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**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13774  
**Folder ID Number:** 13774-011

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**Folder Title:**  
Thornburgh Fundraiser 10/2/91 [OA 8329] [3]

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<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>

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Grant/Nix  
September 26, 1991  
A: PENNGOP  
Draft two

See p. 2, p. 4

**BRIEF REMARKS: THORNBURGH FOR SENATE  
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA  
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1991  
12:10 P.M.**

[acknowledgements]

((It's great to be here in the home of the National League East champions. If you think you're glad that Barry Bonds and Bobby Bonilla [Bo-NEE-ya] are each a Pittsburgh Pirate, just wait until you see Dick Thornburgh as a **Washington Senator**. // ))

It's a pleasure to be here in Pittsburgh, Dick Thornburgh's hometown. It's also the hometown of a man known to everyone here: Senator John Heinz. When we lost John Heinz, we lost a man of integrity and compassion, a public servant whose dedication was as tireless as his strength of purpose. His family should know that our thoughts and prayers are with them.

When the time came to do the seemingly impossible and name a successor to Senator Heinz, the first person this Party turned to was a man also known for his integrity and compassion, a public servant with a record of commitment to the people of Pennsylvania. That man was Dick Thornburgh.//

((You know, I've called Dick Thornburgh a lot of names in my time ... "Governor" ... "Attorney General" ... "hey you" ... But the one I like **best** is: "United States Senator."))

I'm not surprised that the Pennsylvania Republican Party asked Dick to run for the Senate. He's a leader voters already know -- and a man they trust. I saw the same qualities in him

all of you did, and I asked him to join my Cabinet as one of my first appointments in the new Administration.

Since those first few days in office, we've seen a lot of change in the world -- the Revolution of '89 swept through Eastern Europe, across Asia, Africa, even right here in the Americas. Today in the Soviet Union, people talk about freedom, and not about the stale dogma of Marxism. This August, when a coup threatened the forces for democracy in Moscow, the American people stood firmly on the side of freedom -- against the coup plotters and with the people of the Soviet Union. //

I know that Dick went over to the Soviet Union several times recently, in order to help the Soviet people establish the rule of law while creating free markets and opening new opportunities. We believe in the power of the individual, and in the magic of imagination. We also believe in the fundamental right to life, liberty and property. It is only under the rule of law --and not the law of the jungle -- that people can ~~have the opportunity to~~ build a better <sup>lives</sup> life for themselves.

I believe that no matter who you are or where you live, we all want our children to have it better than we did. That's true whether you live in Allison Park or on the South Side ((Whoops ... let me say that again the Pittsburgh way -- "Sou-Side?)) That's what our domestic agenda is all about: creating opportunity and hope for a better life. We begin -- not by giving you government handouts -- but by **trusting you**. We

believe that the true power and potential in America must reside in the hands of the people.

For example, we believe that tenants of public housing should **manage** -- and someday, **own** -- their own homes. People should have the opportunity to manage their own affairs, and **control their own destiny**.

We also think that the first civil right in this country is **freedom from fear** -- and under Dick's leadership we proposed the most comprehensive crime package in American history. We can't expect people to take advantage of night classes or put in late hours to earn a promotion if they're afraid to be out of the house after dark. It's time to get violence and drugs out of our neighborhoods, our workplaces, and our schools -- because **fear of crime means loss of opportunity**.

We want to put power in the hands of the family. We think parents and students -- not bureaucrats -- should choose the school their children attend -- **they're the ones who know best**. Our America 2000 strategy seeks to create a new generation of schools, and a nation of students. We deserve an education system that gives every American the power to make the American Dream come alive for them.

But even if you have a place to call your own, a safe neighborhood and a good education, **opportunity means nothing unless you have a job**. Dick knows what I'm talking about. When he was first elected governor, Pennsylvania's unemployment rate was among the ten highest in the nation. It dropped to among the

ten lowest by the time he was finished, and employment reached an all-time high. Pennsylvanians created over 500,000 new jobs in his second term, and he led the way as the state's economy became one of the strongest and most diversified in the nation. At the same time, he turned the state's budget deficit into surplusses, and cut personal income and corporate taxes as well.

Governor Thornburgh looked to the future -- laid the foundation for an economic transition for Pennsylvania. Here in Pittsburgh, he supported new enterprises that transformed the Steel City into a home for a diverse mix of industries: high tech manufacturers, corporate services, health care providers and educational institutions.

When others despaired of dying industries and hid from change, Dick Thornburgh saw **opportunity for growth -- and a better life for the next generation.**

That's the kind of vision we need in Washington. **That's why we need Dick Thornburgh in the United States Senate. ///**

If we had Dick on Capitol Hill, our crime bill wouldn't be sitting around collecting dust ... neither would our transportation bill ... and our energy package ... and our housing reforms ... and our education strategy ... and our economic growth package certainly wouldn't be gathering cobwebs up on Capitol Hill. <sup>(New paragraph)</sup> Our growth agenda creates the right climate for business to flourish. ↑

We want to bring down the tax on capital gains -- so that entrepreneurs will invest money in new businesses, new ideas, and

new jobs. We want to bring down the deficit -- and hold the line on Congressional spending.

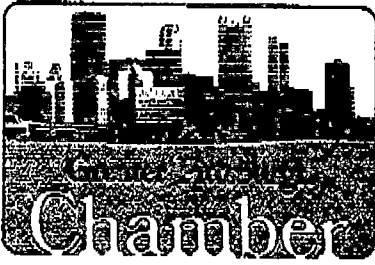
We must build on our strengths. In the last four years, our exports have increased 55 percent, more than twice the rate of import growth. Exports have galvanized our economy. **They foster growth, they create opportunity, they produce prosperity for all Americans.**

That's why we say that **G.O.P. stands for Growth, Opportunity and Prosperity.** Whether the issue is energy or education or economics -- we believe in the power of the individual. But in order to promote opportunity at home and competitiveness abroad, **we need more Republicans. //**

Pennsylvanians deserve integrity and commitment in their public servants. Pennsylvanians need leaders of courage and conviction. **They need Dick Thornburgh. ///** And I predict that **in just over six weeks, Dick Thornburgh will be the next United States Senator.**

Keep up the good fight ... get out the vote on election night ... and God bless each and every one of you.

# # #



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\*10 PA SENATE: WOFFORD STEPS UP BCCI ATTACKS ON THORNBURGH

The race, "expected to be rough and tumble, but so far soft and tepid, got a little hotter" (Nicole Weisenee, STATES NEWS/PHILA. DAILY NEWS, 9/12). At a press conference outside the DoJ, Sen. Harris Wofford (D) took ex-AG Dick Thornburgh (R) "to task for laxity in investigating" the BCCI scandal. Thornburgh spokesperson Dan Eramian "dismissed Wofford's allegations as a publicity stunt": "We would encourage [Wofford] to return to his office and attempt to fulfill the temporary role" he was assigned. Wofford's campaign "says the BCCI scandal is a legitimate issue because Thornburgh has asked to be judged on his record" (Katharine Seelye, PHILA. INQUIRER, 9/12). Wofford's campaign stated that until the scandal broke this summer, the DoJ "had only one assistant U.S. Attorney working part-time on the case" (Wofford release, 9/11). Wofford manager Paul Begala: "We won't let up on this until Thornburgh answers what he knew." Eramian also said "Wofford made several 'misrepresentations'" in his allegations, but when "[a]sked for specifics, he referred reporters to the [DoJ]." DoJ spokesperson Doug Tillett, referring to secret BCCI tape recordings that the DoJ was said to have possessed for two years (see HOTLINE 9/11), said "there would have been no reason for [Thornburgh] to have been personally involved." Asked when Thornburgh did get involved, Tillett replied, "I have no idea" (Seelye, PI). Thornburgh: "I never heard of this tape. The first I heard of it was when I read about it in the papers. We have thousands of investigations going on and I can't keep up with the details of every one of them" (Harry Stoffer, PITTSBURG POST-GAZETTE, 9/12). Wofford: "Thornburgh boasts that he knows the corridors of power in Washington. The question is, 'Did he know what was going on in the hallways of the Justice Department?'" (Blood, AP, 9/12).

WHAT'S TO COME? Pres. Bush's campaigns for Thornburgh in Phila. today, in a "swing state between the media centers of [NY] and Washington" (Gary Tuma, POST-GAZETTE). "It would seem to be the perfect testing ground for 1992," but "anyone looking at this race through the prism of national politics could be misled. ... Local issues, more than national topics, more often influence the outcome." Also national \$-raising is "likely to favor Thornburgh. Wofford will "face a hurdle in the ailing condition" of the DSCC, which is allowed to donate \$984,000 to Wofford, but only has \$123,000 cash-on-hand and a debt of \$285,000 (9/12). Thornburgh will probably raise \$500,000 from the \$1,000/plate event tonight. "Among those planning a 'demonstration of rage' against Bush policies are thousands from labor unions, welfare-rights groups, abortion-rights organizations and the highly vocal Act Up" (Seelye, INQUIRER, 9/12).

THE TENSION IS BUILDING: Sen. Arlen Specter (R), "in an unusual break from traditional Senate collegiality," accused Wofford "of unjustifiably taking credit for winning approval of funds for Allegheny County busways." Wofford issued a statement "saying he had persuaded" a transportation appropriations subcmte to earmark \$15 million for busway expansions" and quoted subcmte chair Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ) as saying Wofford "'did an outstanding job of convincing the subcommittee of the merits of the project' and that he has demonstrated 'impressive ability to work with his fellow senators on behalf of the people of [PA].'" A Specter spokesperson called it "a very blatant attempt to give

in on Clanton's "one-time bankruptcy and lawsuits and Fordice's late tax payments." After Fordice "denied that he had been taken to court over late [LA] taxes, Johnson produced a copy of a May judgement that forced Fordice to pay the taxes." After the debate, Fordice "called Johnson's campaign 'about sleaze and dirt and mudslinging': "I can't believe you could say we teamed up unfairly against that dirt ball." Though both Fordice and Clanton "said they could not support" Johnson in a general election, Johnson said he would support "either Clanton or Fordice if they receive" the nomination (C.R. Harper, Biloxi-Gulfport SUN-HERALD, 9/12).

\*10 PENNSYLVANIA SENATE: BUSH STUMPS FOR THORNBURGH AND HIMSELF  
 "Before a friendly, overflow crowd at Hotel atop the Bellevue," President Bush and ex-AG Dick Thornburgh (R) "heaped so many superlatives on each other last night that it was sometimes hard to tell which one was the candidate" (Katharine Seelye, PHILA. INQUIRER). Thornburgh also picked up money, "a hefty \$710,000," but it was "clear both are running." Both Bush and Thornburgh, in a "preview" of Bush's re-election "emphasized what they said was Bush's attention to domestic issues -- the only problem being the [Dem] Congress" (9/13). Bush: "Their domestic agenda is to attack my domestic agenda ... Something's wrong when we can push foreign forces out of Kuwait but we can't push our domestic agenda through Congress" (Joe Sewach, Harrisburg PATRIOT NEWS). Bush also said the 11/92 special election "could be a preview of things to come" in next year's Senate races: "Look at the big picture as well as what's best for Pennsylvania" (9/13). Saying that Barbara was "as strongly convinced as I am that Dick Thornburgh is the man for the job," Bush also promised that Barbara would campaign for Thornburgh. He then "went on to sound the Thornburgh campaign themes of tough fiscal management, integrity in [govt], toughness on crime, and, in a final flourish, added: 'I firmly believe it is because of Dick that we are winning this war on drugs.'" Bush did make one "highly unusual move" last night (Seelye, INQUIRER). Philly GOP mayoral nominee Joe Egan was "allowed to use the presidential photo session to leverage contributions for his struggling campaign." Egan finance co-chair/atty Charles Kopp: "Joe was allowed to tell people that if they would give \$10,000 to his campaign, they could get a picture" with Bush. Bush: "I'm proud to be up with Joe Egan ... and I hope to see him win, and I hope you'll all support him" (Moran/Davies, PHILA. DAILY NEWS, 9/13). Before the Thornburgh event, Bush toured the Veterans Affairs Medical Center where he spoke on drugs and treatment.

VISIT BY BUSH SPARKS MELEE: "A violent confrontation between police and militant AIDS protestors ... overshadowed" Bush's "carefully programmed visit" to Philly (Moran/Davies, DAILY NEWS). The "nightstick and fist-swinging melee left" four policemen and two protestors injured, "including one protestor bleeding from the head." Just "moments before the melee, Bush had slipped into the Hotel ... by a rear door." As many as 7,500 protestors showed up outside the hotel (9/13). Besides the AIDS protestors, the crowd included "hundreds of workers from the [Philly] Naval Shipyard, as well as trade unionists, abortion rights groups, senior citizens and others" (Clark/Tofani,

\*10 PENNSYLVANIA SENATE: WOFFORD TAKES AIM AT SWING VOTERS

"In his television premiere to [PA] voters, Sen. Harris Wofford [D] began portraying himself" as a man "rolling up his sleeves for [PA] on two classic [Dem] fronts -- health insurance and trade" (Katharine Seelye, PHILA. INQUIRER). The two 30-sec. spots are "aimed at the middle- and working-class [Dems] whom strategists have identified as the swing voters who could decide" the race between Wofford and ex-AG Dick Thornburgh (R). Wofford manager Paul Begala: "We're not here to be a testing ground for national [Dem] themes. But if George Bush's domestic policy is to be put on trial, then the place to begin that trial is [PA]." In the health-care spot, Wofford "stands in a hospital and says -- seemingly incongruously, for the setting -- that the Constitution guarantees criminals the right to a lawyer": "If criminals have the right to a lawyer, I think working Americans should have the right to a doctor. That's why I'm fighting for national health insurance in the Senate." Thornburgh spokesperson Murray Dickman: "Wofford is proposing something that has no price tag. This is very dangerous, and it shows he is a tax-and-spender." Wofford's second ad shows him in a steel factory "speaking out against" the free trade agreement with Mexico: "If that trade agreement passes, American plants and the jobs that go with them could be lost to Mexico, where workers are paid five dollars a day." In his "only mention" of Thornburgh in the ads, he notes Thornburgh "says we ought to put the Mexico free trade agreement on a fast track. I disagree." Dickman "said Thornburgh generally supported the trade agreement, noting it had created 10,000 jobs in [PA], but that he 'reserved the right to argue against any trade agreement that hurts [PA]" (9/10). Begala said the ads "reflect" the different styles of the candidates: "From Thornburgh's (ads), you see complacency and self satisfaction. Wofford is direct and powerful and has an edge of anger. He thinks we aren't doing enough, that we can do better." He also said Wofford waited a week after Thornburgh's ads went up "in part because ad rates are lower now" (INQ., 9/10).

\*11 KENTUCKY GOVERNOR: HOPKINS' AND THE RIGHT TO WORK

In a shift of strategy, "pro-business" Rep. Larry Hopkins (R-06) has begun "making more of an issue that draws some of the sharpest dividing lines in politics -- the 'right-to-work' law" (Al Cross, Louisville COURIER-JOURNAL). Last month, Hopkins told the KY Chamber of Commerce that "if elected he would sign" a right-to-work law, which bars labor contracts that require employees to join unions: "I think you ought to be able to belong to any organization you would like ... but I do not believe you should have to belong to [a union] to keep a job." LG Brereton Jones (D) is endorsed by the KY AFL-CIO. Jones spokesperson Diana Taylor: "If Hopkins will so easily adopt a divisive approach as a candidate, how can he possibly hope bring people together as governor?" Right-to-work played "a major role" in the 1983 Dem. primary, when now-KY Dem chair Grady Stumbo picked up support after Harvey Sloane "declined to repeat his 1979 pledge to veto a right-to-work law." Stumbo finished a close third, allowing Martha Layne Collins to beat Sloane (9/10).

