with the right number of connections learns to produce an output that is 70 percent identical to that produced by the lobster ganglion itself."

Adding specific biological characteristics of lobster neurons to the model one by one should show how important each one is—whether it improves the output by one percent or 10 percent.

But will work on simple systems tell us anything about the human brain? "I don't know if the computational rules of a 10-cell circuit will hold for circuits of 10,000 cells," Selverston says. "It's reasonable to think there are some fundamental rules that are conserved in evolution. But complex nervous systems may have developed computational shortcuts or other novel strategies.

"Those of us who work on invertebrates have the advantage of watching a specific set of nerves interact and seeing a direct motor output. When you're looking at a system like vision or memory, you can't begin to identify all the nerves in the circuit and you don't really know what output you're getting. You only know what a person says he remembers or perceives."

Yet neural networks are providing the first hope of a convergence between biological mechanisms and psychological events such as visual perception.

"More is known about the nerve circuitry, the computational strategies and the psychological mechanisms underlying vision than about any other mental process," Patricia S. Churchland, a philosophy professor who helped to organize the NCP, says.

Psychology professor and NCP member Vilayanur S. Ramachandran, for instance, has done extensive studies on how humans perceive the three-dimensional shape of an object from the shading on its curved surfaces. From the neurobiology side, a research team at the Salk Institute is looking at the properties of neurons in the brain that extract information about 3-D shape from shading. And from the computational approach, Sejnowski's lab has devised a network that successfully learns to compute the curvature of an object such as a face from the shading on its surface.

"There is a growing sense that some of the major pieces of the mind-brain puzzle are now on the brink of falling into place; that fundamental biological explanations for certain psychological phenomena are within reach," Churchland says. "I think the results are going to cause a radical shift in the way we approach traditional philosophical concerns such as the nature of knowledge, self, free will and responsibility.

"We'll probably find that some of our long-held notions about human nature are no more accurate than the pre-Copernican view of the heavens."

At the other end of the spectrum are engineers who want to use the principles of neural computing to build machines that are more like the brain. Fifteen of the 40 faculty in NCP are computer engineers.

The challenge for engineers is to develop new computer architectures in which information is processed by thousands or millions of units operating in parallel. "People have been interested in parallel architectures for a long time," Clark C. Guest, assistant professor of electrical and computer engineering and a member of NCP, says. "Putting together the hardware isn't difficult, but programming it is. It's very difficult and time-consuming to write the software, so highly parallel machines are not cost-effective for most applications.

"Because neural nets don't need traditional software, they offer a new way of dealing with massively parallel architectures."

Guest's own work involves implementing the neural net concept using both electronics and optics. He uses silicon electronic processors as "neurons." Rather than wiring them together in traditional circuits, however, he has these processors communicate by means of lasers and computer-generated holograms.

The hope is that massively parallel architectures will make available a powerful new class of machines for tackling problems that have remained intractable using conventional digital computers—from designing robots that move around and function in the real world to smart computers that recognize familiar faces and respond to spoken requests. Another NCP member, assistant professor of computer science and engineering Paul R. Kube is already working on strategies for computer vision that are inspired by neural net models of human vision.

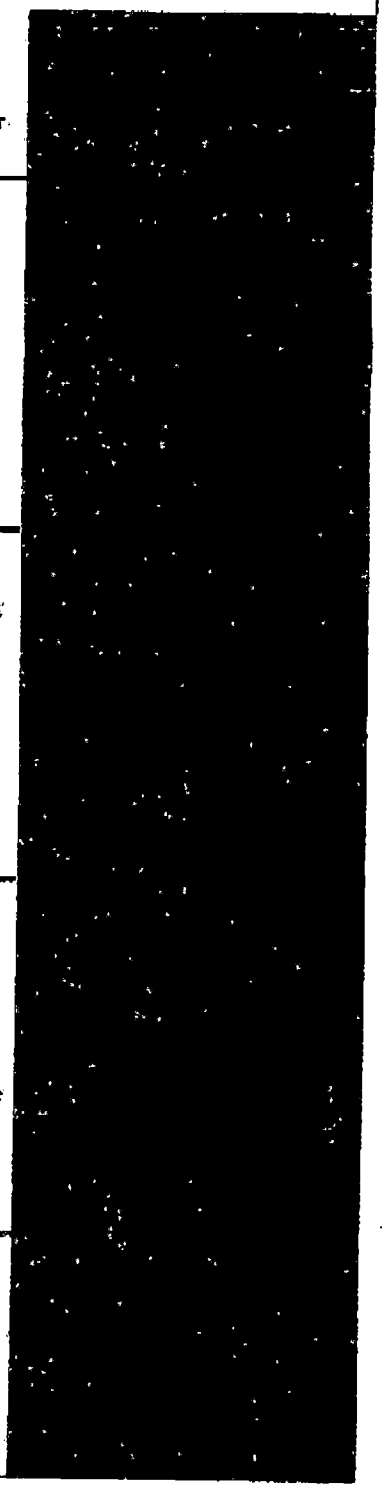
The power and speed of the new parallel machines will also benefit researchers probing the mind and brain. Most of today's neural network models are actually simulations that run slowly, in serial fashion, on digital computers.

"We're lucky at UCSD to have an excellent group of computer scientists who are willing to work with biologists," Selverston says. "One of the great strengths of NCP is the range of talent that it focuses on the challenge of neural computing."

UCSD

By Yvonne Baskin, a science specialist in the University Communications Office.

Photo courtesy of David Amaral, Salk Institute.



Highway Testing Making Inroads

CALTRANS, THE CALIFORNIA STATE agency responsible for the highway system, has a problem: many parts of the system were built more than a quarter of a century ago; some are beginning to show signs of old age and need to be repaired while large portions of it may have to be replaced.

At the Charles Lee Powell Structural Systems Laboratory, the University of California, San Diego is helping Caltrans find a solution to its problem by testing concrete sections of bridge overpasses and finding better ways of repairing the roads.

"The bridges have deteriorated over the years because of the de-icing salts, freeze-thaw cycles, and chain beating," says Frieder Seible, a UCSD associate professor of engineering whose team of researchers has a three-year, $400,000 contract from Caltrans to do the testing and make the recommendations.

"What Caltrans has to do is repair these large-scale bridge decks. But, they don't want to just repair them, they want to, at the same time, upgrade the rating of those bridges for higher legal loads."

Seible's team applies a new surface to the concrete sections of highway and then slowly stresses them to the point of failure. This slow-stress test simulates the use and abuse the roads take as tens of thousands of trucks and cars whiz over them every day.

The sections are wired with electrodes and other sensing and measuring devices that enable the team to develop an accurate computer model of the test on the San Diego Supercomputer located at UCSD. Further, less expensive testing can then be simulated on the computer model.

After making an interim report to Caltrans, Seible will test a sixty-foot-long section taken from an abandoned highway south of Fresno. He will use this full-scale test, believed to be the first of its kind ever conducted, to verify his recommendations to Caltrans.

The testing and computer modeling is somewhat similar to the full-scale testing of the earthquake resistance of buildings and other structures that will be conducted in the huge, box-like laboratory.



Engineers learn to design tougher roads and bridges by pushing large chunks of left-over highway to the limit

A key feature of the laboratory is a fifty-foot-high concrete wall, called a reaction strong wall, to which structures up to five stories tall will be connected by hydraulic actuators, similar to car jacks.

The structure will be subjected to simulated earthquakes generated by computer models linked to the actuators and programmed on the San Diego Supercomputer.

"With our lab we can actually get the behavior of the building as it reacts to a simulated earthquake over time. That is the key point," says Seible, "This type of information is extremely difficult to obtain from scaled-down model tests."

According to Seible, the system acts as a loop. A simulated earthquake is generated from a model in the supercomputer, and the effects of that quake are observed on an actual structure built in the laboratory. Researchers can observe cracks or other damage to the structure as they occur during the quake, and this data is fed back into the computer model of the building. This new data helps refine and improve the computer model of structural behavior for further testing.

Although Seible and laboratory director Gilbert Hegemier will be testing buildings, they will also be testing the accuracy of computer modeling of structural behavior during an earthquake.

In the past, engineers could test for potential structural damage by either building a scale model of a building and subjecting it to earthquake-like movements, or by modeling the building on a computer. But, neither alternative was as accurate as testing a full-scale structure.

"We have very little data to go on to tell us whether our theoretical computer modeling is doing the job or not," says Hegemier. "These big tests are intended to validate our theoretical procedures. The question is: how are these simulation models doing? Are they doing a good job or are they totally off the mark?

"Structural engineers might disagree on how a building or a bridge might perform under certain circumstances, but after you do a full-scale test, that disagreement is reduced to a minimum," he says.

The Charles Lee Powell Foundation of San Diego contributed $1 million toward construction of the laboratory, the National Science Foundation added another $835,000, and the University of California contributed $165,000.

Lessons from the San Francisco Quake
By Warren R. Froelich
1342 words

A gallery of photographs on the wall provides graphic evidence of the lessons to be learned from the earthquake that shook the San Francisco area last October.

Row upon row of snapshots on the wall of a conference room in the Charles Powell Structural Systems Laboratory at the University of California, San Diego, vividly illustrate the aftermath of the 15-second temblor that measured 7.1 on the Richter scale.

One shows the remnants of a Marina district building whose unreinforced masonry toppled onto a passing car, killing six of its occupants. Another depicts what was left of the Nimitz Freeway in Oakland, the infamous double-decker bridge that gave way under the stress, sandwiching rush-hour commuters between slabs of concrete. Still others offers views of near-disasters, of bridges just a few seconds away from the fate of the Nimitz.

Although the epicenter of the quake was in a geological fault in Loma Pietra, about 60 miles from San Francisco, it left the Bay area with 105,000 damaged structures and 67 fewer lives. Forty-two people were killed in the Nimitz collapse.

But, it could have been worse-a lot worse.

That's Lesson No. 1, according to Gilbert Hegemier, director of the UCSD structures lab. It was to help engineers understand the impact of such earthquakes that the $4.5 million lab was built in 1985.

"We were lucky, really lucky in the case of San Francisco," Hegemier said. "The Nimitz itself could have killed 300. What they got in San Francisco was a trial balloon, a little test."

To Hegemier, the most important lesson of the Oct. 17 quake may have been what the pictures didn't show: If the temblor had struck a little closer, or lasted a little longer, the photos on his wall would have been a lot more grim; more

buildings and bridges would have been demolished, more gas pipelines would have been broken, more electrical wires would have been downed and hundreds, perhaps thousands, of people would have died.

What's needed to prevent a disaster of such magnitude, Hegemier said, is research to strengthen the existing structures.

"If it is not given a higher priority," he predicted, "you can just bet your life this is going to happen again. It may not be San Francisco; it may be Los Angeles; it may be San Diego."

Hegemier, who has been studying earthquakes since 1971 when a major temblor hit the San Fernando Valley area of Los Angeles, said that in each quake there is a lesson for the future.

Following the San Fernando earthquake, for example, UCSD researchers were awarded two contracts to find ways of reinforcing bridges that might be damaged by quakes. Partly as a result of that research, a massive effort by Caltrans was begun to strengthen circular bridge columns and expansion joints throughout the state.

But retrofitting after disaster is expensive and only goes so far. It offers only a "Band-Aid" to a potential wound that could bleed at any moment, Hegemier said.

That leads to Lesson No. 2: In order to prevent the inevitable fallout from future confrontations with the pent-up energy that congregates along the earth's moveable plates, more lab work and increased federal and state funds are needed.

"These labs ought to be cranked up to full power in order find solutions to these problems before the geological clock ticks off for the next earthquake," Hegemier said.

The day after last October's quake, Hegemier and two UCSD colleagues were in San Francisco, taking photographs and assessing the damage to the Nimitz Freeway and bridges in the area..

The photographs show the main cause for the collapse of the freeway's Cypress section--poorly-designed and under-reinforced joints that connected the roadways to massive,

concrete support columns. Steel bars that should have provided reinforcement at the joints failed to withstand the strains of massive concrete columns that swung back-and-forth in an pendulum-like rhythm orchestrated by the temblor.

"You can see row after row after row of the same problem," Hegemier said, reviewing the photos on wall. "There's no doubt that the problem was in the joint region. There's one, two, three, four, five in this picture, all doing the same thing. They're all deforming in pretty much the same way."

Joints connecting several double-decker bridges, including the busy Embarcadero bridge along the city's northeast corner, were shown cracking under the strain.

"What happened here (at The Embarcadero) was that the ground motion did not continue quite long enough, or you would have had the same thing (as the Nimitz), " said Hegemier. "No doubt about it."

