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Federal Emergency Management Agency

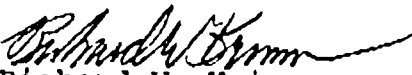
Washington, D.C. 20472

April 6, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Neil O'Leary
Director
White House Situation Room

FROM:


Richard W. Krimm
Deputy Associate Director
State and Local Programs and Support

SUBJECT:

Potential Civil Unrest

Attached is a Situation Summary from FEMA Region IX regarding the potential for civil unrest in Southern California, San Francisco, Sacramento, Las Vegas, Reno and Phoenix.

Attachment

In off a file

L.A.

AO
FYI
F return


State fire and law enforcement officials have followed the recommendations compiled by a US Fire Administration task force on joint planning and coordination among fire and law enforcement agencies as follows:

They have planned for three phases to accommodate any level of threat. In phase one, personnel will take gear home to be ready for immediate action. In phase two, the day of the anticipated jury verdict, staff and equipment will be placed in staging areas outside the expected affected areas. Strike teams will be comprised of five engines each. In phase three, law enforcement personnel will become part of the strike team if civil unrest does occur.

Strike teams will fight fires, supported by law enforcement and emergency medical personnel as necessary. If conditions worsen they may resort to hit and run fire-fighting tactics where the main fires are knocked down in order determined by priority or logistics.

Many agencies, including the National Guard and voluntary agencies are engaging in community relations by holding open houses and providing public information. These agencies want to make their preparations publicly known, but at the same time not be so heavy handed as to have a reaction to the preparations themselves.

LOS ANGELES COUNTY: The County Sheriff's Office has planned, trained and procured equipment to ensure readiness. Mutual aid among the 88 jurisdictions in the county has been emphasized: 47 have their own police departments and 41 contract with the county for law enforcement with the county. The operational concept envisions rapid deployment by well trained, well equipped, highly mobile units. The county has achieved a high state of readiness to respond to any contingency.

LOS ANGELES CITY: The city learned valuable lessons from the events of last April. Under new leadership, the LAPD has overcome serious staffing and personnel problems to focus on planning, training, and outfitting to prepare for the possibility of civil unrest. Priority will be on saving lives. The concept of operations, like the county, envisions strategic dispersement of police forces organized into well trained, well equipped, highly mobile units capable of converging on hot spots and taking decisive action. Coordination between the city and county has been emphasized.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION: The Bureau has been working with other Federal, State, and local law enforcement officials to ensure coordinated planning and operations if necessary. Its active participation in multi-jurisdictional task forces has enhanced clear understanding of the role of Federal law enforcement in civil unrest.

The Federal Protective Service will activate an EOC in its Los Angeles District Office and, as with other Federal Agencies that have law enforcement responsibilities, maintain close liaison with the State, Los Angeles city and county law enforcement officials.

VOLUNTARY/COMMUNITY AGENCY:

American Red Cross: The Red Cross has taken initiative at the national level to secure Board of Governor's approval for a revised policy on civil unrest situations. The California Coordinating Chapter for Los Angeles has disseminated this information within the Red Cross and voluntary and community agency channels and met at length with government officials in Los Angeles County. The new policy calls for the Red Cross to first participate as part of community-wide action. As a result of this involvement, the local leadership will assess the situation and develop a list of unmet needs, if any. The needs will immediately be communicated to National President Dole and the volunteer board leadership to determine necessary further actions.

Other Agencies: Other agencies such as the Salvation Army, Seventh Day Adventists, Baptists, and other religious organizations operating in Southern California possess a network of more than 1,000 sites providing emergency food and shelter. They have stepped up resource and capacity development and have initiated dialogue with local law enforcement agencies to discuss ground rules and their ability to provide relief to victims.

In summary, voluntary and community agencies in many cases still have relief centers open from the riots last year (DR-942). Serious steps have been taken to mobilize more expeditiously than in 1992 to address needs.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA: San Francisco and Berkeley law enforcement officials expect to fully mobilize at the time of the verdict in a 24 hour operation with 12 hour shifts. San Jose experienced few problems last time and does not expect major problems this time. Oakland has major budget shortfalls and solely for the reason of lack of money is not making any special preparations. Otherwise, all jurisdictions are conducting crowd control training. They all have staging areas set up as well as mutual aid agreements with their respective county sheriffs.