\*12 LOUISIANA GOVERNOR: BLANCO DROPS OUT

\*10 PENNSYLVANIA SENATE: SEE DICK RUN TV ADS

The "expected rough and tumble" race between Sen. Harris Wofford (D) and ex-Gov. Dick Thornburgh (R) started on TV like "the political equivalent of a smiley face" (John Baer, PHILA. DAILY NEWS). Thornburgh is first on the air "with an ad that blows the state a kiss. ... A folksy shirtsleeved Thornburgh walks and talks in a knottypine living room, gently reminding people he was once governor and that things 'back when' were better." Thornburgh media consultant Greg Stevens on the ad which "implies that Thornburgh brought jobs to the state" as gov.: "We felt it was a good idea for Pennsylvanians to see the Dick Thornburgh they know and respect before Wofford starts spewing some of his poison." Wofford's camp "won't say when his commercials will start, although next week is a good bet" (9/5). PHILA. INQUIRER's Katharine Seelye notes the "out-of-the-box blitz, running statewide on all network affiliates in prime time, is strong evidence that Thornburgh's fund-raising apparatus, which kicked in" 8/15, the day after he resigned as AG, "is meeting with huge success. ... The ad also confirms predictions by some analysts that Thornburgh's strategy, initially, would be to recall his record as governor in an attempt to counter his mixed reviews as [AG] and the swipes" from Team Wofford (9/4). On 9/5, Gov. Bob Casey (D) "spent much of his news conference picking apart" Thornburgh's gov. record, saying in two terms, Thornburgh enacted \$5 million in tax increases and turned a "deaf ear" on the steel industry. Noting the Thornburgh ad's job creation statements, Casey said unemployment in PA rose to 14% during that time. Casey: "I didn't ask to get dragged into this fight. But if that's going to be the approach, I'll oblige" (Zausner, INQUIRER, 9/6). Wofford was at Tavern on the Green after the Paul Simon concert in Central Park last month "working the crowd." Prominent New Yorkers he spoke to "received phone calls from Wofford's staff, reminding them of the enchanting minutes they shared" with Wofford. "Then -- wham! -- they're asked if they'd like to make a contribution" (N.Y. POST, 9/4).

NUMBERS: A Wofford poll of 601 likely voters, conducted by Donilon and Petts, shows Wofford trailing Thornburgh 65-21%, with Wofford only showing a 27% name ID. "But one question later ... Wofford suddenly was winning." After the pollsters "laid out a summary of Wofford's campaign message: that he favors national health insurance, wants tax cuts and college loans for the middle class" and Thornburgh's record as gov., "his tax cuts after two terms, his leadership on a tough anti-crime bill and his stand against racial quotas," Wofford led 45-42%. Pollsters' memo: "this question ... included no negative information on either candidate." Thornburgh "gave no indication" that he knew of the poll and again linked Wofford to Casey's tax increases: "[Wofford] has the nerve to talk about going to Washington to cut taxes. I think he lacks any credibility as a tax-cutter in this campaign" (Dennis Roddy, PITTSBURGH PRESS, 9/4). The two make their first joint appearance, taping the public TV show, "The Editors" to air tonight (AP, 9/6).

\*11 LOUISIANA GOVERNOR: ROEMER FOCUSES ON EDUCATION

Gov. Buddy Roemer (R) vowed to keep pressing for teacher evaluation, "an issue that has alienated many of [LA's] 41,000 teachers": "My commitment to the teachers is that we'll do it

\*14 PENNSYLVANIA SENATE: THORNBURGH OFFICIALLY CROWNED NOMINEE

At the PA GOP meeting 8/30, "Teary eyed [GOPers] honored their fallen icon," Sen. John Heinz, while portraying ex-Gov Dick Thornburgh as the "heir" to the Senate seat (Harrisburg PATRIOT, 8/31). Thornburgh's speech was "mostly a message that he'll work on lowering taxes, fighting crime and creating jobs and a better economy." Thornburgh: "I will not let you down." PA NOW pres. Chris Niebrzydowski -- one of 30 NOW protesters who "marred" the "political love-in" by picketing outside the hotel -- on Thornburgh "becoming more anti-abortion than when he first ran" for gov: "He sold his soul. He is a prostitute" (John Baer, PHILA. DAILY NEWS, 8/31). Bethlehem Steel workers "didn't seem all that impressed" with Sen. Harris Wofford (D) during his visit. "Many walked right past the senator and the clump of reporters." Wofford did have "at least one thing going for him here" -- The steel workers were "nearly unanimous in their dislike for Thornburgh" (Stetz, Harrisburg PATRIOT-NEWS, 9/1).

"MICROWAVE" POLITICS: Some analysts say "the only way Wofford can win is to destroy Thornburgh's reputation for credibility with a barrage of negative TV ads" (Joseph Serwach, PATRIOT-NEWS, 9/1). But PHILA. INQUIRER's Katharine Seelye asks, if the Dems want "to keep a George Bush tidal wave from washing out [Dems] across the country ... why didn't Wofford take advantage of having the race to himself for two months and go on the air sooner?" (9/1). Wofford manager Paul Begala: "It's a two-stage enterprise for us -- raise money and raise hell." Thornburgh's tactic has been "to say good things about himself and to largely ignore his lesser-known [Dem] opponent. But if attacks by Wofford start getting enough attention, Thornburgh backers say, watch for a furious counterattack" (Serwach, 9/1). Both camps are "using surrogates" to make their points -- Thornburgh is "bashing the Casey administration ... which has just put in place the single biggest tax increase in state history. Similarly, Wofford, in a trial heat for the national [Dems in '92], is bashing what he calls the Bush administration's failed domestic policies" (Seelye, 9/1).

TV: Thornburgh plans to begin 30-second TV spots today in a statewide buy. Thornburgh manager Michele Davis: "We'll be talking about how the state has been a little bit off-track and how [Thornburgh] wants to set it right" (PITTSBURGH POST-GAZETTE, 8/31).

\*15 LOUISIANA GOVERNOR: POLL SHOWS ROEMER, EDWARDS STILL LEAD

A poll for Franklin Mayor Sam Jones (D), conducted 8/14-18 by McKeon & Assoc., surveyed 600 registered voters; margin of error +/- 4%. Candidates: Jones, Gov. Buddy Roemer (R), ex-Gov. Edwin Edwards (D), state Rep. David Duke (R), ex-Banking Commis. Fred Dent (D), Rep. Clyde Holloway (R-08), Public Services Commis. Kathleen Blanco (D), Delgado College prof. Ann Thompson (R).

	ALL	DEMS	GOP	IND	BLACK	WHITE
Roemer	20.8%	18.2%	30.9%	17.2%	15.8%	21.5%
Edwards	20.1	27.2	10.9	16.5	36.3	16.2
Duke	16.5	13.1	21.7	18.2	6.4	19.6
Blanco	6.8	5.6	7.9	7.6	4.9	6.6

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*Sen. Heinz*

<TEXT>U A BC-PLANE CRASH:230PES LD-WRITETHRU 4-4 0572  
URGENT

(COMBINING TAKES)

SENATOR HEINZ, SIX OTHERS DIE IN PLANE CRASH@

MERION, PA. (UPI) SEN. JOHN HEINZ AND SIX OTHER PEOPLE WERE KILLED THURSDAY WHEN HIS SMALL PLANE COLLIDED WITH A HELICOPTER OVER SUBURBAN PHILADELPHIA AND PLUMMETED IN FLAMES INTO A SCHOOL YARD, AUTHORITIES SAID.

AUTHORITIES SAID THE PENNSYLVANIA REPUBLICAN AND HEIR TO THE H.J. HEINZ CO. KETCHUP AND PICKLE EMPIRE, WAS ON HIS WAY TO PHILADELPHIA FROM AN APPEARANCE IN LYCOMING COUNTY WHEN THE CRASH OCCURRED SHORTLY AFTER NOON.

THE DEAD INCLUDED HEINZ AND TWO OTHER PEOPLE ABOARD THE PLANE, TWO PEOPLE ABOARD THE HELICOPTER AND TWO CHILDREN ON THE GROUND, THE AUTHORITIES SAID.

THE CHILDREN WERE KILLED BY FLAMING DEBRIS WHILE THEY PLAYED OUTSIDE THE MERION MIDDLE SCHOOL IN LOWER MERION TOWNSHIP, MONTGOMERY TOWNSHIP, THE AUTHORITIES SAID.

''I SAW A FIREMAN YELLING 'THERE'S CHILDREN. THERE'S CHILDREN,''' SAID STEVE LIPSHUTZ, '' WHO LIVES ABOUT THREE BLOCKS FROM THE SCHOOL. ''ALL I COULD SEE WAS SMOLDERING WRECKAGE.'''

OTHER WITNESSES REPORTED SEEING THREE BODIES COVERED WITH BLANKETS ON THE SCHOOL PLAYGROUND.

A FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL SAID THE PLANE WAS APPARENTLY EXPERIENCING PROBLEMS WITH ITS LANDING GEAR ON APPROACH TO PHILADELPHIA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT, AND A SUN OIL HELICOPTER WAS DISPATCHED TO EXAMINE THE PROBLEM FROM THE AIR.

HEINZ, 52, WAS HEIR TO THE H.J. HEINZ CO. EMPIRE, WHICH WAS BEGUN BY HIS GRANDFATHER AND RUN BY HIS FATHER.

IN 1976 HEINZ WON ELECTION TO THE SENATE BY DEFEATING DEMOCRATIC REP. WILLIAM GREEN III, WHO LATER BECAME MAYOR OF PHILADELPHIA. HE SPENT A TOTAL OF \$6 MILLION IN HIS PRIMARY AND GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, INCLUDING \$2.5 MILLION OF HIS OWN MONEY.

AS A SENATOR, HEINZ WAS EXTREMELY POPULAR WITH PENNSYLVANIA VOTERS. AS A REPUBLICAN, HE MAINTAINED A LIBERAL VOTING RECORD, ESPECIALLY ON LABOR ISSUES. THE PENNSYLVANIA BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES UNION ENDORSED HIM FOR A SECOND TERM A FULL YEAR BEFORE THE ELECTION AND BEFORE THE DEMOCRATS HAD EVEN SLATED AN OPPONENT.

HEINZ CONCENTRATED ON ISSUES AFFECTING THE WELL-BEING OF HIS STATE RATHER THAN NATIONAL MATTERS.

HEINZ GRADUATED FROM YALE UNIVERSITY AND WENT TO WORK IN THE FAMILY BUSINESS. HE LEFT KETCHUP AND PICKLES BEHIND IN 1971 TO RUN SUCCESSFULLY FOR A VACANCY IN THE HOUSE.

HEINZ'S GREAT-GRANDFATHER FOUNDED THE HEINZ COMPANY IN SHARPSBURG IN 1869, DEVELOPED IT INTO A WORLDWIDE FOOD PROCESSING COMPANY ONE OF THE LARGEST IN THE INDUSTRY AND COINED THE PHRASE ''57 VARIETIES'' TO ADVERTISE HEINZ PRODUCTS.

HEINZ'S FATHER, HENRY J. HEINZ II, CHAIRMAN OF THE H.J. HEINZ CO. EMPIRE SINCE 1959, DIED FEB. 23, 1987, AT AGE 78 FOLLOWING A SHORT ILLNESS AT HIS FLORIDA HOME.

HEINZ' NET WORTH, LISTED AT BETWEEN \$9 MILLION AND \$16 MILLION IN 1979, MADE HIM ONE OF THE WEALTHIEST MEN EVER TO SERVE IN THE SENATE.

HEINZ WAS MARRIED TO TERESA SIMOES-FERREIRA. THEY HAD THREE CHILDREN.

HEINZ BECAME A VEHEMENT OPPONENT OF U.S. FREE TRADE AND INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO RESTRICT FOREIGN COUNTRIES FROM DUMPING STEEL IN THE UNITED STATES AT PRICES BELOW THE COST OF PRODUCTION. HE ALSO ADVOCATED PROTECTION AGAINST PRODUCTS SUBSIDIZED BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Aboard Air Force One)

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For Immediate Release

April 4, 1991

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Barbara and I are deeply saddened by the news of the plane crash today in Pennsylvania in which U.S. Senator John Heinz and others have been killed. While all of the facts about this tragic accident are still unclear, our condolences go out to the families of all those killed or injured.

The people of Pennsylvania have lost a great leader and the nation has lost a great Senator. In particular, his steadfast efforts to protect Social Security and health care benefits for the elderly, his work to ensure both free and fair trade with our trading partners, and his commitment to protecting the environment have touched the lives of all Americans. His leadership and commitment will be greatly missed.

Adding to this tragedy is the apparent loss of life of at least two school children killed when the wreckage hit the ground and those piloting the aircrafts involved in the accident.

John Heinz was a close friend of our family. Barbara and I join the citizens of Pennsylvania and all Americans in extending sympathy and prayers to his wife Teresa, and his sons John, Andre, and Chris. Our hearts go out to the families in Merion, Pennsylvania who have suffered loss as a result of the accident.

# # #

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 large 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 scenic 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 machine 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 20,000 people, was America's first city, and a state which had a fair claim to being its first state. 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. Philadelphia became the major settlement in the Middle Colonies: its tolerance attracted Englishmen, Scots and Germans as well. Its vast and available farmlands west to the first Appalachian mountain range attracted thousands of yeoman farmers, and poor Scots-Irish farmers were crossing the Allegheny-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 in the Whiskey Rebellion flared up a decade later. On the banks of a wide estuary, with its busy commerce and rich hinterland, Philadelphia seemed destined to be the London of America. The capital and metropolis and academy all rolled into one.

Philadelphia's 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 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.

Philadelphia 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

with nearly 60% and ran just ahead of Dukakis; 7 votes. seem to have a psychological hold on him; back he could have chosen to run in the much more se the 5th because he lives in Salem, though he d as a candidate for statewide office, though he and won't run against one of the state's two d retire in 1990 or Bob Packwood in 1992.

980-86; Pop. 1980: 526,120, up 41.1% 1970-80 63% married couples; 32.4% housing units rented, 2,100. Voting age pop. (1980): 375,567; 2% Spanish

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

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

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

LHOB 20515, 202-225-5711. Also P.O. Box 13009 S.E., Ste. 40, Salem 97309, 503-399-5756.

