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California Republican Party
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MEMORANDUM

TO: NATIONAL POLITICAL MEDIA

FROM: DAN SCHNUR
CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PARTY

SUBJECT: CA GOVERNOR'S RACE

DATE: OCTOBER 19, 1990

Dan Schnur
Communication Director

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This is the second packet of news clippings on the California Governor's race that we have sent to all of you. Hopefully, these articles have been able to provide a more in-depth picture of the campaign than you are able to get from the national papers and newsweeklies.

We also hope you enjoyed the CRP's musical press release, which you should have received within the past few days. As you can see, even though the race is entering the home stretch, we are still able to enjoy ourselves.

As you may know, Senator Wilson has spent this past week back in Washington performing his duties in the U.S. Senate. By the time you receive this, however, he should be back in California for the final two weeks of the campaign.

Although polls show that crime and the economy are the two most pressing issues in the minds of the voters, Wilson's endorsement of a ballot initiative to limit legislative terms seems to have tapped into the anti-politician fervor that is sweeping the state and the nation. Current polls show voters here backing Proposition 140 by a 3-1 margin, although a final advertising blitz by well-financed opponents of the measure could close that gap considerably.

If you do plan a story about the race or are interested in additional information for any other reason, please feel free to contact me at 818/841-5210.

WILSON VS. FEINSTEIN

A guide to the California Governor's Race

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title		Page
I.	Polls, Money, & Term Limits	2-16
II.	Richard Blum -- Still in the News	18-23
III.	Just for Fun...	26-27

I. Polls, Money, & Term Limits
pages 2-16

page:

2. "Wilson Leading Feinstein 47-42 In California Poll," by Jerry Roberts, San Francisco Chronicle, October, 12, 1990

3. "Crime and Money Are the Key Issues In Governor's Race," by Susan Yoachum, San Francisco Chronicle, October 13, 1990

4. "Feinstein Loses an Advantage," by Martin Smith, Sacramento Bee, October 18, 1990

5. "Sharp Differences Emerge Between Wilson, Feinstein," by Bill Stall, Los Angeles Times, September 28, 1990

6. "Feinstein's Star Quality Getting Tested With Some Trying Times," by George Skelton, Los Angeles Times, September 21, 1990

7. "Prop. 73 Knocked Out: Judge's Ruling Unleashes Funds for Demos," Sacramento Union, October 11, 1990

8. "Feinstein Tries to Defuse Attack on Fund Raising," by Cathleen Decker, Los Angeles Times, September 28, 1990

9. "Ruling Helps Feinstein Raise $750,000," by Dan Morin, Los Angeles Times, October 10, 1990

10. "Feinstein, Wilson Scramble to Add Points," by George Skelton, Los Angeles Times, October 9, 1990

11. "Wilson Expands Reasons to Support Term Limits," by George Skelton, Los Angeles Times, October 12, 1990

12. "Wilson '140' Backing a Bold Move," by Joe Scott, San Diego Union, October 10, 1990

13. "Term Limits Not Popular Topic for Feinstein," by George Skelton, Los Angeles Times, October 7, 1990

14. "Legislators Line Up Against Term Limits: Wilson Nearly Alone Among Top Politicians in Backing Initiative," by Vicki Haddock and Steven Capps, San Francisco Examiner, October 10, 1990

15. "Limiting Terms a Hot Button," by Dan Walters, Sacremento Bee, October 12, 1990

16. "Feinstein Loses -- You Read It Here First," by Warren Hinckle, San Francisco Examiner, October 16, 1990

Wilson Leading Feinstein 47-42 In California Poll

'Gender gap' evaporates as GOP women start leaning toward GOP candidate

By Jerry Roberts
Chronicle Political Editor

Pete Wilson holds a five-point edge over Dianne Feinstein in the governor's race, largely because Republican women are shifting to him in large numbers, a new California Poll shows.

"Half of the gender gap has evaporated," said poll taker Mervin Field. "Wilson is maintaining his edge among men, and Feinstein has lost her edge among women."

The survey shows Republican Wilson leading Democrat Feinstein by 47 percent to 42 percent, with 7 percent undecided and 4 percent who prefer another candidate. The margin of error is plus or minus 3.2 percent.

Sunday night's debate between the rivals had little effect on Wilson's lead, which was 4.4 percent before the event and 5.2 percent afterward, according to Field, whose researchers conducted interviews both in the days immediately before and after the televised confrontation.

Among those surveyed, only 27 percent saw or listened to some portion of the debate. Those who tuned in were overwhelmingly Democrats — 62 percent, compared with 28 percent Republicans — and they gave Feinstein much higher marks than Wilson for her performance in the debate.

The poll, carried out October 4-10, also shows that:

■ In measures of partisan support, Republicans favor Wilson, 77 percent to 15 percent, and Democrats favor Feinstein 66 percent to 24 percent. Those not affiliated with either party favor Feinstein, 52 percent to 28 percent.

■ In measures of ideological support, Wilson is preferred 70 percent to 21 percent by the 31 percent of voters who identify themselves as conservative. Feinstein is favored 74 percent to 19 percent by those who describe themselves as liberal, about 24 percent of the total. The crucial group of middle-of-the-road voters — 43 percent of the total — are breaking for Wilson, 47 percent to 42 percent.

Back Page Col. 2

From Page 1

■ In measures of gender support, Wilson is leading among men, 49 percent to 41 percent, and also is now running ahead among women 46 percent to 44 percent.