Although joints connecting double-decker bridges were shown to be fragile throughout the San Francisco region, Hegemier believes the fault did not lie with the structures themselves, but rather in their design and the analysis that went into their construction.

Which is the object of Lesson No. 3, perhaps the major engineering lesson learned from from the disaster.

"There's no reason you can't build a double-decker bridge," he said. "You just have to do a good job of design and analysis, especially analysis."

When the Nimitz Freeway was designed in the early 1950s, complex calculations to analyze potential stresses were often performed by slide rule rather than computer. Moreover, the Nimitz was designed only to withstand a horizontal push of 6 percent of its gross weight. Last October's quake gave the freeway a sideways shove equal to 20 percent of the bridge's weight.

"So that bridge experienced three times what it was designed for," Hegemier said. "You could argue if the ground motion had been only 6 percent, that thing wouldn't have failed."

To find out the extent of the problem in the San Francisco Bay area, the site of 1,500 to 1,600 bridges, engineers were assigned by Caltrans to identify the most hazardous bridges.

In January, Caltrans engineers announced plans to retrofit five Bay area freeway bridges by attaching steel reinforcements to the concrete columns. Tests conducted at UC Berkeley showed the technique would allow the columns to withstand 4 million pounds of lateral force — greater than the earthquake — without collapsing.

But similar problems may be going unnoticed in other cities, including Los Angeles and San Diego, Hegemier said.

"We get questions all the time about local bridges," he said. "The answer is, I don't know. We haven't had the time or the resources to undertake any sort of detailed analysis of the major structures in San Diego."

11/15/89

THE NEW YORK TIMES **NATIONAL** WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1989

Altered Cells Seen as Having Potential in Parkinson's Battle

By WARREN E. LEARY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 14 — University of California scientists said today that they had injected genetically altered skin cells into the brains of rats suffering symptoms of Parkinson's disease and had reduced those symptoms.

The researchers said their study was the first report of behavioral effects of the transplant of genetically modified cells into the brain.

In the experiment, reported in the Nov. 15 issue of Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, researchers at the University of California in San Diego modified rat skin cells to make them produce L-dopa, one of the principal chemicals deficient in the brains of Parkinson's disease patients.

When the cells were transplanted into the brains of rats whose brains contained lesions that mimic some Parkinson's symptoms, the animals showed an average 40 percent reduction in abnormal behavior.

"We think this approach has potential and should be pursued," Dr. Fred H. Gage, the principal researcher, said in a telephone interview. He emphasized that the technique did not represent a cure for Parkinson's and was not ready for any human testing.

Parkinson's disease is a chronic neurologic disorder that affects about 400,000 people in the United States. It is characterized by trembling, difficulty with walking and balance, and eventually dementia. It typically strikes people over 40.

The technique using modified skin cells, if perfected, could be an alternative to fetal cell implants that have proved effective against Parkinson's in some early research but have raised moral and political questions about their use, said Dr. Gage and colleagues, including Dr. Theodore Friedmann of the same institution.

Other researchers have implanted fetal nerve cells and adrenal gland tissue into the brains of Parkinson's patients. These transplants attempt to make up for a deficiency in dopamine, a chemical used directly by brain cells to help them communicate, and other chemicals involved in transmitting brain signals.

Stalled by Controversy

Fetal transplants have proven most effective because they use growing nerve cells that produce the appropriate neurological chemicals and appear to replace others damaged by the disease. Dr. Gage said fetal cell transplants are substantially better than his modified skin cells at reversing Parkinson's behavior. But research with fetal cells has been stalled by controversy over the use of tissue from aborted fetuses.

In the California work, the researchers took skin cells from rats and used a modified virus to insert genes that produce the enzyme tyrosine hydroxylase. This enzyme acts as a catalyst to convert a common amino acid, tyrosine, into L-dopa, the brain chemical that is deficient in many Parkinson's cases. Other enzymes in the brain convert L-dopa to dopamine.

The skin cells, converted into L-dopa factories, were injected into the brains of rats that had been purposely injured to cause neurological deterioration that mimics Parkinson's disease. Rats with this damage develop a behavior called neurological asymmetry, which causes them to walk in circles.

The modified skin cells produce only a small fraction of the L-dopa available from normal brain cells, Dr. Gage said, adding that this could be one reason the physical functions of the test rats were only partially restored.

Dr. Don M. Gash, professor of nerve biology and anatomy at the University of Rochester School of Medicine, called the latest work "a very interesting step."

"Not only does this get around the fetal tissue issue, it could also lessen immunological problems associated with transplants," Dr. Gash said in a telephone interview. If cells to be modified and transplanted come from the animal or person to be treated, he said, it decreases the chances of rejection.

HEALTH SCIENCES
UCSD NEWS

Contact: Yvonne Baskin, (619) 534-3120

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BACKGROUND
POTENTIAL DISEASE TARGETS FOR GENE THERAPY

Five years ago, the dream of treating human disease by transplanting genes focused on rare congenital disorders such as Lesch-Nyhan Syndrome, thalassemia and inherited immune deficiencies.

Now, even before gene therapy has reached the bedside, the potential targets have expanded to include such common afflictions as cancer, heart disease and brain disorders.

Theodore Friedmann, M.D., a University of California, San Diego pediatrician and molecular biologist, has been working on developing gene therapy models for the past 20 years, with special emphasis on brain disorders such as Lesch-Nyhan, a cerebral palsy-like disease.

"Lesch-Nyhan has been for us a model system to demonstrate ways of inserting new genes into various body tissues to supply missing functions," says Friedmann.

The approach involves using disarmed viruses as vectors or carriers to insert functional genes into bone marrow and, more recently, fibroblasts, liver and brain cells that can then be returned to the body.

"What we're seeing now is an exciting convergence between this basic genetic research and a completely new kind of approach to clinical problems," Friedmann says.

In September, Friedmann and a team led by Daniel Steinberg, M.D., director of UCSD's Specialized Center of Research on Arteriosclerosis, reported inserting foreign genes into rabbit cells to correct a defect of cholesterol metabolism. The work, published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, involved the gene for low density lipoprotein (LDL) receptors and suggested a possible strategy for gene therapy in inherited heart disease.

Reports in this week's Science by Friedmann and two other UCSD teams led by Fred H. Gage and Wen-Hwa Lee demonstrate potential genetic approaches to brain disorders and certain cancers.

"No one is shy about using the words 'gene therapy' anymore," Friedmann noted. "It is a certainty now that diseases will be treated at the level of the genes. Many of the conceptual and public policy hurdles have now been cleared. The remaining questions are largely technical--what gene, what vector, what tissue?"

# # # #

THE TRIBUNE San Diego, Thursday, June 29, 1989

'Biological revolution' just beginning in La Jolla

By Ann Gibbons
Tribune Science Writer

When Renato Dulbecco first saw the Salk Institute in 1964, it was just a hole in the ground. The few scientists already on hand were working in makeshift labs near the construction site, and UCSD was little more than a graduate school for a few hundred students.

But the well-known physician became one of a score of scientists to leave prestigious posts at the nation's best universities to stake their careers on the upstart institutions rising on the mesa above the Pacific Ocean.

"It started from nothing, but it was an adventure," said Dulbecco, a native of Italy and one of seven Nobel Prize-winning scientists to have worked at Salk. "We had a dream. We could see the technology was developing to look into molecules. We could see that a whole new world would follow where the molecular techniques would be applied to higher organisms, especially humans.

'It started from nothing, but it was an adventure. We had a dream.'

— Renato Dulbecco

"We didn't know the details of how that would happen, but we were enthusiastic."

In just 26 years, Dulbecco has watched that dream materialize on Torrey Pines Mesa. As the University of California, the Salk Institute for Biological Studies and the Research Institute of Scripps Clinic rose among the eucalyptus and Torrey pines, La Jolla grew from a remote scientific outpost into one of the leading centers for molecular and cellular biology.

Today, the three institutions are the nucleus of a vibrant biomedical research community — one that has been blessed by what some say is almost an embarrassment of riches.

The three institutions rate so well in obtaining national funding that the dean of the UCSD School of Medicine, Gerard Burrow, said: "Our major problem is that people are getting too many grants, at a period of time when it is so hard to get grants."

Their success has inspired the founding of 69 biotechnology companies that employ about 2,800 people in San Diego, giving the area the third-largest concentration of biotechnology companies in the nation. Several smaller research institutions also have grown up in the shadow of the "Big Three," including the La Jolla Cancer Research Foundation, the Agouron Institute and the Medical Biology Institute.

Scientists around the world now recognize San Diego as one of a half-dozen cities where scientists have done the most to usher in the age of molecular biology. The researchers wield the powerful new tools of biology to study cells and the molecules of which they're made in organisms as varied as bacteria, plants and humans.

"La Jolla is definitely one of the major centers in molecular genetics in the world," said David Baltimore, a Nobel prize-winning biologist who worked at Salk and who is director of the Whitehead Institute for Biomedical Research at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Though the boom in molecular and cellular biology research reflects a worldwide trend, San Diego's institutions are unusual for their youth and their rapid expansion. The labs have become world-class research centers, even though they lack an Ivy League past or the decades-old reputations of leading West Coast schools.

It was a destiny for which they were designed.

The early founders, led by Roger Revelle, tried to position the new institutions so they would become leaders in what Revelle calls "modern biology."

Revelle helped recruit some of the top biologists of the day to join the faculty of the nascent university, where a major emphasis was placed on biology. "It was quite clear by the end of the 1950s that modern biology was going to be one of the important areas for research and technological development, which would bring industrial research to San Diego," he said.

But the degree of success surprises even Revelle and Dulbecco. As acting president of Salk, one of Dulbecco's most challenging tasks has been to find laboratory space for new scientists he wants to recruit to Salk.

Today, Dulbecco works in a spacious office on the top floor of the Salk compound, where he speaks enthusiastically of plans for a new $10 million building. When it opens in late 1992, its labs should be full of scientists using the tools of molecular biology to study AIDS, the immune system, the brain and nervous systems.

The same thing is happening down the road at the gleaming white campus of Scripps, and across the highway at UCSD, where new buildings already are taking shape.

"The growth is explosive," said Richard Lerner, director of the Research Institute of Scripps Clinic. As he sat in his mahogany-paneled office with a view of the Pacific Ocean, Lerner spoke of his vision of a new chemistry department — one that would take shape in a new $20 million building to open in late 1991. Scientists there will study the form and function of proteins, complex molecules that carry out the essential work of cells.

At UCSD, workers already are putting the roof tiles on the new 40,000-square-foot addition to the Center for Molecular Genetics, an $8 million lab that opened in 1987. The center is headed by biology Professor Donald Helinski, and draws its faculty from both the medical school and the university's science departments.

"The biological revolution is just beginning," said Helinski, as he sat in the lobby of the ultramodern glass and graystone center. Scientists here are working with genes, the basic hereditary blueprint in all living organisms.

They are manipulating genes to understand how they issue the instructions that give cells and their components their identities and functions, whether they are genes that turn on cancer cells in humans or genes that affect a plant's susceptibility to frost or pests.

Across the street on the campus, architects are completing blueprints for a new $50 million science building that would be large enough for the university to recruit 40 more faculty-level biologists and chemists in the next decade.

All of this research is still basic laboratory science. But these new tools of molecular biology, Helinski said, will someday change the methods of medicine and agriculture, leading to new drugs and new industrial techniques. "There's no question that gene therapy will be in the physician's black bag as an approach to disease in the future," Helinski said.

Burrow, dean and vice chancellor at the School of Medicine, is planning for that day, but he has a surprising problem. He doesn't have enough lab space to accommodate all of the UCSD scientists winning research grants. "If we don't find space for them, they will go elsewhere," he said.

As a result, Burrow is in the midst of planning for no fewer than five new buildings on a 40-acre site east of the medical school. The buildings would range from a $25 million laboratory for basic research to an $11 million neuropsychiatric hospital where physicians hope to transfer state-of-the-art techniques straight from the lab into new treatments for patients.

"It's not enough to make a discovery," Burrow said. "You have to get it out into the world, from the bench to bedside to biotech."

Across town, at San Diego State University, professors are training students who make up a good part of that biotech work force. The school is the only one of the 19 state universities (excluding the UC campuses) to offer a doctoral degree in molecular biology, as part of a joint program with UCSD.

The first four graduates of the program were awarded their doctorates in May, and immediately were offered post-doctoral research jobs at UCSD, Scripps and UC San Francisco, said Sanford Bernstein, a biologist who is associate director of the Molecular Biology Institute at SDSU.