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

CV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CD
25	96	93	100	92	00
—	95	—	—	100	00

1987 LIB — 1987 CONS

0%	—	89%
10%	—	85%
27%	—	73%

Test	FOR	9) SDI Research
h Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem
ales	FOR	11) Aid to Cont
Abort S	FOR	12) Nuclear Test

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

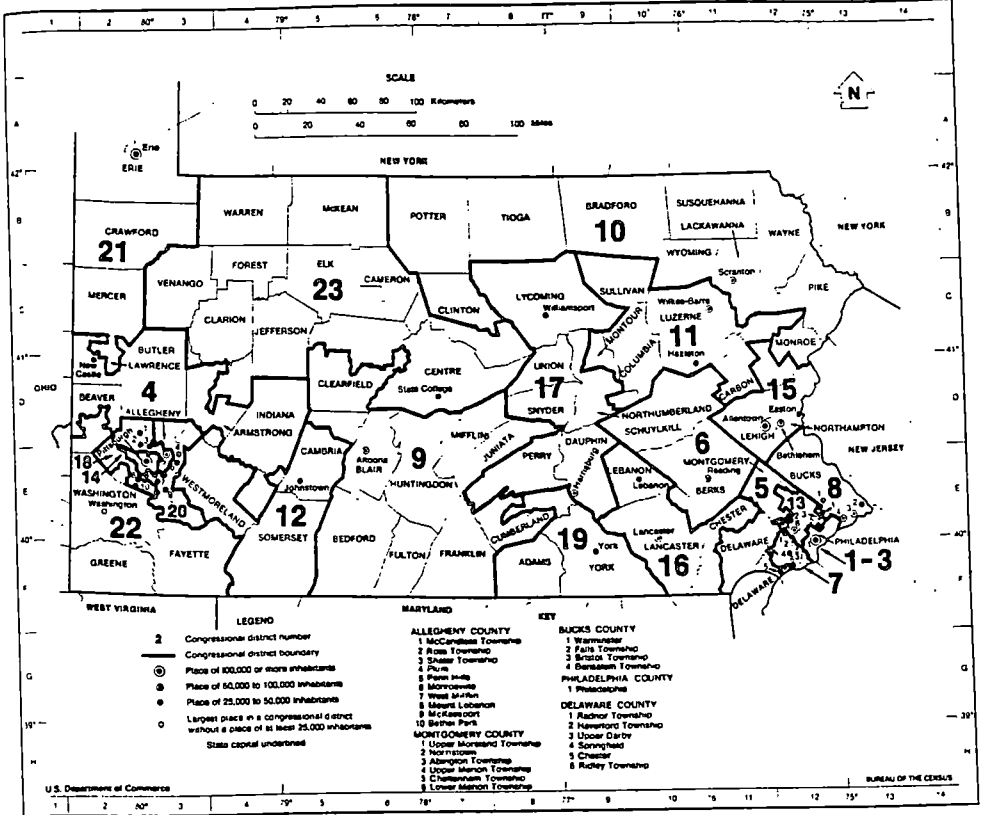
Pennsylvania was the major source of other industrial products. As a result, onongahela rivers join to become the ). Immigrants poured in from Europe the factories; and Pittsburgh became behind the civic pride that celebrated ion's second largest state and growing

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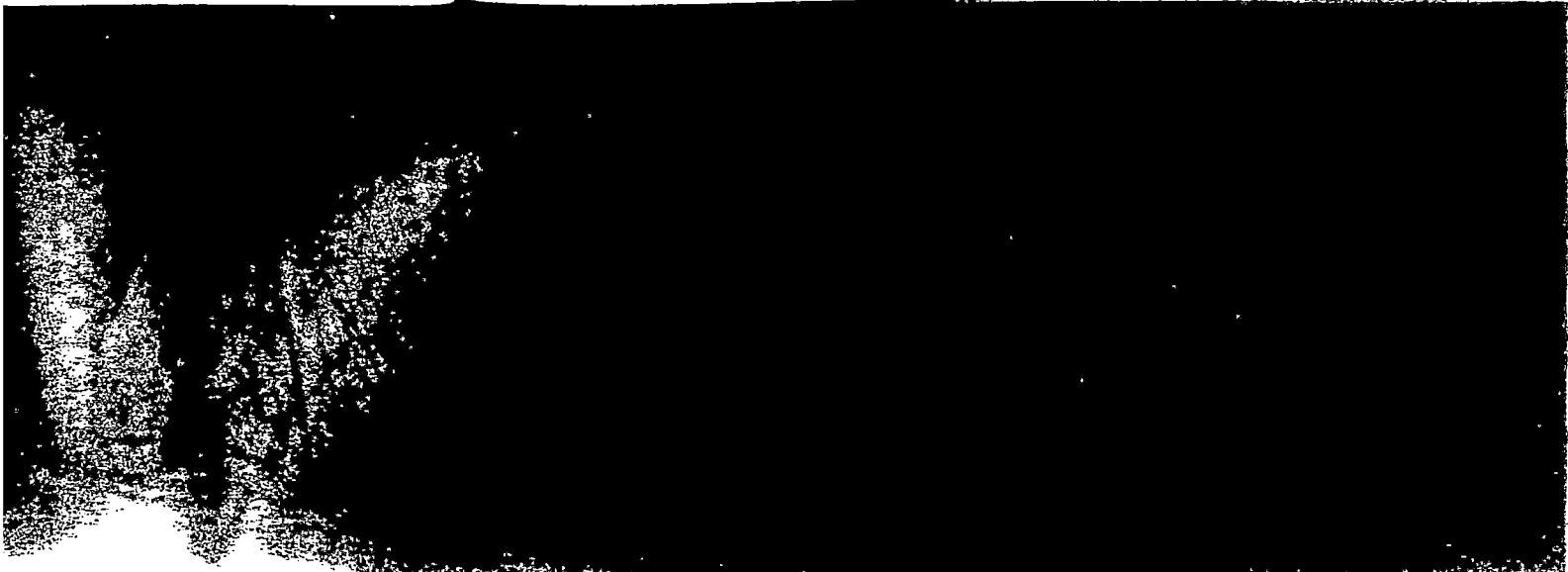
PENNSYLVANIA — Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Places — (23 Districts)



Congressional districts established March 3, 1962; 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



1950s 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.



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 tense and aloof; he got less credit for his work as National Republican Senatorial Conference 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 save the Senate from 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 James 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 if he supported a bigger welfare state and currying credit with organized labor; Barry Goldwater, who only recently lost overwhelmingly, Richard Nixon had just barely beaten Hubert H. Humphrey, and political insiders scoffed at Kevin Phillips's *The Emerging Republican Majority*. He followed the traditional liberal Republican strategy and adapted it, as on the trade issue in Pennsylvania, with fine results: he beat Bill Green for Senator in the Democratic year of 1978 and was easily reelected over underfinanced opposition in 1982 and 1988. Heinz conspicuously 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 a 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, a 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 them up by being elected Democratic caucus chairman in 1988 and majority whip in 1989. 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% 1970-80. 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% house 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	(3.1%)
St/Lcl Grants	5,793m	(5.05%)	5,791m	(5.06%)	2m	(1.0%)
Salary/Wages	4,752m	(3.54%)	2,666m	(3.98%)	2,085m	(3.0%)
Pymnts to Indiv	23,469m	(5.73%)	23,055m	(5.90%)	415m	(2.0%)
Procurement	4,526m	(2.40%)	1,188m	(2.55%)	4,526m	(2.0%)
Research/Other	1,029m	(2.75%)	1,019m	(2.75%)	9m	(2.0%)

**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). Senate, 50 (27 R and 23 D); State House of Representatives, 203 (104 D and 99 R). Senators, 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
Mondale (D)	2,228,131

**1984 Republican Presidential Primary**

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

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895, up 1.4% 1980-88 and 0.5% 1970-80; ith 4+ yrs. col.; 10.5% below poverty level. 3% Polish, 1% Russian, Dutch, Hungarian, ren, 61% married couples; 30.1% housing value: \$39,100. Voting age pop. (1980): s (1988): 5,875,943; 3,069,234 D (58%), 5%).

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

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

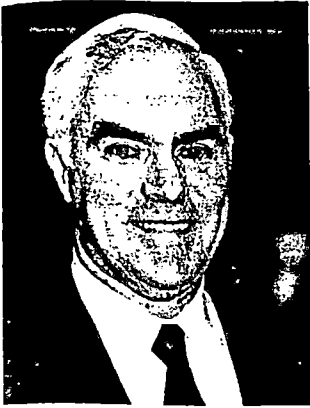
Mark Singel (D); Secy. of Commonwealth, asurer, Catherine Baker Knoll (D). State 203 (104 D and 99 R). Senators, H. John 12 D and 11 R).

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

ublican Presidential Primary  
 ..... 687,323 (79%)  
 ..... 103,763 (12%)  
 on ..... 79,463 (9%)

### 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; Episco- palian; 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

### 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%

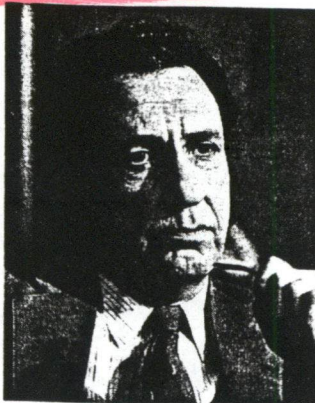
### Key Votes

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%

FOR	9) SDI Funding	AGN
FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
FOR	11) Aid To Contras	FOR
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)

p 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 st. Atty. Gen., 1964-65; Philadelphia Dist.

, 202-224-4254. Also Fed. Bldg., 600 Arch Philadelphia 19106, 215-597-7200; 2017 Fed. 22, 412-644-3400; 118 Fed. Bldg., Erie 16501. Bldg, 228 Walnut St., Rm. 1159, Harrisburg P.O. Bldg., 5th and Hamilton Sts., Rm. 201, 5-434-1444; Park Plaza, 225 N. Washington ton 18503, 717-346-2006; and 116 S. Main lkes-Barre 18701, 717-826-6265.

riations (9th of 13 R). Subcommittees: Agri- se; Energy and Water Development; Foreign n (Ranking Member). *Judiciary* (5th of 6 R). s; Constitution (Ranking Member). *Veterans* h of 7 R).

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

1987 LIB — 1987 CONS

55%	—	43%
61%	—	36%
65%	—	32%

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 Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	7) Deny Abortions	AGN	11) Aid To Contras	AGN
Min Wage Increase	FOR	8) Japanese Reparations	FOR	12) Reagan Defense \$	FOR

Election Results

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

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

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 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
...	90	82	96	73	69	4	3	0	42	11
...	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 Amndt	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

US general	Thomas M. Foglietta (D) .....	128,076	(76%)	(\$234,957)
	William J. O'Brien (R) .....	39,749	(24%)	(\$1,643)
US primary	Thomas M. Foglietta (D), unopposed			
US 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 entrates heavily on national issues. He against convicted Abscam defendant to Congress), 38%–34%; he held it in ey were thrown together by redistrict- in the Democratic primary by South eta for not coming back to the district ghtime congressman (1945–47, 1949– 45% and 62%–38%, respectively. is record on issues remains staunchly ortion. He is a member of the Armed n Les Aspin; and the committee does yard, which he successfully fought to bs on the waterfront too: with Senator Chilean grape scare threatened the their work in the winter. serious opposition in 1988. But that's ues to be as spicy as the peppers on a could conceivably threaten Foglietta. in the three districts it has now, but in the 1st District in his 2d District e chosen as the eastern Pennsylvania

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..... 121,095 (66%)  
 ..... 60,033 (33%)

928, Philadelphia; home, Philadelphia; 949, Temple U., J.D. 1952; Roman

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

5, 202-225-4731. Also Wm. J. Green n. 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; l 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—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 stands 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 Tom O'Neill to oppose any waiver of the three-term limit on Budget membership, which eliminated outgoing chairman, James Jones and his apparent heir 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 resolute 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 deferred 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 had.

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 supporters, 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

Hope Baptist Church, at 12th Street and he does not have any serious political aged, underperforming incumbent in the 982 beat state Senator Milton Street—a it control of the state Senate, and then ran a convincing 76%–22% margin. He stays a white candidate for district attorney in e has worked in the House to build a party.

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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, inspirational 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, 17% 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, Philadelphia; 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 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia 19119, 215-951-5388; 2316 W. Columbia Ave., Philadelphia 19121, 215-232-2770; and 22 N. 52d St., Philadelphia 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 Operations 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%	73%
Social	86%	—	0%	78%
Foreign	84%	—	0%	81%

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

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

d, you could still see farms and empty fields 50 South Philadelphia and the river wards were and the Main Line suburbs might already be s and the workers of Philadelphia's docks and red out in any great numbers to the northeast. ost one-third of the city's population and its iver, with its blocks of closely packed brick row ith mostly Irish and Italian residents and their ward leader (except in Philadelphia it would he doors and distributing coal for the winter. iles from Independence Hall, middle-income : than half the housing units here, in fact, were of the city). 's population is Jewish, in neighborhoods that ouses are pleasant, but modest; the politics e part of the hard-pressed lower-middle class. ome joined him when he reregistered in the blacks will move into their neighborhoods. c population, which is still pretty conservative t out of the 1950s. t Borski, a young former stockbroker and state ot the 1982 nomination when other Democrats o everyone's surprise, Borski beat Republican } when Democrat Joshua Eilberg was indicted hospital get a federal grant. Borski has won n 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 ouse, where he generally votes a liberal line ber of the Public Works Committee and is one arine and Fisheries. He is friendly to groups ays close to local issues and, like most of his r Wilson Goode in the May 1987 mayoral 80-86; Pop. 1980: 516,154, dn. 6.6% 1970-80. 9% married couples; 26.6% housing units rented; ,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 391,605; 7% Black.

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

**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%	—
Social	56%	—	43%	—
Foreign	64%	—	34%	—

**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 &

### 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-

nomics 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%	— 38%
Social	49%	— 50%	59%	— 40%
Foreign	55%	— 45%	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

ning as workers who have long since  
move somewhere else to find work.  
ssional districts today; 35 years ago,  
n that has accompanied it, the same  
alf of the 4th Congressional District  
rth of Pittsburgh to take in the  
nier. The irregular boundaries were  
pt to preserve the seat of one of the  
licans; the attempt failed, but the  
ave produced football players of the  
ed a melancholy string of incompe-  
rrounding area were represented by  
ne ultra-Democratic Watergate year  
it after losing he was able to win only  
his conqueror was Gary Myers, a  
ost as a foreman in a steel mill. The  
st to Myers in 1976, won unimpres-  
primary in which he lost western  
it as the steel industry was going into  
ie one part of the country trending

itician like this, and didn't. The new  
what he knows best, the woes of the  
epublican primary!) by a 60%-39%  
solid labor support. He now serves  
Administration Committees. He has a  
cy and traditional on cultural issues.  
assistance to individuals unable to  
sponsor of a measure to cut contra  
e contras were Communist, Daniel  
een communist at one time. He is  
is tenure is the possibility—not an  
tricting.

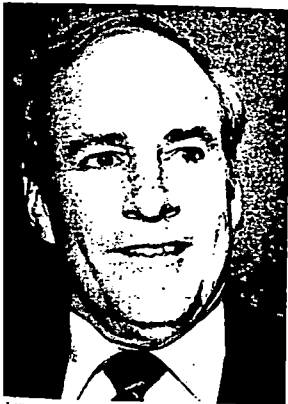
p. 1980: 515,572, up 6.1% 1970-80.  
d couples; 24.1% housing units rented;  
g age pop. (1980): 375,245; 2% Black.

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



# 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%	—
Social	31%	—	69%	—
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 *VPA 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 activities...

Mountain, and you are in anthracite country, where the *Guide* found little towns because their streets had sunk, settled because of the mines underneath, board mills, and Pottsville—John O'Hara's "Gibbsville"—whose anthracite industry waned after strikes in 1922 and 1925 prompted many consumers to switch to coal 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 they 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 the 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 region. The Dutch country is not far away, and the 6th District now includes a small sliver of the Lancaster County.