In Field's last survey, conducted in late August, Wilson held a somewhat larger lead among men — 49 percent to 37 percent — but Feinstein led among women, 47 percent to 41 percent.

GOP Women

Trying to become California's first woman governor, Feinstein in the past six weeks has seen her support among Republican female voters plummet while Wilson has held his own among Democratic women.

In the last survey, Feinstein attracted the support of 28 percent of Republican women, and Wilson was favored by 66 percent. In the new poll, she is backed by only 16 percent among GOP women, while he is supported by 77 percent, a net gain of 28 points for Wilson.

By contrast, Feinstein in August led Wilson among Democratic women by a ratio of 58 percent to 24 percent. Now she leads him among the same group by 64 percent to 23 percent, a net gain of only seven points.

Among male voters of both parties, the survey also shows that partisan affiliation is becoming a more important criterion than gender in selection of a candidate.

Feinstein now leads Wilson among Democratic men by a ratio of 69 percent to 24 percent, compared with the 59 percent to 31 percent lead she held among the same group in August. Wilson holds a huge lead of 77 percent to 14 percent among Republican men, compared with a 69 percent to 19 percent bulge he had among the same group in August.

"The bottom line is that partisanship is becoming more important than gender among both men and women voters, but more so among women," Field said.

RACE POLL

Positions on Issues

The survey also provided new information on several key issues that both candidates have emphasized in the campaign.

Both have taken strong stands in favor of the death penalty, but among the large majority of voters who favor capital punishment (79 percent), Wilson is favored 53 percent to 37 percent. Among the one-fifth minority that opposes the death penalty (21 percent), Feinstein is favored over Wilson, 59 percent to 29 percent.

On abortion, almost one-third of voters (30 percent) say they want new laws to make it easier to get an abortion. Of this group, Feinstein leads 55 percent to 35 percent. Among those who say it should be more difficult to get an abortion (20 percent) Wilson leads 68 percent to 23 percent.

On the environment, those who describe themselves as an "environmentalist" (39 percent), favor Feinstein by a ratio of 50 percent to 39 percent.

Crime and Money Are the Key Issues In Governor's Race

Poll shows why Wilson leads Feinstein

By Susan Yoachum
Chronicle Political Writer

Crime and the economy are the major issues driving Republican Pete Wilson's support in the governor's race, according to the California Poll.

Democrat Dianne Feinstein, in contrast, draws her strongest support from those concerned about the environment, the elderly and disadvantaged, and health and education.

"The reasons given are following gender stereotypes," said Mark DiCamillo, managing editor of the poll. "When you look at those social issues, and they're clearly Feinstein, and the economy and crime still win out, and they're clearly Wilson, that says a lot.

"He has to his advantage issues that seem to be more salient to voters," DiCamillo said. "As a pollster, I wonder at what point do social issues outweigh issues on crime and the economy. And it hasn't happened yet."

A whopping 77 percent of Wilson supporters said they are in his camp because he would be "tough on criminals." By comparison, only 60 percent of Feinstein supporters cited the "tough on criminals" reason for backing her.

A total of 68 percent of Feinstein supporters said they back her because she "will do more to protect the state's environment." Only 46 percent of Wilson's backers gave that reason.

The issues rated of "high importance" to Wilson voters revolve around his job performance in the U.S. Senate and his experience in politics. Feinstein has tried to cast his absenteeism from the Senate as a weakness, and he himself has called into question the wisdom of experience in politics by endorsing term limits for legislators.

The issues that Feinstein backers named as most important are her perceived sensitivity to women's rights and the need for new blood in politics.

In the Democratic primary, Attorney General John Van de Kamp challenged Feinstein's commitment to women's rights, saying that he was "the best feminist in the race." Wilson also has sharply questioned whether Feinstein actually represents change because she is close to career politicians such as Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and Senate President Pro Tem David Roberti.

The poll, conducted by telephone October 4-10, questioned 1,021 registered voters. The voter sampling error was plus or minus 6.7 percentage points.

The survey also provided new information on several key issues that both candidates have emphasized in the campaign.

Both have taken strong stands in favor of the death penalty, but among the large majority of voters who favor capital punishment (79 percent), Wilson is favored 53 percent to 37 percent. Among the one-fifth minority that opposes the death penalty (21 percent), Feinstein is favored over Wilson, 59 percent to 29 percent.

On abortion, almost one-third of voters (30 percent) say they want new laws to make it easier to get an abortion. Of this group, Feinstein leads 55 percent to 35 percent. Among those who say it should be more difficult to get an abortion (20 percent), Wilson leads 68 percent to 23 percent.

On the environment, those who describe themselves as "environmentalists" (39 percent) favor Feinstein by a ratio of 50 percent to 39 percent. Among a larger group that says that label describes them only somewhat (53 percent), Wilson leads 52% to 38%. He also leads among the tiny group (7 percent) who say that being an environmentalist does not apply to them at all, by a ratio of 56 percent to 29 percent.

CALIFORNIA POLL

■ Top five reasons cited more by Wilson supporters than Feinstein supporters as "highly important" for gubernatorial preference

	Wilson supporters	Feinstein supporters	Wilson advantage
Will be tough on criminals	77%	60%	17
Will do better job dealing with drug problem	62	45	17
Can do better job improving state's economy	60	49	11
Will do better job handling state budget	59	50	9
Like candidate's position on the death penalty	56	46	10

■ Top five reasons cited more by Feinstein supporters than Wilson supporters as "highly important" for gubernatorial preference

	Feinstein supporters	Wilson supporters	Feinstein advantage
Will do more to protect state's environment	68%	46%	22
Will do more for elderly and disadvantaged	58	36	22
Like candidate's stand on education issues	53	41	12
Will do more for the average person	53	43	10
Like candidate's stand on health issues	51	36	15

Results are based on interviews with 1,021 California voters conducted October 4-10. The margin of error is plus or minus 6.7 percentage points. The margin of error for subgroups would be larger.