NEVADA: Division of Emergency Management officials and the National Guard will partially activate when the jury goes to decision. They are worried because of the (largely unreported) civil unrest that occurred in Las Vegas during the last event and because of obvious gang connections between Las Vegas, Reno, and Los Angeles.

ARIZONA: The National Guard is training and has plans for staging areas and methods to handle civil unrest. The Division of Emergency Management has met and established coordination to monitor the situation and modify existing plans to meet any situation which may occur.

MEMORANDUM

TO: David Dryer
FROM: Andre Oliver *Ac.*
RE: Urban Task Force Recommendations
DATE: 16 March 1993

The attached memorandum to the President summarizes recommendations by the "mini task force" on initial Administration steps to address concerns related to the Rodney King trial.

You will note that our ideas are significantly scaled back from those discussed in the larger meetings. We've revised our thinking out of a belief that emotional reactions from the trial could not be significantly altered by our efforts (this does not discount DOJ's community relations efforts or police department assistance). In addition, we believe the long-term intractability of many issues in LA warrant a low profile, results-oriented approach by the Administration.

That said, attached is a draft memorandum for your review. I'd be happy to review this at your convenience.

attachment

Let's start ~~the~~ house
file:

Urban Task Force

MDC -
Can we discuss this
when you have a chance..
Ac.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DRAFT

March 16, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: George Stephanopoulos
David Dryer

SUBJECT: Los Angeles

Action Forcing Events:

- I. There are several concurrent events in Los Angeles that have garnered the attention of this Administration: the trial of four officers charged with the beating of Rodney King; the one year anniversary of the LA riots on April 29; the upcoming trial of four youths charged with the beating of Reginald Denny.

These events have rekindled long standing racial tensions and the specter of renewed violence. The situation is exacerbated by the inability of government authorities and "Rebuild LA" to improve the economic or social landscape of the city. We believe these circumstances merit both immediate and long term attention from the Administration.

Background:

- I. The current economic, social and political climate is fractious at best. California's recession has had a disproportionate impact on the city -- a recent newspaper editorial by Stephen Cohen estimates that 27% of jobs lost nationally in the last two years have come from Los Angeles. Few businesses affected by the riots have been able to rebuild, and community development projects promised after the riots have been slow to materialize. As a result, the "Rebuild LA" initiative is widely perceived as ineffective.

The political landscape in the city is equally contentious, compounded by an upcoming municipal primary that has divided the city's politicians along racial and ethnic lines.

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- II. The Department of Justice has been assisting local authorities to ensure proper trial procedures, and has dispatched community relations staff to monitor community reactions to the potential trial outcomes. At Mayor Bradley's request, DOJ is working with OMB to determine whether federal funds are available in the short term for the Los Angeles police force. In addition, the domestic policy staff is working with HUD on packaging existing administration proposals into a coherent urban aid initiative.

Recommendations:

- I. We recommend that you dispatch Ron Brown immediately to Los Angeles to gather facts on the current social and economic climate and show the Administration's concern over the situation. Secretary Brown brings unique skills that would be invaluable to assessing the social and economic challenges facing the city. From his consultations with local elected officials, business groups, community leaders and others, he would help guide longterm policy discussions within the White House on urban aid as well as the effective delivery of federal resources to appropriate entities in the city.

_____ Approve _____ Amend _____ Reject _____ No action

- II. As you know, April 4 is the anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. On that date, Mayor Bradley's office and the local ABC affiliate are organizing a live televised community forum focusing on the city's social climate. We recommend that you tape a video message opening the forum -- and more importantly -- honoring Dr. King's legacy.

_____ Approve _____ Amend _____ Reject _____ No action

- III. You have also been invited by Arsenio Hall to lead a proposed town meeting on his show on April 30, the one year anniversary of the "riot show" which he did last year. Arsenio would like the meeting to comprise a "real" cross-section of Los Angeles residents.

