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Bill Price for Governor Fundraiser 10/29/90 [OA 7563]

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DRAFT

3:00 E.S.T.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PRICE FUNDRAISER
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA
MONDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1990
2:55 PM

Governor Bellmon, Senator Nickles. Thank you, Bill, for that introduction. Honored guests, ladies and gentlemen. I am delighted to be in this State of open hearts and open skies.

It is a privilege to be here for "a man who'll make a difference -- he always has." Your next Governor. Bill Price.

All of you know Bill's story. The son of a doctor -- he worked his way through school. Went to Georgetown University -- a basketball power. Then, OU Law School -- a football power. (There's a trend emerging here: Bill probably also likes the Cincinnati Reds.)

Finally, Bill became U.S. Attorney for western Oklahoma -- supporting law and order for all Oklahomans. Don Nickles calls him "a pioneering leader for Oklahoma." Ronald Reagan calls him "a guardian of the public good." Come next January, I'll just call him Governor.

You know, Bill Price is a great family man. Lovely wife, Mary -- three great kids. He's also a man with a penchant for the unexpected. (At a campaign stop recently in Holdenville, Bill was meeting folks when he shook hands with a beautiful woman. "Hello," he said, "I'm Bill Price. I'm running for Governor, and it's a pleasure to meet you." He thought the woman looked familiar. She should have. It was his wife.)

Bill Price also has conviction. He's not a follower who gets lost in the current. He's a profile in character who alters

the tide. Look at how he cracked America's then-largest corruption case in the early 1980s. Or his work for the organization he founded -- the Oklahoma Alliance against Drugs. We need a leader with Bill's vision in Oklahoma City.

We could use more of his kind of thinking back East, too. All Americans are asking: "What on earth is wrong with Washington?"

I've seen many Congresses come and go. And I have never seen a Congress more gridlocked, more paralyzed, more tied up in knots than today's.

After what seemed like endless negotiations, we finally have a budget. The negotiations were tough because the one party that has ruled Congress for almost forty years is dedicated to perpetual re-election. And this party, the Democrats, has a bias for red-tape over choice; for Washington solutions over community solutions; for bureaucracy over people. Add all this up, what do you get -- a Congress committed to two things: tax and spend.

The final budget agreement is an example of how the Democratic Congress works -- or doesn't work. For the sake of the nation, we had to reduce the deficit now. It is high time that Congress stopped mortgaging the future of our kids. **This Democratic spending binge has got to stop.**

Yes, we had to reach agreement. But I felt strongly about reducing the deficit with a careful balance of spending cuts. In fact, that's exactly the kind of budget I sent to the Congress last January. Predictably, the Democrats wanted to slash defense and raise taxes. What we got was a compromise.

Of course, there is some good in it. We got almost \$500 billion in deficit reduction -- nearly \$350 billion in spending cuts -- the largest cut in history. In fact, this package is 72 percent spending reductions and only 28 percent new revenue. We also got Congress to agree to reduce the rate of spending growth with the first five-year curb on spending ever.

We put Congress on the pay-as-you-go plan, so Congress will no longer be able to fund programs with red ink. And, if they try to raise spending one dime, they've got to cut other excess spending or find the money for it -- right there and then. Finally, we held the line against reckless cuts of our Armed Forces. **I will not be the President to preside over the weakening of this nation's defenses.**

All in all, this agreement is unprecedented, long-overdue, absolutely necessary. But I will not join the Democrats in a carnival of self-congratulation. After all, we discussed three kinds of proposals: the good, the bad, and the ugly. I told you about the good, now let me tell you about the bad. In a word, taxes. To get an agreement, we had to pay the ransom to get almost \$350 billion of spending cuts.

The American people have had to pay a price for divided government, but the price could have been worse. The Democrats' bill that passed the House tried to raise income taxes on all working Americans. They called it their bill to soak the rich, when really it went after the paychecks of working Americans. Well, we stopped them, cold. That was not Republicans protecting

the rich. That was Republicans standing up for every working family in America.

You know, by law, the budget resolution was due last April. The Democratic Congress has given me a budget almost seven months late; so late, in fact, that we have been at the brink of an economic downturn. **It's time to tell it like it is.** This agreement should have come together in May, in June, or in August, any time during the last seven months. But the Democrats choked the throttle of a slowing economy while they hunted for every last morsel of partisan advantage -- all in the name of politics and higher taxes. Well, **we're not going to let them get away with it.**

In April, when the budget was due, unemployment was 5.4 percent. Unemployment last month was 5.7 percent. Since April, when the budget was due, inflation has accelerated. Economic growth has slowed. Even after the economy was threatened by higher oil prices from the Persian Gulf crisis, Congress delayed. This Democratic Congress was content to stall an agreement and stall the economy. Well, we're not going to let them get away with that.

Of course, the Members like Congressmen Jim Inhofe and Mickey Edwards, and Senator Don Nickles -- who is with us today -- who reject the failed tradition of tax and spend. But they're outnumbered by the big taxers and the big spenders. These three are the **real** defenders of working America, and **I'm grateful they're fighting for you up on Capitol Hill.**

Even in the midst of a crisis, the big spenders look for pork-barrel bonanzas. At the 11th hour, in the midst of the budget crisis, Congressional conferees on one panel alone pushed through an almost 19 percent increase for pet projects. At the same time as they voted to curtail spending, they also voted to spend half a million dollars to create a Lawrence Welk tourist attraction. I like Lawrence Welk as much as the next guy, but this has got to stop!

Believe me, The American people know that when their Congress asks them to tighten their belts, Congress always loosens its own. I'll tell you what I'd like to do about it -- give me what 43 governors have -- the line-item-veto. And while we're at it, let's get moving on a balanced budget amendment.

Under our Constitution, only the President is elected by all the people; only the President represents the entire nation. Give me the tools I need: the line-item-veto, a balanced budget amendment, and most important -- more Republicans in Congress.

Some people say there's no difference between Republicans and Democrats. In education, Republicans are the ones fighting for reform -- to empower parents to choose their childrens' schools. In child care, Republicans are the ones who demanded reform -- to empower parents to choose who will watch over their children and Republicans fought to make sure the help goes to families and not to bureaucracies. And we're the ones still determined to bring hope and opportunity to the most desolate of our inner cities. The Democrats are still peddling that old saw

about Republicans and the rich. You and I both know that's hog wash and we are not going to let them get away with that either.

This is a Congress that could only act at the last minute, when their political feet were held to the fire. A Congress that would rather pass feel-good proclamations than address problems. This is a Congress that would rather pass a resolution on "National Crime Prevention Month" while it guts our tough anti-crime bill. A Congress that declared "Clean Water Week" but bickered for 15 months over a Clean Air bill. A Congress that declares "National Home Care Week" but takes two years to pass a housing bill. If you find all this tough to swallow, don't worry -- they've also served up "National Digestive Disease Awareness Month".

And this is the liberal Democrat Congress that's become America's biggest, most entrenched special interest America has ever seen.

In 1955, Congress was served by 5200 staff members. Today, it is served by almost 20,000 staff members, who control the perks, and pass out the pork. Congress is a confusion of committees and is turf-conscious chaos. And the House intended to be closest to the people has become a House of Lords. Ninety-eight percent of those who seek re-election, are re-elected. It's time to turn the tables -- the American people deserve a new Congress -- a Republican Congress.

The Democrats block my proposals for campaign finance reform. We want to abolish special-interest PACs, the Democrats want the taxpayer to foot the bill for their re-election. The

*Price***BILL PRICE
GOVERNOR**

P.O. Box 57766
Oklahoma City, OK 73157
Telephone - OKC - 405-848-8688
Tulsa - 918-743-2897
Fax Number - 405-840-1916

blh

FAX COVER SHEET

DATE: 10/19/90 TIME: 8:45AM CST
NUMBER OF SHEETS (INCLUDING COVER): 11 
TO: THE WHITE HOUSE
ATTN: KURT SMITH
FAX NUMBER: 202-456-6218 (Fax)
FROM: NEVA HILL, CAMPAIGN MANAGER
RE: TALKING POINTS
PRIORITY: GENERAL XXX ASAP TO RECIPIENT
RESPONSE INSTRUCTIONS:

☐ PLEASE CALL UPON RECEIPT
☐ PLEASE FAX RESPONSE
☐ NO RESPONSE NECESSARY

DESCRIPTION/COMMENTS: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

OCTOBER 23, 1990

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: TERM LIMITATIONS

It is likely that the President will soon endorse a variety of term limitation measures currently being proposed around the country.

Enclosed are several articles which detail these proposals, with specific attention paid to initiatives in California, Colorado, Massachusetts, and Oklahoma.

With regard to broad notion of term limitation, several points of consideration:

-Within the past decade, roughly 98% of incumbents seeking re-election to the U.S. House have won. The figure is 80% for state legislatures.

-In Colorado, no incumbent elected governor has lost since 1962, and no incumbent state senator has been defeated in eight years.

-Of 405 incumbent Congressmen seeking re-election this year, only one suffered defeat in a primary.

-A Presidential term limitation was established by Congress in the form of the twenty-second Amendment to the Constitution, in response to F.D.R.'s renowned tampering with the court. The primary victims of the two-term limitation have been Republican Presidents Eisenhower and Reagan, both of whom would likely have been elected to a third term.

-Term limitation critics argue: T.L.'s would turn state offices into mere stepping stones to national office, and fill these offices with junior officials more susceptible to special interest and lobbying groups.

-Proponents argue: T.L.'s would fill state offices with officials less concerned with re-election and thereby less susceptible to outside influence. Even if the offices did become "stepping stones," the officials would become more responsible to the mood and concerns of broader state constituencies.

6TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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September 16, 1990, Sunday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: PERSPECTIVE; Pg. 3; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 875 words

HEADLINE: Term limits may be newest way to fix politics-as-usual

BYLINE: David Broder. (copyright) 1990, Washington Post Writers Group

BODY:

In 1978, the vote on Proposition 13, a California tax-limitation initiative, ushered in a revolt against big government that shaped the politics of the 1980s. On Tuesday, a vote on an Oklahoma term-limitation initiative is likely to signal a revolt against tenured government that could shake up the politics of the '90s.

Polls indicate overwhelming public support for the measure on the Oklahoma runoff primary ballot. It would limit anyone to 12 years of service in the state House and Senate. Similar measures will be on the ballots of California and Colorado in November. Polls there show them favored by more than two-thirds of the voters.

Supporters of the measures are talking about pushing such proposals in a dozen other states by 1992 - and are aiming at limiting congressional tenure, as well.

The movement is a product - and symptom - of growing public disillusionment with politics as usual. Interviewing voters in barometer precincts in Chicago after Labor Day, I heard a dozen variants of this complaint: "It doesn't matter who you vote for. Once they're in office, they forget about the promises they've made and the people who elected them."

A national survey by the Washington Post and ABC News this month asked voters whether they thought it more important to "keep experienced people in the House and Senate" or to "elect new people with fresh ideas." Seven out of 10 chose new faces over experience. Democrats, whose party controls Congress, were just as eager as Republicans to shuffle the deck.

That same 70 percent support seems possible and even likely for the term-limitation measures in the three states voting this fall. While the support is broad and nonpartisan, the impetus for term limitation comes from people in the business world - both mavericks and establishment types - who are frustrated in their desire to cut spending and regulation by government.

Lloyd Noble II, the Tulsa oil-and-gas man who is financing the Oklahoma initiative, told me he believes that "the waste in almost all aspects of Oklahoma government is horrible, because the politicians won't cut anything in their own districts that helps them get re-elected."

Lewis K. Uhler, backer of one of the two California term-limit propositions, is president of the National Tax Limitation Committee. The Free Congress

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(c) 1990 Chicago Tribune, September 16, 1990

Foundation, another conservative group, is coordinating the effort at the national level. It played host at a recent Washington appearance by state Sen. Terry Considine, a Republican who is sponsor of the Colorado initiative. Considine is an entrepreneur whose interests range from environmental labs to gas stations. He has served in the Colorado legislature for three years, just long enough to convince him that no one should serve more than eight.

Considine is a persuasive fellow who says he wants to improve government, not just dismantle it. Although he has been a GOP activist and fundraiser for many years, his motivation cannot be dismissed as purely partisan. As he points out, his party has a solid hold on both houses of the Colorado legislature. The toughest critic of his initiative is the top Republican in the legislature, veteran state Senate President Ted Strickland.

Considine says he is convinced that term limits will encourage better people to seek office and pave the way for passage of other reforms - including steps to make legislative and congressional districts more competitive and reduce incumbents' advantages in financing their campaigns.

Personally, I think he and the other term-limitation people have got the cart before the horse. What we need are competitive elections, not arbitrary limits on service. I think the unintended consequence of term limits will be to increase the power of unelected officials - legislative staffs and executive branch bureaucrats. Their expertise will become even more influential when the elected officials are all short-timers, and their arrogance will grow.

But that kind of argument is not going to slow this freight train. The incumbents at both state and national levels are too obviously guilty of feathering their own nests for the public to see that it really has a stake in keeping some of them on the job for more than a few years. The incumbents have drawn districts that protect them from challenge. They have collected extravagant campaign contributions from the lobbyists who must come to them for help. And they have expanded the perquisites of office - their taxpayer-financed staffs and communications - to such a level that they are virtually guaranteed re-election as long as they want the job.

No one can defend a system where 98 percent of the incumbents seeking re-election to the U.S. House win year after year. No one can defend the Colorado status quo where, Considine says, no incumbent elected governor has lost since 1962 and no incumbent state senator has been defeated in eight years.

If the incumbents don't recognize the need to permit their challengers to compete on more equal terms, their tenure will almost certainly be reduced by arbitrary term limits. And those term limits will eliminate the able and talented right along with the phonies and the hacks.

And this country will be the loser.

OKLAHOMA; ISSUE; TAX

5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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September 20, 1990, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A1

LENGTH: 898 words

HEADLINE: Voters' Display of Anger Puts Incumbents on Notice;
More Term-Limitation Measures Expected

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Paul Taylor , Christopher B. Daly, Washington Post Staff Writers

BODY:

A throw-the-bums-out uprising in Massachusetts and passage of the nation's first term-limitation measure for state legislators in Oklahoma brought the 1990 primary season near its close this week with a pair of angry swipes by voters at politics-as-usual.

Political analysts were divided over whether Tuesday's primary results might presage a nationwide revolt against incumbents this November, but they agreed that term-limitation measures such as the one that passed by a 2-1 ratio in Oklahoma are the wave of the future.

"If term-limitation initiatives had been on 50 state ballots, I suspect they would have passed in all 50 states," said Democratic pollster Geoffrey Garin.

Measures limiting the terms of state legislators will be on ballots Nov. 6 in California and Colorado, and organizers yesterday mapped plans to force them onto ballots in up to 15 more states by 1992.

While such bills affect only state offices, Eddie Mahe, consultant to a group called Americans for Term Limitation, said yesterday that the overriding goal of such groups is to force Congress to adopt a constitutional amendment limiting congressional terms. "Once you get that many voters in that many states aboard this bandwagon, it's going to be very hard for Congress to stop it," he said.

Incumbents had more immediate concerns yesterday, as they mulled the potential for a nationwide November echo of Tuesday's cry of voter anger in Massachusetts, where Boston University President John R. Silber, a political maverick, defeated former attorney general Francis X. Bellotti by 53 to 44 percent in the Democratic gubernatorial primary; former U.S. attorney William F. Weld defeated House Minority Leader Steven Pierce by 60 to 40 percent in the GOP primary; Attorney General James Shannon (D) was upset in his bid for renomination; and House Speaker George Keverian (D) was upset in his race for state treasurer.

"We don't know where and we don't know who, but there are incumbents who seem safe now who are going to wake up the day after the election in November and find themselves out of a job," Garin said. "There's something really stirring out there," he said, attributing the mood to a downturn in the economy and a rise in voter cynicism.

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But Republican pollster Neil Newhouse said that "it is very dangerous to extrapolate results from places like Massachusetts or Washington, D.C.," where Sharon Pratt Dixon won last week's Democratic mayoral primary with a campaign waged against the local political establishment.

Newhouse's note of caution is supported by primary results nationwide. Of 405 members of Congress seeking reelection, only one, Rep. Donald E. "Buz" Lukens (R-Ohio), was knocked off in a primary, and he was campaigning with the burden of a misdemeanor conviction for having had sex with a minor. None of the 33 senators seeking reelection lost a primary.

"If I had to guess right now, I'd say that no more than three incumbent senators and 10 or 15 congressmen will be knocked off this November," said Mark Gersh, a political analyst with the National Committee for an Effective Congress. He attributed the likelihood of high reelection rates to the lopsided fund-raising advantages enjoyed by incumbents, the failure of the parties to recruit higher quality challengers, and the "I-hate-Congress-but-love-my-congressman syndrome."

Many analysts expect challengers to do better in gubernatorial races. "The difference is that individual congressmen have figured out how to distance themselves from the institution in which they serve, but that option isn't available to a governor," said Democratic pollster Mark Mellman. "For better or worse, a governor is the institution."

Gubernatorial contests have already been good to mavericks this year. In Texas, cowboy-entrepreneur Clayton Williams (R) has parlayed an anti-Austin theme into a big lead over state Treasurer Ann Richards (D). In Florida, former senator Lawton Chiles (D), who is running an anti-politics campaign by limiting contributions to \$ 100 each, is leading Gov. Bob Martinez (R). In Kansas, state Treasurer Joan Finney (D) upset former governor John Carlin in the primary and is leading Gov. Mike Hayden (R) in the general election campaign. In Rhode Island, businessman Bruce Sundlun (D) is well ahead of Gov. Edward D. DiPrete (R), and in Connecticut, former senator Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (R) broke with his party and is running as an independent in a race to succeed Gov. William A. O'Neill (D), who is not seeking reelection.

In Massachusetts, Silber yesterday described his primary victory as a "wake-up call" to the national Democratic Party, saying voters are demanding fiscal restraint from Congress as well as from state governments.

Democratic National Chairman Ronald H. Brown promptly issued a statement pledging that the national party is "renewed and united" behind Silber, who during the primary campaign had aimed barbs at his party establishment, Gov. Michael S. Dukakis (D) and Dukakis's now-repudiated "Massachusetts Miracle."

Through gritted teeth, Democratic analysts said -- and Republicans concurred -- that Silber's victory gives Democrats a much better chance at holding the governorship against the wealthy, reform-minded Weld, who had looked forward to running an anti-politician's campaign against Bellotti.

Taylor reported from Washington, Daly from Boston.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, VICTORIOUS POLITICAL MAVERICK JOHN SILBER, LEFT, WITH FRANCIS BELLOTTI. AP; PHOTO

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California Lawmakers Feel Pinch as Voter Anger Promises Political Curbs

11/32
By ROBERT REINHOLD

Special to The New York Times

SACRAMENTO, Sept. 25 — The talk among veteran California lawmakers is not of laws but of retirement. Many members of their staffs are already looking for new jobs. "It's like being on the crew of the Titanic," said one.

They fear a wave of voter anger is about to wash over the domed neoclassical State Capitol of California. Two voter measures on the November ballot would place strict limits on the terms of State Senate and Assembly members and statewide elected officials. The more drastic of the two would compel legislators to nearly halve their staffs.

The measures, sleepers that have roared to life in recent weeks amid growing national resentment at lawmakers and budget troubles here, are being closely watched by politicians in Washington and elsewhere as a gauge of voters' mood after Oklahomans voted Sept. 18 to limit legislative terms to 12 years. A similar measure will be on the November ballot in Colorado.

'Folks Are Really Ticked'

While the terms of some governors and mayors are limited by law, no such restrictions have ever been placed on members of state legislatures or Congress.

"The mood is really simple — the folks are really ticked, fed up with the way legislative bodies are conducting themselves," Supervisor Peter F. Schabarum of Los Angeles County told a panel of Senate and Assembly members at a joint committee hearing here on Monday. Mr. Schabarum, a conservative Republican who has mounted the more radical of the two measures, recently announced plans to retire after 18 years as a Supervisor.

If Mr. Schabarum's measure passes, it would almost certainly revolutionize state government in California. Among other things, it would forever ban members from running for the Assembly after six years in office and for the Senate after eight.

Backers say it would bring fresh blood and ideas to a stagnant legislature dominated by incumbents. Detractors say it will turn the clock back to the days when the powerful lobbyist Artie Samish controlled an amateur, part-time legislature from his suite across the street in the Senator Hotel until he was jailed in 1955.

In either case, many in the Capitol concede they have brought the troubles on themselves. The legislature's image has been badly tarnished in recent years for its failure to deal with key issues, including insurance rates and transportation, and by its perceived domination by special interests.

The image was further damaged this summer by a deadlock lasting weeks

Two Proposals for California Politics

PROPOSITION 140: POLITICAL REFORM ACT

- Would limit time in office to two four-year terms for statewide elected officials in the Board of Equalization and the State Senate and to three two-year terms for the Assembly.
- Would require legislators to participate in the Federal Social Security program instead of Legislature's pension plan.
- Would limit expenditures for operating costs to \$250,000 per legislator or 80 percent of last year's cost, whichever is lower.
- Would have no effect on gifts, outside fees, lobbying, campaign financing or investigation of state officials.