BY Sac Bee 10/18/90

Feinstein loses an advantage

POLITICS IN REVIEW
By Martin Smith
Political Editor

THE BOTTOM line didn't change much in the California Poll's latest survey on the race for governor. Republican Pete Wilson had a 47-to-42 percentage lead over Democrat Dianne Feinstein in October, up a little from the 45-to-42 edge he enjoyed last August.

These relatively static numbers, however, hide some important churning within the electorate. Trends are developing that, if they continue, could spell real trouble for the Feinstein candidacy.

The greatest movement has been among Republican women who gave her significant support in early polls. A large portion of that support has disappeared. After enjoying the backing of 28 percent of GOP women voters last August, she saw her support level drop to 16 percent this month. "Partisanship is taking over," said Mervin Field, director and founder of the California Poll.

But Feinstein also encounters problems among some Democratic women. Democratic male voters, in fact, give her candidacy stronger support than do their female counterparts – 69 percent to 64 percent. Nearly twice as many Democratic women, 13 percent, list themselves as undecided as do Democratic men, 7 percent, or Republican women, also 7 percent. There was relatively little erosion since August in the support Wilson had among Democratic women. It dropped hardly at all, from 24 to 23 percent.

THE GENDER gap does exist, but it seems to be more a phenomenon of polling – especially surveys conducted early in a campaign – than of actual voting. Field's latest numbers simply provide more evidence that the much-discussed gender gap is an overrated political phenomenon.

For a time, it was thought to be an important factor working against the Republicans in Ronald Reagan's 1980 and 1984 presidential campaigns. Early polls in those election years consistently showed women having a higher degree of resistance to Reagan's political charms than did men. The same was true of George Bush's 1988 campaign; initially he faced more opposition among female voters than among male. But, as Mark DiCamillo, also of the California Poll, has observed, in all three elections "when it came time for the actual judgment, the gender gap all but evaporated."



Graphic/Hugo

It's not hard to understand why it has been more of an illusion than a reality on Election Day. Early in the campaign, most voters know relatively little about the candidates; the gender of each then takes on greater importance. But as the campaign progresses and voters learn more about each candidate's background and the stand each takes on issues, gender becomes a less important consideration.

This pattern appears to be continuing in California this year despite the earlier views of many observers – including Field himself – that the 1990s would be the decade of the woman in the state's politics.

Having one of their number nominated for the state's top post also was thought likely to present a special appeal for women voters. It does, of course – but only for some women: Field's poll-takers, for example, found that among all women, Democrats and Republicans, between the ages of 40 and 59, Feinstein enjoys a substantial lead, 51 to 38 percent.

BUT OFFSETTING this gender gap advantage for Feinstein is a generational gap. The California poll found that women who are 60 and older support the Republican nominee, 53 to 41 percent. Field suggested that this may reflect the fact that many older women "have been conditioned to support a man" for high office.

The issues that are paramount in the minds of the electorate also have shifted since last spring, and this may be making a difference in how candidates Feinstein and Wilson are perceived. Public preoccupation with abortion rights, political corruption and dissatisfaction with the way the old-boy networks were operating government was thought to present special advantages to women seeking public office. Since then, however, those issues have given way to new ones. The United States has become engaged in a major foreign-policy crisis that threatens to break out in war in the Mideast. There also are stronger signs that the nation may be heading into a major recession.

These problems may incline many rank-and-file voters, especially the older ones who vote more regularly than those who are younger, to choose a man for governor.

Sharp Differences Emerge Between Wilson, Feinstein

■ Politics: The candidates have taken divergent positions on taxes, school finance and the environment.

9/28/90 A\L.A.Times

By BILL STALL
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

As their contest for governor approaches a critical test in October, Democrat Dianne Feinstein and Republican Sen. Pete Wilson have established sharply divergent positions on key issues like higher

NEWS ANALYSIS

taxes, school finance and the environment—defying the perception that there are no substantial differences between the two political moderates.

California political analysts and commentators have repeatedly characterized the race as dull, contending that the candidates are ignoring the real issues and that Feinstein and Wilson seem more like philosophical soul mates.

But during September, when their campaign often was overshadowed by the Middle East crisis, the candidates added considerable meat to their skeletal policy positions, either in speeches or in response to questions from reporters. The result has Wilson sounding more conservative and cautious, particularly on money issues. Feinstein is more willing to talk about the need for expanded state programs and new state revenues to pay for them.

The continuing state fiscal crisis—with the potential for additional taxes simply to support existing programs—has emerged as a defining issue that could dominate the candidates' televised debates on Oct. 7 and Oct. 18.

In light of the temporary balancing gimmicks used to stitch together the long-delayed state spending plan, the new governor is likely to face a multibillion-dollar deficit in drafting his or her first state budget.

If California still needs more revenue after making whatever budget cuts she could, Feinstein said, she would raise the income tax rate for the most wealthy Californians, couples making $200,000 or more annually. The top rate was reduced in 1987 from 11% to 9.3%. Feinstein also has endorsed Proposition 133, which would raise the sales tax by half a cent to pay for anti-drug and crime programs.