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PAGE THREE

III. While this forum would provide you an important opportunity to convey your concern over the social challenges facing Los Angeles and the country, we believe the timing of the forum to the anniversary of the riots, and possible violence from a not-guilty verdict in the current trial does not serve the best interests of the Administration or the community. A similar "good will" trip to Los Angeles by then President Carter resulted in heightened anger on the part of the local residents. We recommend conveying your interest in participating in this forum at a later date.

_____ Approve _____ Amend _____ Reject _____ No action

attachments

LEVEL 1 - 2 OF 2 STORIES

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ABC NEWS

SHOW: NIGHTLINE

This is an uncorrected copy. Not a final version.

March 9, 1993

LENGTH: 4438 words

HEADLINE: Which Way L.A.?

BODY:

TED KOPPEL: [voice- over] Rodney King today, quote: "It makes me sick to my stomach to watch it. I was trying to put my hands over my face ... I wasn't trying to hit any police officer. I heard them shout, We're going to kill you, nigger, run!" Rodney King speaks to the court. Los Angeles listens, and prepares for the worst.

KATHY WHALEN, L.A. Resident: Knowing it may happen again is really scary.

JOE HICKS, Community Leader: There's a lot more explosive potential around the second trial, in many ways, than the first trial.

MALIK SPELLMAN, Hands Across Watts: They're feeling rage. That's it.

KOPPEL: [voice-over] Tonight, Which Way L.A.?

ANNOUNCER: This is ABC News Nightline. Reporting from Washington, Ted Koppel.

KOPPEL: Rodney King testified for the first time today and, by most accounts, he was an effective witness. King told of what it was like to be hit by a Taser [sp?] charge. "I got shocked," he said, "and it felt like my blood was boiling inside of me." Later, King testified, while he was being clubbed and kicked he heard chants of, "Killer, nigger, how do you feel, killer?" But when asked if he had truly heard officers say "nigger" or "killer," King said he wasn't sure. He repeatedly told the court that he'd been afraid of going back to prison. That, he said, was why he didn't stop when police initially tried to pull him over. That was also why he had previously lied to a parole officer about whether he'd been speeding or drinking that night. Nevertheless, one of the defense attorneys who was examining King when court recessed acknowledged that King's testimony "hurt us a lot." Once again, though, this drama has at least two audiences, as will a second trial of four young black men accused of beating the white truck driver, Reginald Denny. The Denny trial is due to begin in a month. In each case the jury, in court, will have to render a verdict, and then the public, outside the courtroom, will be waiting to render its own judgment when the trial is over.

MALIK SPELLMAN, Hands Across Watts: You ask how the people feel in Los Angeles. This is what the people in Los Angeles are feeling, and this is symbolic to the feelings of all people, black, white, green, brown or whatever, who ever received injustice. They are feeling rage. That's it.

JOHN MACK, Urban League: Los Angeles at this point is an uptight, tense city.

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In many ways, we're really sitting on a powder keg.

JERRY YU, Korean-American Coalition: As a Korean-American and as a resident of L.A., I think we're all very- very much afraid of what could happen.

PATRICIA MOORE, Compton City Council Member: That same kind of simmering that we saw during the Simi Valley trial is still existing, but there- the community hopes with all of its gut that the justice system will finally treat us right.

JAMIL SHABAZZ, Restaurant Owner: Justice to America, when you're dealing with Caucasians, is their own justice. It's their own legislation, it's their own- everything is theirs.

KATHY WHALEN, Los Angeles Resident: And you have to go through it another time and live through that again, and knowing that it may happen again is really scary.

BONDIE GAMBRELL, Businessman: The tension, the anger, the fear, it's all there now, believe me.

JOE HICKS, Community Leader: Middle-class communities are quite concerned and apprehensive about what's going on. People in poor communities are just sort of life as usual.

RUBEN MARTINEZ, "L.A. Weekly": I remember the silence in the courtroom last year. I was in Simi Valley when the verdicts were read there, and immediately after the verdicts were read, people were walking around like in a daze, and didn't know what to make of it, the shock.

TONY THOMAS, Crips Gang Member: People went off, man. People lashed back at the system, man, any way they know how, and they went by taking and burning down the city, lashing back at the system, 'cause the system let us down.