PROPOSITION 131: CLEAN GOVERNMENT INITIATIVE

- Would limit elected statewide officials to eight successive years in office. The Board of Equalization, State Senate and Assembly seats are limited to 12 successive years. After an individual had been out of office for one full term, he or she could serve again, subject to the same limits.
- Would establish partial public financing of campaigns for candidates who agree to specific expenditure limits.
- Would leave Legislature's pension plans in place.
- Would not reduce funding for legislative operations.
- Would reduce number of gifts from a single source for elected officials, prohibit local elected officials from accepting honorariums, restrict lobbying for most legislative employees, establishes campaign contribution limits and provide partial public campaign financing.
- Would establish a Special Investigation and Prosecution Unit to coordinate investigations of state officials.

'Folks are really ticked,' says a measure's backer.

before a state budget was finally patched together, to no one's satisfaction. And a corruption scandal that has already put one Senator in jail continues to unfold.

"Both houses have done things small and large that have brought this upon them," said Robert Forsyth, press secretary to the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, David A. Roberti of Los Angeles.

Early polls, not always reliable indi-

cators, give the two measures large leads. The nonpartisan California Poll, taken Aug. 17-27, showed the more moderate proposal, Proposition 131, ahead by 61 percent to 25 percent, and the more extreme one, Proposition 140, by 67 percent to 20 percent. Both polls had margins of sampling error of plus or minus five percentage points.

The poll also reported that 69 percent of voters believed that elected officials stayed in office too long and had become unresponsive. It found that 63 percent believed that term limits were good to get rid of professional politicians.

A late-starting effort to defeat the measures is being led by Speaker Willie L. Brown Jr. of San Francisco, who has been in the Assembly for 26 years. The campaign hopes to raise \$5 million and has employed the Los An-

geles political consulting firm of Ber-
man & D'Agostino to devise strategy
and commercials.

The more moderate proposal, called
the **Clean Government Initiative**, was
advanced by Attorney General John K.
Van de Kamp, a liberal Democrat, to
enhance his campaign, ultimately un-
successful, for the Democratic nomina-
tion for governor. It is backed by Cali-
fornia Common Cause, the Sierra Club
and the California chapter of the Na-
tional Organization for Women, among
other groups.

The proposal would limit the terms
of the 20 Senators and 40 Assembly
members to 12 consecutive years, per-
mitting them to return after a break of
one term. Other provisions include set-
ting campaign spending limits for state
offices and providing for public financ-
ing of state elections, an unpopular
idea thus far in California.

The state chairman of the Yes on 131
campaign, Mayor Tom McEnery of
San Jose, said the legislature had be-
come a "hermetically sealed jar" in
which little gets done. "It's not evil
demons to be exorcised," he said.
"This is not directed at Willie Brown,
but at a system that is fatally flawed."
Mr. McEnery is ending eight years as
Mayor, the limit under local law.

The more restrictive initiative
called the Political Reform Act of 1990,
is backed by an array of conservative
and antitax groups and by major land
developers. It would set the limits on
terms, terminate retirement benefits
for legislators and shift them to Social
Security, and cut expenditures by legis-
lators to \$950,000 per member, or 80
percent of the previous year's spend-
ing. Budget analysts estimate the cut
would force off the payroll nearly half
the current 3,000 politically appointed
staff members.

Recriminations on Measure

Many lawmakers consider it a mean-
and vindictive act of Supervisor
Schabarum, a former Assemblyman
long at odds with the legislature. At the
hearing on Monday, Assemblyman
David Elder portrayed Mr. Schabarum
as a hypocrite, noting that he had
served 18 years as a Supervisor, twice
the average incumbency of Assembly
members, and that he had built up a
public pension worth triple what it
would have been had he stayed in the
Assembly. Mr. Schabarum's salary is
\$92,000, more than twice the \$41,000 sal-
ary of Assembly members.

Lawmakers contend that the initia-
tive would nearly destroy the legisla-
tive branch by stripping it of experi-
ence, money and staff. "Your initiative
would turn this legislature over to big
power special interests," said Tom
Bane, a Democrat who has represented
the San Fernando Valley of Los An-
geles for 22 years, adding that Govern-
ment officials would ignore such a
"temporary" legislature. "Mr. Schaba-
rum favors big business control of gov-
ernment," he said.

But that argument will not be easy to
push in a state where Senators and As-
sembly members are widely consid-

Some lawmakers concede they helped bring on the scrutiny.

ered by the public to be tools of special
interests who contribute to keep them
in office. "Special interests already run
the legislature," Mr. Schabarum shot
back at Mr. Bane. "Can I make that
any clearer?"

Still, many of the legislature's harsh-
est critics say Mr. Schabarum's propo-
sal goes too far. Walter Zelman, for-
mer executive director of California
Common Cause, agrees that California

voters seldom get much choice, given
the advantages of incumbency. But he
calls the Schabarum measure an arbi-
trary and vindictive one that, by elimi-
nating state pensions, would deter
lower-income people from running for
office. With the six-year limit on As-
sembly members, he said, one-third
would be just learning the job and an-
other third would be looking for new
work. "That is not a healthy legislative
body," he said.

The two measures have stirred rare
bipartisan unity in the legislature,
where only about a dozen members —
mainly very conservative Republicans
— support the Schabarum measure.
The quandary for lawmakers is
whether to oppose both or bite the bul-
let and support the more moderate
proposition in the hope of defeating the
more radical one.

Legislative Term Limits Favored by Big Margin

By GEORGE SKELTON
TIMES SACRAMENTO BUREAU CHIEF

The California electorate is in a mood to join Oklahoma in imposing term limits on state legislators in a broad-based revolt against failures in Sacramento, The Los Angeles Times Poll has found.

Voters are angry at the Legislature as an institution rather than its individual members, the survey indicated. When it comes to the lawmakers in the citizens' districts, there seems to be no great fervor to "throw the rascals out."

"It is a revolt against incumbency, not against incumbents," observed Times political analyst William Schneider.

Whatever the motivation, California voters are moving toward following the lead of Oklahoma, which on Sept. 18 became the first state to impose term limits on legislators. Colorado also has a term-limit proposal on its ballot Nov. 6.

Americans traditionally have been more critical of legislative institutions, such as Congress, than they have of their local representatives. What is different this year is that Californians, and voters in a couple of other states, have an opportunity to strike out against the institution while still voting for its members.

Voters in this state will have two term-limit initiatives to consider. Either one would dramatically change the political system in Sacramento. Right now, both are favored by comfortable margins, The Times Poll found.

Proposition 131, sponsored by state Atty. Gen. John K. Van de Kamp, would limit legislators to 12 consecutive years in office and impose limits of two four-year terms on most statewide elective offices, such as governor. The measure would do much more: It would permit candidates for state office to help finance their campaigns with tax money if they adhered to spending limits. It also would impose some ethics rules by limiting gifts and honorariums.

The Times Poll found voters to be supporting Proposition 131 by 50% to 34%, with 16% undecided.

Proposition 140, sponsored by Los Angeles County Supervisor Pete Schabarum, would impose

tighter term limits—six years total in the Assembly and four in the Senate. The governor and other elected statewide officials could serve two four-year terms. The measure would also eliminate the Legislature's pension system and cut back substantially on legislative expenses.

Voters like Schabarum's initiative even more than Van de Kamp's. Proposition 140 was fa-

vored by nearly 2 to 1 in the survey—55% to 28% with 17% undecided.

Both term-limit measures similarly were leading by big margins in a Times poll last month. Both have added slightly to their support since then.

Voters also were asked their opinions of Proposition 128, the sweeping environmental protection proposal called "Big Green" by its sponsors and denounced as "the Hayden initiative" by its opponents. People were split virtually down the middle on the measure, exactly as they were a month ago: 44% in favor, 42% opposed and 14% undecided.

The Times Poll conducted telephone interviews with 1,892 registered voters for a six-day period ending last Tuesday night. The margin of error for this size poll is 3 percentage points in either direction. Susan Pinkus, assistant Times Poll director, supervised the survey.

Californians on Nov. 6 will be asked to consider 28 ballot measures, including a modern-record

THE TIMES POLL

13 initiatives. Voters told The Times Poll this is a bit much. Three-fourths of those surveyed agreed with the statement: "There are so many initiatives on the ballot with so many involved issues that an average voter cannot make an intelligent choice."

The main cause of this ballot overload, they said, is that "the Legislature has failed to do its job of making the laws." The No. 2 culprit, voters contended, is that "special interests use initiatives to get around the Legislature."

Californians have a very low opinion of the Legislature as a whole. Asked to rate its job performance, the voters' reply was 2 to 1 negative: 24% approval, 48% disapproval and 28% not sure. Naturally, people who disapprove of the Legislature are the most likely to support the term-limit initiatives.

Voters also have an unfavorable impression of Assembly Speaker Willie Brown (D-San Francisco), the Legislature's most powerful and best-known member. But their opinion of him is less negative than of the Legislature overall. It is 31% favorable, 39% unfavorable and 30% not sure.

In many ways, Speaker Brown symbolizes the Legislature as an institution. It is the institution that voters are especially angry at, not with individual members.

When voters were asked wheth-

er their local Assembly member "deserves to be reelected or not," the answer was 46% yes, 17% no and 37% not sure.

"The Legislature is in trouble. Incumbents are not," Schneider said.

Support for the term-limit measures spans the entire political spectrum—Democrats as well as Republicans, liberals as well as conservatives.

But Big Green—Proposition 128—provokes sharp divisions. Democrats favor the environmental protection measure by 2 to 1. Republicans oppose it by more than 2 to 1. Independents support it, but by a smaller margin than Democrats.

There also is a significant gender gap involving Big Green. Men oppose it by 10 points; women support it by 11 points.

Younger people tend to support it. People middle-aged and up oppose it.

It is most popular in the state's two largest urban areas—Los Angeles County and the Bay Area. The rest of Southern California tends to oppose it. Voters in the Central Valley farm belt are split.

The negative public image of Big Green's controversial chairman, Assemblyman Tom Hayden (D-Santa Monica), continues to hurt the proposal, interviews showed. The voters' impression of Hayden is only 27% favorable, against 43% unfavorable and 30% not sure. When people who dislike Hayden hear that he is pushing Big Green, their opposition to the measure doubles.

Opponents of Big Green point out that the liberal assemblyman has his eye on running for the new state office of environmental advocate that the initiative he co-authored would create. Voters, by 2 to 1, said establishing this office would be "just creating another layer of government and little will get accomplished." They rejected the notion that the new post would "help a lot to clean up the environment."

A key element of the supporters' strategy is to inform voters that chemical companies are among the measure's chief opponents. This knowledge made virtually no difference to voters surveyed by The Times. Half were told that chemical interests were trying to defeat the measure and half were not. Both groups voted about the same way.

What did seem to make a difference was a voter's assessment of California's "quality of life." People who believed it had stayed the same or improved in the last decade tended to oppose Big Green. Those who thought the state's quality of life had declined—and they represented nearly 6 in 10 of those surveyed—tended to favor the measure.

Basically, the complex initiative seeks to solve several environmental problems. Among other things, it would ban cancer-causing chemicals in food, save old-growth redwoods, tax oil companies to pay for potential oil spills and reduce gases that contribute to global warming and depletion of the ozone layer.

CALIFORNIA ELECTIONS PROPOSITIONS

Term Limits Would Oust Lawmakers and a System

By PAUL JACOBS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

41/32

SACRAMENTO—Tapping a wellspring of public antipathy to the institutions of government, backers of two November ballot measures that would limit terms of officeholders appear on the verge of transforming the face of California politics as few have done before.

If either Proposition 131 or 140 is approved—and polls show both leading by wide margins—state lawmakers, the governor and other state elected officials will for the first time face limits on their tenure in office. The result, say the initiatives' sponsors, is the Legislature's entrenched leadership ultimately will be swept from office and "lifetime politicians" will be replaced by "citizen-legislators."

Critics don't argue with the popular appeal of the measures' anti-incumbent message. But they foresee a far different outcome: A Legislature with few real experts, where lawmakers are even more obsessed with moving up and few have the experience and political savvy to resist lobbyists and the empire building of career bureaucrats.

The term limits would result in the biggest upheaval in electoral politics in the state since 1966, when the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark one-man, one-vote decision was implemented. With that ruling, large-population counties received proportionately more representation in the Legislature, bringing in 22 new senators, a majority of the 40-member Senate, and 33 new lawmakers to the 80-member Assembly.

The move toward term limits also reflects more widespread political unrest, spawned by a common message that is being delivered to incumbent officeholders: Serve out the limit and move on.

"The mood is real simple," said blunt-talking Los Angeles County Supervisor Pete Schabarum, chief sponsor of Proposition 140. "And that is the folks are really ticked or fed up—call it what you will—over how legislative bodies are conducting themselves."

Proposition 140 would limit lifetime service in the Assembly to six years, in the Senate to eight; Proposition 131 would force members of each house to move on after 12 consecutive years. Both measures limit most statewide elected officials to eight years in office, but Proposition 131 would allow them to run again after sitting out a term.

Additionally, Proposition 131 would provide partial public funding of all state political campaigns, paid for out of a taxpayer-supported campaign fund. It imposes limits on campaign contributions and expenditures, bans off-year campaign fund raising, and establishes a special prosecutor's office to pursue public corruption cases. Proposition 140 would slash the Legislature's operating budget in half, forcing massive staff layoffs, and would eliminate the legislators' retirement system.

Should both initiatives pass, term limits would be set by the one

getting more votes, but all the other provisions of both ballot measures would go into effect.

Opponents of the two constitutional amendments say the measures represent a kind of coup d'état by initiative—a flagrant attack on basic democracy that denies voters the right to keep returning to office the most experienced and effective politicians.

"Term limits are a come-on for another agenda," said Jay Ziegler, spokesman for the No on 131 and 140 campaign. "In the case of 131 it's clearly campaign financing. In the case of 140, it's to turn back the clock 25 years to a time when the Legislature was totally dependent on special interests and government bureaucrats."

Some view passage of either measure as a major step in a movement—begun in Oklahoma last month—to impose term limits on legislators in all 50 states, and eventually on members of Con-

COMPARING PROPS. 131 AND 140

Following is a comparison of the two term-limit initiatives, Propositions 131 and 140. Both propositions on the Nov. 6 ballot would for the first time impose term limits on legislators, the governor, and other state elected officials. But there are differences between the two initiatives:

TERM LIMITS

Proposition 131

- Would impose these limits on consecutive terms of office: State senators: 12 years. (Senators not running this year could serve 14 years.) Assembly members: 12 years. Governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, secretary of state, controller, treasurer, insurance commissioner, superintendent of public instruction: 8 years. Board of Equalization members: 12 years.
- Officeholders could run again after sitting out one term. Goes into effect with this election.

Proposition 140

- Would impose lifetime limits on the number of terms served in any one state elected office. Limits for state senators: 8 years. (Those not on the ballot this year, 6 years.) Assembly members: 6 years. governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, secretary of state, controller, treasurer, superintendent of public instruction: 8 years. Insurance commissioner: no limits. Board of Equalization members: 8 years.
- Would go into effect with this election, except for state senators not on the ballot this year. Would limit those senators to one more term.

OTHER PROVISIONS

Proposition 131

- For the first time would institute public campaign financing for all state elected officials and ban non-election year fund raising. Taxpayers could divert up to \$5 a year of their taxes to a special election fund for the state's share of campaigns. The measure would limit total campaign spending for candidates who take public funds.
- Would impose new overall limits on contributions from individuals, political committees and others.
- Would for the first time allow appointment of a special prosecutor to handle state public corruption cases.

Proposition 140

- Would drastically cut funds for operating the Legislature—by almost 50% according to some estimates. Would mean large number of layoffs of legislative staff.
- Would eliminate the existing legislative retirement system, although lawmakers who already have earned benefits would be entitled to collect them. Following the election, legislators would be required to join the federal Social Security system.

SUPPORTERS

Proposition 131

- California Common Cause, Voter Revolt, Sierra Club, National Organization for Women, Ralph Nader, Atty. Gen. John K. Van de Kamp.

Proposition 140

- National Tax Limitation Committee, gubernatorial candidate Pete Wilson, and a number of conservative legislators.

gress.

"This is a national movement and we're the big banana," said Senate President Pro Tem David A. Roberti (D-Los Angeles), a bitter foe of both ballot measures—and one of a number of mid-term senators who would be forced from office in 1996 if Proposition 140 prevails.

In what is proving to be a roaring battle over term limits, both sides in the debate agree that either of the measures would change fundamentally the way politics is conducted in the nation's most populous state.

Under Proposition 140, with its shorter term limits, 83% of the politicians who take seats in the Assembly and Senate later this year would be swept from office by 1996. By 1998, 100% of the legislators would be unseated.

"It would be wild," said Eugene C. Lee, professor emeritus in political science at UC Berkeley. "The consequences are unpredictable."

Under both measures, the governor, attorney general and most other constitutional officers would be held to the eight-year limits—guaranteeing that no one who wins one of the major offices Nov. 6 would be able to serve continuously past 1998.

Supporters of both measures reach for a broom when groping for a symbol of their intentions.

The two ballot initiatives have brought together a curious coalition of forces. They are of the right and of the left; laissez-faire conservatives and environmental activists; those who want more government regulation and those who believe that government has intruded far too much.

Proposition 131 was crafted by Atty. Gen. John K. Van de Kamp, a liberal Democrat, as part of his unsuccessful campaign to become governor.

Schabarum, the best-known author of Proposition 140, is a conservative Republican. Sensing a groundswell of frustration with the Legislature, Republican gubernatorial candidate Pete Wilson has also endorsed the initiative.

A recent Los Angeles Times Poll found strong support for both term-limit initiatives and deep frustration with how the state Legislature is handling its job. However, most voters with an opinion said their own legislators deserve to be reelected.

The September poll showed 55% of voters supporting Schabarum's Proposition 140 and 28% in opposition. Proposition 131 was only slightly less popular, with 50% saying they would vote for the initiative, 34% against it. Other polls have shown even stronger support for the two measures.

Although Wilson, Schabarum and Van de Kamp are veteran politicians, supporters of the initiatives for the most part are frustrated outsiders trying to crash a political system that they view as unresponsive. Their common view

is that incumbents have all the advantages when challenged at the polls and that it has become increasingly difficult to oust them.

Some observers believe that the term-limit question might have been avoided entirely if earlier attempts to change the way legislative districts are determined through reapportionment had been successful, opening the way for more competitive legislative races.

"There is a sense of frustration that nothing else has worked," said former Assembly Speaker Bob Monagan (R-Tracy). He said the efforts of "entrenched incumbents not to do anything about reapportionment" were at least partly responsible for strong support for term limits.

There is so little competition in legislative races that in the past three general and primary elections, from 1984 through 1988, only five incumbent legislators were defeated at the polls.

In 15 out of 100 races for state Senate and Assembly this year, incumbents have no major party challengers and are virtually certain of reelection.

Despite all of that, opponents of term limits argue that the natural rate of turnover is quite high. Nineteen of 40 state senators in office after the 1980 election have since left the Senate; 41 out of 80 Assembly members are no longer in the Assembly. Put another way, exactly half of the 120 lawmakers remain in the same jobs a decade later.

As might be expected, the top legislative leaders in both parties rank high in length of service, headed by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown (D-San Francisco) with 26 years in the Assembly and Roberti, who has served 19 years in the Senate. Both have remained in office well beyond the average—just under 11 years in the Senate and nearly eight years in the Assembly.

Not surprisingly, Brown and Roberti, along with Assembly Republican Leader Ross Johnson of La Habra and Senate GOP Leader Ken Maddy of Fresno, are publicly committed to defeating the term-limit initiatives—arguing vociferously that without experienced legislators to lead the Senate and the Assembly, the Legislature would soon be dominated by the governor, executive branch bureaucrats and lobbyists.

Although Brown has been actively and openly raising funds for what is expected to be a difficult and expensive campaign, his aides have recently been counseling a low profile on the campaign trail, conceding that many voters tend to focus their frustrations with the Legislature on the Speaker and his allies.

Brown has been more active than any of the others in raising money to defeat the initiative. As proponents of the two measures are quick to point out, the Democratic Speaker has turned to special-interest groups to pay for the opposition campaign.

Brown's initiative campaign committee reported raising \$82,489 in the last three months—receiving most of the money from corporations, unions and political action committees representing groups that regularly lobby the Legislature. Among the largest contributors were the California Teachers Assn., \$40,000; RJR Nabisco, \$25,000, and the California Beer and Wine Wholesalers, \$20,000.

Proponents of both measures make it clear that legislative leaders are their target.

"At this point there is a tiny oligarchy running the show," said California Common Cause director Jim Wheaton, now on leave to run the Yes on 131 campaign. "The people who are left out are people who care about people or causes but don't have any money."

One of the main sponsors of Proposition 140, Lewis K. Uhler, is president of the National Tax Limitation Committee—a group seeking a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget. Uhler has attacked the Democratic leadership of the Legislature, people he regards as big spenders. He believes that faster turnover in the Legislature would improve the chances for "our kind of people"—conservative legislators willing to cut government spending.

With passage of either measure, California would join 26 other states that now limit the terms governors may serve, as well as the many states that also place limits on other statewide offices.

Since statehood 140 years ago, only one California governor has ever been elected three times—Republican Earl Warren, who left in the middle of his final term to become chief justice of the United States.