The 6th District, in national elections, is not as Democratic as you might expect. Working-class people who would have been good Democratic voters have long since moved out 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 local Democrats, James Buchanan of Lancaster and his lieutenant, J. Glancy Jones, then chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Nevertheless, the congressional representation here has been Democratic since 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, is 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 to him. There he has attended to his duties in a more than perfunctory way. He has been an 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 Nicaragua 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 the forefront on deforestation in Brazil and is increasingly vocal about the threat of global warming. He is of Greek descent, and remains interested in and sympathetic to Greek interests, but he has 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 win out of a chairmanship again, (as he was in 1981 on the Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee in favor of Michael Barnes of Maryland). Perhaps he hopes to succeed to the full chairmanship some day. That's unlikely, but it is possible; Yatron has proved to be an 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 vacant; median monthly rent: \$154; median house value: \$32,400. Voting age pop. (1980): 384,537. 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%	—
			64%	—
				36%

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	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

the *Guide* found little towns abandoned  
 he mines underneath, boarded-up textile  
 whose anthracite industry was already in  
 any consumers to switch to oil for home  
 it hard-bitten towns where the rich people  
 : smuggled liquor, where people of more  
 e upper-class manners, and where tough  
 ly in the background unless a character  
 it dawn.  
 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  
 wer-wage work and by converting its old  
 gain hunters from all over the East. The  
 / includes a small sliver of heavily Dutch  
 ocratic as you might expect. A lot of the  
 ratic voters have long since moved away  
 Dutch (i.e., German) tradition has been  
 the slavery issue, as did two prominent  
 lieutenant, J. Glancy Jones of Reading,  
 tee.  
 has been Democratic since 1948. The  
 3, and continues to win by overwhelming  
 ral on economic issues, conservative on  
 . His chief focus, however, has been on  
 1 Congress, the third ranking Democrat  
 the Human Rights and International  
 ington, who relinquished it for another  
 an perfunctory way. He has risen with  
 aguan contras, but he has also pointed  
 Sandinistas in charge in Managua have  
 s. He criticized both Pinochet of Chile  
 wer, and has criticized China's human  
 nited Nations, was early in criticizing  
 e threat of global warming. Yatron is of  
 tic to Greek interests, but has sharply  
 s policies in dealing with terrorists.  
 ocrats. It is not likely he will be voted  
 er-American Affairs Subcommittee, in  
 pes to succeed to the full committee  
 ble; Yatron has proved to be a more  
 ew years ago.  
 Pop. 1980: 515,952, up 3.9% 1970-80.  
 ried couples; 25.5% housing units rented;  
 ting 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 Devel., 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

Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
Ciephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
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 lot like the modest, long-settled close-in dozen or so small incorporated boroughs whose families are grown, who still treasure the recession and worry about how they lead out, and real estate values rise in leafy but the people are more secure and less liberal Dukakis, is liberal; the town is not.) To e—the highest income and highest status

Republican machines which dominated so when Republicanism was the norm from which neighborhoods deviated, and political scape as trolley lines or overhead electrical Republican mayors until 1951 and the War and dull, local government and representation seems long gone, it may have returned: the reviving, gave majorities to Ronald Reagan have elected a congressman with genuine rity and appeal.

as mayor of Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania's of oil tank farms and a rusty-looking old vent on the county council, and then ran in s most of Delaware County and one ward r was an archetypical member of the class ckground and an opponent of the Vietnam lenly in 1974, profited from an internal lished a liberal and anti-pork-barrel record by winning reelection five times. Against n 1986, Edgar ran for the Senate, won the ction by a large margin to Arlen Specter. i no primary opposition and 61% in the

ot just protecting the Philadelphia Navy stablishing a Congressional Fire Services asures calling for new alarm systems in Illinois. Weldon personally helped to put e forward with the distinctive proposal to ted tax measures—something sure not to Rostenkowski, but obviously justified. He lobby the Defense Department extended cling clearinghouse.

liberals on economic and cultural issues, ich he beat former Gary Hart delegate

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 1 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 r lines—led to huge new developments here. U.S. Steel built its Fairless Works, one of the few t postwar steel plants, down by the river. And the Levitt organization created one of its Levittow in what had been farmland and swamp between U.S. 13 and U.S. 1, which the *WPA Gui* described in 1940 as “flat country inappropriately known as Penn Valley. Gasoline station 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 Senator Joseph Grundy, longtime head of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association, w opposed the Smoot-Hawley tariff of 1930 on the grounds that it was not protectionist enoug But in contrast to the other suburban Philadelphia counties, where most of the blue-coll immigration took place a long time ago, when Philadelphia itself was solidly Republican and t suburban county machines ready to enroll new residents in their party, development came aft the New Deal in Bucks. So Lower Bucks, around the Fairless Works and Levittown, has be fairly solidly Democratic, while Upper Bucks is Republican but sometimes liberal on issues li the environment and foreign policy. The 8th Congressional District of Pennsylvania includes : of Bucks County plus a small slice of Montgomery County directly north of Philadelphia Center City. And although it leans Republican, it has elected Democratic Congressman Pet Kostmayer for all but two years since 1976.

Kostmayer's political formula has been to emphasize his liberal stands on environmental ar foreign issues, to vote somewhat more conservatively on economic issues, and to work hard c constituency services. He was a product of the Democratic politics of the middle 1970s: McGovern coordinator and press aide to Governor Milton Shapp who got it into his head to r for Congress at age 30 and was shrewd enough to figure out how to win. Vigorous opposition t corruption (he urged early investigations of Koreagate and of his fellow Pennsylvania Democrat Daniel Flood and Joshua Eilberg) and emphasis on environmental issues (he helped kill th Tocks Island Dam on the Delaware) enabled Kostmayer to solidify support in Upper Bucks; t easily won reelection in 1978. But in 1980, the district went Republican, in a year in whic economic issues were the center of attention, and elected James Coyne. Coyne in turn stumble when he showed a lack of feel for the political process, attacking Kostmayer for continuing t 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 slowl increased his percentages with the voters. He sits on the Interior Committee and now chairs th Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee and cites as proud achievements a Pennsylvan Wilderness Act and making the Delaware & Lehigh Canal a National Heritage Corridor. O economic issues, he supports Gramm-Rudman and the line-item veto. Kostmayer has worke hard to defeat the MX missile, and as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee has taken front-row position opposing aid to the Nicaraguan contras. But he has been flexible enough t invite House Armed Services Chairman Les Aspin, who took the opposite view on both issue into the 8th District to persuade him to save the Naval Air Defense Command in Warminste the second biggest employer in the district.

In the 8th District, Kostmayer has tried to keep his opponents from launching attacks on hi record by preemptive strikes at them—and has succeeded. In 1988, Kostmayer launched a attack on the supposed absenteeism of former state Senator Ed Howard by emphasizing th 1,234 roll calls he missed; Howard claimed he was present at 92%. Oddly, Howard attacke Kostmayer as a tool of developers; the Upper County is worried about overdevelopment, but a Kostmayer said the charge had the credibility of accusing Colonel Sanders of being a friend o 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, 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	NTLC	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 Clng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	AGN	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

suicide in New Hope in 1989. In the county—directly between Philadelphia and the Delaware River and several railroads. Fairless Works, one of the few big industrial plants in the county, was created one of its Levittowns in 1953 and U.S. 1, which the *WPA Guide* lists as Penn Valley. Gasoline stations, roadside; billboards also intrude." Solidly Republican: it was the home of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association, who argued that it was not protectionist enough. Counties, where most of the blue-collar workers live, itself was solidly Republican and the party, development came after Fairless Works and Levittown, has been liberal in but sometimes liberal on issues like the 11th District of Pennsylvania includes all of the county directly north of Philadelphia's and elected Democratic Congressman Peter

Shapp who got it into his head to run for Governor in 1982. Vigorous opposition to the nuclear freeze. 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 in attacking Kostmayer for continuing to go in public view on the nuclear freeze. 1982.

He works better with his colleagues and slowly moved to the Interior Committee and now chairs the committee on proud achievements a Pennsylvania National Heritage Corridor. On a one-item veto. Kostmayer has worked on the Foreign Affairs Committee has taken a strong stand. But he has been flexible enough to look the opposite view on both issues. He served in Defense Command in Warminster.

Opponents from launching attacks on his behalf. In 1988, Kostmayer launched an attack on Senator Ed Howard by emphasizing the vote at 92%. Oddly, Howard attacked Kostmayer worried about overdevelopment, but as a result 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. C. (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

128,153	(57%)	(\$1,089,612)
93,648	(42%)	(\$507,682)
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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	
Time	13%	85%	32%	67%
Newsweek	5%	91%	27%	72%
Washington Post	16%	78%	0%	80%

### Key Votes

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

### Election Results

1988 general	E. G. (Bud) Shuster (R), unopposed			
1988 primary	E. G. (Bud) Shuster (R), unopposed			(\$332.6
1986 general	E. G. (Bud) Shuster (R)	120,890	(100%)	(\$276.4

## 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, 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 of 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 1970. 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. Coal was coal dust and air pollution; another was the hills of refuse; the ethnic groups became indistinctive 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 towns 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 Sid

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

**in Results**

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

**TH 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).

atings

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

Journal Ratings

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

s

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

Results

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

11TH DISTRICT

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

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				(\$310,305)
1988 primary	Paul E. Kanjorski (D), unopposed				
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.



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

ep. 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
988	55	70	86	64	38	46	2	100	29	11
987	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

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

Election Results

988 general	John P. Murtha (D), unopposed			(\$401,945)
988 primary	John P. Murtha (D), unopposed			
986 general	John P. Murtha (D).....	97.135	(67%)	(\$272,436)
	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%
Racial	46%	—	54%	45%
Foreign	46%	—	53%	45%

Votes

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

Election Results

General	Lawrence Coughlin (R)	152,191	(67%)	(\$225,412)
	Bernard Tomkin (D)	76,424	(33%)	(\$60,672)
Primary	Lawrence Coughlin (R), unopposed			
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 before that: it was toward Fort Duquesne, where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers to form the Ohio, that Braddock's army was headed (with George Washington helping to the way) when it was ambushed and defeated in 1754. Not so many years later, trees were cut and a city was carved out of the wilderness here and named after the English statesman — the first urban center in the American interior. Pittsburgh grew rapidly in those days when the nation's commerce moved over water; when traffic switched to railroads, Pittsburgh held 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

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 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 whose jobs are in services, government, research and development; a city whose future is pegged not to a declining industry, but to rising businesses, and as a center for research on 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 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. 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

**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	COG	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
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

ucked 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,

number two steelmaker, Bethlehem Steel. By early 1987, the Valley was still producing crayons and Dixie 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.

<b>1988 Presidential Vote:</b>	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	N TLC	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%	31%	— 68%
Social	17%	— 83%	27%	— 72%
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

Ranking Member); Science, Research and Technology.

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	
35%	—	64%	31%
17%	—	83%	27%
16%	—	78%	0%

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

Results

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

18TH DISTRICT

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 wagons loaded in black, clattering over the back roads in horse-drawn carriages, scrupulously maintained amid rolling hills, barns decorated with hex signs. The Pennsylvania Dutch are 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 freedom of the Quaker-dominated colony of Pennsylvania. The Quakers were happy to

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 employe despite its precautions and against its wishes, used drugs on the job. This led to all sorts amendments to the amendment. But even if most Members thought Walker's amendment wa cheap shot, they voted for it.

Few people would have predicted such an influential career for Walker, who is gifted neith with the intellectual adventurousness of Gingrich or the oratorical virtuosity of Michel. He however, a hard worker, a plugger, a believer and one whose views are thought through rath than reflexive: he was one of those conservatives who, for example, rather than defending Sou Africa in late 1984 and early 1985, organized a letter of protest to its government. Many Walker's Republican allies represent marginal or iffy districts, or have run for statewide offic Walker's seat is safe as safe can be, and no one has noted yet the glint of senatorial gubernatorial ambition in his eye.

**The People:** Est. Pop. 1986: 550,700, up 7.0% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 514,585, up 12.9% 1970-81 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%

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

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

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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

Journal Ratings

1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
0%	—	93%	0%	—	89%
13%	—	84%	10%	—	85%
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, Selinsgrove 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)

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

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

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

**Journal Ratings**

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
nic	0%	93%	0%	89%
	13%	84%	30%	69%
1	16%	78%	0%	80%

**Notes**

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

**Results**

neral	George W. Gekas (R) .....	166,289	(100%)	(\$97,611)
imary	George W. Gekas (R), unopposed			
neral	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, 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 elected John Heinz to Congress in 1972 and 1974, but when he ran for the Senate in 1976, the 18th 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 at 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, 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	N TLC	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).

**atings**

ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	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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	68%	— 31%	72%	— 27%
	84%	— 0%	81%	— 0%

**es**

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

**Results**

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

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%)



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. Dallastown Sch. Bd., 1966-67.

**Offices:** 2263 RHOB 20515, 202-225-5836. Also Fed. Bldg., 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, 717-719-1988; and 44 Frederick St., Hanover 17331, 717-632-7855, 803-631-1811.

**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**

	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%	—	72%	—
Social	35%	—	65%	—
Foreign	30%	—	67%	—

**Key Votes**

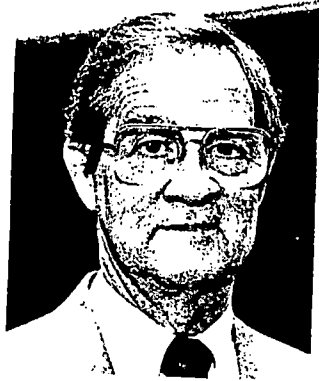
- |                           |     |                      |     |                     |     |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1) Homeless \$            | FOR | 5) Ban Drug Test     | FOR | 9) SDI Research     | FOR |
| 2) Gephardt Amdt          | 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 Pint 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%)	(\$57,091)
	Paul E. Ritchey (D)	42,819	(23%)	(\$2,358)
1988 primary	William F. (Bill) Goodling (R), unopposed			
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**

	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%	— 72%	29%	— 69%
Social	35%	— 65%	25%	— 73%
Foreign	30%	— 67%	44%	— 56%

**Key Votes**

) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	AGN	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
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same houses were crowded into narrow streets and almost piled one on top of another. Then, over the next hill, an entirely different, white-collar community might develop, connected to the town 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; the steel mill ataddock, on the site where the British general fought and died in 1754, had 21,000 people in 1920 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-skilled 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

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

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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*.

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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**

- |                           |     |                      |     |                     |     |
|---------------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
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| 2) Gephardt Amdt          | FOR | 6) Drug Death Pen    | FOR | 10) Ban Chem Weaps  | AGN |
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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 Pnt 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
88	50	61	57	73	75	36	56	50	71	32
87	44	—	51	50	—	19	—	—	64	43

Political Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	49%	—	50%	38%
Civil	33%	—	66%	50%
Foreign	46%	—	54%	50%

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

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

TWENTY-SECOND DISTRICT

Twenty 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 row streets has an appearance of prosperity. Coal, iron, lumber, natural gas, and glass, iron, 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 it does, 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

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 replaced 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 51% 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 decidedly 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 worked 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 the 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 yuppie 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%)



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	NTLC	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			
ic	63%	—	36%	51%	—	48%
	52%	—	47%	44%	—	55%
	53%	—	47%	54%	—	46%
less \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	—	9) SDI Research	FOR	
rdt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN	
t Reduc	—	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	AGN	
Int Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN	

**Results**

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

**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 westward expansion, 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

small 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 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 lines; yet the air of isolation persists. The solidly built courthouses and banks in the center of the 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 shots 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; J Hopkins U., B.A. 1951, U. of VA, LL.B. 1965; Presbyte married (Julia).

