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Grant/Dooley
May 14, 1990
Draft two
A:VISTA

PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: VISTA MAGAZINE
JULY 4TH ISSUE

This Fourth of July, most of our family will be up at our summer home in Kennebunkport, Maine. Having all those kids in one place is like being in the eye of a hurricane -- calm in the center, with a chaotic frenzy of grandchildren, bikes, dogs and wet bathing suits swirling all around us.

We Bushes all learn from each other. Whether it is the wise counsel of my mother or Barbara, or the supportive attitude of our own five kids, or the sweet innocence of the youngest addition, Charles Walker, every occasion together is a learning experience.

x
Jeb's wife Columba^{1a} and their three children are Hispanic Americans who bring their dual heritage and its wonderful culture to our family. Yet, each member of the family brings a different talent and leaves with a better understanding of the others' gifts. It may be one grandchild teaching another how to ride a bike, or an older cousin sharing a tip on catching pop flies with a young one. Each Bushes^g is different -- tall, short, blond, brunette, white, Hispanic and even a few who don't like baseball. But we are a family and that's what is important.

x
What's true of a family is also true of a nation. America is great because of the diversity of its people, and the strength

of its families -- black, white or brown, rural or urban, native- or foreign-born.

Barbara and I have spent a good part of our lives in Texas, and we've seen the strength of Hispanic communities which give that state so much of its character. Hispanic Americans give our nation much of its strength as well, and have helped solidify the ties with our neighbors in this hemisphere. For example, our Columba and her sister Lucile, both born in Mexico, joined us at Camp David when Mexican President Salinas visited, adding their warmth and hospitality to his stay. And I'm looking forward to our trip this fall to several South American nations -- to build upon these common bonds of our people, but also to strengthen the foundation of political liberty and free enterprise in our two continents.

What's happening in Central and South America has been called by some a "domino theory in reverse" -- one after the next, nations once paralyzed by tyranny and despotism are standing tall. And I'm sure every reader of this magazine joins me in waiting for one last country to rise up to the call of democracy -- Cuba.

That call of freedom brought many of you to the United States, to search for a better life and to build a better nation. Hispanics are now one of America's fastest growing minorities, enriching our neighborhoods, schools, and businesses. Hispanic Americans are answering the call to freedom, each in their own

way, through family, through church, through love of country and belief in the work ethic.

A new spirit of commitment and service is sweeping the country -- and it is embodied by a vast universe of community leaders pioneering the way. People like Jaime Escalante, the high school calculus teacher from Garfield High School in Los Angeles who has motivated so many students to continue their education. Or Jesse Sanchez Berain, a man in Boise, Idaho who is helping to improve the living conditions of migrant farm workers every day. In Redford, Texas, right on the Mexican border, Lucía Rede Madrid has spent most of her life teaching children to read -- with her own small collection of books that has now grown to more than 10,000 volumes.

There are so many other stories to tell of Hispanic Americans who are making a difference. And though there is a common thread that runs through them all -- care, patriotism, love of God -- each individual is as diverse as a night sky filled with stars.

It is that multitude of voices, that pluralism written of by the Founding Fathers, which makes our democratic system work. Even the name *United States* conveys the idea of "e pluribus unum" -- one out of many. It reflects what is best about the American Dream, and it reflects the diversity which is at the heart of our culture.

NEW CLOSING TO COME SOON.

God bless you on this Fourth of July.

Grant/Dooley
May 14, 1990
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Since the beginning of this nation, over (50) million people have come to America, building a fledgling nation into the most

stable democracy on Earth. Wrote President Johnson over 25 years ago, "By their hard work and their enormously varied talents they hewed a great nation out of a wilderness. By their dedication to liberty and equality, they created a society reflecting man's most cherished ideas." The most precious of these ideas is independence, which we celebrate today -- from the Pacific Palisades to the Florida Keys to Kennebunkport Maine. From our family to yours, God bless you on this Fourth of July.

#

noon - tomorrow

Grant/Dooley
May 16, 1990
Draft four
A:VISTA

PRESIDENTIAL ARTICLE: VISTA MAGAZINE
JULY 4TH ISSUE

1, This Fourth of July, most of our family will be up at our summer home in Kennebunkport, Maine. Having all those kids in one place is like being in the eye of a hurricane -- calm in the center, with a chaotic frenzy of grandchildren, bikes, dogs and wet bathing suits swirling all around us.

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Every family is different, each with its own traditions and heritage. But we are a Nation of families, and together we form the strongest union in the world. As a Nation, we hold sacred our freedom -- a freedom which we celebrate today, from from the

Richard
Mock
276-0542

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Pacific Palisades to the Florida Keys to Kennebunkport Maine.

From our family to yours, God bless you on this Fourth of July.

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The President's Volunteer Action Awards



The President's Volunteer Action Awards were established in 1963 to recognize and honor individuals and organizations who have distinguished themselves by their voluntary service.