Officer MORRIS BATTS, LAPD Gang Division: The system does not work for Afro-Americans here in America, that it hasn't, that it's failed, it has failed our communities for one reason or another.

Mr. MACK: Now, of course, we have the second trial, the federal trial involving those four police officers who beat Rodney King.

Ms. MOORE: Then here we go with Reginald Denny, four African-American males supposedly beating him also. So you have two very critical cases on the heels of still anger, on the heels of frustration, on the heels of injustice.

SALEEM WASI, Cook: I can't look at it optimistically and say that something good is going to come out of it, because I don't know. The example that they've been giving us all my life, since I've been on this earth, is injustice.

WARREN OLNEY, KCRW Radio: I think you could make a very strong argument that the justice system does not work very well for people of color, and whether or not these two particular cases illustrate that is, in my mind, not clear.

MIKE DAVIS, Author, "City of Quartz": But these two trials pose an inescapable and essential question, which is simply can people of color in this country even hope to have common citizenship and equal rights in the eyes of the law with

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other people?

Mr. SHABAZZ: And if you study the history of different people, when justice didn't prevail, what happened- something's going to happen. Well, what was the Boston Tea Party all about?

Ms. WHALEN: It's one thing to be upset, but you can take that frustration and siphon it into more creative ways, instead of destructive ways.

Mr. SHABAZZ: They threw all kind of tea and stuff in the ocean and all kind of stuff, right? That was a little rebellion to them, right? Now, what should we do? Now, that's the question to ask. Now, what should we do as a people if we're dissatisfied?

Ms. MOORE: You have four young men whose bail is almost a half-million dollars. You have four white officers who've never spent one day in jail, whose bail was \$30,000.

NAOMI BRADLEY, Free the LA 4: What is it that they picked out of the Florence and Normandie tapes to say this is attempted murder, and what did they not pick out of the LAPD, the Rodney King beating tape, and say that this is not?

LAURIE LEVENSON, Loyola University Law School: You have to take each case individually, because they're very different cases. People want to look at the King case and the Denny case as sort of the same type of case, because they have racial issues. But they are really very different cases.

Mr. SHABAZZ: He lunged at them, he threw up his hand, he was trying to hit one of them. Well, the justice- well, justice is that Denny didn't really get beat up, he was trying to fight all of them back. He lunged out the car at them. You see what I mean, this is how silly it looks to us.

Mr. MACK: Rodney King, if he continues to come across in the way that he did today, it may be that this will be the significance and the difference in the outcome of this trial, this time around, and we may be able to get a little justice for a change.

Ms. LEVENSON: Some people feel that the police officers should be convicted and the Denny defendants should be free. But I'm not sure that's right either on the law or on the general sentiment of the community.

Mr. GAMBRELL: They should be punished, but the punishment has to be- has to fit the crime, and all the circumstances have to be considered.

Mr. MARTINEZ: I think justice will be truly served if both the officers in the King beating would be sentenced for their beating of Rodney King, as well as the defendants in the Denny case. I personally see both as egregious acts of violence that are very similar in many ways.

Mr. MACK: And indeed, if one or all of those young men in the Denny beating were guilty of beating Denny, well, I don't think that there are too many people saying they should go free. But by the same token, none of us feels that those four police officers should go free.

Mr. THOMAS: If the brothers get guilty, found guilty and get a lot of time,

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it's going to be a problem. And if the police don't get found guilty and get off, it's going to be some problem.

Ms. MOORE: If indeed those officers walk away free and not found guilty, and those L.A. four young men are found guilty, you're going to have chaos on your hands. Believe me.

Mr. YU: About all we can do is hope and pray that the justice system is going to work this time and we'll have a fair sentence in both trials, and if there's more rioting that happens, that people will- people won't get hurt. I don't think there's anything else we can do.

KOPPEL: When we come back, a look at how the Los Angeles Police Department is preparing in a way they did not prepare before the first trial.

[Commercial break]

Cmdr. DAVID GASCON, L.A. Police Department: We have a responsibility to each and every member of the community that this police department be thoroughly prepared.

MO LIEU, Shopkeeper: They have to do something for us, not only sit there like last time.