**Career:** Navy, 1951-55; Adv. Dept., New Process Co., 1955; Practicing atty., 1965-75, 1977-78; Chf. Cnsl., Econ. D 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 Penn 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 Services

**Group Ratings**

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

**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	F
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	A
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	F
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	A

**Election Results**

1988 general	William F. (Bill) Clinger, Jr. (R) .....	105,575	(62%)	(\$336.0
	Howard Shakespeare (D) .....	63,476	(37%)	(\$106.0
1988 primary	William F. (Bill) Clinger, Jr. (R), unopposed			
1986 general	William F. (Bill) Clinger, Jr. (R) .....	79,595	(55%)	(\$695.0
	Bill Wachob (D) .....	63,875	(45%)	(\$577.0

# 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)

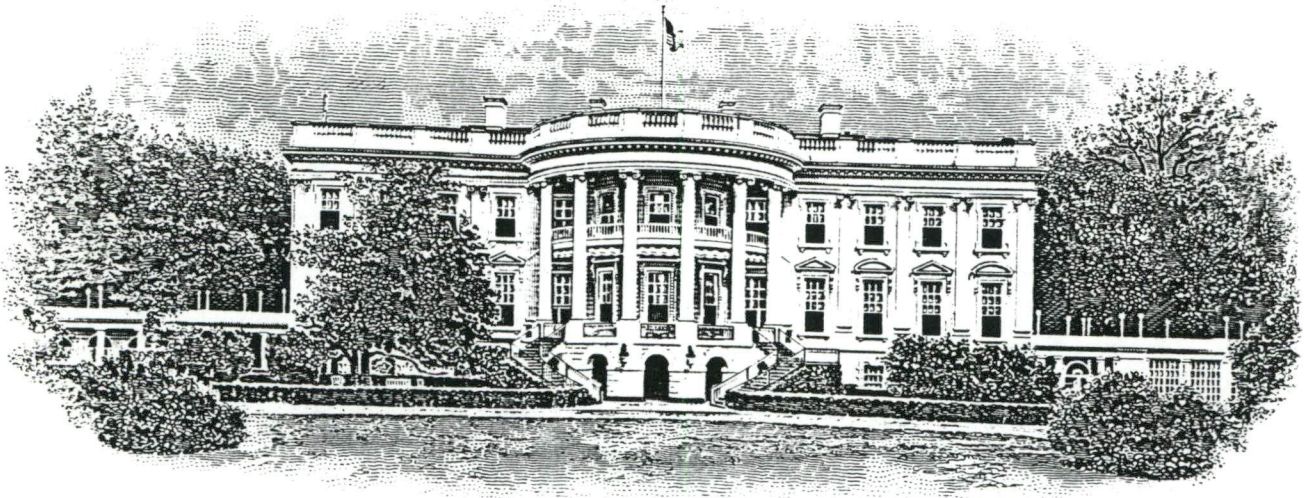
	1985	1988	1990	1985	1988	1990
				1985	1988	1990
Current Overall Drug Use (%)	30.7%	37.2%	29.7%	21.3%	19.7%	17.2%
Current Cocaine Use (%)	1.9%	5.2%	6.7%	3.4%	2.8%	1.9%

OPBA 8/21/91

2 yrs.

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**HARRIS WOFFORD** *Bio*  
**SECRETARY**  
**DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND INDUSTRY**  
**COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA**

Harris Wofford was sworn in on March 23, 1987, as Pennsylvania's 29th Secretary of Labor and Industry.

Wofford is a lawyer who has served as Special Assistant to President Kennedy, as a founder of the Peace Corps, and as President of two academic institutions, including Bryn Mawr College. He is the author of the 1980 book, Of Kennedys and Kings.

Just prior to joining the Casey Administration, Wofford was Democratic State Chairman on nomination by Robert Casey. Previously he was counsel with the Philadelphia law firm of Schnader, Harrison, Segal & Lewis, and President of Bryn Mawr College (1970-78) and of the State University of New York's College at Old Westbury (1966-70).

In 1948, Wofford received a B.A. degree from the University of Chicago. He later earned J.D. and LL.B. degrees from the Howard University and Yale University Law Schools.

Wofford served in the Kennedy White House as Special Assistant to the President and chairman of the Subcabinet Group on Civil Rights. While on the White House staff, he helped Sargent Shriver form the Peace Corps, and later served as the Corps' Special Representative to Africa and subsequently as its Associate Director.

During the Eisenhower Administration, Wofford was counsel to the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh on the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

As Associate Professor of law at the University of Notre Dame Law School and a lecturer at Howard University Law School, Wofford taught labor/management relations and corporation law. In the 1950's, he also was an associate, (with Robert P. Casey) in the Washington, D.C. law firm of Covington and Burling.

Wofford has been President of The International League for Human Rights, a member of the governing council of The Wilderness Society, and a member of the board of the Public Interest Law Center of Philadelphia. A trustee of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, he has served as secretary of the Philadelphia Martin Luther King, Jr. Association for Nonviolence.

He holds honorary degrees from Tufts and Wake Forest Universities, King's and Albright Colleges, and also has received the Philadelphia Martin Luther King Association's Drum Major Award for Social Justice, the Eleanor Roosevelt Humanities Award, and the Howard University Alumni Award for Distinguished Postgraduate Achievement.

The author of numerous articles, Wofford has written four books, including Of Kennedys and Kings: Making Sense of the Sixties. He and his wife, Clare, co-authored India Afire.

He resides in Montgomery County with Clare, who in 1990 was managing director for the University of Pennsylvania's 250th Anniversary Celebration. They have three children: Susanne, the Charles Murphy Associate Professor of English at Yale University; Daniel, Special Assistant to Governor Casey; and David, press secretary for Peter Hearn for Mayor; and one grandson, Gabriel Lezra.

**Sen. Wofford's Abortion Stance Wins Points With Neither Side**

Sen. Harris Wofford (D-Pa.), in a tough race with former attorney general Dick Thornburgh, can't seem to win with either side on the abortion issue.

Wofford said he supports the Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act, but some antiabortion organizations are not convinced. "We not so affectionately call him 'Senator Waffler,'" said Denise Neary of the Pennsylvania Pro-Life Federation. "He's trying to head toward the middle."

Pennsylvania's abortion law requires spousal notification and a 24-hour waiting period. It bans abortions after 24 weeks of pregnancy and prohibits abortions for sex selection. The law has been challenged and is expected to be argued before the Supreme Court this fall.

Thornburgh, who officially announced his candidacy Thursday, recently met with federation members, and the group said it will decide whether to support the former two-term governor after he provides it with his views on abortion funding, parental notification, fetal tissue experimentation and whether abortions should be provided at U.S. military bases abroad.

"We were much more encouraged by the meeting with him than with Harris Wofford," Neary said. "I'd say the jury is still out, but we are hopeful."

During his tenure as governor from 1979 to 1987, Thornburgh vetoed an abortion control bill and that has caused some concern among antiabortion activists.

Thornburgh and Wofford meet in a Nov. 5 special election to fill the unexpired term of the late Sen. John Heinz (R). Gov. Robert P. Casey (D) appointed Wofford to fill the seat temporarily.

Kate Michelman of the National Abortion Rights Action League told the Morning Call of Allentown (Pa.): "Thornburgh has been the enemy of a woman's right to choose for a very long time. But the problem is, we have grave differences with Senator Wofford over his support of the Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act of 1989."

**Symms, Out of Race, Keeps Up Attacks**

Just because Sen. Steve Symms (R-Idaho) has decided not to run for reelection does not mean he has decided to stop criticizing Rep. Richard H. Stallings (D-Idaho), who is running for Symms's seat along with several Republicans.

In July, before Symms announced that he would not seek reelection, he ran radio ads blasting Stallings for voting against giving President Bush authority to use military force in the Persian Gulf.

Late last month, Symms issued a press release attacking Stallings for "displaying his total lack of understanding about the internal workings of the Soviet Union."

Symms's comments were made after Stallings was quoted in the Idaho Statesman as saying that the purpose of the coup was "not so much moving to restore communism as to restore order."

"For a member of Congress to stand up and suggest [this] is an outrage," Symms said.

None of this should be a surprise. When Symms announced Aug. 7 that he would not run, he made it clear that he was not going to stay on the sidelines during the campaign to elect his successor. "I will not sit idly by while a left-leaning Democrat sells the Idaho electorate a bill of goods," the fiercely conservative Symms said. He is expected to spend some of his \$500,000 campaign fund on anti-Stallings commercials next year.

Don't expect responses from the Stallings camp. "It's easy to recognize partisan baiting," Gary Catron, Stallings's chief of staff, said last week. "And it's certainly not necessary to respond to yet the latest installment of the world according to Senator Symms."

**Republicans Aiding Graham Campaign**

Not only is the Republican Party having trouble finding a challenger to Sen. Bob Graham (D-Fla.), some of its members are helping the first-term Democrat in his reelection bid.

Sylvester Lukis, a Washington lobbyist and a top political adviser to former Florida governor Bob Martinez (R), hosted a Washington fund-raiser for Graham and contributed \$1,000 himself.

"Senator Graham is a good man," Lukis told the Gainesville (Fla.) Sun. Lukis said he especially appreciated Graham's support of Martinez during Senate confirmation hearings for Martinez to become national drug control policy director. "I thought that was a gentlemanly, honorable and bipartisan thing to do," Lukis said.

As for complaints from fellow Republicans about helping a Democrat, Lukis said, "I don't know of any Republican nominee that has come out against Sen. Graham."

Lukis is not the only Republican donating money for Graham's reelection. Graham's most recent campaign finance report—which showed that he has more than \$1 million in his campaign treasury—was laced with the names of well-known GOP contributors," the newspaper reported.

**State Senate Hopeful: Gays Can Be Cured**

A Massachusetts state Senate candidate says he believes homosexuality can be cured. "It's not an unchangeable condition, like being black or a woman," Douglas Dagarin, a Republican, was quoted as saying in Friday's Boston Herald.

Dagarin, 40, a lawyer from Northampton in western Massachusetts, said he has compassion for homosexuals, and added, "I believe there's a cure," particularly through prayer.

Dagarin said he supports abolishing Massachusetts's gay-rights law because state and federal laws provide equal protection for everyone.

"It's time to uphold Judeo-Christian values and say 'no' to those who practice illegitimate lifestyles," he said.

Dagarin got 48 percent of the vote to win a three-way GOP primary last week. He faces state Rep. Stanley Rosenberg (D) in a special election Sept. 24 to fill the Senate seat vacated when John W. Olver (D) was elected to Congress.

—Maralee Schwartz

# Boston Herald

 DATE: 2/17/91  
 PAGE: 13

## AG Thornburgh recaptures political luster

 By JOE BATTENFELD  
 and ANDREW MIGA

WASHINGTON — U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh, one foot casually draped over his desktop, looks and talks like a man who has survived the nasty underside of Washington politics.

After a series of damaging setbacks early on, Thornburgh has emerged as a key player in the Bush administration — re-energizing an office plagued for months by internal bickering.

The AG's office this year has embarked on an ambitious plan to crush organized crime and is expanding its role in preventing terrorist attacks as a result of the Gulf war.

Thornburgh has also impressed Congress with his track record on putting more than 800 savings-and-loan crooks in jail. Lawmakers have responded with increased funding for prosecuting S & L cases.

"We have fared very well in the Department of Justice because of the high priority we've put on law enforcement," Thornburgh said in a recent interview, his voice brimming with confidence.

Thornburgh, who took over the AG's office in August 1988 during the Reagan administration, has not always been so publicly optimistic.

Since he was reappointed by President Bush last year, the former Pennsylvania governor has been through a Washington firestorm that might have unhinged other less stolid politicians.

Thornburgh came to Wash-



RICHARD THORNBURGH  
 Re-energized AG's office

ington with the reputation of a rising leader in the Republican party and a future presidential contender.

His star, however, was quickly shattered by a series of blunders that included a leak to the media about an alleged FBI probe of House Democratic Whip Rep. William Gray of Pennsylvania.

The report proved false and two top Justice officials who led what critics called Thornburgh's "Pennsylvania mafia" were reassigned. Thornburgh has since rebounded with a quiet but determined effort to crack down on drug abuse and white-collar criminals. He has also shown more of a willingness to rely on his staff — including two aides from Massachusetts.

Dan Eramian, a former top GOP aide on Beacon Hill, now heads the Justice Department's public-affairs office. Robert Mueller, a highly respected former prosecutor in the Boston U.S. Attorney's Office, was tapped to run the Criminal Division.

Thornburgh remains one of President Bush's most trusted and influential aides.

He has helped shield Bush from the politically volatile S & L crisis by aggressively pursuing convictions of key figures in the scandal.

When he arrived in the AG's office at the early stages of the crisis, he said the agency was "woefully undercapacitated" to handle the case load.

With the help of lawmakers anxious to defuse political damage to their own careers, Thornburgh has received an infusion of new funds.

"These are not easy cases at all. They involve very complicated paper trails," he said. "It's probably the biggest epidemic of white collar crime the country's ever had to deal with. It's going to take up to five years of additional prosecutions."

The next challenge for Thornburgh promises to be even more difficult — helping prevent terrorists sympathetic to Iraq from gaining a foothold in the United States and other allied countries.

"It is a source of enormous concern to us," he said. "Eternal vigilance is the watchword." □

# 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."

*Thornburgh*

## Thornburgh Reflections

*Tribune Review 12-22-86 PA 6*  
 Most Pennsylvanians will remember Dick Thornburgh as an excellent governor. He put the Commonwealth house in order. He cleaned up a considerable amount of corruption and incompetence. Thornburgh helped the state weather some very difficult economic storms while keeping the books balanced. PennDOT and other agencies were greatly improved.

But Pennsylvanians were unwilling to reward his managerial partner in all of this. Bill Scranton failed to follow in his footsteps. But Scranton was not looked on as a close, "managerial partner." The two men simply did not look like a team. In fact, internal communications within the Thornburgh crew were not impressive. Somehow, the governor came across as an aloof and somewhat isolated manager. He surely wasn't the consummate politician, using his power to build party strength. For example, he surely did not master the appointments process. He was unable to handle the disgraceful Liquor Control Board and he blew the Three Mile Island deal way out of proportion.

Although he wasn't a particularly dynamic governor, he surely kept the state moving forward through rough times. He kept building and improving (massive advances in road conditions, for example). He was also far more compassionate than people gave him credit for — many increases in welfare allotments, big improvements in education, and a solid development in human services.

One of his most important accomplishments has been overlooked. Using excellent external communications he was able to keep public expectations of state government at reasonable levels. He effectively educated people about harsh Harrisburg realities. He restored a great deal of faith in the executive branch.

Despite the illogical nature of his political world, Thornburgh installed "business-like" approaches within government. He also found ways to compromise with his Democrat adversaries during the passage of legislation without compromising his principles.

Yes, Dick Thornburgh has made a very positive mark on Pennsylvania history and deserves recognition for his accomplishments and our appreciation.

# Thornburgh leaves, but it's unlikely he'll be forgotten

1-11-87

By Edwin Guthman  
*Editor of The Inquirer*

For a stalwart Republican, Gov. Dick Thornburgh seems in terribly good spirits as he prepares to turn Pennsylvania's most powerful office over to the Democrats next week.

That may sound strange, politics being as ruggedly partisan as they are in Pennsylvania, but he says, "I'm actually glad to be moving on," and there are several reasons to believe he's sincere in saying it.

For one thing, he knows the man who is replacing him. He and Gov.-elect Robert P. Casey fought side by side during the 1967 Constitutional Convention in drafting the Judicial Reform Article.