But other constitutional officers have had more staying power, including several in this century who managed to hold on to their elected jobs until they died in office.

At the heart of the debate over the term limits, especially as they apply to the Legislature, is who would be in charge once the new limits take effect.

Opponents contend that the effect would be to force out of office many of the most effective legislators—seasoned lawmakers who are so well entrenched that they can stand up to special interests.

"I've seen Willie Brown close down those interests," said one Democratic legislative staffer. "I've heard him say, in effect, 'I'm more powerful than you are. So, no way.'"

Brown himself, at a press briefing two months ago, contended that inexperienced legislators would be easy prey for lobbyists.

"My guess is that in this one, the sleazy, cold-blooded special interests are going to see an opportunity and they're going to be supporting [the Schabarum initiative] because, believe me, they will dominate, they will dominate," Brown said.

At the same session, Brown asked reporters: "Would you prefer to be administered for your brain tumor by the surgeon who graduated this year, or by the surgeon who has been practicing for 10 years and never lost a patient?"

Consumer activist Ralph Nader, who is campaigning around the state in support of Proposition 131, insists that a new crop of legislators would not be hampered by their inexperience.

"If there is one job you can learn fast, it is the job of being legislator if you have the people's interests in mind," Nader said. "If you're going

**'The mood is real simple,
and that is the folks are
really ticked or fed
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conducting themselves.'**

—
PETE SCHABARUM
County Supervisor

to balance all kinds of special interests and deal in that kind of intrigue, it does take a while to learn the trade."

While proponents of one initiative are sometimes critical of the other, for the most part both camps

are saving their harshest rhetoric for the Legislature itself.

They recite a similar litany of problems besetting California government: this year's lengthy budget impasse, a widening Capitol corruption scandal that has already led to the conviction of two former state senators, and an inability to settle important issues facing the state, such as rising insurance rates and increasing traffic congestion.

Although they accuse the legislative leadership—and in particular Brown—of kowtowing to the special interests, the chief backers of both term-limit initiatives insist that the Speaker is not their target.

"We are not stating here that there are a lot of evil people in Sacramento," said San Jose Mayor Tom McEnery, one of the organizers of the Yes on 131 effort. "What we're saying is that there are people who have turned into rascals. They are really kind of caught in the system, where money is the end-all of everything."

But supporters of Propositions 131 and 140 have attempted to capitalize on what they see as widespread distrust of Brown.

Jim Wheaton of the Yes on 131 campaign has attacked Brown as "king of the special interests."

Similarly, backers of Proposition 140 ask in a campaign brochure, above a picture of Brown at the Assembly rostrum, "Should this Speaker of the State Assembly

have the power to directly affect the lives, the property and the financial security of every Californian?"

As Speaker of the Assembly, Brown is the most powerful member of the Legislature, able to appoint the committees that can determine the fate of any piece of legislation. Because of the power of the office, speakers have traditionally been the Legislature's top

fund-raisers and the principal spokesmen for the majority party in the Assembly.

In Brown's case, his flamboyant style and quick, sometimes biting wit have made him an especially attractive target for critics of the Legislature. For now, his aides say, Brown's best way of fighting back is to remain in the background if he wants to succeed in preserving the Legislature as he knows it.

A move afoot to limit terms in Congress

By Dick Polman 70/21/77
Inquirer Staff Writer

The politicians were trying to hold onto their power, and it was not a pretty sight. It was March 1, 1784, and James Monroe was a witness.

Members of the Continental Congress were required by law to serve limited terms; in essence, perpetual incumbency was illegal. But when the leaders actually tried to enforce this rule for the first time, bedlam broke out on the floor. The incumbents who had overstayed their statutory welcome made such a stink that the leaders dropped the rule.

As Monroe, a member and future president, would later remark, "I never saw more indecent conduct in any assembly before."

All the same, the term-limitation issue was dead. But two centuries later, it lives again.

Voters this year, fed up with government and politics as usual, are in a surly mood. In Oklahoma last month, they overwhelmingly passed a referendum to limit the terms of state legislators. Colorado has a November ballot measure that would limit the terms of its congressional delegation. And a term-limitation referendum is on the ballot next month in California, the state that serves as an incubator of national trends.

The idea is to force Congress to amend the Constitution, and force all its members to head for home after 12 years — six terms in the House, two terms in the Senate. It has become the hip reform proposal of 1990, garnering endorsements from such disparate characters as Ralph Nader, Republican consultant Eddie Mahe, and Democratic consultant Neil Oxman. Harry Truman liked the idea. So did Abraham Lincoln, who served only one House term because that was the tradition in Illinois.

Today, entrenched incumbency is as American as the hot dog. Ninety-eight percent of all congressmen were re-elected in 1988, beneficiaries of hefty war chests filled increasingly by special interest contributors; of rules that allow leftover campaign cash to be banked for future contests; of "franked" mail that allows them to build their "name ID" at taxpayers' expense.

So, the argument goes, why not shake up the system and boost turnout? After all, the congressional elections of 1986 drew only 37 percent of the electorate — the lowest turnout in a peacetime year since 1926.

"The dangers of this concept are so obvious," argues Ross Baker, a political commentator who teaches at Rutgers University's Eagleton Institute of Politics. "It is mindless. A surgical strike is required to reform the system, but these people want to indulge in carpet (mass) bombing."

Baker believes that tossing out all lawmakers after 12 years will enhance the power of lobbyists and bureaucrats, all of whom would prey on the large cast of naive freshmen.

And it is no accident that the movement, particularly in Washington, is top-heavy with Republicans. They have the most to gain by limiting House terms; Democrats have controlled the House since 1955. The prime mover behind Americans to Limit Congressional Terms is Mahe, a leading GOP strategist. The national Republican platform endorsed the concept in 1988.

"Party affiliation doesn't make any difference," insists Mahe. "It has nothing to do with this movement. After 12 years, any congressman is no longer committed to any interest except his own." As for the notion that unelected bureaucrats will dominate the newcomers, he says, "That's bull. If we can create medical doctors in three years, surely that's a more complex science than serving in government."

Mahe predicts that limiting terms will become one of those apple-pie issues that politicians won't dare oppose. The plan for 1992, he says, is to get House candidates to sign a pro-limit pledge. If the polls respond, it could be left to the academics to argue, as Baker does, that "this is like germ warfare. You wouldn't just be killing off the rascals (after 12 years), but everybody in sight."

Perhaps. But a recent Gallup poll showed that 70 percent of Americans wanted to limit congressional terms. And leaders have long worried that power held in perpetuity could create a serious backlash.

As Roger Sherman of Rhode Island warned 200 years ago, "Representatives ought to return home. . . . By remaining at the seat of government, they would acquire the habits of the place, which might differ from those of their constituents."

6/31/200

Not Opposed to Term Limits, Bush Says

President Bush, attempting to take advantage of growing voter resentment toward politicians, said yesterday he did not oppose term limitations for elected officials and indicated he may use the issue as he campaigns this fall.

"I may go public on that," Bush said at his news conference yesterday. "I'm certainly not opposed to it. I haven't decided exactly. But I think people want a change against the incumbents up there on the Hill."

Voters in Oklahoma last month overwhelmingly approved a proposal limiting state legislators to 12 years. Voters in California and Colorado will vote on term-limitation initiatives next month.

Some Republican Party officials, including Republican National Committee Chairman Lee Atwater, have urged Bush to support term limits, hoping that resentment against incumbent politicians will help Republicans narrow the Democrats' significant majority in the House and elsewhere. Their argument is that the Republicans should take advantage of the voters' mood.

Noting that the party platform calls for limitations, Bush said he would remind voters this fall of that plank. "But whether I make that a prime mover in the political campaign that lies ahead in the next few weeks, I don't know."

Bush will campaign today in North Carolina, Georgia and Florida.

Would term limits on Congress mean better government?

31 / 240 / 30

Who says we live in a democracy? In the last six presidential elections, going back to 1968, Democratic nominees have gotten 43 percent of the popular vote. Yet they've won only 18 percent of the electoral votes. Even more unjust, they've won just 17 percent of the elections (one, that is). Their sole victory, in 1976, came only with the help of the worst presidential scandal in American history.

Under normal circumstances, it's clearly impossible for the Democrats to capture the White House, despite all the people who vote for them. If Democrats are getting 43 percent of the votes, isn't it

Stephen Chapman

absurd that they don't get 43 percent of the presidents? Or is our electoral system supposed to weight the scales so much in the direction of Republicans that Democrats have no chance and the voters' preferences are endlessly frustrated?

If I sound sillier than usual today, it's no accident. The argument stated above is absurd, which is why Democrats don't make it. But it's no more dubious than the one Republicans are making, which has produced a movement to limit the number of terms a member of Congress can serve.

Republicans are exasperated at their failure to gain control of Congress. True, they had a majority in the Senate for six years during the 1980s, but they haven't dominated the House since Eisenhower's first term. They note the phenomenally high re-election rates of incumbents (96 percent in the last three elections) and make dark comparisons to the British House of Lords and the Supreme Soviet.

Since they know Americans prefer Republican policies—they elect Republican presidents, don't they?—the GOP faithful conclude that the persistent Democratic grip on Congress can be the result only of sinister forces aimed at subverting the will of the people. Evicting members after 12 years, they claim, would foil those sinister forces.

The advocates of term limits think they have the public firmly on their side—the same public that keeps electing all those Democrats to Congress.

Surveys show that Americans think Congress does a lousy job, and they're looking for ways to spark improvement. According to one poll, 61 percent of Americans favor restrictions on congressional terms.

But if Americans are dissatisfied with Congress, they are free to do something about it, with a simple device known as the ballot. Most of them, while loathing Congress, say they like their own representative just fine.

Maybe that's because they gullibly believe everything they read in the taxpayer-financed mailings sent home by every member. The reason voters return incumbents with infallible regularity has something to do with the advantages of office, but it also has something to do with the fact that only 72 percent of Americans even know their congressman's name. Ignorant voters making boneheaded choices is not a frustration of democracy. It is democracy.

The paradox of Republican presidents and Democratic Congresses likewise turns out to be not a paradox at all. Americans vote for a divided government because they want a divided government.

Polling expert Everett Carl Ladd notes in a recent issue of the Public Interest magazine that two out of every three Americans think the country is better off with the Republicans occupying the White House and the Democrats holding Capitol Hill.

Even most of the people who voted for George Bush and against Willie Horton—I mean Michael Dukakis—preferred a Democratic Congress. The strange truth is that the GOP would have an easier time winning congressional races if it could manage to lose a few presidential ones.

As for the charge that the Democrats maintain supremacy only through the crushing weight of incumbency, American Enterprise Institute scholar Norman Ornstein points out in the same publication that if it were true, you'd expect to see the GOP racking up victory after victory in those races where no incumbent is running. But since 1954, they've lost 57 percent of those contests.

The real defect of Congress is that members survive by indulging their constituents' desire to get all they can in government benefits while escaping all they can in government burdens. But this habit won't vanish if members are banished after 12 years. The drug trade has lots of turnover among dealers, but as long as people want drugs, someone will supply them.

As long as Americans expect their government to let them live at the expense of everyone else, their elected officials will do their best to give them what they want. If voters don't like the results, they shouldn't look to Washington to find who's to blame.

3 1/2 200 The Term-Limit Train

The movement to impose term limits on elected officials is roaring down the track. Each new story out of Washington about the congressional "budget process" seems to be another shovelful of coal thrown into the firebox. Asked about term limits at his news conference, President Bush revealed himself to be remarkably well informed on the details of the movement. "I'm certainly not opposed to it," the President said. Mr. Bush reminded reporters that term limits were in the 1983 Republican platform and said he "may go public" and campaign for them.

Others aren't waiting. Democrat John Silber and Republican Pete Wilson said term limits would be a centerpiece of their respective races for Governor. Polls in Colorado and California show two-to-one backing for term-limit measures on next month's ballot. Opponents of term limits in Colorado are close to throwing in the towel. "It's like standing in front of a train coming 110 miles an hour," says Colorado Rep. Patricia Schroeder, first elected in 1972.

In California, the story is different. Democratic Speaker Willie Brown, a member of the state Assembly since 1964, is planning a \$4 million media blitz to discredit the idea. "They're trying to short-circuit my career," he complains. However, he boasts of having destroyed the political career of Democratic Attorney General John van de Kamp for his backing of a 12-year term limit on legislators.

Mr. Brown's assault will be handled by BAD Campaigns, a Beverly Hills firm that defeated two anti-gerymandering initiatives last June with ads tying them to oil spills and dead otters. BAD Campaigns' commercials haven't aired yet, but it asked former President Gerald Ford to campaign against term limits. Mr. Ford replied he was against term limits in principle but was so outraged by the legislature in Sacramento that he might vote for the idea anyway.

With term limits now a major campaign issue, it's worth addressing some of the more serious objections:

Voters would be limited in their choices at the ballot box.

This implies that voters now have a choice at the ballot box. Common Cause reports that of the 405 House incumbents seeking re-election this fall, 82 lack a major-party opponent. Another 300 have an opponent who has raised less than \$25,000. Only 23 races are remotely competitive. People

don't vote for someone they've never heard of, and skewed campaign laws mean that in the House almost all the contributions flow to incumbents.

Voters are saying the only way to open up the system is to guarantee that no one has a lifetime hold on office. If term limits pass in California, voters will be democratically choosing to open up the political process to citizen-legislators and minorities across the political spectrum who are often excluded by the presence of lifetime incumbents.

Term limits would deprive voters of experienced legislators with valuable talents.

Term limits can still allow for long political careers. U.S. Senator Bill Armstrong of Colorado has served in public office continuously since his 1962 election to the state legislature, but has never served in any one office for more than 12 years.

The Founding Fathers envisioned Congress as a representative body, not the entrenched micromanaging monster it has become. Its job is to make policy, not implement it. Considerable experience in government isn't necessary for that. Considerable experience in life is. As Colorado State Senator Terry Considine told us, "We'd have a better Congress if more of them would remember their job is to write the music, not direct the orchestra."

Power would shift from elected officials to their staffs.

Term limits are likely to reduce, not enhance, the power of staffs. Every Capitol Hill observer knows that it's the most senior members who are most dependent on staff and lobbyists, not the hot-shot young freshmen. And limits on staff can accompany term limits. The most popular of two term-limit initiatives in California curbs the "aides epidemic" in the legislature by cutting its budget 38%.

Elected officials wouldn't be facing this movement if they hadn't stopped doing what voters elected them to do. Make tough choices. Deliver efficient services. Avoid recurrent tax increases. Draw distinctions between essential and optional programs.

America's legislative bodies—really little more than lifetime jobs programs for people adept at professional politics—have drifted far from the institutions that the Founding Fathers thought would govern the country. Now an outraged citizenry looks determined to put a stop to it.

TOMORROW

THE TERM-LIMIT EXPRESS

BY MICHAEL BARONE & DAVID GERGEN



■ GOP campaign consultant Eddie Mahe helped launch the term-limit drive, which will aid his party far more than the Democrats. His goal is a constitutional amendment



■ California Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, the most powerful state legislator in the land, hopes a \$5 million ad campaign against term limits will protect his Democrats



■ Term limits already apply to the Presidents and many governors. Virginia Democrat Chuck Robb, now in the Senate, is one of many whose statehouse terms have been limited

■ TAPPING THE PROTEST VOTE. As if it needed any more help, the campaign to limit the number of years a politician can stay in office has received a major boost from the budget debacle in Washington and is now heading toward possible victory this November in two more states, California and Colorado. Successes there, coming just after Oklahoma voters gave it thumping approval in September, will surely elevate term limitation into a nationwide political issue that will get bigger by 1992 as a prime vehicle for voter protests.

This year, with many incumbents immune to defeat because of inflated war chests and weak challengers, term limits provide one of the few vehicles enabling voters to vent their anger. Eddie Mahe, a Washington-based Republican consultant who has been quarterbacking the term-limitation effort, argues that it is being driven by "sheer frustration with a system that seems out of control or totally frozen, with so many special interests controlling so much of it." The initial impetus came from defeated candidates, like former Republican Representative James Coyne of Pennsylvania and former Oklahoma Democratic legislator Clela Mitchell. But the movement has mushroomed beyond those complaints, becoming a symbol for all manner of voter resentments. Voters see term limits as a way to end "careerism" and paralysis among their elected officials.

■ THE CALIFORNIA EXAMPLE. Two different referendums on term limits are on the ballot in California, and recent polls show both running ahead by a margin of 2 to 1. Opponents in the Legislature are preparing a \$5 million advertising blitz against the idea, but they are unlikely to stop it. It has become a factor in the gubernatorial race. Recent surveys show Republican Pete Wilson's embrace of term limits is helping his campaign. Mahe says private polls find voters are most attracted to the tougher referendum—Proposition 140—because it will wipe out the pension system for state legislators. Californians are fed up, he says, because the pension system pays more than \$20,000 a year to former State Senator Joseph Montoya, now in prison, and some \$68,000 a year to Senator Alan Cranston, now under a Senate ethics investigation for his actions on behalf of notorious S&L owner Charles Keating.

Beyond their rage at politicians under a cloud, voters also are fed up with a system that does not respond to their wishes. For years, California Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and his allies have bottled up tough crime laws, campaign-finance reform and auto-insurance changes until opponents resorted to ballot measures to get around the Legislature. Even then, the voters' intent has been frustrated by endless court and regulatory battles. These voters see term limits as a way of cutting the Gordian knot.

■ PASSING THE TORCH. Term limits would surely change American politics at least as dramatically as existing term limits on the Presidency (which, ironically, conservatives wanted to overturn just two years ago) and on 22 governors' offices. Those limits have prevented the re-election of popular incumbents such as Dwight Eisenhower and Ronald Reagan to the White House and governors like Charles Robb, now a senator, in Virginia and Thomas Kean in New Jersey. Most political scientists don't like the idea. Nelson Polsby of the University of California at Berkeley argues: "Term limits merely guarantee that the good will disappear along with the bad." Worse, he contends, term limits would increase the power of lobbyists and staff, who are far less accountable to voters than legislators. And with more turnover sanctioned by the system, it could make the activities of government more confusing to all but the most conscientious voters. A case can also be made that voters are misled by statistics about the high re-election rates of incumbents. Fully 55 percent of House members who held office in 1980 are now gone. No doubt more would have lost if the parties had recruited young, idealistic, politically savvy challengers like the 1974 Democrats or 1980 Republicans who beat so many incumbents.

■ READY FOR PRIME TIME. If Colorado and California pull through as expected, backers of term limits will meet in December to map future campaigns. Their hope, says organizer James Coyne, is to place it on ballots in a dozen states or more in 1992, which would make it an issue in the presidential campaign. (Both President Bush and Vice President Quayle have backed the idea.) The goal is to force a reluctant Congress to pass a constitutional amendment by the mid-1990s.

TED GARMER

90 OCT 19 AM: 15

Price reformed state and local government beyond the requirements of his sworn duties.

Bill Price is the reformer who cleaned up the longest-lasting corruption scheme in Oklahoma politics, the county commissioner scandal.

It started with some puzzling lumber invoices in a southwestern Oklahoma county — enough timbers to rebuild every bridge in the county five times. But there was no lumber around anywhere. No stockpiles. No warehouses full. No stacks. Nothing.

That was 1978. It was two years before Bill Price, then an assistant federal prosecutor, found the missing piece he needed — a woman's name.

Bill spearheaded the investigation that followed. The original name led to invoices and 300 secretly taped conversations. Then confessions, indictments, trials, prison sentences.

In the end 240 county commissioners, contractors and suppliers were prosecuted in a massive kickback scandal that was the largest public corruption investigation ever handled by the U.S. Justice Department.

When the cleanup ended, bid prices for grader blades, culvert pipe, bridge timbers and other supplies were estimated to be 40% lower. Savings to the taxpayers ranged upwards of \$200 million a year.

In many other cases Bill Price took on powerful public figures — prosecuting state senators, a district judge, a college president, a sheriff, a district attorney, the commanding general of the National Guard, a labor chief, and many others.