The President's Award Program is co-sponsored by VOLUNTEER—the National Center, a private nonprofit organization, and ACTION, the federal domestic volunteer agency, in cooperation with the White House Office of National Service. Program management responsibility rests with VOLUNTEER; funding is provided by private corporations and foundations.

In 1990, over 2,380 nominations were submitted and reviewed in ten categories: arts and humanities; education; environment; health; human services; international volunteering; mobilization of volunteers; public safety; youth volunteering; and the workplace.

ACTION's regional directors, joined by two members of VOLUNTEER's board of directors, reviewed 70 finalist nominations and from those chose the group to be submitted to the White House for the final selection.

The President presents the awards, sterling silver medallions, to each winner at a White House event during National Volunteer Week. The citationists receive certificates by mail from the President. All remaining nominees receive special cards of appreciation from the President.

The 1990 recipients of the President's Volunteer Action Awards are the past recipients of the award, reflecting the wide range of volunteer activities and the wide variety of organizations and individuals who have distinguished themselves by their voluntary service, newly established groups or organizations, fraternal organizations, employee volunteer programs, and labor union members. Some of the award winners have achieved national recognition for their involvement; others are known only to the location they serve.

The President's Volunteer Action Awards, the most prestigious award ever presented for volunteer service, reflect the importance President Bush has placed on citizen involvement and community service. As he frequently says, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

1990 Award Recipients

Volunteers of the Northwest Pilot Project have provided supportive care services to low-income elderly persons for the past 20 years. Realizing that many of the elderly lead isolated lives because of mobility problems and fixed incomes, the group conducted a survey of those living in the downtown area of Portland in 1987 and found that 66 percent wanted to attend cultural events but were hindered by cost, transportation and security.

Project volunteers developed Access to the Arts to provide the opportunity for this group to attend cultural events. They found that performing arts groups frequently have unsold seats and are willing to make those tickets available to those unable to pay. However, the cultural groups have no way to identify qualifying recipients and to coordinate the ticket distribution.

The volunteers developed a program that identified interested seniors, secured donated tickets and ensured safe transportation to theatres and concert halls. In addition to unused tickets that are donated, several area corporations have purchased blocks of tickets and contributed them to the project.

Recognizing that transportation to these events is a major difficulty for the elderly, volunteers pick up the seniors at their apartments, deliver them to the theatre and return them to their homes after the performance. Coordination is important since the tickets are frequently made available at the last minute.

During the past year, the group has solicited and donated tickets and provided transportation to 358 elderly people to attend operas, ballets, symphony concerts, the Ice Capades, plays, jazz and seasonal concerts.

PORTLAND, OREGON

Northwest Pilot Project Access to the Arts Program



From left to right, Bea Carroll, Ellen Glynn (volunteer), Elfie Richards, Hilda Geszvain, Kathryn Webster and Victoria Hawkins.

Photo by Virginia Finch.

REDFORD, TEXAS

Lucía Rede Madrid

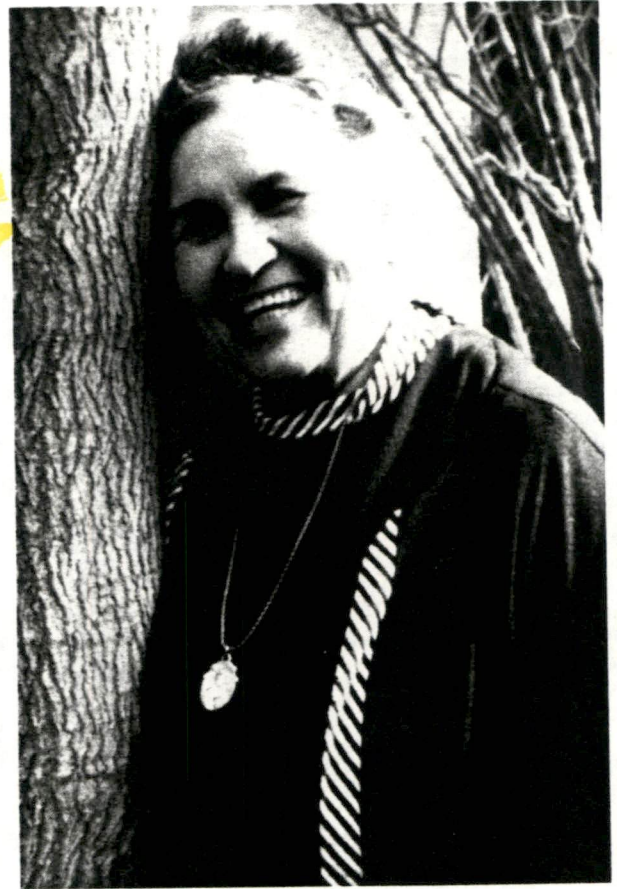
Lucía Rede Madrid developed the only lending library to serve the 100 residents—mostly poor Hispanic laborers—of Redford, Texas. Located on the Mexican border, Redford is farther from a commercial airport than any other town in the 48 contiguous states. It has no theatres, no parks, and most of the children never have seen a fast food restaurant or shopping mall.

