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OA/ID Number: 13768
Folder ID Number: 13768-011

Folder Title:
Thornburgh Fundraiser 9/12/91 [OA 8327]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	21	5	7

McGroarty/Dooley
September 5, 1991
1:45 pm
[THORN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THORNBURGH FUNDRAISER
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
SEPTEMBER 12, 1991
6:30 P.M.

Thanks, all of you, for this warm welcome. [Introductory acknowledgements.] I'm sorry I won't be able to share the entire evening with you, but I could not return to the White House without first stopping by to show my support for a great cause and candidate: the next Senator from the keystone state -- Dick Thornburgh. //

With just a bit more than seven weeks to election day, this race will be a sprint from start to finish. That's why the edge has to go to Dick Thornburgh: a candidate Pennsylvanians know - - a candidate they can trust. //

As Governor, Dick Thornburgh fought hard for the people of Pennsylvania. When Dick took office in 1978, Pennsylvania strained beneath the weight of a chronic deficit -- and suffered a crisis in public trust. Dick came in and took action: cut bureaucratic bloat -- cut taxes on individuals and businesses to spark growth -- restored integrity to a state government plagued by corruption and scandal. When Dick left the State House in 1986, he left Pennsylvania in enviable good health: a state government with a budget surplus for three years running -- and a

state making the difficult economic evolution from the smoke stack era to the age of high-tech. //

Dick's next contribution came on the national level. As the nation's number one law enforcer, he turned his crusade against corruption into a war on white collar crime. He fought to make life tougher on criminals -- and a bit easier for victims scarred by crime and violence. On his watch as Attorney General, we pushed through a 50% increase in the number of federal prosecutors, and almost doubled the number of federal prison cells. / Dick pioneered innovations like the Asset Forfeiture Program, to prove the old adage that crime does not pay. Under this program, last year law enforcement officials seized half a billion dollars in ill-gotten gains -- \$200 million of which was turned over to state governments.

For Pennsylvania -- for the Nation -- Dick Thornburgh fought tirelessly for decency in government and the dignity of the individual. Pennsylvania -- and the nation -- deserve Dick Thornburgh in the Senate. //

Permit me a personal note -- one I believe relevant in a very real way to Dick's approach to public life. Many of you know how Dick led the effort to pass last year's landmark civil rights legislation, the Americans with Disabilities Act. Dick and Ginny and their boys know first-hand what it means to triumph over disability. Peter Thornburgh was born with mental disabilities -- problems he's battled every day of his life. The Thornburghs pulled together as a family -- triumphed over

hardship, held fast to hope. As a dedicated public servant -- but also as a parent -- I know how much it meant for Dick Thornburgh to help welcome Peter and 43 million disabled citizens into the American mainstream. //

Throughout his career, Dick's met and mastered some of the most difficult challenges government has to offer. He pulled Pennsylvania out its economic tailspin. He's done battle against society's criminals and drug traffickers. Now, he's ready for the toughest assignment of all: he's ready to take on Capitol Hill.

Believe me, that's a challenge. In a world where the pace of change seems constantly to accelerate, Congress seems inert. Tune in Congress on C-Span: with the Democrats in charge, it's like watching a test-pattern. Congress convenes, meets for weeks and months on end -- debates, deadlocks, then disbands. Democracy -- in inaction. //

As Senator, Dick Thornburgh can become a key member of the GOP shock force, trying to shake things up -- working to shake loose the log-jam of Republican legislation that's been gathering dust on the desks of the Democratic leadership.

I'd like to see more like him in the Senate: enough Republicans to swing the Senate firmly back to our side -- to get moving on our domestic agenda. So let's start with Senator Thornburgh, and send a signal. America has seen what the Democrats do when they control both houses -- and it's not a

pretty picture. Put the Republicans in charge -- for a change.

//

I spoke this afternoon to another prominent group of GOP leaders back in Washington. I'll tell you the same thing I told them: There's something wrong when it's easier to get foreign forces out of Kuwait than it is to get domestic programs through the Congress. //

We've known for a long time the Republican Party is the party of American ideals. But more important, the Republican Party today stands as the party of ideas. / From choice in child care and education, to turning tenants into homeowners -- from ways to enlist the ingenuity of the marketplace to clean our air or provide new sources of energy -- on one issue after another: Republicans seek to clear a path through the bureaucratic maze -- to create opportunities for individuals and families to shape their own destiny, to secure their own freedom.

That powerful idea provides our sense of direction -- our strength of purpose. It makes sense to people in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, in Erie and Wilkes-Barre and every town in between -- and it's the message that will make Dick Thornburgh the next Senator of this great state. //

Once again, my thanks to you for this warm Philadelphia welcome -- and may God bless the United States of America.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

A

Crime + Transp.

Ed - Am. 2000

Sen. - mark-up vers end of month

Ed - Sean Smeallie Sen.

might actually get algo Frances Norris Use.
~~He doesn't want to~~ 7092
move working w/ Cong.
& try

Crime - Sean

Jim Dyer 7054

Gary Andres

Transp - Go
(Sen.) - (Annie Navens
(Jim Dyer))

~~this year~~ recess

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

try to finish bot.
recess

TRANSP.

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7030

Short range -

SEPT - try to bring bill
to floor

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Sununu + Pres. letter

~ Jul. 1 Aug. 1

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camp. to wh. coming out of Hse.

Sen. - not a lot of pork

Hse. - lots of pork

CRIME

cleared - SEN.

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this year + Thornb. deserves a
lot of credit for this

ED

FY 92 - school choice

To Peggy

Date _____ Time _____

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Paul M. Nalty @ Justice

of _____

Phone 514-2061

Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU	WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU	URGENT	

RETURNED YOUR CALL

Message _____

Holly
Operator



AMPAD
EFFICIENCY®

23-023 CARBONLESS

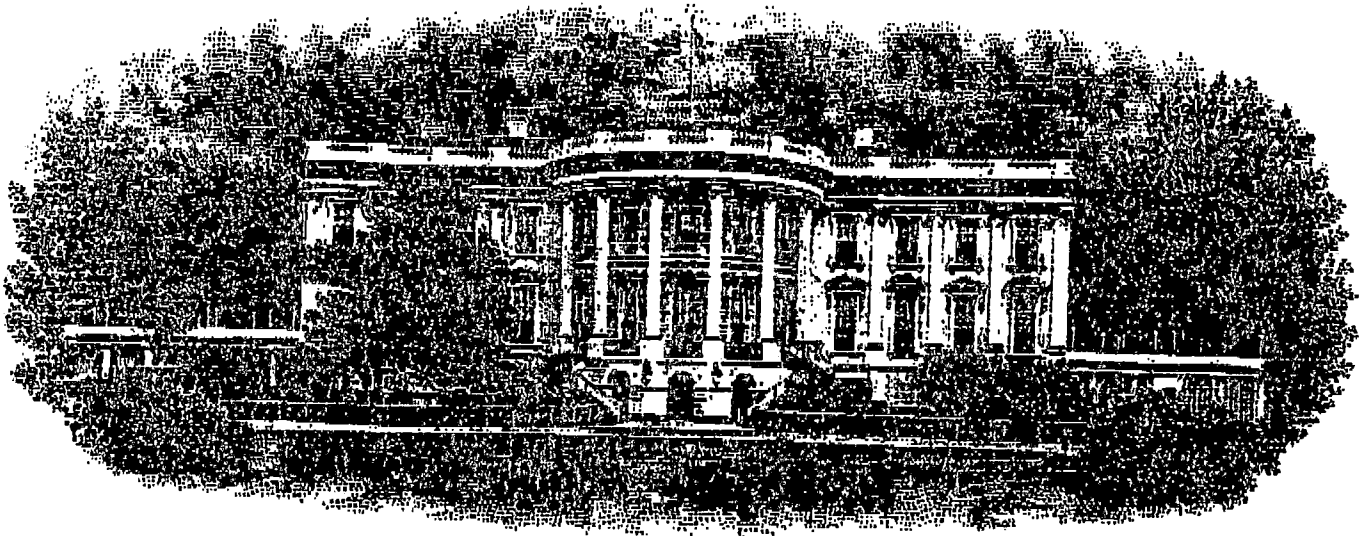
Pennsylvania strained beneath the weight of a chronic deficit -- and suffered a crisis in public trust. Dick came in and took action: cut bureaucratic bloat -- cut taxes on individuals and businesses to spark growth -- restored integrity to a state government plagued by corruption and scandal. When Dick left the State House in 1986, he left Pennsylvania in enviable good health: a state government with a budget surplus for three years running -- and a state making the difficult economic evolution from the smoke stack era to the age of high-tech. //

Dick's next contribution came on the national level. As the nation's number one law enforcer, he turned his crusade against corruption into a war on white collar crime. He fought to make life tougher on criminals -- and a bit easier for victims scarred by crime and violence. / Because of Dick and so many others, we are winning the war on drugs. //

On his watch as Attorney General, Dick pushed through a 50% increase in the number of federal prosecutors, and almost doubled the number of federal prison beds. Dick expanded initiatives like the Asset Forfeiture Program, to prove the old adage that crime does not pay. Under this program, last year federal law enforcement officials seized more than half a billion dollars in ill-gotten gains -- and turned over \$200 million of that amount to state and local governments. //

For Pennsylvania -- for the Nation -- Dick Thornburgh fought tirelessly for decency in government and the dignity of the

Executive Office of the President Office of Legislative Affairs



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Number of Pages including cover 2

Date: 9/13/91

To: Peggy Dooley

Fax Number: 10218

Office Number: _____

Comments: _____

From: ~~Kate~~ Aunie Havens

Fax Number: 456-6221

Office Number: 456-6620

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 16, 1991

Dear Bob:

Recent press accounts have suggested that the President might support an increase in the gas tax as part of the surface transportation legislation under consideration in the House.

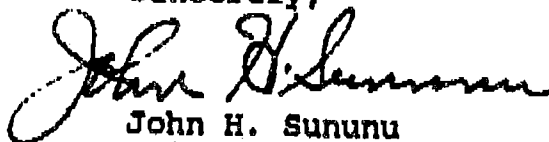
I want to let you know that despite these press accounts there has been no change in the President's position on a gas tax increase. He continues to oppose such a tax increase because it would jeopardize the economic recovery that is now underway and would undermine our continued efforts to adhere to the principles of last year's budget agreement.

The Secretary of Transportation transmitted the Administration's proposal for a comprehensive restructuring of our nation's highways, highway safety and transit assistance programs to the Congress on February 13, 1991. This initiative would put in place some of the major principles of our National Transportation Policy. If enacted, this proposal would result in the type of sound transportation system the country needs as we head into the 21st century without imposing any additional federal gas tax burden on the American people.

The President remains committed to the enactment of a sound surface transportation reauthorization bill and looks forward to working with you toward that end. Nonetheless, let there be no misunderstanding, he will veto any legislation that includes a gas tax increase.

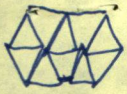
With best regards,

Sincerely,



John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff

The Honorable Bob Michel
Republican Leader
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



Thornburgh Fundraiser Philadelphia

Hotel Atop the Bellvue

no eat

Speak and leave

↳ 5-7 minutes

5:30 - staff photo

6pm - speech

approx. 700 attendees

open press

invocation

National Anthem

Thornburgh

POTUS

City/State: Philadelphia, PA.Event: Fundraiser THOENBURGDate: Sept. 12.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE CONTACT SHEET

Name	Office	Phone Number
Presidential Advance Office		202/456-7565
Presidential Advance Fax Number		202/456-2820
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SUZANNE FAUK	TRIP COORDINATOR	"
BOBBY CARR	PRESS REPRESENTATIVE	"
Jack Ross	Naval Aide	202/395-1747
Lee Vivereke	HMX I	703-640-2364
DOUG ADAIR	W. H. CABINET AFFAIRS	202/456-2800
LEN Buckley	BANQUET MGR (HOTEL)	215/790-2846
CHRIS VAN DER BAANS	MGR. DIR	609-985-7637
Joseph Pedone JR.	MAINT ENG	467-9088
Arleen Weitz	Director/Catering (HOTEL)	215/790-2823
DONZELL WILLIAMS	Director/SECURITY	790-2860
Ruedi BERTSCHINGER	HOTEL MANAGER	790-2825
Bette Crane	Exec Administrative Assistant	790-2827
MARK PHILLIPS	FRONT OFFICE MGR	790-2812
Denise A. REINAS	Director/Audio Visual	215-790-2844
JENNIFER LeVan	CATERING-SALES MGR	215-790-2811
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LYNN LAWSON	WH Political Affairs	202 456 6510
Carol Blymire	WH Speechwriting	(202) 456-7750
MARK BRENNER	WH COMMUNICATIONS AGENCY	(202) 395-4040
STEVEN SMITH	WH COMM. AGENCY	202 757-5547
Tom Williams	Secret Service (PHILA)	215-597-0600

Election Results

1988 general	Denny Smith (R)	111,489	(50%)	(\$559,616)
	Mike Kopetski (D)	110,782	(50%)	(\$351,806)
1988 primary	Denny Smith (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Denny Smith (R)	125,906	(60%)	(\$312,236)
	Barbara Ross (D)	82,290	(40%)	(\$87,129)

PENNSYLVANIA

Fifty years ago Pennsylvania was, as its nickname noted, the Keystone State. It was the nation's major producer of energy at a time when almost all industry was fueled and most homes were heated with coal. It was also the nation's most important heavy manufacturing state, with its huge steel plants and small foundries, and one of its chief transportation hubs: the home of the Pennsylvania Railroad (the nation's largest) and the pathway through which passed most of the freight traveling between the interior of the country and the Atlantic. "Today, the mention of Pennsylvania probably calls up, first of all," wrote the *WPA Guide* 50 years ago, "a picture of an industrial commonwealth, with belching blast furnaces, labor problems, and all the spectacular features of an industrial civilization." The Guide points out that Pennsylvania still had many remote farming regions and quaint Pennsylvania Dutch and Quaker remnants, but it concedes that more typical were regions "where the plow no longer turns the furrow but has been permanently laid aside for the hydraulic drill. Fields no longer tilled have been gutted by quarry mine shaft, and mountains have surrendered their wealth of coal and iron."

This was not the future that seemed likely to the men who voted the Declaration of Independence and drafted the Constitution in 1776 and 1787 in Philadelphia, a city which, with Pennsylvania was one of the newer colonies, founded 50 years after the Puritans established New England and 70 years after the settlement of the first of the Chesapeake tobacco colonies, Virginia. Under the benevolent rule of the Penns and with its Quaker traditions, Pennsylvania became the major settlement in the Middle Colonies: its tolerance attracted Englishmen of Scots and Germans as well. Its vast and available farmlands west to the first Appalachian blue-ridge-like ridges and settling the mountainous interior where Braddock had been beaten by the French and Indians not long before and where George Washington would lead troops again when the Whiskey Rebellion flared up a decade later. On the banks of a wide estuary, with its thriving commerce and rich hinterland, Philadelphia seemed destined to be the London of America, the capital and metropolis and academy all rolled into one.

But history took a few unexpected turns. Philadelphia and Pennsylvania have remained among the most important American cities and states, but they have not occupied the central position the Founding Fathers expected. The nation's capital went to the Potomac, as part of a political deal, rather than to the Delaware. The Appalachian chains stalled the early development of transportation arteries west from Philadelphia, while New Yorkers were building the Erie Canal and the water-level railroad line which became the New York Central. By 1830, Philadelphia was eclipsed by Washington in government and New York in commerce, and Boston in culture.

Pennsylvania in the 19th century became instead the energy and heavy industry capital of America. The key was coal: northeast Pennsylvania was the nation's primary source of

is with nearly 60% and ran just ahead of Dukakis; 707 votes.
 t seem to have a psychological hold on him; back
 he could have chosen to run in the much more
 nose the 5th because he lives in Salem, though he
 ned as a candidate for statewide office, though he
 and won't run against one of the state's two
 uld retire in 1990 or Bob Packwood in 1992

1980-86; Pop. 1980: 526,120, up 41.1% 1970-80
 n, 63% married couples; 32.4% housing units rented
 62,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 375,567; 2% Spanish

121,553	(50%)
116,348	(48%)

b. Jan. 19, 1938, Ontario; home, Salem; Willamette
 ; Baptist; divorced.

Force, 1958-67; Pilot/Flight Engineer, Pan-Am Air
 6; Chmn., family newspaper chain, 1976-present.

3 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5711. Also P.O. Box 1308
 S.E., Ste. 40, Salem 97309, 503-399-5756.

Budget (4th of 14 R). Task Forces: Communit
 and Natural Resources; Defense, Foreign Policy and
 mic Policy, Projections and Revenues. Interior and
 rs (5th of 15 R). Subcommittees: Energy and the
 Water, Power and Offshore Energy Resources
 mber).

CV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CE
25	96	93	100	92	U
—	95	—	—	100	U

1987 LIB — 1987 CONS

0%	—	89%
10%	—	85%
27%	—	73%

Test	FOR	9) SDI Research
th Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weap
Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras
Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing

anthracite, the hard coal used for home heating; western Pennsylvania was the major source of bituminous coal, the soft coal used in producing steel and other industrial products. As a result the area around Pittsburgh, where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers join to become the Ohio, was the center of the nation's steel industry by 1890. Immigrants poured in from Europe and from the surrounding hills to work in the mines and the factories; and Pittsburgh became synonymous with industrial prosperity, the inspiration behind the civic pride that celebrated chuffing smokestacks. In 1900, Pennsylvania was the nation's second largest state and growing rapidly.

The boom ended conclusively with the Depression of the 1930s, and in parts of Pennsylvania good times have never really returned. The coal industry collapsed after World War II, as both home heating and industry switched out of coal; John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers decided to seek higher pay and benefits for fewer workers, and cooperated in sharply cutting the coal work force. Even when coal use rose sharply in the 1970s, the emphasis was on capital-intensive means of extraction, such as strip mines, and there are still far fewer jobs than in the 1940s; the anthracite country now lives on the apparel industry, and has had almost constant outmigration over the past 40 years. Most important, Pennsylvania steel has long since ceased to be a growth industry. American steel companies dispersed their operations, made bad guesses about new technology, and suffered from low-wage competition in a world in which almost every nation thinks it must have the prestige of having its own steel industry. By 1969, the steel manufacturers and the United Steelworkers—after a series of amicable agreements for ever higher wages—persuaded the federal government to limit steel imports. Predictably, that stimulated rather than assuaged demands for protection, which in the late 1980s became fiercer than ever. A century ago the steel producers made Pennsylvania the classic high-tariff state, when they sought protection for what they called infant industries. Now, in the late 20th century, Pennsylvania seems to be seeking protection for industries which have grown senile.

These economic developments left Pennsylvania in sorry shape for a long time. People growing up here were as likely to leave the state as stay, and out-of-staters showed no interest in moving in. Compared to the growth areas of the Sun Belt, with their garden condominiums and shopping malls, the cities and small towns of Pennsylvania give the traveler a sense of being 40 or 50 years back in time; you can see, little changed, the suburb where John Updike lived as a boy and the gritty coal town where John O'Hara grew up. Sometimes the trip is pleasant, as in the spanking clean 1920s downtown of Lancaster, surrounded by early 19th century row houses. Sometimes it is grim, as in the coal towns where houses stand unoccupied and the woods and brush creep up to the edge of neighborhoods built 60 years ago. In 1930, after its last decade of above-national-average economic growth, Pennsylvania had 9.5 million people. In 1986, the number stood at 11.9 million—by far the smallest long-term growth among the nation's biggest states. Pennsylvania, easily the second largest state in 1940, by the late 1980s had been passed long since not only by California and then the new energy capital of Texas, but more recently by Florida. This sluggish growth has had political consequences. As recently as 1950, Pennsylvania had 32 seats in the House of Representatives. Now it has 23, and after the 1990 Census it is expected to have 21.

As the 1980s end, increasingly there seem to be two Pennsylvanias, separated by the same first Appalachian ridge that marked the edge of well-ordered English and German settlement in Franklin's time and the ragged and lawless Scots-Irish settlements in the mountains. Today the same ridge separates the state's population into two equal halves. Southeast of the ridge is Philadelphia and its suburban fringe reaching almost to Reading and Lancaster County, as well as the Pennsylvania Dutch country and the industrial Lehigh Valley. Here in what might be called Cismontane Pennsylvania the economy is shifting away from heavy manufacturing and toward services, an economic gentrification lagging perhaps a decade behind what you see around New York and New England to the north and around Washington and Baltimore to the

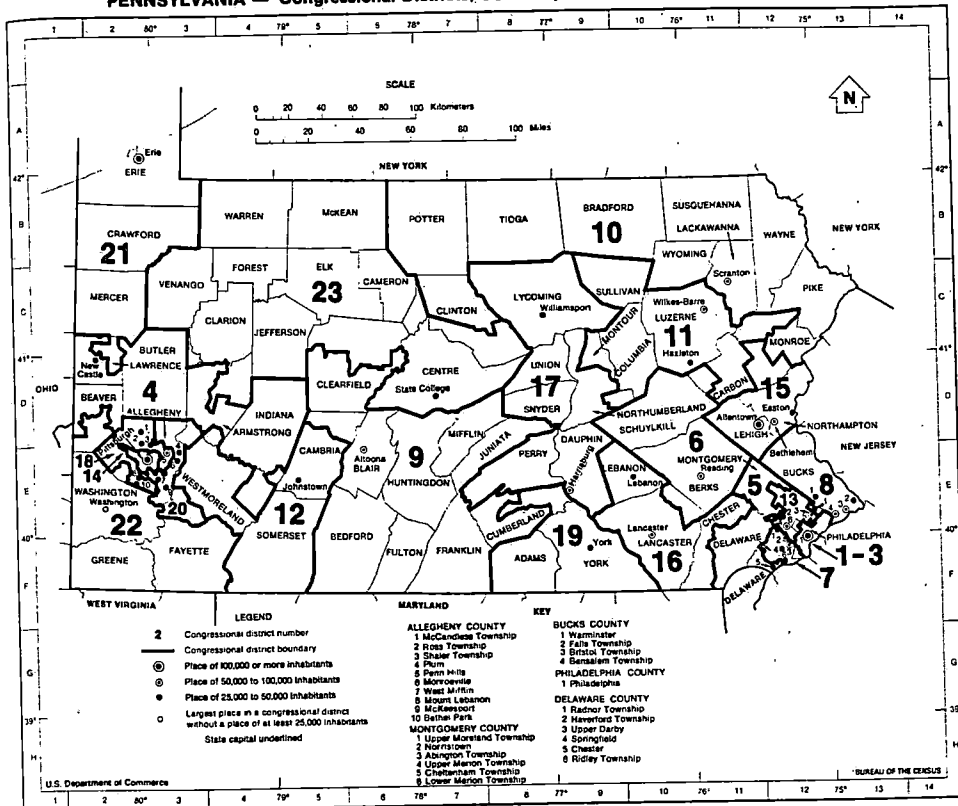
Pennsylvania was the major source of other industrial products. As a result, Monongahela rivers join to become the Ohio. Immigrants poured in from Europe behind the civic pride that celebrated the state's second largest and growing

the 1930s, and in parts of Pennsylvania collapsed after World War II, as both Lewis's United Mine Workers decided cooperated in sharply cutting the coal prices, the emphasis was on capital-intensive jobs far fewer than in the 1940s; the steel industry has had almost constant outmigration since long since ceased to be a growth industry. By 1969, the steel manufacturing agreements for ever higher wages—rights. Predictably, that stimulated rather late 1980s became fiercer than ever. A classic high-tariff state, when they tries. Now, in the late 20th century, tries which have grown senile.

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two Pennsylvanias, separated by the same ordered English and German settlement in the settlements in the mountains. Today the two equal halves. Southeast of the ridge is the Reading and Lancaster County, as well as the Lehigh Valley. Here in what might be called the Lehigh Valley. Here in what might be called the Lehigh Valley.

PENNSYLVANIA — Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Places — (23 Districts)



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

south. In the land beyond that first ridge, which might be called Transmontane Pennsylvania, the economy has always been more dependent on coal and steel, and the pains of contraction are still apparent. Population continues to decline, wage levels are depressed, traditional cultural patterns remain unchallenged in places where there is not enough work for men, much less women. Yet there are signs of a turnaround here. Pittsburgh, the center of Transmontane Pennsylvania, seems to be expanding its high-tech, white-collar economy even as the steel furnaces go cold.

Traditionally Pennsylvania was heavily Republican, the most Republican of all the big states. It was for Lincoln and the Union, for the steel industry and the high tariff; its malodorous Republican machines built parties which were not, like Tammany or the New York Republicans, just the representatives of one ethnic segment but rather an organization with a place for just about everybody. In 1932, Pennsylvania was the only big state that stuck with Herbert Hoover and voted against Franklin Roosevelt: But the New Deal changed the politics of Pennsylvania more than any other state. The immediate reactions to Roosevelt's New Deal, the thundering endorsement of Roosevelt by the United Mine Workers' John L. Lewis in 1936, the founding by Lewis of the CIO industrial union movement and the success of the United Steelworkers, after a series of bloody strikes, in organizing the big steel companies—all these occurrences made most of the industrial parts of Pennsylvania almost as Democratic in the

1930s and after as they had been Republican in the 1920s going back to the Civil War. Yet at the same time the parts of the state not heavy with big steel factories and coal mines—the northern tier of counties along the border with Upstate New York and the central part of the state, the Welsh railroad workers in Altoona and the Pennsylvania Dutch farmers around Lancaster—remained the strongest Republican voting bloc in the East. Philadelphia became a mostly Democratic city, but in the suburban counties the antique Republican machines, anchored in old courthouse and railroad station towns, stayed in control. On balance Pennsylvania was a marginal state, slightly more Republican than the nation up through 1948, slightly more Democratic from 1952 on.

Now Pennsylvania seems to be changing again. Cismontane Pennsylvania, with its slowly gentrifying economy and lacking the culturally liberal elite you find in New England, seems to be trending Republican. This was the more Democratic half of the state in the early 1960s, when there was a strong Philadelphia Democratic machine and a Catholic Democratic President; now the machine is in tatters, Philadelphia casts a smaller proportion of the vote, and the suburban counties which were closely contested in the 1960 and 1968 presidential races went heavily Republican in 1980 and 1984. Ronald Reagan carried the Cismontane region by 10% and 11%; George Bush won it 53%–46%—the national average.

Transmontane Pennsylvania, on the other hand, is trending Democratic. In the 1960s and 1970s it grew lukewarm about the party of the New Deal when cultural issues came to the fore. But by the early 1980s the collapse of the steel industry completely overshadowed cultural issues. Transmontane Pennsylvania rejected Jimmy Carter in 1980, 49%–45%, but in 1984 it moved hardly at all to Ronald Reagan, and he carried it over Walter Mondale by only 51%–48%. Mondale won metro Pittsburgh with 55%—it was the one major metro area where Reagan's percentage declined between 1980 and 1984. In 1988 Michael Dukakis carried Transmontane Pennsylvania 51%–48%, running as well as John Kennedy and Jimmy Carter had when they carried the state. The difference was that Dukakis lost the prosperous Cismontane side—now, as it grows, a little more than half of the state.