Wilson, by contrast, has said it would be foolish to rule out the need for new taxes, and has refused to do so, but he has said he would oppose any increase in personal income tax rates. This week, he strongly endorsed Proposition 130, which would require a two-thirds vote of the Legislature or the electorate to increase any state or local tax.

But while he declined to endorse Proposition 133, the sales tax increase, he said he might vote for it. On Thursday, Wilson said that if Proposition 133 loses, he would be willing to consider an effort in the Legislature to raise the sales tax half a cent for anti-drug and crime programs.

The candidates also differ on budget reform, school finance and Proposition 98, the 1988 initiative measure that guarantees public schools at least 41% of the state's general fund revenues each year. That amounts to about $17 billion this year out of a total budget of $55.7 million.

Feinstein, with the support of state Supt. of Public Instruction Bill Honig and the California Teachers Assn., has declared Proposition 98's guarantee "inviolate" and vowed to oppose any effort to change it. She favors budget reform that would reduce the level of spending required for some programs by state law or the state Constitution, but would not cut back on most major health and welfare programs, which account for nearly a third of the general fund budget.

Wilson supports budget reform, but insists that all state spending items, including Proposition 98, be on the table for negotiated changes. The only exception is that Wilson would oppose any cuts in the state's supplemental Social Security payments for the aged, blind and disabled—a program that costs $2.3 billion a year.

Both candidates are considered strong environmentalists, but again there is a key difference. Feinstein is endorsing Proposition 128, the far-reaching Environmental Protection Act of 1990 dubbed Big Green by its supporters. Wilson opposes the proposition.

Both Feinstein and Wilson also promise to be activist governors who will attack problems such as California's unbridled growth.

But Feinstein promises the more aggressive effort, describing her approach as a "new awakening" fueled by "the politics of optimism and rebirth." Appearing at an Orange County Democratic meeting in Anaheim earlier this month, she talked of running a "creative administration" like that of Edmund G. (Pat) Brown in the 1960s "that built the best university system and built the California Water Project."

"I want to be the governor that says, 'Wake up, California. Let's move this state into a problem-solving mode, let's develop that water policy, let's solve the problems of the environment, let's manage our growth. . . .' "

Wilson vows to be the real candidate of change but his efforts could be hampered by his anti-tax stance and conflict with the Legislature's Democratic leadership.

It has been a struggle for the candidates to get their messages across in a period when Saddam Hussein and his Aug. 2 invasion of Kuwait continue to dominate the news. Feinstein has been dogged by questions about the business dealings of her financier-spouse, Richard Blum, who joined with Feinstein in lending her campaign $3 million for her primary election.

Labor Day marked a major turning point, leaving behind a desultory summer of exchanges of costly television commercials in which the candidates tried to taint each other with allegations related to

The policy differences between them were accentuated by Feinstein during September as she ventured into the risky world of taxation, pledging support for billions of dollars for existing state programs and campaigning for stronger environmental regulation.

The July-August television campaign seemed to result in a standoff. Going into September, the major public opinion polls indicated that the ad campaign had little effect. The two candidates were considered to be running about even, just as they were after the June 5 primary. October and its two scheduled debates provide Feinstein and Wilson the opportunity to capture the undecided swing voter.

"There are a large number of people who sort of see Dianne in a positive context, but they have been comfortable with Wilson the way people are comfortable with an old pair of shoes," said Bill Carrick, Feinstein's campaign director. "Those people, in my view, have been postponing their decision until they get some point of comparison that is beyond the 30-second commercial."

Some political experts have said that Feinstein has to make some sort of breakthrough to capture voter imagination and defeat Wilson—something akin to the dramatic television commercial that propelled the Feinstein image into the public consciousness in her primary campaign. The ad showed Feinstein firmly taking control of San Francisco as acting mayor after the shooting death of Mayor George Moscone. The commercial has not been rerun since the June 5 primary.

Both campaigns say they want to continue discussing issues during October rather than getting into another television commercial shoot-out. Wilson's theme, campaign director Otto Bos said, will be: "It's performance that counts, not promises."

With 23 years of experience in the Legislature, as mayor of San Diego and U.S. senator, Wilson has a broader record of which to boast. Feinstein held public office for nearly 20 years, but entirely at the city and county level in San Francisco.

Carrick said Feinstein intends to continue to emphasize issues and the intangible values of leadership, believing that voters are getting turned off by an "electric Ping-Pong" exchange of personal and negative television ads.

"We've been specific on issues," he said. But he also noted that Wilson "has beaten up on us on taxes." The senator constantly reminds voters that he actually cut some taxes as mayor of San Diego while Feinstein raised levies in San Francisco.

Feinstein's Star Quality Getting Tested With Some Trying Times

4/2/90 L.A. Times A3

By GEORGE SKELTON
TIMES SACRAMENTO BUREAU CHIEF

As Dianne Feinstein sat attentively in the front row of a Huntington Park elementary school auditorium, it seemed fitting that 100 tiny voices would be belting out Ronald Reagan's 1984 campaign theme song, "God Bless the U.S.A."

Fitting not because of ideological similarities between Feinstein and Reagan, although there are some, most notably on crime issues. Fitting, rather, because Feinstein could be the first major California politician since Reagan to possess the magical, intangible asset that goes by many names—excitement, charisma, pizazz—but means star quality.

The question being asked by politicians of both parties is whether Feinstein is a real star or a shooting star destined to flame out, as did another Californian with a magic personality, Edmund G. Brown Jr., "Gov. Moonbeam" to his critics.