Even undergraduates and adult-education students who earn the Recombinant DNA Certificate at SDSU have no trouble finding jobs in the biotechnology and research communities — if they are good. Bernstein said he gets a telephone call a month from a biotech company official asking if he has any students for hire.

"In general, the biology department has gone whole hog into the area of molecular biology," Bernstein said. "It helps us build our reputation and turn out students to work for biotech companies and in research."

Administrators at these institutions said all of this growth is sustainable because they have fared so well in federal funding.

UCSD ranked 15th in the nation in fiscal year 1988 for grants and other awards from the National Institutes of Health, the major source of federal funding for biomedical research. Officials at Scripps boast that the research institute receives more federal funding than any other private, non-profit biomedical research institute in the nation, ranking 31st among all recipients last year.

UCSD is on particularly sound financial footing because it also receives state money in proportion to the number of students who enroll in the university. Already, one in six of the students on campus majors in biology, and academics predict that large numbers will continue to enroll in biology and chemistry in the next decade as the university student body swells from 16,678 to about 27,000.

But none of the administrators is complacent about funding. The federal budget deficit has made competition for basic research funds increasingly difficult, with only one in four screened applications for funds being granted by the NIH.

To keep that money flowing into San Diego, administrators know that one solution is to build lab space.

That way, they can recruit new scientists, who bring grant money with them, and encourage in-house scientists to expand their research. Researchers at all three institutions, for example, are now preparing to apply for grants that would give them some of the federal money set aside to "sequence the human genome" — crack the total genetic code of human beings.

Hardly a month goes by, in fact, without an announcement of the recruitment of a leading biologist or chemist, often from a prestigious Eastern university or research institution.

"There's no question there's been a major shift over the past two decades toward the West Coast, despite the opinion of many people who have thought the center of gravity intellectually is in Massachusetts," said W. Maxwell Cowan, vice president and chief science officer of the Howard Hughes Medical Institute in Bethesda, Md., a non-profit scientific organization that funds biomedical research nationwide, including a new lab at UCSD.

"California institutions, from Berkeley, Stanford and UCSF in the north to San Diego in the south now collectively represent one of the great intellectual masses in the country," Cowan said.

No one really knows why the growth is so explosive on the West Coast, but some think there's more of an entrepreneurial spirit and, perhaps, more freedom to pursue ideas outside the mainstream. That freshness, in fact, was part of the attraction for the founding fathers of UCSD and the Salk Institute, many of whom saw La Jolla as a refuge from the bureaucracies they had left behind.

"The people who were brought here to make biology happen came with a clean slate," said Paul Saltman, a professor of biology and former vice chancellor for academic affairs at UCSD.

"We didn't have any of the old futzes hanging around from the 19th century threatened by these young kids and their new ideas. It was a new community, a new vitality. It was very open, very collaborative. There was this crazy intellectual incest between these three institutions."

The timing was right. All three institutions were growing up just when scientists were unraveling the structure of DNA and solving some of the basic mysteries of the way proteins and viruses are built, at a time when federal funding was ample in the '60s and early '70s.

And then there's the legendary weather.

"We tell recruits they'll forget what a snow shovel looks like," said Burrow, dean of the UCSD medical school.

James Feramisco was one of the new recruits from the East Coast. He had a bright future at Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory on Long Island, where he worked with James Watson, a Nobel laureate who sparked a revolution in molecular biology in 1953 when he and Francis Crick (now at Salk) discovered the helical structure of the DNA molecule, the genetic material that is the master molecule of life.

"To leave Cold Spring Harbor required some incredible draw, and of all places, San Diego provided it," said Feramisco, a molecular biologist who studies the genes that cause cancer.

What drew Feramisco to UCSD's Cancer Center last year were the medical school's ambitious plans for expansion and recruitment of new scientists. "As molecular medicine comes of age, we want to create an environment that rivals the best of the East Coast bloc," he said.

He was convinced that San Diego had the brain power to do it when he surveyed the eclectic group of scientists already here who were experts in studying the workings of the cell and its molecular components.

"As science progresses, everything we do becomes more complicated," Feramisco said. "The more colleagues you have in the immediate area who know something you don't know, the better. You get constant trades of information.

"It's very exciting here — the university with Salk and Scripps has such a broad array of scientists who think in terms of molecular medicine, working on everything from sea urchins to humans."

There is so much collaboration among the three institutions, in fact, that Burrow is now recruiting a scientist who will act as a liaison between the medical school and Salk, Scripps and other academic departments at UCSD.

The institutions also have assembled the expensive tools that are magnets to new recruits, including the supercomputers at Scripps and the San Diego Supercomputer Center at UCSD that are used to model the structure of molecules, such as proteins.

"There was sufficient computer equipment that I feel like I died and went to heaven," said Jeffrey Skolnick, a chemist who left Washington University in St. Louis to come to Scripps this month.

As a new generation of scientists move to San Diego, they bring a vitality with them. In turn, they attract more bright young scientists working to fill the gaps in the biological picture of mankind.

"I think one of the best services I've performed is providing an East Coast conduit," Feramisco said. "The phones ring constantly with people who hear about what's going on in San Diego."

Such state-of-the-art techniques already have been a boon to agriculture, plant research and medicine. They have led to diagnostic tests and prenatal screening for some genetic diseases, and to the design of new plants that are more productive and disease-resistant.

Eventually, scientists hope to use these tools and their knowledge of protein structure to make vaccines and to correct genetic disorders in humans -- ideally before birth.

In December, scientists at UCSD took a major step toward creating just such a genetic treatment for some cancers by blocking the development of tumors in mice, using the tools of molecular biology.

A team led by Drs. Wen-Hwa Lee and Theodore Friedmann took tumor cells and inserted a foreign gene inside them, one that works to prevent certain kinds of cancer. When the tumor cells with the protective gene were injected into the flanks of mice, the tumors did not grow.

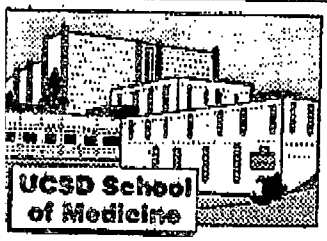
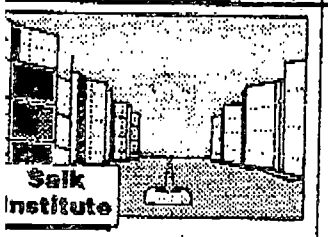
But when tumor cells without the protective gene were inserted in the mice, tumors grew.

"The real revolution in all of this is the change in our thinking toward genetic therapy," Friedmann said. "Both the medical and molecular biology communities are now thinking that, in fact, genetic therapy is feasible. That's very different from a decade ago."

BIOMEDICAL RESEARCH BOOM

All three institutions are hiring new faculty and planning new laboratories to open on their campuses on Torrey Pines Mesa in the next five years. The numbers of scientists to be recruited are estimates, and all three institutions make distinctions between faculty, who have special status, and other scientists who work in their labs. The total number of scientists cited are estimates of researchers with advanced degrees.



Institution	Existing faculty	Scientists with advanced degrees	Faculty to recruit	New buildings	Status
 UCSD School of Medicine	520	1,000	80 in the decade	Clinical Sciences Bldg. 64,000 sq. ft. Neuropsychiatric Hospital 42,000 sq. ft. Complex (two buildings) +13,000 sq. ft. Satellite Medical Facility 148,000 sq. ft. Shiley Eye Center 20,000 sq. ft. Molecular Biology Research Facility II (UC and medical school share) 54,000 sq. ft	opens 5/91 two stages 12/90 and 1/91 opens 9/91 opens 1/91 opens 2/90
UCSD Academic Departments (separate from the School of Medicine) — Biology	60		20 in decade three now	Sciences building 110,000 sq. ft.	opens 2/93
Chemistry	43		15 in decade six now		
 Research Institute of Scripps Clinic	150	500	30 in five years (300-400 total scientists in five years)	Chemistry Department building 85,000 sq. ft.	opens late 1991 ground-breaking fall, 1989
 Salk Institute	46	200	25 in five years (100 total scientists in five years)	New lab building to be built in two stages – first stage 28,000 sq. ft	opens late 1992 fund raising under way

Source: UCSD, Scripps and Salk

Tribune / Fred Gates

> ***California institutions, from Berkeley, Stanford and UCSF in the north to San Diego in the south now collectively represent one of the great intellectual masses in the country.***
>
> ***— Maxwell Cowan***
> ***Howard Hughes Medical Institute***
> ***Bethesda, Md.***

FEDERAL FUNDS FOR BIOMEDICAL RESEARCH

The National Institutes of Health, the major source of federal funding for biomedical research, awards funds each fiscal year to almost 1,700 universities and research centers in the U.S. for research, fellowships and contracts. Each of the three institutions' national rank is shown. They also receive money from the National Science Foundation and private donors, in addition to other sources.

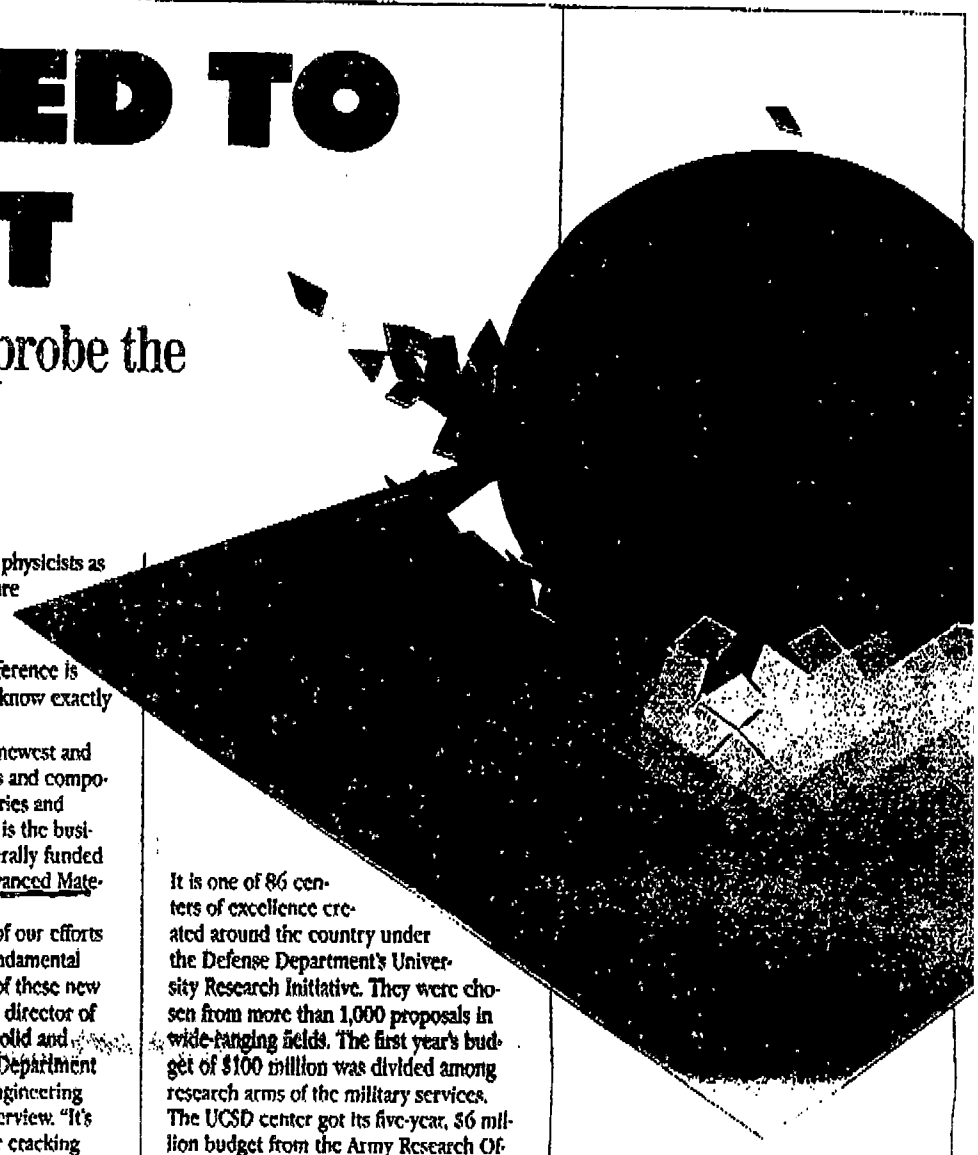
National Institutes of Health funds (in millions)

Recipient	Fiscal year 1978		Fiscal year 1983		Fiscal year 1988	
	Total	Rank	Total	Rank	Total	Rank
University of California, San Diego	$23.08	17	$38.91	18	$74.39	15
Scripps Clinic and Research Foundation	$12.98	50	$24.62	39	$50.20	31
Salk Institute	$6.75	86	$14.02	64	$21.47	70

Source: National Institutes of Health — The Tribune

STRETCHED TO THE LIMIT

Extraordinary new machines probe the possibilities of new materials.