MIKE WEISS, Mezzaplex Gym: I think they're better prepared going into the game, so to speak, but once that game starts, I don't know that there's any way you can really prepare for it, for violence like that.

CRAIG MEACHAM, U.S. Marshal: Last time we lost 80 windows in the federal courthouse, we had three arson fires set, the guard shack was burned and two cars were torched. It's not going to happen this time.

LEMAR HARRIS, Los Angeles Resident: You can see when they have the small uprisings coming along, and they're better prepared and they're responding quickly, and they're prepared for anything that's going to happen, but you've got to understand that people in the African community is also prepared, too.

Sgt. BILL SHORTLEY, LAPD Gang Division: Some of the gang members tell us, yes, there's definitely going to be problems after the trials. They've gone so far as to tell one of my black officers, they say, "Hey, we're telling you because you're black and, you know, we like you, you might want to take a week off." But then we have other gang members who tell the officers there's not going to be any problems because the gang members realize that the police department is not going to put up with any disorder, they're ready for it this time, and they're just going to squash it in the beginning.

Mr. THOMPSON: The people that been, they're dissin', they hate the blue uniform. I mean, you know, "You police, you police, you trying to lock me up. I can't be white, black, Korean, or whatever. You the enemy."

Sgt. SHORTLEY: Ever been arrested, Gregory?

GREGORY: A while back.

Sgt. SHORTLEY: Were you a gangbanger then?

GREGORY: Yeah.

Sgt. SHORTLEY: Who'd you run with?

GREGORY: I ran with the [unintelligible].

Sgt. SHORTLEY: It might sound sad to sad, but I think there's a whole generation that we have to write off. Some of these guys, from like 18 to 26, 28, we can't bring them back. They're gone, they're gangbangers, they always will be, and the rest of their life will be in and out of prison until they're probably a victim of gang violence themselves.

Mr. THOMPSON: If I was living in Hollywood, I'd adapt to my environment, I'd be a movie star, I'd be a producer. I live in the ghetto, I adapt to the environment. They're starving, there's poverty, we in the ghetto. I do any means necessary to survive.

WARREN OLNEY, KCRW Radio: Well, again, I'm Warren Olney, and this is Which Way L.A., KCRW's ongoing series confronting the issues of urban life in southern California. In federal court in downtown Los Angeles, the Rodney King civil rights trial continues, and here's Kitty Feldie [sp?] with her regular update. Kitty, good morning.

KITTY FELDIE, KCRW Radio: Well, so far, as you know, Rodney King will be up about half an hour.

Mr. OLNEY: The primary thing that I feel about the city is a sense of drift, a sense that there's nobody in control, that there's no order. People feel nothing's been done, no improvements have been made, no changes have taken place, and I think that the surrounding community agrees with that. Everybody knows that. But nobody knows quite what to do.

Mr. DAVIS: Well, actually, things in this city are considerably worse today than they were a year ago, because so many promises were made, so many visions were dangled in front of people about rebuilding, about putting serious resources back into ravaged inner-city communities. But at the end of the day it's all been smoke and mirrors.

Mr. YU: A lot of the social conditions that led to these riots, things like high unemployment rate, the lack of educational opportunity, and drug abuse and gang violence, none of this has changed.

Mr. GAMBRELL: The problem with South Central and after the riots, the so-called riots, not a meaningful piece of brick and mortar has been laid since then. What not?

ESTER VALADEZ, Rebuild L.A.: I think there's a lot of frustration right now in the city. A lot of people feel that there hasn't been fast enough change, that the resources haven't been coming out, and I think a lot of that has been laid at Rebuild Los Angeles and its door, and I think that's unfair, because what happened is that the federal government, the state government and the city government have basically left Rebuild L.A. to handle everything, and it was never intended to be that way.

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Mr. MARTINEZ: We see continuing tensions between Asian-Americans and African-Americans in South Central, between the store owners and people who live in that community. There have even been high school incidents of shootings on campus between rival student groups. It's as if the very fabric of the city is being torn apart. In the midst of that, the trials take center stage.

1st RADIO CORRESPONDENT: Defense and prosecuting attorneys in the Rodney King civil rights trial are meeting with the judge at this hour.