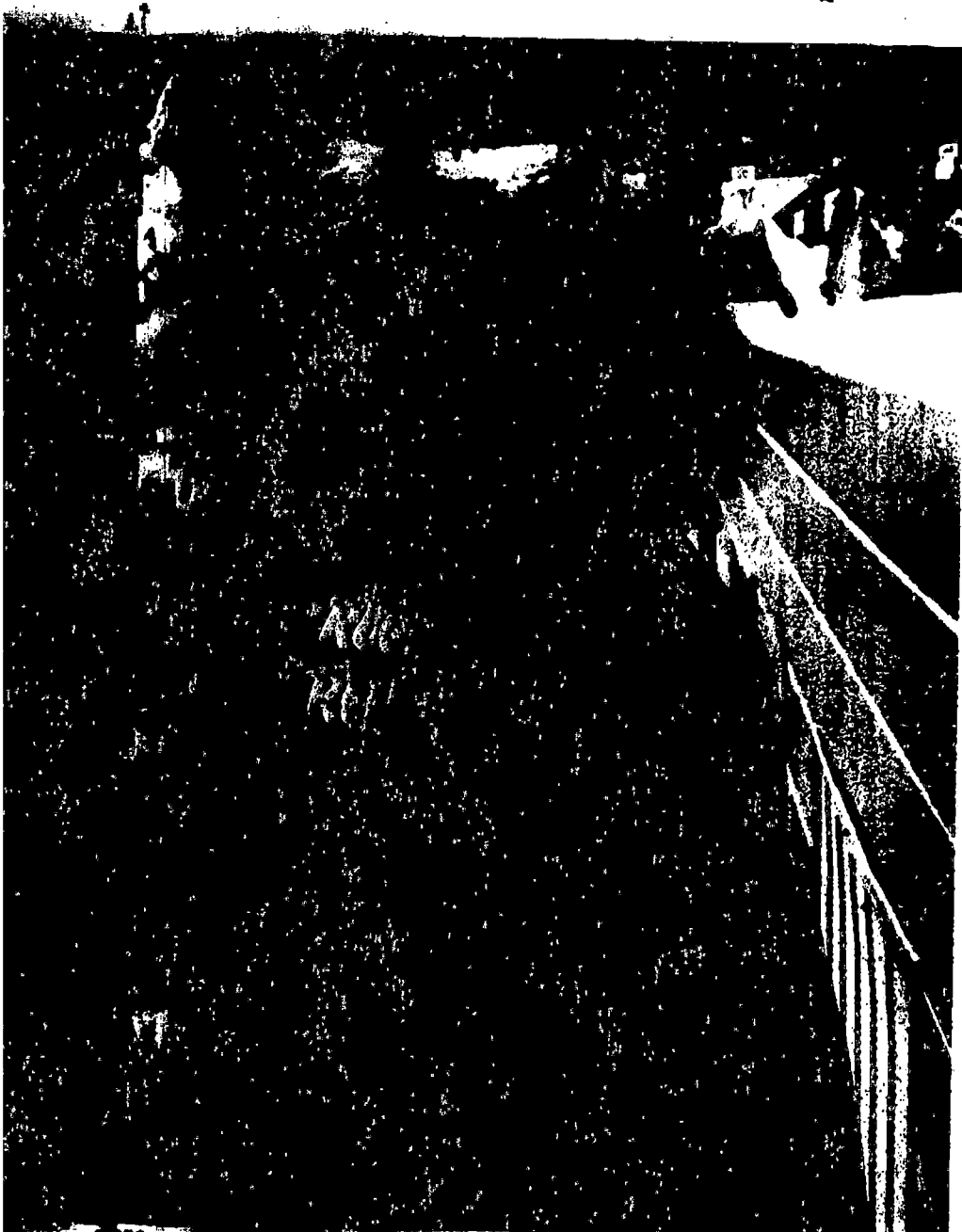
Investigating kickbacks led through an intricate maze of paperwork and mountains of records.

In the end, 240 county commissioners, contractors and suppliers were prosecuted.

In 14 years of investigating numerous agencies of state government, Bill saw first-hand the waste, cronyism and inefficiency that has limited Oklahoma's progress.

At the federal level, Price led investigations into highway contractor bid rigging, FmHA and HUD loan fraud, and military and FAA procurement theft, saving the taxpayers millions of dollars.

Bill Price founded a statewide drug education program to get the drug-free message to Oklahoma young people.



Some 3,000 students from a wide area of the state.

Having witnessed the tragedy of the drug traffic in his official duties, Bill Price made it a personal project to found a statewide drug education program for school children and young people — the Oklahoma Alliance Against Drugs.

Not only did Bill have the dream that led to the reality of the Alliance, he served as the first president.

The Alliance is a nonprofit organization in which young people communicate a positive, convincing, zero-tolerance message to their peers.

In four years, the Alliance has expanded to 30 chapters, and has offices in Enid, Lawton, McAlester, Oklahoma City and Tulsa.

The Alliance has reached over 40,000 Oklahoma students through its rallies, symposiums and training sessions.

Emphasis is placed on building strong self-esteem and identity within young people. The goal of the Alliance is zero tolerance — no experimenting with any form of alcohol, drugs or tobacco. As their slogan says: "To know is to say no."



Bill Price has served the Republican Party as a worker and a leader, beginning in his teenage years.

Bill Price became actively involved in Republican Party politics while he was still a high school student.

Bill drove the Blankenship campaign bus, headed youth for Bartlett, managed Jim Inhofe's cam-

during his successful race for Attorney General. Blankenship was the first Republican elected to that position in Oklahoma history.

In that same year Bill marshalled a corps of youthful campaigners who helped defeat J.D. McCarty, powerful Democratic Speaker of the House.

Bill was president of the College Republicans both as an undergraduate and at OU Law School.

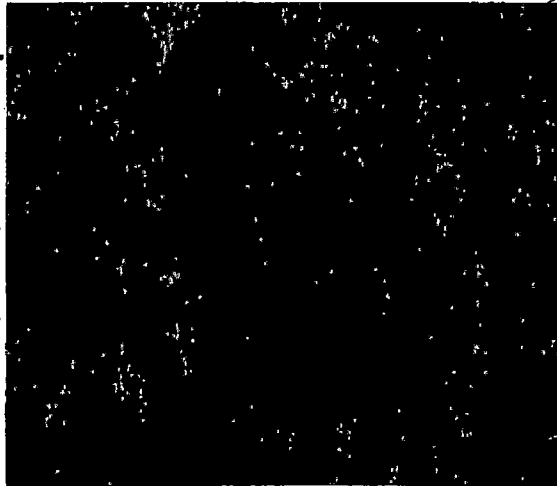
On behalf of the Nixon reelection campaign, Price debated against Cleta Deatherage Mitchell and Eric Groves, representing George McGovern, in a series of debates on college campuses.

Bill was an alternate delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1972 and in that same year served as youth coordinator for Dewey Bartlett's U.S. Senate campaign.

Two years later he was campaign manager and state coordinator for Jim Inhofe's gubernatorial campaign.

In 1975 he became an assistant U.S. Attorney, thereby no longer able to participate actively in one of his real loves, Republican party politics.

Price drove the Blankenship bus, headed youth for Bartlett, managed Inhofe's campaign and helped beat J.D. McCarty.



Bill was involved in many Republican campaigns before joining the federal prosecutor's staff. Above, a clip from the Inhofe campaign newsletter.

paign and helped beat J.D. McCarty. He was head of the county and state Teen-Age Republicans, and helped set up TAR chapters in high schools throughout Oklahoma.

In 1966, he got his first taste of statewide campaigning, driving G.T. Blankenship's campaign bus

Price states his positions on key issues affecting the direction Oklahoma takes in the '90s.

Bill Price has enunciated some very specific and clear positions on today's vital issues. His record shows that he has already confronted some of these issues head-on with effective and affordable solutions.

"Taxpayers... expect school administrators, the legislature and their governor to work for cost-cutting reforms."



Bill Price's candidacy for governor became official with this early morning Tulsa press conference.

The following excerpts from his announcement remarks delivered on March 26, 1990 highlight his concerns and proposals for bringing Oklahoma back:

ON EDUCATION: I favor the elimination of tenure for teachers. I favor career ladders for quality teachers.

I favor a reduction in the number of school administrators. I

favor granting local communities more authority in funding public education at the local level.

I believe we should dissolve the present state school funding formula, which is unfair and punitive to communities trying to fund education at a higher level.

I believe the Oklahoma Department of Education has twice as many employees as it needs and should be the object of intensive cost-cutting actions.

I favor the open transfer of school students, granting to parents the choice of the school their children will attend.

Taxpayers expect teachers to be held accountable for their ability to teach. Likewise, they expect school administrators, the legislature and their governor to work for cost-saving reforms. I embrace the challenge of being involved in cutting waste in our educational system and elsewhere in government... to help make our educational system second to none.

ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: First, we must send some strong signals through our actions, not words, that we are serious about the business climate of Oklahoma.

I favor the enactment of a right to work law like every other state that

surrounds us... without it, we're hampered in bringing new businesses into Oklahoma.

We must reform our workers compensation laws. I favor, through reforms and judicial appointments, assuring that the truly injured worker is compensated swiftly but the abuses in our system are ended.

I favor tort reform. Our present tort laws are another mark against us in the terrific competition for new business and industry.

I favor an all-out effort to increase tourism in Oklahoma, recognizing that for each dollar we as taxpayers put into our tourism efforts, \$16 is returned.

As we change the reality of Oklahoma's economic climate, we must also change its perception inside and outside of Oklahoma.

I will be a governor who will recruit the best industrial development team to target and sell the advantages of locating or expanding



At midday on his announcement swing, Price met with the Capitol press corps in the second floor rotunda.

"We must send some strong signals...that we are serious about the business climate of Oklahoma."



"I have seen first-hand the corruption, waste, cronyism and old guard politics in Oklahoma."

businesses in Oklahoma. There will be a coordinated program that will utilize the talents of Oklahoma's business leadership in selling Oklahoma's new business climate.

ON DRUG ABUSE: My commitment to the war against illegal drugs, pushers and users is a matter of record. As U.S. Attorney, I learned first-hand how pervasive and dangerous illegal drugs are. Their use shatters lives, splits families, destroys the fiber of a community, and puts millions of dollars into the hands of criminals.

The 15 major pieces of law enforcement legislation I have helped pass on a bipartisan basis were a beginning. The Oklahoma Alliance Against Drugs, which I founded as a private organization and which has provided programs for more than 40,000 young Oklahomans, was another beginning that we must encourage and assist.

ON GOVERNMENTAL REFORM: This is the fourth great issue of the 1990's for Oklahoma. For 14 years, I have spent a large portion of my life investigating state government. I can't imagine a better experience for the next governor of Oklahoma. I have seen first-hand the corruption, waste, cronyism and old guard politics in Oklahoma.

The integrity and professionalism of Oklahoma government means millions of dollars to Oklahoma taxpayers. More than that, it means restoring pride in Oklahoma government and gives us a government worthy of our people.

Many people think that the vision I've outlined is too bold, the issues too controversial, the goals too ambitious. I ask those people to think again.

We can't afford not to be bold... controversial... ambitious.

A letter to our friends:

This year, 1990, is the most pivotal election year in the history of our state.

Because of the issues and challenges facing Oklahoma, it is imperative for the governor's office to be filled by a Republican — and not just any Republican can win.

The next governor must provide leadership during a time when Oklahoma makes genuine and meaningful reform to its educational system... returns to economic viability... achieves victory in the war against drugs and crime... and restores pride in Oklahoma government.

In addition, the governor elected this year will hold office when Oklahoma's Congressional district boundaries are established for the next 10 years, with the power of the veto as a weapon against gerrymandering by the Democratic-controlled Legislature.

This is not a time for merely making minority reports or "sending them a message." This is a time when we must unite behind a conservative Republican candidate who is best positioned to win.

Only Bill Price has the statewide acceptance and the record of accomplishment to unite all Republicans and to attract additional conservative votes across party lines needed to win in November against the Democratic candidate.



Bill poses with state chairmen Skip Healey, Dorothy Zumwalt, Gene Quarles and Jerry Hagee.

Won't you make your decision now, when it will create the greatest momentum, and help make Bill Price Oklahoma's next governor? Thank you for your help.

Jerry Hagee
Skip Healey
Gene Quarles
Dorothy Zumwalt

State Chairmen
Bill Price for Governor

Only Bill Price has the statewide acceptance and the record of accomplishment to unite all Republicans.

LA -
p. 51A
Re: son in Saudi Arabia / support

2901 Lamp Post Lane
Oklahoma City, Ok 73120
August 18, 1990

Dear President Bush,

My son just left for Saudi Arabia today. He leaves behind his wife who is expecting their first child in two weeks. This is a sacrifice that he is willing to make for his country.

However, I want you to know that I do not appreciate the way President Reagan sacrificed 241 Marines in Lebanon. I certainly hope you have the sense and courage not to put our sons and daughters out on a limb.

We have fine military commanders. I hope you will let them fight the enemy, and not make this into another politician's war as was Vietnam.

When the fighting starts, as I know it will, please let our military men fight for all they are worth and fight to the finish. If you back off, it will only encourage the enemy. We do not need that, we need a united America.

If you will let our military take out Saddam Hussein and his army, maybe we can gain respect from the world that we lost in Vietnam.

I know you will have tough decisions, but if your will is weak, it will only result in more deaths for American military men. You cannot let Hussein's decision to put civilians in front of his soldiers deter you.

You must fight hard. There are no rules. Hussein will not fight by rules, so please don't handicap our military with a bunch of damn engagement rules. Go all out for victory! May God bless you and our men and women in uniform. Tora! Tora! Tora!

Sincerely yours,

James A. Worrell

James A. Worrell

LA
P-51A

Mr President,

8-24-90

I wish to express my
appreciation and deep admiration for your
exemplary leadership during this time of
crisis in the Persian Gulf.

My family knows well the
price of freedom, my father served in
Europe during WW II, I served in Viet Nam
as a Paratrooper, and now have a son who
is being deployed to Saudi Arabia with the
32nd Airborne Division.

We each are proud to stand
with you Mr. President in this time of crisis,
and well as in times of peace.

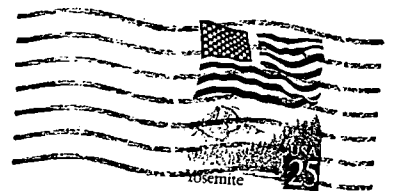
Mr. President, you are the very
reason we all proudly proclaim that we are
Americans, living in the greatest country in
the world, God bless you and our
great country.

Sincerely,

Jim Guilford



JAMES E GUILLIAMS
1028 FAULKNER DR
CLAREMORE, OK 74017



*The President
The White House,
Washington, D.C.*

20500

Price

BILL PRICE GOVERNOR

TALKING POINTS:

P.O. BOX 57766
OKLAHOMA CITY, OK 73157
TELEPHONE 405/848-8888

Economic Development:

Bill Price is making Economic Development more than just campaign talk and he's the only candidate in this race who has an economic plan for Oklahoma. He knows substantive changes need to be made if Oklahoma's economy is going to recover. Changes like a Right-to-Work law, Worker's Compensation reform to recruit new industry and reducing state red tape for existing businesses. Small business have always provided the spark for Oklahoma - Bill Price will give them the extra charge they need to grow.

Education:

Bill Price wants Oklahoma schools put back in the hands of its parents. That is why he is the only candidate who has a comprehensive package of education reforms which include such innovative ideas as Parental Choice, local funding of schools, increased parental involvement in curriculum and other educational decisions. Bill Price wants House Bill 1017 reformed by the legislature. But if they fail, he will call a special election as soon as possible and put it to a vote of the people. Oklahomans deserve the right to have this issue on a ballot. More importantly, Bill Price believes our children deserve quality in education. He will see that the reforms are put in place - and that Oklahoma's educational system truly is second to none.

Dukakis Liberal:

In 1988 the voters of the state of Oklahoma nominated George Bush and Albert Gore for President of the United States. Finishing second were Robert Dole and Richard Gephardt. The candidate only 17% of Oklahoma Democrats found they could support was Michael Dukakis - a Massachusetts liberal governor who has now spent his state into chaos. David Walters found he most closely agreed with Dukakis and now wants to bring the same, liberal, ill-conceived Massachusetts ideas here to Oklahoma. Oklahomans are smart people. We know the difference between good conservative values and the liberal ideas of George McGovern, Ted Kennedy and Michael Dukakis. Oklahoma voters rejected Dukakis twice in 1988, they don't want his clone in 1990.

Behind the vision Bill Price has for Oklahoma are workable, realistic solutions to the state's problems.

"I have the vision of a state in which reform replaces new taxes as the way to move forward."

With those words and a clear outline of his goals and positions on major issues, Bill Price entered the 1990 Oklahoma governor's race.

Price is running hard, as if intent on catching up, although many editors and political analysts consider him to be the candidate who is setting the pace.

Bill Price is seen as the conservative who can win in November. No other candidate in the party primary, announced or unannounced, has the widespread acceptance and support the polls show for Bill Price.

He has prepared well for the job. Bill Price already has made his mark on Oklahoma history as a conscientious and effective reformer of state government.

Bill Price has an excellent record of service to the Republican Party beginning when he was a teenager.

Bill Price has been an active leader in the battle against drug abuse, founding a statewide drug education program that has reached more than 40,000 young people.

In preparing for his candidacy, Price spent nearly a year traveling

throughout the state, visiting with Oklahomans in communities ranging from major metropolitan centers to the smallest crossroads, finding out their needs and priorities involving state government.



Flanked by busts of two former governors, Price responds to a reporter's question.

Bill Price is seen as the conservative who can win.

"It is the vision of a state in which family values are stressed," Price said in entering the race, "...a state in which we are proud to live."

Bill Price offers more than vision, more than clarion calls. He will provide real and workable solutions to Oklahoma's problems.

The time is right for Bill Price.

Price's preparation for the job of governor is founded on training, experience and deep Oklahoma roots.

Bill Price is a native Oklahoman, grandson of Oklahoma pioneers who homesteaded in the Cherokee Strip land run.

His father, Dr. Joel Scott Price, was born on a farm in northwestern

For 16 years, Bill has managed the family's farming and ranching business and Price Oil & Gas.



Questions of next year's crops occupy Price's attention in a conference with farm manager Dean Painter on the family farm near Buffalo.

Oklahoma. Dr. Price worked his way through school after the eighth grade and helped educate the rest of his family.

For 16 years, Bill has managed the family's farming and ranching business and Price Oil and Gas. His business background and his representation of business while in private practice combine to give Bill Price a businessman's approach to the operation of government.

Price is a graduate of the University of Oklahoma School of Law and holds an undergraduate degree from Georgetown in international affairs.

While an undergraduate, Bill met Mary Lynn Slattery, who became his wife. Bill and Mary have three children, Anne, 16, James, 14 and Eileen, 9.

Bill served as research assistant and legal assistant to Judge Alfred P. Murrah, director of the Federal Judicial Center in Washington, D.C., and became an associate with an Oklahoma City law firm active in workers compensation defense work for business clients.

In 1975 he joined the U.S. Attorney's staff as an assistant, and was later promoted to first assistant. In 1982, nominated by U.S. Senator Don Nickles, he was appointed federal prosecutor by President Reagan.

As chairman of the Law Enforcement Coordinating Committee, Price took the lead in helping pass 15 major pieces of anti-crime legislation at the State Capitol. As an advisor to the U.S. Sentencing Commission, he helped write national guidelines on mandatory sentencing without parole.

Price served on the National Environmental Enforcement Council, helping draft solutions to environmental problems.

WORRYING: Persian Gulf Crisis Hits Home for 5 Southland Families

Continued from A3

They met 17 years ago on a naval base in Florida, marrying a year later. After Steve left the Navy, Gale's career took the family from Bermuda to Hawaii to San Pedro. Steve picked up odd jobs and took care of the kids, 12-year-old Melisa and 8-year-old Patrick. Now he works as a clerk in a mini-mart and does some typesetting.

Sometimes, he says, the scent of her perfume that clings to her dresser makes him sad. Other times, he finds the children in front of the dresser, touching her things.

Kennedy says he wishes he had more free time so he could escape in a game of golf or billiards. But mostly, he just wants Gale back in her armchair again.

"I'm hoping," he said, "she gets home for Christmas."

□

When the Navy reserves summoned Dr. John Greif, he couldn't help but wonder what would become of his hard-earned success. What would happen to his medical practice? How could the Greifs pay the \$4,000-per-month mortgage on a Navy salary?

Greif, a 45-year-old surgeon at Kaiser Permanente and a Navy reservist, and his wife had been planning to send their 5-year-old son to private school this fall. Now they wonder if they'll have to sell their La Jolla home.

For Greif, the call-up was no surprise. He had volunteered to work extra hours at San Diego's Naval Hospital, where he had expected to serve as a reservist. As tension in the Persian Gulf heightened, Greif worked out a tentative schedule to see his own patients during evenings and weekends in case he was activated.

When the reserves were summoned, Greif's unit was assigned to San Diego's Naval Hospital. But Greif was assigned away from his unit—and away from home.

To his chagrin, Greif found himself snared by bureaucracy. First he was told he would be assigned to an East Coast hospital. The next day, after appealing for a local assignment, he was told he could work at the San Diego hospital. But the next day—only 48 hours before he was to go on duty—Greif was told that an error had been made. He would indeed be serving in South Carolina.

"It's emotionally draining," says Greif, a slim man with salt-and-pepper hair. "It certainly could be worse, I could be going overseas. Well, I guess that's still not out of the question."

Greif knew the call-up would hurt financially—as a reservist, he will be paid less than one-third his current salary—but the South Carolina assignment has made matters worse.

Only a few weeks ago, the Greifs had discussed selling their house and getting a bigger one. Now, although they have pared down expenses, Kate Greif wonders whether they can hang on to the modest home with the prime loca-

tion—across the street from the beach.

"Worse comes to worse, I will sell it," says Kate Greif, 41. "A couple of weeks ago we were optimistic and foolish. It's ironic that way."

John Greif has tried to figure out how to handle his patients, many of whom have surgery scheduled from now through October. He had to inform one patient that he has cancer and that another doctor would tend to him.

But Greif, who was born in a Navy hospital, says he has no regrets about being in the reserves.

He knows he is more fortunate than the men who might require his talents. "The nice thing about being a surgeon," said Greif, gazing at his blond-haired son, "is you never get too close to the front line."

□

Annie Morris, 7, sits on a piano bench in her family's Lakewood home, fussing with the white gloves she has dressed up in, and talks about her father. "He's out to sea on a ship," she says.