Ms. Madrid spent most of her life as a school teacher in Redford. During those years, she was allocated \$400 annually to buy books but had to keep them in a library in Marfa, a town 75 miles away. The library allowed her to borrow only 25 books at a time, so once a week she traveled to Marfa to check out the books to share with her 80 students.

Three years after retiring in 1976, she set up a private lending library with 25 books in her family's combination gas station convenience store. During the first several years, she stored the growing collection of books in cartons donated by the milkman. Although the store has closed, the library continues to thrive. Now book shelves hold the growing collection of more than 10,000 volumes. All available floor space is taken up with small tables for children to sit and read.

The check-out system is informal, yet Mrs. Madrid claims never to have lost a book. Each day she checks out up to 100 books. One of the most popular volumes is the Sears catalog, which Mexican children borrow to learn English quickly by matching the words to the pictures.

The walls of the store are covered by Ms. Madrid's Library Hall of Fame, which features pictures of engineers, doctors, teachers and accountants—all former local children and students who have gone on to live successful lives away from Redford.



WASHINGTON, D.C.

Department of Transportation Volunteer Committee

The Department of Transportation Volunteer Committee promotes a variety of volunteer programs including an adopt-a-school program, a partnership with a senior center, support to a homeless program and fundraising for disaster relief.

The Committee's longest running and largest program is the adopt-a-school program with Hine Junior High School, located on Capitol Hill and serving a largely disadvantaged student body. The committee works with school administrators during the summer months to develop the year-long program. Volunteers provide tutorial services in science, math and English and sponsor field trips. They provide a career lecture series and workshops on developing a resume and filling out a job application. To expose the children to the work situation, they also sponsor a career shadowing program. They provide a cultural enrichment program, which includes the annual "Christmas in Washington" performance, National Symphony, tap dance lessons, poetry readings and various plays and shows in the area.

Working with a group of 25 at-risk students, volunteers have served as Friends, providing guidance and attention. Students involved in this program have reduced their average absenteeism from 13 to three days a month. The volunteers also developed the Rent-A-Teen program to refer students to after-school jobs, and obtained a \$2,000 scholarship from Citizens for a Sound Economy for a Hine student to study economics in college.

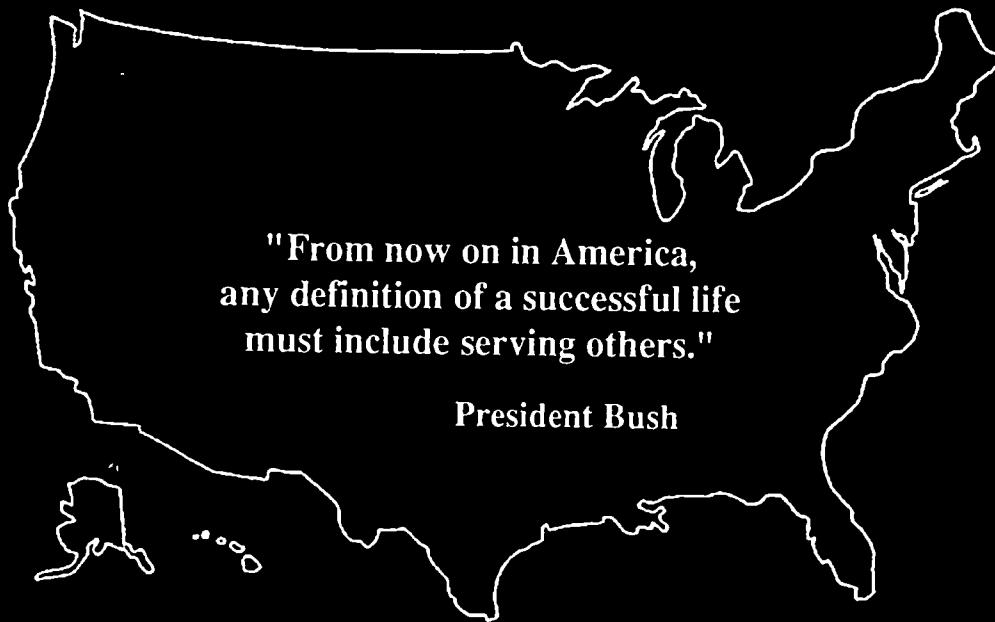
Since 1984, volunteers have been involved with the Southwest Senior Citizens Center, providing tickets and transportation for plays and shows, planning shopping trips and holiday celebrations throughout the year. In 1985, the group expanded the senior program to include Sarah's Circle, a senior shelter.

To finance these programs, DOT employee volunteers have raised over \$50,000 through book sales, bake and donut sales, auctions and raffles.



Newly appointed Secretary Samuel K. Skinner meets with Hine students on a visit to DOT.

**A THOUSAND POINTS OF LIGHT:
THE FIRST ONE HUNDRED**



94. **Jesse Sanchez Berain, Boise, ID**

Monday, March 19, 1990

Jesse Berain is committed to helping improve the living conditions of migrant agricultural workers.