FIRST, UNIVERSITY OF California, San Diego engineering technician Jon Isaacs pressed a buzzer to warn his Urey Hall neighrs to expect a shock.

Then the countdown began.

Three ... two ... one—Isaacs gged a makeshift lanyard—WHOMP!

Like a giant BB through a power- air rifle, a stubby, inch-thick dowel nt through a pipe at 300 feet per sec- d.

The projectile plowed into a perhard, four-foot steel rod, suspended e a battering ram. That rod, which can te an impact of 300,000 pounds per uare inch, crashed into the end of anei, identical rod.

Squeezed in between them was aluminum pellet the size of a plump eath mint. It was squashed like a grape three times its original diameter.

Almost instantaneously, the fine tails of what Isaacs and University of lifornia, San Diego engineer John E. rrett did to the aluminum tab apared as numbers and graphs on a digioscilloscope-computer. Not many rs ago the same stress analysis would e taken a day to compute.

The ram, known to physicists as a split Hopkinson Bar pressure system, is a sophisticated derivation of the common sledge hammer. "But the difference is that, when you're done, you know exactly what you did," Isaacs said.

Taking some of the newest and most exotic metals, ceramics and composites devised in U.S. laboratories and pushing them to their limits is the business of UCSD's year-old, federally funded Center of Excellence for Advanced Materials.

"The whole thrust of our efforts here is to understand the fundamental causes of the failure modes of these new materials," Sia Nemat-Nasser, director of the center and professor of solid and structural mechanics in the Department of Applied Mechanics and Engineering Sciences, said in a recent interview. "It's not a question of breaking or cracking these materials. It's a question of understanding why the materials behave the way they do. That requires a basic understanding at the microscopic level ... and that requires experiment."

The Center of Excellence for Advanced Materials, a multidisciplinary laboratory, was established in October 1986. It is one of 86 centers of excellence created around the country under the Defense Department's University Research Initiative. They were chosen from more than 1,000 proposals in wide-ranging fields. The first year's budget of $100 million was divided among research arms of the military services. The UCSD center got its five-year, $6 million budget from the Army Research Office, through the director of its materials division, George Mayer.

The research at UCSD is unclassified, carries no restrictions on publication and is not military research, although some of it may have military applications, Nemat-Nasser said. The center also designs new instruments for other laboratories and trains graduate and post-graduate students in advanced materials research.

In order to conduct that research and training, the center has already assembled an array of instruments, monitors and cameras that probe the new materials and record the results. The ma-



Nemat-Nasser and Sturratt (top, left to right) examine Hopkinson bar. Technician Jon Isaacs checks

where, in industrial and academic research laboratories across the country. "Getting the material is no problem whatsoever. When you've got a unique facility, people are anxious to participate," said Nemat-Nasser.

" In return, the information obtained from experiments conducted at UCSD is helping scientists create newer, customized materials, fashioned to order for specific tasks—materials, for instance, that can resist the heat of atmospheric friction at several times the speed of sound or pliable superconducting ceramics that can be wound into potent new magnets. Some scientists are touting many of these new materials—especially the new breed of ceramic superconductors—as potentially revolutionary stuff that will pave the way for cheaper transportation and electricity.

In some respects, the new center complements UCSD's Charles Lee Powell Structural Systems Laboratory where giant hydraulic jacks stress structures as large as five-story buildings to the point of collapse. Engineers there try to understand the strengths and weaknesses of full-scale structures and how and why they fail.

The Center of Excellence for Advanced Materials does much the same thing at the microscopic level. Here, scientists push coin-sized pieces of material until they collapse. Then they track the failures running through microscopic imperfections such as voids and cracks, to decipher where and how the materials broke down. Here, the ultimate goal is to guide modern alchemists toward better, stronger materials with which to build tougher structures.

Mankind's attempts to improve on the raw materials provided by nature go back to the closing of the Stone Age when some clever proto-metallurgist mixed a little tin with copper and produced bronze.

"That is the science of materials processing, or perhaps it is the art of materials processing," Nemat-Nasser said. "You can change the properties of materials by adding small bits of new materials. The old-fashioned blacksmith or metallurgist used to do it by trial and error: add a little something and, if it works, add a little more. There's still a bit of that left.

"But now the move is to understand at the microscopic level, to do the computations and the modelling so we are actually directed toward what we want. We are interested in understanding the failures of these new composite materials ... so we can tell you how to tailor them by adding how much of what (is needed) to increase strength, ductility, lightness, heat-resistance or whatever else is needed."

The kind of computer modelling required takes up a lot of computer time, so much that the work would be difficult, if not impossible, without access to the on-campus San Diego Supercomputer Center, Nemat-Nasser said.

To record and analyze the failures that occur in the experimental materials, scientists use a variety of probes, some of which are embedded in the samples and destroyed on impact. Other instruments use laser-based, state-of-the-art optical devices and electronics.

World War II aerial reconnaissance lens and looking like a four-foot slice of pie on legs, uses a rotating mirror to flash 200 exposures along a strip of ordinary 35 millimeter film at a rate of several million frames per second. A high-grade ruby laser that was specially designed for the task provides the light. With the aid of some extremely complicated technology, the laser rapid-fires the light pulses required for photography at such lightning speeds.

Albert Ellis, now UCSD professor emeritus of applied mechanics and one of the scientists and engineers associated with the center, was the first person to use the high-speed photography process, said Starrett. Other scientists from UCSD, UC Santa Barbara and the UC-managed national labs at Livermore, Calif., and Los Alamos, N.M., participate in the research.

The center also provides private industry with an opportunity to collaborate with UCSD on shared research goals. Among the companies already linked to the center are Science Applications International Corp., GA Technologies Inc., Alcoa and Alcan.

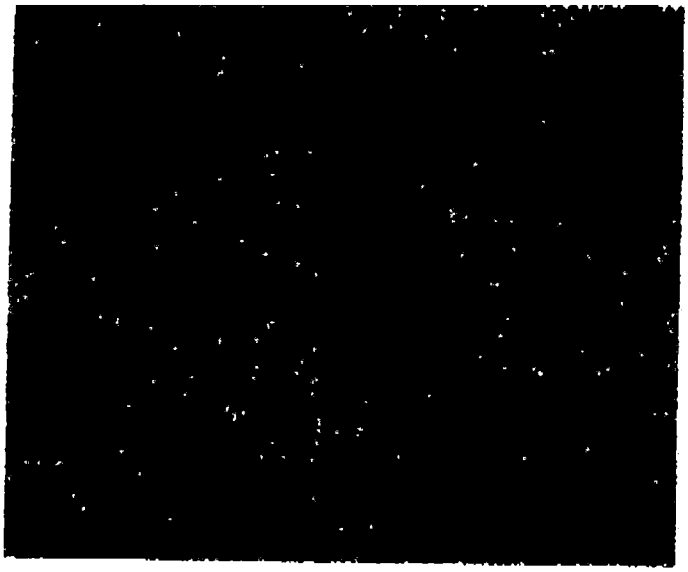
Starrett himself has designed much of the center's apparatus and, according to Nemat-Nasser, there's more to come. "We're still building machines, so there will be much, much more, including a high-speed camera capable of taking pictures at up to several hundred million frames per second."

Mankind's attempts to improve on the raw materials that nature provides go back to the closing of the Stone Age when some primitive metallurgist mixed tin with copper and produced bronze.

Already, there's a "flyer plate apparatus" that shoots soup-can-size projectiles at speeds of 600 feet per second, but Starrett and Nemat-Nasser are working on a launcher that will fire missiles at more than half-a-mile per second. They are also working on a torsional Hopkinson Bar that would twist as it smashed into its target. The twisting, multiaxial testing would be especially important, Nemat-Nasser said, because many of the new composites "have certain preferred directions" with mechanical properties that vary with the direction of stress in much the same way as wood is stronger along the grain than against it.

Most of the equipment is fabricated in the UCSD machine shop beneath Urey Hall.

"What usually happens when people start up a center like this is that they spend the first year or so getting everything ready before they start doing experiments," Starrett said. "We're doing both at the same time, which turns out to be very fruitful because the experiments give us ideas for new apparatus."



In this model granular-materials experiment (above), scientists at the Center of Excellence for Advanced Materials simulate the reaction of substances such as sand, soil or even grain in a hopper to a variety of outside forces. Under sodium light, the pressure applied to cylindrical sections of photoelastic resin shows up as colored fringes and patterns.

Among the materials tested at the center are ceramics, of which pottery is a common example. But ceramics also include a whole new generation of materials. Today, scientists include just about any hard materials that are neither metal nor plastic. Usually they are oxides, carbides, or nitrides and they are normally fired during production. Examples are zirconium oxide, titanium carbide and silicon nitride.

Generally speaking, ceramics are extremely hard, lightweight, made of common raw materials, tolerant of very high temperatures and resistant to most chemicals. But they have one major flaw that can be demonstrated by a simple experiment: drop a piece of pottery on a hard floor. It doesn't bend or bounce. Instead, in the language of engineers, it "fails catastrophically"—and breaks into smithereens.

To make his point, Starrett displayed a tiny pellett of an experimental ceramic-metal blend of aluminum, boron and carbide, almost as strong as the Hopkinson Bar itself. "A quarter of a million pounds per square inch (psi) and it (the new material) doesn't break," Starrett said.

However, with slightly more than 250,000 psi, the ceramic was reduced to powder. "That's what we mean when we say a ceramic doesn't have a lot of ductility. When you push it too hard, it fragments," Starrett said.

One of the properties of the new superconducting ceramics is their ability to conduct electricity with reduced resistance loss, hence, their usefulness in electric motors or for carrying electric current. However, superconducting wires that snap when bent are not much use in motor windings or power lines. Therefore, one of the basic problems, according to Nemat-Nasser, is to discover what makes ceramics brittle. The next step would be to eliminate that characteristic and design a superconducting ductile ceramic.

Experiment and imagination are already producing results that fuel optimism that toughness and ductility will eventually be added to the properties of some ceramics. One new ceramic is so elastic that it can be stretched to twice its original length.

Failure induced breeds success

The Center of Excellence for Advanced Materials is a multidisciplinary research program that provides a focal point through which the University of California, San Diego, industry and government laboratories work together to understand and control the behavior of advanced materials in severe environments.

The center specializes in the macroscopic and microscopic experimental and theoretical modelling of the mechanical responses and failures of advanced materials under ultrahigh strain.

In addition, the center provides a forum for scientific exchange and a school for advanced interdisciplinary education for the next generation of engineers.

In excess of $6 million over five years has been committed to the center through the Department of Defense's University Research Initiative program.

Siavouche Nemat-Nasser, the center's director, is a professor of applied mechanics and engineering sciences with a special interest in solid and structural mechanics. He is also studying the fracture and flow of solids and earthquake mechanisms and ground failure.

GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

Worldwide concern is growing among scientists, policy makers and citizens about potential changes in the earth's climate that could greatly alter food production and societal activities. The consensus today is that a global warming of a few degrees may begin to become apparent in the next few decades, as a result of a greenhouse effect triggered by atmospheric pollution impeding the planet's ability to radiate heat away into space. Understanding and predicting the magnitude of such an unprecedented event is an immense challenge to science.

A wide range of interactive processes--in the atmosphere, the oceans, the ice caps, the solid earth, and the biosphere--contribute to climate change, The problem must be attacked by considering the earth as a unified system.

In terms of climate change research, a central role has been assigned to large numerical models that integrate knowledge received from many lines of investigation to form mathematical depictions of the climate system. They serve as the primary tool for predicting its changes and understanding its variability.

Although the most recent climate models agree on potential global changes, there is disagreement in the degree of change and regional impacts resulting from differences in how various processes are factored in the model. In addition, most present models do not simulate ocean conditions sufficiently, leaving out a variety of critical factors, such as deep-ocean heat capacities, seasonal cycling of ocean layers, and oceanic sources and sinks of aerosols and gases, such as carbon dioxide.