"Way out in the ocean," says her sister Ali, 4, who is curled up in her mother's lap.

"The Navy says his duty is to get up at night and watch the ship," Annie says. "In case people are attacking the ship. Right, Mama?" She swung her skinny legs.

Howard Morris is a petty officer first class aboard the Antietam, a guided missile cruiser that left Long Beach Naval Station on June 20 for a routine tour of duty in the Indian Ocean. Within a week after the Iraqi invasion, Navy officials said, the cruiser had been deployed to the Persian Gulf with two other warships from Long Beach.

Last week, one sailor was electrocuted in an accident aboard the Antietam. Annie overheard her mother, Terri, talking about his death on the telephone.

"I worry about Daddy all the time," Annie says. "I worry he's gonna get killed, like, you know, there was someone who got killed last week. I keep thinking about if it was Daddy, even though it wasn't. Right, Mama?"

Terri talks about the risks of Navy life with a stoic reserve. "We always knew Harold might end up giving up his life for our country." But she always reassures her children that their father will be safe.

Still, the girls sense the tension. They play a game they call shipwreck. "Like there's a big storm and the ocean gets rough and the ship gets dangerous," Annie explains.

Neither girl really wants to be on a ship in the Navy.

"I don't want to have to leave my family for a long time," Annie says.

"Sharks," her little sister whispers.

Howard was home on leave when Iraq invaded Kuwait. He had flown in after Terri was found to have multiple sclerosis. Howard was torn by his wish to stay with his wife and his Navy duty. "You

get back to where you're needed," Terri told him.

They grew up together in Meeker, Okla. Howard told Terri he knew in junior high that he'd marry her. She was a cheerleader, he was a football player. They have been married nine years.

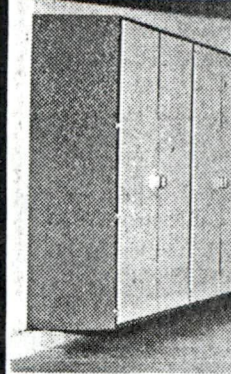
Terri says her Baptist faith helps her cope. Usually the family prays before dinner. Ever since the crisis began, the girls have been trying to help as much as they can, Terri says. The other night, Ali washed the dishes all by herself. "My Dad told us we got to take care of my Mom," Annie says.

Sometimes the girls ask to watch home videos of their family, giggling as they see the big, red-haired man who calls them "goof-bugs." Almost every night before bed they talk about missing him. "That's why I've been crying a lot," Annie says.

But sometimes the girls find their mother crying in her room. They hug her and touch her hair the way she does with them.

"It's OK, Mama," they say.

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CRISIS IN THE GULF SHOWDOWN WITH IRAQ

U.S. troops are preparing for the war they expect



Saudi workers and U.S. Marines scramble over an M-60 tank being unloaded from a U.S. ship at the port of Al Jubail.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

For desert soldiers, frantic deployment gives way to tedium

War's ancient way: Hurry up and wait, then do it all again

By Peter Copeland
SCRIPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

SAUDI ARABIA — American soldiers holding their own against the desert sun, the blowing sand and even the threat of poison gas are beginning to confront a new enemy: boredom.

The one complaint of American soldiers in Saudi Arabia is that there's nothing to do.

The favored card game seems to be spades. A few soldiers brought footballs and soccer balls, but it's been too hot to play.

Sometimes the spare time leads to creativity. One hangar was decorated with a spoof on the missing-child milk cartons. A water bottle had a picture of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and the message: "Have you seen this child? If found, shoot between the eyes. Phone White House for reward."

The level of boredom varies with the job. Crew members of AWACS radar planes, for example, are too busy to be bored.

"You train forever, but this is real," said a 35-year-old technical sergeant.

Those who haven't been in one before are even eager for this one to begin

By Walter V. Robinson
BOSTON GLOBE

IN THE SAUDI ARABIAN DESERT — For most Americans, certainly for 19-year-old Americans, the combination of sun and sand in August suggests images of fun and relaxation at the seashore.

Out here, the combination is no day at the beach.

Even so, a 19-year-old paratrooper from Tulsa, Okla., loaded down with 50 pounds of gear over two layers of clothing and forced to move around in the blast furnace of the desert's 115-degree heat, took quick exception last week to a suggestion that he would prefer relaxing at a real beach.

"Absolutely not," the private said. Having provoked a look of disbelief, he felt compelled to explain.

"We're all looking for a fight," he said. "You see, it's like being a brain surgeon. You go to school for years and years. You want to use your specialty."

At home, America may or may not be prepared for war. But here, the young volunteers whose units are already on the ground are busily preparing for just that. Most wish it won't happen, though the vast majority are convinced that it will.

Some hope it will. Most admit to being somewhat fearful. Others — almost always those, like the Tulsa youth, who have never experienced it — say they would relish the action.

"We can pay the price here by suffering in the heat or let Saddam Hussein (Iraq's president) take over and have to deal with him someplace else later on. It might as well be here and now," an anti-tank gunner from Dothan, Ala., said as he looked up from his gun sight.

All are professionals

Under the ground rules, only military commanders can be quoted by name, and reporters are not allowed to identify the sizes of units or their locations.

Though there are already tens of thousands of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia, there are no conscripts. These are career military men and

INTER

FROM NO

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- 300 plan
- 20 stea
- fighter-t



- 2 destr
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FROM ARAB

Egy

■ 4,000 grou

Mo

■ 1,200 grou

Syri

■ 2,000 grou

SOURCE: Associated Pre

In interview ties ranging from an air-defense and Marines cheerful about tent with the agreement with to deploy forced, were not

At a Marine site, where heaters worked in conditions, enduring temperatures a grees, the only tion, as whimsi hand-lettered n quoting a son "We've gotta ge it's the last thir

The Cuyahoga River:

"Until the mid-19th century the Cuyahoga was a clear stream winding through marsh grass and wildflowers, but in 1880 it was lined with sawmills, coal docks, blast furnaces, and overhung with smoke."

Walter Havighurst
Ohio
1976

* * *

"The Cuyahoga River at Cleveland, once the host to the ebullient sturgeon, actually caught fire one day. It burned fiercely and threatened to destroy that city."

Franklyn Russell
American Heritage
April, 1971

Dayton:

"The Almanac of American Politics tells us that Dayton is the home of Richard Nixon's vision of the typical United States voter: a housewife whose husband works in a factory and whose brother-in-law is a cop."

Joel Garreau
The Nine Nations of North America
1981

* * *

"Dayton is bad and glad of it; 'we hope to be as "good" as Cincinnati some day,' one of its rulers told me."

Lincoln Steffens
McClure's
July, 1905

Hudson:

"Perhaps when a town such as Hudson becomes so enisled, so encapsulated, so inverted, so smugly proud of its architecture and unusual history, it loses all sight of reality. While maintaining its dreamlike 'character,' it begins to live the dream. . . . Is it possible that living in a community that is too perfect, too controlled, can inflict a kind of paranoia on its citizens?"

Stephen Birmingham
The Golden Dream
1978

The Mahonigh River:

"This Mahonigh River which looks as if the poisonous bile of all humanity had been poured into it."

Henry Miller
The Air-Conditioned Nightmare
1945

Marietta:

"The old soldiers on the flatboat *Mayflower* drifting down the Ohio River, beneath silent buffs, to found their fort-town of Marietta with its streets named from a Latin text."

Richard Lingeman
Small Town America
1980

The Maumee River:

"The Maumee is more a soggy, weed-encrusted drainage ditch than a river."

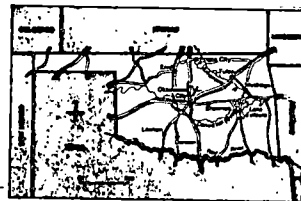
Douglas Waitley
Portrait of the Midwest
1963

Toledo:

"Toledo was very beautiful, and the way that the city towers rise out of the dead level northwestern plains was marvelous. . . ."

Gertrude Stein
Everybody's Autobiography
1937

OKLAHOMA



Capital: Oklahoma City
Became a territory: May 2, 1890
Entered the union (with rank): Nov. 16, 1907 (46)
State motto: *Labor omnia vincit* (Labor conquers all things)
State flower: Mistletoe
State bird: Scissortailed flycatcher

State song: "Oklahoma"

State tree: Redbud

Nickname: Sooner State ✓

Origin of state name: From two Choctaw Indian words meaning "red people"

What immediately comes to mind when someone mentions Oklahoma is oil. But, in reality, oil is just one small part of the state's makeup. In the northeastern corner, Oklahoma is an extension of the Ozark Plateau, and the land is densely treed and hilly. A southward bulge of the Kansas plain covers much of central Oklahoma. The southern rim of the state looks southward at Texas and shares some of that state's dust and truck farming. The west slopes up toward the Rocky Mountains, and that is where most of the oil is found.

Until April 12, 1889, Oklahoma was basically an empty place on the road between other places. It didn't offer much in the way of good plowable land or the abundant water that settlers wanted. But on that day the federal government threw the entire Oklahoma Territory open to homesteaders. In one stampede 50,000 people galloped across the land to stake their claims to free property. The state's nickname comes from the derisive term "sooner" applied to those who tried to beat the noon starting gun.

Modern Oklahoma mixes its oil business with meat packing, food processing and equipment manufacturing. The combination of all this industry with Oklahoma's cattle and farming yields makes it one of the most prosperous states in the nation. Tulsa, where the oil business is centered, has one of the highest per capita incomes in the world.

Oklahoma is a tough, sinewy state where getting work done and plain fundamental values are the hallmarks of life.

THE STATE

"Anything can have happened in Oklahoma. Practically everything has."

Edna Ferber
Cimarron
1930

* * *

"We spoiled the best Territory in the world to make a state."

Will Rogers
Quoted by Richard T. Ketchum
Will Rogers, His Life and Times
1973

THE LANDSCAPE

"[Oklahoma soil is] rich and black and soft, and looks like chocolate where the plow has turned the sod."

Richard Harding Davis
The West Through a Car-Window
1892

* * *

"Tall tales come out of Oklahoma just as out of Texas; one favorite describes the 'crowbar hole.' This is a hole through the wall that many houses have, designed to check the weather. You shove a crowbar through the hole; if it bends, the wind velocity outside is normal; if the bar breaks off, 'it is better to stay in the house.'"

John Gunther
Inside USA
1947

* * *

"I'm not ashamed of the state I come from, Oklahoma, and Oklahoma's real soul is not ashamed to have me come from sandy hills and sticky weeds."

Woody Guthrie
"Born to Win"
1965

* * *

I first remember the scrub oak sand hills
Back down across Oklahoma
And all of the sticker weeds and grasses. . . ."

Woody Guthrie
"Born to Win"
1965

* * *

"[Oklahoma] is the biggest theater in the world . . . some of the girls who have been in Oklahoma already, say that there are almost no limits to it."

Franz Kafka
Amerika
1927

* * *

"There is no better country in the west than this, you can picture any kind of land and location for homes and find it here. Rich loamy prairie or timbered bottoms and black limestone valleys and uplands . . . well watered and timbered."

Anonymous letter, c. 1880, to Chief
Bushyhead of the Cherokees
Quoted by Richard T. Ketchum
Will Rogers, His Life and Times
1973

* * *

"Some of the flowers still survive in pasture land but others are gone. Locoweed was beautiful, but as soon as its effect on cattle and horses became known, it was ruthlessly rooted out. The pink and blue starflowers and the spreading lapis spiderworts were trampled down and grazed over and vanished."

Alice Marriot and Carol Rachlin
Oklahoma: The Forty-sixth State
1973

"When the Arkansas, Red River, Salt Fork, Verdigris, Caney, Cat Creek, Possum Creek, Dog Creek, and Skunk Branch all are up after a rain, we got more seacoast than Australia."

Will Rogers
Quoted by Neal R. Peirce
The Mountain States of America
1972

"To the red country and part of the gray country of Oklahoma, the last rains came gently, and they did not cut the scarred earth."

John Steinbeck
The Grapes of Wrath
1939

"The dawn came, but no day. In the gray sky a red sun appeared, a dim red circle that gave a little light, like dusk; and as that day advanced, the dusk slipped back toward darkness, and the wind cried and whimpered over the fallen corn."

Men and women huddled in their houses, and they tied handkerchiefs over their noses when they went out, and wore goggles to protect their eyes."

John Steinbeck
The Grapes of Wrath
1939

PEOPLE

"I just heard about a man in Oklahoma who went to a theatre where, for fifteen cents, he got two feature pictures, a Mickey Mouse, a newsreel, and two sets of dishes, and then demanded his money back because he didn't strike oil under his seat."

Howard Dietz
Quoted by Clifton Fadiman
American Treasury 1455-1955
1955

"The most persistently and mercilessly exploited human being in the country, he [the Oklahoma sharecropper] is the most zealous and intractable upholder of the politico-economic system that exploits him. Let him hear that some other sharecropper as illiter-

ate as himself has been converted to socialistic doctrines and he will help his fellow Ku Klux Klanners that night give the poor wretch a tar bath and a coat of chicken feathers. He will not suffer for a moment anything that threatens his privilege of being mulcted."

Burton Rascoe
These United States
1924

"An Oklahoman knows, if he keeps his eyes open at all, everything that is going on about him and he knows that it is not conducive to respect and solicitude for his fellow men. It is the worst possible place for an idealist and, since most people of normal intelligence and decent instincts are weighted in adolescence with the impediment of illusions, they either shed their burden and become Oklahomans or shake the state's dust from their feet at the first opportunity."

Burton Rascoe
These United States
1924

"Only those who are anchored by real estate and resignation remain. The reason is fairly obvious. Oklahoma has been, from the first, a boomer state, even before it was a state—when old Oklahoma territory was first thrown open to settlers. It was peopled largely by land gamblers instead of home seekers."

Burton Rascoe
These United States
1924

"Here [in Oklahoma] the representatives of nearly every civilized nation on the globe are to be found—the sturdy Norseman from the 'Land of the Midnight Sun,' the industrious German, the Englishman who has had his eye-teeth cut, the excitable Frenchman, the 'Wild Irishman,' the carefree son of Italy, the polite scion of the Montezumas, and the patient laborer from the Isles of Greece. All are here animated by a common desire—to capture and sequester the Great American Dollar."

Carl Coke Rister
Oil! Titan of the Southwest
1949

"I am pretty much American Indian. Most folks in Oklahoma are."

Will Rogers
Quoted by Pearl S. Buck
America
1971

"I knowed you wasn't Oklahomy folks. You talk queer kinda—that ain't no blame, you understan'."

John Steinbeck
The Grapes of Wrath
1939

"Okie use'ta mean you was from Oklahoma. Now it means you're scum. Don't mean nothing itself, it's the way they say it."

John Steinbeck
The Grapes of Wrath
1939

"Every time they have an earthquake or a hippie rebellion in California, another handful of Okies comes back home. . . ."

Local resident
Quoted in *Time*
Jan. 26, 1970

WAY OF LIFE

"Oil wells are to Oklahoma farmers what cows' teats are to Wisconsin dairymen. We milk them every day."

Richard Lloyd Jones, owner of the *Tulsa Tribune*
Quoted in *National Geographic*
March, 1941

"No . . . snobbishness can alter the fact that Oklahoma has diminished for lack of individual opportunity."

Jonston Murray
Saturday Evening Post
April 30, 1955

"The oil and gas in the Oklahoma nature easily takes fire."

Editorial
New York Times
Jan. 10, 1923

HISTORY AND POLITICS

"Any man who can afford a hall bedroom and a gas-stove in New York City is better off than he would be as the owner of one hundred and sixty acres on the prairie, or in one of these small so-called cities."

Richard Harding Davis
The West from a Car-Window
1892

"At each newly discovered [oil] pool there followed the rush and scramble. Another Bret Harte town sprang up on the prairie; fields oozed slimy black; oil rigs clanked; false-front wooden shacks lined a one-street village. Dance halls. Brothels. Gunmen. Brawls. Heat. Flies. Dirt. Crime. The clank of machinery. . . ."

Edna Ferber
Cimarron
1930

[A comment on the harshness of pioneer life]: "A part of the richness of this Oklahoma soil must be derived from the sweet bodies of our babies who lie buried there."

Mrs. Thompson B. Ferguson
Taken from a pioneer-era letter
The Ferguson Papers at the University of Oklahoma

"No state has more explosive politics than Oklahoma . . . its political behavior can be positively Balkan-esque. 'Knock 'em, sock 'em, rock 'em,' is the rule."

John Gunther
Inside USA
1947

"To leave [Oklahoma during the Dust Bowl years] voluntarily—to break all those closely knit ties for the sake of a possibly greater comfort elsewhere—seems like defaulting on our task. We may have to leave. . . . But I think I can never go willingly or without pain that as yet seems unendurable."

Caroline A. Henderson
Atlantic Monthly
May, 1936

"Oklahoma! Well watered, well timbered, rich in soil, a most enchanting clime, may in the near future be your home."

A.P. Jackson and E.C. Cole
Oklahoma! Politically and Topographically Described, History and Guide to Indian Territory
1885

"Oklahoma has scarcely any history beyond the memory of living man . . . yet Coronado left his trail across Oklahoma before the Pilgrim Fathers were so much as conceived. . . . A hundred years ago Oklahoma was turned into a vast concentration camp for Red Indians, because it was such worthless land. Fifty years ago, white people from every state

swarmed in to dispossess the banished Indians, because it was such valuable land."

George Milburn
Quoted by John Gunther
Inside USA
1947

"Oklahoma is to sociology what Australia is to zoology. It is the place where the trials and errors of men, instead of nature, have been made only yesterday, and the results are as egregious as a duckbill or kangaroo. Oklahoma is full of man-made contradictions, perversities, and monstrosities."

George Milburn
Quoted by John Gunther
Inside USA
1947

"Chinch-bugged in Illinois, Bald-knobbed in Miz-zouri, Prohibited in Kansas, Oklihonny or Bust!"

Sign on pioneer wagon
Noted by George Milburn
Yale Review
March, 1946

"It was only two generations [from late 19th century to early 20th] from stalwart Boomer to unwanted and despised Okie, less than half a century from verdant Indian territory to parched red-brown Oklahoma, from blue prairie skies to towering dust clouds. . . ."

Richard O'Connor
Iron Men and Broken Wheels
1973

"We [Oklahomans] have a subsidized and exporting economy. Oklahoma has always exported its people, oil, timber, farm products. If you take away the federal subsidies for lead, zinc, petroleum, welfare, agriculture and defense, you have nothing left—take these things out of Oklahoma and you don't even have a corpse."

Oklahoma businessman and politician
Quoted by Neal R. Peirce
The Great Plains States of America
1973

"A generous national government reserved the most fertile sections of the country for those Indians which it had hopes of making over into good and industrious citizens. It had been unable to tame the Apaches, Comanches, and Arapahoes, so it permitted them to die out of boredom in great numbers, under the

armed surveillance of federal troops in the arid regions of the southwest part of the state."

Burton Rascoe
These United States
1924

"The state has been from the first one vast roulette wheel played by adventurers from other states."

Burton Rascoe
These United States
1924

"Did you read where my hometown of Claremore, Oklahoma, just opened an Indian hospital? Just think, Columbus discovered America a little over 400 years ago, and here they are building us a hospital. Just imagine what us Indians got to look forward to in the next 400 years. Why, they might even build us a cemetery."

Will Rogers
The Best of Will Rogers
1979

"[Route] 66 is the path of a people in flight, refugees from dust and shrinking land, from the thunder of tractors and shrinking ownership, from the desert's slow northward invasion, from the twisting winds that howl up out of Texas, from the floods that bring no richness to the land and steal what little richness is there."

John Steinbeck
The Grapes of Wrath
1939

"Oklahoma was agrarian, conservative, against federal bureaucracy, Democratic with a strong tincture of populism at statehood. It is now tending toward a conservative side, but really just against the existing order of things. In a showdown on domestic issues the majority will be more liberal than conservative. At statehood, the voter was independent, even ornery, and he didn't bow to authority or worship the man in high position. He was quick to be against, and the attitude was reflected in the near impeachment by the House of Representatives of a governor in 1920, and in the impeachment and ouster of two governors by the House and Senate in 1923 and 1929."

Otis Sullivant, Oklahoma newspaper man
Quoted by Neal R. Peirce
The Great Plains States of America
1973

"[Oklahoma's legislature is] a zoological garden of cranks."

William Howard Taft, secretary of war
Quoted by L.J. Abbott
Independent
Oct. 20, 1910

CITIES, TOWNS AND REGIONS Oklahoma City

"... Oklahoma City stole the Capital and government whole From Guthrie, and to keep it sound Put threescore oil-wells gushing round. State where strong men get there sooner Than expected! Prairie schooner Was too slow for your swift words, So you took to bright steel birds."

Robert P. Tristram Coffin
Primer for America
1942

"One thing is certain, ours was a chaotic community [Oklahoma City], still characterized by frontier attitudes and by that strange mixture of the naive and sophisticated, the benign and malignant, which makes the American past so puzzling and its present so confusing."

Ralph Ellison
Shadow and Act
1964

"Oklahoma City... is the first American city of consequence to ask every citizen, even proud ladies of southern descent, to submit to a test for venereal disease."