While growing up as a cotton field worker, Mr. Berain experienced first-hand the plight of Hispanic Americans. He founded IMAGE and CAMP, initiatives designed to assist Hispanic migrants with college funding, seeking employment, career advancement, and self-development. He also works with community groups and churches to plant grass and trees in migrant camps, installs playground equipment for children, and organizes clean-up crews. In addition, he interprets and writes letters, provides transportation to medical appointments, assists with preparing tax returns, and raises funds for the needy.

95. **Pauline Hord, Memphis, TN**

Tuesday, March 20, 1990

Pauline Hord is committed to promoting literacy.

In 1986, Ms. Hord founded the "Heads Up" program, an initiative which tutors inmates. Ms. Hord and other volunteers travel every Wednesday to the Parchman Penitentiary in Northern Mississippi. Over the past four years, she has taught over 100 men to read and write and 47 men who have been taught by her program now serve as tutors themselves.

96. **William Warner Johnson, Washington, DC**

Wednesday, March 21, 1990

Two years ago, Officer W. W. Johnson was ready to quit his job. As a 20-year police veteran in the District of Columbia, he was sickened by the many tragedies of human waste he confronted every day. Officer Johnson turned his frustration into inspiration by dedicating his personal and professional life to helping the most vulnerable and valuable members of our society: our children. He envisioned and created a youth-oriented business enterprise.

The Conner-Harris Mini-Mall, named after two victims of the drug war, started with a weight lifting room in Woodson Junior High School donated by Officer Johnson. He expanded the mall to include several stores that would cater to the consumer interests of youngsters. In addition, by allowing the students to operate the stores as their own businesses, they learn how to be junior entrepreneurs. The mini-mall, open after school and on weekends, serves as a teaching tool, whereby participants make their own products, such as T-shirts and craft items, and learn bookkeeping and marketing skills.

"My babies are dying and all everyone is saying is how sad or how bad it is. I haven't given up on my babies yet."

W. W. Johnson

97. **Glaxo, Inc., Research Triangle Park, NC**

Thursday, March 22, 1990

Glaxo, Inc. is committed to supporting its employees' community service activities.

In 1987, this firm began the "Glaxo's Investment in Volunteer Excellence" (GIVE) program. For every employee who dedicates 30-49 hours to community service over a one-year time period, the firm donates \$250 to the charity of the employee's choice. For over 50 hours, \$500 is donated. In the last three years, Glaxo, Inc. has donated \$56,000 on behalf of over 14,000 volunteers.

98. **Joan Stairs and Juanita Suggs, New Castle, IN**

Friday, March 23, 1990

Recognizing the needs of the growing number of homeless individuals in their community, Joan Stairs and Juanita Suggs now dedicate their time and energy to bettering the plight of the homeless.

Ms. Stairs, as chairperson of the New Castle/Henry County Homeless Task Force, and Ms. Suggs, as director of Christian Love Center, have combined their resources to create the Christian Love Help Center/Shelter. The center provides housing, food, clothing, counseling, and literacy programs for 20 people at a time, encouraging them to better their lives and obtain employment.

99. **VYTAL (Volunteer Youth Training and Leadership), Pittsburgh, PA**

Saturday, March 24, 1990

The VYTAL project, a collaborative effort between Pittsburgh New Futures and the United Way, is committed to the promotion of student engagement in community service.

This program is designed to prepare tomorrow's leaders to contribute to their community. It instills in youth the knowledge, skills, and values essential for community service, helps them learn how to support community service agencies, and augments human resources through a student volunteer corps.

"I'll never quit being an advocate for other people. I will go on doing what I believe in."

Juanita Suggs

1990

MARCH

APRIL

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Birthday (observed); Apr. 10 — Passover (first day); Apr. 15 — Easter; May 28 — Labor Day; Sept. 20 — Rosh Hashanah (first day); Sept. 29 — Yom Kippur; 2 — Thanksgiving Day; Dec. 12 — Chanukah; Dec. 25 — Christmas Day.

Days Usually Observed

- First observed in most states: Mother's Day has become an international holiday.
- National Day of Prayer. By presidential proclamation each year on a day other than a Sunday.
- National Freedom Day, Feb. 1. To commemorate the signing of the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery, Feb. 1, 1865. By presidential proclamation.
- National Maritime Day, May 22. First proclaimed 1935 in commemoration of the departure of the SS Savannah, from Savannah, Georgia, on May 22, 1819, on the first successful transatlantic voyage under steam propulsion. By presidential proclamation.
- Pan American Day, Apr. 14. In 1890 the First Intl. Conference of American States, meeting in Washington, was held on that date. A resolution was adopted which resulted in the creation of the organization known today as the Pan American Union. By presidential proclamation.
- Primary Election Day. Observed usually only when presidential or general elections are held.
- Reformation Day, Oct. 31. Observed by Protestant groups.
- Sadie Hawkins Day (Nov. 17 in 1990). First Saturday after November 11.
- St. Patrick's Day, Mar. 17. Observed by Irish societies, especially with parades.
- St. Valentine's Day, Feb. 14. Festival of a martyr beheaded at Rome under Emperor Claudius. Association of this day with lovers has no connection with the saint and probably had its origin in an old belief that on this day birds begin to choose their mates.
- Susan B. Anthony Day, Feb. 15. Birthday of a pioneer crusader for equal rights for women.
- United Nations Day, Oct. 24. By presidential proclamation, to commemorate founding of United Nations.
- Verrazano Day, Apr. 7. Observed by New York State, to commemorate the probable discovery of New York harbor by Giovanni da Verrazano in April, 1524.
- Victoria Day (May 21 in 1990). Birthday of Queen Victoria, a statutory day in Canada, celebrated the first Monday before May 25.
- World Poetry Day, Oct. 15.
- Wright Brothers Day, Dec. 17. By presidential designation, to commemorate first successful flight by Orville and Wilbur Wright, Dec. 17, 1903.