Governor. Pennsylvania's governor, Robert Casey, is a Democrat from Scranton who finally won the governorship on his fourth try; he lost Democratic primaries in 1966, 1970 and 1978. He ran with a 76-page blueprint for developing the state's economy, but his campaigns relied heavily on precisely targeted negative ads in the hardball accents of Transmontane Pennsylvania. He lanced primary opponent Edward Rendell, the Philadelphia D.A., for accumulating 96 parking tickets. He attacked Republican William Scranton, son of the governor elected in 1962, for neglecting meetings of boards he belonged to as lieutenant governor: "They gave him the job because of his father's name. The least he could do is show up to work." In late October Scranton pulled his negative ads, but Casey declined to do so, running the last week an ad featuring sitar music, a picture of the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, and a picture of Scranton 15 years ago with long hair and a beard. Scranton, who admitted using marijuana recreationally as "my generation" did, was cast as the candidate of cultural liberalism, while in the older Casey the Democrats had for once a convincing representative of traditional values. Scranton got 54% of the vote in Cismontane Pennsylvania. But Casey got 56% in Transmontane Pennsylvania, enough for a 51%–48% victory.

As governor, Casey is scrapping the approach used by his Republican predecessor and now U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh, who relied on stimulating small business and financing their technical innovations, and is setting up a partnership of government, business and labor, concentrating on the big companies whose numbers of jobs have been declining sharply for more than a decade. He is also stressing cleaning up the environment, but has disappointed some of his backers by not increasing welfare programs much after eight years of sharp contraction under Thornburgh. Under pressure from the Republicans, he backed a tax cut in 1987 but not in 1988; in early 1989, neither side was calling for one.

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Casey looks to be a strong candidate for reelection in 1990, but not one assured of victory. He had heart bypass surgery in September 1987, but his health afterwards seemed good. Thornburgh has been mentioned as a possible opponent, but he's unlikely to leave his position as Attorney General to make the race. A flock of other people have been suggested: 21st District Congressman Thomas Ridge, Pennsylvania GOP chair and state Senator Earl Baker, Senate president Robert Jubelirer and state Senator D. Michael Fisher, and Delaware County lawyer and former Reagan White House aide Faith Whittlesey. Demography, it should be added, mildly favors the Republicans. In minor statewide contests in 1988, their attorney general candidate, Ernie Preate, beat former Iowa Congressman and Pennsylvania party chairman Edward Mezvinsky 51%–48%, and Republican Barbara Hafer beat incumbent Auditor General Don Bailey, another former congressman, 49%–48%.

Senators. Both of Pennsylvania's Senators are Republicans, both with unusual backgrounds: one is the scion of one of Pittsburgh's great industrial empires, the other a former Democrat scarred in the political battles of Philadelphia. In this state, which has few residents who grew up elsewhere, one of these Senators lived as a boy in San Francisco and the other grew up in Kansas. Both have shown the political skill that has enabled Republicans to monopolize U.S. Senate seats in this Democratic state; Democrats have not won one since Joseph Clark squeaked through to a second term in 1962.

John Heinz, now past 50, is Pennsylvania's longest surviving top officeholder. Heir to the H. J. Heinz food fortune, he is one of the two richest members of the Senate, with wealth of the same magnitude as Jay Rockefeller. (The Rockefeller family fortune is bigger, but he has many cousins; Heinz is the only child of an only child.) He was elected to the House in a special election from the Pittsburgh suburbs in 1971 and became very popular in western Pennsylvania. His 1976 Senate race against William Green, then congressman and later mayor of Philadelphia, was a kind of Pirates versus Phillies contest, between two young politicians very popular in the two major parts of the state. The difference was money: Heinz spent \$2.9 million of his own money, and won. Now he seems to hold one of the few safe seats that either party can count on in a major state.

For that, credit must go not only to his money, which does tend to intimidate opponents, but also to his political skill. Even when he was in the House, Heinz had already identified trade as an issue that resonated in western Pennsylvania, and he has been one of Congress's most assiduous practitioners of what he might call a retaliatory (and others would call a protectionist) trade policy ever since. On the Senate Finance Committee, he has pushed for aggressive enforcement of antidumping laws and has worked to deny administrations discretion in granting relief from injury due to imports; he is almost always ready with a "Buy America" provision for government procurement contracts. He was not a major player on the tax bill early on, but supported Finance Chairman Bob Packwood's stringent low-rate, preference-cutting approach at a critical point in late spring 1986, and apparently in return was able to get provisions helping the steel companies, notably a carryback procedure that let money-losing and even bankrupt companies get refunds on taxes they paid on profits as long as 15 years ago. Now, while many politicians talking about trade focus on East Asia, Heinz is looking at Europe: he wants to make sure that the 1992 Common Market initiative will not shut American manufacturers out of European markets.

Heinz has a couple of other important committee niches. He is ranking Republican and formerly was chairman of the Special Committee on Aging; he used that platform to help put together the 1983 social security rescue bill and to prevent medicare cost-cutting reforms from hurting the quality of medical care for the elderly; he pushed for eliminating mandatory retirement ages. None of this hurts in Pennsylvania, which has one of the oldest populations of the states and hundreds of thousands of voters heavily dependent on social security and medicare. On the environment, he has teamed with Tim Wirth of Colorado (a prep-school

...ommate) to sponsor Project 88, in which a Kennedy School expert recommended market-based strategies in tandem with command-control regulations to handle environmental problems.

For all this there is something disappointing in his career. He is not a popular member of the Senate and is never mentioned in speculation for national office. In the Senate he seems to be intense and aloof; he got less credit for his work as National Republican Senatorial Committee chairman in the 1979-80 cycle and more blame for his work as chairman in the 1985-86 cycle than he deserved; in fact he helped produce the Republican Senate in 1980 and nearly saved the weak political instincts of many of the incumbents who were up for reelection in 1986. But in 1980, he lost the chairmanship of the Senate Republican Conference to Jan McClure of Idaho, and in 1984, he won the campaign chairmanship by only one vote over Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming.

As for national ambitions, it would have been unnatural if this rich, handsome, well-connected young man did not think about being President at the start of his career. But in 1971, when he first won office, it was widely assumed that a Republican could be elected President only by supporting a bigger welfare state and currying credit with organized labor; Barry Goldwater had only recently lost overwhelmingly, Richard Nixon had just barely beaten Hubert Humphrey, and political insiders scoffed at Kevin Phillips's *The Emerging Republican Majority*. Heinz followed the traditional liberal Republican strategy and adapted it, as on the trade issue, where he beat Bill Green for Senator in the Democratic year of 1976 in Pennsylvania, and was easily reelected over underfinanced opposition in 1982 and 1988. Heinz avoided spending his own money in those races, but it nevertheless deters competition, as does his genuine popularity in the Pittsburgh metropolitan area which is otherwise the Democratic bulwark of the state. But it is apparent that a candidate with Heinz's voting record could not have been nominated Vice President, much less President, by any of the last four Republican national conventions. In early 1989, it was bruited about that he was considering running for governor, (though Heinz later seemed to quash this speculation) presumably to somehow make himself a national candidate. But that motive seldom enchants voters, Heinz has had little involvement in state government, Governor Robert Casey led him in early polls, and even if he should win, the national press spends very little time in Harrisburg.

Pennsylvania's other Senator is Arlen Specter. A one-time Democrat and a top staffer for the Warren Commission, Specter was a kind of boy wonder when, as a Republican, he was elected district attorney in Philadelphia in 1965. He won again in 1969, but didn't win another election for 11 years. He lost reelection in an increasingly Democratic city in 1973, lost the 1976 Senate primary to Heinz and lost the 1978 gubernatorial nomination to Richard Thornburgh. Finally, he beat former Republican state chairman Bud Haabestad 36%-33% in the 1980 Senate primary and then beat former Pittsburgh Mayor Peter Flaherty, who refused to spend much money, 50%-48% in the general. Not an awe-inspiring record. Yet in 1986, when the Democrats were recapturing the Senate, Specter won reelection in Pennsylvania by a 56%-43% margin.

His secrets are brains and hard work—and not much else. Specter is respected by other Senators (perhaps because he is a Kansas native, he gets on well with Bob Dole), but not well-liked; he is seen as calculating and self-serving. "They can't say I'm dumb or crooked," he once said, "so what do they say? That I'm calculating or ambitious? I have always thought those were good qualities, to think about what you want to do and to seek achievement." He managed not to dissent heavily from Reagan economic policies early in his first term, but has compiled a record that seems to reflect the views of a state that sees itself in need of federal help. He has taken his prosecutorial background to the Judiciary Committee, where he sponsored the 1984 law to give career criminals 15-year-to-life sentences; but he also cast critical votes against Robert Bork and William Bradford Reynolds. He will continue to be a crucial vote on Judiciary. He supported an inspector general entirely independent of the CIA director, but he also voted to uphold the

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administration view of the ABM treaty ratification process—both losing causes. He flip-flops on
issues like South Africa sanctions. Active, energetic, sometimes frenetic, Specter leaves no
locally crucial issue unmined for publicity or votes.

While Washington rests, however, Specter criss-crosses Pennsylvania, from Philadelphia
(where his wife Joan is a city councilwoman) to Pittsburgh and in little planes touching down on
small airstrips sandwiched in between two mountain ridges. Specter also worked hard, with help
from his onetime opponent Heinz, to raise a large campaign treasury. These proved to be
unbeatable assets in 1986. The Democrats had a riproaring primary between two candidates
who represented, in exaggerated form, their party's activists in the two major regions of the
state. Auditor general and former Representative Don Bailey, a Vietnam veteran from a county
outside Pittsburgh, was pugnacious, traditional on cultural issues like abortion, still bitter
against opponents of the Vietnam war; but he relied on support from Democratic organizations
that were paper tigers and raised relatively little money. Representative Bob Edgar, a Methodist
minister from suburban Philadelphia was a longtime opponent of the war, a congressional critic
of pork barrel politics, an unbending liberal with enough political savvy to put together a large
volunteer organization, win the endorsement of the state AFL-CIO, and raise far more money
than Bailey (though far less than Specter). Edgar won 47%-45% in a fascinating regional battle:
he rolled up a 68%-25% edge in Cismontane Pennsylvania, while losing to Bailey 58%-33% in
Transmontane Pennsylvania.

But Edgar, who had won six House elections by narrow margins, did not pull off another
miracle in the general election. He tried to argue that Specter was not for social security or
unemployment benefits and was overly political, with ads showing a bust of Specter crumbling
as his contradictory votes are ticked off: "Arlen Specter is just not what he is cracked up to be."
Edgar attracted enthusiastic activists from Citizens Action and other groups determined to show
that a leftish candidate can win in an industrial state. This is one race where money made a
difference: if Edgar had had as much as Specter, he might have made the race closer and could
conceivably have won. Yet the results must be disappointing for those who think the American
working class is ready to vote for a principled backer of bigger government and liberal cultural
values. Edgar ran no better than even in the Pittsburgh metro area and won only 44% of the vote
in Transmontane Pennsylvania—12% behind Bob Casey. He ran close to even in his old
congressional district, but otherwise in Cismontane Pennsylvania took only about one-third of
the vote except among Philadelphia blacks. Specter's ultra-adaptable politics and frenetic
activity seem to be more what the voters want.

Presidential politics. One of these days Pennsylvania may vote Democratic for President
again, as it did in 1960, 1968 and 1976; it came the closest of the biggest eight states to doing so
in 1984 and was second to New York, the only one which voted for Dukakis, in 1988. But there is
a problem for the Democrats here. They like to campaign as the party of change. But their
support comes from Transmontane Pennsylvania from people who want to keep things as they
are—or, rather, restore them as they think they used to be. If the state as a whole does succeed in
turning its economy around, as most of Cismontane Pennsylvania has, then credit will go to any
party associated with that effort; but it will not necessarily rub off on national Democrats who
argue that they can move things back to what they used to be.

Pennsylvania's presidential primary, scheduled for years in late April, has not been crucial
since the 1976 Democratic race, when Jimmy Carter cinched the Democratic nomination by
beating Henry Jackson and Morris Udall here. In 1984, Transmontane Pennsylvania backed the
candidate of big government, Walter Mondale, while Gary Hart carried Cismontane Pennsylva-
nia. In 1988, Michael Dukakis carried everything but Philadelphia where black votes gave a
narrow edge to Jesse Jackson. The Democratic primary remains heavily blue-collar, with few
voters in the Philadelphia suburbs where registration remains, anachronistically, overwhelm-
ingly Republican; the Republican primary is fairly representative of the state, except for the big

cities and some industrial areas.

Congressional districting. Pennsylvania lost three congressional districts in the 1950 Census, two in 1960, two more in 1970 and two in 1980, reducing its delegation from 32 to 23; it is expected to lose two more in 1990. With the legislature divided between the parties, and the Democrats controlling the House for several years now by the narrowest of margins, it is quite possible that redistricting will be a compromise, dictated as much by the demographics of population loss as anything else. Pennsylvania's House delegation, not to put too fine a point on it, has long been considered a collection of political hacks, with not much talent for self advancement. But John Murtha, an youngish old-time politician who likes to operate out of the limelight, helped put together the big cities and Black Caucus coalition that elected Philadelphia's William Gray chairman of the House Budget Committee in 1984, and Gray followed that up by being elected Democratic caucus chairman in 1988 and majority whip in 1989. Since Pennsylvania has emerged as one of the power blocs among House Democrats.

The People: Est. Pop. 1988: 12,027,000; Pop. 1980: 11,863,895, up 1.4% 1980-88 and 0.5% 1970-88. 5.93% of U.S. total, 4th largest. 11% with 1-3 yrs. col., 14% with 4+ yrs. col.; 10.5% below poverty level. Single ancestry: 15% German, 6% English, Italian, 5% Irish, 3% Polish, 1% Russian, Dutch, Hungarian, Ukrainian. Households (1980): 74% family, 38% with children, 61% married couples; 30.1% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$174; median house value: \$39,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 8,740,599; 8% Black, 1% Spanish origin. Registered voters (1988): 5,875,943; 3,069,234 D (52%), 2,518,282 R (43%), 288,427 unaffiliated and minor parties (5%).

1988 Share of Federal Tax Burden: \$42,896,000,000; 4.85% of U.S. total, 6th largest.
1988 Share of Federal Expenditures

	Total		Non-Defense		Defense	
Total Expend	\$39,569m	(4.48%)	\$33,719m	(5.14%)	\$7,038m	(3.08%)
St/Lcl Grants	5,793m	(5.05%)	5,791m	(5.06%)	2m	(1.85%)
Salary/Wages	4,752m	(3.54%)	2,666m	(3.98%)	2,085m	(3.98%)
Pymnts to Indiv	23,469m	(5.73%)	23,055m	(5.90%)	415m	(2.27%)
Procurement	4,526m	(2.40%)	1,188m	(2.55%)	4,526m	(2.40%)
Research/Other	1,029m	(2.75%)	1,019m	(2.75%)	9m	(2.75%)

Political Lineup: Governor, Robert P. Casey (D); Lt. Gov., Mark Singel (D); Secy. of Commonwealth, James Haggerty (D); Atty. Gen., Ernest Preate, Jr. (R); Treasurer, Catherine Baker Knoll (D). State Senate, 50 (27 R and 23 D); State House of Representatives, 203 (104 D and 99 R). Senators, H. J. Heinz, III (R) and Arlen Specter (R). Representatives, 23 (12 D and 11 R).

1988 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	2,300,087	(51%)
Dukakis (D)	2,194,944	(48%)

1988 Democratic Presidential Primary

Dukakis	1,002,480	(67%)
Jackson	411,260	(27%)
Gore	44,542	(3%)
Hart	20,473	(1%)
Simon	9,692	(1%)
Gephardt	7,254	(1%)

1984 Presidential Vote

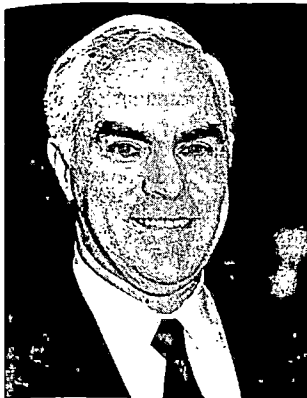
Reagan (R)	2,584,323	(51%)
Mondale (D)	2,228,131	(43%)

1988 Republican Presidential Primary

Bush	687,323
Dole	103,763
Robertson	79,463

GOVERNOR

Gov. Robert P. Casey (D)



Elected 1986, term expires Jan. 1991; b. Jan. 9, 1932, Jackson Heights, NY; home, Scranton; Holy Cross Col., A.B. 1953; Geo. Wash. U., J.D. 1956; Roman Catholic; married (Ellen).

Career: Practicing atty., 1956-86; PA Senate, 1963-67; PA Auditor Gen., 1969-77.

Office: 225 Main Capitol Bldg., Harrisburg 17120, 717-787-2500.

Election Results

1986 gen.	Robert Casey (D)	1,717,484	(51%)
	William W. Scranton (R)	1,638,268	(48%)
1986 prim.	Robert Casey (D)	549,376	(51%)
	Edward G. Rendell (D)	385,539	(40%)
	Steve Douglas (D)	38,295	(4%)
1982 gen.	Richard L. Thornburgh (R)	1,872,784	(51%)
	Allen E. Ertel (D)	1,772,353	(48%)

SENATORS

Sen. H. John Heinz III (R)



Elected 1976, seat up 1994; b. Oct. 23, 1938, Pittsburgh; home, Pittsburgh; Yale U., B.A. 1960, Harvard U., M.B.A. 1963; Episcopalian; married (Teresa).

Career: Special Asst. to U.S. Sen. Hugh Scott, 1964; Fin. and Mktg. Div., H. J. Heinz Co., 1965-70; U.S. House of Reps., 1971-76.

Offices: 277 RSOB 20510, 202-224-6324. Also 6th and Arch Sts., Philadelphia 19106, 215-925-8750; 2031 Fed. Bldg., Pittsburgh 15222, 412-562-0533; P.O. Box 55, Harrisburg 17108, 717-233-5849; 130 Fed. Sq. Bldg., Erie 16501, 814-454-7114; and Scranton Electric Bldg., 507 Linden St., Scranton 18503, 717-347-2341.

Committees: *Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs* (2d of 9 R). Subcommittees: International Finance and Monetary Policy; Securities (Ranking Member). *Finance* (6th of 9 R). Subcommittees: International Trade; Medicare and Long-Term Care; Private Retirement and Oversight of IRS (Ranking Member). *Governmental Affairs* (5th of 6 R). Subcommittees: General Services, Federalism, and the District of Columbia (Ranking Member); Government Information and Regulation; Oversight of Government Management. *Special Committee on Aging* (Ranking Member of 9 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	55	60	66	75	50	41	26	60	46	18
1987	70	—	65	67	—	35	—	—	50	28

Congressional districts in the 1950 Census, reducing its delegation from 32 to 23; it is now divided between the parties, and the narrow margins, it is quite stated as much by the demographics of the delegation, not to put too fine a point on the cracks, with not much talent for self-politician who likes to operate out of the Democratic Caucus coalition that elected Philadelphia in 1984, and Gray followed that in 1988 and majority whip in 1989. So among House Democrats.

3,895, up 1.4% 1980-88 and 0.5% 1970-80; with 4+ yrs. col.; 10.5% below poverty level. 3% Polish, 1% Russian, Dutch, Hungarian, 61% married couples; 30.1% housing value: \$39,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 5,875,943; 3,069,234 D (58%), (5%).

5% of U.S. total, 6th largest.

Non-Defense	Defense
3m (5.14%)	\$7,038m (3.08%)
1m (5.06%)	2m (1.85%)
5m (3.98%)	2,085m (3.98%)
5m (5.90%)	415m (2.22%)
3m (2.55%)	4,526m (2.40%)
2m (2.75%)	9m (2.75%)

Mark Singel (D); Secy. of Commonwealth, Treasurer, Catherine Baker Knoll (D). State, 203 (104 D and 99 R). Senators, H. John (12 D and 11 R).

Residential Vote

(R)	2,584,323	(53%)
(D)	2,228,131	(46%)

Republican Presidential Primary

.	687,323	(79%)
.	103,763	(12%)
ion	79,463	(9%)

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	47%	— 48%	55%	— 43%
Social	59%	— 40%	49%	— 50%
Foreign	42%	— 57%	61%	— 36%

Key Votes

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

Election Results

1988 general	H. John Heinz III (R)	2,901,715	(67%)	(\$5,151,512)
	Joe Vignola (D)	1,416,764	(32%)	(\$544,137)
1988 primary	H. John Heinz III (R), unopposed			
1982 general	H. John Heinz III (R)	2,136,418	(59%)	(\$2,952,829)
	Cyril H. Wecht (D)	1,412,965	(39%)	(\$424,507)

Sen. Arlen Specter (R)



Elected 1980, seat up 1992; b. Feb. 12, 1930, Wichita, KS; home, Philadelphia; U. of PA, B.A. 1951, Yale U., LL.B. 1956; Jewish; married (Joan).

Career: Air Force, 1951-53; Practicing atty.; Asst. Cnsl., Warren Comm., 1964; PA Asst. Atty. Gen., 1964-65; Philadelphia Dist. Atty., 1966-74.

Offices: 331 HSOB, 202-224-4254. Also Fed. Bldg., 600 Arch Street, Ste. 9400, Philadelphia 19106, 215-597-7200; 2017 Fed. Bldg., Pittsburgh 15222, 412-644-3400; 118 Fed. Bldg., Erie 16501, 814-453-3010; Fed. Bldg., 228 Walnut St., Rm. 1159, Harrisburg 17101, 717-782-3951; P.O. Bldg., 5th and Hamilton Sts., Rm. 201, Allentown 18101, 215-434-1444; Park Plaza, 225 N. Washington Ave., Ste. 501, Scranton 18503, 717-346-2006; and 116 S. Main St., Main Towers, Wilkes-Barre 18701, 717-826-6265.

Committees: *Appropriations* (9th of 13 R). Subcommittees: Agriculture, Rural Development and Related Agencies; Defense; Energy and Water Development; Foreign Operations; Labor-Health and Human Services-Education (Ranking Member). *Judiciary* (5th of 6 R). Subcommittees: Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights; Constitution (Ranking Member). *Veterans Affairs* (4th of 5 R). *Select Committee on Intelligence* (4th of 7 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	60	67	70	58	30	33	30	30	62	19
1987	80	—	69	83	—	15	—	—	47	27

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	60%	— 39%	55%	— 43%
Social	66%	— 33%	61%	— 36%
Foreign	36%	— 61%	65%	— 32%

1987 LIB — 1987 CONS

55% — 43%
49% — 50%
61% — 36%

Key Votes

Cut Aged Housing \$	AGN	5) Bork Nomination	AGN	9) SDI Funding	AGN
Override Hwy Veto	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
Kill Pint Clsng Notice	AGN	7) Deny Abortions	AGN	11) Aid To Contras	AGN
Min Wage Increase	FOR	8) Japanese Reparations	FOR	12) Reagan Defense S	FOR

Election Results

General	Arlen Specter (R)	1,906,537	(56%)	(\$5,993,230)
	Robert W. Edgar (D)	1,448,219	(43%)	(\$3,968,994)
Primary	Arlen Specter (R)	434,623	(76%)	
	Richard A. Stokes (R)	135,673	(24%)	
General	Arlen Specter (R)	2,230,404	(50%)	(\$1,488,588)
	Peter Flaherty (D)	2,122,391	(48%)	(\$633,861)

on	FOR	9) SDI Funding	AGN
n	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
s	FOR	11) Aid To Contras	FOR
rations	FOR	12) Reagan Defense \$	AGN
.....	2,901,715	(67%)	(\$5,151,512)
.....	1,416,764	(32%)	(\$544,137)
.....	2,136,418	(59%)	(\$2,952,829)
.....	1,412,965	(39%)	(\$424,507)

FIRST DISTRICT

William Penn, 37 feet high, stands atop the 548-foot tower of City Hall at Market and Broad, surveying Philadelphia, the city he founded—and looking up at the new One Liberty Place tower, with its “romantic modernist” spire, the first building to break the tradition that no building here should be taller than City Hall. The first American colonies were settled by practical men, out to make money or replicate a farm settlement back home; Penn was a Quaker, a member of one of those rationalizing sects of the 17th century, who intended to impose a greater regularity on his new environment, and did. Hence Philadelphia was designed not with a cowpath street pattern like Boston or Charleston, but with a grid of numbered and named streets, with occasional open squares, which was replicated in dozens of American cities for more than 200 years afterwards.

Penn would never, as the writers of the *WPA Guide* 50 years ago put it, recognize “in what today is a sprawling industrial giant” what had been “his ‘greene countrie towne’.” But Philadelphia, unlike New York or Chicago, has grown slowly and deliberately enough that there are places on which William Penn looks down today in which you can see the distant past: in the restored townhouses of Society Hill and the tree-shaded public buildings around Independence Hall, and, on the way to the ornate City Hall, the Federal and Greek Revival buildings, little temples of commerce, built when Philadelphia was the nation’s largest city, and left standing as bigger buildings—1920s masonry-faced skyscrapers and 1970s glass-and-steel towers—were built around City Hall and in Center City farther west.

Most of Penn’s original city and most of Philadelphia’s Delaware River waterfront, plus a wide swath of territory to the north and south, form the 1st Congressional District of Pennsylvania. It includes all of South Philadelphia, where Italian families, groceries and restaurants have been pressed tightly into narrow streets with English and Indian names under a tangle of overhead wires, as well as the neighborhood around the University of Pennsylvania. North of Center City, it mostly stays east of Broad Street, taking in some black wards but, as you get closer to the river, you suddenly find that the closely packed 19th century houses are inhabited not by blacks but whites. Here is the old Kensington neighborhood, a place along the Delaware River where people of Irish and Italian descent live in rude frame houses, and income levels are lower than in most black neighborhoods. As you walk around this neighborhood, you could easily imagine yourself (if you could blot out the cars) back in the 1930s. Overall, the 1st is about one-third black; blacks are just one more minority in the ethnic mix here.