"I see a lot about her that reminds me of Reagan," said Stephen A. Merksamer, Gov. George Deukmejian's former chief of staff and an occasional adviser to Sen. Pete Wilson, Feinstein's rival in the gubernatorial race. "She has flair, style. When Reagan walked into a room, you knew he was in the room. When Dianne Feinstein walks in a room, heads turn. And in one-on-one situations, both are charming."

But then Merksamer demurred a bit: "The excitement hasn't been there since the primary. She's come across as a more conventional politician, less Reaganesque. The question is, how is she going to be during the last month of the campaign? Which Dianne Feinstein are we going to see? The Feinstein of the primary or the Feinstein of summer?"

Arleen Peta, the young fifth-grade teacher at the Miles Avenue School who selected "God Bless the U.S.A." for Feinstein to hear at a made-for-television campaign stop Wednesday, is not so sure about the Democratic candidate herself. Peta told a reporter she believes that Feinstein "has solid footing" on many issues, especially education. But she is wavering and could vote for Wilson. Peta indicated she will decide based on the two candidates' positions on crime [which are virtually the same]. She wants more policemen on the streets and more criminals behind bars.

Yes, Peta said, she did vote to reelect Reagan President in 1984. But that is not why she chose "God Bless the U.S.A." for her students to sing to Feinstein. She just believes that Lee Greenwood's popular song with its patriotic lyrics—"I'm proud to be an American . . . ain't no doubt I love this land"—is "especially appropriate now with what's going on in the Middle East."

These are trying times for Feinstein, the former San Francisco mayor who is in her first statewide race and is seeking to become California's first woman governor. She trounced Atty. Gen. John K. Van de Kamp in the Democratic gubernatorial primary and has been holding her own against Wilson in most polls. But there is a sense, as one national political writer put it at a San Francisco press conference on Wednesday, that Feinstein "has frittered away the momentum" she had built up during the primary.

"You have to realize this," Feinstein replied. "California is a huge state. When we're on television [with commercials] our [poll] numbers go up. When we're off television, our numbers drop . . . I am running against a man who has run statewide four times . . . outspent us on television 2½ to 3 to 1 . . . I think we've done remarkably well. And that's what gives me, frankly, the adrenaline to continue on because I believe we can win this race."

But one Feinstein aide acknowledged that the candidate is tired, largely from fund raising. While President Bush was raising $2 million for Wilson this week at just two events—a dinner in Los Angeles and a lunch in San Francisco—Feinstein was scurrying around to 20 smaller fund-raising events and picking up a lot less money.

As a result, Feinstein's one major public speech this week—on Tuesday to the Los Angeles Headquarters Assn., a business group—"definitely was not one of her best efforts," the aide conceded.

Feinstein plowed through her written text in a series of staccato spurts, each sentence seemingly rising to its own crescendo, often for no apparent reason. And she blew one old line that Reagan likely would have paused around, pounced on and turned into a belly roar: "Some cynics speculate that the real loser in the governor's race will be the one who wins the election."

Like Reagan, however, Feinstein raised a lot of questions about tough issues and offered few specific answers. For example, she announced she would call "a summit" with legislative leaders the day after the election to consider how to give the new governor more discretion over state spending. But she also has said she would not allow any reduction in allotments for the two biggest categories of untouchable funding programs: education, and health and welfare.

Nevertheless, two leaders of the organization praised Feinstein after the lunch for at least *addressing* issues—"in contrast to the ads on TV," said lawyer Jay Davis, immediate past president of the group. Said architect Chet Widom, the current president: "I was impressed with her ability to handle herself and take questions. She pretty well kept everybody's attention."

Dee Dee Myers, Feinstein's press secretary who is a veteran of campaigns with Michael Dukakis, Tom Bradley and Walter Mondale, said that the former mayor is at her best when she abandons the written text and "just let's it rip."

"She still has the ability to knock folks' socks off, inspire them" Myers said. "No one I've ever worked for has been able to do that . . . She walks into an airport, a restaurant and people automatically sit up and notice. I don't recall anybody ever wanting to know what Dukakis had for breakfast. They do Dianne."

As for the loss of excitement, Myers said confidently: "Voters tuned in for the end of the primary. Now they're starting to tune back in. It'll come back."

Sac Union A/U 10/11/90

Prop. 73 knocked out

Judge's ruling unleashes funds for Demos

If Dianne Feinstein becomes California's first woman governor, she will ironically owe much of her success to two men.

Her wealthy investor husband Richard Blum was the principal financial angel in her primary victory over party favorite John Van de Kamp when few Democrat fat cats were willing to help her.

Now, within weeks of the November election, a federal judge in Sacramento has struck down the heart of Proposition 73, the campaign-limit measure passed by voters in 1988. And Dianne Feinstein is the instant beneficiary of Judge Lawrence K. Karlton's ruling.

The liberal Judge Karlton, appointed to the state bench by Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. and to the federal bench by President Jimmy Carter, decided that Proposition 73 was unfair.

Judge Karlton, a longtime American Civil Liberties Union attorney, ruled in favor of the Democratic Party and its well-entrenched leadership, namely Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. and Senate President Pro Tem David Roberti, who led the fight to overturn the public reform efforts of Proposition 73.

And the immediate result was a veritable gusher of funds to the Feinstein campaign. After long complaining that she was at a funding dissdvantage against Republican Sen. Pete Wilson, Feinstein had money pouring in from special interest groups that were prevented from making such huge donations under Proposition 73.