John Gunther
Inside USA
1947

"On a single day [in Dust Bowl era], I heard, 50 million tons of soil were blown away. People sat in Oklahoma City, with the sky invisible for three days in a row, holding dust masks over their faces and wet towels to protect their mouths at night, while the farms blew by."

John Gunther
Inside USA
1947

"... a fit ornament for the Capital might well be a derrick, its base set deep in the rotunda and its functional, girderlike top jutting up through the center of the building, so that everyone could see who was boss in Oklahoma City."

Philip Hamburger
An American Notebook
1965

"Oklahoma City is restless, beset with mighty longings; it is contrary, a maverick that refuses to fit a pattern; it is typically Oklahoman in that if it likes something, it likes it. If it doesn't, duck!"

Debs Myers
American Panorama: West of the Mississippi
1960

"Oklahoma City with its towers that is its skyscrapers coming right up out of the flat oil country was as exciting as when going to Alsace just after the armistice we first saw the Strasbourg Cathedral. They do come up wonderfully out of that flat country and it was exciting and seeing the oil wells and the funny shapes they made the round things as well as the Eiffel Tower ones. . . ."

Gertrude Stein
Everybody's Autobiography
1937

Tulsa

[Tulsa is]: "The Oil Capital of the World, not content with one grandiose claim, goes further and declares itself also to be America's Most Beautiful City and, that still not being renown enough, The Best Livable City in the United States."

Erskine Caldwell
Afternoons in Mid-America
1976

"There are only two absolutely sure ways of securing a living in Tulsa. Of the two, the first and most comforting one is to have ownership of a lease in a producing oil field, and the other is to manage somehow to get on the Oral Roberts University payroll, in any capacity ranging from professor to janitor, and thereafter pray assiduously."

Erskine Caldwell
Afternoons in Mid-America
1976

"Tulsa, Oklahoma... would have been a real town even if its people weren't greasy rich with oil, for it is founded on the spirit of its people."

Will Rogers, 1923
Quoted in *Travel/Holiday*
August, 1981

Other Cities and Places

Claremore:

[When a six-story hotel in Claremore, Okla., was named after him]: "I know now how proud Christopher Columbus must have felt when he heard they had named Columbus, Ohio after him."

Will Rogers
The Best of Will Rogers
1979

Muskogee:

"We don't smoke marijuana in Muskogee
We don't take our trips on LSD
And we don't burn our draft cards down at the courthouse

Like those hippies out in San Francisco do,
I'm proud to be an Okie from Muskogee!

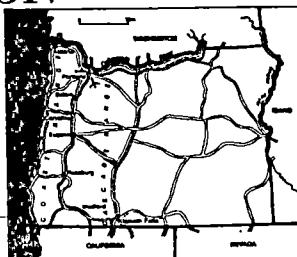
And I'm proud to be an Okie from Muskogee;
A place where even squares can have a ball.
We still wave Ol' Glory down at the Court House,
White lightning's still the biggest thrill of all.
In Muskogee, Oklahoma, U.S.A."

Merle Haggard and Roy Edward Burris
"Okie from Muskogee"
1969

"This Muskogee is really a parking space for cars entering Claremore. Of course, if you want to drive on into the town of Claremore proper, it's only 60 miles through the suburbs from here."

Will Rogers
The Illiterate Digest
1924

OREGON



Capital: Salem
Became a territory: Aug. 14, 1848
Entered the union (with rank): Feb. 14, 1859 (33)
State motto: The Union
State flower: Oregon grape
State bird: Western meadowlark
State song: "Oregon, My Oregon"
State tree: Douglas fir
Nickname: Beaver State
Origin of state name: No one is certain; it was first used by Jonathan Carver in 1778, and most authorities believe it comes from the writings of Major Robert Rogers, an English army officer

Oregon was among the first areas of America sighted and explored. Spanish and English seamen are thought to have been there in the 1500s and 1600s. Capt. James Cook charted the coast in his quest for the mythical Northwest Passage across the continent. And Capt. Robert Gray discovered a torrential river there in 1792 and named it after his ship, the *Columbia*.

But Oregon's remoteness from the East Coast heart of early American civilization kept development out until Lewis and Clark brought back glowing tales of the territory after their 1805 visit. John Jacob Astor set up a fur depot here in 1811, and in 1846 the United States resolved all British claims to the area and made it a U.S. territory.

At the same time, the Oregon Trail began shuttling settlers into the moist, richly forested area, which soon became a major population center.

Today Oregon prides itself on having the largest reserve of standing timber in the country, supporting a lumber processing industry whose annual revenues exceed \$5 billion. It also sports one of the world's largest salmon fishing centers around Astoria on the Columbia River.

The state's huge supply of fast-moving water has provided for highly successful agriculture, particularly orchards, and permitted a huge supply of hydro-

electric power. The rivers also form one of the great scenic networks of the American west. In tandem with the snow-covered peaks of the Cascades, they make Oregon one of the most popular outdoor recreation spots in America.

Oregon people are clannish. They feel encroached upon by outsiders who, hungering for the good life, are horning in on the good life they already have. They are a little like transplanted New Englanders. They don't talk too much and they'll tolerate you as long as you don't get too much underfoot.

THE LANDSCAPE

"Long before, another traveler who was far from home had looked at the green tapestry that was Oregon and had cried 'here, across the world, is another England.'"

Vivian Bretherton
The Rock and the Wind
1942

"It takes centuries for a people to realize and sufficiently love the beauty of places such as Oregon."

Pearl S. Buck
America
1971

"Oregon's climate is not bad enough to make anybody curse it nor good enough to make anybody love it. The winter rains just barely fail of being execrable. The summers would be divine if it were not for the smoky haze which hangs over the landscape and hides nature's miracles."

Charles H. Chapman
These United States
1924

"Packed tight in a New York City subway, I have closed my eyes and imagined I was walking the ridge high above Cougar Lake. That ridge has the majesty of a cathedral."

William O. Douglas
Of Men and Mountains
1950

"What he [Thoreau] sought was [of] the most energetic nature; and he wished to go to Oregon, not to London."

Ralph Waldo Emerson
"Thoreau"
1862

"Day after day, I sit on my terrace and watch the rain, and I just stare and think dark thoughts. All around me, my neighbors stare at the rain and look as if they were listening to Beethoven's 'Pastorale.'"

A Eugene woman, transplanted from Iowa
Quoted by Philip Hamburger
An American Notebook
1965

"Slashes of pure white beach with the surf foaming over high promontories, battered headlands, secret coves and little inlets, gaunt rock shapes in the water, sea lion herds, lighthouses, dramatic waterfalls—such are the images of this long stretch of land's end by the Pacific."

Neal R. Peirce
The Pacific States of America
1972

"Two-thirds of Oregon's land area lies east of the Cascades, but the region is home for only 12 percent of the population. Here the mountains have cut off most of the moisture coming in from the Pacific, and aridity spells the terms of existence. This is tough, hard uplands terrain of mountains and plateaus."

Neal R. Peirce
The Pacific States of America
1972

"The great pine stands and undulating wheat country closer to Washington give way to the brutal wasteland of high desert, with its sagebrush, dry lakes, and lava beds, in the southeast. Distances are immense, the population sparse in the extreme, and a living eked out through wheat, lumber, or livestock."

Neal R. Peirce
The Pacific States of America
1972

PEOPLE

"Oregonians... tend to be small-townish, middle-of-the-roadish, and Waspish. They are also fairly prudish about some things. *Last Tango in Paris* [a movie-with controversial sex scenes] is not advertised in the big family newspapers, and when the society columns mention a cocktail party, it is usually called a reception."

E.J. Kahn, Jr.
The New Yorker
Feb. 25, 1974

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OCTOBER 23, 1990

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: TERM LIMITATIONS

It is likely that the President will soon endorse a variety of term limitation measures currently being proposed around the country.

Enclosed are several articles which detail these proposals, with specific attention paid to initiatives in California, Colorado, Massachusetts, and Oklahoma.

With regard to broad notion of term limitation, several points of consideration:

-Within the past decade, roughly 98% of incumbents seeking re-election to the U.S. House have won. The figure is 80% for state legislatures.

-In Colorado, no incumbent elected governor has lost since 1962, and no incumbent state senator has been defeated in eight years.

-Of 405 incumbent Congressmen seeking re-election this year, only one suffered defeat in a primary.

-A Presidential term limitation was established by Congress in the form of the twenty-second Amendment to the Constitution, in response to F.D.R.'s renowned tampering with the court. The primary victims of the two-term limitation have been Republican Presidents Eisenhower and Reagan, both of whom would likely have been elected to a third term.

-Term limitation critics argue: T.L.'s would turn state offices into mere stepping stones to national office, and fill these offices with junior officials more susceptible to special interest and lobbying groups.

-Proponents argue: T.L.'s would fill state offices with officials less concerned with re-election and thereby less susceptible to outside influence. Even if the offices did become "stepping stones," the officials would become more responsible to the mood and concerns of broader state constituencies.

Mat.
Tappan
547-1300
626-3000

303-830-2200

Mat. Calif.
Geller
624 5400

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HEADLINE: Term limits may be newest way to fix politics-as-usual

BYLINE: David Broder. (copyright) 1990, Washington Post Writers Group

BODY:

In 1978, the vote on Proposition 13, a California tax-limitation initiative, ushered in a revolt against big government that shaped the politics of the 1980s. On Tuesday, a vote on an Oklahoma term-limitation initiative is likely to signal a revolt against tenured government that could shake up the politics of the '90s.

Polls indicate overwhelming public support for the measure on the Oklahoma runoff primary ballot. It would limit anyone to 12 years of service in the state House and Senate. Similar measures will be on the ballots of California and Colorado in November. Polls there show them favored by more than two-thirds of the voters.

Supporters of the measures are talking about pushing such proposals in a dozen other states by 1992 - and are aiming at limiting congressional tenure, as well.

The movement is a product - and symptom - of growing public disillusionment with politics as usual. Interviewing voters in barometer precincts in Chicago after Labor Day, I heard a dozen variants of this complaint: "It doesn't matter who you vote for. Once they're in office, they forget about the promises they've made and the people who elected them."

A national survey by the Washington Post and ABC News this month asked voters whether they thought it more important to "keep experienced people in the House and Senate" or to "elect new people with fresh ideas." Seven out of 10 chose new faces over experience. Democrats, whose party controls Congress, were just as eager as Republicans to shuffle the deck.

That same 70 percent support seems possible and even likely for the term-limitation measures in the three states voting this fall. While the support is broad and nonpartisan, the impetus for term limitation comes from people in the business world - both mavericks and establishment types - who are frustrated in their desire to cut spending and regulation by government.

Lloyd Noble II, the Tulsa oil-and-gas man who is financing the Oklahoma initiative, told me he believes that "the waste in almost all aspects of Oklahoma government is horrible, because the politicians won't cut anything in their own districts that helps them get re-elected."

Lewis K. Uhler, backer of one of the two California term-limit propositions, is president of the National Tax Limitation Committee. The Free Congress

(c) 1990 Chicago Tribune, September 16, 1990

Foundation, another conservative group, is coordinating the effort at the national level. It played host at a recent Washington appearance by state Sen. Terry Considine, a Republican who is sponsor of the Colorado initiative. Considine is an entrepreneur whose interests range from environmental labs to gas stations. He has served in the Colorado legislature for three years, just long enough to convince him that no one should serve more than eight.

Considine is a persuasive fellow who says he wants to improve government, not just dismantle it. Although he has been a GOP activist and fundraiser for many years, his motivation cannot be dismissed as purely partisan. As he points out, his party has a solid hold on both houses of the Colorado legislature. The toughest critic of his initiative is the top Republican in the legislature, veteran state Senate President Ted Strickland.

Considine says he is convinced that term limits will encourage better people to seek office and pave the way for passage of other reforms - including steps to make legislative and congressional districts more competitive and reduce incumbents' advantages in financing their campaigns.

Personally, I think he and the other term-limitation people have got the cart before the horse. What we need are competitive elections, not arbitrary limits on service. I think the unintended consequence of term limits will be to increase the power of unelected officials - legislative staffs and executive branch bureaucrats. Their expertise will become even more influential when the elected officials are all short-timers, and their arrogance will grow.

But that kind of argument is not going to slow this freight train. The incumbents at both state and national levels are too obviously guilty of feathering their own nests for the public to see that it really has a stake in keeping some of them on the job for more than a few years. The incumbents have drawn districts that protect them from challenge. They have collected extravagant campaign contributions from the lobbyists who must come to them for help. And they have expanded the perquisites of office - their taxpayer-financed staffs and communications - to such a level that they are virtually guaranteed re-election as long as they want the job.

No one can defend a system where 98 percent of the incumbents seeking re-election to the U.S. House win year after year. No one can defend the Colorado status quo where, Considine says, no incumbent elected governor has lost since 1962 and no incumbent state senator has been defeated in eight years.

If the incumbents don't recognize the need to permit their challengers to compete on more equal terms, their tenure will almost certainly be reduced by arbitrary term limits. And those term limits will eliminate the able and talented right along with the phonies and the hacks.

And this country will be the loser.

OKLAHOMA; ISSUE; TAX

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HEADLINE: Voters' Display of Anger Puts Incumbents on Notice;
More Term-Limitation Measures Expected

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Paul Taylor , Christopher B. Daly, Washington Post Staff Writers

BODY:

A throw-the-bums-out uprising in Massachusetts and passage of the nation's first term-limitation measure for state legislators in Oklahoma brought the 1990 primary season near its close this week with a pair of angry swipes by voters at politics-as-usual.

Political analysts were divided over whether Tuesday's primary results might presage a nationwide revolt against incumbents this November, but they agreed that term-limitation measures such as the one that passed by a 2-1 ratio in Oklahoma are the wave of the future.

"If term-limitation initiatives had been on 50 state ballots, I suspect they would have passed in all 50 states," said Democratic pollster Geoffrey Garin.

Measures limiting the terms of state legislators will be on ballots Nov. 6 in California and Colorado, and organizers yesterday mapped plans to force them onto ballots in up to 15 more states by 1992.

While such bills affect only state offices, Eddie Mahe, consultant to a group called Americans for Term Limitation, said yesterday that the overriding goal of such groups is to force Congress to adopt a constitutional amendment limiting congressional terms. "Once you get that many voters in that many states aboard this bandwagon, it's going to be very hard for Congress to stop it," he said.

Incumbents had more immediate concerns yesterday, as they mulled the potential for a nationwide November echo of Tuesday's cry of voter anger in Massachusetts, where Boston University President John R. Silber, a political maverick, defeated former attorney general Francis X. Bellotti by 53 to 44 percent in the Democratic gubernatorial primary; former U.S. attorney William F. Weld defeated House Minority Leader Steven Pierce by 60 to 40 percent in the GOP primary; Attorney General James Shannon (D) was upset in his bid for renomination; and House Speaker George Keverian (D) was upset in his race for state treasurer.

"We don't know where and we don't know who, but there are incumbents who seem safe now who are going to wake up the day after the election in November and find themselves out of a job," Garin said. "There's something really stirring out there," he said, attributing the mood to a downturn in the economy and a rise in voter cynicism.

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But Republican pollster Neil Newhouse said that "it is very dangerous to extrapolate results from places like Massachusetts or Washington, D.C.," where Sharon Pratt Dixon won last week's Democratic mayoral primary with a campaign waged against the local political establishment.

Newhouse's note of caution is supported by primary results nationwide. Of 405 members of Congress seeking reelection, only one, Rep. Donald E. "Buz" Lukens (R-Ohio), was knocked off in a primary, and he was campaigning with the burden of a misdemeanor conviction for having had sex with a minor. None of the 33 senators seeking reelection lost a primary.

"If I had to guess right now, I'd say that no more than three incumbent senators and 10 or 15 congressmen will be knocked off this November," said Mark Gersh, a political analyst with the National Committee for an Effective Congress. He attributed the likelihood of high reelection rates to the lopsided fund-raising advantages enjoyed by incumbents, the failure of the parties to recruit higher quality challengers, and the "I-hate-Congress-but-love-my-congressman syndrome."

Many analysts expect challengers to do better in gubernatorial races. "The difference is that individual congressmen have figured out how to distance themselves from the institution in which they serve, but that option isn't available to a governor," said Democratic pollster Mark Mellman. "For better or worse, a governor is the institution."

Gubernatorial contests have already been good to mavericks this year. In Texas, cowboy-entrepreneur Clayton Williams (R) has parlayed an anti-Austin theme into a big lead over state Treasurer Ann Richards (D). In Florida, former senator Lawton Chiles (D), who is running an anti-politics campaign by limiting contributions to \$ 100 each, is leading Gov. Bob Martinez (R). In Kansas, state Treasurer Joan Finney (D) upset former governor John Carlin in the primary and is leading Gov. Mike Hayden (R) in the general election campaign. In Rhode Island, businessman Bruce Sundlun (D) is well ahead of Gov. Edward D. DiPrete (R), and in Connecticut, former senator Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (R) broke with his party and is running as an independent in a race to succeed Gov. William A. O'Neill (D), who is not seeking reelection.

In Massachusetts, Silber yesterday described his primary victory as a "wake-up call" to the national Democratic Party, saying voters are demanding fiscal restraint from Congress as well as from state governments.

Democratic National Chairman Ronald H. Brown promptly issued a statement pledging that the national party is "renewed and united" behind Silber, who during the primary campaign had aimed barbs at his party establishment, Gov. Michael S. Dukakis (D) and Dukakis's now-repudiated "Massachusetts Miracle."

Through gritted teeth, Democratic analysts said -- and Republicans concurred -- that Silber's victory gives Democrats a much better chance at holding the governorship against the wealthy, reform-minded Weld, who had looked forward to running an anti-politician's campaign against Bellotti.

Taylor reported from Washington, Daly from Boston.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, VICTORIOUS POLITICAL MAVERICK JOHN SILBER, LEFT, WITH FRANCIS BELLOTTI. AP; PHOTO

California Lawmakers Feel Pinch as Voter Anger Promises Political Curt

By ROBERT REINHOLD

Special to The New York Times

SACRAMENTO, Sept. 25 — The talk among veteran California lawmakers is not of laws but of retirement. Many members of their staffs are already looking for new jobs. "It's like being on the crew of the Titanic," said one.

They fear a wave of voter anger is about to wash over the domed neoclassical State Capitol of California. Two voter measures on the November ballot would place strict limits on the terms of State Senate and Assembly members and statewide elected officials. The more drastic of the two would compel legislators to nearly halve their staffs.

The measures, sleepers that have roared to life in recent weeks amid growing national resentment at lawmakers and budget troubles here, are being closely watched by politicians in Washington and elsewhere as a gauge of voters' mood after Oklahomans voted Sept. 18 to limit legislative terms to 12 years. A similar measure will be on the November ballot in Colorado.

'Folks Are Really Ticked'

While the terms of some governors and mayors are limited by law, no such restrictions have ever been placed on members of state legislatures or Congress.

"The mood is really simple — the folks are really ticked, fed up with the way legislative bodies are conducting themselves," Supervisor Peter F. Schabarum of Los Angeles County told a panel of Senate and Assembly members at a joint committee hearing here on Monday. Mr. Schabarum, a conservative Republican who has mounted the more radical of the two measures, recently announced plans to retire after 18 years as a Supervisor.

If Mr. Schabarum's measure passes, it would almost certainly revolutionize state government in California. Among other things, it would forever ban members from running for the Assembly after six years in office and for the Senate after eight.

Backers say it would bring fresh blood and ideas to a stagnant legislature dominated by incumbents. Detractors say it will turn the clock back to the days when the powerful lobbyist Artie Samish controlled an amateur, part-time legislature from his suite across the street in the Senator Hotel until he was jailed in 1955.

In either case, many in the Capitol concede they have brought the troubles on themselves. The legislature's image has been badly tarnished in recent years for its failure to deal with key issues, including insurance rates and transportation, and by its perceived domination by special interests.

The image was further damaged this summer by a deadlock lasting weeks

'Folks are really ticked,' says a measure's backer.

before a state budget was finally patched together, to no one's satisfaction. And a corruption scandal that has already put one Senator in jail continues to unfold.

"Both houses have done things small and large that have brought this upon them," said Robert Forsyth, press secretary to the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, David A. Roberti of Los Angeles.

Early polls, not always reliable indi-

Two Proposals for California Politics

PROPOSITION 140: POLITICAL REFORM ACT

- Would limit time in office to two four-year terms for statewide elected officials in the Board of Equalization and the State Senate and to three two-year terms for the Assembly.
- Would require legislators to participate in the Federal Social Security program instead of Legislature's pension plan.
- Would limit expenditures for operating costs to \$250,000 per legislator or 60 percent of last year's cost, whichever is lower.
- Would have no effect on gifts, outside fees, lobbying, campaign financing or investigation of state officials.

PROPOSITION 131: CLEAN GOVERNMENT INITIATIVE

- Would limit elected statewide officials to eight successive years in office. The Board of Equalization, State Senate and Assembly seats are limited to 12 successive years. After an individual had been out of office for one full term, he or she could serve again, subject to the same limits.
- Would establish public public financing of campaigns for candidates who agree to specific expenditure limits.
- Would leave Legislature's pension plans in place.
- Would not restrict lobbying for legislators' constituents.
- Would require payment of gifts from a single source for elected officials, prohibit elected officials from accepting honorariums, except lobbying for most legislative employees, establishes campaign contribution limits and provides partial public campaign financing.
- Would establish a Special Investigation and Prosecution Unit to coordinate investigations of state officials.

cators, give the two measures large leads. The nonpartisan California Poll, taken Aug. 17-27, showed the more moderate proposal, Proposition 131, ahead by 61 percent to 25 percent, and the more extreme one, Proposition 140, by 67 percent to 20 percent. Both polls had margins of sampling error of plus or minus five percentage points.