The 1st District is a heavily Democratic district in national elections, although South Philly and Kensington voted for George Bush. The Democratic congressman from the 1st, Thomas Foglietta, is an Italian-American who represented South Philadelphia on the City Council for 20

ip 1992; b. Feb. 12, 1930, Wichita, KS; home, PA, B.A. 1951, Yale U., LL.B. 1956; Jewish; 1951–53; Practicing atty.; Asst. Cnsl., Warren Asst. Atty. Gen., 1964–65; Philadelphia Dist. 3, 202-224-4254. Also Fed. Bldg., 600 Arch Philadelphia 19106, 215-597-7200; 2017 Fed. Bldg., 22, 412-644-3400; 118 Fed. Bldg., Erie 16501, 31d, 228 Walnut St., Rm. 1159, Harrisburg; P.O. Bldg., 5th and Hamilton Sts., Rm. 201, 5-434-1444; Park Plaza, 225 N. Washington 18503, 717-346-2006; and 116 S. Main Wilkes-Barre 18701, 717-826-6265.

ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
33	30	30	62	19
15	—	—	47	27

1987 LIB — 1987 CONS

55% — 43%
61% — 36%
65% — 32%

years as a Republican; but he now has one of the more liberal records in a Democratic Congress. He is a man with deep roots in his district but who concentrates heavily on national issues. He first won the seat in 1980 as an Independent, running against convicted Abscam defendant Ozzie Myers (one of former Mayor Frank Rizzo's gifts to Congress), 38%-34%; he held it in 1982 against another incumbent, Joseph Smith, when they were thrown together by redistricting, by 52%-48%. In 1982 and 1984 he was challenged in the Democratic primary by South Philadelphia politico James Tayoun, who criticized Foglietta for not coming back to the district every night and listening to constituents' problems as longtime congressman (1945-47, 1949-76) William Barrett did; Tayoun held Foglietta to 52%-45% and 62%-38%, respectively.

These close victories don't seem to phase Foglietta. His record on issues remains staunchly liberal with a few exceptions such as his opposition to abortion. He is a member of the Armed Services Committee and a staunch supporter of chairman Les Aspin; and the committee does help him to channel business to the Philadelphia Navy Yard, which he successfully fought to protect from closure. He is concerned about commercial jobs on the waterfront too: with Senator John Heinz he sprung into action in early 1989 as the Chilean grape scare threatened the Chilean fruit trade which gives the Philly docks most of their work in the winter.

Having increased his margin in 1986, Foglietta had no serious opposition in 1988. But that's no guarantee he won't in 1990: Philadelphia politics continues to be as spicy as the peppers on a cheese steak or the mustard on a hot pretzel. Redistricting could conceivably threaten Foglietta. Philadelphia will have almost enough population to sustain the three districts it has now, but William Gray might want some of the black wards now in the 1st District in his 2d District instead, and there is an outside chance that the 1st could be chosen as the eastern Pennsylvania district to be sliced up among its neighbors.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 495,400, dn. 3.8% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 515,145, dn. 16.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 65% family, 35% with children, 40% married couples; 43.4% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$148; median house value: \$26,000. Voting age pop. (1980): 374,046; 29% Black, 7% Spanish origin, 2% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:

Dukakis (D).....	121,095	(66%)
Bush (R).....	60,033	(33%)

Rep. Thomas M. Foglietta (D)



Elected 1980; b. Dec. 3, 1928, Philadelphia; home, Philadelphia; St. Joseph's Col., B.A. 1949, Temple U., J.D. 1952; Roman Catholic; single.

Career: Practicing atty., 1952-80; Philadelphia City Cncl., 1955-75; Reg. Dir., U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1976.

Offices: 231 CHOB 20515, 202-225-4731. Also Wm. J. Green Fed. Bldg., 600 Arch St., Rm. 10402, Philadelphia 19106, 215-925-6840; 1806 S. Broad St. 19125, 215-463-8702; and 2630 Memphis St., Philadelphia 19125, 215-426-4616.

Committees: *Armed Services* (12th of 31 D). Subcommittees: Military Installations and Facilities; Research and Development; Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials. *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (7th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Merchant Marine; Oversight and Investigations (Chairman). *Select Committee on Hunger* (13th of 19 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	90	82	96	73	69	4	3	0	42	11
1987	84	—	96	57	—	0	—	—	8	5

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	71% — 29%	73% — 0%
Social	81% — 18%	68% — 32%
Foreign	79% — 16%	74% — 26%

Key Votes

Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	—	9) SDI Research	AGN
Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	—
Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Thomas M. Foglietta (D)	128,076	(76%)	(\$234,957)
	William J. O'Brien (R)	39,749	(24%)	(\$1,643)
1988 primary	Thomas M. Foglietta (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Thomas M. Foglietta (D)	88,224	(75%)	(\$399,872)
	Anthony J. Mucciolo (R)	29,811	(25%)	(\$1,991)

SECOND DISTRICT

From Center City up the oaring-club-lined Schuylkill, up Fairmount Park and Wissahickon Creek, runs the 2d Congressional District of Pennsylvania, through some of the most pleasant and some of the most dangerous neighborhoods of Philadelphia. It contains most of the Center City high-rises and office centers on City Line Avenue, where the Main Line suburbs begin, but has few factories and is primarily residential. The 2d District includes North Philadelphia and West Philadelphia, where the MOVE rowhouse was firebombed by the city in May 1985; it also includes the 18th century stone houses and 19th century rowhouses of Germantown farther out from Center City, and beyond that are the post-war Jewish subdivisions just below the city line. All these are black neighborhoods now, and more than 80% of the 2d District's residents are black: this is Philadelphia's black district.

Pennsylvania never had slavery—part of William Penn's Quaker legacy—and Philadelphia has a long-established black community, going back well before the Civil War. For years it was Republican, and many blacks have voted Republican recently, against Mayor Frank Rizzo in 1971 and 1975, for example, for District Attorney and Senator Arlen Specter in 1965, 1969 and 1980, and for Governor Richard Thornburgh in 1978. Blacks are still not quite a majority of the city's electorate, but their solid support made possible the election of a black mayor, Wilson Goode, in 1983 and his reelection in 1987 despite the MOVE bombing. Goode, like many mayors and governors of different backgrounds, campaigned on the theme of local pride, and Philadelphia—long an object of derision in sophisticated precincts of New York and Washington—was justifiably proud of its new buildings, its commercial, rather than industrial driven prosperity. But Wilson Goode is barred from seeking a third term in 1991; the most powerful black politician in Philadelphia, and probably in Washington, is the 2d District's congressman, William Gray.

Gray has been in Congress just over 10 years, and is now the third highest ranking Democrat, getting the posts on his own initiative and his own terms. He has a solid base back home in

eral records in a Democratic Congress. He concentrates heavily on national issues. He is against convicted Abscam defendant (sent to Congress), 38%-34%; he held it in they were thrown together by redistricting in the Democratic primary by Southetta for not coming back to the district as longtime congressman (1945-47, 1949-45% and 62%-38%, respectively. His record on issues remains staunchly. He is a member of the Armed Forces in Les Aspin; and the committee does Yard, which he successfully fought to observe on the waterfront too: with Senator Chilean grape scare threatened their work in the winter. serious opposition in 1988. But that's news to be as spicy as the peppers on a could conceivably threaten Foglietta. gain the three districts it has now, but in the 1st District in his 2d District be chosen as the eastern Pennsylvania

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928, Philadelphia; home, Philadelphia; 1949, Temple U., J.D. 1952; Roman

952-80; Philadelphia City Cncl., 1955- f Labor, 1976.

5, 202-225-4731. Also Wm. J. Green m. 10402, Philadelphia 19106, 215-925-125, 215-463-8702; and 2630 Memphis 5-426-4616.

ices (12th of 31 D). Subcommittees: Facilities; Research and Development; d Critical Materials. Merchant Marine). Subcommittees: Merchant Marine; ns (Chairman). Select Committee on

Philadelphia—he preaches every Sunday at the Bright Hope Baptist Church, at 12th Street and Columbia Avenue, as his father did before him—and he does not have any serious political challengers at home. He won the House seat from an aged, underperforming incumbent in the 1978 primary, after nearly winning in 1976, and in 1982 beat state Senator Milton Street—a militant who switched to the Republican Party to give it control of the state Senate, and then ran for the House seat as an Independent. Gray won by a convincing 76%-22% margin. He stays mostly aloof from city politics—though he endorsed a white candidate for district attorney in 1989 and helped him carry black wards—while he has worked in the House to build a constituency that covers all parts of the Democratic party.

Gray has produced steady results. He was named head of the Democrats' 1978 freshman class. Two years later he won a seat on the Appropriations Committee. After the 1982 election he won a seat on the Budget Committee, and soon was running for chairman. He worked with fellow Pennsylvanian John Murtha to round up votes from old-line Democrats, even as he got the support of younger members, and with adroit politicking, won the chairmanship. He got Tip O'Neill to oppose any waiver of the three-term limit on Budget membership, which eliminated outgoing chairman, James Jones and heir apparent Leon Panetta, both of whom O'Neill mistrusted. Gray's election was an even more considerable achievement than first appears. The Pennsylvania delegation hasn't shown such clout in recent years; quite the contrary. And House Democrats were in no mood to elect a black as chairman at a time when most voters associated blacks with unpopular big-spending programs.

As Budget Chairman, Gray saw his role as creating a consensus of Democrats around budget resolutions—a sensible procedure, since ranking Republican Delbert Latta was totally uncooperative—and he succeeded: over four years there were 919 Democratic votes for his resolutions and 77 against. He has delighted in working with Marvin Leath and Charles Stenholm of Texas, who were Boll Weevils in 1981 but are also cooperation-minded Democrats; in the process he heard some grumbling from northern liberals who felt he was not cutting defense enough and was not spending enough domestically. Gray's response is that he was not constructing a budget resolution that would be his own personal first choice, but one that could win 218 Democratic votes in the House. Gray was also assisted by circumstance. The budget process, for all the criticism of it, does tend to narrow down choices: you can't credibly propose vast new domestic spending unless you're prepared to support some hefty new taxes which Gray, like most other Democrats, was not ready to do. You can get Members from hawkish districts to agree to some defense cuts, but not huge ones.

None of this means that Gray has entirely abandoned his convictions or shunned issues of special interest to many black voters. He provided some impassioned leadership, together with tactical surefootedness, on South African sanctions, helping to frame the House's and ultimately the nation's position on that difficult issue. He has also shown a self-confidence and, for all his talkativeness, a self-discipline when it comes to other black politicians' ambitions. He defers to Mayor Goode in city politics, though rather gingerly, and did not endorse him for reelection in 1987 with much enthusiasm; he did nothing to take the spotlight away from Charles Rangel's unsuccessful bid to become majority whip in 1986. He played no particular role in Jesse Jackson's campaign. Rather, and characteristically, he chaired the drafting committee for the Democratic platform in Mackinac Island, producing a document that was easily adopted in Atlanta and caused the party's nominees none of the trouble past Democratic platforms have.

Gray was also running for another leadership post, the Democratic Caucus chairmanship being vacated by Richard Gephardt. Again he put together an interesting coalition of support, taking care to contribute to many colleagues' campaigns and won easily on the first ballot. When Jim Wright got into trouble in early 1989 and Tony Coelho resigned his seat, Gray became House majority whip, winning with 134 votes to 97 for David Bonior of Michigan and 30 for Beryl Anthony of Arkansas. The first black to hold a position in the House leadership, Gray is a

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line with the old and noble American tradition of the politician with a solid base in his own ethnic
 group who reaches out to make coalitions, sometimes unlikely ones, with others. He is a
 politician who, without betraying his own views or those of his constituents, is able to fashion a
 consensus in a Congress representing a diverse nation. Articulate and well-informed, inspira-
 tional when he wants to be yet also conciliatory, armed with formidable political intuition, liked
 and respected by his colleagues, deeply rooted in his own constituency yet able to understand
 and empathize with others, he has the potential to be a national leader, and not just in the House.
 He has made no move yet to run statewide, and perhaps does not have to: it has occurred to more
 than one national strategist that it might be advantageous to have Gray on a national ticket, in
 either spot.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 495,700, dn. 4.2% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 517,215, dn. 17.5% 1970-80.
 Households (1980): 61% family, 35% with children, 32% married couples; 48.4% housing units rented;
 median monthly rent: \$157; median house value: \$25,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 378,182; 76% Black,
 1% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Dukakis (D)..... 187,254 (91%)
 Bush (R)..... 17,151 (8%)

Rep. William H. Gray III (D)



Elected 1978; b. Aug. 20, 1941, Baton Rouge, LA; home, Philadel-
 phia; Franklin and Marshall Col., B.A. 1963, Drew Theological
 Seminary, M. Div. 1966, Princeton Theological Sch., Th.M. 1970;
 Baptist; married (Andrea).

Career: Minister; Prof., Jersey City St. Col., Montclair St. Col.,
 Rutgers U., 1968-74.

Offices: 2454 RHOB 20515, 202-225-4001. Also 6753 German-
 town Ave., Philadelphia 19119, 215-951-5388; 2316 W. Columbia
 Ave., Philadelphia 19121, 215-232-2770; and 22 N. 52d St., Phila-
 delphia 19139, 215-476-8725.

Committees: Majority Whip. Appropriations (25th of 35 D).
 Subcommittees: Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related
 Programs; Transportation. District of Columbia (4th of 8 D).
 Subcommittees: Fiscal Affairs and Health; Government Opera-
 tions and Metropolitan Affairs.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	95	90	97	64	69	0	5	0	31	8
1987	88	—	97	86	—	0	—	—	0	3

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	87%	—	8%	—
Social	86%	—	0%	—
Foreign	84%	—	0%	—

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	—	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Rep. Robert A. Borski (D)



Elected 1982; b. Oct. 20, 1948, Philadelphia; home, Philadelphia; U. of Baltimore, B.A. 1972; Roman Catholic; divorced.

Career: Stockbroker, Raymond James, Assoc., Inc., 1972-76; PA House of Reps., 1976-82.

Offices: 314 CHOB 20515, 202-225-8251. Also 7137 Frankford Ave., Philadelphia 19135, 215-335-3355.

Committees: *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (11th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Merchant Marine; Oceanography. *Public Works and Transportation* (11th of 31 D). Subcommittees: Economic Development; Investigations and Oversight; Water Resources. *Select Committee on Aging* (20st of 39 D). Subcommittee: Health and Long-Term Care.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	80	6	98	91	75	12	5	10	23	8
1987	80	—	97	79	—	5	—	—	13	7

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	92%	—	0%	73%
Social	56%	—	43%	72%
Foreign	64%	—	34%	74%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	—
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Robert A. Borski (D)	135,590	(63%)	(\$250,480)
	Mark Matthews (R)	78,909	(37%)	(\$23,101)
1988 primary	Robert A. Borski (D)	61,440	(91%)	
	John J. Hughes (D)	5,801	(9%)	
1986 general	Robert A. Borski (D)	107,804	(62%)	(\$391,980)
	Robert A. Rovner (R)	66,693	(38%)	(\$446,282)

FOURTH DISTRICT

Fifty years ago, the Jones & Laughlin steel mill, which employed 9,000 men in Aliquippa, Pennsylvania in Beaver County northwest of Pittsburgh, was "surrounded by a high wire fence. Workers' houses squat on the flats or cling to the grassless slopes. When the mills are running full blast, the town is bustling and houses receive a new coat of paint. The shores of the Ohio are lined with piles of iron ore, limestone and coal, and with cranes, stocks and furnaces." Aliquippa wasn't picturesque, but it was one of the sinews of America, where immigrants and their sons worked their way up by pouring the steel that built the country and won the war. Now the mills are cold and silent; LTV, the supposedly synergistic conglomerate that bought Jones &

..... 184,322	(94%)	(\$660,456)
..... 12,365	(6%)	
posed		
..... 128,399	(98%)	(\$551,836)

ard, you could still see farms and empty fields 50 South Philadelphia and the river wards were and the Main Line suburbs might already be es and the workers of Philadelphia's docks and ved out in any great numbers to the northeast. ost one-third of the city's population and its liver, with its blocks of closely packed brick row with mostly Irish and Italian residents and their c ward leader (except in Philadelphia it would the doors and distributing coal for the winter. niles from Independence Hall, middle-income e than half the housing units here, in fact, were t of the city).

a's population is Jewish, in neighborhoods that houses are pleasant, but modest; the politics re part of the hard-pressed lower-middle class. some joined him when he reregistered in the blacks will move into their neighborhoods. ic population, which is still pretty conservative t out of the 1950s.

rt Borski, a young former stockbroker and state ot the 1982 nomination when other Democrats To everyone's surprise, Borski beat Republican 8 when Democrat Joshua Eilberg was indicted hospital get a federal grant. Borski has won in 1986 when Dougherty, who had become a the day of the filing deadline. But Dougherty blican who in turn lost to Borski by almost as House, where he generally votes a liberal line ber of the Public Works Committee and is one arine and Fisheries. He is friendly to groups tays close to local issues and, like most of his or Wilson Goode in the May 1987 mayoral

80-86; Pop. 1980: 516,154, dn. 6.6% 1970-80. 59% married couples; 26.6% housing units rented; 4,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 391,605; 7% Black,

..... 115,312	(51%)
..... 110,228	(48%)

Election Results

1988 general	William H. Gray III (D)	184,322	(94%)	(\$660,456)
	Richard L. Harsh (R)	12,365	(6%)	
1988 primary	William H. Gray III (D), unopposed			
1986 general	William H. Gray III (D)	128,399	(98%)	(\$551,836)

THIRD DISTRICT

In northeast Philadelphia, out Roosevelt Boulevard, you could still see farms and empty fields 50 years ago; the alley-wide streets of North and South Philadelphia and the river wards were already tightly packed with houses and people, and the Main Line suburbs might already be well-settled near the stations, but the transit lines and the workers of Philadelphia's docks and factories and Center City offices had not yet moved out in any great numbers to the northeast. But today, northeast Philadelphia includes almost one-third of the city's population and its population is still growing. Along the Delaware River, with its blocks of closely packed brick row houses and neighborhood bars with neon lights, with mostly Irish and Italian residents and their pungent accents, you expect to see a Democratic ward leader (except in Philadelphia it would usually have been a Republican) knocking on the doors and distributing coal for the winter. Away from these old neighborhoods, 10 to 20 miles from Independence Hall, middle-income tract housing was still going up in the 1960s; more than half the housing units here, in fact, were built after 1950 (as compared to 20% in the rest of the city).

A sizable percentage of northeast Philadelphia's population is Jewish, in neighborhoods that are like neither Brooklyn nor Scarsdale. The houses are pleasant, but modest; the politics Democratic, but not always liberal and many are part of the hard-pressed lower-middle class. Quite a few voted for Frank Rizzo for mayor, some joined him when he reregistered in the Republican party and many live in fear that blacks will move into their neighborhoods. Northeast Philadelphia also has a sizable Catholic population, which is still pretty conservative on cultural issues. In many ways, this is a district out of the 1950s.

The congressman from the 3d District is Robert Borski, a young former stockbroker and state legislator from the older part of the district who got the 1982 nomination when other Democrats failed to see how Democratic a year it would be. To everyone's surprise, Borski beat Republican Charles Dougherty, who had been elected in 1978 when Democrat Joshua Eilberg was indicted for accepting \$100,000 to help a Philadelphia hospital get a federal grant. Borski has won reelection easily since; the one highlight came in 1986 when Dougherty, who had become a Democrat, switched back to run as a Republican the day of the filing deadline. But Dougherty lost that primary 2 to 1 to a more constant Republican who in turn lost to Borski by almost as great a margin. Borski makes few waves in the House, where he generally votes a liberal line except on cultural issues like abortion; he is a member of the Public Works Committee and is one of two Philadelphia Democrats on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. He is friendly to groups which support the Irish Republican Army. He stays close to local issues and, like most of his constituents, backed Ed Rendell against Mayor Wilson Goode in the May 1987 mayoral primary.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 513,800, dn. 0.5% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 516,154, dn. 6.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 34% with children, 59% married couples; 26.6% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$201; median house value: \$32,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 391,605; 7% Black, 1% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	115,312	(51%)
	Dukakis (D)	110,228	(48%)

Rep. Joe P. Kolter (D)



Elected 1982; b. Sept. 3, 1926, McDonald; home, New Brighton; Geneva Col., B.S. 1950, Duquesne U., U. of Pittsburgh; Roman Catholic; married (Dorothy).

Career: Army, 1944-47; Accountant, 1950-67; High sch. teacher, 1950, 1965-67; New Brighton Borough Cncl., 1961-65; PA House of Reps., 1969-82.

Offices: 212 CHOB 20515, 202-225-2565. Also 1322 7th Ave., Beaver Falls 15010, 412-846-3600; 20 S. Mercer St., New Castle 16101, 412-658-4525; 104 P.O. Bldg., Butler 16001, 412-282-8081; and 21 S. 7th St., Indiana 15701, 412-349-3755.

Committees: *Government Operations* (16th of 24 D). Subcommittees: Commerce, Consumer, and Monetary Affairs; Environment, Energy, and Natural Resources. *House Administration* (10th of 13 D). Subcommittees: Accounts; Office Systems. *Public Works and Transportation* (12th of 31 D). Subcommittees: Aviation; Eco-

nomic Development; Water Resources.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	N TLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	60	57	93	73	50	22	6	60	17	10
1987	64	—	92	71	—	5	—	—	36	11

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	92%	—	0%	61%
Social	49%	—	50%	38%
Foreign	55%	—	45%	40%
				54%
				46%

Key Votes

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1) Homeless \$ | AGN | 5) Ban Drug Test | AGN | 9) SDI Research | FOR |
| 2) Gephardt Amdt | FOR | 6) Drug Death Pen | FOR | 10) Ban Chem Weaps | AGN |
| 3) Deficit Reduc | — | 7) Handgun Sales | FOR | 11) Aid to Contras | AGN |
| 4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice | AGN | 8) Ban D.C. Abort \$ | FOR | 12) Nuclear Testing | FOR |

Election Results

1988 general	Joseph P. Kolter (D)	124,041	(70%)	(\$90,710)
	Gordon R. Johnston (R)	52,402	(29%)	
1988 primary	Joseph P. Kolter (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Joseph P. Kolter (D)	86,133	(60%)	(\$249,885)
	Al Lindsay (R)	55,165	(39%)	(\$9,029)

FIFTH DISTRICT

The countryside outside Philadelphia is studded with separate settlements that have histories and personalities which date back to the times when Philadelphia was a day or so's horse ride away. Chester, a small industrial town on the Delaware River, is really an old city which for years had its own Republican machine; most of its residents are black now. The Chadds Ford area, where the Wyeth family lives and paints, is peaceful countryside far from the brawling tone of Philadelphia public life. Kennett Square nearby is the center of the nation's mushroom industry. Coatesville, at the western edge of the district, is really part of the Pennsylvania Dutch

lining as workers who have long since
 1 move somewhere else to find work.
 essional districts today; 35 years ago,
 on that has accompanied it, the same
 half of the 4th Congressional District
 north of Pittsburgh to take in the
 gonier. The irregular boundaries were
 npt to preserve the seat of one of the
 ublicans; the attempt failed, but the
 have produced football players of the
 iced a melancholy string of incompe-
 urrerounding area were represented by
 the ultra-Democratic Watergate year
 at after losing he was able to win only
 His conqueror was Gary Myers, a
 ost as a foreman in a steel mill. The
 ost to Myers in 1976, won unimpres-
 primary in which he lost western
 ist as the steel industry was going into
 he one part of the country trending

litician like this, and didn't. The new
 o what he knows best, the woes of the
 Republican primary!) by a 60%-39%
 h solid labor support. He now serves
 dministration Committees. He has a
 icy and traditional on cultural issues.
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 d sponsor of a measure to cut contra
 ie kontras were Communist, Daniel
 been communist at one time. He is
 is tenure is the possibility—not an
 stricting.

op. 1980: 515,572, up 6.1% 1970-80.
 d couples; 24.1% housing units rented;
 g age pop. (1980): 375,245; 2% Black.

... 97,784 (54%)
 ... 81,028 (45%)

country, although no one is sure just where the boundary is. Not far away is Oxford, home of Lincoln University, one of the nation's oldest black colleges—a symbol of the area's Lincoln Republican heritage and a reminder that there are many blacks scattered over this area; on the next field, from a country mansion, you may see an A.M.E. church surrounded by what look like 19th century cabins.

These outer edges of the Philadelphia metropolitan area—technically in western Montgomery and Delaware counties, plus most of Chester County farther out—make up the 5th Congressional District of Pennsylvania. The 5th is one of the premier Republican congressional districts in the nation. Its Main Line commuters at the Paoli station, its Pennsylvania Dutch country, even the area around Chester—are all heavily Republican. This is one of those heartland Republican districts which for decades has supplied the House Republican Conference with its backbenchers and its most reliable supporters.

The current congressman, Richard Schulze, is a Republican Party loyalist with roots in the richest part of the district. He has taken jobs of sufficient modesty—Chester County register of wills, state representative—to suggest that he was seen as the kind of faithful local functionary who is allowed, by men of great power who commute to offices in the big city, to handle affairs in their small local community.

Schulze easily won the Republican primary for this seat in 1974 and has been reelected without perceptible difficulty since. His record on major issues is solidly Republican. He serves on the Ways and Means Committee and is now ranking minority member on its Oversight Subcommittee. Schulze also has a seat on the Trade Subcommittee, and has concentrated on those issues. Here he is true to Pennsylvania's century-old protectionist tradition, introducing bills calling for reciprocity and fairness and mandating vigorous retaliation against countries that do not comply. In 1986, he was an early sponsor of the steel-textiles-apparel-telecommunications trade bill that passed the House in May. By early 1987, he appeared with "trade competitiveness" bills giving small businesses tax breaks and reinstating the investment tax credit for "productive equipment and machinery." In 1988, he insisted that the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement be monitored to prevent dumping of steel. He is particularly vigilant against imports of cheap Chinese mushrooms, and has put through technical amendments to protect the religious rights of the apolitical Amish.

Schulze, who tends so carefully the traditional economic interests of this district, is reelected easily every two years.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 549,700, up 6.6% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 515,528, up 9.8% 1970-80. Households (1980): 77% family, 42% with children, 64% married couples; 31.1% housing units rent; median monthly rent: \$225; median house value: \$57,300. Voting age pop. (1980): 370,556; 10% Black, 1% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

Rep. Richard T. Schulze (R)



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Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA
1988	30	24	22	55
1987	8	—	21	29

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB	—	1988 C
Economic	15%	—	84%
Social	31%	—	69%
Foreign	30%	—	67%

Key Votes

- 1) Homeless \$ FOR 5) Ban 1
- 2) Gephardt Amdt AGN 6) Drug
- 3) Deficit Reduc — 7) Hand
- 4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice FOR 8) Ban I

Election Results

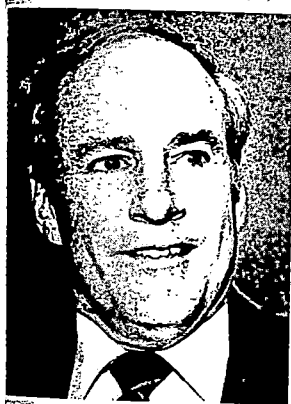
1988 general	Richard T. Schulze (R).
1988 primary	Donald A. Hadley (D).
1986 general	Richard T. Schulze (R), Richard T. Schulze (R). Tim Ringgold (D)

SIXTH DISTRICT

The 6th Congressional District of Pennsylvania beyond the Philadelphia or northeastern Pennsylvania, and northeast o
WPA Guide found in Reading the greatest
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PENNSYLVANIA 1041

Rep. Richard T. Schulze (R)



Elected 1974; b. Aug. 7, 1929, Philadelphia; home, Berwyn; U. of Houston, 1949, Villanova U., 1952, Temple U., 1968; Presbyterian; married (Nancy).