Despite wearing different party labels, Thornburgh and Casey have in common a tough-minded, no-nonsense approach to public administration and both are sticklers for honesty and integrity in government, so Thornburgh has some respect for Casey.

And though Thornburgh isn't saying what he's going to do — if he's decided — beyond spending "a week in the woods" with his wife, Ginny, it's clear at age 54, with a background as a practicing lawyer, U.S. attorney, deputy U.S. attorney general and governor, he's not lacking for attractive offers.

"I haven't pinned down all the specifics," he says, "but I'm going to continue playing my favorite sport."

What's that?  
 "Politics."

He says the word with what seems like uncharacteristic ebullience. Maybe it's a declaration of sorts that he doesn't intend to slide into oblivion as his predecessor, Democrat Milton Shapp, did, and already there's backroom talk that Thornburgh will be the Republican candidate for governor in 1990.

Finally, Thornburgh is leaving office with the knowledge that public opinion polling in the election campaign last fall gave him a 70 percent approval rating and with the inner satisfaction that he gave the job his best shot.

Eight tough years have come and gone since he first took the oath of office as Pennsylvania's 41st governor and in frugal inaugural and in an unusually short inaugural address, pledged:

"... to bring this administration an integrity that battles all corruption and tolerates no conflict of interest. We promise a frugality that insists on a dollar's worth of service for every tax dollar spent."

Even his severest critics — and he has plenty — don't quibble about whether he kept his word. Foes and admirers use the same adjectives — "decisive," "efficient," "perfectionist," "professional" "fiscally responsible" — to describe how he shouldered his duties.

When he took office, the state faced a \$70 million budget deficit. He leaves with the



Gov. Dick Thornburgh

state rolling up its third successive surplus in excess of \$200 million, with 15,000 fewer employees on the state payroll and with personal income and corporate taxes reduced.

And nothing marked his management style more than what he did to bring the patronage-loaded Pennsylvania Department of Transportation out of a pit of corruption and infirmity. With roads and bridges across the state in deplorable condition, he hired a transportation expert, Thomas D. Larson, to head the department and ended the time-honored practice that allowed county political chairmen of the party in power to have a large voice in hiring PennDOT workers.

That angered the pols no end, but Thornburgh stuck to his guns. Larson remained transportation secretary through both the

governor's terms and earned the praise he gets today for PennDOT's overall performance.

On the negative side there was an aloofness about Thornburgh and a rigidity that made his dealings with the legislature more difficult than they might have been. He was not unwilling to compromise but he drove a hard bargain. And it took seven years to settle a dispute with the Democrats over control of the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission that delayed extensive construction involving work for about 18,000 persons.

There was his controversial welfare reform — dubbed "Thornfare" — that he asserts saved the taxpayers money while increasing payments to some recipients, but which critics say was not what it was cracked up to be and caused an increase in the number of homeless people.

And Thornburgh is the first to admit that his inability to overcome entrenched opposition from the judiciary, the trial lawyers, the labor unions and the Catholic Church to judicial reform, particularly merit selection of judges, is the biggest piece of unfinished business that he is leaving behind.

But nobody bats 1,000, most certainly not anyone who must deal with the enormous burdens and problems of high public office. And Thornburgh always will have my respect for his cool, sure response to the nuclear crisis at Three Mile Island.

He was only in office 72 days. He was without either detailed knowledge of the state's emergency machinery or any scientific training, and being the first chief executive to look into the nuclear abyss, he had no precedents to guide him.

That was a moment of truth — the kind of crisis that fully tests a leader's judgment. To his everlasting credit, he made the right decisions and emerged with his credibility intact — in contrast to the federal government and the nuclear industry — and thereafter remained a constructive skeptic about nuclear safety assurances.

Last October, Thornburgh, wearing a T-shirt, red beret and a gold earring, sang a rap song for the audience at the capital journalists' annual Gridiron dinner.

That was Thornburgh, the no-nonsense, steely-eyed guy who constantly demanded excellence from his staff?

It seems he's leaving Casey more than one hard act to follow.

# 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 <sup>and</sup> 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.

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Elevation:	1,223 feet
Founded:	1758
Incorporated:	1816
City Population:	369,879
Allegheny County Population:	1,336,449
Regional* Population:	2,242,798
City Land Area:	55.0 square miles
Allegheny County Land Area:	730.8 square miles
Regional Land Area:	3,866.7 square miles
Regional Labor Force:	1,051,800
Largest Regional Industry:	Services (323,300 employed)
Largest Regional Employer:	United States Government (20,987 employed)
Largest City Employer:	University of Pittsburgh (10,236 employed)
Pennsylvania Personal Income Tax:	2.1%
Local Wage Tax:	2.875% for City of Pittsburgh residents, 1% for most suburban residents
State Sales Tax:	6%
Retail Sales (1990):	\$14.04 billion
Per Capita Income (1989):	\$17,455
Crime Index (1989):	3,393.5 offenses per 100,000 population (national average: 5,741.0)
Consumer Price Index (1990):	128.2 (national average: 132.6)

\*Throughout the publication, unless otherwise noted, regional denotes Allegheny, Beaver, Fayette, Washington and Westmoreland counties.

## Southwestern Pennsylvania Counties

	Land Area (sq. mi.)	Total Housing Units	Total Population	White	Black	American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut	Asian & Pacific Islander	Other Races
Allegheny	730.8	580,738	1,336,449	1,169,452	149,550	1,452	13,469	2,526
Armstrong	656.5	31,757	73,478	72,727	566	59	81	45
Beaver	441.1	76,336	186,093	174,759	10,475	203	377	279
Butler	789.3	59,061	152,013	150,407	810	109	545	142
Fayette	802.2	61,406	145,351	139,773	5,116	139	219	104
Greene	579.6	15,982	39,550	38,948	377	69	112	44
Lawrence	363.0	38,844	96,246	92,896	2,915	61	274	100
Washington	863.6	84,113	204,584	196,810	6,786	201	543	244
Westmoreland	1,029.0	153,554	370,321	361,103	6,930	262	1,566	460

Source: 1990 Census

*8 or 10 yrs. - Steel major employer  
 No longer so*

## Regional Goods-Producing Employment (thousands)

	Durable	Nondurable	Total Manufacturing	Construction & Mining
1980	203.4	45.4	248.8	59.4
1981	199.2	45.3	244.5	54.9
1982	157.6	42.9	200.5	52.1
1983	131.0	41.0	172.1	47.2
1984	125.6	40.5	166.1	48.3
1985	114.0	38.8	152.8	49.0
1986	101.9	37.8	139.9	51.0
1987	95.6	38.1	133.7	50.5
1988	96.2	38.5	134.7	48.5
1989	94.4	37.9	132.3	49.4
1990	90.7	38.0	128.7	50.6

Source: Bureau of Research and Statistics, PA Department of Labor and Industry

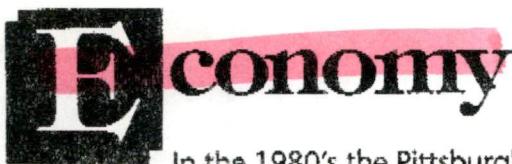
## Fastest Growing Occupations

Occupation	Estimated 1984 Employment	Estimated 1995 Employment	Percent Increase
1. Computer Programmers	3,183	5,227	64.2%
2. Paralegal Personnel	550	903	64.2%
3. Medical Assistants	1,041	1,549	48.8%
4. Social Welfare Service Aides	1,425	2,037	42.9%
5. Computer Systems Analysts	2,871	4,057	41.3%

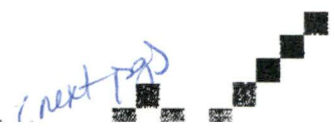
Statistics do not include Beaver County.  
Source: Bureau of Research and Statistics, PA Department of Labor and Industry

## Largest Regional Employers

	Employees Locally
1. United States Government	20,987
2. Westinghouse Electric	16,000
3. USAir	12,000 *
4. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania	11,325
5. University of Pittsburgh	10,236 *
6. Mellon Bank	8,505 *
7. Allegheny County	8,000

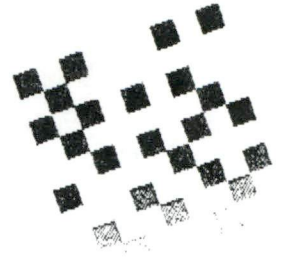


In the 1980's the Pittsburgh region underwent a successful economic

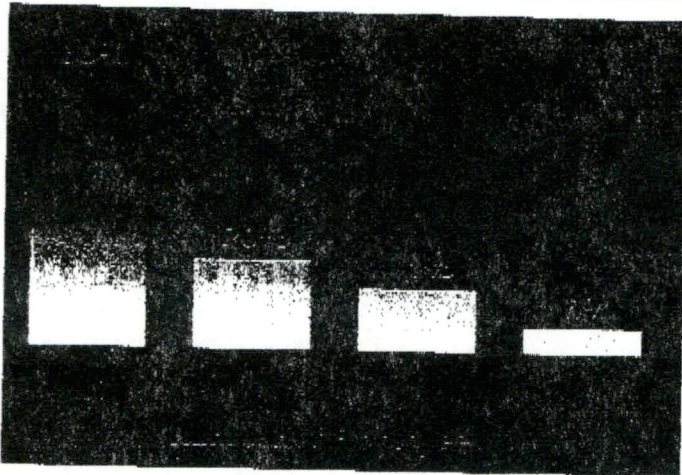


# A dvanced Technology

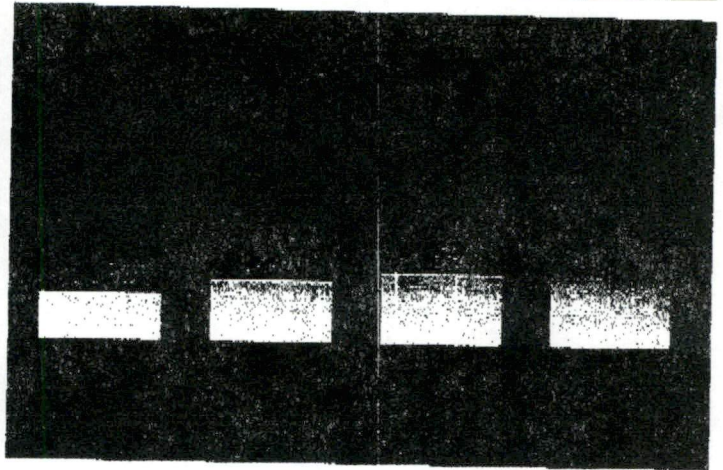
More than 800 firms and 85,000 people are involved in advanced technology in the Pittsburgh region. This strong research tradition stems from the city's corporate, university and health care infrastructure and focuses on four primary areas: software engineering, industrial automation, advanced materials and biomedical technology.



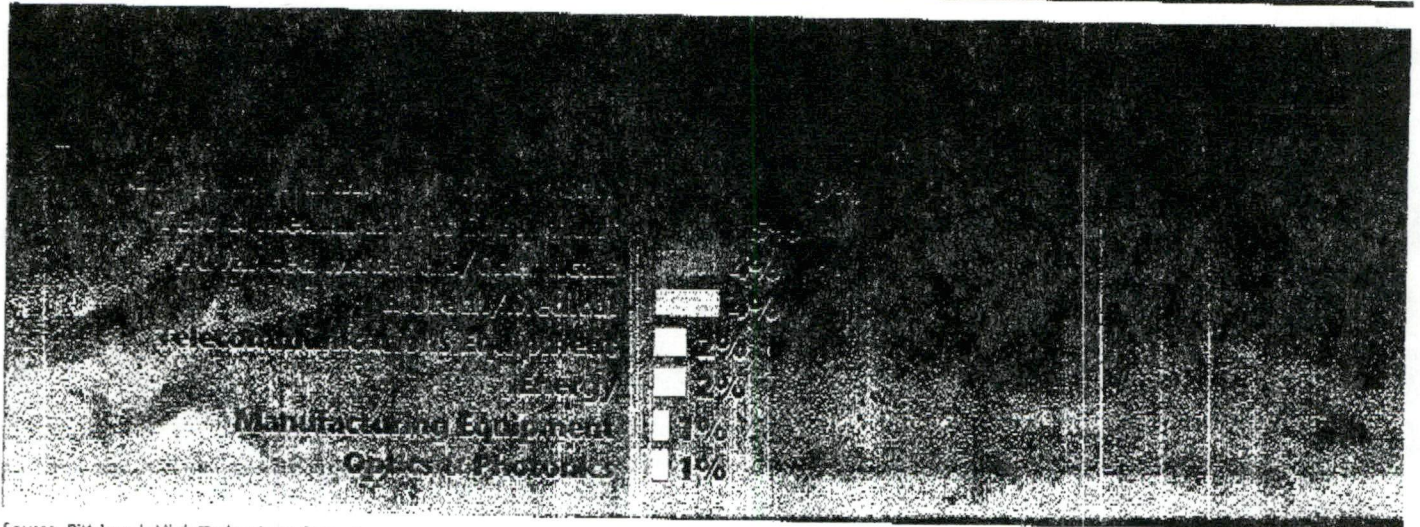
## Company Employment



## Year of Establishment



## Primary Business Activities

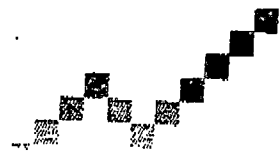


Source: Pittsburgh High Technology Council

*Hi-tech industries, outweighing all else*

*Technology Services 40%  
Computer Software 21%  
Industry Automation 11%*

# Economy (continued)

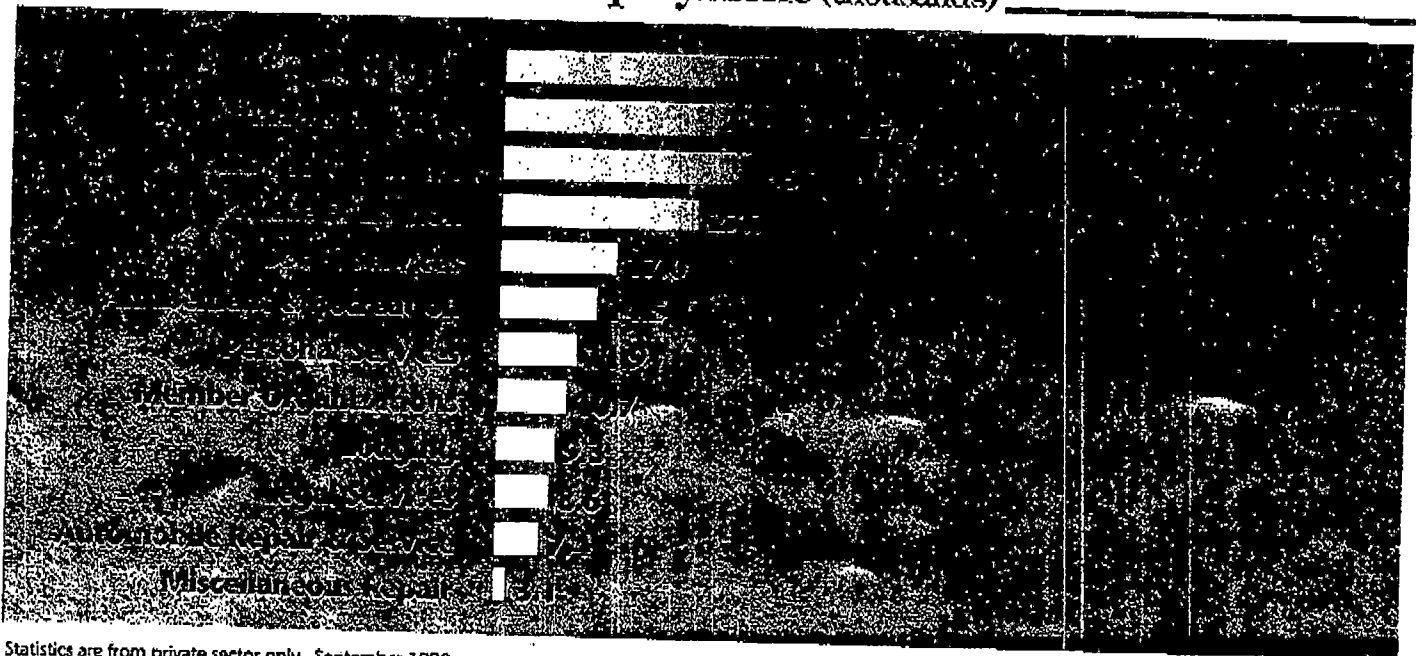


## Regional Service-Producing Employment (thousands)

Year	Finance Insurance Real Estate	Service	Wholesale & Retail Trade	Government	Transportation & Public Utilities
1980	47.7	220.6	219.3	128.9	60.1
1981	48.4	227.4	221.0	123.4	57.7
1982	48.7	234.1	214.4	116.9	55.1
1983	50.1	236.7	214.7	116.1	53.2
1984	50.9	244.1	218.7	113.6	54.0
1985	51.8	253.7	224.3	114.6	51.0
1986	53.4	263.7	224.4	112.3	49.9
1987	55.3	276.7	227.0	112.4	50.8
1988	53.9	291.1	233.5	113.8	53.0
1989	55.5	306.6	237.6	114.1	54.7
1990	57.0	323.3	237.3	114.3	59.4