The poll also reported that 69 percent of voters believed that elected officials stayed in office too long and had become unresponsive. It found that 63 percent believed that term limits were good to get rid of professional politicians.

A late-starting effort to defeat the measures is being led by Speaker Willie L. Brown Jr. of San Francisco, who has been in the Assembly for 26 years. The campaign hopes to raise \$5 million and has employed the Los An-

geles political consulting firm of Berman & D'Agostino to devise strategy and commercials.

The more moderate proposal, called the Clean Government Initiative, was advanced by Attorney General John K. Van de Kamp, a liberal Democrat, to enhance his campaign, ultimately unsuccessful, for the Democratic nomination for governor. It is backed by California Common Cause, the Sierra Club and the California chapter of the National Organization for Women, among other groups.

The proposal would limit the terms of the 20 Senators and 40 Assembly members to 12 consecutive years, permitting them to return after a break of one term. Other provisions include setting campaign spending limits for state offices and providing for public financing of state elections, an unpopular idea thus far in California.

The state chairman of the Yes on 131 campaign, Mayor Tom McEnery of San Jose, said the legislature had become a "hermetically sealed jar" in which little gets done. "It's not evil demons to be exorcised," he said. "This is not directed at Willie Brown, but at a system that is fatally flawed." Mr. McEnery is ending eight years as Mayor, the limit under local law.

The more restrictive initiative, called the Political Reform Act of 1990, is backed by an array of conservative and antitax groups and by major land developers. It would set the limits on terms, terminate retirement benefits for legislators and shift them to Social Security, and cut expenditures by legislators to \$950,000 per member, or 80 percent of the previous year's spending. Budget analysts estimate the cut would force off the payroll nearly half the current 3,000 politically appointed staff members.

Recriminations on Measure

Many lawmakers consider it a mean and vindictive act of Supervisor Schabarum, a former Assemblyman long at odds with the legislature. At the hearing on Monday, Assemblyman David Eider portrayed Mr. Schabarum as a hypocrite, noting that he had served 18 years as a Supervisor, twice the average incumbency of Assembly members, and that he had built up a public pension worth triple what it would have been had he stayed in the Assembly. Mr. Schabarum's salary is \$92,000, more than twice the \$41,000 salary of Assembly members.

Lawmakers contend that the initiative would nearly destroy the legislative branch by stripping it of experience, money and staff. "Your initiative would turn this legislature over to big power special interests," said Tom Bane, a Democrat who has represented the San Fernando Valley of Los Angeles for 22 years, adding that Government officials would ignore such a "temporary" legislature. "Mr. Schabarum favors big business control of government," he said.

But that argument will not be easy to push in a state where Senators and Assembly members are widely consid-

Some lawmakers concede they helped bring on the scrutiny.

ered by the public to be tools of special interests who contribute to keep them in office. "Special interests already run the legislature," Mr. Schabarum shot back at Mr. Bane. "Can I make that any clearer?"

Still, many of the legislature's harshest critics say Mr. Schabarum's proposal goes too far. Walter Zelman, former executive director of California Common Cause, agrees that California

voters seldom get much choice, given the advantages of incumbency. But he calls the Schabarum measure an arbitrary and vindictive one that, by eliminating state pensions, would deter lower-income people from running for office. With the six-year limit on Assembly members, he said, one-third would be just learning the job and another third would be looking for new work. "That is not a healthy legislative body," he said.

The two measures have stirred rare bipartisan unity in the legislature, where only about a dozen members — mainly very conservative Republicans — support the Schabarum measure. The quandary for lawmakers is whether to oppose both or bite the bullet and support the more moderate proposition in the hope of defeating the more radical one.

Legislative Term Limits Favored by Big Margin

By GEORGE SKELTON
TIMES SACRAMENTO BUREAU CHIEF

The California electorate is in a mood to join Oklahoma in imposing term limits on state legislators in a broad-based revolt against failures in Sacramento. The Los Angeles Times Poll has found.

Voters are angry at the Legislature as an institution rather than its individual members, the survey indicated. When it comes to the lawmakers in the citizens' districts, there seems to be no great fervor to "throw the rascals out."

"It is a revolt against incumbency, not against incumbents," observed Times political analyst William Schneider.

Whatever the motivation, California voters are moving toward following the lead of Oklahoma, which on Sept. 18 became the first state to impose term limits on legislators. Colorado also has a term-limit proposal on its ballot Nov. 6.

Americans traditionally have been more critical of legislative institutions, such as Congress, than they have of their local representatives. What is different this year is that Californians, and voters in a couple of other states, have an opportunity to strike out against the institution while still voting for its members.

Voters in this state will have two term-limit initiatives to consider. Either one would dramatically change the political system in Sacramento. Right now, both are favored by comfortable margins, The Times Poll found.

Proposition 131, sponsored by state Atty. Gen. John K. Van de Kamp, would limit legislators to 12 consecutive years in office and impose limits of two four-year terms on most statewide elective offices, such as governor. The measure would do much more: It would permit candidates for state office to help finance their campaigns with tax money if they adhered to spending limits. It also would impose some ethics rules by limiting gifts and honorariums.

The Times Poll found voters to be supporting Proposition 131 by 50% to 34%, with 16% undecided.

Proposition 140, sponsored by Los Angeles County Supervisor Pete Schabarum, would impose

tighter term limits—six years total in the Assembly and four in the Senate. The governor and other elected statewide officials could serve two four-year terms. The measure would also eliminate the Legislature's pension system and cut back substantially on legislative expenses.

Voters like Schabarum's initiative even more than Van de Kamp's. Proposition 140 was fa-

vored by nearly 2 to 1 in the survey—55% to 28% with 17% undecided.

Both term-limit measures similarly were leading by big margins in a Times poll last month. Both have added slightly to their support since then.

Voters also were asked their opinions of Proposition 128, the sweeping environmental protection proposal called "Big Green" by its sponsors and denounced as "the Hayden initiative" by its opponents. People were split virtually down the middle on the measure, exactly as they were a month ago: 44% in favor, 42% opposed and 14% undecided.

The Times Poll conducted telephone interviews with 1,892 registered voters for a six-day period ending last Tuesday night. The margin of error for this size poll is 3 percentage points in either direction. Susan Pinkus, assistant Times Poll director, supervised the survey.

Californians on Nov. 6 will be asked to consider 28 ballot measures, including a modern-record

THE TIMES POLL

13 initiatives. Voters told The Times Poll this is a bit much. Three-fourths of those surveyed agreed with the statement: "There are so many initiatives on the ballot with so many involved issues that an average voter cannot make an intelligent choice."

The main cause of this ballot overload, they said, is that "the Legislature has failed to do its job of making the laws." The No. 2 culprit, voters contended, is that "special interests use initiatives to get around the Legislature."

Californians have a very low opinion of the Legislature as a whole. Asked to rate its job performance, the voters' reply was 2 to 1 negative: 24% approval, 48% disapproval and 28% not sure. Naturally, people who disapprove of the Legislature are the most likely to support the term-limit initiatives.

Voters also have an unfavorable impression of Assembly Speaker Willie Brown (D-San Francisco), the Legislature's most powerful and best-known member. But their opinion of him is less negative than of the Legislature overall. It is 31% favorable, 39% unfavorable and 30% not sure.

In many ways, Speaker Brown symbolizes the Legislature as an institution. It is the institution that voters are especially angry at, not with individual members.

When voters were asked wheth-

er their local Assembly member "deserves to be reelected or not," the answer was 46% yes, 17% no and 37% not sure.

"The Legislature is in trouble. Incumbents are not," Schneider said.

Support for the term-limit measures spans the entire political spectrum—Democrats as well as Republicans, liberals as well as conservatives.

But Big Green—Proposition 128—provokes sharp divisions. Democrats favor the environmental protection measure by 2 to 1. Republicans oppose it by more than 2 to 1. Independents support it, but by a smaller margin than Democrats.

There also is a significant gender gap involving Big Green. Men oppose it by 10 points; women support it by 11 points.

Younger people tend to support it. People middle-aged and up oppose it.

It is most popular in the state's two largest urban areas—Los Angeles County and the Bay Area. The rest of Southern California tends to oppose it. Voters in the Central Valley farm belt are split.

The negative public image of Big Green's controversial chairman, Assemblyman Tom Hayden (D-Santa Monica), continues to hurt the proposal, interviews showed. The voters' impression of Hayden is only 27% favorable, against 43% unfavorable and 30% not sure. When people who dislike Hayden hear that he is pushing Big Green, their opposition to the measure doubles.

Opponents of Big Green point out that the liberal assemblyman has his eye on running for the new state office of environmental advocate that the initiative he co-authored would create. Voters, by 2 to 1, said establishing this office would be "just creating another layer of government and little will get accomplished." They rejected the notion that the new post would "help a lot to clean up the environment."

A key element of the supporters' strategy is to inform voters that chemical companies are among the measure's chief opponents. This knowledge made virtually no difference to voters surveyed by The Times. Half were told that chemical interests were trying to defeat the measure and half were not. Both groups voted about the same way.

What did seem to make a difference was a voter's assessment of California's "quality of life." People who believed it had stayed the same or improved in the last decade tended to oppose Big Green. Those who thought the state's quality of life had declined—and they represented nearly 6 in 10 of those surveyed—tended to favor the measure.

Basically, the complex initiative seeks to solve several environmental problems. Among other things, it would ban cancer-causing chemicals in food, save old-growth redwoods, tax oil companies to pay for potential oil spills and reduce gases that contribute to global warming and depletion of the ozone layer.

CALIFORNIA ELECTIONS PROPOSITIONS

Term Limits Would Oust Lawmakers and a System

By PAUL JACOBS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

4/33

SACRAMENTO—Tapping a wellspring of public antipathy to the institutions of government, backers of two November ballot measures that would limit terms of officeholders appear on the verge of transforming the face of California politics as few have done before.

If either Proposition 131 or 140 is approved—and polls show both leading by wide margins—state lawmakers, the governor and other state elected officials will for the first time face limits on their tenure in office. The result, say the initiatives' sponsors, is the Legislature's entrenched leadership ultimately will be swept from office and "lifetime politicians" will be replaced by "citizen-legislators."

Critics don't argue with the popular appeal of the measures' anti-incumbent message. But they foresee a far different outcome: A Legislature with few real experts, where lawmakers are even more obsessed with moving up and few have the experience and political savvy to resist lobbyists and the empire building of career bureaucrats.

The term limits would result in the biggest upheaval in electoral politics in the state since 1966, when the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark one-man, one-vote decision was implemented. With that ruling, large-population counties received proportionately more representation in the Legislature, bringing in 22 new senators, a majority of the 40-member Senate, and 33 new lawmakers to the 80-member Assembly.

The move toward term limits also reflects more widespread political unrest, spawned by a common message that is being delivered to incumbent officeholders: Serve out the limit and move on.

"The mood is real simple," said blunt-talking Los Angeles County Supervisor Pete Schabarum, chief sponsor of Proposition 140. "And that is the folks are really ticked or fed up—call it what you will—over how legislative bodies are conducting themselves."

Proposition 140 would limit lifetime service in the Assembly to six years, in the Senate to eight; Proposition 131 would force members of each house to move on after 12 consecutive years. Both measures limit most statewide elected officials to eight years in office, but Proposition 131 would allow them to run again after sitting out a term.

Additionally, Proposition 131 would provide partial public funding of all state political campaigns, paid for out of a taxpayer-supported campaign fund. It imposes limits on campaign contributions and expenditures, bans off-year campaign fund raising, and establishes a special prosecutor's office to pursue public corruption cases. Proposition 140 would slash the Legislature's operating budget in half, forcing massive staff layoffs, and would eliminate the legislators' retirement system.

Should both initiatives pass, term limits would be set by the one

getting more votes, but all the other provisions of both ballot measures would go into effect.

Opponents of the two constitutional amendments say the measures represent a kind of coup d'état by initiative—a flagrant attack on basic democracy that denies voters the right to keep returning to office the most experienced and effective politicians.

"Term limits are a come-on for another agenda," said Jay Ziegler, spokesman for the No on 131 and 140 campaign. "In the case of 131 it's clearly campaign financing. In the case of 140, it's to turn back the clock 25 years to a time when the Legislature was totally dependent on special interests and government bureaucrats."

Some view passage of either measure as a major step in a movement—begun in Oklahoma last month—to impose term limits on legislators in all 50 states, and eventually on members of Con-

COMPARING PROPS. 131 AND 140

Following is a comparison of the two term-limit initiatives, Propositions 131 and 140. Both propositions on the Nov. 6 ballot would for the first time impose term limits on legislators, the governor, and other state elected officials. But there are differences between the two initiatives:

TERM LIMITS

Proposition 131

- Would impose these limits on consecutive terms of office: State senators: 12 years. [Senators not running this year could serve 14 years.] Assembly members: 12 years. Governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, secretary of state, controller, treasurer, insurance commissioner, superintendent of public instruction: 8 years. Board of Equalization members: 12 years.
- Officeholders could run again after sitting out one term. Goes into effect with this election.

Proposition 140

- Would impose lifetime limits on the number of terms served in any one state elected office. Limits for state senators: 8 years. (Those not on the ballot this year, 6 years.) Assembly members: 6 years. governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, secretary of state, controller, treasurer, superintendent of public instruction: 8 years. Insurance commissioner: no limits. Board of Equalization members: 8 years.
- Would go into effect with this election, except for state senators not on the ballot this year. Would limit those senators to one more term.

OTHER PROVISIONS

Proposition 131

- For the first time would institute public campaign financing for all state elected officials and ban non-election year fund raising. Taxpayers could divert up to \$5 a year of their taxes to a special election fund for the state's share of campaigns. The measure would limit total campaign spending for candidates who take public funds.
- Would impose new overall limits on contributions from individuals, political committees and others.
- Would for the first time allow appointment of a special prosecutor to handle state public corruption cases.

Proposition 140

- Would drastically cut funds for operating the Legislature—by almost 50% according to some estimates. Would mean large number of layoffs of legislative staff.
- Would eliminate the existing legislative retirement system, although lawmakers who already have earned benefits would be entitled to collect them. Following the election, legislators would be required to join the federal Social Security system.

SUPPORTERS

Proposition 131

- California Common Cause, Voter Revolt, Sierra Club, National Organization for Women, Ralph Nader, Atty. Gen. John K. Van de Kamp.

Proposition 140

- National Tax Limitation Committee, gubernatorial candidate Pete Wilson, and a number of conservative legislators.

gress.

"This is a national movement and we're the big banana," said Senate President Pro Tem David A. Roberti (D-Los Angeles), a bitter foe of both ballot measures—and one of a number of mid-term senators who would be forced from office in 1996 if Proposition 140 prevails.

In what is proving to be a roaring battle over term limits, both sides in the debate agree that either of the measures would change fundamentally the way politics is conducted in the nation's most populous state.

Under Proposition 140, with its shorter term limits, 83% of the politicians who take seats in the Assembly and Senate later this year would be swept from office by 1996. By 1998, 100% of the legislators would be unseated.

"It would be wild," said Eugene C. Lee, professor emeritus in political science at UC Berkeley. "The consequences are unpredictable."

Under both measures, the governor, attorney general and most other constitutional officers would be held to the eight-year limits—guaranteeing that no one who wins one of the major offices Nov. 6 would be able to serve continuously past 1998.

Supporters of both measures reach for a broom when groping for a symbol of their intentions.

The two ballot initiatives have brought together a curious coalition of forces. They are of the right and of the left; laissez-faire conservatives and environmental activists; those who want more government regulation and those who believe that government has intruded far too much.

Proposition 131 was crafted by Atty. Gen. John K. Van de Kamp, a liberal Democrat, as part of his unsuccessful campaign to become governor.

Schabarum, the best-known author of Proposition 140, is a conservative Republican. Sensing a groundswell of frustration with the Legislature, Republican gubernatorial candidate Pete Wilson has also endorsed the initiative.

A recent Los Angeles Times Poll found strong support for both term-limit initiatives and deep frustration with how the state Legislature is handling its job. However, most voters with an opinion said their own legislators deserve to be reelected.

The September poll showed 55% of voters supporting Schabarum's Proposition 140 and 28% in opposition. Proposition 131 was only slightly less popular, with 50% saying they would vote for the initiative, 34% against it. Other polls have shown even stronger support for the two measures.

Although Wilson, Schabarum and Van de Kamp are veteran politicians, supporters of the initiatives for the most part are frustrated outsiders trying to crash a political system that they view as unresponsive. Their common view

is that incumbents have all the advantages when challenged at the polls and that it has become increasingly difficult to oust them.

Some observers believe that the term-limit question might have been avoided entirely if earlier attempts to change the way legislative districts are determined through reapportionment had been successful, opening the way for more competitive legislative races.

"There is a sense of frustration that nothing else has worked," said former Assembly Speaker Bob Monagan (R-Tracy). He said the efforts of "entrenched incumbents not to do anything about reapportionment" were at least partly responsible for strong support for term limits.

There is so little competition in legislative races that in the past three general and primary elections, from 1984 through 1988, only five incumbent legislators were defeated at the polls.

In 15 out of 100 races for state Senate and Assembly this year, incumbents have no major party challengers and are virtually certain of reelection.

Despite all of that, opponents of term limits argue that the natural rate of turnover is quite high. Nineteen of 40 state senators in office after the 1980 election have since left the Senate; 41 out of 80 Assembly members are no longer in the Assembly. Put another way, exactly half of the 120 lawmakers remain in the same jobs a decade later.

As might be expected, the top legislative leaders in both parties rank high in length of service, headed by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown (D-San Francisco) with 26 years in the Assembly and Roberti, who has served 19 years in the Senate. Both have remained in office well beyond the average—just under 11 years in the Senate and nearly eight years in the Assembly.

Not surprisingly, Brown and Roberti, along with Assembly Republican Leader Ross Johnson of La Habra and Senate GOP Leader Ken Maddy of Fresno, are publicly committed to defeating the term-limit initiatives—arguing vociferously that without experienced legislators to lead the Senate and the Assembly, the Legislature would soon be dominated by the governor, executive branch bureaucrats and lobbyists.

Although Brown has been actively and openly raising funds for what is expected to be a difficult and expensive campaign, his aides have recently been counseling a low profile on the campaign trail, conceding that many voters tend to focus their frustrations with the Legislature on the Speaker and his allies.

Brown has been more active than any of the others in raising money to defeat the initiative. As proponents of the two measures are quick to point out, the Democratic Speaker has turned to special-interest groups to pay for the opposition campaign.

Brown's initiative campaign committee reported raising \$982,489 in the last three months—receiving most of the money from corporations, unions and political action committees representing groups that regularly lobby the Legislature. Among the largest contributors were the California Teachers Assn., \$40,000; RJR Nabisco, \$25,000, and the California Beer and Wine Wholesalers, \$20,000.

Proponents of both measures make it clear that legislative leaders are their target.

"At this point there is a tiny oligarchy running the show," said California Common Cause director Jim Wheaton, now on leave to run the Yes on 131 campaign. "The people who are left out are people who care about people or causes but don't have any money."

One of the main sponsors of Proposition 140, Lewis K. Uhler, is president of the National Tax Limitation Committee—a group seeking a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget. Uhler has attacked the Democratic leadership of the Legislature, people he regards as big spenders. He believes that faster turnover in the Legislature would improve the chances for "our kind of people"—conservative legislators willing to cut government spending.

With passage of either measure, California would join 26 other states that now limit the terms governors may serve, as well as the many states that also place limits on other statewide offices.

Since statehood 140 years ago, only one California governor has ever been elected three times—Republican Earl Warren, who left in the middle of his final term to become chief justice of the United States.

But other constitutional officers have had more staying power, including several in this century who managed to hold on to their elected jobs until they died in office.

At the heart of the debate over the term limits, especially as they apply to the Legislature, is who would be in charge once the new limits take effect.

Opponents contend that the effect would be to force out of office many of the most effective legislators—seasoned lawmakers who are so well entrenched that they can stand up to special interests.

"I've seen Willie Brown close down those interests," said one Democratic legislative staffer. "I've heard him say, in effect, 'I'm more powerful than you are. So, no way.'"

Brown himself, at a press briefing two months ago, contended that inexperienced legislators would be easy prey for lobbyists.

"My guess is that in this one, the sleazy, cold-blooded special interests are going to see an opportunity and they're going to be supporting [the Schabarum initiative] because, believe me, they will dominate, they will dominate," Brown said.

At the same session, Brown asked reporters: "Would you prefer to be administered for your brain tumor by the surgeon who graduated this year, or by the surgeon who has been practicing for 10 years and never lost a patient?"

Consumer activist Ralph Nader, who is campaigning around the state in support of Proposition 131, insists that a new crop of legislators would not be hampered by their inexperience.