Career: Army, 1951-53; Businessman, appliances; Committeeman, Tredyffrin Township, 1960-67; Chester Cnty. Regis. of Wills and Clerk of Orphans Ct., 1967-69; PA House of Reps., 1969-74.

Offices: 2369 RHOB 20515, 202-225-5761. Also 10 S. Leopard St., Ste. 204, Paoli 19301, 215-648-0555.

Committees: *Ways and Means* (5th of 13 R). Subcommittees: Oversight (Ranking Member); Trade; Social Security.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	30	24	22	55	56	76	69	100	92	52
1987	8	—	21	29	—	77	—	—	85	62

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	15% — 84%	36% — 63%
Social	31% — 69%	10% — 85%
Foreign	30% — 67%	27% — 72%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	—	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Pint Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Richard T. Schulze (R).....	153,453	(78%)	(\$444,205)
	Donald A. Hadley (D)	42,758	(22%)	
1988 primary	Richard T. Schulze (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Richard T. Schulze (R).....	87,593	(66%)	(\$320,232)
	Tim Ringgold (D).....	45,648	(34%)	(\$115,056)

SIXTH DISTRICT

The 6th Congressional District of Pennsylvania is betwixt and between—a part of eastern Pennsylvania beyond the Philadelphia orbit, south of the center of the anthracite area of northeastern Pennsylvania, and northeast of the Pennsylvania Dutch country. Fifty years ago the *PA Guide* found in Reading the greatest concentration of Pennsylvania Germans, who make a fetish of orderliness and thriftiness, and these traits are reflected in the city's appearance. The central section is laid out with gridiron simplicity; urban residential areas are made up of row upon row of red brick houses. Despite the encroachment of railroad and industrial activity there is little grime or dirt." The Reading Railroad and...

Mountain, and you are in anthracite country, where the *Guide* found little towns because their streets had sunk, settled because of the mines underneath, boarded mills, and Pottsville—John O'Hara's "Gibbsville"—whose anthracite industry was decline after strikes in 1922 and 1925 prompted many consumers to switch to oil heating. These were not well-ordered German cities, but hard-bitten towns where the schemed with bootleggers to get a supply of the best smuggled liquor, where people of modest background tried and usually failed to imitate upper-class manners, and where talking miners and factory workers stayed menacingly in the background unless a stumbled into the wrong roadhouse at night or diner at dawn.

In the 1930s, there were more people in Schuylkill County around Pottsville than in Berks County around Reading; now the reverse is true, and about 60% of the 6th District's population is south of Blue Mountain. The anthracite country has continued its decline (Schuylkill County had a population of 228,000 in 1940 and 160,000 in 1980), while Reading, once a manufacturing center, has been doing fairly well on lower-wage work and by converting brick factories to factory outlet stores that attract bargain hunters from all over the state. The Dutch country is not far away, and the 6th District now includes a small sliver of heartland from Lancaster County.

The 6th District, in national elections, is not as Democratic as you might expect. A working-class people who would have been good Democratic voters have long since moved to the north in search of jobs. And in Berks County the Pennsylvania Dutch (i.e., German) tradition is heavily Republican since the region split in 1858 over the slavery issue, as did two of the most powerful local Democrats, James Buchanan of Lancaster and his lieutenant, J. Glancy Jones of Pottsville, then chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Nevertheless, the congressional representation here has been Democratic since the 1960s. The current incumbent, Gus Yatron, was first elected in 1968, and continues to win by overwhelming margins. His general voting record in the House is liberal on economic issues, conservative on cultural matters—which seems in line with his district. His chief focus, however, has been foreign policy, and he is now, starting his third decade in Congress, the third ranking member on the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

After the 1982 election, he took over the chair of the Human Rights and International Organizations Subcommittee from Don Bonker of Washington, who relinquished it for the 6th District chair. There he has attended to his duties in a more than perfunctory way. He has recruited other committee Democrats to oppose aid to the Nicaraguan contras, but he has also been out, as some of them have been reluctant to do, that the Sandinistas in charge in Managua have been some pretty nasty human rights violators themselves. He criticized both Pinochet and Marcos of the Philippines when they were still in power, and has criticized China's human rights record in Tibet. He is working to support the United Nations, was early in calling for an end to deforestation in Brazil and is increasingly vocal about the threat of global warming. Yatron is of Greek descent, and remains interested in and sympathetic to Greek interests, but has also criticized the demagogic Papandreou government for its policies in dealing with terrorism.

So generally Yatron has been in line with his fellow Democrats. It is not likely he will be re-elected out of a chairmanship again, (as he was in 1981 on the Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee in the favor of Michael Barnes of Maryland). Perhaps he hopes to succeed to the full committee chairmanship some day. That's unlikely, but it is possible; Yatron has proved to be a more enduring Member in the House than many expected a few years ago.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 522,900, up 1.3% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 515,952, up 3.9% 1970-80. Households (1980): 75% family, 36% with children, 63% married couples; 25.5% housing units with no telephone; median monthly rent: \$154; median house value: \$32,400. Voting age pop. (1980): 384,537; 1.1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 112,048 (61%)
 Dukakis (D) 70,915 (38%)

Rep. Gus Yatron (D)



Elected 1968; b. Oct. 6, 1927, Reading; home, Reading; Kutztown St. Teachers Col., 1950; Greek Orthodox; married (Millie).

Career: Pro heavyweight boxer, 1947-50; Proprietor, Yatron's Ice Cream, 1950-69; Mbr., Reading Sch. Bd., 1955-60; PA House of Reps., 1957-60; PA Senate, 1961-68.

Offices: 2205 RHOB 20515, 202-225-5546. Also 1940 N. 13th St., Reading 19604, 215-929-9233; and American Bank Bldg., Pottsville 17901, 717-622-4212.

Committees: Foreign Affairs (3d of 28 D). Subcommittees: Human Rights and International Organizations (Chairman); International Operations. Post Office and Civil Service (6th of 15 D). Subcommittees: Human Resources; Investigations.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	65	57	84	73	50	24	18	33	36	18
1987	84	—	83	79	—	13	—	—	33	10

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	67%	—	30%	—
Social	36%	—	63%	—
Foreign	54%	—	46%	—

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amndt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Gus Yatron (D)	114,119	(63%)	(\$121,435)
	James R. Erwin (R)	65,278	(36%)	(\$12,002)
1988 primary	Gus Yatron (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Gus Yatron (D)	98,142	(69%)	(\$97,114)
	Norm Bertasavage (R)	43,858	(31%)	(\$18,211)

SEVENTH DISTRICT

One of America's distinctive political constituencies is Delaware County, Pennsylvania, just outside Philadelphia, long the home of the old Delaware War Board, one of the premier Republican political machines in the country. The War Board harks back to the days when Republicans carried everything in Pennsylvania, and when working-class neighborhoods were serviced and rallied by Republican ward heelers. For although Delaware County has its rich neighborhoods, much of it is modest. You might not notice the difference if you drove over

e the Guide found little towns abandoned the mines underneath, boarded-up textile -whose anthracite industry was already in many consumers to switch to oil for home out hard-bitten towns where the rich people st smuggled liquor, where people of more te upper-class manners, and where tough- gly in the background unless a character at dawn.
 ll County around Pottsville than in Berks about 60% of the 6th District's people live continued its decline (Schuylkill County 1980), while Reading, once a high-wage ower-wage work and by converting its old r gain hunters from all over the East. The w includes a small sliver of heavily Dutch
 nocratic as you might expect. A lot of the cratic voters have long since moved away a Dutch (i.e., German) tradition has been r the slavery issue, as did two prominent s lieutenant, J. Glancy Jones of Reading, ittee.
 has been Democratic since 1948. The 8, and continues to win by overwhelming eral on economic issues, conservative on t. His chief focus, however, has been on in Congress, the third ranking Democrat
 f the Human Rights and International hington, who relinquished it for another han perfunctory way. He has risen with raguan kontras, but he has also pointed Sandinistas in charge in Managua have es. He criticized both Pinochet of Chile ower, and has criticized China's human nited Nations, was early in criticizing ie threat of global warming. Yatron is of etic to Greek interests, but has sharply s policies in dealing with terrorists. mocrats. It is not likely he will be voted ter-American Affairs Subcommittee, in pes to succeed to the full committee ible; Yatron has proved to be a more few years ago.
 Pop. 1980: 515,952, up 3.9% 1970-80, rried couples; 25.5% housing units rented; ating age pop. (1980): 384,537; 1% Black.

Cobbs or Darby Creeks, which separate the county from Philadelphia: the mostly white working-class neighborhood in Philadelphia looks a lot like the modest, long-settled close-in suburbs nearby, in Upper Darby Township and a dozen or so small incorporated boroughs. These are increasingly the homes of older people whose families are grown, who still treasure traditional cultural values but also felt pinched during the recession and worry about how they will fare in retirement. Farther along, the houses spread out, and real estate values rise in leafy suburbs like Swarthmore; these are also old areas, but the people are more secure and less anxious. (Swarthmore College, alma mater of Michael Dukakis, is liberal; the town is not.) To the north are some of the suburbs of the Main Line—the highest income and highest status communities in the Philadelphia area.

Politically, the War Board is one of the last of the Republican machines which dominated so much of the middle-class American North in the 1920s, when Republicanism was the norm from which few decent-minded Protestant voters in such neighborhoods deviated, and political machines were as much a part of the urban landscape as trolley lines or overhead electrical wires. Philadelphia, after all, kept electing machine Republican mayors until 1951 and the War Board provided stable and reliable, if undistinguished and dull, local government and representation in Washington and Harrisburg. And if that era seems long gone, it may have returned: the entire Philadelphia metropolitan area, its economy reviving, gave majorities to Ronald Reagan in 1980 and 1984, and Delaware County Republicans have elected a congressman with genuine roots in a working class community and wide popularity and appeal.

He is Curt Weldon, and he first came to attention as mayor of Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania's southernmost town on the Delaware River, the home of oil tank farms and a rusty-looking old steel mill. Weldon was an active and popular mayor, went on the county council, and then ran in 1984 in the 7th Congressional District, which includes most of Delaware County and one ward of Philadelphia, against incumbent Bob Edgar. Edgar was an archetypical member of the class of 1974, a Methodist minister from a working-class background and an opponent of the Vietnam war and Richard Nixon, who entered politics suddenly in 1974, profited from an internal Republican split and a national trend of opinion, established a liberal and anti-pork-barrel record and surprised everyone (probably including himself) by winning reelection five times. Against Weldon, Edgar won by 412 votes out of 248,000 cast. In 1986, Edgar ran for the Senate, won the Democratic primary narrowly, but lost the general election by a large margin to Arlen Specter. Weldon was elected to the House fairly easily, with no primary opposition and 61% in the general.

Weldon made a distinctive record in the House, not just protecting the Philadelphia Navy Yard on the Armed Services Committee, but also establishing a Congressional Fire Services Caucus, which has 286 members and sponsored measures calling for new alarm systems in congressional offices and a new Fire Training Center in Illinois. Weldon personally helped to put out a fire in Speaker Jim Wright's office. He also came forward with the distinctive proposal to identify the sponsors, beneficiaries and costs of targeted tax measures—something sure not to ingratiate him with Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, but obviously justified. He got the period in which convicted individuals cannot lobby the Defense Department extended from one to five years. He helped set up an EPA recycling clearinghouse.

With a voting record that made occasional bows to liberals on economic and cultural issues, Weldon was in fine shape for the 1988 general in which he beat former Gary Hart delegate counter David Landau 68%-32%.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 519,500, up 0.7% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 515,766, dn. 8.3% 1970-80. Households (1980): 75% family, 36% with children, 62% married couples; 26.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$233; median house value: \$45,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 387,309; 5% Black, 1% Asian origin, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 140,716 (60%)
 Dukakis (D) 93,286 (39%)

Rep. Curt Weldon (R)



Elected 1986; b. July 22, 1947, Marcus Hook; home, Aston; West Chester State Col., B.A. 1969; Protestant; married (Mary).

Career: Teacher, Vice Principal, 1969-76; Dir., Training and Manpower Dev., INA Corp., 1976-81; Mayor, Marcus Hook, 1977-82; Delaware Cnty. Cncl., 1984-86, Chmn. 1985-86.

Offices: 1233 LHOB 20515, 202-225-2011. Also 1554 Garrett Rd., Upper Darby 19082, 215-259-0700; and 2501 S. 71st St., Philadelphia 19145, 215-365-7755.

Committees: *Armed Services* (15th of 21 R). Subcommittees: Research and Development; Seapower and Strategic and Critical Materials. *Merchant Marine and Fisheries* (12th of 17 R). Subcommittees: Fisheries, Wildlife Conservation and the Environment; Oceanography. *Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families* (8th of 12 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	30	47	57	82	56	59	71	90	71	42
1987	36	—	40	29	—	55	—	—	73	54

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	40%	—	58%	—
Social	37%	—	62%	—
Foreign	16%	—	78%	—

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	—

Election Results

1988 general	Curt Weldon (R).....	155,387	(68%)	(\$507,360)
	David Edward Landau (D).....	73,745	(32%)	(\$203,582)
1988 primary	Curt Weldon (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Curt Weldon (R).....	110,118	(61%)	(\$617,063)
	Bill Spingler (D).....	69,557	(39%)	(\$166,612)

EIGHTH DISTRICT

One of the original three counties of William Penn's colony, Bucks County had its dual nature from the beginning: it was a paradise of bucolic hills and creeks running into the Delaware, and in 1727 James Logan, Penn's secretary, established the Durham Furnace iron works there. Fifty years ago, it was still the bucolic Bucks that captured the imagination, the by that time mellow and well-settled farmland, with old stone houses and covered bridges, easily reached by train from New York as well as Philadelphia, and long the residence of well-known writers and artists,

nty from Philadelphia: the mostly white a lot like the modest, long-settled close-in dozen or so small incorporated boroughs whose families are grown, who still treasure ing the recession and worry about how they read out, and real estate values rise in leaely, but the people are more secure and less ael Dukakis, is liberal; the town is not.) To ne—the highest income and highest status

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6; Pop. 1980: 515,766, dn. 8.3% 1970-80. married couples; 26.3% housing units rented; Voting age pop. (1980): 387,309; 5% Black.

including the late yippie Abbie Hoffman, who committed suicide in New Hope in 1989. In the years after World War II, the location of Lower Bucks County—directly between Philadelphia and industrial Trenton, New Jersey, along the ocean-navigable Delaware River and several rail lines—led to huge new developments here. U.S. Steel built its Fairless Works, one of the few big postwar steel plants, down by the river. And the Levitt organization created one of its Levittowns in what had been farmland and swamp between U.S. 13 and U.S. 1, which the *WPA Guide* described in 1940 as “flat country inappropriately known as Penn Valley. Gasoline stations, refreshment stands, and farm produce stands clutter the roadside; billboards also intrude.”

Politically, Bucks County, like all of Pennsylvania, was solidly Republican: it was the home of Senator Joseph Grundy, longtime head of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association, who opposed the Smoot-Hawley tariff of 1930 on the grounds that it was not protectionist enough. But in contrast to the other suburban Philadelphia counties, where most of the blue-collar immigration took place a long time ago, when Philadelphia itself was solidly Republican and the suburban county machines ready to enroll new residents in their party, development came after the New Deal in Bucks. So Lower Bucks, around the Fairless Works and Levittown, has been fairly solidly Democratic, while Upper Bucks is Republican but sometimes liberal on issues like the environment and foreign policy. The 8th Congressional District of Pennsylvania includes all of Bucks County plus a small slice of Montgomery County directly north of Philadelphia's Center City. And although it leans Republican, it has elected Democratic Congressman Peter Kostmayer for all but two years since 1976.

Kostmayer's political formula has been to emphasize his liberal stands on environmental and foreign issues, to vote somewhat more conservatively on economic issues, and to work hard on constituency services. He was a product of the Democratic politics of the middle 1970s: a McGovern coordinator and press aide to Governor Milton Shapp who got it into his head to run for Congress at age 30 and was shrewd enough to figure out how to win. Vigorous opposition to corruption (he urged early investigations of Koreagate and of his fellow Pennsylvania Democrats Daniel Flood and Joshua Eilberg) and emphasis on environmental issues (he helped kill the Tocks Island Dam on the Delaware) enabled Kostmayer to solidify support in Upper Bucks; he easily won reelection in 1978. But in 1980, the district went Republican, in a year in which economic issues were the center of attention, and elected James Coyne. Coyne in turn stumbled when he showed a lack of feel for the political process, attacking Kostmayer for continuing to help 8th District residents with problems and flip-flopping in public view on the nuclear freeze. Kostmayer regained the seat with a 50%-49% victory in 1982.

In this second stint in Congress, he has gotten along better with his colleagues and slowly increased his percentages with the voters. He sits on the Interior Committee and now chairs the Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee and cites as proud achievements a Pennsylvania Wilderness Act and making the Delaware & Lehigh Canal a National Heritage Corridor. On economic issues, he supports Gramm-Rudman and the line-item veto. Kostmayer has worked hard to defeat the MX missile, and as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee has taken a front-row position opposing aid to the Nicaraguan contras. But he has been flexible enough to invite House Armed Services Chairman Les Aspin, who took the opposite view on both issues, into the 8th District to persuade him to save the Naval Air Defense Command in Warminster, the second biggest employer in the district.

In the 8th District, Kostmayer has tried to keep his opponents from launching attacks on his record by preemptive strikes at them—and has succeeded. In 1988, Kostmayer launched an attack on the supposed absenteeism of former state Senator Ed Howard by emphasizing the 1,234 roll calls he missed; Howard claimed he was present at 92%. Oddly, Howard attacked Kostmayer as a tool of developers; the Upper County is worried about overdevelopment, but as Kostmayer said the charge had the credibility of accusing Colonel Sanders of being a friend of chickens.

Howard might have aimed more fire at what Kostmayer said while at the Democratic National Convention. "We are not going to blow it this time," he told a liberal gathering. "Just shut up, gays, women and environmentalists. Just shut up. You'll get everything you want after the election. But just, for the meantime, shut up so that we can win. There's a real strong feeling that we don't want to start trouble. Nobody wants to take the rap for messing this up." As a confession of disingenuousness in politics, this can hardly be beaten. But Kostmayer had a huge money advantage—in mid-October he was the number 10 fundraiser in House races, with more than \$1.1 million raised—and pressed it home for his biggest victory since 1978. It's hard to say he has a safe seat, but hard to say what he could do to make it safer.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 559,900, up 1.0% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 516,902, up 14.1% 1970-80. Households (1980): 80% family, 45% with children, 70% married couples; 25.9% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$255; median house value: \$57,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 364,239; 2% Black, 1% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	138,869	(60%)
	Dukakis (D)	88,081	(38%)

Rep. Peter H. Kostmayer (D)



Elected 1982; b. Sept. 27, 1946, New York, NY; home, Solebury; Columbia U., B.A. 1971; Episcopalian; separated.

Career: Reporter, *The Trentonian*, 1971-72; Press Secy. to Atty. Gen. of PA, 1972-73; Dpty. Press Secy. to PA Gov. Milton Shapp, 1973-76; U.S. House of Reps., 1977-81; Pub. rel. consultant, 1981-82.

Offices: 123 CHOB 20515, 202-225-4276. Also 100 S. Main St., Doylestown 18901, 215-345-8543; 1 Oxford Valley, Ste. 700, Langhorne 19047, 215-757-8181; and 515 S. West End Blvd., Quakertown 18951, 215-538-2222.

Committees: *Foreign Affairs* (11th of 28 D). Subcommittees: International Economic Policy and Trade; Western Hemisphere Affairs. *Interior and Insular Affairs* (12th of 26 D). Subcommittees: General Oversight and Investigations (Chairman); National Parks and Public Lands; Water, Power and Offshore Energy

Resources. *Select Committee on Hunger* (5th of 19 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	N TLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	85	91	89	91	88	4	11	10	31	13
1987	96	—	88	79	—	0	—	—	7	6

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	71%	— 23%	73%	— 0%
Social	82%	— 17%	78%	— 0%
Foreign	74%	— 23%	81%	— 0%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

d suicide in New Hope in 1989. In the county—directly between Philadelphia and the Delaware River and several rail lines. It is Fairless Works, one of the few big organizations created one of its Levittowns 3 and U.S. 1, which the *WPA Guide* known as Penn Valley. Gasoline stations, roadside; billboards also intrude." Solidly Republican: it was the home of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association, who said that it was not protectionist enough. Counties, where most of the blue-collar class itself was solidly Republican and the in their party, development came after Fairless Works and Levittown, has been an but sometimes liberal on issues like the 1st District of Pennsylvania includes all of the county directly north of Philadelphia's elected Democratic Congressman Peter Kostmayer.

is liberal stands on environmental and economic issues, and to work hard on the strategic politics of the middle 1970s: a Milton Shapp who got it into his head to run for governor. Vigorous opposition to that of his fellow Pennsylvania Democrats on environmental issues (he helped kill the bill to solidify support in Upper Bucks; he went Republican, in a year in which James Coyne. Coyne in turn stumbled by attacking Kostmayer for continuing to stay in public view on the nuclear freeze. 1982.

better with his colleagues and slowly on the Interior Committee and now chairs the committee; proud achievements a Pennsylvania National Heritage Corridor. On the line-item veto. Kostmayer has worked on the Foreign Affairs Committee has taken a hard line. But he has been flexible enough to take the opposite view on both issues, the Air Defense Command in Warminster.

ponents from launching attacks on his behalf. In 1988, Kostmayer launched an attack on Ed Howard by emphasizing the support at 92%. Oddly, Howard attacked Kostmayer about overdevelopment, but as a friend of Colonel Sanders of being a friend of

Election Results

1988 general	Peter H. Kostmayer (D)	128,153	(57%)	(\$1,089,612)
	Ed Howard (R)	93,648	(42%)	(\$507,682)
1988 primary	Peter H. Kostmayer (D)	34,298	(90%)	
	Edward T. Czyzyk (D)	3,947	(10%)	
1986 general	Peter H. Kostmayer (D)	85,731	(55%)	(\$682,526)
	David A. Christian (R)	70,047	(45%)	(\$353,180)

NINTH DISTRICT

Like a series of vertebrae through central Pennsylvania, the Appalachian mountain chain has been a formidable barrier through most of Pennsylvania's history. Up close the mountains look tantalizingly low: you imagine that you could hike over them in an hour or so. But they are much more formidable than they seem. The colonials and British regulars led by General Braddock to his defeat near Pittsburgh in 1754 found it hard going, despite their guidance from George Washington; Scots-Irish settlers and 19th century pioneers in Conestoga wagons found it not much easier, for there are few gaps in the ridges and unless you can build a tunnel you have to climb over the top.

During the 18th century, the mountains provided Quaker Pennsylvania with a rampart against Indian attacks, and allowed the commonwealth to become the richest and most populous of the colonies. But in the 19th century, when people wanted to open up and trade with the vast interior, the mountains stopped them, and they went over New York's Erie Canal and New York Central Railroad instead. It took the aggressive capitalists who built the Pennsylvania Railroad to get trains over these ridges, and a nation at war in the 1940s to build the first highway, the Pennsylvania Turnpike, that could dependably get trucks over them. Today, the old towns look much as they did 60 years ago, and the farmhouses and red barns still sit on rolling hills in the shadow of one or another of the ridges, isolated and out of touch with the pulsing rhythms of the America of the 1980s.

The 9th is the only one of Pennsylvania's congressional districts to lie wholly within these mountains. This part of the Alleghenies (the term is often used interchangeably with Appalachians in Pennsylvania) was first settled by poor Scottish and Ulster Irish farmers just after the Revolutionary War. They were a people of fierce independence and pride, as the Whiskey Rebellion demonstrated—corn was not an article of commerce out here unless distilled into easily portable alcohol. The settlers worked their hardscrabble farms and built their little towns. Sometimes coal was found nearby, and their communities changed. But for the most part the 9th is not really coal country, and the area was denied—or spared—the boom-bust cycles of northeastern Pennsylvania and West Virginia. This was an important area for the Pennsylvania Railroad, however. Near Altoona was the Pennsylvania Railroad's famous Horseshoe Curve, and in Altoona itself the railroad built the nation's largest car yards. As rail transportation became less important, and the Pennsylvania Railroad moved from prosperity to merger to bankruptcy, Altoona's population declined from 82,000 at the end of the 1920s to 58,000 in 1989.

This part of Pennsylvania has been solidly Republican since the election of 1860, and it has not come close to electing a Democrat to Congress for years. The current incumbent, E. G. (Bud) Shuster, is an entrepreneur who made a fortune building up a computer business. He decided to settle in the southern Pennsylvania mountains, became interested in local affairs, decided to run for Congress, and beat the favorite, a local state senator, in the 1972 Republican primary. Shuster has won easily since.

He has had essentially two careers in the House. In the 1970s he was a hard-driving partisan.

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the House's most vociferous opponent of the air bag, and chairman of the Republican Policy
Committee until the 1980 election. Then he ran for minority whip against Trent Lott and lost.
Since then he has concentrated his efforts on the Public Works Committee, working with
Democrats, including the late Chairman James Howard, to raise the gasoline tax and build more
highways. One of the most vocal sounders of conservative themes in the late 1970s, by the late
1980s his main work was getting the water and highway bills passed over President Reagan's
 veto. Shuster had a hand in writing the Clean Water Act Amendments and the Surface
Transportation Uniform Relocation Assistance Act of 1987. The largest single "demonstration
project" by far was the \$9 million project to close a gap in the U.S. 220 freeway between Altoona
and the borough of Tyrone "for the purpose of demonstrating state-of-the-art delineation
technology." All of which is ironic in terms of 1980s politics, but makes more sense when you
think in terms of the 1780s or 1880s: for the conquest of these Appalachian ridges by western
civilization, now as then, depends critically on support and subsidy from government, and a
congressman from these parts, unless perhaps he has a national leadership role, is not in any
position to forget that.

the People: Est. Pop. 1986: 521,200, up 1.1% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 515,430, up 8.5% 1970-80.
Households (1980): 78% family, 41% with children, 67% married couples; 24.6% housing units rented;
median monthly rent: \$137; median house value: \$32,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 368,331; 1% Black.