1st TV CORRESPONDENT: He watched the videotape and he said that it was a clear violation of LAPD policy.

STACEY KOON, Defendant: What you see on that tape is the training that LAPD teaches. That is the policy, that is the procedure, that is the training.

Mr. DAVIS: The two trials that are occurring in Los Angeles have enormous historical significance, but at the same time they are not the reason why or why not we may have a new riot. I mean, they've been converted into a kind of passion play to explain what's happened in Los Angeles.

Mr. MACK: One of the things that has happened during the past year or so in Los Angeles has been the uncovering of some of the real problems along racial and ethnic lines and, frankly, getting beyond some of the superficial niceties.

Ms. VALADEZ: We've learned a very important lesson here, and I think the entire country is watching us to see if, in fact, after having seen what could occur there's going to be neglect, if we're still going to go back to assuming that Hollywood will cover it all up for us.

Mr. MARTINEZ: Everybody came to L.A. believing in a better future, and that's what California was always about, this idea of the future, right, Hollywood and Disneyland and everything else. But that future's been robbed away from so many people, and unless we find a way to replace that with some sort of new economy that replaces the ashes of the old one, we're going to see more of the same.

KOPPEL: When we come back, we'll show you some people who believe that history doesn't have to repeat itself in Los Angeles. [Los Angelenos: Is violence likely after King or Denny trials? Likely, 67%; Unlikely, 28% (Source: "Los Angeles Times," 2/2/93)]

[Commercial break]

ANGELA OH, Korean-American Bar Association: The lives of the people, the individuals that were affected last year have not improved. That's the honest truth. But the things that need to happen for the improvement to be felt are happening. That's what people need to know.

Ms. VALADEZ: This project is a model project. The project is designed- Casa Lo was designed to help single parents, predominantly women- working women with children. Rebuild L.A. will assist this project by bringing training and non-traditional jobs to the women and children and to the youth in the area where our projects are built. I feel that after the riot the entire city was affected. I think that everyone knew that we couldn't ignore our problems any longer.

MARTHA DIPENBROCK, L.A. Conservation Corps: The Conservation Corps and the work that we do is important in the rebuilding of the community. We hire young people from different neighborhoods, kids- junior high school aged kids and young adults who are 18 to 23 to do projects like tree planting, recycling, trail projects and other types of work in the community that we hope make a difference. In this project where we have the young adults supervising the junior high school kids, many of whom have dropped out of school or who have been involved in gangs for a while, who are in the corps to kind of get back on track, that they can provide a role model through their personal experience for the kids that are just beginning to be faced with those choices.

ARTURO RODRIGUEZ, L.A. Conservation Corps: I'd like to look at myself as a big brother type thing for these kids, you know, and maybe sometimes a father figure for some of them, you know, so they get a pat on their back when they deserve it, they get discipline when they deserve it so they, you know, they start feeling like they're someone.

Ms. DIPENBROCK: Since the civil unrest, there's a focus that comes on Los Angeles, and how do we take advantage of that focus to get resources that this community has needed for many, many years? You know, how can we turn it around from the crisis to an opportunity?

HARRY SHABAZIAN, Students Run L.A.: We're 10 minutes away now from the start of the race. I'm already walking up toward the barriers here, and I can see the elite runners running back and forth now, trying to get all loosened up. [to Interviewer] What Students Run L.A. does is, it enables a very diversified group of youngsters to come together and do something at the same level. We've gone from seven to nearly 800. The focus of this program is to give kids an opportunity to do something on a day-to-day basis, to give them an opportunity to set a long-term goal, and to give them an opportunity to experience the feeling of winning. [to runners] A couple of months ago, the city of Los Angeles, we had some heavy-duty shit go down, and people think this is a lousy city, that the youth of this city are nothing but a bunch of troublemakers, that we're losers and we're not going to succeed. [Student runners boo] All right, yeah! So you're going to show everybody what we're all about, right?

STUDENT RUNNERS: Yeah!

1st STUDENT RUNNER: Just everywhere, we have kids from different races from East L.A., all the way from Glendale, coming in just to run the marathon.

2nd STUDENT RUNNER: Piece of cake, three-fifteen this year, piece of cake.