To resolve these research problems and others, a joint global atmosphere and ocean climate program is under way at UCSD's Scripps Institution of Oceanography and the UC-managed Los Alamos and Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories. All three institutions have supercomputer resources, conduct vigorous programs in climate research and closely related disciplines, and are currently developing comprehensive global climate models. The four-year, UC-funded program focuses on three broad areas: climate modeling, global chemistry, and the rate of climatic change.

Scripps Institution of Oceanography researchers bring to this collaboration expertise in climate forecasting, ocean modeling, remote sensing of large-scale ocean dynamics, the interactions of atmospheric gases, and causes of internal variability. Its researchers are already playing major roles in several international and multidisciplinary global programs, including the World Climate Resarch Program, the Global Ocean Flux Study, the Tropical Ocean Global Atmospheric Program, and the International Geosphere-Biosphere Program.

2:00 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

TAX BREAKS (Tom Raum, AP) -- President Bush told lawmakers Thursday his proposals on capital gains, family savings and IRAs would provide "economic benefits to all citizens." In a letter to Congress, the President highlighted the new package of measures designed to make his battle for a reduced capital gains tax more politically palatable.... "This package will help millions of Americans," Bush said, surrounded by top economic aides who showed up to watch him sign the letter to Congress. In addition to again seeking a lower tax on capital gains,...Bush this year is sweetening the proposal with two other measures designed to appeal to middle-income families: A new "family savings account" that would allow couples to save up to $5,000 a year and individuals up to $2,500 and not pay income tax on the interest if the deposits are held for at least seven years; and a proposal to permit up to $10,000 to be withdrawn prematurely from an IRA, without penalty, to help finance first-time home purchases.

(AP) -- President Bush, starting a new drive for a cut in the capital gains tax by linking it with two politically appealing tax breaks for middle-income Americans, Thursday asserted his package would offer "economic benefits to all citizens." At the same time, White House Chief of Staff Sununu predicted that the proposal for a lower capital gains tax...would pick up a dozen or so more votes this year in the Senate. And, Sununu told reporters at a White House briefing, Democratic criticism of the President's new $1.2 trillion budget will diminish in the coming months. "The more they look at it, the more they'll like it," Sununu said. Sununu briefed reporters after Bush sent to Congress a letter trumpeting his new proposals on capital gains, family savings accounts and a change in rules on IRAs to encourage more first-time home buying.

FAMILY SAVINGS/BRADY (AP) -- Treasury Secretary Brady Thursday urged Congress to adopt the President's proposed tax-free Family Savings Account as a way to boost America's competitive standing in global markets. Brady, appearing before the Senate Budget Committee to promote the tax aspects of the President's 1991 budget request, said the Administration felt strongly that the new savings accounts, along with a proposed cut in the capital gains tax, would foster the long-term investment needed by U.S. businesses to stay competitive. "An important goal for the 1990s is to increase the rate of growth of America's productive capacity," Brady said. "More saving is needed to finance increases in our productive capacity. We believe that the federal government should foster an environment that is conductive to saving and we have a plan to achieve this objective."

SOVIET REFORMERS/BAKER (AP) -- Secretary of State Baker, bound for high-level talks next week in Moscow, Thursday offered Soviet reformers the full support of the Bush Administration in revamping their political and economic system. Baker told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the democratic revolution sweeping Eastern Europe could be stalled or even reversed "if we fail to support the principles that brought us this far." ... "We seek a more democratic Soviet Union where human rights gains are made permanent," Baker said. He told the committee the Administration would offer technical cooperation to assist the Soviet perestroika program of restructuring the country's sluggish economy.

-more-

U.S./SOVIETS/BAKER (Reuter) -- Secretary of State Baker said Thursday the U.S. sought a new strategic relationship with the Soviet Union but Moscow's policy toward Cuba and Central America was the biggest obstacle to wide improvement in U.S.-Soviet ties. Baker told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the Soviet Union bore a special responsibility to contribute to peace in Central America because its aid to Cuba and Nicaragua supported destruction and war, especially in El Salvador. "Soviet behavior toward Cuba and Central America still remains the biggest obstacle to a full, across-the-board improvement in relations with the United States," he said. Baker's remarks came during a wide-ranging global review that included the Administration's views on the political upheaval taking place in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

SOVIETS/CHENEY (AP) -- Defense Secretary Cheney predicted Thursday that the Soviets will likely withdraw from Eastern Europe by the middle of the decade, but warned against any drastic changes in U.S. strategy. "I do believe caution is still in order until we have these agreements signed, sealed and delivered," Cheney told a congressional panel in his first appearance since President Bush's surprise announcement of deeper cuts in the levels of U.S. and Soviet combat troops in Central Europe.... "The likelihood of a Warsaw Pact attack into NATO these days is fairly remote," Cheney told the Senate Armed Services Committee.

JUSTICE BRENNAN/AOUN REPRESENTATIVE (AP) -- A Supreme Court justice Thursday refused to let the Bush Administration evict Lebanon Gen. Aoun's representative from the Lebanese Embassy. Justice Brennan rejected an emergency request in which government lawyers said Abdallah Bouhabib's continued occupation of the embassy "is causing increasingly serious adverse consequences for the nation's foreign policy relations."

FINANCIAL MARKETS/BREEDEN (UPI) -- SEC Chairman Breeden said Thursday the agency needs more tools to fight fraud in the nation's financial markets. "What we have today is the ability to deliver a pin prick or an atom bomb. I'd like to see us have some remedies in between," Breeden told the securities subcommittee of the Senate Banking Committee. The subcommittee is reviewing a bill introduced by Sens. Heinz and Dodd to strengthen the SEC's enforcement powers.... Breeden also is seeking inclusion of a provision to give the SEC power to issue "cease and desist" orders without having to go to court for a temporary restraining order to stop the activities of suspected wrongdoers. Breeden said the new tools are needed to preserve investor confidence in the nation's markets, which have been rocked in recent years by fraud.

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Jan. 31/90

TO: KRISTEN GEAR
2 Pages

CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PARTY (Mary Kate Grant)

WHEN I FIRST SAW THIS STAR-STUDDED AUDIENCE, I WASN'T SURE IF THIS WAS THE CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PARTY EVENT OR A DRESS REHEARSAL FOR THE ACADEMY AWARDS.

THERE ARE SO MANY CELEBRITIES HERE, I THOUGHT I HAD ACCIDENTALLY WANDERED INTO A LAKERS' GAME.
(A lot of celebs go to watch the L.A. Lakers play basketball.)

I DON'T THINK THERE HAVE BEEN SO MANY CELEBRITIES IN ONE PLACE SINCE THE DAYS WHEN VISITORS WERE ALLOWED IN TOMMY LASORDA'S OFFICE AT DODGER STADIUM.
(This would work well with this particular L.A. crowd.)

I KNEW WE WERE BACK IN CALIFORNIA WHEN AIR FORCE ONE HAD TO CIRCLE WHILE WAITING FOR JERRY BROWN'S SPACESHIP TO LAND.
(He's now chairman of the California Democratic Party and still has his "moonbeam" image.)

MORE...

TO: KRISTEN GEAR - CALIFORNIA REPUBLICANS (CONT'D)

I THINK THOSE STORIES IN THE PRESS SAYING I HAVEN'T SPENT ENOUGH TIME IN CALIFORNIA ARE UNFAIR. THE FACT IS, I'M RIGHT ON TOP OF EVENTS IN THIS STATE. AND I REINTERATED THAT POINT LAST WEEK IN A LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR THAT BEGAN "DEAR GOVERNOR BROWN....."

I KNOW DAN QUAYLE HAS BEEN SPENDING A LOT OF TIME IN CALIFORNIA. THE OTHER DAY HE GAVE ME A NEW PHONE NUMBER THAT RINGS STRAIGHT THROUGH TO HIS SURFBOARD.

YES, I IDENTIFY WITH THIS STATE, BUT THERE'S NO TRUTH TO THE RUMOR THAT I'M GOING TO STAND IN FRONT OF THE LOS ANGELES CITY HALL AND DECLARE "ICH BIN EIN CALIFORNIAN."

YOU MAY RECALL IT WAS REVEALED IN 1988 THAT MY FAMILY TREE CAN BE TRACED ALL THE WAY BACK TO BRITISH ROYALTY. SO WHEN IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT FRANK SINATRA WOULD BE HERE TONIGHT, SOMEONE SUGGESTED THE EVENT BE BILLED AS "OLD BLUE EYES MEETS OLD BLUE BLOOD."

FRANK MAY BE RICH AND POWERFUL, BUT HE SENDS OUT FOR PIZZA JUST LIKE EVERYONE ELSE. OF COURSE HIS IS FLOWN IN FROM ROME.

WHEN TELLY SAVALAS PLAYED "KOJAK" HE MADE THE LOLLIPOP FAMOUS, BUT I ONCE MADE THE MISTAKE OF REFERRING TO THEM AS "SUCKERS" SO HE CORRECTED ME. HE SAID "THESE ARE LOLLIPOPS -- DEMOCRATIC VOTERS ARE SUCKERS."

IT'S TOO BAD RONALD REAGAN COULDN'T BE HERE FOR HIS BIRTHDAY. BARBARA WAS GOING TO JUMP OUT OF A CAKE.

State of Union

EDUCATION IS THE ONE INVESTMENT THAT MEANS MORE FOR OUR FUTURE BECAUSE IT MEANS THE MOST FOR OUR CHILDREN. REAL IMPROVEMENT IN OUR SCHOOLS IS NOT SIMPLY A MATTER OF SPENDING MORE. IT IS A MATTER OF ASKING MORE -- EXPECTING MORE: OF OUR SCHOOLS, OUR TEACHERS, OF OUR KIDS, AND OUR PARENTS. THAT'S WHY TONIGHT I AM ANNOUNCING AMERICA'S EDUCATION GOALS -- GOALS AGREED UPON WITH THE NATION'S GOVERNORS:

BY THE YEAR 2000, EVERY CHILD IN AMERICA MUST START SCHOOL READY TO LEARN. THE UNITED STATES MUST INCREASE THE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION RATE TO NO LESS THAN 90%. AND WE'RE GOING TO MAKE SURE OUR SCHOOLS' DIPLOMAS MEANS SOMETHING: AT THE CRITICAL GRADES -- 4TH, 8TH AND 12TH -- WE MUST CHECK ALL OUR STUDENTS' PROGRESS.

BY THE YEAR 2000, U.S. STUDENTS MUST BE FIRST IN THE WORLD IN MATH AND SCIENCE SKILLS. EVERY AMERICAN ADULT MUST BE <u>LITERATE</u>. EVERY SCHOOL IN AMERICA MUST OFFER THE KIND OF DISCIPLINED ENVIRONMENT THAT MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR OUR KIDS TO LEARN -- AND EVERY SCHOOL IN AMERICA MUST BE <u>DRUG-FREE</u>. //

D-1. Labor force status by State and selected metropolitan areas

(Numbers in thousands)