1988 Presidential Vote:

Bush (R)	106,383	(63%)
Dukakis (D)	61,408	(36%)

Rep. E. G. (Bud) Shuster (R)



Elected 1972; b. Jan. 23, 1932, Glassport; home, Everett; U. of
Pittsburgh, B.S. 1954, Duquesne U., M.B.A. 1960, American U.,
Ph.D. 1967; United Church of Christ; married (Patricia).
Career: Army, 1954-56; Vice Pres., Electronic Computer Div.,
RCA; Founder and Chmn., computer software companies.
Offices: 2268 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2431. Also RD 2, Box 711,
Altoona 16601, 814-946-1653; and 179 E. Queen St., Chambers-
burg 17201, 717-264-8308.
Committees: *Public Works and Transportation* (2d of 20 R).
Subcommittees: Aviation; Investigations and Oversight; Surface
Transportation (Ranking Member). *Select Committee on Intelli-
gence* (3d of 7 R). Subcommittees: Oversight and Evaluation;
Program and Authorization.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
	5	13	18	27	19	100	75	100	100	77
	20	—	18	29	—	70	—	—	80	63

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	13%	85%	32%	67%
Local	5%	91%	27%	72%
Foreign	16%	78%	0%	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	FC
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AC
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FC
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AC

Election Results

1988 general	E. G. (Bud) Shuster (R), unopposed			
1988 primary	E. G. (Bud) Shuster (R), unopposed			(\$332,64
1986 general	E. G. (Bud) Shuster (R)	120,890	(100%)	(\$276,46

TENTH DISTRICT

"Coal is the theme song of this city in the hills," wrote the *WPA Guide* of Scranton 50 years ago. "Coal brought prosperity and also despair. Coal built its mansions, stores, banks, hotels, and hovels; it blackened the beautiful Lackawanna, scarred the mountain sides, made artificial hills of unsightly coal refuse, and undermined the city itself—but it created an anthracite kingdom the importance of which merits a considerable place in American history. It exalted the hardiness of the Pennsylvania miner and brought into existence one of the most powerful labor unions in the country—the United Mine Workers of America. It did more than any other factor to diversify Pennsylvania's population," bringing 30 nationalities to Scranton, where each "clings to a particular area: the Welsh concentrate in Hyde Park on the west; Germans and Irish in South Scranton; Poles, Russians, Lithuanians, and Italians in separate outlying sections." But as those words were written, the anthracite kingdom was dying, or dead. Demand for hard coal as a home heating fuel started to decline in the 1920s and plummeted in the 1940s; the three major anthracite counties fell in population from 991,000 in 1930 to 731,000 in 1980. Lackawanna County fell from 310,000 to 227,000, and Scranton from 143,000 to 87,000.

In the process, many of the characteristic features of the anthracite kingdom vanished. One was coal dust and air pollution; another was the hills of refuse; the ethnic groups became less distinctive as the generations went on and what had been communities of young families became communities of old people. In the 1960s and 1970s, there was an influx of textile and apparel mills, bringing low-wage, non-union jobs to what had once been a high-wage, unionized area.

Scranton and Lackawanna County make up almost half of Pennsylvania's 10th Congressional District. The rest of it is made up of the kind of territory Scranton was before the anthracite boom: Scots-Irish mountain counties in the Poconos (a favorite resort of many middle-class New Yorkers) and the northern tier of counties just below Upstate New York. The railroads on which Scranton was a major switching point and roundhouse stop plow through here, often on high viaducts, occasionally through tunnels. But they have few reasons to stop in these small town and quiet hills.

The politics of the 10th District for many years could be easily summarized: Scranton was Democratic, the rest of the district Republican. But by 1988, a combination of cultural conservatism and skepticism that government would bring back the old days, made Lackawanna County only 51% for Michael Dukakis, while the mountain counties, some of them filled with New York expatriates, were as Republican as ever. The result is that what had been basically a Democratic district when Scranton Republican Joseph McDade won it in 1962 has become basically a Republican district.

This may prove fortunate for McDade, whose career has taken a couple of not terribly good turns in the late 1980s. For years, he had been ranking Republican on the Interior Appropriations Subcommittee, where he was able to cooperate with an often like-minded chairman Sidney

Notes

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ll Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

ion Results

general	E. G. (Bud) Shuster (R), unopposed			(\$332,647)
primary	E. G. (Bud) Shuster (R), unopposed			
general	E. G. (Bud) Shuster (R)	120,890	(100%)	(\$276,463)

10TH DISTRICT

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Yates on programs that could produce visible good effects—national parks, aid to the arts, historic preservation, energy research—and mostly didn't cost very much. In 1985, after the retirement of Jack Edwards, he switched to the Defense Subcommittee where he is ranking Republican. There some expected—or feared—that he would oppose Reagan Administration policies, and others felt he simply wasn't as familiar with them as would be desirable. In fact, he seems to have made a conscientious effort to support them, and certainly did not embarrass himself. But at the same time, he does not conceal his lack of enthusiasm for many Pentagon spending increases and some weapons systems. In 1985 and early 1986, when New York's Joseph Addabbo was chairman, he sometimes worked with hawkish and nuts-and-bolts minded Bill Chappell of Florida; then Chappell succeeded to the chair after Addabbo's death; now, with Chappell defeated, the new chairman is another Pennsylvanian, John Murtha. This surely means that the Pentagon will be forced to keep buying 300,000 tons of anthracite—one-tenth the national production—it doesn't need.

But in December 1988, *The Wall Street Journal* charged that McDade had received \$45,000 in campaign contributions and speaking fees from officials and others involved in a company with a plant in his district for which he arranged a Defense Department minority set-aside contract, and that some of the employees were reimbursed by the company for their contributions—which would make them illegal. In January 1989, McDade refused to provide some records subpoenaed by a federal grand jury investigating this United Chem-Con case. How this case will turn out no one can say. But it threatens to give McDade at least a bit of a black eye. A week after the *Journal* story broke, McDade was defeated for secretary of the Republican Conference by Vin Weber. The questions now, pending legal action or an ethics committee investigation, are whether McDade can retain his effectiveness on the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee and whether he will remain popular in his increasingly Republican district. It's quite possible he will survive. But he may be threatened in 1990, either by serious opposition or by unfavorable redistricting (it's unlikely, but the redistricters could put Scranton and nearby Wilkes-Barre in the same district). Either of those threats could prove politically fatal or could persuade McDade to retire.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 528,700, up 2.6% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 515,442, up 7.1% 1970-80. Households (1980): 76% family, 38% with children, 64% married couples; 28.4% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$140; median house value: \$34,400. Voting age pop. (1980): 376,348.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	112,038	(58%)
	Dukakis (D)	80,528	(41%)



U. of Notre Dame, B.A. 1953, U. of PA, LL.B. 1956; Roman Catholic; married (Sarah).
Career: Clerk to Chf. Fed. Judge John W. Murphy, 1956-57; Practicing atty., 1957-62; Scranton City Solicitor, 1962.
Offices: 2370 RHOB 20515, 202-225-3731. Also 514 Scranton Life Bldg., Scranton 18503, 717-346-3834.
Committees: *Appropriations* (2d of 22 R). Subcommittees: Defense (Ranking Member); Interior. *Small Business* (Ranking Member of 17 R). Subcommittee: SBA, the General Economy and Minority Enterprise Development (Ranking Member).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	40	55	69	91	38	54	44	100	50	23
1987	40	—	68	50	—	37	—	—	36	29

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	50%	— 48%	41%	— 58%
Social	38%	— 61%	43%	— 56%
Foreign	24%	— 76%	33%	— 67%

Key Votes

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|------|
| 1) Homeless \$ | FOR | 5) Ban Drug Test | — | 9) SDI Research | FOR |
| 2) Gephardt Amdt | FOR | 6) Drug Death Pen | FOR | 10) Ban Chem Weaps | AGN. |
| 3) Deficit Reduc | AGN | 7) Handgun Sales | FOR | 11) Aid to Contras | FOR |
| 4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice | AGN | 8) Ban D.C. Abort \$ | FOR | 12) Nuclear Testing | AGN |

Election Results

1988 general	Joseph M. McDade (R)	140,096	(73%)	(\$430,322)
	Robert C. Cordaro (D)	51,179	(27%)	(\$66,299)
1988 primary	Joseph M. McDade (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Joseph M. McDade (R)	118,603	(75%)	(\$291,757)
	Robert C. Bolus (D)	40,248	(25%)	(\$10,195)

ELEVENTH DISTRICT

Three miles east of the town square of Wilkes-Barre, the *WPA Guide* pointed out 50 years ago, you could see over the mountainside "a pall of steam in rainy weather. Below the surface here rages a mine fire started in 1917"—the peak year of local anthracite production—"after a forgetful mule driver had left his lamp hanging on a mine prop. Millions of tons of coal have already been consumed, and millions more will be destroyed before the fire encounters underground barriers set up to save adjoining mining properties. But many more millions will remain, for the coal veins of Luzerne County, of which Wilkes-Barre is the seat, are almost inexhaustible and produce 40% of the world's hard coal." To this town, named by Revolutionary-era pioneers after two Englishmen who supported their cause, thousands of immigrants came in

Joseph M. McDade (R)



Elected 1962; b. Sept. 29, 1931, Scranton; home, Clarks Summit; U. of Notre Dame, B.A. 1953, U. of PA, LL.B. 1956; Roman Catholic; married (Sarah).

Career: Clerk to Chf. Fed. Judge John W. Murphy, 1956-57; Practicing atty., 1957-62; Scranton City Solicitor, 1962.

Offices: 2370 RHOB 20515, 202-225-3731. Also 514 Scranton Life Bldg., Scranton 18503, 717-346-3834.

Committees: Appropriations (2d of 22 R). Subcommittees: Defense (Ranking Member); Interior. *Small Business* (Ranking Member of 17 R). Subcommittee: SBA, the General Economy and Minority Enterprise Development (Ranking Member).

Ratings

ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
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Journal Ratings

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the late 19th and early 20th centuries, attracted by the high wages they were paid to scrape out the coal needed to heat the houses and smudge the skies of New York and Boston and Philadelphia. But the endless supplies were never to be exhausted, for anthracite was replaced by oil and gas heat, and by the 1930s, this region was in decline; Luzerne County's population, 445,000 in 1930, was 343,000 in 1980.

This is the land of Pennsylvania's 11th Congressional District, which includes all of Luzerne County and similar territory to the east and west. The miners have been a Democratic voting bloc since the 1930s, but there were also a lot of Republicans here, people in white-collar occupations and ancestral Pennsylvania Republicans of all walks of life. For more than 30 years, the district was represented by Daniel Flood, a mustachioed Democrat who, from his perch on the Appropriations Committee, brought millions in federal dollars to the anthracite country. But in 1978, he was charged with wrongly accepting money, was stripped of his subcommittee chairmanship, and resigned. In the next six years, the 11th District had a series of bizarre elections and no less than four different congressmen.

The first was Democratic legislator Ray Musto, who won the April 1980 special election to fill the rest of Flood's term and probably expected to stay in Congress the rest of his life. But he lost in the November 1980 landslide to Republican James Nelligan. Nelligan, in turn, lost the 1982 election to Democrat Frank Harrison. Harrison was subsequently beaten 47%-43% in the 1984 primary by Paul Kanjorski after Harrison was caught travelling in Central America while Wilkes-Barre area residents had to boil their tap water because it was contaminated. This succession, curiously, exactly matches the order of finish in the 1980 special election: Musto (with 27%), Nelligan (23%), Harrison (17%), Kanjorski (16%). The jinx finally ended in 1986— or fell on the challenger, 25-year-old Marc Holtzman, son of a Wilkes-Barre jewelry manufacturer who flew 1980 presidential candidate Ronald Reagan around in the company plane and let Marc tag along. Holtzman raised \$1.3 million from Reagan connections, but evidently convinced voters in the 11th District, who had given Reagan only a narrow margin anyway, that he was nothing more than a kind of mascot. Kanjorski just plodded on, returning to the district, serving constituents and, for all of Holtzman's hoopla, raising enough money to spend an entirely respectable \$713,000 himself; the Democrat won with 71% of the vote.

This was the first time an incumbent had won since Flood's last victory in 1978; the 1988 election, when Kanjorski was unopposed, was the second. In 1989, he took a seat on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and immediately became chairman of the Human Resources Subcommittee. He continues to work on local issues, to change the formula to make sure Luzerne County gets homeless assistance and to keep the Pentagon buying lots of anthracite.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 505,300, dn. 2.0% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 515,729, up 2.7% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 34% with children, 61% married couples; 29.0% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$136; median house value: \$30,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 388,822; 1% Black.

1988 Presidential Vote:

Bush (R)	94,061	(52%)
Dukakis (D)	84,893	(47%)

Rep. Paul E. Kanjorski (D)



Elected 1984; b. April 2, 1937, Nanticoke; home, Nanticoke; Temple U., Dickinson U.; Roman Catholic; married (Nancy).

Career: Practicing atty., 1966-85; Nanticoke City Solicitor, 1969-81; Admin. Law Judge, 1971-80.

Offices: 424 CHOB 20515, 202-225-6511. Also 10 E. South St., Wilkes-Barre 18701, 717-825-2200.

Committees: *Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs* (21st of 31 D) Subcommittees: Economic Stabilization; Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance; Housing and Community Development; Policy Research and Insurance. *Post Office and Civil Service* (13th of 15 D). Subcommittee: Human Resources (Chairman).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	70	52	90	82	63	20	13	40	36	18
1987	80	—	87	64	—	4	—	—	13	6

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	79%	17%	73%	0%
Social	43%	55%	54%	45%
Foreign	60%	37%	60%	40%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Paul E. Kanjorski (D), unopposed			
1988 primary	Paul E. Kanjorski (D), unopposed			(\$310,305)
1986 general	Paul E. Kanjorski (D)	112,405	(71%)	(\$713,740)
	Marc Holtzman (R)	46,785	(29%)	(\$1,353,170)

TWELFTH DISTRICT

The mountains and hills of western Pennsylvania, eastern Ohio and northern West Virginia, which encircle the Pittsburgh metropolitan area, form the largest industrial section of the country without a major city. The urban focus here is Pittsburgh, though it may be 100 miles away; the economy throughout has been based for years on steel and coal. Once upon a time, up through the 1920s, this was one of the most Republican parts of America, and Republican policies—the high tariff, discouragement of labor unions—were thought to have contributed greatly to steel's growth. Now people in these parts seem to see the Democrats—with their support for unions, for trade restrictions, perhaps for industrial policy—as the only possible savior of steel; and the steel country has been one of the few parts of America where Republican policies have grown more unpopular during the 1980s.

Rep. Paul E. Kanjorski (D)



Elected 1984; b. April 2, 1937, Nanticoke; home, Nanticoke; Temple U., Dickinson U.; Roman Catholic; married (Nancy).

Career: Practicing atty., 1966-85; Nanticoke City Solicitor, 1969-81; Admin. Law Judge, 1971-80.

Offices: 424 CHOB 20515, 202-225-6511. Also 10 E. South St., Wilkes-Barre 18701, 717-825-2200.

Committees: *Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs* (21st of 31 D). Subcommittees: Economic Stabilization; Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance; Housing and Community Development; Policy Research and Insurance. *Post Office and Civil Service* (13th of 15 D). Subcommittee: Human Resources (Chairman).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
88	70	52	90	82	63	20	13	40	36	18
87	80	—	87	64	—	4	—	—	13	6

Political Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	79%	—	17%	73%
Political	43%	—	55%	0%
Foreign	60%	—	37%	54%
				40%

Key Votes

Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	FOR
Sepphardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

8 general	Paul E. Kanjorski (D), unopposed				
8 primary	Paul E. Kanjorski (D), unopposed				(\$310,305)
6 general	Paul E. Kanjorski (D)	112,405	(71%)		(\$713,740)
	Marc Holtzman (R)	46,785	(29%)		(\$1,353,170)

12TH DISTRICT

The mountains and hills of western Pennsylvania, eastern Ohio and northern West Virginia, which encircle the Pittsburgh metropolitan area, form the largest industrial section of the country without a major city. The urban focus here is Pittsburgh, though it may be 100 miles away; the economy throughout has been based for years on steel and coal. Once upon a time, up through the 1920s, this was one of the most Republican parts of America, and Republican policies—the high tariff, discouragement of labor unions—were thought to have contributed vitally to steel's growth. Now people in these parts seem to see the Democrats—with their support for unions, for trade restrictions, perhaps for industrial policy—as the only possible savior of steel; and the steel country has been one of the few parts of America where Republican policies have grown more unpopular during the 1980s.

Much of the easternmost part of Pennsylvania's steel country, north of West Virginia and east of Pittsburgh, forms Pennsylvania's 12th Congressional District. It consists of two distinct areas. The largest city in the first is Johnstown, a steel town known best for the disastrous flood which occurred on May 31, 1889, when a dam broke and a 75-foot wall of water half a mile wide swept through the town killing more than 2200 people. The city had 67,000 people in 1920, 35,000 in 1980. This area was first settled by Scots-Irish farmers when it was still the frontier in the 1790s; in the 19th century bituminous coal was discovered here, and immigrants from other parts of Europe were attracted to work the mines and the blast furnaces. The other part of the district, containing about half its population, is almost all of Westmoreland County, just east of Pittsburgh's Allegheny County. Technically, this is a suburban county, which means that many people commute to jobs in Allegheny. Nevertheless, Westmoreland is large—40 miles east to west—and full of separate little industrial communities established on their own long before Pittsburgh's influence reached out this far. Both parts of the district are Democratic in local and congressional elections, and somewhat less reliably so in presidential contests. In the politics of the 1980s, both are liberal on economic and conservative on cultural and foreign issues.

This 12th District is represented by John Murtha, the undisputed power broker of the Pennsylvania and steel country delegations, the chairman of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, and the leading example, in a House full of Members air-expressing videotapes and faxing press releases to their districts, of a silent, behind-the-scenes power. Murtha is an old-fashioned Democrat, with no prejudice against supporting big-government programs, but no abstract yearning to do so either; his decisions tend to depend on how it will help areas like the 12th District or on whether it is a *quid* that he can trade for someone else's *quo*. On foreign policy he is strongly hawkish, a supporter of major defense systems and of U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan contras. His rare floor speeches are mostly on foreign policy and sometimes fervent: he was a Marine veteran of the Korean era who reenlisted in his middle thirties to serve in Vietnam, and was the first Vietnam veteran to be elected to the House.

Murtha shuns publicity as almost no 1980s politician does, to the point of refusing to be interviewed by reporters writing a story on him; you will not find him at a fashionable gathering of any kind. He depends on fellow Members, not just national reporters, to transmit his messages; his audience is the House Democratic Caucus, nothing wider, though he will work with Administration lobbyists from time to time; evidently he has enough pride in his own work not to need the praise of others.

In 1989 this anonymity-prizing member ascended to one of the most powerful, and ordinarily one of the most obscure, power positions in the House the chair of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. Murtha is not as liberal as Joseph Adabbo, Chairman until his death in April 1986, nor as enamored with high-powered weapons systems as pilot Bill Chappell, Chairman until his defeat in November 1988. As a combat-minded Marine, Murtha focuses especially on the condition of the enlisted man, insisting on maintaining benefits and pay for the rank and file in the military. Pennsylvania has few big military installations or prominent defense contractors for Murtha to protect, as Adabbo looked after aircraft plants in Long Island and Chappell contractors in Florida and others to whom he was linked; and the subcommittee has just a couple of defense policy doves. So Murtha will have considerable leeway, within the limits of the military budget, to advance the causes he believes in.

He seems confident he can win reelection in the 12th District. He first won the district in a 1974 special election to replace a Republican who had died, and he has not had serious Republican competition since; this has become a safe district as the steel country has trended Democratic. His one problem came in 1982, when he was placed in the same district with likeminded Democrat Don Bailey, also a Vietnam veteran; Murtha won 52%-38%, mostly because he had already represented most of the new district. Redistricting could conceivably be a problem for the 1990s, except that it seems unlikely the Pennsylvania legislature would want to

jeopardize Murtha's seat. His prospects are for continued reelection and continued power in the House.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 499,300, dn. 3.2% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 515,915, up 4.7% 1970-80. Households (1980): 78% family, 40% with children, 68% married couples; 24.9% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$153; median house value: \$38,400. Voting age pop. (1980): 374,878; 1% Black.

1988 Presidential Vote: Dukakis (D)..... 96,166 (52%)
 Bush (R)..... 86,183 (47%)

Rep. John P. Murtha (D)



Elected Feb. 5, 1974; b. June 17, 1932, New Martinsville, WV; home, Johnstown; U. of Pittsburgh, B.A. 1962, Indiana U. of PA; Roman Catholic; married (Joyce).

Career: USMC, Vietnam; Owner, Johnstown Minute Car Wash; PA House of Reps., 1969-74.

Offices: 2423 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2065. Also Vine and Walnut Sts., 2d Fl., Center Town Mall, Johnstown 15907, 814-535-2642; P.O. Bldg., 201 N. Center St., Somerset 15501, 814-445-6041; and 206 N. Main St., Greensburg 15601, 412-832-3088.

Committees: *Appropriations* (12th of 35 D). Subcommittees: Defense (Chairman); Interior; Legislative.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	55	70	86	64	38	46	2	100	29	11
1987	60	—	85	71	—	26	—	—	13	9

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	79%	— 17%	73%	— 0%
Social	52%	— 47%	60%	— 39%
Foreign	44%	— 56%	44%	— 56%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	John P. Murtha (D), unopposed		
1988 primary	John P. Murtha (D), unopposed		(\$401,945)
1986 general	John P. Murtha (D).....	97,135 (67%)	(\$272,436)
	Kathy Holtzman (R).....	46,937 (33%)	

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National Journal Ratings

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Social	52%	— 47%	60%	— 39%
Foreign	44%	— 56%	44%	— 56%

Key Votes

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1) Homeless \$ | AGN | 5) Ban Drug Test | AGN | 9) SDI Research | AGN |
| 2) Gephardt Amdt | FOR | 6) Drug Death Pen | FOR | 10) Ban Chem Weaps | AGN |
| 3) Deficit Reduc | FOR | 7) Handgun Sales | FOR | 11) Aid to Contras | FOR |
| 4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice | AGN | 8) Ban D.C. Abort \$ | FOR | 12) Nuclear Testing | AGN |

Election Results

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	Kathy Holtzman (R).....	46,937	(33%)	

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT

For most of the 20th century, the Main Line has been a synonym for lush, rich, snobby suburbia. The towns strung out along the Main Line of the old Pennsylvania Railroad today look better than ever, their vast comfortable houses are now coming back into fashion, and their huge overhanging trees are as verdant as ever. On the Main Line and behind it, in suburbs like Gladwyne back toward the Schuylkill River, live most of greater Philadelphia's richest and most influential people. The Main Line forms part, but only part, of the 13th Congressional District of Pennsylvania; in fact, the Main Line past Bryn Mawr is outside the district, in the 7th and 5th, and the greatest growth is in outer Montgomery County. This is nonetheless the highest income district in Pennsylvania and one of the most affluent in the nation. But it has its patches of variety, reflecting an old and varied history.

Out past the Main Line, for example, you come to the old Schuylkill factory towns of Conshohocken and Norristown and then to the shopping mall and high-rise office center at King of Prussia, just short of Valley Forge. On the eastern side of the 13th District are some of Philadelphia's more Jewish suburbs, just north of the city. Farther out in Montgomery County are small towns surrounded now by subdivisions where some of the residents are still members of the old German sects which settled these rolling hills in the 18th century; among their members are Richard Schweiker who was the 13th's congressman for eight years before he was elected to the Senate in 1968 and then served as Secretary of Health and Human Services in the first Reagan term. The 13th also includes two wards in Philadelphia: the old Chestnut Hill neighborhood, a posh area with grass tennis courts, and funkier, more working-class Manayunk, perched on the hills above the Schuylkill River.

The congressman from this district is Lawrence Coughlin, a Republican first elected in 1968, a Yale contemporary of George Bush and graduate of Harvard Business School who, with his ever-present bowtie, looks the picture of comfortable Main Line chic. Coughlin is the fifth-ranking Republican on the Appropriations Committee, a supporter of mass transit spending generally and particularly in Philadelphia. Coughlin has also been a lead sponsor of amendments to prohibit testing the antisatellite weapons connected with the Reagan Administration's Strategic Defense Initiative so long as the Russians don't test theirs. Coughlin is ranking minority member of the Select Committee on Narcotics and oversaw the Drug Abuse Act of 1986. Overall, Coughlin's voting record can be described as conservative on economic issues and mildly liberal on cultural and foreign issues—which probably matches opinion in the district pretty well.

Coughlin had a couple of tough challenges in the 1980s from state legislator Joseph Hoeffel. In 1984, he caught Coughlin unaware and held him to 56% of the vote; in 1986, he ran again, in a somewhat less Republican year, but Coughlin was better prepared and won with 59%. Against weak competition in 1988, Coughlin won 67%—probably more typical of what he can expect in the future.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 526,200, up 2.3% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 514,346, dn. 2.9% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 34% with children, 62% married couples; 30.9% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$269; median house value: \$58,000. Voting age pop. (1980): 392,167; 6% Black, Asian origin, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 135,283 (56%)
 Dukakis (D) 104,266 (43%)

Rep. Lawrence Coughlin (R)



Elected 1968; b. Apr. 11, 1929, Wilkes-Barre; home, Plymouth Meeting; Yale U., A.B. 1950, Harvard U., M.B.A. 1954, Temple U., LL.B. 1958; Episcopalian; married (Susan).

Career: USMC, Korea; Practicing atty., 1958-69; PA House of Reps., 1965-67; PA Senate, 1967-69.

Offices: 2309 RHOB 20515, 202-225-6111. Also 2 Stony Creek Ofc. Ctr., 151 W. Marshall St., Norristown 19401, 215-277-4040; and 4390 Main St., Philadelphia 19127, 215-482-3672.