"If there is one job you can learn fast, it is the job of being legislator if you have the people's interests in mind," Nader said. "If you're going

**'The mood is real simple,
and that is the folks are
really ticked or fed
up—call it what you
will—over how
legislative bodies are
conducting themselves.'**

PETE SCHABARUM
County Supervisor

to balance all kinds of special interests and deal in that kind of intrigue, it does take a while to learn the trade."

While proponents of one initiative are sometimes critical of the other, for the most part both camps

are saving their harshest rhetoric for the Legislature itself.

They recite a similar litany of problems besetting California government: this year's lengthy budget impasse, a widening Capitol corruption scandal that has already led to the conviction of two former state senators, and an inability to settle important issues facing the state, such as rising insurance rates and increasing traffic congestion.

Although they accuse the legislative leadership—and in particular Brown—of kowtowing to the special interests, the chief backers of both term-limit initiatives insist that the Speaker is not their target.

"We are not stating here that there are a lot of evil people in Sacramento," said San Jose Mayor Tom McEnery, one of the organizers of the Yes on 131 effort. "What we're saying is that there are people who have turned into rascals. They are really kind of caught in the system, where money is the end-all of everything."

But supporters of Propositions 131 and 140 have attempted to capitalize on what they see as widespread distrust of Brown.

Jim Wheaton of the Yes on 131 campaign has attacked Brown as "king of the special interests."

Similarly, backers of Proposition 140 ask in a campaign brochure, above a picture of Brown at the Assembly rostrum, "Should this Speaker of the State Assembly

have the power to directly affect the lives, the property and the financial security of every Californian?"

As Speaker of the Assembly, Brown is the most powerful member of the Legislature, able to appoint the committees that can determine the fate of any piece of legislation. Because of the power of the office, speakers have traditionally been the Legislature's top

fund-raisers and the principal spokesmen for the majority party in the Assembly.

In Brown's case, his flamboyant style and quick, sometimes biting wit have made him an especially attractive target for critics of the Legislature. For now, his aides say, Brown's best way of fighting back is to remain in the background if he wants to succeed in preserving the Legislature as he knows it.

A move afoot to limit terms in Congress

By Dick Polman
Supervisor Staff Writer

The politicians were trying to hold onto their power, and it was not a pretty sight. It was March 1, 1784, and James Monroe was a witness.

Members of the Continental Congress were required by law to serve limited terms; in essence, perpetual incumbency was illegal. But when the leaders actually tried to enforce this rule for the first time, bedlam broke out on the floor. The incumbents who had overstayed their statutory welcome made such a stink that the leaders dropped the rule.

As Monroe, a member and future president, would later remark, "I never saw more indecent conduct in any assembly before."

All the same, the term-limitation issue was dead. But two centuries later, it lives again.

Voters this year, fed up with government and politics as usual, are in a surly mood. In Oklahoma last month, they overwhelmingly passed a referendum to limit the terms of state legislators. Colorado has a November ballot measure that would limit the terms of its congressional delegation. And a term-limitation referendum is on the ballot next month in California, the state that serves as an incubator of national trends.

The idea is to force Congress to amend the Constitution, and force all its members to head for home after 12 years — six terms in the House, two terms in the Senate. It has become the hip reform proposal of 1990, garnering endorsements from such disparate characters as Ralph Nader, Republican consultant Eddie Mahe, and Democratic consultant Neil Oxman. Harry Truman liked the idea. So did Abraham Lincoln, who served only one House term because that was the tradition in Illinois.

Today, entrenched incumbency is as American as the hot dog. Ninety-eight percent of all congressmen were re-elected in 1988, beneficiaries of hefty war chests filled increasingly by special interest contributors; of rules that allow leftover campaign cash to be banked for future contests; of "franked" mail that allows them to build their "name ID" at taxpayers' expense.

So, the argument goes, why not shake up the system and boost turnout? After all, the congressional elections of 1986 drew only 37 percent of the electorate — the lowest turnout in a peacetime year since 1926.

"The dangers of this concept are so obvious," argues Ross Baker, a political commentator who teaches at Rutgers University's Eagleton Institute of Politics. "It is mindless. A surgical strike is required to reform the system, but these people want to indulge in carpet [mass] bombing."

Baker believes that tossing out all lawmakers after 12 years will enhance the power of lobbyists and bureaucrats, all of whom would prey on the large cast of naive freshmen.

And it is no accident that the movement, particularly in Washington, is top-heavy with Republicans. They have the most to gain by limiting House terms; Democrats have controlled the House since 1955. The prime mover behind Americans to Limit Congressional Terms is Mahe, a leading GOP strategist. The national Republican platform endorsed the concept in 1988.

"Party affiliation doesn't make any difference," insists Mahe. "It has nothing to do with this movement. After 12 years, any congressman is no longer committed to any interest except his own." As for the notion that unelected bureaucrats will dominate the newcomers, he says, "That's bull. If we can create medical doctors in three years, surely that's a more complex science than serving in government."

Mahe predicts that limiting terms will become one of those apple-pie issues that politicians won't dare oppose. The plan for 1992, he says, is to get House candidates to sign a pro-limit pledge. If the polls respond, it could be left to the academics to argue, as Baker does, that "this is like germ warfare. You wouldn't just be killing off the rascals [after 12 years], but everybody in sight."

Perhaps. But a recent Gallup poll showed that 70 percent of Americans wanted to limit congressional terms. And leaders have long worried that power held in perpetuity could create a serious backlash.

As Roger Sherman of Rhode Island warned 200 years ago, "Representatives ought to return home . . . By remaining at the seat of government, they would acquire the habits of the place, which might differ from those of their constituents."

6/31/200

Not Opposed to Term Limits, Bush Says

President Bush, attempting to take advantage of growing voter resentment toward politicians, said yesterday he did not oppose term limitations for elected officials and indicated he may use the issue as he campaigns this fall.

"I may go public on that," Bush said at his news conference yesterday. "I'm certainly not opposed to it. I haven't decided exactly. But I think people want a change against the incumbents up there on the Hill."

Voters in Oklahoma last month overwhelmingly approved a proposal limiting state legislators to 12 years. Voters in California and Colorado will vote on term-limitation initiatives next month.

Some Republican Party officials, including Republican National Committee Chairman Lee Atwater, have urged Bush to support term limits, hoping that resentment against incumbent politicians will help Republicans narrow the Democrats' significant majority in the House and elsewhere. Their argument is that the Republicans should take advantage of the voters' mood.

Noting that the party platform calls for limitations, Bush said he would remind voters this fall of that plank. "But whether I make that a prime mover in the political campaign that lies ahead in the next few weeks, I don't know."

Bush will campaign today in North Carolina, Georgia and Florida.

Would term limits on Congress mean better government?

31 / 240 / 30

Who says we live in a democracy? In the last six presidential elections, going back to 1968, Democratic nominees have gotten 43 percent of the popular vote. Yet they've won only 18 percent of the electoral votes. Even more unjust, they've won just 17 percent of the elections (one, that is). Their sole victory, in 1976, came only with the help of the worst presidential scandal in American history.

Under normal circumstances, it's clearly impossible for the Democrats to capture the White House, despite all the people who vote for them. If Democrats are getting 43 percent of the votes, isn't it

Stephen Chapman

absurd that they don't get 43 percent of the presidents? Or is our electoral system supposed to weight the scales so much in the direction of Republicans that Democrats have no chance and the voters' preferences are endlessly frustrated?

If I sound sillier than usual today, it's no accident. The argument stated above is absurd, which is why Democrats don't make it. But it's no more dubious than the one Republicans are making, which has produced a movement to limit the number of terms a member of Congress can serve.

Republicans are exasperated at their failure to gain control of Congress. True, they had a majority in the Senate for six years during the 1980s, but they haven't dominated the House since Eisenhower's first term. They note the phenomenally high re-election rates of incumbents (96 percent in the last three elections) and make dark comparisons to the British House of Lords and the Supreme Soviet.

Since they know Americans prefer Republican policies—they elect Republican presidents, don't they?—the GOP faithful conclude that the persistent Democratic grip on Congress can be the result only of sinister forces aimed at subverting the will of the people. Evicting members after 12 years, they claim, would foil those sinister forces.

The advocates of term limits think they have the public firmly on their side—the same public that keeps electing all those Democrats to Congress. Surveys show that Americans think Congress does a lousy job, and they're looking for ways to spark improvement. According to one poll, 61 percent of Americans favor restrictions on congressional terms.

But if Americans are dissatisfied with Congress, they are free to do something about it, with a simple device known as the ballot. Most of them, while loathing Congress, say they like their own representative just fine.

Maybe that's because they gullibly believe everything they read in the taxpayer-financed mailings sent home by every member. The reason voters return incumbents with infallible regularity has something to do with the advantages of office, but it also has something to do with the fact that only 72 percent of Americans even know their congressman's name. Ignorant voters making boneheaded choices is not a frustration of democracy. It is democracy.

The paradox of Republican presidents and Democratic Congresses likewise turns out to be not a paradox at all. Americans vote for a divided government because they want a divided government.

Polling expert Everett Carl Ladd notes in a recent issue of the Public Interest magazine that two out of every three Americans think the country is better off with the Republicans occupying the White House and the Democrats holding Capitol Hill.

Even most of the people who voted for George Bush and against Willie Horton—I mean Michael Dukakis—preferred a Democratic Congress. The strange truth is that the GOP would have an easier time winning congressional races if it could manage to lose a few presidential ones.

As for the charge that the Democrats maintain supremacy only through the crushing weight of incumbency, American Enterprise Institute scholar Norman Ornstein points out in the same publication that if it were true, you'd expect to see the GOP racking up victory after victory in those races where no incumbent is running. But since 1954, they've lost 57 percent of those contests.

The real defect of Congress is that members survive by indulging their constituents' desire to get all they can in government benefits while escaping all they can in government burdens. But this habit won't vanish if members are banished after 12 years. The drug trade has lots of turnover among dealers, but as long as people want drugs, someone will supply them.

As long as Americans expect their government to let them live at the expense of everyone else, their elected officials will do their best to give them what they want. If voters don't like the results, they shouldn't look to Washington to find who's to blame.

31/2/200 The Term-Limit Train

The movement to impose term limits on elected officials is roaring down the track. Each new story out of Washington about the congressional "budget process" seems to be another shovelful of coal thrown into the firebox. Asked about term limits at his news conference, President Bush revealed himself to be remarkably well informed on the details of the movement. "I'm certainly not opposed to it," the President said. Mr. Bush reminded reporters that term limits were in the 1983 Republican platform and said he "may go public" and campaign for them.

Others aren't waiting. Democrat John Silber and Republican Pete Wilson said term limits would be a centerpiece of their respective races for Governor. Polls in Colorado and California show two-to-one backing for term-limit measures on next month's ballot. Opponents of term limits in Colorado are close to throwing in the towel. "It's like standing in front of a train coming 110 miles an hour," says Colorado Rep. Patricia Schroeder, first elected in 1972.

In California, the story is different. Democratic Speaker Willie Brown, a member of the state Assembly since 1964, is planning a \$4 million media blitz to discredit the idea. "They're trying to short-circuit my career," he complains. However, he boasts of having destroyed the political career of Democratic Attorney General John van de Kamp for his backing of a 12-year term limit on legislators.

Mr. Brown's assault will be handled by BAD Campaigns, a Beverly Hills firm that defeated two anti-gerrymandering initiatives last June with ads tying them to oil spills and dead otters. BAD Campaigns' commercials haven't aired yet, but it asked former President Gerald Ford to campaign against term limits. Mr. Ford replied he was against term limits in principle but was so outraged by the legislature in Sacramento that he might vote for the idea anyway.

With term limits now a major campaign issue, it's worth addressing some of the more serious objections:

Voters would be limited in their choices at the ballot box.

This implies that voters now have a choice at the ballot box. Common Cause reports that of the 405 House incumbents seeking re-election this fall, 82 lack a major-party opponent. Another 300 have an opponent who has raised less than \$25,000. Only 23 races are remotely competitive. People

don't vote for someone they've never heard of, and skewed campaign laws mean that in the House almost all the contributions flow to incumbents.

Voters are saying the only way to open up the system is to guarantee that no one has a lifetime hold on office. If term limits pass in California, voters will be democratically choosing to open up the political process to citizen-legislators and minorities across the political spectrum who are often excluded by the presence of lifetime incumbents.

Term limits would deprive voters of experienced legislators with valuable talents.

Term limits can still allow for long political careers. U.S. Senator Bill Armstrong of Colorado has served in public office continuously since his 1962 election to the state legislature, but has never served in any one office for more than 12 years.

The Founding Fathers envisioned Congress as a representative body, not the entrenched micromanaging monster it has become. Its job is to make policy, not implement it. Considerable experience in government isn't necessary for that. Considerable experience in life is. As Colorado State Senator Terry Considine told us, "We'd have a better Congress if more of them would remember their job is to write the music, not direct the orchestra."

Power would shift from elected officials to their staffs.

Term limits are likely to reduce, not enhance, the power of staffs. Every Capitol Hill observer knows that it's the most senior members who are most dependent on staff and lobbyists, not the hot-shot young freshmen. And limits on staff can accompany term limits. The most popular of two term-limit initiatives in California curbs the "aides epidemic" in the legislature by cutting its budget 38%.

Elected officials wouldn't be facing this movement if they hadn't stopped doing what voters elected them to do. Make tough choices. Deliver efficient services. Avoid recurrent tax increases. Draw distinctions between essential and optional programs.

America's legislative bodies—really little more than lifetime jobs programs for people adept at professional politics—have drifted far from the institutions that the Founding Fathers thought would govern the country. Now an outraged citizenry looks determined to put a stop to it.

To Ted
Date 10-19-90 Time 3:00

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Mike McCarville
of Bill Price

Phone (405) - 845 - 8688
Area Code Number Extension

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

RETURNED YOUR CALL

Message Police : Delmar Warren Tooman
officer killed in line of duty
Conviction Rt: 98% over 12 yrs
9th term limitation ~ 70% 2 to 1

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OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA
MONDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1990

Governor Bellmon, Senator Nichols. Thank you, Bill, for that introduction. Honored guests, ladies and gentlemen. Barbara and I appreciate your reception. We are delighted to be in this State of open hearts and open skies. //

Last May, I came here to address the Oklahoma Foundation for Excellence. Today, I'm glad to be back in the Sooner State. ((Just to show you what Oklahoma means to me, I asked our most talented writer to work on these remarks. // So Millie was up half the night putting them together.)) //

I also want to say what a privilege it is to be here on behalf of "a man who'll make a difference -- he always has." My friend -- and your next Governor. // Bill Price. //

All of you know Bill's story. The son of doctor -- he worked his way through school. Went to Georgetown University -- a basketball power. Then, OU Law School -- a football power. // ((There's a trend emerging here: I'm told Bill likes the Cincinnati Reds.)) //

Finally, Bill became a U.S. attorney for western Oklahoma. Supporting law and order for all Oklahomans. // Don Nichols calls him "a pioneering leader for Oklahoma." My friend and mentor, Ronald Reagan, calls him "a guardian of the public good."

// What do I plan on calling him. Come next January, I think I'll call him Governor. //

((You know, I was thinking of a line from that great movie, Cimarron. It goes, "Anything can have happened in Oklahoma. Practically everything has." // Let me tell you what has happened in Bill Price's life that leads me to say: "For Oklahoma, this Price is right.")) //

First of all, Bill Price is a great family man. Lovely wife, Mary -- three great kids. He's also a man with a penchant for the unexpected. ((At a campaign stop recently in Holdenville, Bill was meeting folks when he shook hands with a beautiful woman. "Hello," he said, "I'm Bill Price. I'm running for Governor, and it's a pleasure to meet you." He thought the woman looked familiar. / She should have. // It was his wife.))

The Bill Price I know also has conviction. He's not a follower who gets lost in the current. He's a profile in character who alters the tide. // Look at how he cracked America's then-largest corruption case in the early 1980s. Or his work for the organization he founded -- the Oklahoma Alliance Against Drugs. We need a leader with Bill's vision in Oklahoma City in the 1990's. //

Mostly, this Price is right because he understands Oklahomans -- their belief in work, generosity to neighbors, their love of country and God. He also believes in high expectations. ((I recall the story of the Oklahoman who went to a theatre. For 15 cents, he got two theatre pictures, a Mickey

Mouse doll, newsreel, and two sets of dishes. // Yet he demanded his money back. Why? He didn't strike oil under his seat.)) //

That's what I call keeping things in perspective. ((It's like Bill tells me / can't blame him //: "It's fine that you're here, Mr. President. But if you really want to wow the crowd, bring Barbara.)) // Anyone with that common sense deserves to be Governor. // Here are some reasons why Oklahomans deserve Bill Price -- and why we have to use the last eight days before November 6 to get that job done. //

The first reason this Price is right is education -- where Bill supports our Administration's Educational Excellence Act. // This act will promote higher standards, more accountability, and more parental choice in where their kids go to school. It will encourage the true learning that comes from basics like reading, writing, and arithmetic -- and ensure that if excellence breeds achievement, that excellence is rewarded. //

Bill Price knows that education can be the great uplifter and equalizer. ((It's like that great character from the Broadway musical Oklahoma, Aunt Eller, who said: "I don't say I'm better than anybody else, but I'll be danged if I ain't just as good.)) // Some say we should load huge tax increases on State residents to improve education. Here's what Bill and I believe: Reform, private support, and local autonomy can make - - and keep -- American education No. 1. //

Here's another issue where Bill Price is right: Law and order. Let others talk about hoods and drug peddlers. Bill

Price has met and beat them head-on. // It was Bill Price who had a 98% conviction rate as U.S. Attorney over 12 years in office. Just as it was Bill Price who founded a drug education project involving more than 50,000 high school students. The difference he has made -- is making -- has helped to save and alter lives.

That's why Bill can't understand those who oppose our National Drug Strategy. Or liberals who -- for 16 months -- have sabotaged our Administration's Violent Crime Act. // Bill Price knows we can't soft-pedal the need to be hard on crime. // So he supports capital punishment / and so do I. He supports a workable death penalty -- a real death penalty -- for those who kill Federal law enforcement officers / and so do I. Go down the street -- ask any Oklahoman. Those who take the lives of fine young policemen -- like Oklahoma City's own officer Delmar Tooman -- must know there is a price to pay. The time is right -- the time is now -- to give cop-killers the kind of punishment they deserve. //

((A moment ago I mentioned the musical Oklahoma. There's a song in it titled, "I'm Just a Girl Who Can't Say No." Well, back in Washintton we've got a a Congress with the same problem regarding the Federal budget. Congress refuses to say "No" to taxes / to spending / to self-control, self-discipline, and even a scintilla of common sense.)) //

You know what I'm talking about. You've seen the whole sorry scenario in living color -- black and blue. Congress

prizes the special interests. Oklahomans revere the general interest. To protect it, we must support it: By canvassing / by contributing / and by going to the polls on November 6 to throw the rascals out. //

((BUDGET INSERT TO COME // One final thing: Our comprehensive budget plan must -- and will -- ensure crucial funds for Operation Desert Shield.)) //

All of us know we must stand up to aggression as we defend civilized values around the world -- especially, the acts of brutality inflicted by Iraq. Oklahomans are fair. What is fair about what Iraqi soldiers did a hospital? They reportedly unplugged the oxygen to incubators supporting 22 premature babies. All 22 died. Then, they shot five hospital employees. // Oklahomans are decent. What is decent about how at another hospital, Iraqi troops reportedly cut off oxygen supporting the 75-year-old mother of a Kuwaiti Cabinet Minister? //

These acts -- and more like them -- are obscene, barbaric, abhorrent, evil. They show what is at stake in the Middle East -- and why we must not, and will not, fail. Iraqi aggression will not be allowed to stand. Saddam Hussein will be held accountable. The legitimate government of Kuwait will be restored. //

Some ask: How long will we stay? My answer is: America will not remain in the Persian Gulf for one day longer than is necessary -- but it will stay for as long as it takes to complete our mission. ((We will keep the faith with men and women now in

the Gulf -- heroes Lakewood's own Howard Price, currently serving as petty officer aboard the guided missile cruiser Antietam in the Gulf. When Iraq invaded Kuwait, Howard was home on leave to be with his wife Terri, who has multiple schlerosis. Howard was torn by his desire to be with his wife. Terri had other ideas. "You get back to where you're needed," she said -- and that's an order.)) //

((Every time I come to Oklahoma, I think of your great humorist, Will Rogers, who said, "I love a dog. He does nothing for political reasons." // Millie likes that line.)) // We are in the Persian Gulf for, above all, moral reasons: To do right - - and, thus, achieve good. To ensure -- as America always has - - that the strong do not swallow up the weak. To keep faith with soldiers like Howard Price -- the finest sailors, soldiers, airmen, and Marines any Nation could ever have. //

Oklahomans know what it is to be on the front line. Just as you were last September 11th when you overwhelmingly passed an historic referendum to restrict state legislature terms to 12 years. On November 6, the Sooner state is going to again take the lead in building a better America, keeping faith with what we are as a Nation, and a people. So let's show that what Bill Price believes in is right in education, law and order, fiscal policy, and foreign affairs. // Let's get out the vote. Let's win the State Senate and House of Representatives. And let's roll up our sleeves to elect a magnificent Governor.

Thank you for this occasion. God bless the United States.
And let's make Bill Price the great Governor of the great State
of Oklahoma.

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