State and area	Civilian labor force			Unemployed					
				Number			Percent of labor force		
	Oct. 1988	Sept. 1989	Oct. 1989[p]	Oct. 1988	Sept. 1989	Oct. 1989[p]	Oct. 1988	Sept. 1989	Oct. 1989[p]
Alabama	1,906.7	1,951.1	1,952.1	129.1	134.8	125.9	6.8	6.9	6.4
Birmingham	444.6	455.4	454.3	25.2	26.7	24.1	5.7	5.9	5.3
Huntsville	135.1	140.1	140.7	6.3	6.9	6.7	4.7	4.9	4.8
Mobile	208.4	211.1	212.3	17.8	17.4	16.3	8.5	8.3	7.7
Montgomery	137.9	139.5	139.1	7.9	9.2	8.4	5.8	6.6	6.1
Tuscaloosa	71.7	73.8	74.5	3.6	3.5	3.6	5.0	4.8	4.8
Alaska	241.0	242.0	236.7	20.6	17.6	16.9	8.6	7.3	7.1
Arizona	1,691.4	1,705.4	1,705.2	110.1	99.5	83.6	6.5	5.8	4.9
Phoenix	1,047.1	1,055.8	1,055.8	56.9	51.2	43.8	5.4	4.8	4.1
Tucson	319.3	321.6	320.2	17.2	17.0	13.8	5.4	5.3	4.3
Arkansas	1,140.2	1,153.1	1,167.1	72.0	64.0	63.8	6.3	5.6	5.5
Fayetteville-Springdale	63.1	63.7	64.9	2.4	1.8	1.8	3.7	2.8	2.7
Fort Smith	93.6	91.2	92.4	6.3	6.3	6.4	6.8	6.9	6.9
Little Rock-North Little Rock	268.8	272.6	277.2	14.4	14.7	14.3	5.4	5.4	5.1
Pine Bluff	38.4	38.7	39.1	2.7	2.3	2.4	7.0	6.1	6.1
California[1]	14,073.8	14,409.5	14,475.2	669.9	714.9	659.4	4.8	5.0	4.6
Anaheim-Santa Ana	1,359.5	1,382.7	1,398.5	40.0	44.4	40.5	2.9	3.2	2.9
Bakersfield	224.9	231.5	233.6	22.7	23.6	24.5	10.1	10.2	10.5
Fresno	298.0	341.3	309.5	28.8	26.2	28.3	9.7	7.7	9.1
Los Angeles-Long Beach	4,116.8	4,152.0	4,208.8	178.3	197.3	175.4	4.3	4.8	4.2
Modesto	158.8	171.0	165.1	15.5	13.7	14.5	9.8	8.0	8.8
Oakland	1,075.2	1,111.8	1,122.3	44.9	46.8	41.6	4.2	4.2	3.7
Oxnard-Ventura	352.2	367.7	367.7	17.9	20.7	18.3	5.1	5.6	5.0
Riverside-San Bernardino	942.7	960.2	970.3	53.2	61.7	55.7	5.6	6.4	5.7
Sacramento	710.8	739.4	743.4	34.0	35.0	32.2	4.8	4.7	4.3
San Diego	1,139.1	1,181.5	1,189.3	45.7	49.2	45.1	4.0	4.2	3.8
San Francisco	886.8	896.8	906.3	28.3	29.2	26.0	3.2	3.3	2.9
San Jose	842.6	842.8	849.6	30.3	31.9	29.7	3.6	3.8	3.5
Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Lompoc	180.9	180.1	183.6	7.3	7.5	7.0	4.0	4.1	3.8
Santa Rosa-Petaluma	195.5	203.1	202.2	8.0	8.2	7.5	4.1	4.0	3.7
Stockton	196.4	201.2	195.3	16.5	15.0	15.7	8.4	7.5	8.0
Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa	193.1	202.6	201.8	9.6	9.8	9.1	5.0	4.8	4.5
Colorado	1,683.0	1,677.3	1,690.7	100.1	72.6	79.6	5.9	4.3	4.7
Boulder-Longmont	132.3	130.5	132.3	6.3	4.5	4.7	4.8	3.4	3.6
Denver	873.6	864.6	873.0	49.2	36.1	38.5	5.6	4.2	4.4
Connecticut	1,746.0	1,785.0	1,768.0	46.7	61.0	62.5	2.7	3.4	3.5
Bridgeport-Milford	230.6	234.7	232.8	7.8	10.4	10.4	3.4	4.4	4.5
Hartford	423.9	430.2	427.6	10.6	12.7	13.5	2.5	3.0	3.2
New Britain	72.7	73.2	72.8	2.0	2.8	2.9	2.8	3.8	3.9
New Haven-Meriden	276.6	286.4	283.1	7.3	9.8	9.6	2.6	3.4	3.4
Stamford	115.0	117.1	115.4	2.1	3.0	2.8	1.8	2.6	2.5
Waterbury	100.6	102.2	101.2	3.3	4.5	4.7	3.3	4.4	4.6
Delaware	353.1	362.4	366.4	9.9	11.7	12.8	2.8	3.2	3.5
Wilmington	304.2	305.3	309.4	9.4	11.2	12.5	3.1	3.7	4.0
District of Columbia	334.7	326.6	330.2	17.7	15.9	14.5	5.3	4.9	4.4
Washington	2,198.6	2,280.9	2,285.3	62.7	64.7	60.4	2.9	2.8	2.6
Florida[1]	6,189.7	6,197.8	6,284.0	303.8	355.0	358.7	4.9	5.7	5.7
Daytona Beach	152.9	152.7	154.0	6.8	7.7	7.7	4.5	5.0	5.0
Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood-Pompano Beach	639.2	634.9	643.1	25.1	33.1	32.2	3.9	5.2	5.0
Fort Myers-Cape Coral	143.5	145.5	148.5	5.5	5.6	6.3	3.8	3.9	4.2
Jacksonville	465.1	463.8	469.7	23.2	24.4	27.1	5.0	5.3	5.8
Melbourne-Titusville-Palm Bay	188.4	188.8	190.0	8.9	9.6	9.6	4.7	5.1	5.1
Miami-Hialeah	954.8	956.0	965.1	49.5	61.4	61.2	5.2	6.4	6.3
Orlando	593.2	596.2	602.0	26.1	30.2	31.6	4.4	5.1	5.3
Pensacola	150.6	147.0	149.7	9.3	8.6	10.5	6.2	5.9	7.0
Sarasota	123.2	123.1	125.7	3.9	4.5	4.7	3.2	3.7	3.8
Tallahassee	132.7	132.3	135.5	4.4	5.7	5.6	3.3	4.3	4.1
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater	1,002.0	995.0	1,009.3	44.7	49.0	50.5	4.5	4.9	5.0
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Delray Beach	423.1	427.2	435.7	21.7	27.6	26.5	5.1	6.5	6.1

See footnotes at end of table.

Environment

Steve Goldstein
Interior
OCS?
343-6416

D-1. Labor force status by State and selected metropolitan areas—Continued

(Numbers in thousands)

State and area	Civilian labor force			Unemployed					
				Number			Percent of labor force		
	Oct. 1988	Sept. 1989	Oct. 1989[p]	Oct. 1988	Sept. 1989	Oct. 1989[p]	Oct. 1988	Sept. 1989	Oct. 1989[p]
Georgia	3,245.0	3,289.1	3,290.6	182.1	203.7	201.4	5.6	6.2	6.1
Athens	78.0	77.1	79.0	3.3	4.4	3.9	4.2	5.7	4.9
Atlanta	1,523.8	1,554.6	1,554.0	77.8	89.1	87.6	5.1	5.7	5.6
Augusta	183.8	184.5	184.2	10.7	10.4	9.7	5.8	5.6	5.3
Columbus	104.8	104.1	103.2	7.8	6.7	6.4	7.4	6.4	6.2
Macon-Warner Robins	134.2	136.3	136.2	6.6	7.7	7.8	5.0	5.7	5.7
Savannah	115.2	114.7	115.0	7.2	6.6	6.5	6.2	5.8	5.7
Hawaii	513.5	523.7	523.3	15.8	11.6	13.2	3.1	2.2	2.5
Honolulu	379.3	385.7	386.6	10.4	8.0	9.1	2.8	2.1	2.3
Idaho	478.4	473.9	476.3	20.8	18.8	19.1	4.4	4.0	4.0
Boise City	107.7	103.7	106.4	3.3	3.2	3.5	3.1	3.1	3.3
Illinois[1]	5,799.0	5,974.1	5,954.3	350.4	330.4	373.6	6.0	5.5	6.3
Aurora-Elgin	180.5	189.4	187.6	8.2	9.2	10.0	4.6	4.8	5.3
Bloomington-Normal	69.4	74.4	74.4	2.8	2.5	3.2	4.1	3.4	4.3
Champaign-Urbana-Rantoul	90.0	93.1	93.5	3.3	3.1	3.6	3.7	3.4	3.8
Chicago	3,193.0	3,292.3	3,281.0	182.3	179.5	202.4	5.7	5.5	6.2
Davenport-Rock Island-Moline	182.0	179.9	180.8	14.0	11.3	12.1	7.7	6.3	6.7
Decatur	59.0	59.7	60.0	5.3	4.1	4.5	9.0	6.9	7.6
Joliet	192.9	197.0	196.9	12.2	11.3	13.1	6.3	5.7	6.6
Kankakee	43.6	45.2	45.3	3.6	3.0	3.5	8.2	6.7	7.7
Lake County	280.6	296.0	292.9	10.5	10.4	11.5	3.7	3.5	3.9
Peoria	156.5	161.0	160.5	9.7	8.7	9.9	6.2	5.4	6.2
Rockford	147.9	150.1	150.3	9.2	8.2	9.5	6.2	5.5	6.3
Springfield	109.0	111.3	111.3	5.2	4.7	5.7	4.8	4.2	5.2
Indiana	2,839.4	2,903.0	2,910.9	141.5	135.6	149.0	5.0	4.7	5.1
Anderson	60.0	60.5	61.5	3.2	2.9	3.6	5.4	4.9	5.9
Bloomington	63.9	70.9	67.6	1.9	1.8	1.8	2.9	2.5	2.6
Elkhart-Goshen	98.7	99.9	100.5	4.9	5.0	5.3	5.0	5.0	5.2
Evansville	143.9	146.2	146.2	7.5	7.1	7.4	5.2	4.8	5.1
Fort Wayne	202.0	205.0	206.2	10.3	10.1	10.5	5.1	4.9	5.1
Gary-Hammond	257.1	266.8	267.5	14.5	13.5	14.7	5.7	5.1	5.5
Indianapolis	681.4	695.6	703.4	30.8	27.3	33.2	4.5	3.9	4.7
Lafayette-West Lafayette	68.7	69.3	70.9	1.7	2.1	2.4	2.4	3.0	3.4
Muncie	61.6	62.3	61.9	3.2	3.0	2.9	5.2	4.8	4.7
South Bend-Mishawaka	132.4	137.2	136.6	6.3	6.1	6.6	4.7	4.5	4.8
Terre Haute	60.0	60.2	60.4	3.1	2.7	2.7	5.1	4.4	4.4
Iowa	1,536.8	1,494.8	1,526.9	58.5	59.3	59.5	3.8	4.0	3.9
Cedar Rapids	97.1	94.5	96.5	3.1	3.6	3.6	3.2	3.8	3.7
Des Moines	237.7	231.1	235.3	8.3	8.9	8.2	3.5	3.8	3.5
Dubuque	44.9	43.3	44.3	2.0	2.1	1.9	4.5	4.8	4.2
Sioux City	61.1	59.1	59.9	2.5	2.3	2.0	4.0	3.9	3.4
Waterloo-Cedar Falls	72.4	70.7	72.4	3.2	3.6	3.4	4.4	5.1	4.7
Kansas	1,276.0	1,260.1	1,264.1	57.4	54.2	52.9	4.5	4.3	4.2
Topeka	90.6	89.9	89.5	4.5	4.5	3.8	4.9	5.0	4.2
Wichita	255.2	255.4	259.9	12.1	11.3	15.1	4.8	4.4	5.8
Kentucky	1,701.7	1,724.3	1,713.9	103.5	93.8	87.5	6.1	5.4	5.1
Lexington-Fayette	197.0	201.0	201.3	7.5	5.9	6.2	3.8	2.9	3.1
Louisville	500.2	520.0	507.7	25.3	38.3	22.7	5.1	7.4	4.5
Owensboro	43.5	43.5	44.0	2.7	2.0	2.6	6.2	4.6	5.9
Louisiana	1,918.7	1,918.2	1,927.3	193.3	146.0	124.8	10.1	7.6	6.5
Alexandria	59.8	60.7	60.8	5.5	4.6	3.8	9.2	7.6	6.2
Baton Rouge	269.6	271.3	272.6	24.4	17.5	14.9	9.1	6.4	5.5
Houma-Thibodaux	69.6	68.8	70.0	6.6	4.7	3.9	9.5	6.8	5.6
Lafayette	100.4	99.8	102.1	9.2	6.5	5.4	9.1	6.5	5.3
Monroe	69.0	68.4	69.0	6.7	4.7	4.3	9.6	6.9	6.2
New Orleans	597.1	603.6	605.3	54.4	44.2	35.8	9.1	7.3	5.9
Shreveport	161.1	158.0	159.8	16.2	12.7	14.3	10.0	8.1	8.9
Maine	598.0	625.3	625.4	18.0	19.4	23.3	3.0	3.1	3.7
Lewiston-Auburn	41.9	42.2	43.1	1.6	1.9	2.1	3.8	4.6	4.8
Portland	128.5	134.0	135.5	2.1	2.8	3.3	1.7	2.1	2.5

See footnotes at end of table.