Committees: *Appropriations* (5th of 22 R). Subcommittees: Transportation (Ranking Member); VA, HUD and Independent Agencies. *Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control* (Ranking Member of 12 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	50	59	37	64	69	48	52	60	79	43
1987	36	—	36	50	—	52	—	—	60	47

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	30%	— 69%	31%	— 68%
Social	46%	— 54%	45%	— 54%
Foreign	46%	— 53%	45%	— 55%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Lawrence Coughlin (R)	152,191	(67%)	(\$225,412)
	Bernard Tomkin (D)	76,424	(33%)	(\$60,672)
1988 primary	Lawrence Coughlin (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Lawrence Coughlin (R)	100,701	(59%)	(\$702,834)
	Joseph M. Hoeffel (D)	71,381	(41%)	(\$455,101)

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT

Pittsburgh, the center of America's steel industry for more than 100 years, was a strategic site long before that: it was toward Fort Duquesne, where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers join to form the Ohio, that Braddock's army was headed (with George Washington helping to lead the way) when it was ambushed and defeated in 1754. Not so many years later, trees were felled and a city was carved out of the wilderness here and named after the English statesman Pitt—the first urban center in the American interior. Pittsburgh grew rapidly in those days when most of the nation's commerce moved over water; when traffic switched to railroads, Pittsburgh also did nicely, since they had to run at riverside rather than scale the mountains. Soon Pittsburgh became the leading producer of one commodity the railroads needed, steel. With

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Elected 1968; b. Apr. 11, 1929, Wilkes-Barre; home, Plymouth Meeting; Yale U., A.B. 1950, Harvard U., M.B.A. 1954, Temple U., LL.B. 1958; Episcopalian; married (Susan).
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Committees: Appropriations (5th of 22 R). Subcommittees: Transportation (Ranking Member); VA, HUD and Independent Agencies. *Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control* (Ranking Member of 12 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
988	50	59	37	64	69	48	52	60	79	43
987	36	—	36	50	—	52	—	—	60	47

National Journal Ratings

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large deposits of coal nearby and ready access to iron ore from across the Great Lakes, Pittsburgh firmly established itself by 1890 as the nation's leading steel producer.

Fifty years ago Pittsburgh was known for its steel—and its smoke. "The triangle formed by the rivers is packed with smoke-grimed buildings," wrote the *WPA Guide*. "From the manufacturing establishments come clouds of devastating smoke that unite with the river fog to form Pittsburgh's traditional nuisance, 'smog.' Except for the Golden Triangle and a few outlying sections, the city stretches its length and breadth over hills. Dwellings on the South Side and East End heights look down upon mill stacks and skyscrapers. Streams of traffic pour through tunnels, over numerous bridges and along highways skirting cliffs." Today Pittsburgh's air is clear, long since cleaned up by a city government-business-labor partnership. And increasingly, it wants to be known not as the steel city, but as a major white-collar center, a city most of whose jobs are in services, government, research and development; a city not pegged to a declining industry, but to rising businesses, and as a center for research in robotics, for health care and for computer programming. It has good air service, now that it has become the main hub for USAir. It is even, people are discovering, a pleasant place to live: in 1985, Rand McNally even named it the best place to live in the country.

The 14th Congressional District of Pennsylvania includes all of the city of Pittsburgh plus a few new adjacent suburbs. It takes in most of the Pittsburgh area's landmarks: the Golden Triangle; the University of Pittsburgh and its skyscraper campus; Carnegie-Mellon University, a center of artificial intelligence research. Not that many of the Pittsburgh area's steel mills lay in the 14th, but some present and former steelworkers do live here, mostly in ethnic neighborhoods nestled in the Pittsburgh hills. But the 14th also includes some of the metropolitan area's higher income neighborhoods, at a time when they seem to have new vitality: Shadyside, with newly renovated shops near some of Pittsburgh's old mansions, and the predominantly Jewish Squirrel Hill. About 24% of Pittsburgh's residents are black, a smaller figure than in most industrial cities because employment opportunities here peaked before the big wave of black migration from the South. Before the 1930s, in the heyday of Henry Clay Frick and Andrew Mellon, Pittsburgh was a solidly Republican town. Since the New Deal, the 14th District has been solidly Democratic, in every election—and even more strongly in the 1980s.

The congressman from the 14th District, first elected in 1980, is William Coyne. He was an ally of the late Pittsburgh Mayor Richard Caligiuri on the city council, and demonstrated a strong base by beating the son of his predecessor, William Moorhead, in the 1980 Democratic primary by a 65%-35% margin. After the 1984 election, in a campaign managed by the 12th District's Jack Murtha, he won a seat on the Ways and Means Committee, just in time to look after the needs of the steel industry. Legislatively, Coyne has come up with bills to target revenue sharing and low-interest loans for infrastructure to places with high unemployment or business failure rates, and he would require a community impact statement for mergers and would have the FTC deny interest deductibility for those which cost too many jobs in its judgment. He is reelected without difficulty, beating by wide margins in both 1986 and 1988, Richard Caligiuri, a distant cousin of the late mayor.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 474,700, dn. 8.1% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 516,629, dn. 17.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 63% family, 28% with children, 45% married couples; 47.7% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$174; median house value: \$32,500. Voting age pop. (1980): 405,532; 19% Black, 17% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:

Dukakis (D)	140,594	(72%)
Bush (R)	51,387	(26%)

Rep. William J. Coyne (D)



Elected 1980; b. Aug. 24, 1936, Pittsburgh; home, Pittsburgh; Robert Morris Col., B.S. 1965; Roman Catholic; single.

Career: Army, Korea; Corporate accountant; PA House of Rep 1971-72; Pittsburgh City Cncl., 1974-80.

Offices: 2455 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2301. Also 2009 Fed. Bldg, 1000 Liberty Ave., Pittsburgh 15222, 412-644-2870.

Committees: *Ways and Means* (20th of 23 D). Subcommittee Health; Human Resources.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	95	91	96	73	88	0	5	0	31	9
1987	96	—	96	86	—	0	—	—	7	8

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	87%	—	8%	73%
Social	86%	—	0%	—
Foreign	79%	—	21%	81%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	William J. Coyne (D)	135,181	(79%)	(\$80,730)
	Richard E. Caligiuri (R)	36,719	(21%)	
1988 primary	William J. Coyne (D), unopposed			
1986 general	William J. Coyne (D)	104,726	(90%)	(\$60,903)
	Richard E. Caligiuri (LIB)	6,058	(5%)	
	Mark Weddleton (SW)	3,120	(3%)	

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT

Tucked in among the rolling hills of eastern Pennsylvania, little known to the rest of America, is the Lehigh Valley, long one of America's original heavy industrial areas, now apparently on its way to becoming something else. Much of the Valley was settled by Pennsylvania Dutch, notably the Moravian sect who founded Bethlehem in 1741 (they are the same people who started the Salem of Winston-Salem, North Carolina); a farm area in the early 1800s, its dependable labor force and its location on a river emptying into the Delaware made it a natural location for early industries. As recently as the early 1980s, the Lehigh Valley was the source of some of America's best-known products: Easton produced Crayola crayons and Dixie cups.



Elected 1980; b. Aug. 24, 1936, Pittsburgh; home, Pittsburgh; Robert Morris Col., B.S. 1965; Roman Catholic; single.

Career: Army, Korea; Corporate accountant; PA House of Reps., 1971-72; Pittsburgh City Cncl., 1974-80.

Offices: 2455 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2301. Also 2009 Fed. Bldg., 1000 Liberty Ave., Pittsburgh 15222, 412-644-2870.

Committees: *Ways and Means* (20th of 23 D). Subcommittees: Health; Human Resources.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	95	91	96	73	88	0	5	0	31	9
1987	96	—	96	86	—	0	—	—	7	8

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	87%	8%	73%	0%
Social	86%	0%	78%	0%
Foreign	79%	21%	81%	0%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
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	Mark Weddleton (SW)	3,120	(3%)	

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT

Tucked in among the rolling hills of eastern Pennsylvania, little known to the rest of America, is the Lehigh Valley, long one of America's original heavy industrial areas, now apparently on its way to becoming something else. Much of the Valley was settled by Pennsylvania Dutch, notably the Moravian sect who founded Bethlehem in 1741 (they are the same people who started the Salem of Winston-Salem, North Carolina); a farm area in the early 1800s, its dependable labor force and its location on a river emptying into the Delaware made it a natural location for early industries. As recently as the early 1980s, the Lehigh Valley was the source of some of America's best-known products: Easton produced Crayola crayons and Dixie cups,

Allentown was the home of the Mack Truck factory, and Bethlehem was the home base of the number two steelmaker, Bethlehem Steel. By early 1987, the Valley was still producing crayons and cups, but Mack Truck had moved one plant to Winnsboro, South Carolina. Meanwhile, Bethlehem's furnaces were mostly cold and the company for several years tottered on the brink of bankruptcy.

Yet the Lehigh Valley does not seem to be sinking into permanent decrepitude. It retains important appliance factories, cement operations and a big AT&T facility in Allentown. The completion of Interstate 78 across New Jersey means that the Lehigh Valley is just one and a half hours straight west from New York City. Its lower cost of living is attracting new residents, and its low wage costs have inspired insurance companies to move some of their office jobs here. New office buildings and shopping centers are springing up. Together with a small portion of an adjacent rural county, the Lehigh Valley forms Pennsylvania's 15th Congressional District. Once solidly Democratic, it has elected a Republican congressman for a decade and voted in 1988 for George Bush over Michael Dukakis.

That political change and the evident economic growth here are both vindications of the political views of the 15th District's unusual congressman, Republican Don Ritter. He is unusual in Congress because he is an engineer, and because he spent a year in the Soviet Union and speaks Russian. He is unusual for Pennsylvania industrial districts because he is a devotee of free-market economics, with little interest in wooing union leaders or suburban liberals. He is unusual among market-oriented conservative Republicans, because he seems to have a flair for politics which has translated consistently into winning margins in this district. Ritter does fall away from the free-market crowd on trade issues. But otherwise he has preached the gospel that free enterprise will provide jobs and economic growth better than government can, and he and his constituents have seen it happen, evidently, in the Lehigh Valley.

Ritter serves on the Energy and Commerce Committee, perhaps the single most important committee when it comes to government regulation of business. In general, he supports deregulation and relaxation of rigid government regulations, as on clean air. He is on the Science, Space and Technology Committee and is ranking Republican on the Investigations and Oversight Subcommittee. His record on cultural and foreign issues, as well as economics, is solidly conservative. He is an especially strong—and well-informed—critic of Soviet internal repression. He is proud of having gotten the Lehigh & Delaware Canals declared a National Heritage Corridor, and he is co-chair of the High Definition Television Task Force. He is interested in helping the families of victims who died in the December 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103, and would like to see a joint congressional investigation.

Ritter has perhaps been fortunate in his opposition. He won the seat in 1978 by upsetting Democrat Fred Rooney, who had not been spending much time in the district; Ritter's family still lives there, and he returns every weekend. In 1980 Ritter beat 65-year-old state Senator Jeanette Reibman; in 1988 he defeated Reibman's son by the same 57%-43% margin by which he won in 1986. Some incumbents would regard that as uncomfortably close; Ritter, with his sense of where the economy is going nationally and in the Lehigh Valley, probably regards it as satisfactory.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 537,900, up 4.4% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 515,259, up 7.7% 1970-80. Households (1980): 75% family, 37% with children, 64% married couples; 28.8% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$189; median house value: \$44,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 385,814; 2% Spanish origin, 1% Black.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	103,803	(55%)
	Dukakis (D)	84,625	(44%)



Elected 1978; b. Oct. 21, 1940, New York, NY; home, Coopersburg; Lehigh U., B.S. 1961, M.I.T., M.S. 1963, Sc.D. 1966; Unitarian; married (Edith).

Career: Scientific Exchange Fellow, Moscow, USSR, 1967-68; Asst. Prof., CA St. Poly. U., 1968-69; Prof., Asst. to Vice Pres. for Research, Lehigh U., 1969-76; Mgr., Res. Devel. Prog., Lehigh U., 1976-79.

Offices: 2447 RHOB 20515, 202-225-6411. Also 2 Bethlehem Plaza, Ste. 300, Bethlehem 18018, 215-866-0916; 1444 Hamilton St., Hotel Traylor, Ste. 206, Allentown 18102, 215-439-8861; and Alpha Bldg., Rm. 705, Easton 18042, 215-258-8383.

Committees: *Energy and Commerce* (8th of 17 R). Subcommittees: Commerce, Consumer Protection and Competitiveness (Ranking Member); Telecommunications and Finance. *Science, Space and Technology* (6th of 19 R). Subcommittees: Investigations and Oversight (Ranking Member); Science, Research and Technology.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	10	27	37	55	31	84	66	100	77	54
1987	20	—	34	29	—	64	—	—	73	62

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	35%	—	64%	—
Social	17%	—	83%	—
Foreign	16%	—	78%	—
			0%	—
				80%

Key Votes

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1) Homeless \$ | FOR | 5) Ban Drug Test | FOR | 9) SDI Research | FOR |
| 2) Gephardt Amdt | FOR | 6) Drug Death Pen | FOR | 10) Ban Chem Weaps | AGN |
| 3) Deficit Reduc | AGN | 7) Handgun Sales | FOR | 11) Aid to Contras | FOR |
| 4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice | AGN | 8) Ban D.C. Abort \$ | FOR | 12) Nuclear Testing | AGN |

Election Results

1988 general	Donald L. (Don) Ritter (R)	106,951	(57%)	(\$752,332)
	Ed Reibman (D)	79,127	(43%)	(\$355,016)
1988 primary	Donald L. (Don) Ritter (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Donald L. (Don) Ritter (R)	74,829	(57%)	(\$440,370)
	Joe Simonetta (D)	56,972	(43%)	(\$51,639)

SIXTEENTH DISTRICT

One part of America that has not changed much in half a century is where the Plain People live in Pennsylvania Dutch country. Tourists—more of them these days—can still see Amish families clad in black, clattering over the back roads in horse-drawn carriages, scrupulously tended farms set amid rolling hills, barns decorated with hex signs. The Pennsylvania Dutch are actually German in origin (“Dutch” comes from Deutsch), descended from members of Amish, Mennonite and other pietistic sects who left the principalities of 18th-century Germany for the religious freedom of the Quaker-dominated colony of Pennsylvania. The Quakers were happy to



Elected 1978; b. Oct. 21, 1940, New York, NY; home, Coopersburg; Lehigh U., B.S. 1961, M.I.T., M.S. 1963, Sc.D. 1966; Unitarian; married (Edith).

Career: Scientific Exchange Fellow, Moscow, USSR, 1967-68; Asst. Prof., CA St. Poly. U., 1968-69; Prof., Asst. to Vice Pres. for Research, Lehigh U., 1969-76; Mgr., Res. Devel. Prog., Lehigh U., 1976-79.

Offices: 2447 RHOB 20515, 202-225-6411. Also 2 Bethlehem Plaza, Ste. 300, Bethlehem 18018, 215-866-0916; 1444 Hamilton St., Hotel Traylor, Ste. 206, Allentown 18102, 215-439-8861; and Alpha Bldg., Rm. 705, Easton 18042, 215-258-8383.

Committees: *Energy and Commerce* (8th of 17 R). Subcommittees: Commerce, Consumer Protection and Competitiveness (Ranking Member); Telecommunications and Finance. *Science, Space and Technology* (6th of 19 R). Subcommittees: Investigations and

ght (Ranking Member); Science, Research and Technology.

Ratings

ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
10	27	37	55	31	84	66	100	77	54
20	—	34	29	—	64	—	—	73	62

Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
nic	35%	— 64%	31%	— 68%
	17%	— 83%	27%	— 72%
	16%	— 78%	0%	— 80%

Issues

less \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
ardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
it Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
Print Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Results

neral	Donald L. (Don) Ritter (R)	106,951	(57%)	(\$752,332)
	Ed Reibman (D)	79,127	(43%)	(\$355,016)
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neral	Donald L. (Don) Ritter (R)	74,829	(57%)	(\$440,370)
	Joe Simonetta (D)	56,972	(43%)	(\$51,639)

15TH DISTRICT

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welcome the Germans, but not so eager to have them in Philadelphia. So they were sent to Germantown, a few miles away, until they could move out to what was then the frontier, where they could protect the pacifist Quakers against the Indians. Thus the Dutch came to the rolling green hills of the part of Pennsylvania centered on Lancaster County. The land was naturally fertile, and careful cultivation by the Dutch increased its productivity. Today the small farms in Lancaster County continue to produce some of the highest per-acre yields on earth.

There is no sign in the Pennsylvania Dutch country of the farm crises you hear about on the Great Plains. Farms here are small, equipment simple, chemical fertilizer use very limited, cultivation intensive, with all the children in the usually large Amish families pitching in. The commercial ethos of farming on the prairies and Great Plains has always been tempered here by communal values and family responsibility. In the Sun Belt and on the Great Plains, Americans seek the reassurance of cultural continuity in the midst of the economic change inevitably produced by market capitalism. In the Pennsylvania Dutch country, cultural continuity is a fact and helps to sustain what other Americans might regard as an unduly modest standard of living. Most of the Pennsylvania Dutch, it should be added, are not plain people. But the heritage is important: most people here are of German descent and have a strong work ethic. Small industries have settled in the Lancaster area because of the skills and work habits of the labor force, and agriculture continues to be important economically. The brick townhouses of Lancaster, like the frame farmhouses of the Amish, are sparkingly well kept and seem little different from what they must have looked like 50 years ago.

The 16th Congressional District of Pennsylvania includes almost all of Lancaster County, mostly Dutch Lebanon County to the north and part of Chester County to the east. Of all eastern congressional districts, it consistently casts the highest Republican percentages in presidential elections. For years the Pennsylvania Dutch area was represented by Republican congressmen who were as languid in their demeanor as they were conservative on substantive issues.

The current incumbent, Robert Walker, is different. He is fully as conservative as any Republican—and eager to proclaim himself so. He is one of the leaders of the group of young Republicans who took advantage of the "special orders" procedure, which allows speechmaking after the legislative business of the day is completed, to present on the C-SPAN cable network—which broadcasts congressional proceedings—extensive denunciations of all things Democratic—and he was the one caught at the podium, gesturing and asking rhetorical questions, when Speaker Tip O'Neill ordered the C-SPAN cameras to show that the Republicans were speaking to an empty House. But Walker and his allies have surely had the last laugh. They have found a forum in which to attract attention for their cases, substantive and procedural, against the Democrats, and they have goaded the majority into acting in an overbearing manner that suggests they are abridging the minority's rights. And they have moved their Republican colleagues to challenge the Democratic majority more aggressively, on issues and procedure in the House and in elections back home—as symbolized by the election of Walker's ally Newt Gingrich as House Republican whip, and his own appointment as chief deputy whip, in March 1989.

Walker has another forum these days: he is ranking Republican on the Science, Space and Technology Committee. Under Chairman Robert Roe this is not a terribly partisan body, and Walker has distinguished himself by pushing for an expanded space program and, with Bill Nelson who represents Cape Canaveral, he resuscitated the National Space Council over Administration opposition headed by the Vice President. Walker also prides himself as the House Member who has offered the most successful floor amendments in the 99th and 100th Congress; 38 of the 63 he proposed were adopted. The most famous—or notorious—of these is his "Drug-free Workplace" amendment, offered when Members were desperate to be seen doing something to fight drugs. Opponents ridiculed Walker's proposal, arguing that it is impossible for the government to police the workplaces of every contractor and that it would be onerous and

often harmful to the government to cancel the contract of an employer one of whose employees despite its precautions and against its wishes, used drugs on the job. This led to all sorts of amendments to the amendment. But even if most Members thought Walker's amendment was a cheap shot, they voted for it.

Few people would have predicted such an influential career for Walker, who is gifted neither with the intellectual adventurousness of Gingrich or the oratorical virtuosity of Michel. He is, however, a hard worker, a plugger, a believer and one whose views are thought through rather than reflexive: he was one of those conservatives who, for example, rather than defending South Africa in late 1984 and early 1985, organized a letter of protest to its government. Many of Walker's Republican allies represent marginal or iffy districts, or have run for statewide office. Walker's seat is safe as safe can be, and no one has noted yet the glint of senatorial or gubernatorial ambition in his eye.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 550,700, up 7.0% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 514,585, up 12.9% 1970-80
 Households (1980): 77% family, 41% with children. 67% married couples; 30.4% housing units rented
 median monthly rent: \$179; median house value: \$46,400. Voting age pop. (1980): 369,823; 2% Black, 2% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 132,402 (69%)
 Dukakis (D) 57,214 (30%)

Rep. Robert S. Walker (R)



Elected 1976; b. Dec. 23, 1942, Bradford; home, East Petersburg; Millersville U., B.S. 1964, U. of DE, M.A. 1968; Presbyterian; married (Sue).

Career: Teacher, 1964-67; A. A. to U.S. Rep. Edwin D. Eshleman, 1967-77.

Offices: 2445 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2411. Also Lancaster Cnty. Crthse., 50 N. Duke St., Lancaster 17603, 717-393-0666; 307 Municipal Bldg., 400 S. 8th St., Lebanon 17402, 717-274-1641; and P.O. Box 69, Cochranville 19330, 215-593-2155.

Committees: *Science, Space and Technology* (Ranking Member of 19 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	5	13	14	27	50	100	89	100	93	86
1987	4	—	15	7	—	96	—	—	87	88

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	0%	93%	0%	89%
Social	13%	84%	10%	85%
Foreign	0%	84%	0%	80%

n harmful to the government to cancel the contract of an employer one of whose employees, site its precautions and against its wishes, used drugs on the job. This led to all sorts of amendments to the amendment. But even if most Members thought Walker's amendment was a slap shot, they voted for it.

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Committees: *Science, Space and Technology* (Ranking Member of 19 R).

Ratings

ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
5	13	14	27	50	100	89	100	93	86
4	—	15	7	—	96	—	—	87	88

Political Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Democratic	0%	93%	0%	89%
Republican	13%	84%	10%	85%
Independent	0%	84%	0%	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Robert S. Walker (R)	136,944	(74%)	(\$91,950)
	Ernest E. Guyll (D)	48,169	(26%)	
1988 primary	Robert S. Walker (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Robert S. Walker (R)	100,784	(75%)	(\$75,730)
	James D. Hagelgans (D)	34,399	(25%)	

SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT

The Susquehanna is one of America's largest, and yet most obscure rivers—the longest river in the East, if you include the Chesapeake Bay, which is really the flooded lower Susquehanna valley. The Susquehanna is the one river strong enough to break through the mountain chains that run, like rugged corduroy, through central Pennsylvania. But few songs are written to celebrate the Susquehanna, it occupies nothing like the place of the Hudson or even the Schuylkill in our art, it has not given a name to a fever (Potomac), a school of painting (Hudson) or economics (Charles), or to a state (Ohio, Mississippi, Alabama, Missouri, Colorado).

The 17th Congressional District of Pennsylvania is a string of counties along the Susquehanna River, from Harrisburg in the south to Williamsport, up almost to the New York state border in the north. Cut diagonally by dozens of mountain ridges, the 17th includes several very different areas. About half its population is in and around the state capital of Harrisburg, an old city with a declining population and a large black community, not far upstream from the Three Mile Island nuclear plant. Several hours' drive north is Williamsport, a small manufacturing town that hosts the Little League World Series and has been the home for years of *Grit*, the world's largest family weekly newspaper. In the middle of the district, on the east shore of the Susquehanna, is Northumberland County, a onetime anthracite mining area. On the west shore are three counties reaching inland between the mountain chains, containing small manufacturing firms and such diverse institutions as Bucknell University and the cushiest of federal penitentiaries, Allenwood.

In most elections, this is a solidly Republican district. Harrisburg seems to retain, from the 1860-1930 era of Republican dominance in Pennsylvania, a Republican preference that survives all ethnic and racial change; Williamsport is quintessential Republican country. Northumberland is sometimes Democratic, but the west shore counties are among the most Republican in the nation; two of the three went for Barry Goldwater in 1964. The district did elect a Democratic congressman, Allan Ertel, in 1976, 1978 and 1980; he went on to close defeats in the 1982 race for governor and 1984 race for attorney general.

The congressman now is Republican George Gekas, former state senator from Harrisburg who helped to design the district boundaries and, when Ertel ran for governor, won the primary with 60% and the general election with 58%. Gekas specialized in crime legislation as a member of the Pennsylvania legislature, and is proud of sponsoring the state's mandatory sentencing and child abuse laws. In the House he is ranking Republican on the Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, where he has led the governments impeachment proceedings against U.S. District Judge Alcee L. Hastings. Since his second term, Gekas has been heavily involved in the antidrug package, and he called for the death penalty against those who commit murder in the

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 525,700, up 1.9% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 515,900, up 7.2% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 38% with children, 62% married couples; 31.4% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$164; median house value: \$37,800. Voting age pop. (1980): 376,440; 6% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 112,911 (63%)
 Dukakis (D)..... 64,505 (36%)

Rep. George W. Gekas (R)



Elected 1982; b. April 14, 1930, Harrisburg; home, Harrisburg; Dickinson Col., B.A. 1952, Dickinson Law Sch., J.D. 1958; Greek Orthodox; married (Evangeline).

Career: Asst. Dist. Atty., Dauphin Cnty., 1960-66; PA House of Reps., 1967-75; PA Senate, 1977-83.

Offices: 1519 LHOB 20515, 202-225-4315. Also 1 Riverside Ofc. Ctr., Ste. 301, 2101 N. Front St., Harrisburg 17110, 717-232-5123; Herman Schneebeli Fed. Bldg., P.O. Box 606, Williamsport 17703, 717-327-8161; and R.D. 5, Box 198, Ste. L, Selingsgrove 17870, 717-743-1575.

Committees: *Judiciary* (6th of 14 R). Subcommittees: Crime; Criminal Justice (Ranking Member).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	10	26	20	27	50	92	76	100	93	76
1987	8	—	19	36	—	83	—	—	87	66

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	0%	93%	0%	89%
Social	13%	84%	30%	69%
Foreign	16%	78%	0%	80%

Key Votes

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1) Homeless \$ | FOR | 5) Ban Drug Test | FOR | 9) SDI Research | FOR |
| 2) Gephardt Amdt | AGN | 6) Drug Death Pen | FOR | 10) Ban Chem Weaps | AGN |
| 3) Deficit Reduc | AGN | 7) Handgun Sales | FOR | 11) Aid to Contras | FOR |
| 4) Kill Pint Clsng Notice | FOR | 8) Ban D.C. Abort \$ | AGN | 12) Nuclear Testing | AGN |

Election Results

1988 general	George W. Gekas (R)	166,289	(100%)	(\$97,611)
1988 primary	George W. Gekas (R), unopposed			
1986 general	George W. Gekas (R)	101,027	(74%)	(\$90,963)
	Michael S. Ogden (D)	36,157	(26%)	(\$3,335)

rise of a drug felony. His brand of politics seems very popular along the Susquehanna, and he has been reelected twice by overwhelming margins.

People: Est. Pop. 1986: 525,700, up 1.9% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 515,900, up 7.2% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 38% with children, 62% married couples; 31.4% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$164; median house value: \$37,800. Voting age pop. (1980): 376,440; 6% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 112,911 (63%)
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Committees: *Judiciary* (6th of 14 R). Subcommittees: Crime; Criminal Justice (Ranking Member).