Suddenly, in the latest filing last week, the Feinstein campaign was getting more money than Wilson. She got an immediate influx of large donations from public employee organizations with much to gain from having a friendly occupant in the corner office during collective bargaining sessions.

Brown and Roberti, obviously, have a big stake in Judge Karlton's ruling. If they can put Dianne Feinstein in the governor's chair, they have another 10-year stranglehold on a Democrat-gerrymandered Legislature.

Well, it wasn't the first time the Democratic legislative leadership was grateful for a very timely judicial ruling. Brown boasted happily that "Sister Rose and the Supremes," meaning ultraliberal Rose Bird and her state Supreme Court allies, had done the legislative leadership a great service when Proposition 24, another effort at political reform, was thrown out.

Such rulings, of course, make one wonder what an overwhelming popular vote is worth when it can be nullified by one judge just in time to influence a major election.

Feinstein Tries to Defuse Attack on Fund Raising

A3 9/28/90 L.A. Times

CATHLEEN DECKER
ITS POLITICAL WRITER

SAN FRANCISCO—Her financially strapped mpaign for governor boosted at least tempo-ily by the demise of California's political ancing restrictions, Dianne Feinstein on ursday tried to shield herself from Republi-n accusations that she is violating the spirit of very reform measure she once supported.

She did so in a time-honored way, by inching a broadside at her opponent, Republi-n Pete Wilson, whom she strongly suggested d traded favors to build up his massive mpaign war chest.

This came as Feinstein disclosed she had ceived $150,000 in campaign contributions ednesday from California Highway Patrol icers. Before the funding restrictions were lifted, the officers' labor group would have been limited to a $5,000 donation.

Feinstein said the only way she can compete with an incumbent such as Wilson is to accept the bulk donations that have come to her campaign since a federal court judge Tuesday overturned Proposition 73, a voter-approved measure that placed a $1,000-per-person limit on campaign contributions. The ruling, which also limited contributions from large committees to $5,000, is being appealed.

Because of his position as an incumbent U.S. senator, Feinstein said, it is easier for Wilson to obtain contributions from groups with a special interest in federal legislation.

"Anybody that takes on a United States senator—[a challenger] who's not an incumbent, who's a private citizen, isn't doing favors for anyone—doesn't have the networks of people to be able to contribute," Feinstein told several hundred members of the Commonwealth Club here.

Appearing in Los Angeles to accept the endorsement of prosecuting attorneys Thursday morning, Wilson repeated his call for Feinstein to abide by the spirit of the $1,000 limit, but said in effect that if she violated it, he would too. Wilson added, however, that in no case would he take so much money from any single source that it would suggest "that I was beholden to a contributor." He declined to say just how much that limit might be.

Wilson rejected the notion that his contributions had obligated him to any special interest. "I do not intend to do now what I have never done in my career, which is to take an inordinately large gift from a single contributor

Please see FEINSTEIN, A31

Continued from A3

because the whole purpose of the campaign limits . . . is to give the people confidence that there is neither the fact nor the appearance of undue influence," he said.

Wilson also said that anyone who sought to take advantage of the court's decision while an appeal is pending would be flouting the will of the people. "They are saying to the public, 'To hell with your concern about special interests. It was legal for a brief moment and I'm going to take my chance, take my advantage,' " Wilson said.

The U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals refused Thursday to grant a stay of the Proposition 73 ruling until after a hearing today before U.S. District Judge Lawrence K. Karlton, who issued the decision. If Karlton refuses to grant a stay, the appeals court will hold a hearing Tuesday in Pasadena to consider a renewed request by backers of the campaign measure.

Feinstein, making her first public appearance since a four-day, out-of-state fund-raising trip, made clear Thursday that she has no interest in sticking to limits that were severely curtailing her fund-raising ability.

Wilson, with a statewide contributors' list honed in two senate campaigns, has been collecting money at a rate twice that of Feinstein. While Wilson is believed to have millions in the bank for a fall television blitz, Feinstein's campaign has been living a hand-to-mouth existence. Updated financial reports are to be released by both campaigns next week.

Seemingly buoyed by the financial repercussions of the judge's decision, Feinstein told reporters at a press conference after her speech that she was "very proud" to have received the CHP officers' $150,000 contribution.

Feinstein's speech and her press conference offered her an opportunity to vent frustration at both Wilson and the state campaign reform law.

She called Wilson the "most prolific fund raiser in the history of American politics," a seeming exaggeration given the campaign histories of President Bush and former President Reagan, among others. Feinstein noted correctly that Wilson has been among the top Senate recipients of money from corporations, savings and loan officials and agriculture and chemical concerns.

"My opponent can raise $20 [million] to $30 million from wide networks of people all of whom want solicitous attention from their United States senator and from a man who, if he loses [the race for governor], will be in the United States Senate," she said.

"Is that right?" she asked. "Is that the kind of politics we want?"

Asked later whether she meant to imply that Wilson had traded votes for contributions, Feinstein replied, "I just said what I thought the facts were in this case."

Feinstein's comments on Proposition 73, the campaign financing reform measure now in legal limbo, were equally critical. She declared herself "living testimony" that it had helped incumbents such as Wilson and restricted challengers like herself.

"I was an initial supporter of Prop. 73," she said, adding that she now believes the measure is "not fair campaign finance reform" because it limits the ability of political parties to help their candidates and because its annual contribution cycles favor those who announce their candidacies early—typically, incumbents.