Blessley

THE AUTHORITY SINCE 1868

THE WORLD ALMANAC AND BOOK OF FACTS

1990



WORLD ALMANAC
AN IMPRINT OF PHAROS BOOKS • A SCRIPPS HOWARD COMPANY
NEW YORK

Immigration by Country of Last Residence 1820-1988

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service

Table with columns for Country, Total 1820-1988, Total 1961-1970, Total 1971-1988, and Percent 1820-1988, 1961-1970, 1971-1988. Rows include Europe, Asia, America, Africa, and Oceania.

* Figures may not add to total due to rounding. (1) 1938-1945, Austria included with Germany; 1898-1919, Poland included with Austria-Hungary, Germany, and USSR. (2) Beginning 1952, includes data for United Kingdom not specified, formerly included with Other Europe. (3) Europe and Asia. (4) Beginning 1957, includes Taiwan. (5) Prior to 1951, included with "Other Asia". (6) Prior to 1951, Philippines included with "All other". (7) Prior to 1953, data for Vietnam not available. (8) Prior to 1951, included with "Other America". (9) Prior to 1951, included with "West Indies". (10) Data on immigration by country of last residence for 1860-1983 are not available; data based on country of birth. (11) Norway and Sweden were combined from 1820-1868. (12) First full year with Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1966 in effect.

Poverty by Family Status, Sex, and Race

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports

Table showing poverty statistics by family status (Total poor, in families, Head, Related children, Other relatives, Unrelated individuals, etc.) and race (White, Black, Hispanic) for the years 1967, 1984, and 1978.

(1) Beginning in 1979, total includes members of unrelated subfamilies not shown separately. For earlier years, unrelated subfamily members are included in the "in family" category. (2) Percent of total population in that general category who fell below poverty level. For example, of all black female heads of households in 1978, 30.6% were poor.

Poverty Level by Family Size 1986, 1987

By thousands

Table showing poverty levels by family size (1 person, Under 65 years and over, 65 years and over, etc.) for 1986 and 1987.

Income Distribution by Population Fifths

Top income of each fifth

Table showing income distribution by population fifths (Lowest, Second, Third, Fourth, Top) for Families, 1987, and Race (Total, White, Black, and other).

Persons Below Poverty Level, 1960-1987

Percent Below Poverty Level

Table showing the number and percentage of persons below the poverty level by race (All races, White, Black, Spanish origin) and year (1960, 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980, 1986).

NA = Not Available. (1) Includes other races not shown separately. (2) Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race. (3) Beginning in 1961, income cutoffs for nonfarm families are applied to both farm and nonfarm families. (4) Data based on revised poverty definition. The poverty rate is the proportion of the population whose income falls below the government's official poverty level, which is adjusted each year to take account of inflation. The national poverty rate was higher in 1986 than in any year from 1969 through 1980. The rate reached a peak of 15.2 percent in 1983.

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Los Angeles Times

April 6, 1990, Friday, Home Edition

SECTION: View; Part E; Page 3; Column 1; View Desk

LENGTH: 868 words

HEADLINE: BUNDY MAKES HIS CASE FOR AN OPTIMISTIC VIEW OF THE WORLD;
POLITICS: EX-PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER IS ENCOURAGED BY THE CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE.

BYLINE: By DAN WEIKEL, TIMES STAFF WRITER

BODY:

As national security adviser to President John F. Kennedy, McGeorge Bundy walked with the superpowers to the brink of nuclear war during the Cuban missile crisis, then stepped back from blowing the Earth to smithereens. He has been walking from the brink ever since.

Now an optimist in a world armed with enough megatonnage to do itself in several times, Bundy says the chance of nuclear conflict today is the smallest it has been in the decades after World War II.

Bundy, whose pleasant demeanor seems at odds with his past involvement with global confrontation, is particularly heartened by the political upheavals in Eastern Europe, which have spread through the Communist Bloc like the domino theory in reverse.

"If it goes on like this, we have a good chance of ending the Cold War," Bundy said Thursday before a visit to UC Irvine. "The basic point about Europe is that the fundamental political tendencies, both of countries and the continent, are very encouraging. It should mean less danger to any neighbor of Europe."