Group Ratings

ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
10	26	20	27	50	92	76	100	93	76
8	—	19	36	—	83	—	—	87	66

Political Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Democratic	0%	93%	0%	89%
Republican	13%	84%	30%	69%
Independent	16%	78%	0%	80%

Legislative Notes

Unlimited \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
Pharmaceutical Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
Alcohol Tax Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
Alcohol Pricing Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Primary Election Results

General	George W. Gekas (R)	166,289	(100%)	(\$97,611)
Primary	George W. Gekas (R), unopposed			
General	George W. Gekas (R)	101,027	(74%)	(\$90,963)
	Michael S. Ogden (D)	36,157	(26%)	(\$3,335)

EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT

Surrounding Pittsburgh like a thick but irregularly shaped doughnut with one bite taken out of it is the 18th Congressional District of Pennsylvania. The Republican legislature packed into this single seat just about all the strong Republican suburbs it could find, and connected them using a few Democratic areas as possible. So within the 18th you will find the residences of most of Pittsburgh's elite, in leafy, secluded suburbs like Fox Chapel and Sewickley. The district also includes solid high income, but not elite, suburbs like Mount Lebanon and Upper St. Clair Township, south of the Golden Triangle. But when you go down to the flood plain or over the next hill from these places, you run into much more modest suburban territory, from pleasant 1950s tract housing to gritty little factory towns built in a hurry 80 or 100 years ago.

This makes the 18th District a mixed bag politically—the most Republican constituency possible in metropolitan Pittsburgh, but still not Republican by any margin in most races. It was first elected John Heinz to Congress in 1972 and 1974, but when he ran for the Senate in 1976, the district elected Democrat Doug Walgren and has reelected him ever since. Walgren has had some luck; he had weak opponents in his first election and in the 1980 and 1984 presidential years.

Walgren is blessed with committee assignments which did not look interesting when he got them, but do now. He has a seat on the Science, Space and Technology Committee and chairs a subcommittee on Science, Research and Technology at just the time when voters want more and better research—and nowhere more so than in the Pittsburgh area, where Walgren can argue that he has bills to spur steel technology, make Pittsburgh the nation's supercomputer center, invest in clean coal technology, and promote cogeneration from coal. He has increased funding of the National Science Foundation and sponsored a Computer Security Act to protect information in civilian computer databases. He has pushed to give inventors more patent rights and to have Japanese technical literature translated. He also sits on the Energy and Commerce Committee—the most sought-after committee assignment in the 1980s, because it covers so much federal regulatory law. On this body he has been less active. Walgren is a bit out of place in the Pennsylvania delegation, a bit less liberal on economics and more so on non-economic issues than most of his colleagues; he voted for Gramm-Rudman, supported John Glenn for President in 1984 and was the only Pennsylvanian not to back the measure that allowed William Gray to win the Budget chairmanship.

Walgren's visibility on the technology issues increased greatly in the middle 1980's, just in time for the 1986 election, in which he faced a well-financed challenge from businessman Ernie Buckman. With this new record he could point to, and a voting record well-tailored to the most affluent part of the steel belt, Walgren won reelection with 63% of the vote. He got the same 63% in 1988, as he once again drew weak opposition in the presidential year.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 503,100, dn. 2.5% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 516,050, dn. 0.8% 1970-80. Households (1980): 78% family, 38% with children, 68% married couples; 24.2% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$237; median house value: \$57,300. Voting age pop. (1980): 382,408; 2% Black, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 123,583 (53%)
 Dukakis (D) 106,535 (46%)



Elected 1976; b. Dec. 28, 1940, Rochester, NY; home, Mt. Lebanon; Dartmouth Col., B.A. 1963, Stanford U., LL.B. 1966; Roman Catholic; married (Carmala).

Career: Staff atty., Neighborhood Legal Svcs., 1967-68; Asst. Solicitor, Allegheny Cnty., 1967-69; Practicing atty., 1969-72; Corp. Cnsl., Behavioral Research Lab., 1973-75.

Offices: 2441 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2135. Also 2117 Fed. Bldg., 1000 Liberty Ave., Pittsburgh 15222, 412-391-4016.

Committees: *Energy and Commerce* (8th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Energy and Power; Health and the Environment; Oversight and Investigations. *Science, Space and Technology* (5th of 30 D). Subcommittees: Energy Research and Development; Science, Research and Technology (Chairman).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	90	77	85	91	81	4	15	0	25	17
1987	92	—	84	86	—	0	—	—	13	6

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB	—	1988 CONS	1987 LIB	—	1987 CONS
Economic	79%	—	17%	73%	—	0%
Social	68%	—	31%	72%	—	27%
Foreign	84%	—	0%	81%	—	0%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Douglas (Doug) Walgren (D)	136,924	(63%)	(\$321,074)
	John A. Newman (R)	80,975	(37%)	(\$16,349)
1988 primary	Douglas (Doug) Walgren (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Douglas (Doug) Walgren (D)	104,164	(63%)	(\$557,031)
	Ernie Buckman (R)	61,164	(37%)	(\$983,798)

NINETEENTH DISTRICT

The rolling green farmland of southern Pennsylvania, just west of the Pennsylvania Dutch country and southwest of the state capital of Harrisburg and running up to the base of the first Appalachian chains, makes up the 19th Congressional District of Pennsylvania. The most famous part of this district, Gettysburg—the tourist-thronged site of the Civil War's northernmost battle—is also the most sparsely populated, at least by permanent residents. Outside the town is the retirement home of President Eisenhower, who was of Pennsylvania Dutch stock himself; his father migrated in the late 19th century with a group of Mennonite brethren out into Kansas and Texas.

The largest city here is York, which from September 1777 to June 1778 was the capital of the

Douglas (Doug) Walgren (D)



Elected 1976; b. Dec. 28, 1940, Rochester, NY; home, Mt. Lebanon; Dartmouth Col., B.A. 1963, Stanford U., LL.B. 1966; Roman Catholic; married (Carmala).

Career: Staff atty., Neighborhood Legal Svcs., 1967-68; Asst. Solicitor, Allegheny Cnty., 1967-69; Practicing atty., 1969-72; Corp. Cnsl., Behavioral Research Lab., 1973-75.

Offices: 2441 RHOB 20515, 202-225-2135. Also 2117 Fed. Bldg., 1000 Liberty Ave., Pittsburgh 15222, 412-391-4016.

Committees: *Energy and Commerce* (8th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Energy and Power; Health and the Environment; Oversight and Investigations. *Science, Space and Technology* (5th of 30 D). Subcommittees: Energy Research and Development; Science, Research and Technology (Chairman).

Ratings

ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	N TLC	NSI	COC	CEI
90	77	85	91	81	4	15	0	25	17
92	—	84	86	—	0	—	—	13	6

Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
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sit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
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young nation. When the Continental Congress met at York, it passed the Articles of Confederation, received word from Benjamin Franklin in Paris that the French would help with money and ships, and issued the first proclamation calling for a national day of thanksgiving. The other large population center of the 19th District encompasses the west shore suburbs of Harrisburg, opposite the state capital on the other side of the Susquehanna River. During the past two decades, the west shore has absorbed a considerable white flight away from Harrisburg and has been growing more Republican. Farther west is the town of Carlisle, home of Dickinson College, one of the nation's oldest, and the Army's Carlisle Barracks.

York, for some years, was more Democratic than other Pennsylvania Dutch areas, and this district was hotly contested by the two major parties; Democrats actually won it in 1954, 1958 and 1964. Except for two years, it has been held by members of the Goodling family since 1961. The current congressman, William Goodling, started off as one of the most conservative members of the Pennsylvania delegation after he was first elected in 1974. But in the ensuing years, Goodling, who was a teacher and principal, has risen to be ranking Republican on the Education and Labor Committee and has supported, sometimes vehemently, education and school lunch programs slated for extinction or cuts by the Reagan Administration. He worked closely with the late Chairman Carl Perkins to save Chapters 1 and 2 of the Education and Consolidation Improvement Act from inclusion in block grants to the states; he worked with current Chairman Augustus Hawkins on a bipartisan reauthorization of the act, with a new Even Start plan to attack illiteracy among adults as well as children. He has gotten through initiatives in technical assistance centers for teachers, vocational education and the Talented Teacher Act; with the practical sense of a teacher, he pushed a policy that children be offered different foods but not served what they won't eat. For the 101st Congress he sponsored the Bush Administration bill on the minimum wage, and he wants to look at vocational education, child nutrition and the Job Training Partnership Act.

He serves also on the Budget Committee, where he watches education spending; this is one Republican who believes in concentrating on his committee agendas and working with colleagues of both parties to shape legislation. He rotated off Intelligence after one term, dissatisfied with the CIA's mining of the Nicaraguan harbors. He does have one other cause, which now seems lost: he wants the Census Bureau not to count illegal aliens, so that states like Pennsylvania which have very few will do better when House districts are reapportioned among the states. Goodling himself is likely to face no problems from redistricting or from the voters.

The People Est. Pop. 1986: 541,800, up 4.9% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 516,605, up 14.4% 1970-80. Households (1980): 77% family, 40% with children, 67% married couples; 26.9% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$180; median house value: \$46,500. Voting age pop. (1980): 376,801; 2% Black, Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:

Bush (R)	125,523	(65%)
Dukakis (D)	65,656	(34%)



Elected 1974; b. Dec. 5, 1927, Loganville; home, Jacobus; U. MD, B.S. 1953, Western MD Col., M.Ed. 1957; United Methodist married (Hilda).

Career: Army, 1946-48; Pub. sch. teacher and admin., 1952-67; Pres., Dallastown Sch. Bd., 1966-67.

Offices: 2263 RHOB 20515, 202-225-5836. Also Fed. Bldg., 21 S. George St., York 17405, 717-843-8887; 212 N. Hanover St. Carlisle 17013, 717-243-5432; 140 Baltimore St., Gettysburg 17325, 717-334-3430; 2020 Yale Ave., Camp Hill 17011, 717-761-1988; and 44 Frederick St., Hanover 17331, 717-632-7855, 801-631-1811.

Committees: *Budget* (3d of 14 R). Task Forces: Community Development and Natural Resources; Human Resources (Ranking Member). *Education and Labor* (Ranking Member of 13 R) Subcommittees: Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education (Ranking Member); Health and Safety; Postsecondary Education.

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Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	30	35	27	55	44	63	64	80	93	38
1987	24	—	26	43	—	48	—	—	80	60

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	27%	—	29%	—
Social	35%	—	25%	69%
Foreign	30%	—	44%	56%

Key Votes

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1) Homeless \$ | FOR | 5) Ban Drug Test | FOR | 9) SDI Research | FOR |
| 2) Gephardt Amdt | AGN | 6) Drug Death Pen | AGN | 10) Ban Chem Weaps | FOR |
| 3) Deficit Reduc | AGN | 7) Handgun Sales | FOR | 11) Aid to Contras | FOR |
| 4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice | FOR | 8) Ban D.C. Abort \$ | FOR | 12) Nuclear Testing | AGN |

Election Results

1988 general	William F. (Bill) Goodling (R)	145,381	(77%)	
	Paul E. Ritchey (D)			(\$57,091)
1988 primary	William F. (Bill) Goodling (R), unopposed	42,819	(23%)	(\$2,358)
1986 general	William F. (Bill) Goodling (R)	100,055	(73%)	(\$49,648)
	Richard F. Thornton (D)	37,223	(27%)	(\$19,535)

TWENTIETH DISTRICT

The Mon Valley today is a monument to the headiest days of American heavy manufacturing—and a clear indication that they are over. Fifty years ago the *WPA Guide* noted that “the river banks bristle with factories, principally steel and glass, and workers’ villages huddle around the gigantic plants.” The Monongahela—the shortened version is increasingly in formal use—winds through steep Pennsylvania hills north from West Virginia, and on the flat lands along its sweeping curves are built the steel mills, coke furnaces, and glass factories almost all the way to Pittsburgh. The working-class towns or neighborhoods were built on higher land nearby, where



Elected 1974; b. Dec. 5, 1927. Loganville; home, Jacobus; U. of MD, B.S. 1953, Western MD Col., M.Ed. 1957; United Methodist; married (Hilda).

Career: Army, 1946-48; Pub. sch. teacher and admin., 1952-74; Pres., Dallastown Sch. Bd., 1966-67.

Offices: 2263 RHOB 20515, 202-225-5836. Also Fed. Bldg., 200 S. George St., York 17405, 717-843-8887; 212 N. Hanover St., Carlisle 17013, 717-243-5432; 140 Baltimore St., Gettysburg 17325, 717-334-3430; 2020 Yale Ave., Camp Hill 17011, 717-763-1988; and 44 Frederick St., Hanover 17331, 717-632-7855, 800-631-1811.

Committees: Budget (3d of 14 R). Task Forces: Community Development and Natural Resources; Human Resources (Ranking Member). *Education and Labor* (Ranking Member of 13 R). Subcommittees: Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education (Ranking Member); Health and Safety; Postsecondary Education.

Group Ratings

1988	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1987	30	35	27	55	44	63	64	80	93	38
	24	—	26	43	—	48	—	—	80	60

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	27%	—	72%	29%
Social	35%	—	65%	69%
Foreign	30%	—	67%	25%
				44%
				56%

Key Votes

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1) Homeless \$ | FOR | 5) Ban Drug Test | FOR | 9) SDI Research | FOR |
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Some houses were crowded into narrow streets and almost piled one on top of another. Then, ver the next hill, an entirely different, white-collar community might develop, connected to the y by entirely different streets. The working class towns started losing population 50 years ago, sons and daughters in these numerous families were able to move to more pleasant suburbs; Braddock, on the site where the British general fought and died in 1754, had 21,000 people in 20 and 11,000 in 1980. Then, as the steel industry collapsed and mills were shut down, the number of steel jobs in the Mon Valley dropped by 58,000 from 1979 to 1985. In these tiny towns, where row houses cling to the hillside, places once prosperous due to high steel wages are now seeing most of their residents on unemployment or moving out. Ministers have barricaded themselves in their churches, preaching against the executives of the big companies—actually against the economies that no longer need the high-price steel produced by the high-wage, high-skill workers that used to man these steel mills, that now sit cold and black, brooding and unavoidable presences beside the rivers on which all the houses look down.

This is the land of the 20th Congressional District of Pennsylvania, most of whose residents are strung out in the towns along the Monongahela. There is a similar population concentration to the north, on the Allegheny. Connecting them are modest working-class suburbs, interspersed with a few of higher status, just outside of Pittsburgh itself. Almost all of this district is heavily Democratic. It is populated by people of almost every ethnic background; the politics of Franklin D. Roosevelt not only gave them hope of economic recovery, but assured them that they were included and valued in America. They turned from their longtime Republican voting habits to support FDR, and their Democratic allegiance was cemented in the struggle over unionization that made the United Steelworkers the major economic force here for years. That Democratic allegiance is sometimes strained by the party's cultural liberalism; this is a place where the population is old and the old patterns remain very much the rule. But in the 1980s, this has been one of the most solidly Democratic parts of the country in presidential as well as House elections.

The 20th District's congressman is Joseph Gaydos, a former state senator and attorney for United Mine Workers District 5. He had Democratic organization and union backing when he first won the seat in 1968; in Washington, he has been a reliable vote for organized labor and, usually, the Democratic leadership. There is no doubt where his loyalties lie as a member of the Education and Labor Committee. He has chaired the Subcommittee on Health and Safety, which has had jurisdiction over the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, since 1977. During that time, there have been all manner of controversies over OSHA; the burden of regulations was reduced by Jimmy Carter's commissioner as well as Ronald Reagan's. Gaydos has seen his job as defending the agency from attack and preventing any relaxation of enforcement. Cost-cutting here, as he argues, can cost lives. Gaydos introduced a bill to establish safeguards for workers exposed to toxic substances in high-risk jobs. He also wants to resurrect the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s to provide a workforce for improvement projects on public lands.

By all odds Gaydos should have a safe seat. But politics along the Monongahela can be turbulent; he won primaries in 1982 and 1984 with 67% and 73%—not quite the unanimous support some congressmen get. In general elections he is reelected overwhelmingly. The serious threat to him is the redistricting that will follow the 1990 Census. The steel towns have been losing population rapidly, and the 20th District, elongated in shape and sandwiched between other Democratic districts, could easily be sliced up, putting him in a primary battle with another incumbent.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 490,900, dn. 4.9% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 516,028, dn. 8.0% 1970-80. Households (1980): 76% family, 35% with children, 62% married couples; 28.9% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$157; median house value: \$37,800. Voting age pop. (1980): 390,171; 5% Black.

1988 Presidential Vote: Dukakis (D)..... 125,909 (65%)
 Bush (R)..... 67,172 (34%)

Rep. Joseph M. Gaydos (D)



Elected 1968; b. July 3, 1926, Braddock; home, McKeesport; Duquesne U., U. of Notre Dame, LL.B. 1951; Roman Catholic; married (Alice).

Career: Navy, WWII; Dpty. Atty. Gen. of PA; Asst. Allegheny Cnty. Solicitor; Gen. Cnsl., United Mine Workers of Amer., Dist. 5; PA Senate, 1967-68.

Offices: 2186 RHOB 20515, 202-225-4631. Also 318 5th Ave., McKeesport 15132, 412-673-7756; and Crown Bldg., 979 4th Ave., Rm. 217, New Kensington 15068, 412-339-7070.

Committees: *Education and Labor* (3d of 22 D). Subcommittees: Health and Safety (Chairman); Postsecondary Education. *House Administration* (2d of 13 D). Subcommittees: Accounts (Chairman); Personnel and Police. *Standards of Official Conduct* (5th of 6 D). *Joint Committee on Printing*.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	65	57	91	73	44	24	6	60	25	10
1987	64	—	90	64	—	9	—	—	27	8

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	78%	— 21%	73%	— 0%
Social	46%	— 53%	56%	— 43%
Foreign	54%	— 45%	50%	— 50%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Joseph M. Gaydos (D)	137,472	(98%)	(\$137,023)
1988 primary	Joseph M. Gaydos (D), unopposed			
1986 general	Joseph M. Gaydos (D)	136,638	(98%)	(\$119,321)

TWENTY-FIRST DISTRICT

Erie "has the restful quiet of a resort center," wrote the *WPA Guide* 50 years ago, "but the waterfront presents a scene of activity when the lake, ice-locked several months of the year, is open to navigation. Here the 44,000 vessels annually warp into and away from the piers, carrying heavy cargoes of lumber, coal, petroleum, grain, iron ore and fish; until 1925, more fresh-water fish were shipped from Erie than from any other port in the world." Erie is the one part of Pennsylvania that looks to the Great Lakes, not to the Atlantic or to Pittsburgh; it's 428 miles from here to Center City Philadelphia.

Erie is the largest city in Pennsylvania's 21st Congressional District, about half of which is in

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Career: Navy, WWII; Dpty. Atty. Gen. of PA; Asst. Allegheny Cnty. Solicitor; Gen. Cnsl., United Mine Workers of Amer., Dist. 5; PA Senate, 1967-68.

Offices: 2186 RHOB 20515, 202-225-4631. Also 318 5th Ave., McKeesport 15132, 412-673-7756; and Crown Bldg., 979 4th Ave., Rm. 217, New Kensington 15068, 412-339-7070.

Committees: *Education and Labor* (3d of 22 D). Subcommittees: Health and Safety (Chairman); Postsecondary Education. *House Administration* (2d of 13 D). Subcommittees: Accounts (Chairman); Personnel and Police. *Standards of Official Conduct* (5th of 6 D). *Joint Committee on Printing*.

Group Ratings

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1987	64	—	90	64	—	9	—	—	27	8

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Key Votes

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Election Results

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TWENTY-FIRST DISTRICT

Erie "has the restful quiet of a resort center," wrote the *WPA Guide* 50 years ago, "but the waterfront presents a scene of activity when the lake, ice-locked several months of the year, is open to navigation. Here the 44,000 vessels annually warp into and away from the piers, carrying heavy cargoes of lumber, coal, petroleum, grain, iron ore and fish; until 1925, more fresh-water fish were shipped from Erie than from any other port in the world." Erie is the one part of Pennsylvania that looks to the Great Lakes, not to the Atlantic or to Pittsburgh; it's 428 miles from here to Center City Philadelphia.

Erie is the largest city in Pennsylvania's 21st Congressional District, about half of which is in

Erie County. The other half is part of western Pennsylvania's steel country: Sharon, right on the Ohio border and part of the Youngstown-Warren area, was long a major steel-producing town, and so was New Castle, whose suburbs are also part of the district. But there are rural areas, too. Crawford County, between Sharon and Erie, is mostly farming country. This combination produces a pretty even political balance, with the Democratic majorities of Erie and the steel towns balanced off by the Republican majorities of Crawford County and other rural areas; Michael Dukakis narrowly carried this district in 1988. In congressional elections, this was for years one of the classic marginal districts in the nation, but now seems very happy with its Republican congressman, Tom Ridge.

Ridge has the perfect background for such a seat. He is from a Catholic Slovak-and-Irish working-class family in Erie who once lived in a housing project; he went to Harvard and—an unusual combination—served in Vietnam. On the Banking Committee he has worked with Democrats on some issues and has worked to further local projects. He has paid particular attention to local issues and local angles. He spent much effort trying to help constituents after tornados swept the area in May 1985, and he developed what became the Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Amendments of 1988, although he is not on the relevant committee. He has worked to let banks into the securities business. He worked on the McKinney Homeless Act and on protecting veterans programs from budget cuts. He has worked with Bob Mrazek to let Amerasian children into the United States. He wants to prevent the Census Bureau from counting illegal aliens and to have it count servicemen abroad in the 1990 Census. He is inclined toward trade restrictions; he was one of the few Republicans to speak out for the Gephardt amendment.

Ridge won the seat in the recession year of 1982 by only 729 votes against an abrasive and overconfident Democrat, state Senator Anthony "Buzz" Andrezeski. Ridge, a Bush supporter in 1980, stressed his independence and his background. In a district where Democrats usually vote in lockstep with union leaders, and where Republicans are usually lackluster choices of local country club denizens or eccentric loners, Ridge seemed earnest, hardworking and thoughtful. His personal touch has helped him to reelection with 65% in 1984, 81% in 1986 and 79% in 1988. He has been mentioned as a possible candidate for governor in 1990. If he does run, there will probably be a hotly contested race in this closely divided district.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 509,500, dn. 1.4% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 516,645, up 5.5% 1970-80. Households (1980): 76% family, 40% with children, 64% married couples; 27.1% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$156; median house value: \$37,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 370,614; 3% Black.

1988 Presidential Vote: Dukakis (D) 94,351 (50%)
 Bush (R) 91,555 (49%)

Rep. Thomas J. Ridge (R)



Elected 1982; b. Aug. 26, 1945, Munhall; home, Erie; Harvard Col., B.A. 1967, Dickinson Sch. of Law, J.D. 1972; Roman Catholic; married (Michele).

Career: Army, Vietnam; Practicing atty., 1972-82.

Offices: 1714 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5406. Also 108 Fed. Bldg., Erie 16501, 814-456-2038; 305 Chestnut St., Meadville 16335, 814-724-8414; and 91 E. State St., Sharon 16146, 412-981-8440.

Committees: *Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs* (10th of 20 R). Subcommittees: Consumer Affairs and Coinage; Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance; Housing and Community Development. *Post Office and Civil Service* (7th of 9 R). Subcommittees: Civil Service; Census and Population (Ranking Member). *Veterans' Affairs* (8th of 13 R). Subcommittees: Education, Training and Employment; Hospitals and Health Care. *Select Committee on Aging* (9th of 27 R). Subcommittees: Health and

Long-Term Care; Housing and Consumer Interests.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	50	61	57	73	75	36	56	50	71	32
1987	44	—	51	50	—	19	—	—	64	43

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	49%	— 50%	38%	— 61%
Social	33%	— 66%	50%	— 49%
Foreign	46%	— 54%	50%	— 48%

Key Votes

- | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1) Homeless \$ | FOR | 5) Ban Drug Test | AGN | 9) SDI Research | AGN |
| 2) Gephardt Amdt | FOR | 6) Drug Death Pen | FOR | 10) Ban Chem Weaps | AGN |
| 3) Deficit Reduc | AGN | 7) Handgun Sales | FOR | 11) Aid to Contras | FOR |
| 4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice | AGN | 8) Ban D.C. Abort \$ | AGN | 12) Nuclear Testing | AGN |

Election Results

1988 general	Thomas J. Ridge (R)	141,832	(79%)	(\$370,619)
	George R. H. Elden (D)	38,288	(21%)	
1988 primary	Thomas J. Ridge (R), unopposed			
1986 general	Thomas J. Ridge (R)	111,148	(81%)	(\$267,525)
	Joylyn Blackwell (D)	26,324	(19%)	

TWENTY-SECOND DISTRICT

Fifty years ago, according to the *WPA Guide*, Uniontown, "in a wild setting at the foot of the Alleghenies, [was] one of the bituminous coal centers in Pennsylvania. The rambling city of narrow streets has an appearance of prosperity. Coal, iron, lumber, natural gas, and glass, radiator, and textile manufacture contribute to its income." Prosperity is not a word most people would use to describe the southwest corner of Pennsylvania these days—although in fact incomes, even for unemployed workers, are much higher and living standards much more comfortable than they were for all but a few 50 years ago. In the small towns and little cities

Rep. Thomas J. Ridge (R)



Elected 1982; b. Aug. 26, 1945, Munhall; home, Erie; Harvard Col., B.A. 1967, Dickinson Sch. of Law, J.D. 1972; Roman Catholic; married (Michele).

Career: Army, Vietnam; Practicing atty., 1972-82.

Offices: 1714 LHOB 20515, 202-225-5406. Also 108 Fed. Bldg., Erie 16501, 814-456-2038; 305 Chestnut St., Meadville 16335, 814-724-8414; and 91 E. State St., Sharon 16146, 412-981-8440.

Committees: *Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs* (10th of 20 R). Subcommittees: Consumer Affairs and Coinage; Financial Institutions Supervision, Regulation and Insurance; Housing and Community Development. *Post Office and Civil Service* (7th of 9 R). Subcommittees: Civil Service; Census and Population (Ranking Member). *Veterans' Affairs* (8th of 13 R). Subcommittees: Education, Training and Employment; Hospitals and Health Care. *Select Committee on Aging* (9th of 27 R). Subcommittees: Health and

Long-Term Care; Housing and Consumer Interests.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	50	61	57	73	75	36	56	50	71	32
1987	44	—	51	50	—	19	—	—	64	43

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	49%	— 50%	38%	— 61%
Social	33%	— 66%	50%	— 49%
Foreign	46%	— 54%	50%	— 48%

Key Votes

Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

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WENTY-SECOND DISTRICT

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located in the interstices between hills and rivers, where frame houses were built 70 years ago to house the immigrants from Italy, Poland, Scotland and later Czechoslovakia, factories have closed, old jobs have disappeared, and young people have long since moved away.