In addition to reversing herself on Proposition 73, Feinstein also signaled a change of heart on public financing of political campaigns, which she edged close to endorsing Thursday.

While the overturning of financing restrictions were an obvious benefit to Feinstein, she declined to say how much help she expected to receive as a direct result of the decision. Other labor groups which have endorsed the candidate are expected to add their checks to the CHP donation, however.

Feinstein also expressed confidence that she would not be seen as "opportunistic" for taking large donations in conflict with her earlier stand.

"I'm following the law," she said. "I can't do anyone a favor. I'm not in public office."

Ruling Helps Feinstein Raise $750,000

10/10/90 A14 L.A. Times

By DAN MORAIN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SAN FRANCISCO—Democratic gubernatorial candidate Dianne Feinstein raised more than $750,000 in the days immediately after a federal judge struck down stringent campaign contribution limits contained in Proposition 73, her campaign finance statement released here Tuesday shows.

During the first four days after the ruling was issued, Feinstein turned to labor unions, Democratic office-holders, party activists and business associates of her husband for the donations, according the report covering the period between July 1 and Sept. 30.

In all, Feinstein raised $4.9 million during the period after costs were deducted. By far, the bulk of the contributions came in increments of $1,000; a large percentage of came in donations of $100 or less.

But when the limits were lifted on Sept. 25, labor unions responded by giving more than $300,000. Included in that amount, the Los Angeles County District Council of Carpenters gave $100,000, while the Carpenters Historical Society Political Action Committee gave $50,000, as did the Service Employees International Union. Feinstein received $10,000 from United Food and Commercial Workers.

On Sept. 27, she received $20,000 from an AFL-CIO political action committee. The California Teachers Assn. gave $50,000, bringing its total contribution to $55,000. The School Employees Assn. of California gave $15,000 on Sept. 28, after having given $5,000 previously.

The Amalgamated Transit Union gave her the maximum $5,000 under Proposition 73, then kicked in another $2,500 when the restriction was tossed out. Operating Engineers Local Union local in Stockton gave her $10,000.

Under Proposition 73, individuals could not give more than $1,000, PACs were limited to giving $5,000 and office-holders were precluded from transferring money to candidates.

On Sept. 25, with six weeks left in the campaign. U.S. District Judge Lawrence K. Karlton of Sacramento found the restrictions unconstitutional. The ruling is being appealed.

The former San Francisco mayor had acknowledged she would begin seeking larger donations when the limitations were lifted. She said on Sunday night's debate that she needed the money to air commercials on television.

Texas billionaire Robert M. Bass, a business associate of Feinstein's husband, investment banker and money manager Richard C. Blum, gave $36,000. David Bonderman, a Bass business partner, gave $25,000. Businessman John Scully gave her $10,000. Scully is also a Bass partner.

Blum's prowess as a fund-raiser also was apparent in San Francisco where investment banker Warren Hellman, a friend of Blum's, donated $50,000 when the limits were lifted.

Dennis B. Block, an executive with the New York-based Exquisite Form Industries, contributed $25,000. Exquisite Form Industries, an apparel company, is affiliated with a Manila-based firm that is a client of Blum's.

Times Staff Writer Victor Zonana contributed to this story.

California and the West

Feinstein, Wilson Scramble to Add Points

Gubernatorial race: As both candidates seek to capitalize on their scores in the debate, most experts say there was no clear winner in the televised meeting.

GEORGE SKELTON
TIMES SACRAMENTO BUREAU CHIEF

Both gubernatorial candidates scrambled Monday to capitalize on points they scored in their first campaign debate, with Democrat Dianne Feinstein attacking Republican Sen. Pete Wilson's attendance record in Congress and Wilson portraying Feinstein as a puppet of legislative leaders.

The consensus of many political scientists and campaign consultants, meanwhile, was that there was no clear winner in Sunday night's televised debate. Feinstein handled herself better, many thought, but Wilson captured more news media attention by endorsing a popular ballot initiative to impose strict term limits on legislators.

TV ratings for the debate were "very respectable," according to Victor J. Biondi, executive director of the sponsoring California Broadcasters Assn. The one-hour program, carried by 32 TV stations, was seen in 11% of California's homes, or more than 1.1 million, Biondi estimated.

"In that time period [6 p.m.] on a Monday night, it's a little higher than what a station normally would do," he said. Biondi attributed the good viewership to aggressive promotion by the stations. And he noted that even more people would have seen the debate if it were not for TV competition from the Oakland Athletics in the American League playoffs and the Los Angeles Raiders in an NFL game.

To a large degree, victory in the debate was in the eyes of the beholder, with perspectives influenced by an individual's political orientation. Predictably, the tendency was for Democrats to give the benefit of doubt to Feinstein and for Republicans to lean toward Wilson.

What most everybody interviewed by The Times agreed on, however, was that each candidate escaped the debate without making a serious gaffe—and that was the primary goal. No home runs, but no errors.

Most outsiders generally praised the debate, but one political scientist called it terrible. Bruce Cain of the Institute of Government Studies at UC Berkeley equated the event to what former heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali used to call "rope-a-dope."

"It was the political equivalent of rope-a-dope strategy," Cain said. "Let the other guy bang away. Cover up and don't make any mistakes. Try not to lose. . . . They were so cautious, nothing interesting was said the whole time. No spontaneity. All rehearsed. All warmed-over TV ads."