D-1. Labor force status by State and selected metropolitan areas—Continued

(Numbers in thousands)

State and area	Civilian labor force			Unemployed					
				Number			Percent of labor force		
	Oct. 1988	Sept. 1989	Oct. 1989[p]	Oct. 1988	Sept. 1989	Oct. 1989[p]	Oct. 1988	Sept. 1989	Oct. 1989[p]
Maryland	2,471.4	2,541.5	2,543.8	100.3	103.5	92.9	4.1	4.1	3.7
Baltimore	1,186.5	1,211.4	1,211.1	54.0	54.2	47.7	4.6	4.5	3.9
Massachusetts[1]	3,143.3	3,111.9	3,113.3	88.9	133.8	127.9	2.8	4.3	4.1
Boston	1,556.7	1,521.5	1,526.8	38.7	57.9	53.9	2.5	3.8	3.5
Brockton	99.0	99.5	99.1	3.4	5.4	4.9	3.5	5.4	5.0
Fall River	76.0	75.0	75.2	3.3	4.7	4.9	4.3	6.3	6.5
Fitchburg-Leominster	46.5	46.2	46.0	1.8	2.6	2.5	3.8	5.7	5.4
Lawrence-Haverhill	187.4	187.2	188.3	7.2	11.6	11.3	3.8	6.2	6.0
Lowell	152.3	152.8	153.3	5.0	7.8	7.6	3.3	5.1	5.0
New Bedford	85.3	85.0	84.7	3.3	4.9	5.3	3.9	5.8	6.3
Pittsfield	40.5	39.8	40.3	1.7	1.7	1.7	4.2	4.4	4.2
Springfield	250.4	245.4	249.9	7.2	10.9	10.5	2.9	4.4	4.2
Worcester	223.3	224.3	225.9	5.4	9.5	8.9	2.4	4.2	3.9
Michigan[1]	4,621.2	4,688.9	4,759.4	306.9	349.5	368.5	6.6	7.5	7.7
Ann Arbor	166.1	165.3	170.3	5.8	8.0	8.7	3.5	4.8	5.1
Battle Creek	65.4	66.0	67.1	4.3	5.0	5.4	6.5	7.6	8.1
Benton Harbor	79.8	79.7	81.6	5.1	6.7	6.9	6.4	8.5	8.4
Detroit	2,207.4	2,246.9	2,273.2	150.5	178.4	181.9	6.8	7.9	8.0
Flint	189.4	192.1	197.0	22.9	18.8	24.6	12.1	9.8	12.5
Grand Rapids	368.3	371.9	379.4	17.6	19.3	21.9	4.8	5.2	5.8
Jackson	66.3	67.4	68.2	4.4	4.8	4.9	6.7	7.1	7.2
Kalamazoo	120.5	120.6	123.5	5.7	6.2	6.7	4.7	5.2	5.5
Lansing-East Lansing	249.3	243.4	254.3	12.4	14.7	14.6	5.0	6.0	5.8
Muskegon	69.7	69.8	70.3	6.1	7.2	7.1	8.7	10.4	10.1
Saginaw-Bay City-Midland	185.4	190.4	192.5	11.6	13.8	14.6	6.2	7.2	7.6
Minnesota	2,359.4	2,353.6	2,375.5	81.2	95.4	86.8	3.4	4.1	3.7
Duluth	106.0	107.0	107.3	5.2	5.8	5.2	4.9	5.4	4.9
Minneapolis-St.Paul	1,405.9	1,408.2	1,419.2	44.9	54.0	49.2	3.2	3.8	3.5
Rochester	61.6	62.5	62.6	1.5	1.8	1.7	2.4	2.9	2.8
St. Cloud	97.1	93.4	97.5	3.5	3.7	3.6	3.6	4.0	3.7
Mississippi	1,140.3	1,167.6	1,163.8	97.2	83.5	75.0	8.5	7.2	6.4
Jackson	197.7	205.3	205.4	12.1	10.4	9.5	6.1	5.0	4.6
Missouri	2,603.0	2,633.9	2,627.5	132.7	135.9	135.8	5.1	5.2	5.2
Kansas City	842.5	845.2	843.4	41.4	40.8	38.9	4.9	4.8	4.6
St. Louis LMA	1,261.5	1,267.8	1,270.0	68.5	65.9	67.7	5.4	5.2	5.3
Springfield	126.2	127.6	127.3	5.0	5.8	5.8	4.0	4.5	4.6
Montana	401.2	402.1	400.0	22.2	20.5	21.2	5.5	5.1	5.3
Nebraska	833.3	811.3	826.4	25.1	23.4	22.7	3.0	2.9	2.7
Lincoln	130.0	127.1	129.1	3.9	2.9	2.8	3.0	2.3	2.2
Omaha	329.3	322.8	329.2	11.0	11.2	11.2	3.3	3.5	3.4
Nevada	601.6	599.7	609.9	25.2	30.2	29.5	4.2	5.0	4.8
Las Vegas	351.8	351.3	359.1	15.9	18.2	17.7	4.5	5.2	4.9
Reno	143.4	140.2	142.1	5.0	6.4	6.2	3.5	4.6	4.4
New Hampshire	615.3	626.8	638.9	14.4	25.1	24.9	2.3	4.0	3.9
Manchester	86.0	85.4	86.9	1.8	3.4	3.3	2.1	3.9	3.8
Nashua	100.4	98.7	101.0	3.2	4.9	4.8	3.2	4.9	4.8
Portsmouth-Dover-Rochester	134.9	133.5	135.5	2.2	3.7	3.7	1.6	2.8	2.7
New Jersey[1]	3,907.3	3,973.6	3,987.4	138.1	170.9	191.5	3.5	4.3	4.8
Atlantic City	175.9	187.6	180.3	8.7	9.0	11.8	4.9	4.8	6.5
Bergen-Passaic	710.9	717.2	722.4	21.9	28.4	31.2	3.1	4.0	4.3
Jersey City	267.7	271.3	273.7	15.6	18.2	20.1	5.8	6.7	7.3
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon	559.3	564.7	570.6	13.7	16.9	20.0	2.5	3.0	3.5
Monmouth-Ocean	466.8	484.0	481.7	14.8	18.9	21.3	3.2	3.9	4.4
Newark	922.7	945.9	952.0	34.8	43.9	49.6	3.8	4.6	5.2
Trenton	170.5	170.2	170.5	4.5	5.9	6.2	2.7	3.5	3.7
Vineland-Millville-Bridgeton	57.4	57.9	58.4	3.7	3.8	4.3	6.4	6.5	7.3
New Mexico	694.3	693.2	701.0	47.5	42.3	41.6	6.8	6.1	5.9
Albuquerque	265.8	263.9	267.6	14.4	12.8	12.7	5.4	4.9	4.7
Las Cruces	57.7	57.1	59.3	3.9	3.6	3.6	6.7	6.3	6.1
Santa Fe	66.4	66.4	67.2	3.1	2.4	2.7	4.6	3.7	4.1

See footnotes at end of table.

D-1. Labor force status by State and selected metropolitan areas—Continued

(Numbers in thousands)

State and area	Civilian labor force			Unemployed					
				Number			Percent of labor force		
	Oct. 1988	Sept. 1989	Oct. 1989[p]	Oct. 1988	Sept. 1989	Oct. 1989[p]	Oct. 1988	Sept. 1989	Oct. 1989[p]
New York[1]	8,562.4	8,595.0	8,675.2	360.0	447.8	401.6	4.2	5.2	4.6
Albany-Schenectady-Troy	425.6	430.2	435.0	14.8	17.5	15.5	3.5	4.1	3.6
Binghamton	128.3	126.7	127.9	4.5	6.0	5.1	3.5	4.7	4.0
Buffalo	452.1	457.8	461.2	21.4	26.1	23.0	4.7	5.7	5.0
Elmira	42.5	43.6	44.6	1.6	2.2	2.2	3.7	5.1	4.9
Nassau-Suffolk	1,437.7	1,430.9	1,444.2	48.0	65.6	59.4	3.3	4.6	4.1
New York	3,911.2	3,927.4	3,954.9	179.1	227.1	200.5	4.6	5.8	5.1
New York City	3,231.7	3,249.9	3,270.3	159.5	200.3	176.7	4.9	6.2	5.4
Orange County	135.0	135.4	137.4	4.9	7.3	6.6	3.6	5.4	4.8
Poughkeepsie	129.9	129.6	131.6	3.5	4.3	4.0	2.7	3.3	3.0
Rochester	510.7	506.9	518.6	17.8	20.6	18.9	3.5	4.1	3.6
Syracuse	318.1	316.4	321.8	12.5	13.7	12.4	3.9	4.3	3.8
Utica-Rome	137.7	137.7	139.2	6.3	6.5	5.9	4.6	4.7	4.3
North Carolina[1]	3,402.2	3,445.4	3,446.2	128.8	120.9	105.6	3.8	3.5	3.1
Asheville	89.6	91.1	90.9	3.1	2.9	2.3	3.4	3.2	2.5
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill	646.5	661.2	661.0	22.2	21.4	19.4	3.4	3.2	2.9
Greensboro-Winston-Salem-High Point	531.9	525.4	527.6	17.9	17.7	15.5	3.4	3.4	2.9
Raleigh-Durham	410.9	415.4	418.3	11.2	11.2	9.1	2.7	2.7	2.2
North Dakota	327.6	330.9	328.9	13.7	13.9	12.6	4.2	4.2	3.8
Bismarck	44.2	47.2	46.2	1.8	2.1	1.8	4.2	4.4	3.9
Fargo-Moorhead	85.6	85.6	86.8	1.9	2.2	1.9	2.3	2.6	2.2
Grand Forks	35.0	35.1	35.7	1.2	1.4	1.3	3.5	4.1	3.6
Ohio[1]	5,364.6	5,460.3	5,513.0	277.6	268.6	310.2	5.2	4.9	5.6
Akron	328.7	336.5	338.5	16.5	15.4	17.3	5.0	4.6	5.1
Canton	190.9	196.1	197.2	10.3	11.1	11.2	5.4	5.7	5.7
Cincinnati	768.5	798.2	801.6	34.2	32.0	36.1	4.4	4.0	4.5
Cleveland	937.2	950.6	960.1	45.0	41.7	48.1	4.8	4.4	5.0
Columbus	720.8	734.2	745.7	32.3	31.5	35.7	4.5	4.3	4.8
Dayton-Springfield	474.9	486.2	496.7	22.8	22.1	30.4	4.8	4.6	6.1
Toledo	314.1	322.5	326.1	16.2	18.0	20.2	5.2	5.6	6.2
Youngstown-Warren	223.3	228.1	230.1	13.5	13.9	15.1	6.1	6.1	6.6
Oklahoma	1,539.3	1,525.2	1,519.1	86.2	79.2	73.6	5.6	5.2	4.8
Enid	28.5	27.8	27.6	1.4	1.2	1.1	4.8	4.2	4.2
Lawton	48.3	48.9	49.6	2.5	2.2	2.3	5.3	4.6	4.6
Oklahoma City	497.1	490.2	490.5	23.7	22.5	20.7	4.8	4.6	4.2
Tulsa	343.4	346.0	344.8	20.7	18.6	17.3	6.0	5.4	5.0
Oregon	1,411.3	1,419.9	1,416.8	67.5	66.6	64.9	4.8	4.7	4.6
Eugene-Springfield	142.2	140.9	143.1	6.9	6.8	6.2	4.8	4.8	4.4
Portland	640.1	643.0	646.4	26.8	26.3	27.9	4.2	4.1	4.3
Salem	133.6	134.8	133.6	5.9	6.0	5.5	4.4	4.4	4.1
Pennsylvania[1]	5,807.3	5,862.4	5,857.3	293.7	236.9	258.8	5.1	4.0	4.4
Allentown-Bethlehem	326.2	332.2	332.4	13.7	13.5	15.2	4.2	4.1	4.6
Altoona	59.7	61.2	60.4	4.0	3.1	3.6	6.8	5.1	6.0
Beaver County	60.3	59.3	59.1	5.4	3.6	3.6	8.9	6.1	6.2
Erie	131.5	134.0	133.7	7.9	5.9	6.6	6.0	4.4	4.9
Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle	321.4	331.0	327.4	13.5	12.7	12.4	4.2	3.8	3.8
Johnstown	94.8	96.8	96.2	6.6	6.0	6.0	7.0	6.2	6.3
Lancaster	221.6	224.4	226.1	9.0	6.3	8.2	4.1	2.8	3.6
Philadelphia	2,413.5	2,418.4	2,418.9	100.3	91.8	94.4	4.2	3.8	3.9
Pittsburgh	964.0	979.5	977.5	53.2	38.2	41.2	5.5	3.9	4.2
Reading	175.6	178.4	181.2	6.6	5.8	7.8	3.8	3.3	4.3
Scranton-Wilkes-Barre	361.1	361.0	362.8	21.0	17.4	19.7	5.8	4.8	5.4
Williamsport	59.2	60.7	60.6	3.0	3.0	3.2	5.1	4.9	5.3
York	219.5	222.9	221.7	9.7	7.7	8.6	4.4	3.5	3.9
Rhode Island	532.5	528.1	527.4	15.6	21.3	21.0	2.9	4.0	4.0
Pawtucket-Woonsocket-Attleboro	167.4	166.6	166.3	5.9	8.9	8.3	3.5	5.3	5.0
Providence	348.9	344.0	344.8	9.7	13.3	13.3	2.8	3.9	3.9
South Carolina	1,696.2	1,740.5	1,742.3	72.1	87.3	87.3	4.2	5.0	5.0
Charleston	230.6	238.9	239.1	8.5	10.1	13.6	3.7	4.2	5.7
Columbia	236.4	245.4	245.4	7.3	9.3	7.8	3.1	3.8	3.2
Greenville-Spartanburg	343.8	355.0	356.4	11.0	14.3	12.5	3.2	4.0	3.5
South Dakota	359.9	365.6	368.0	13.9	14.3	14.2	3.9	3.9	3.9
Rapid City	39.3	40.5	40.8	2.0	1.6	1.6	5.1	3.9	4.0
Sioux Falls	73.4	73.4	74.0	2.7	2.3	2.2	3.7	3.1	2.9

See footnotes at end of table.