This is the land of the 22d Congressional District of Pennsylvania—a region of rugged hills and polluted rivers, lined with steel mills and smaller factories. The 22d is one of Pennsylvania's—and the nation's—most blue-collar and most Democratic districts. The long slide of the steel industry has made this a depressed area for going on two decades now. Its ethnic composition, its high union membership, its depressed economy, its appetite for federal help—these make this a heavily Democratic district. It voted 57% for Walter Mondale in 1984 and 43% for Michael Dukakis in 1988.

The 22d District's congressman, Austin Murphy, is a native of the Mon Valley, a veteran of the Marine Corps, a supporter of organized labor and a Democrat. Murphy's voting record is soundly Democratic and pro-labor; on cultural issues and foreign policy, his record is mixed. Murphy sits on the Interior Committee, where he naturally supports the interests of coal and is pushed for the Southwestern Pennsylvania Industrial Heritage Commission, and on Education and Labor, where he spends most of his time. Beginning in 1985, he has chaired the Labor Standards Subcommittee, where he supports a higher minimum wage, a stronger Davis-Bacon Act (requiring high construction wages on government projects), and tougher occupational disease legislation. In March 1989, he was the lead sponsor of the Murphy-Ridge-Robinson minimum wage—well above the Bush Administration's—that passed the House. Yet when it comes to protecting local governments, he may be willing to subordinate the interests of their employees; in the 99th Congress, he moved successfully to allow cities to set retirement ages for police and fire officers and to give employees compensatory time rather than overtime pay. He has fought to protect the black lung compensation program against cuts and to make it more generous. Like all western Pennsylvanians, he clamors for a tougher trade policy.

Murphy's record was besmirched in 1987 when he was charged with letting another person cast his vote on the floor, diverting supplies to his former law firm, and paying a staffer for work not done. The ethics committee found him in violation of the rules, and in December 1987 the House voted 324-68 to formally reprimand him. This did not cause him much problem back home in the 22d District. Murphy first won the 22d District seat when he drew 29% of the vote in a 12-candidate primary in 1976 and 55% in the general, after 32-year incumbent Thomas Morgan, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, retired. In 1988, Murphy beat a turnpike equipment manager by a 73%-27% margin in the primary and won the general election with 72%.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 502,500, dn. 2.5% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 515,122, up 2.4% 1970-80. Households (1980): 78% family, 38% with children, 65% married couples; 26.0% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$136; median house value: \$35,500. Voting age pop. (1980): 378,475; 3% Black.

1988 Presidential Vote:

Dukakis (D)	115,106	(65%)
Bush (R)	61,947	(35%)

Rep. Austin J. Murphy (D)



Elected 1976; b. June 17, 1927, North Charleroi; home, Monongahela; Duquesne U., B.A. 1949, U. of Pittsburgh, LL.B. 1952; Roman Catholic; married (Ramona).

Career: USMC, WWII; Practicing atty.; Washington Cnty. Asst. Dist. Atty., 1956-57; PA House of Reps., 1959-71; PA Senate, 1971-77.

Offices: 2210 RHOB 20515, 202-225-4665. Also 306 Fallowfield Ave., Charleroi 15022, 412-489-4217; 96 N. Main St., Washington 15301, 412-228-2777; 45-51 E. Penn St., Uniontown 15401, 412-438-1490; 1801 C. Broadhead Rd., Aliquippa 15001, 412-375-1199; and 93 High St., Waynesburg 15370, 412-627-7611.

Committees: *Education and Labor* (6th of 22 D). Subcommittees: Labor-Management Relations; Labor Standards (Chairman). *Interior and Insular Affairs* (5th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Energy and the Environment; Mining and Natural Resources; National Parks and Public Lands.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	60	60	82	82	31	24	24	50	33	23
1987	60	—	80	57	—	5	—	—	15	11

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	63%	— 36%	51%	— 48%
Social	52%	— 47%	44%	— 55%
Foreign	53%	— 47%	54%	— 46%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	—	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	—	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Austin J. Murphy (D)	123,428	(72%)	(\$183,335)
	William Hodgkiss (R)	47,039	(28%)	
1988 primary	Austin J. Murphy (D)	64,187	(73%)	
	Thomas J. Fullard (D)	23,193	(27%)	
1986 general	Austin J. Murphy (D)	131,650	(100%)	(\$118,557)

TWENTY-THIRD DISTRICT

The 23d Congressional District of Pennsylvania is the rural north central part of the state. The region is the most sparsely populated area in all the eastern states. The district's terrain is mountainous, and its valleys have only a few towns here and there; this was a route ignored in the great migrations west, and it contains none of the great historical east-west transportation routes. The only significant concentrations of people are found in the Nittany Valley in the southern part of the district and around Oil City in the extreme west. The Nittany Valley is the home of Pennsylvania State University, commonly called Penn State, long known for the powerful

Austin J. Murphy (D)



Elected 1976; b. June 17, 1927, North Charleroi; home, Monongahela; Duquesne U., B.A. 1949, U. of Pittsburgh, LL.B. 1952; Roman Catholic; married (Ramona).

Career: USMC, WWII; Practicing atty.; Washington Cnty. Asst. Dist. Atty., 1956-57; PA House of Reps., 1959-71; PA Senate, 1971-77.

Offices: 2210 RHOB 20515, 202-225-4665. Also 306 Fallowfield Ave., Charleroi 15022, 412-489-4217; 96 N. Main St., Washington 15301, 412-228-2777; 45-51 E. Penn St., Uniontown 15401, 412-438-1490; 1801 C. Broadhead Rd., Aliquippa 15001, 412-375-1199; and 93 High St., Waynesburg 15370, 412-627-7611.

Committees: *Education and Labor* (6th of 22 D). Subcommittees: Labor-Management Relations; Labor Standards (Chairman). *Interior and Insular Affairs* (5th of 26 D). Subcommittees: Energy and the Environment; Mining and Natural Resources; National Parks and Public Lands.

Ratings

ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	N TLC	NSI	COC	CEI
60	60	82	82	31	24	24	50	33	23
60	—	80	57	—	5	—	—	15	11

Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
nic	63%	— 36%	51%	— 48%
	52%	— 47%	44%	— 55%
	53%	— 47%	54%	— 46%

- Issues**
- | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| less \$ | AGN | 5) Ban Drug Test | — | 9) SDI Research | FOR |
| ardt Amdt | FOR | 6) Drug Death Pen | FOR | 10) Ban Chem Weaps | AGN |
| it Reduc | — | 7) Handgun Sales | FOR | 11) Aid to Contras | AGN |
| Print Clsng Notice | AGN | 8) Ban D.C. Abort \$ | FOR | 12) Nuclear Testing | AGN |

Results

neral	Austin J. Murphy (D)	123,428	(72%)	(S183,335)
	William Hodgkiss (R)	47,039	(28%)	
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	Thomas J. Fullard (D)	23,193	(27%)	
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THIRTY-THIRD DISTRICT

Congressional District of Pennsylvania is the rural north central part of the state. The most sparsely populated area in all the eastern states. The district's terrain is hilly, and its valleys have only a few towns here and there; this was a route ignored in the early days of settlement, and it contains none of the great historical east-west transportation routes. Significant concentrations of people are found in the Nittany Valley in the southern part of the district and around Oil City in the extreme west. The Nittany Valley is the home of Pennsylvania State University, commonly called Penn State, long known for the powerful

baseball teams coached by Joe Paterno (who gave the seconding speech for George Bush at the Republican Convention and is mentioned as a possible gubernatorial candidate in 1990). Oil City is near the site of the nation's first oil well, sunk in 1859. Today Pennsylvania crude—a relatively scarce oil but of higher quality than that found in the Southwest—continues to occupy an important place in the area's economy.

North central Pennsylvania now has easy connections with the rest of the country through Interstate 80, the shortest main road from New York to Chicago, and through commuter rail lines; yet the air of isolation persists. The solidly built courthouses and banks in the center of each county seat testify to the long prosperity of this part of the country; yet unemployment rates have been high in most counties. The 23d remains a rural and small-town district, populated mainly by descendants of the English stock farmers who moved here in the early 19th century; it is one part of America that no further wave of immigration has reached.

Pennsylvania has a long Republican tradition going back to the years just before the Civil War, and no part of Pennsylvania more so than this. Yet the 23d District's Republican congressman, Bill Clinger, had to fight hard to win the district in 1978 over a one-term Democratic incumbent, and he had to fight hard to hold it through the 1980s. This is all the more striking because Clinger is the kind of moderate Republican who presumably appeals across party lines. He chaired the House Wednesday Group, made up mostly of moderate and liberal Republicans, which, under his leadership, generated some actual legislation. He moved to repeal the requirement that EPA must indemnify pesticide makers when it bans their products; he lost on a procedural vote 209-206, but is likely to return to the issue. He also sponsored with three Democrats a bill to close loopholes in the regulation of toxic PCBs. He pushed to adjust the 1986 tax reform to allow municipalities to invest funds they received from selling bonds pending completion of the projects they were intended to pay for. He is one of the congressional promoters of a federal capital budget, to set capital spending apart from current operations, and presumably to generate more of it. He helped to originate the individual training account idea popularized in the 1984 presidential campaign by Gary Hart.

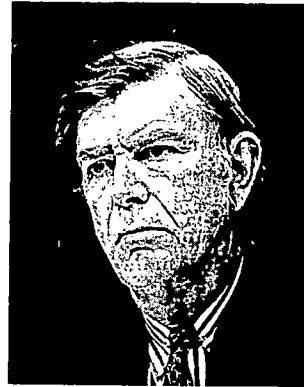
But none of this prevented Democratic legislator Bill Wachob from running strong races in 1984 and 1986. A liberal from College Station, Wachob caught Clinger by surprise in 1984; Wachob won 48% that year and started running for 1986. But Clinger started running hard too. For a moment in 1986, the race in the remote 23d looked like Star Wars: Ed Asner came in to campaign for Wachob and his rival in the Screen Actors Guild, Charlton Heston, came in to campaign for Clinger. It's not clear how much either knew about the candidates: Heston took potshots at Asner for working with Communist-connected supporters of the Sandinista regime. In the end, with both candidates campaigning hard, the district's native Republicanism asserted itself, and Clinger won with 55%, running slightly ahead of losing gubernatorial candidate William Scranton and well behind winning Senator Arlen Specter. In 1988, he had a much weaker opponent and won with 62%. His major problem now seems to be redistricting. It would be hard but not impossible to carve this geographically large district among its neighbors, and that might well be done if Clinger signals he wishes to retire in 1992.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 507,800, dn. 1.6% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 515,976, up 6.1% 1970-80. Households (1980): 74% family, 39% with children, 64% married couples; 27.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$154; median house value: \$34,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 378,256; 1% Black.

1988 Presidential Vote:

Bush (R)	97,551	(56%)
Dukakis (D)	73,737	(43%)

Rep. William F. (Bill) Clinger, Jr. (R)



Elected 1978; b. Apr. 4, 1929, Warren; home, Warren; Jo Hopkins U., B.A. 1951, U. of VA, LL.B. 1965; Presbyterian married (Julia).

Career: Navy, 1951-55; Adv. Dept., New Process Co., 1955-65; Practicing atty., 1965-75, 1977-78; Chf. Cnsl., Econ. De Admin., U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1975-77.

Offices: 2160 RHOB 20515, 202-225-5121. Also 315 S. All Ste. 219, State College 16801, 814-238-1776; and 805 Pennb Bldg., Warren 16365, 814-726-3910.

Committees: *Government Operations* (3d of 15 R). Subcommittee: Environment, Energy, and Natural Resources (Ranking Member). *Public Works and Transportation* (4th of 20 R). Subcommittees: Aviation (Ranking Member); Investigations and Oversight; Surface Transportation. *Select Committee on Aging* (21st of 27 Subcommittees: Health and Long-Term Care; Human Service;

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CE
1988	25	59	43	64	38	63	53	100	86	3
1987	24	—	41	36	—	43	—	—	73	4

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	34%	— 65%	33%	— 66%
Social	39%	— 60%	44%	— 56%
Foreign	34%	— 65%	37%	— 63%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	FO
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AG
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FO
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AG

Election Results

1988 general	William F. (Bill) Clinger, Jr. (R)	105,575	(62%)	(\$336,6
	Howard Shakespeare (D)	63,476	(37%)	(\$106,4
1988 primary	William F. (Bill) Clinger, Jr. (R), unopposed			
1986 general	William F. (Bill) Clinger, Jr. (R)	79,595	(55%)	(\$695,7
	Bill Wachob (D)	63,875	(45%)	(\$577,3

Thornburgh says farewell, 'maintain government integrity'

By David Stellfox
Sunday Patriot-News

Two-term Gov. Dick Thornburgh formally said farewell to the people of Pennsylvania last night in a speech delivered before TV cameras in Harrisburg.

In the 15-minute speech, Thornburgh reviewed the legislative agenda he brought with him to Harrisburg eight years ago and spoke of accomplishments achieved by his administration in each area.

He said one of the challenges facing Pennsylvania is to "maintain integrity in government."

Noting his 1978 inaugural promise to bring integrity, frugality and justice to the state, Thornburgh said he is "content that we left our state in better shape than we found it."

"I would submit, with considerable pride and pleasure, that, working together, we have made substantial progress in many areas," Thornburgh said.

He said the state has emerged from "the most severe economic recession in the past 50 years ... with a stronger, more diverse and more future-oriented economy."

"EMPLOYMENT is at an all-time high in Pennsylvania, and unemployment is at a 12-year low," he said.

Thornburgh said both corporate and individual income tax rates are lower than when he assumed office.

"Coupled with an improved economy, Pennsylvania this year is generating its third sizable state surplus in a row," he said.

The outgoing governor said educational programs have been improved for students from grade school to graduate school.

FROM HUMAN services to transportation to the fight against crime, Thornburgh cited advances or improvements in the past eight years in which Pennsylvanians have demonstrated the ability to "turn worry into hope, problems into progress."

"Working together, we have improved the quality of life for all our citizens, from those constituting the largest rural population of any state in the nation, to those of our great urban centers of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, each now rated among the top five most livable cities in the country."

Thornburgh claimed substantial victory "in ridding Pennsylvania of its reputation for official wrongdoing."

"We still must do more," he said, noting the conviction of state Treasurer R. Budd Dwyer last month on 11 counts in a bribery-conspiracy scandal, and allegations of wrongdoing in the judiciary and City Council in Philadelphia.

He said his own code of conduct for administration officials, which calls for immediate suspension without pay for an indictment, and immediate firing upon conviction, should be extended to cover all elected state officials in the executive, judicial and legislative branches.

"EACH ALLEGATION of wrongdoing hurts our state's national reputation and erodes the confidence of our citizens in government and its leaders," Thornburgh said.

In the same vein, Thornburgh put in a plug for merit selection rather than election of state judges, and other changes in the judiciary, which he said "are necessary in order to give Pennsylvanians confidence in the fairness and equity of our court system."

"As I prepare to depart ... I can think of no more important challenge facing Pennsylvania than to maintain integrity in government and to improve our judiciary," Thornburgh said.

Noticeably absent in Thornburgh's roll call of accomplishments and unfinished business were his years of effort to dismantle the state's monopoly over the sale of wine and liquor.

Thornburgh closed by thanking the people of Pennsylvania "for the opportunity to serve a state which I love, and a people whom I cherish."

Research group hails Thornburgh economic plan

Morning Call

11-13-87

By SCOTT AIGES
States News Service

WASHINGTON — Pennsylvania's Ben Franklin Partnership for economic development places it with Massachusetts and Michigan as the industrial states that have made the greatest strides toward reviving their economies, according to a report released here yesterday.

The report, commissioned by the Economic Policy Institute, examines state economic programs developed under the administration of former Republican Gov. Richard Thornburgh in Pennsylvania, and current Democratic Govs. Michael Dukakis in Massachusetts and James Blanchard in Michigan.

"Economic Competitiveness: The States Take the Lead," argues that governors in the three states deserve credit for aggressively involving state government in economic restructuring.

"In contrast with the federal government's indifference toward U.S. industrial development, the study found that states have not hesitated to intervene in the marketplace to help spur economic growth," according to a summary provided by the Economic Policy Institute.

The report reserves its harshest criticism for the Reagan administration. "Ronald Reagan owed his election to the deepening economic crisis, but his solution was to reach back to the free-market myths of the pre-industrial era," the report says.

"Attempts by an emerging group of younger economists and politicians to advocate a government role in 'industrial policy,'" it continues, "were attacked not only by conservative ideologues, but also by more traditional liberal economists."

The EPI, a research group founded in 1986, considers itself a liberal alternative to conservative think tanks such as the Heritage Foundation.

The report applauds the Republican administration of Thornburgh for relying on the state's own resources rather than federal programs. It calls the Ben Franklin Partnership "arguably the best single state economic development program in the country."

The Partnership, developed in 1982, uses state money to help new companies start up, and encourages the state's universities to work with new and existing companies to develop "advanced technologies" specifically designed for commercial applications.

It has fostered the creation of new industries. ¹ Indeed, new industrial zones, such as the Route 202 corridor in Chester County, the report says.

"One of the things Thornburgh shows is that not even Republicans are afraid to intervene when necessity dictates it," said Roger Hickey, EPI's associate director. "Republicans at the state level are less ideologically bound than the people in the White House."

The report does not touch on the current administration of Democrat Robert Casey, who has been in office since January 20. Thornburgh programs the report praised most, like the Ben Franklin Partnership, are continuing under the present governor.

The report is loaded with statistics on Pennsylvania's economic woes before Thornburgh took office,

but figures showing improvement after his tenure are few and far between. The Ben Franklin Partnership helped some firms attract \$61.4 million in venture capital investments between 1982 and 1986, the report says, "but its role is to accelerate developments already under way in the marketplace — and even in that role, its impact will only become clear over a 10-20 year period."

The report praises the Ben Franklin Partnership at length for matching business entrepreneurs with universities, especially Lehigh University. But a number of problems can arise, as one businessman is quoted as saying, "You're dealing with very, very bright people who are technically trained but who don't understand the business side."

The report credits the business-academic cooperation, saying it helps faculty members focus on realistic applications of technology rather than abstract theories.

On the other hand, participation of the state's universities has led to a number of problems. Lehigh University, for example, has gained effective control of the projects it has worked on, "and participating businesses are suffocating in [university] red tape and bureaucracy."

Another major flaw the report mentions is that Partnership funds are often allocated to the projects that promise to create the most jobs in the short run, although that short-term approach was contrary to the program's intent.

The report is slightly critical of the Thornburgh's emphasis on building up new industries at the expense of more traditional ones like the steel and coal industries. In the end, however, the Ben Franklin Partnership is held up as model for other states to adopt.

Wiff Shannon Chambers Dev.
403-0306

37-FCF
91 SEP 5 P5:42

McGroarty/Dooley
September 5, 1991
5:15 pm
[THORN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THORNBURGH FUNDRAISER
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
SEPTEMBER 12, 1991
6:30 P.M.

Thanks, all of you, for this warm welcome. [Introductory acknowledgements.] I'm sorry I won't be able to share the entire evening with you, but I could not return to the White House without first stopping by to show my support for a great cause and candidate: the next Senator from the keystone state -- Dick Thornburgh. //

Nov. 5

With just a bit more than seven weeks to election day, this race will be a sprint from start to finish. That's why the edge has to go to Dick Thornburgh: a candidate Pennsylvanians know -- a candidate they can trust. //

As Governor, Dick Thornburgh fought hard for the ^{working men & women} people of Pennsylvania. When Dick took office in 1978, Pennsylvania strained beneath the weight of a chronic deficit -- and suffered a crisis in public trust. Dick came in and took action: cut bureaucratic bloat -- cut taxes on individuals and businesses to spark growth -- restored integrity to a state government plagued by corruption and scandal. When Dick left the State House in 1986, he left Pennsylvania in enviable good health: a state government with a budget surplus ~~for three years running~~ -- and a

of \$350 million

Tim Simonsen

Michelle Davi

~~332-3532~~ tennis

after 4:00 pm

state making the difficult economic evolution from the smoke stack era to the age of high-tech. //

Dick's next contribution came on the national level. As the nation's number one law enforcer, he turned his crusade against corruption into a war on white collar crime. He fought to make life tougher on criminals -- and a bit easier for victims scarred by crime and violence. On his watch as Attorney General, we pushed through a ^{almost} 50% increase in the number of federal

prosecutors, and almost doubled the number of federal prison ^{beds} ~~cells~~. / Dick pioneered ^{oversaw/dramatic expansion} innovations like the Asset Forfeiture Program, to prove the old adage that crime does not pay. Under this program, last year law enforcement officials seized half a billion dollars in ill-gotten gains -- \$200 million of which was turned over to state ^{or local} governments. 5/31/91 total since 1986 ~ \$9 million

For Pennsylvania -- for the Nation -- Dick Thornburgh fought tirelessly for decency in government and the dignity of the individual. Pennsylvania -- and the nation -- deserve Dick Thornburgh in the Senate. //

Equitable Sharing Program

Permit me a personal note -- one I believe relevant in a very real way to Dick's approach to public life. Many of you know how Dick led the effort to pass last year's landmark civil rights legislation, the Americans with Disabilities Act. Dick and Ginny and their ^{sons} ~~boys~~ know first-hand what it means to triumph over disability. At the age of ^{four} ~~six~~ months, tragedy struck Peter Thornburgh. ^{in the form of a near-fatal head injury.} Every day since, he's waged a battle ~~against mental disabilities.~~ ~~but~~ ^T the Thornburghs pulled together as a family -

using all of his ability.

5+L
Paul McNulty
514-2041
Penn?
Marianas Islands

- triumphed over hardship, held fast to hope. As a dedicated public servant -- but also as a ^{parents} parent -- I know how much it meant for Dick ^{At Gibby Thornburgh} Thornburgh to help welcome Peter and 43 million ^{with disabilities} disabled citizens into the American mainstream. //

Throughout his career, Dick's met and mastered some of the most difficult challenges government has to offer. He pulled Pennsylvania out its economic tailspin. He's done battle against society's criminals and drug traffickers. Now, he's ready for the toughest assignment of all: he's ready to take on Capitol Hill.

Believe me, that's a challenge. In a world where the pace of change seems constantly to accelerate, Congress seems inert. Tune in Congress on C-Span: with the Democrats in charge, it's like watching a test-pattern. Congress convenes, meets for weeks and months on end -- debates, deadlocks, then disbands. Democracy -- in inaction. //

As Senator, Dick Thornburgh can become a key member of the GOP shock force, trying to shake things up -- working to shake loose the log-jam of Republican legislation that's been gathering dust on the desks of the Democratic leadership.

I'd like to see more like him in the Senate: enough Republicans to swing the Senate firmly back to our side -- to get moving on our domestic agenda. So let's start with Senator Thornburgh, and send a signal. America has seen what the Democrats do when they control both houses -- and it's not a

pretty picture. Put the Republicans in charge -- for a change.

//

I spoke this afternoon to another prominent group of GOP leaders back in Washington. I'll tell you the same thing I told them: There's something wrong when it's easier to get foreign forces out of Kuwait than it is to get domestic programs through the Congress. //

We've known for a long time the Republican Party is the party of American ideals. But more important, the Republican Party today stands as the party of ideas. / From choice in child care and education, to turning tenants into homeowners -- from ways to enlist the ingenuity of the marketplace to clean our air or provide new sources of energy -- on one issue after another: Republicans seek to clear a path through the bureaucratic maze -- to create opportunities for individuals and families to shape their own destiny, to secure their own freedom.

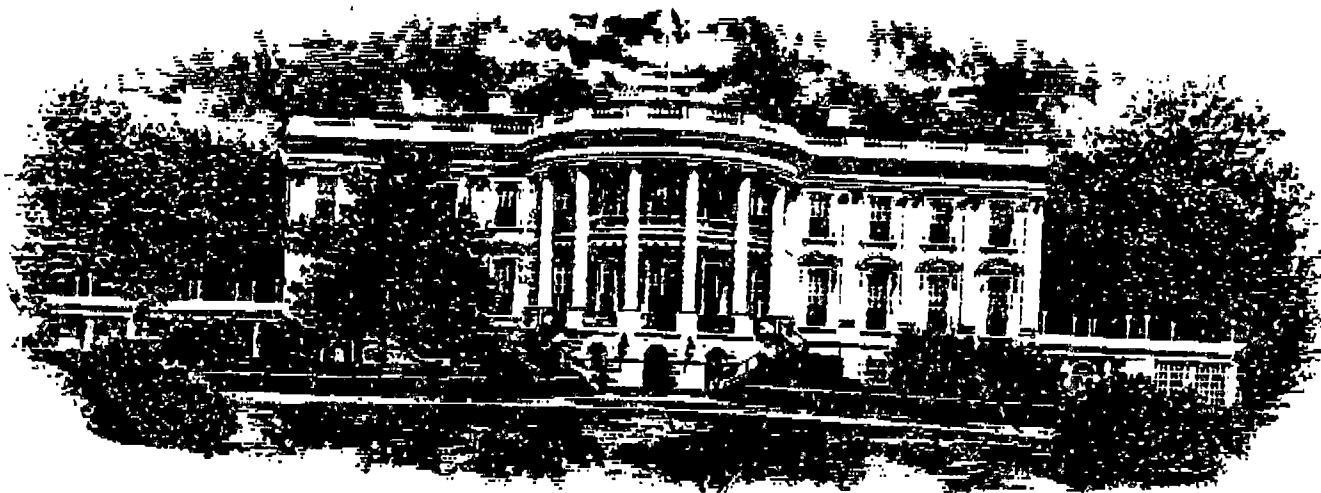
That powerful idea provides our sense of direction -- our strength of purpose. It makes sense to people in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, in Erie and Wilkes-Barre and every town in between -- and it's the message that will make Dick Thornburgh the next Senator of this great state. //

Once again, my thanks to you for this warm Philadelphia welcome -- and may God bless the United States of America.

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OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
Washington, D.C. 20500



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Office of Nat'l Drug Control Policy

o Overall Drug Use (Household Survey)

	1985	1988	1990	Decrease	
				1985-90	1988-90
Current Use (thousands)	22,980	14,479	12,948	44%	11%
Percent of Population	12.0%	7.3%	6.4%	47%	12%

o Cocaine Use (Household Survey)

	1985	1988	1990	Decrease	
				1985-90	1988-90
Current Use (thousands)	5,750	2,923	1,601	72%	45%
Percent of Population	2.9%	1.5%	0.8%	72%	47%

o Drug Use by High School Seniors (Senior Survey)

	1985	1988	1990	1985	1988	1990
				1985	1988	1990
Current Overall Drug Use (%)	30.7%	37.2%	29.7%	21.3%	19.7%	17.2%
Current Cocaine Use (%)	1.9%	5.2%	6.7%	3.4%	2.8%	1.9%

OPBA 8/21/91

2 yrs.