Mr. SHABAZIAN: [?] The whole point of this marathon course is that it includes all five communities of Los Angeles, and it makes a point of going through every part of the community.

Dr. BILL BURKE, L.A. Marathon: While there are any number of groups, pressure groups, that tried to get the route changed, there were those who felt there was a security problem, most of the people in the community don't understand why there would be any concern about running through there in the first place. They live there every day.

RENOIR LAND, Los Angeles Resident: Look at it, you've got people from all over the world, and they're all gathered here, they're all gathered here to unite

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as a whole. Look at these people. Do you see them fighting one another? They're running for a common cause.

Dr. BURKE: I hope that this demonstration of unity today will have an impact that will go on for a long, long time. It may not be permanent or it may not be complete, but it's obviously done something.

Mr. SHABAZIAN: It's just a matter of believing in them and getting them to believe in themselves. And if you get them to believe in themselves, they can do anything. [to young runner] You are probably one of the only ones that can do something like this at your age. You know, I bet that someday you're going to grow up and own like General Motors or something like that, man. You better not forget me when I come over there.

KOPPEL: I'll be back in a moment.

[Commercial break]

KOPPEL: For an update on developments in the World Trade Center bombing case, watch World News Now later tonight on this ABC station. That's our report for tonight. I'm Ted Koppel in Washington. For all of us here at ABC News, good night.

Where the Jobs Were

Unemployment Isn't Equal—It's in L.A.

By Stephen S. Cohen

BETWEEN JUNE 1990 and December 1992, the United States lost 2 million jobs. More than half of that time, the economy was officially in a recovery mode. The specter of jobless growth is generating debate over national strategies to counter job losses: what programs are appropriate (infrastructure, training, tax credits, social policies) and in what dosage (\$30 billion up front, \$40 billion over nine months, etc.).

It's the wrong debate—at least 27 percent wrong.

Because 27 percent of total U.S. job losses between June 1990 and December 1992 took place in one town—the five-county Los Angeles metro area! More than three quarters of the total U.S. job loss was in three states—California, New York and Connecticut; it is not spread all over the map. California, all by itself, accounts for 38 percent of total U.S. job losses in this period, according to data compiled by Tapan Munroe, chief economist for Pacific Gas and Electric Co.

Job losses are savagely not average. Macroeconomic data, generally a bunch of averages of averages, miss the point. And so do the best traditional macroeconomists. Because the point is just that: a point on a map. One town.

Something has gone very wrong with the L.A. economy, and we are not going to fix it with a diffused approach aimed at the entire nation. We need a laser beam or, given the location, perhaps a moonbeam. But there is no need to try for a whole new macroeconomic dawn. Geographic trickle-down is no more efficient than the "supply side" trickle-down we tried during the last 12 years.

Letting Los Angeles rot has its temptations for America, and the idea might just carry if we submitted it to a referendum on phone-in talk shows. But we need to fix L.A.—or empty it. If we don't, it will not only pull down those national economic averages, but spread its troubles to towns and suburbs across the country. There is also more than a passing chance that

L.A. will go up in flames. One thing is certain: If California keeps declining as it has, it will pull any sitting president down with it.

Part of California's problem is cyclical: The rolling recession that spread across the country during the last three years hit California late. But the other part of the problem is structural, and that part will not respond to a spontaneous national recovery—even one assisted by a booster shot of national counter-cyclical policies at the dosages likely to be administered.

The biggest structural problem is massive defense cutbacks in L.A., where defense contracting had been disproportionately centered. This is closely followed by a hangover in the construction industry, from the S&L-inspired building boom of the late '80s. No one in his right mind is likely to build new office towers or shopping centers for the next half



BY CHRISTOPHER VOHLETT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

dozen years; there are plenty of nice, new empty ones.

These factors, along with corporate downsizing, the state budget crisis (largely an effect of, but also a contributor to, the economic crisis), reinforced and compounded the downward impact of one another on the California economy. There's a lesson here for the Clinton administration: National-scale macroeconomic recovery programs will not dent the structural problems of the L.A. region nor those of California. Localized structural problems need localized structural approaches. If California is left to struggle without that localized help, its problems will pull the whole economy back down.

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