Source: Bureau of Research and Statistics, PA Department of Labor and Industry

## Regional Service Sector Employment (thousands)



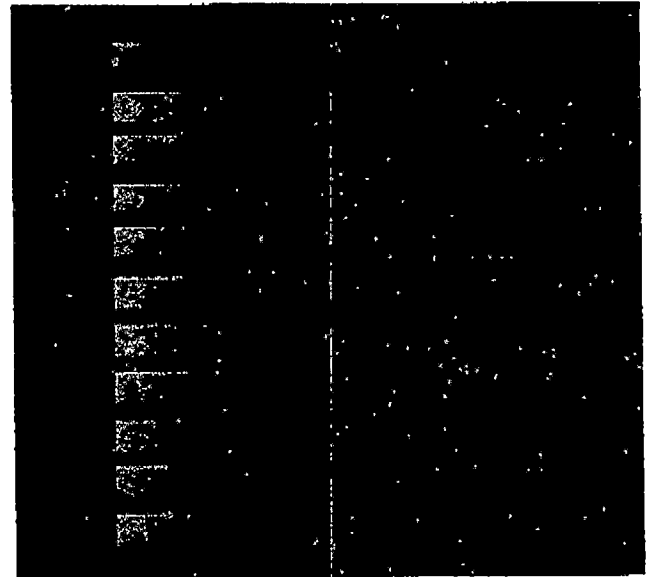
Statistics are from private sector only. September 1990.  
Source: Bureau of Research and Statistics, PA Department of Labor and Industry

transition, shifting from heavy industry to corporate services, light manufacturing, advanced technology, education and health care. Today, unemployment rates are consistently below state and national levels, and the region is preparing for additional economic growth that will follow the October 1992 opening of a new \$690 million airport facility.

### Regional Unemployment Rate \_\_\_\_\_

### Unemployment Rate (%) \_\_\_\_\_

Year	Labor Force (thousands)	Employment (thousands)	Unemployment
1980	1,078.2	996.3	7.6%
1981	1,084.5	998.2	7.9%
1982	1,087.1	948.3	12.8%
1983	1,073.9	916.0	14.7%
1984	1,034.9	918.2	11.3%
1985	1,023.2	926.0	9.5%
1986	1,022.6	940.8	8.0%
1987	1,012.1	942.6	6.9%
1988	1,025.6	964.8	5.9%
1989	1,043.0	993.8	4.7%
1990	1,051.8	999.3	5.0%



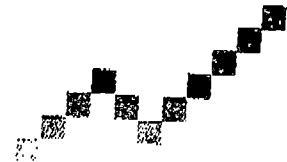
Source: Bureau of Research and Statistics, PA Department of Labor and Industry

### Regional Employment by Industry (thousands) \_\_\_\_\_

	1990	1985	1980	1975
Total Jobs	971.0	898.0	986.1	929.2
Goods-Producing	179.2	201.8	308.2	313.8
Primary and Fabricated Metals	40.1	51.3	108.9	124.2
Other Manufacturing	88.5	101.5	139.9	134.8
Construction and Mining	50.6	49.0	59.4	54.8
Service-Producing	791.8	696.2	677.9	615.4
Services	323.3	253.7	220.6	179.2
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	57.0	51.8	47.7	42.1
Retail Trade	182.0	171.8	165.1	148.1
Other Service-Producing	229.5	218.9	244.5	246.0

Source: Bureau of Research and Statistics, PA Department of Labor and Industry

# Economy (continued)



## Fortune 500 Companies

Fortune Rank	Company	1990 Sales (millions)
19	USX	\$19,462.0
33	Westinghouse Electric	\$12,915.0
43	Alcoa	\$10,865.1
86	PPG Industries	\$6,118.4
87	H.J. Heinz	\$6,112.4
89	Bayer USA	\$5,903.7
180	National Steel	\$2,507.6
304	Cyclops Industries	\$1,199.2
332	Allegheny Ludlum	\$1,084.9
368	Sunbeam/Oster	\$880.0
479	Robertson-Ceco	\$582.6
490	Joy Technologies	\$562.6

Source: Fortune, April 22, 1991

## Forbes 500 Companies

- Alcoa
- Allegheny Ludlum
- Consolidated Natural Gas
- DQE
- Equimark
- H.J. Heinz
- Integra Financial
- Mellon Bank
- National Intergroup
- PNC Financial
- PPG Industries
- USX
- Westinghouse Electric

Source: Forbes, April 29, 1991

## Largest Privately Held Firms

	Fiscal 1989 Sales (thousands)	Employees
1. Giant Eagle	\$1,850,000	11,000
2. Hillman Company	\$1,600,000	130
3. Servistar	\$1,072,000	1,360
4. 84 Lumber	\$788,000	16,000
5. J&L Specialty Products	\$773,800	1,306

Includes Allegheny, Beaver, Butler, Washington and Westmoreland counties.  
Source: Pittsburgh Business Times 1991 Book of Business Lists

## Largest Area Banks and Bank Holding Companies

	Total Assets (thousands)	Number of Locations	Number of Employees
1. PNC Financial	\$45,700,000	535	18,000
2. Mellon Bank	\$29,400,000	384	15,500
3. Integra Financial	\$7,641,000	226	4,000
4. Equimark	\$3,462,271	85	2,155
5. Dollar Bank	\$2,450,254	52	1,090

Source: Pittsburgh Business Times 1991 Book of Business Lists

# History

Pittsburgh's emergence as an industrial powerhouse began simply with three rivers and land rich in natural resources.

Some of the first inhabitants of the area were the Shawnee, Seneca, Delaware and Iroquois Indians, who had left the area by 1754. That year, Pittsburgh's first settlement was erected — Virginia's Fort Prince George.

The French, who also recognized the military importance of the area's three rivers, destroyed this first fort four months after its completion and erected Fort Duquesne. In 1758, Great Britain destroyed Fort Duquesne and built the last fort to stand at this point—Fort Pitt, named after Prime Minister William Pitt.

A town, incorporated as Pittsburgh in 1816, developed around the fort. Many travelers venturing west via the Ohio River began using Pittsburgh as their starting point. The town's infant economy was fueled by these early adventurers.

In the mid-1800s, industry began to develop rapidly in Pittsburgh, particularly glassmaking and ironworks. By the latter part of the century, Pittsburgh factories were producing half of the world's glass and iron, two-thirds of the nation's crucible steel and almost all of the world's oil.

Before, during and after the two World Wars, Pittsburgh's steelmaking industry exploded with growth and further positioned the region as the industrial center of the world. City leaders, however, were concerned that the region's deplorable environmental conditions following this boom would deter future economic and population growth.

In the late 1940s, Mayor David Lawrence, financier Richard King Mellon and many of the city's corporate and civic leaders banded together in one of the nation's first urban renewal projects. The major results of this \$500 million Renaissance I included flood control, air pollution control, highway development and elimination of the downtown industrial blight.

A similar urban renewal program, dubbed Renaissance II, started in the late 1970s under the leadership of Mayor Richard Caliguiri. This \$2.4 billion plus program resulted in the addition of nine million square feet of new or rehabilitated office space, revitalized inner-city neighborhoods and an upgraded infrastructure.

Paralleling these physical changes in the region were major economic shifts. In the early 1980s the country's domestic steel industry collapsed, causing major upheavals in Pittsburgh's manufacturing sector. Unemployment soared in 1983 to 14.7 percent, and many residents moved out of the region in search of employment opportunities.

Civic and corporate leaders again banded together to solve these economic problems. By building upon existing strengths in medicine, advanced technology, corporate services and education, the region's unemployment rate declined by almost 10 percent in just seven years. Internationally Pittsburgh is now considered the prototype of an industrial city that successfully managed an economic transition while maintaining a high quality of life for its citizens.

## Renaissance I Highlights

- Smoke Control Legislation
- Flood Control Measures
- Gateway Center
- Point State Park
- Greater Pittsburgh International Airport
- Penn Lincoln Expressway
- Civic Arena
- Three Rivers Stadium
- USX Tower
- Allegheny Center
- Mellon Square
- Oliver Plaza

## Renaissance II Highlights

- David L. Lawrence Convention Center
- PPG Place
- One Mellon Bank Center
- One Oxford Centre
- Chatham Center II
- Liberty Center
- Fifth Avenue Place
- CNG Tower
- Light Rail Transit and Subway System
- North Shore Development
- Pittsburgh Technology Center
- Riverfront Center
- Station Square

.Peggy -

There is some

good stuff  
in here !!

## KEY POINTS SUMMARY - PENNSYLVANIA REPUBLICAN PARTY SURVEY

### Methodology

Eight hundred (800) registered voters were interviewed in Pennsylvania by Public Opinion Strategies on June 16-18, 1991. The survey was stratified by county according to current voter registration, with each county proportionately represented in the sample. The margin of error of this survey is  $\pm 3.46\%$  in 95 out of 100 cases. This means that if this survey were replicated, the results would be within three and one-half percentage points 95 times out of 100.

Finally, to assure a non-biased sample, the survey results were weighted to party registration in the state (51% Democrat - 44% Republican).

This summary will review the six specific objectives of the survey:

1. Measure the current political environment in the state, including the mood of the electorate, issues of concern to voters, and perception of which party can better handle problems facing Pennsylvania.
2. Determine the name awareness and favorability ratings of numerous political figures through name identification measures.
3. Examine voter perceptions regarding Governor Casey.
4. Assess public opinion regarding the abortion issue.
5. Test voter intentions in U.S. Senate special election trial heat.
6. Solicit anonymous advice from voters for the state Republican party.

What is biggest employer in Pittsburgh?  
How bad is economy

## 1. CURRENT POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

### Mood of the State

The mood of voters in Pennsylvania is extremely negative, with 61% saying the state is seriously off on the wrong track, and just 23% saying it is headed in the right direction. While these results evidence strong pessimism in the state, they are probably not unlike other Northeast states undergoing similar budget woes. For example, in a study just recently completed in Connecticut, 73% of those polled believed the state was seriously off on the wrong track, compared to 17% who responded "right direction."

Nevertheless, these results do not bode well for the state Democratic party; when voters are pessimistic they are most likely to vote for change and to throw out the status quo. This sentiment for change cuts across all demographic, political, and geographic groups tested on the survey.

Key findings on this question include:

- Older voters (35+) are considerably more pessimistic (20%-66%) about the direction of the state than are their younger counterparts (33%-48%). This holds true for both men and women, as well as for both Republican and Democrat younger voters.
- Unlike most other states, there is no statistical difference between the opinions of registered Republicans (23%-60%) and registered Democrats (24%-63%) on this question, indicating that disaffection with the direction of the state has reached the Governor's own political party.
- Those voters who believe that the top priorities of the state should be budget and taxes are most likely to believe the state is headed on the wrong track (68%).

These results help set the tone for the remainder of the survey and begin to describe a political environment in the state very favorable to the GOP.

### Mood of Local Communities

Despite the very pessimistic tenor of voters about the direction of the state, they nevertheless remain optimistic about the direction of their local communities, with 55% believing their local areas are headed in the right direction, and 38% believing they have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track.

This finding is not all that unusual, but reinforces the argument that voters are dissatisfied with what is going on in Harrisburg, not in their local communities.

Those most optimistic include higher income voters (60%), Republicans (59%), and voters living in Pittsburgh (60%), Harrisburg/Lancaster (72%), and the Southeast (65%).

#### Most Important Problem Facing the State

It is no surprise that economic issues dominate voters' agenda in the state, with 50% citing pocketbook issues as the ones they are most concerned about. The most often mentioned issue was high taxes (17%), followed by unemployment (13%), budget deficits (12%), and the economy/recession (5%). Social issues, which comprised 27% of the mentions, were led by education (6%), drugs (5%), and aid to the elderly (4%). Governor Casey himself was cited by 3% of the respondents as the state's top problem.

Key findings on this question include:

- While men and women tend to cite economic issues at about the same rate, working women (57%) are more apt to focus on this pocketbook cluster, while non-working women more frequently mention social issues (36%).
- Those voters who believe the state is headed in the right direction are also less apt to cite economic issues as the state's most pressing problem. Keeping in mind that younger voters are more optimistic about the state, it makes sense that these voters (under 35) are more concerned than other voters about social issues such as drugs, education and the environment.
- While there is little difference between Republicans and Democrats in the overall findings on this question, it is nevertheless interesting to note that the issues of jobs and budget deficits are not parallel in their relative importance to these voters. Democrats rate jobs the number one economic issue, and the budget deficit third, compared to Republicans who rate taxes and deficit tied for first, with jobs third.
- There are tremendous differences in the issue priorities of white and black voters in the state, with white voters focusing on economic issues (53%), and blacks overwhelmingly on social issues (62%, with 33% saying drugs).

- With the exception of Philadelphia, which is evenly divided between economic and social issues, there are no significant regional differences between the other seven areas of the state.

The results to this question demonstrate that, while there is valid concern about issues such as drugs, education and the environment, during difficult economic times these issues recede from voters' priorities, again reinforcing the predominance of pocketbook issues as the most salient at election time.

#### Top Priority Facing Governor and State Legislature

When voters are read a list of six issues and asked which should be the top priority of the Governor and the state legislature, improving the quality of education (24%) edges out balancing the state's budget (23%). Other priorities included holding the line on taxes (17%), addressing crime and drug problems (16%), improving the environment (6%), and improving the state's roads (3%).

These results have to be considered surprising due to the predominance of pocketbook issues in the previous open-ended issue question, and given the vast coverage of the state's budget problems in the weeks preceding this survey.

Focusing on education, this issue is more of a concern to younger voters, those with higher household incomes, union members, pro-choice voters, and those voters living in the Johnstown/Altoona ADI.