Bundy came to Irvine to plead his case for optimism in U.S.-, Soviet- and European-relations during the first Julius Margolis speech sponsored by the university's Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies. The address, named after the center's founder, is designed to bring a distinguished U.S. statesman to the campus every year.

At 71, Bundy, the consummate White House insider during the 1960s and early architect of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, fits the qualification.

Besides serving J.F.K., he also was national security adviser to President Lyndon Johnson, dean of the faculty of arts and sciences at Harvard University and president of the Ford Foundation for 13 years. He is now professor emeritus of history at New York University.

Since 1979, Bundy has dissected the possibilities of nuclear war and tapped the minds of those heads of state and government officials responsible for developing and maintaining the balance of terror for the last 50 years.

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The upshot was the Pulitzer Prize-winning book, "Danger and Survival: Choices About the Bomb in the First Fifty Years," published last year.

The 600-page work, which is part history book and part memoir, traces the decisions about nuclear weapons from 1941, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt first ordered a serious effort to build an atomic bomb, to 1988, when the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to limit intermediate range missiles in Europe.

Bundy is part of that history. During the Kennedy Administration, he was involved in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, which historians have described as the pinnacle of the Cold War. After a tense standoff and a U.S. naval blockade of Cuba, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev agreed to remove nuclear missiles in return for a U.S. pledge not to invade the island nation.

"The chance of nuclear war has been low for a long time," Bundy said. "But we turned a corner in the Cuban missile crisis. We learned not to get into that box again."

Having gone from participant to observer of U.S.-Soviet relations, Bundy now believes that with the collapsing Iron Curtain, the Cold War will end soon, which ultimately could result in major reductions in nuclear arms by the superpowers.

But he said the Soviet Union, with serious economic problems, and the United States, which is now hesitant to deemphasize its military role abroad, are having the hardest time adjusting to the changes.

"There is a very strong belief on both sides that we can live with much more moderate nuclear forces," Bundy said. "The problem is trying to decide whose weapons you are going to reduce -- the fliers, the navy or the missile people. It is a set of decisions that the Bush Administration is not in a hurry to make. Somebody is going to get angry. It's not easy to change, but the opportunity certainly is there."

Bundy described the events in Eastern Europe as unforeseeable by the West, which has always thought reform was in the air, but something that would be slow in coming. No one, he said, could have predicted the possible reunification of East and West Germany.

He praised the Bush Administration's handling of the reunification issue, saying the United States has kept up with German opinion, which has been "very good for a strong and mutual understanding of the Germans."

Bundy dismissed as "pretty silly" current speculation that a new Germany will emerge again as a political and military threat to the rest of Europe and the Soviet Union.

"The country is in a peaceable mode," he said. "They won't have nuclear weapons because there are three other countries in their back yard that do. That means the Germans won't start a war. Besides, they think people with nuclear weapons don't make much sense anyway."

Despite the developments in Eastern Europe and Mikhail Gorbachev's attempts to reform the Soviet Union, Bundy cautions that the United States should not

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try to interfere with the process to avoid further tension.

"The internal problems of Gorbachev, on the whole, are getting harder not easier," he said. "It is hard for us to do anything constructive. We can't make those reforms. We shouldn't joggle his elbow while he is trying."

GRAPHIC: Photo, McGEORGE BUNDY

SUBJECT:

BUNDY, McGEORGE; SPEECHES; ARMS CONTROL; DIPLOMACY; UNITED STATES -- FOREIGN RELATIONS -- USSR

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November 21, 1989, Tuesday

SECTION: THE U.S.; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 1004 words

HEADLINE: Acceptance Grows for Bush's East-Bloc Policy

BYLINE: Marshall Ingwerson, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

HIGHLIGHT:

But US may lose major-player status if it moves too slowly, some say

BODY:

PRESIDENT BUSH's cautious approach to political changes in Eastern Europe is beginning to win converts among foreign-policy analysts, despite its economic and geopolitical risks.

The most persistent complaint about Mr. Bush since the Berlin Wall opened is that he has not seized upon public sentiment to promote a large-scale East Europe aid plan or conveyed a compelling vision of the new European order.

The speed and scale of events, however, has had a sobering effect on many critics. The word timid - used prominently in September and October to describe Mr. Bush's foreign policy - barely appeared by mid-November.

When East Germany opened its borders Nov. 9, "there was a distinct falling-off in criticism of the president," says a Democratic foreign-policy aide in Congress. Change cutting to the heart of the NATO alliance became so fast and unstable, the aide explains, as to be "exhilarating yet sobering."

The Bush administration has also given critics less to complain about by announcing a free-form summit to begin Dec. 2 with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, acquiescing to higher aid levels to Poland and Hungary, and stressing more support than skepticism for East-bloc reform.

In what could develop into the most fundamental response yet, Defense Secretary Richard Cheney announced Friday that he had asked the Pentagon to plan for \$180 billion in budget cuts between 1992 and 1994. This comes in addition to reductions expected in the fiscal 1991 budget to be submitted in January. He cited the decreased threat to Western Europe from the Warsaw Pact as the reason for the cuts.