D-1. Labor force status by State and selected metropolitan areas—Continued

(Numbers in thousands)

State and area	Civilian labor force			Unemployed					
				Number			Percent of labor force		
	Oct. 1988	Sept. 1989	Oct. 1989[p]	Oct. 1988	Sept. 1989	Oct. 1989[p]	Oct. 1988	Sept. 1989	Oct. 1989[p]
Tennessee	2,330.9	2,379.0	2,385.1	121.1	91.1	97.1	5.2	3.8	4.1
Chattanooga	212.6	216.4	217.6	11.4	9.1	9.9	5.4	4.2	4.5
Johnson City-Kingsport-Bristol	210.6	214.8	218.5	9.5	7.7	9.1	4.5	3.6	4.2
Knoxville	284.2	284.0	284.5	13.5	11.1	11.0	4.7	3.9	3.9
Memphis LMA	444.8	457.0	455.9	21.3	16.4	17.1	4.8	3.6	3.8
Nashville	517.6	519.6	521.1	20.0	15.9	17.1	3.9	3.1	3.3
Texas[1]	8,324.3	8,265.6	8,292.7	567.7	521.0	500.1	6.8	6.3	6.0
Abilene	54.3	53.5	53.7	3.1	3.2	3.1	5.7	6.1	5.7
Amarillo	99.9	98.3	97.8	6.1	5.5	4.8	6.1	5.6	4.9
Austin	426.3	419.9	421.3	24.0	21.6	20.5	5.6	5.1	4.9
Beaumont-Port Arthur	163.2	161.9	162.1	15.2	12.8	12.1	9.3	7.9	7.5
Brazoria	83.3	83.8	84.4	5.9	5.5	5.1	7.1	6.6	6.1
Brownsville-Harlingen	99.1	98.6	99.8	11.5	11.2	11.0	11.6	11.3	11.0
Bryan-College Station	60.5	60.9	61.5	2.7	2.3	2.4	4.5	3.8	3.9
Corpus Christi	157.4	156.1	156.7	13.7	12.1	11.3	8.7	7.8	7.2
Dallas	1,460.1	1,443.0	1,450.3	82.0	75.4	72.6	5.6	5.2	5.0
El Paso	244.4	244.9	244.5	25.7	24.0	23.8	10.5	9.8	9.7
Fort Worth-Arlington	687.2	686.4	687.8	40.3	36.7	34.8	5.9	5.4	5.1
Galveston-Texas City	105.8	104.5	103.6	8.4	7.4	7.4	7.9	7.1	7.1
Houston	1,634.3	1,645.2	1,650.8	100.9	93.0	88.7	6.2	5.7	5.4
Killeen-Temple	96.6	96.0	96.3	7.8	6.5	6.6	8.0	6.7	6.8
Laredo	48.0	49.2	50.0	5.6	5.1	4.9	11.6	10.3	9.8
Longview-Marshall	80.5	79.3	79.3	6.8	6.2	5.8	8.4	7.8	7.3
Lubbock	114.2	114.6	115.3	5.7	5.1	4.7	5.0	4.4	4.1
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission	156.4	150.5	153.8	25.3	26.0	25.2	16.2	17.2	16.4
Midland	49.7	48.8	48.8	2.7	2.9	2.7	5.4	5.9	5.5
Odessa	53.0	51.3	51.0	3.9	4.0	3.6	7.4	7.8	7.1
San Angelo	45.7	44.6	44.4	2.7	2.6	2.4	6.0	5.8	5.4
San Antonio	609.0	600.2	602.9	46.0	41.8	40.8	7.5	7.0	6.8
Sherman-Denison	48.5	47.0	47.0	3.2	2.6	2.4	6.5	5.5	5.1
Texarkana	57.3	57.5	58.0	4.3	3.5	3.4	7.5	6.2	5.8
Tyler	74.9	74.6	75.2	5.4	5.1	4.7	7.2	6.9	6.3
Victoria	36.1	36.8	36.4	2.3	2.1	1.9	6.3	5.7	5.2
Waco	93.7	92.1	92.8	5.7	4.9	4.8	6.1	5.3	5.2
Wichita Falls	57.3	56.1	56.1	3.2	3.2	2.9	5.6	5.6	5.1
Utah	769.7	804.8	801.1	30.0	29.3	27.9	3.9	3.6	3.5
Provo-Orem	110.6	114.9	113.7	3.6	3.8	3.6	3.3	3.3	3.2
Salt Lake City-Odgen	501.0	523.4	523.0	19.2	18.8	17.6	3.8	3.6	3.4
Vermont	296.8	304.7	304.6	7.8	10.1	10.6	2.6	3.3	3.5
Burlington	75.4	76.2	76.2	1.4	2.1	2.2	1.9	2.7	2.8
Virginia	3,080.6	3,172.4	3,172.2	114.4	117.8	128.8	3.7	3.7	4.1
Charlottesville	68.0	66.8	68.0	1.9	1.7	1.6	2.8	2.5	2.4
Danville	52.5	54.7	54.3	3.4	3.5	3.3	6.4	6.5	6.0
Lynchburg	70.5	73.2	73.3	3.4	3.9	4.4	4.9	5.4	5.9
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News	611.0	624.2	619.8	28.0	28.4	30.7	4.6	4.6	5.0
Richmond-Petersburg	445.2	461.0	464.8	14.1	15.9	18.4	3.2	3.5	4.0
Roanoke	121.3	121.4	122.5	4.9	3.8	5.6	4.1	3.1	4.6
Washington	2,327.9	2,385.5	2,411.7	121.2	127.1	124.3	5.2	5.3	5.2
Seattle	1,038.0	1,069.5	1,089.4	45.1	47.0	44.1	4.3	4.4	4.1
West Virginia	744.7	770.5	775.1	72.9	62.2	68.3	9.8	8.1	8.8
Charleston	115.0	120.7	120.5	10.0	7.6	8.0	8.7	6.3	6.7
Huntington-Ashland	124.2	129.0	130.4	8.8	7.2	7.5	7.1	5.6	5.8
Parkersburg-Marietta	71.1	74.1	74.5	4.8	4.4	4.8	6.7	5.9	6.5
Wheeling	71.4	73.3	73.1	5.2	4.1	4.3	7.3	5.6	6.0
Wisconsin	2,598.3	2,635.1	2,647.8	83.0	107.8	106.4	3.2	4.1	4.0
Appleton-Oshkosh-Neenah	174.2	174.6	176.6	5.3	7.1	6.7	3.1	4.1	3.8
Eau Claire	73.4	74.4	75.8	2.2	2.8	3.0	3.0	3.8	4.0
Green Bay	107.2	112.1	112.5	3.7	4.5	4.3	3.4	4.0	3.8
Janesville-Beloit	74.0	73.7	73.9	2.4	3.9	3.8	3.2	5.3	5.1
Kenosha	57.3	55.1	54.9	1.8	4.6	4.2	3.2	8.4	7.7
La Crosse	58.2	60.1	61.2	1.5	2.0	2.0	2.7	3.3	3.3
Madison	223.6	225.8	229.5	4.7	5.8	5.9	2.1	2.6	2.6
Milwaukee	765.7	776.4	781.5	22.7	31.3	30.4	3.0	4.0	3.9
Racine	89.4	93.6	93.6	3.1	4.7	4.5	3.5	5.1	4.8
Wausau	61.8	63.8	64.5	1.9	2.6	2.4	3.1	4.1	3.8
Wyoming	231.1	222.8	223.1	13.8	12.5	11.5	6.0	5.6	5.2

[1] Data are obtained directly from the Current Population Survey. See the Explanatory Notes for State and Area Labor Force Data.

[2] Not available.

[p] = preliminary.

NOTE: Data refer to place of residence. Estimates for 1988 have been benchmarked to 1988 Current Population Survey annual averages. Except in the 11 States designated by footnote 1, estimates for 1989 are provisional and will be revised when new benchmark information becomes available. Area definitions are published annually in the May issue of this publication.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 1, 1990

President Bush's Proposed Savings and Economic Growth Act

Today, President Bush transmitted to the Congress the Savings and Economic Growth Act. This act will increase family savings, stimulate job-creating long-term investment, and strengthen the competitive position of American business. It contains three parts:

- Family Savings Account. This new savings program will give Americans an opportunity to save for their long term goals in a tax-free manner.

- Capital Gains Tax Rate Reduction. This act will provide for a permanent partial exclusion from tax of gains on long term investments in productive assets.

- Home Ownership Initiative. This will allow millions of American families an opportunity to save for their first home through the existing IRA program.

The Savings and Economic Growth Act provides a comprehensive and balanced program to stimulate our domestic savings rate and lower the cost of capital to American business. This, coupled with President Bush's proposed dramatic reduction in the federal budget deficit, will allow more funds to flow into productive investment in this country.

The President calls upon the Congress for speedy enactment of these provisions. The sooner we can provide incentives for American families to save and for American business to invest for the long term, the more certain we can be that the current record setting peacetime recovery will continue.

State of the Union Jan 31, 1994

In the tough competitive markets around, America faces great challenges and great opportunities. We know that we can succeed in the global economic arena of the 90's, but to meet that challenge we must make some fundamental changes -- some crucial investments in ourselves.

Yes -- we are going to invest in America. This Administration is determined to encourage the creation of capital -- capital of all kinds. Physical capital: Everything, from our farms and factories to our workshops and production lines, all that is needed to produce and deliver quality goods and quality services. Intellectual capital: The source of ideas that spark tomorrow's products. And of course, our human capital: The talented workforce we'll need to compete in the global market.

And let me tell you: If we ignore human capital -- we lose the spirit of American ingenuity -- the spirit that is the hallmark of the American worker. And the American worker is the most productive worker in the world.

We need to save more -- expand the pool of capital for the new investments that mean more jobs, more growth. That's the idea behind a new initiative I call the Family Savings Plan, which I will send to the Congress tomorrow.

We need to cut the tax on capital gains -- encourage risk-takers -- especially those in our small businesses -- to take those steps that translate into economic reward, jobs, and a better life for all of us.

We'll do what it takes to invest in America's future. The budget commitment is there. The money is there. It's there for Research and Development, R&D -- a record high. It's there for our housing initiative -- HOPE, to help everyone from first-time homebuyers to the homeless. The money's there to keep our kids drug-free: 70 percent more than when I took office in 1989. It's there for space exploration -- and it's there for education: another record high.

And one more thing: Last fall at the Education Summit, the Governors and I agreed to look for ways to help make sure kids are ready to learn -- the very first day they walk into that classroom. I've made good on that commitment -- by proposing a record increase in funds -- an extra half a billion dollars -- for something near and dear to all of us: Head Start.

Education is the one investment that means more for our future because it means the most for our children. Real improvement in our schools is not simply a matter of spending more. It is a matter of asking more -- expecting more -- of our schools, our teachers, of our kids, and our parents and ourselves. That's why tonight I am announcing America's education goals -- goals developed with the nation's Governors:

-- By the year 2000, every child must start school ready to learn.

-- The United States must increase the high school graduation rate to no less than 90 percent.

-- And we're going to make sure our schools' diplomas mean something: In critical subjects -- at the 4th, 8th and 12th grades -- we must assess our students' performance.

-- By the year 2000, U.S. students must be first in the world in math and science achievement.

-- Every American adult must be a literate worker and citizen.