Regionally, voters in the state's central region show more concern about the state budget, while those in the Philadelphia area are most worried about crime and drugs.

#### President Bush Job Approval

President Bush enjoys a 69% job approval rating in the state, with an impressive 35% of the electorate who strongly approve of the job he's doing. Generally, the strong approval figure is the single best indicator of hard-core committed support for an incumbent, and ratings above 30% are extremely positive.

As one might expect, Bush scores his most intense support among younger voters, and trails off in strong approval to 26% among seniors. This trend holds true regardless of party and for both men and women.

His overall approval among Democrats is 59%-34%, with 19% strongly approving. (As an aside, Bush has a higher approval figure in the state among Democrats than does Casey.)

Other key results include:

- Black voters disapprove by a 52-39% score, with 34% strongly disapproving.
- By ADI, Bush receives his lowest levels of support in Pittsburgh (66%-29%, with 26% strongly approving) and Philly (68%-25%, 32%).

#### State Legislature Job Approval

Voters in Pennsylvania are deadlocked over the way the state legislature is handling its job -- 42% approve and 42% disapprove. More importantly, however, is the fact that just 6% strongly approve while 20% strongly disapprove. These figures are not at all unlike the national opinion regarding Congress' job handling: a mixed outlook, with soft approval and a hard base of disapproval.

It is important to note that, although more voters disapprove of the job that Casey is doing, the state legislative approval score is exactly the same as Casey's. This tends to make one believe that voters may be willing to blame both Casey and the state legislature for the state's fiscal woes. The more that this happens, the more likely a "throw the bums out" attitude will impact state legislative races in the 1992 election.

Key findings on this question include:

- There are both gender and generational differences on this question; women (44%-35%) and younger voters (48%-38%) approve of the job the state legislature is doing, while men (39%-50%) and seniors (29%-43%) disapprove.
- There is not a significant partisan difference on this measure; Republicans disapprove by 39%-44%), while Democrats approve by (45%-39%).
- A plurality of voters who cite budget and taxes as government's top priority disapprove of the legislature's job handling, while voters mentioning social issues approve.
- The state legislature is viewed most favorably in the Wilkes-Barre and Philadelphia media markets, and receives less than 40% approval in the Erie, Johnstown/Altoona and Pittsburgh media markets.

#### Political Party Better Able to Handle State's Problems

By a 38%-33% margin, voters in the state believe the GOP is better able to handle the state's problems rather than the state Democratic party. This is very significant due to 51%-44% party registration margin Democrats have in Pennsylvania. Comparing registration to these results, Republicans are outperforming the party registration figure by twelve points. Further, the results demonstrate that, while faith in the GOP does not exceed its registration base in the state, Democrats fall far below their registration base on this measure.

While both parties drop from their registration percentages on this question, Democrats fall across the board among the different age groups, while Republicans drop most significantly among older voters rather than their younger counterparts. In fact, younger voters account for much of the overall five-point edge the GOP holds over the Democrats on this measure.

By ADI, Republicans hold an edge in Philly (38%-32%), Johnstown/Altoona (41%-19%), Harrisburg/Lancaster (56%-23%), and Erie (59%-23%\*).

Cross-referencing this question with which issue voters cite as the top priority for the Governor and state legislature, it becomes clear that the GOP is strongest among those voters who cite budget priorities (47%-25%) rather than taxes (two point edge), education (three point edge), or crime/drugs (15 point deficit).

Overall, these results are very encouraging for the GOP, and while they do not yet indicate behavioral changes in the electorate, they do demonstrate a real opportunity to solidify perceived partisan gains.

#### Party Handling Series

When voters are asked to rate which party can better handle each of six problems facing the state, the GOP holds its largest leads over the Democrats on the budget (19 point lead) and taxes (16 points). Of the six issues tested, the GOP also leads on crime/drugs, while in a virtual dead heat with the Democrats on education and roads, and loses by 13 points on the environment.

The full results to this series are as follows:

	<u>GOP</u>	<u>DEM</u>
Balancing the state's budget	47%	28%
Holding the line on taxes	46%	30%
Addressing the crime and drug problems in the state	37%	31%
Improving the state's roads	33%	33%
Improving the quality of education	35%	36%
Improving the environment in Pennsylvania	27%	40%

Throughout the crosstabs on this series, it is clear that registered Republicans have more faith in their party's ability to handle issues than do Democrats. That is especially true among disaffected Democrats, that is, those Democrats who disapprove of the job that Bob Casey is doing. While these voters still give their party wide margins of confidence on education, environment, roads and, to a lesser extent, crime/drugs, they give their party very narrow votes of confidence on the key issues of budget (four points) and taxes (eight points).

Further, every region of the state except the southwest gives the GOP an edge on the state's budget, while all but Allegheny and the southwest do so on taxes.

These results once again reinforce the salience of the economic issue cluster in the state and the opportunity the state GOP has to stake out important ground in an effort to win support from disaffected Democrats.

### 3. PERCEPTION OF GOVERNOR CASEY

#### Name Identification

Governor Bob Casey is perceived favorably by 42% of those polled, and unfavorably by 44%, for an unusual 0.9-1 name ID ratio. As low as Casey's image is currently, there are just two demographic groups preventing his ratings from plummeting ever further -- younger voters and blacks. Younger voters (those under 35), are favorable to Casey by a 53%-31% margin, while older voters are unfavorable by 38%-49%. Blacks, on the other hand, are favorable to Casey by a 62%-27% score, while whites rate him at 40%-47%.

These findings indicate both a challenge and an opportunity for the GOP -- the challenge being to hold onto younger voters, who are both more positive about the direction of the state and Governor Casey, but who also tend to register as Republicans. The opportunity for the GOP is among older voters, who are dissatisfied with both the direction of the state and Governor Casey, but still hold strongly to their Democratic partisanship.

Other key findings on this question show:

- Casey is not rated particularly well by voters in either political party; Republicans are negative toward him by a 36%-51% score, while Democrats are positive by a narrow 47%-40% margin.
- Union members are unusually negative toward Casey, rating him 35%-51%, compared to non-union members at 44%-43%.
- Single-issue pro-choice voters are significantly more negative toward Casey (34%-54%) than their pro-life counterparts (50%-41%).
- By ADI, Casey's unfavorable rating surpasses the 50% level in every area of the state except Philadelphia, where he enjoys a 54%-31% name ID score.

#### Job Approval

A majority of voters (52%) in Pennsylvania disapprove of the way Governor Casey is handling his job, while 42% approve. Moreover, one-third (34%) of the electorate strongly disapproves, whereas just 13% strongly approve. As mentioned previously, strong job approval is a key indicator of an incumbent's relative strength; Governor Casey's measurement speaks for itself.

Consistent with the findings on Casey's name ID, younger voters (52%-40%) and blacks (59%-34%) form the backbone of Casey's strength.

Other key findings regarding his job approval:

- A majority of voters in both parties disapprove of the job that Casey is doing as Governor; 55% of Republicans disapprove, along with 50% of Democrats. In fact, among Democrats, only younger partisans approve of his job handling.
- Pro-choice Republicans are ardent in their opposition to Casey, with 61% disapproving of the job he's doing and 44% strongly disapproving.
- Casey has turned union members against him, receiving a 36%-59% job approval from this predominantly registered Democrat group (59%-36%).
- Among voters who believe the state's top priority is education or crime/drugs, Casey rates well: 51%-45% and 56%-38%, respectively. However, among voters most concerned about budget and taxes, Casey rates very poorly: 30%-62% and 28%-66%, respectively.
- Regionally, Casey enjoys a positive net approval in Philly (66%-30%), East Central (55%-39%), and the Southeast (45%-44%), while voters in the rest of the state rate him at 32%-62%.

#### Casey Budget Job Approval

Casey's overall job approval drops nine points when voters are asked about his handling of the state's budget and fiscal matters, for an approval score of 33%-61%. Importantly, 43% of those interviewed strongly disapprove of the job he's doing.

Casey's poor handling of this issue area is reflected by the finding that of the 74 demographic and regional groups tested, just two approved of the job he's doing -- blacks and Philly residents.

Liar  
perception

Casey Covered Up the Deficit or Telling the Truth?

By a 63%-27% margin, Pennsylvania voters believe that Governor Casey tried to cover up the extent of the budget deficit in last year's election. This sentiment is held by voters regardless of party, with 65% of Republicans and 62% of Democrats adhering to that proposition. The only voters who believe that the Governor was telling the truth are those who believe the state is headed in the right direction and those who approve of Casey's overall job performance or budget performance.

#### 4. PUBLIC OPINION REGARDING ABORTION ISSUE

##### Abortion Position -- Pro-Life vs. Pro-Choice

When six different positions on the issue of abortion are read to voters, 53% choose positions that can be categorized as pro-life and 40% as pro-choice. However, it is important to remember that 54% of all voters position themselves in the middle two groups: legal in the cases of rape, incest or to save the life of the mother (32%), and legal, but only during the first three months of pregnancy (22%).

This poll finds 23% of the state's electorate on opposite ends of this abortion spectrum, with 11% believing abortion should be prohibited under all circumstances, and 12% saying it should be allowed at any time during a woman's pregnancy.

These results are not all that different from national findings on this question, which generally show a majority of Americans siding with pro-life issue positions.

Key findings on this question include:

- There are tremendous differences on this question by age -- while younger voters (both men and women) are fairly evenly divided (46% pro-life/48% pro-choice), older voters are predominantly pro-life (59%-32%).
- Lower income voters are more likely to be pro-life (65%-27%), while those with higher incomes tend toward pro-choice positions (45%-50%).
- A majority of voters in both political parties choose pro-life positions: Republicans (56%), Democrats (51%), with older Democrats being especially strong pro-life voters (60%-29%).
- A plurality of voters in both Philly (48%-47%) and the Southeast (51%-41%) take pro-choice positions on this question, while all other regions of the state are pro-life, with the largest margin being in the Northeast (63%-24%).

Exactly one-third (33%) of voters in the state say that it is either extremely or very likely that this issue alone will decide their vote on election day. As we have found nationally, and in other states, the pro-life forces dominate the single issue voters, with definite single issue pro-life voters outnumbering definite pro-choice single issue voters by a 12%-6% margin.

Interestingly, 23% of those who take pro-life positions claim to be single issue voters, compared to just 15% of those who take pro-choice positions. Single issue voters tend to be women, older voters and GOP women.

Abortion Position: Semantics vs. Circumstances

The difference between abortion issue positions and abortion rhetoric is clearly shown when voters are asked whether they would describe their position on the issue as pro-life or pro-choice. When put in these terms, pro-choicers outnumber pro-lifers by a slim 46%-43% margin.

In fact, fully 25% of voters who consider themselves pro-choice take a position that should probably be considered pro-life (abortions prohibited - 1%, legal to save the life of the mother - 2%, and only in cases of rape, incest, and to save the life of the mother - 22%).

Obviously, voters are confused by the terms used and gravitate toward the choice terminology. While these results are not unusual, they clearly indicate that pro-life candidates should address this issue in terms of abortion "specifics," while pro-choice candidates should address this issue in general rhetorical terms.

## 6. ANONYMOUS ADVICE FOR THE STATE REPUBLICAN PARTY

### Anonymous Advice to Republican Party

When voters are asked to offer some anonymous advice to the Republican party, voters focused on many of the same issues that emerged earlier, most notably education (13%), lower taxes (13%), and work on the budget (11%).

Other responses included help the people (9%), work on unemployment (8%), be honest (5%), work on the drug problem (4%), work on crime (4%), be decisive (4%), work on environment (4%), and provide welfare (4%).

Sample comments from this question are as follows:

- o Lower taxes. When you get to be 77 years old all you care about is lowering the taxes.
- o Quit taxing me.
- o Balance the budget. Question the taxes. You know, balance the budget to minimize taxes.
- o Do something about the budget besides give out promises.
- o With social security and welfare such big issues, the average family is caught in the middle.
- o The taxes that we pay aren't that high, but I can't figure out how we have such a high deficit. I like Bob Casey, but I can't figure out what happened. Taxes are going to go up and we are going to have to pay for them. Will that really get rid of the deficit?
- o I think I would tell them to open their eyes and wake up. The state is going down the drain. The budget is being mishandled and mismanaged.
- o Drive through Southwestern Pennsylvania and look around. What the can't understand is that people really are out of work and may not be drawing unemployment.

- o To make security and safety of the people a top priority so people see benefits of taxes. To get away from budget deficits so people aren't saddled with debts for years and generations to come.
- o Make changes or opinions only after seeing what's going on in the world. Don't make changes sitting behind a desk.
- o Don't worry about money as much as the people. Republicans tend to lean towards the bucks.
- o I don't feel there are any problems as long as they get Bob Casey out of office.
- o Get a few more honest people in there and less hot-headed arrogant lawyers.
- o Tell the truth. Don't hide under the table like Governor Casey.
- o Cut out the waste. They spend our tax money on stupid things we don't use. We wouldn't be in this mess if they didn't spend money like drunken sailors.

### SUMMARY

1. Pessimism about the direction of the state and the state's fiscal problems dominate the results of this survey and colors all of its findings with resulting lower voter confidence in both Governor Casey and the Democratic party.  
  
Further, voters appear more likely to place blame at the Governor's doorstep, especially because they believe he lied about the budget deficit during last year's election campaign. That, alone, makes it significantly more difficult to slough off the blame.  
  
But, while Casey's unpopularity has not rubbed off on either Wofford or Singel, it is still an open question as to whether it will effect other incumbent Democratic office holders in the state. Obviously, those serving in the state legislature will be easier to hold accountable, but those in county positions will be significantly more difficult.  
  
But, perhaps the best approach for the GOP is not on a candidate by candidate basis, but through a concerted statewide effort to encourage Democrats to either re-register as Republicans, or simply vote that way, and the economic issue is the best message to use with these voters.  
  
(As an aside, you might want to consider completing a couple of focus groups with disaffected Democrats to learn what would compel them to vote Republican and if they would ever consider changing parties.)
2. The pessimism in the state may extend to all incumbents, not just incumbent Democrat officeholders, thereby endangering the tenuous GOP lead in the State Senate. Our members (House and Senate) must be able to distance themselves from Casey's new taxes and must be able to demonstrate to voters how they fought tooth and nail against the bureaucratic bumbling in Harrisburg. Because it is inevitable that Casey and the Democratic leadership will try to drag down the GOP Senate with it, it is imperative that our leadership is able to effectively draw the focus away from the GOP.
3. The worse the state's economic mess becomes, the better it is for the GOP. The higher the pessimism, the more that voters will revolt against the perceived party in power in the state -- the Democrats.

Pennsylvania State GOP Summary

July 10, 1991

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In sum, the state's political environment is extremely volatile, providing the GOP with a tremendous opportunity to gain ground at Governor Casey's expense. To some extent, the Governor himself has inflicted this damage on the Democratic party. By covering up the extent of the deficit during last year's campaign, he has effectively torpedoed his party's chances at the ballot box in the next statewide election. Further, if the state's economic difficulties continue, Casey may have made it measurably easier for a Republican to be elected as the state's next Governor in 1994.

As a result of the Governor's actions, voters have more faith in the Republican party being better able to handle issues considered most important to the state -- those dealing with pocketbook matters. If the GOP can (1) keep the pressure and blame on Casey for the state's economic woes, and (2) aggressively portray the state GOP as a viable alternative to the Casey Administration, with reasonable approaches to the state's problems, then it will have taken the first steps necessary to becoming the majority party in the state.