The chief remaining criticism is that Bush is not asserting a persuasive plan of what Europe ought to look like and how its reconstruction should proceed.

This failure may be partly tactical. The administration is careful not to create political complications for reform in Eastern Europe by "gloating" or exploiting the upheaval for advantage.

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It may be partly strategic. Bush has promoted the European Community (EC) as the magnet for reform in Eastern Europe. Presumably, he wants Western Europeans to take some initiative and shoulder some of the burden of rebuilding the East - which they have.

It is a bit premature to expect a grand design, say some foreign-policy analysts, who suggest that steady hands are more critical than quick reflexes.

Bush does not yet have a grand design, says Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's national security adviser, who recently discussed these issues with Bush. But Dr. Brzezinski is confident he will. "The administration certainly has the intellectual brainpower to do it," he says. The design will probably come from Bush himself, Brzezinski says. "He has the broadest perspective."

Says David Calleo, a professor at Johns Hopkins University's School for Advanced International Studies: "I think we've behaved pretty well."

Michael McGwire of the Brookings Institution says, "It's not a bad thing to have a slow-moving, skeptical team."

Moving slowly, however, holds risks. West Germany in particular is driving ahead to strengthen its relationships with the East. Its trade with the East bloc is booming, although still tiny compared with its trade with Western nations. It gave the Soviets \$1.7 billion in credits last year at a bargain interest rate of 6.25 percent. Its aid to Poland amounts to about \$2 billion - more than twice the \$938 million that Congress approved for aid to Poland and Hungary last Friday.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West German foreign minister, is pushing for stronger ties to the East. He is expected to be arguing in Washington today for extending Western aid from Poland and Hungary to East Germany.

"If we take a laissez-faire approach to this, we're going to end up with a lot of things we don't like. You can't sit back and watch it happen," warns Robbin Laird, a European affairs specialist at the Institute for Defense Analysis. Mr. Laird says the US should be actively negotiating with the European Community to develop "rules of the road" for rebuilding Eastern Europe.

One concern is that West Germany, a crucial member of the NATO alliance, will increasingly turn to the East and loosen its commitment to NATO and the European Community.

Another is that the United States will be left behind in the commercial development of the East bloc. Eric Alterman, of the World Policy Institute, says he can envision a Europe dominated by the deutsche mark, where US companies have been left out. Commercially, the US has a strong natural disadvantage in East Europe compared with the West Germans and Austrians, for example. But the US should be moving more aggressively to set up commercial support services in the East during the next year or so, says Donald Hasfurther, director of East-West trade at the US Chamber of Commerce.

"Whoever gets the significant market share right now is going to have a leg up on everybody for the next 10 years," he says, noting that the US only has three commercial Foreign Service officers in all of Eastern Europe.

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One check on West German dominance, however, is that the Eastern Europeans are especially wary of it. 'The Germans, to them, are part of the problem,' says a congressional staff analyst.

President Bush is left to strike many balances: to promote a Western European role yet assert American interests, to support reform in the East without destabilizing it, to scale down tensions without over-reliance on the new face of the Warsaw Pact.

Bush's blueprint for dealing with change in Eastern Europe was laid out in April. It calls for responding to reform in each country on a case-by-case basis. Aid is coordinated through a group of 24 Western nations formed last summer and centered around the EC.

Bush's plan has called for a stronger political role for NATO to replace a primarily military role. A united Europe under the EC is a critical pillar of his vision of the West, even if it means stronger competition for American interests.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: LINING UP TO BUY FISH IN PRAGUE: Pent-up frustrations with everyday life are leading to what could be described as a domino theory in reverse in Eastern Europe (see story, page 4). The Bush administration seems to be trying not to create political complications for reform there by 'gloating' or exploiting the upheaval for advantage., NEAL J. MENSCHER - STAFF

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November 21, 1989, Tuesday

SECTION: THE WORLD; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 565 words

HEADLINE: East-Bloc Reformers Seek to Bury Cold War

BYLINE: Klas Bergman, Special to The Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: WARSAW

BODY:

THE world in Eastern Europe seems somehow upside down.

One after the other, in what could be described as the domino theory in reverse, the communist systems in Eastern Europe are moving toward democracy and capitalism.

'Europe is where the cold war started, and it is proper to bury it here,' said Adam Bromke, a professor at the Polish Academy of Sciences.

'There is no doubt, that we are living in the end of the communist era,' Polish Housing Minister Aleksander Paszynski said recently, predicting the end of the present regime in Czechoslovakia in the near future.

That was last week, however, and with the speed that marks the changes in Eastern Europe these days, that prediction already seems a bit old.

The signals from the Czechoslovak leaders have been mixed. The first official suggestion of the need for political reform, last Tuesday, was followed Friday by club-wielding police beating up peaceful demonstrators.

No doubt there are different views among Prague's Communist leaders on how to respond to the changes sweeping through Eastern Europe, without being swept away themselves.

Not even the longest-serving Communist leader in Eastern Europe, Bulgaria's Todor Zhivkov, who for 35 years ruled that country, could withstand the demands for change. His departure followed that of East Germany's Erich Honecker, of Hungary's Janos Kadar, and of Poland's Mieczeslaw Rakowski in the last 18 months. Kadar has since died, Mr. Honecker is completely shunned, and Mr. Rakowski is trying to hang on and play a role in the new noncommunist Poland.

It seems highly likely that Milos Jakes in Czechoslovakia will share the fate of his hard-line colleagues. On Sunday a crowd, estimated at more than 30,000, gathered in Wenceslas Square chanting 'Jakes out,' and opposition activists founded a reform movement, Civil Forum, calling for the resignation of party leaders.

But there is no similar sign that the reform movement in Eastern Europe has reached Romania. The closing of its borders Friday with Hungary, which

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complains about the treatment of ethnic Hungarians in Romania, is the latest indication that hard-line leader Nicolae Ceausescu remains firmly in power. No upset was expected as his party convened yesterday for a congress.

Here in Poland, meanwhile, sociologist Jadwiga Staniszkis has developed a theory that what is taking place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has been planned as part of the East bloc's adjustment to capitalism. The changes, she asserts, are largely coordinated by a crisis group (or "center") close to the KGB, the Soviet secret police.

"I believe," she said in an interview with the Polish weekly Tygodnik Solidarnosc, "that this center has resolved that the survival of the empire depends on discarding decisions taken in the Soviet Union in the 1920s."

By deciding to repudiate Stalinism, the Soviets have admitted "that socialism is a local phenomenon while capitalism dominates the world," she says. The Soviets see current woes as an opportunity to develop along with capitalism and learn from Western experience. Ms. Staniszkis's theory is being widely discussed in Poland.

Regardless of whether she is right or wrong, the fact remains that Moscow's transformation from a restraining force to one that urges change has been the deciding factor in the present development in Eastern Europe.

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March 30, 1988, Wednesday

SECTION: SECTION I; Editorial; Pg. 20

LENGTH: 650 words

HEADLINE: Progress In Nicaragua

BODY:

The ceasefire agreement between the Nicaraguan Government and the US-backed Contra rebels is bound to face formidable hurdles when it comes into force on Friday. But last week's deal, laying down a 60-day ceasefire as a prelude to a broader political reconciliation in Nicaragua, has the great advantage of being practical.

It was hammered out by negotiators possessed not only of the authority to deliver on the fine print but also fully aware of the strengths and weaknesses of their respective positions. It is instructive as well as encouraging that both sides have resisted so far the temptation to make political capital out of the concessions made. Just as important, no false expectations have been raised of easy progress towards a lasting peace.

After the accumulated bitterness of almost seven years fighting, the Sandinistas and the Contras are understandably couching optimism in cautious phrases. The occasional violation is bound to occur. Friction could easily be caused by continued attempts in Washington to resume Contra funding. Inside Nicaragua, the Sandinista leadership risks a backlash from its own militants by agreeing to make the Contras part of the political process.

These difficulties must not obscure the efforts made by both sides to bring an end to the war. This provides a ray of hope in the appalling cycle of violence in Central America, and it deserves every encouragement. For instance, in the near future it may well be necessary to consider some form of international presence along the volatile Honduran-Nicaraguan border.

The ceasefire agreement is the first concrete achievement of the Arias peace plan for the region, the details of which were agreed last August. The plan has tended to be all things to all men, and where there has been little external pressure to comply, as in El Salvador, there has been little progress. However, in the case of Nicaragua, the Sandinistas were looking for ways to end a debilitating war and the Contras were demoralised by the prospect of losing their lifeline of US aid. The attraction of the plan was its emphasis on regional self-help; and it has provided a framework for settling conflict without appearing to obey the dictates of Washington.

Many of the Sandinistas' concessions have been the very same liberalisation measures sought by President Reagan. The Sandinistas have begun to take Nicaragua down the road of political pluralism. They can only reverse this at the risk of foregoing the international sympathy which they so desperately need to rebuild their bankrupt and devastated country.

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If the Reagan Administration had been less indifferent to the Arias plan, it could have taken some credit for last week's breakthrough. As it is, the White House has been left on the sidelines, forced to welcome a deal it basically does not like. President Reagan has exposed himself unnecessarily by investing so much personal prestige in a victory for his "freedom fighters." The ceasefire, if successful, spells the end of his ideological crusade to defeat communism in Nicaragua.

This policy, still reverberating from the repercussions of Irangate, has strained relations with Congress and Washington's closest allies in Latin America because far too great an emphasis has been placed on military solutions to the conflicts in the region. The Reagan Administration could quickly make up for lost ground by taking the Sandinista-Contra agreement at face value and by giving it the benefit of the doubt.

Washington's interests are better served by working with, rather than against, those directly concerned and by supporting the process of negotiations. Reconciliation in Nicaragua by way of a successful Sandinista-Contra agreement would undoubtedly have a wider positive impact on the region's stability. It might even come to be seen as the start of the domino theory in reverse.