The one debate surprise, of sorts, was Wilson's endorsement of Proposition 140, the term limit initiative sponsored by Los Angeles County Supervisor Pete Schabarum. The surprise was not that Wilson endorsed the measure; it is highly popular with the voters, according to polls. But the timing of his endorsement was somewhat unexpected.

Many thought Wilson might wait until closer to the Nov. 6 election before deciding whether to endorse Proposition 140, hoping to be far enough ahead in the gubernatorial race to avoid taking a stand sure to alienate legislators he would have to deal with as governor.

Feinstein criticized Wilson for "weather vane politics." But the Republican senator made it clear on Monday that he intends to counter Feinstein's contention that she is the "candidate of change" by tying her to Sacramento's old-guard Democratic leaders, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. of San Francisco and Senate President Pro Tem David A. Roberti of Los Angeles.

Feinstein opposes term limits, allying herself with Brown and Roberti, who are aggressively fighting them.

"She is beholden to Willie Brown and David Roberti," Wilson said at a Santa Monica airport press conference Monday. "She cannot be the agent for change as long as that is the case."

Wilson told reporters that "the last straw" in his decision to endorse Proposition 140 was a federal judge's recent "outrageous" ruling that tossed out campaign contribution limits, a move that significantly helped Feinstein's fund-raising ability. Noting that Speaker Brown had fought the contribution limit measure—Proposition 73—Wilson said Brown "wants the law of the fat cats to prevail."

For her part, Feinstein kept up the campaign heat on Wilson for missing Senate votes recently and in past years. According to her figures, Wilson has missed 26 roll call votes since Labor Day and has the third-worst attendance record in the current Senate.

"Our country stands on the brink of recession and on the brink of war and Sen. Wilson is missing the action," Feinstein said at a Los Angeles press conference. Then turning her rhetoric on Republican Gov. George Deukmejian—just as Wilson now is taking shots at Democratic legislative leaders—Feinstein said: "We've had eight years of a governor who was missing in action. We don't need four more."

Wilson's response was that he would return to Washington for "a serious vote" on something like the budget.

Feinstein also tried to counter Wilson's assertions that she would be a puppet of Brown's by vowing, if elected, to work for an ideological moderation of the liberal Assembly Public Safety Committee. Wilson claims the committee has been "arrogantly" burying tough crime bills. And Feinstein said there is "no question" the committee should be changed.

Meanwhile, outsider opinions on the debate varied slightly, but the consensus seemed to be that it was a draw.

Times Political Writers Cathleen Decker and Bill Stall contributed to this article.

CALIFORNIA ELECTIONS GOVERNOR

Wilson Expands Reasons to Support Term Limits

10/12/90 A3 L.A. Times

By GEORGE SKELTON
TIMES SACRAMENTO BUREAU CHIEF

SACRAMENTO—U.S. Sen. Pete Wilson on Thursday portrayed the state Legislature as the chief roadblock to fighting crime, improving schools and reforming auto insurance and declared that the "one sure way" to end its "arrogance" is to limit legislators' terms.

"It is sad that to change the laws we must change the lawmakers," he said, "but if that's what's required, so be it."

The Republican gubernatorial candidate thus sought to broaden the debate over legislative term limits beyond abstract political science to the practical concerns of average voters who are worried about street crime, the quality of their children's education and sky-high auto insurance premiums.

And, of course, his main target was not so much the Democratic-controlled Legislature but his Democratic opponent, former San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein. She won't endorse term limits, Wilson asserted, because "she is beholden" to Assembly Speaker Willie L. Brown Jr. (D-San Francisco).

"The Democratic leadership is largely responsible for where she is today and she won't challenge their grip on power," Wilson claimed in a prepared statement.

Feinstein has said she opposes term limits because they weaken a Legislature by destroying the opportunity to develop experienced leaders. "If people don't like an incumbent, they should vote against that incumbent," she has said.

Wilson, a career politician, had refrained for months from "run-

Please see WILSON, A20

WILSON: Term Limit Support

Continued from A3

ning against Sacramento." But he clearly has concluded that the state Capitol—with its legislative gridlock and corruption scandals—offers too tempting a target to ignore. One Wilson adviser, who asked not to be identified, said that term limits will be "one of [his] dominating themes" for the remainder of the race.

Wilson first signaled his change in strategy during last Sunday's televised campaign debate by unexpectedly endorsing Proposition 140, a tough term limits initiative sponsored by Los Angeles County Supervisor Pete Schabarum.

On Thursday, Wilson elaborated at length for the first time on his reasons for endorsing Proposition 140. He chose as the location a meeting room across the street from the state Capitol, where he once served as an assemblyman.

Referring indirectly to Feinstein and her "candidacy of change," Wilson told about 300 members of the Sacramento Rotary Club that "the changes that must be made in our educational system, in our public safety, in fundamental restructuring of the [state] budget process, which is a disaster . . . can't be made . . . by anyone who is beholden to the special interests that, in fact, are controlling too much of what goes on across the street."

Wilson said stiffer penalties for violent criminals—such as paroled rapist Lawrence Singleton, who chopped off the forearms of his teen-age victim and left her for dead—have been blocked for years by the Assembly Public Safety Committee. He asserted that Speaker Brown has stacked that committee with "ACLU liberals" while "dispensing plums" to stay in power.

He also charged that Brown, because of his alliance with trial lawyers, has blocked legislation to provide affordable auto insurance. He cited a case last January when the Speaker twisted arms and changed votes to kill a compromise bill that would have provided low-cost insurance for the poor.

Wilson also said that Democratic legislative leaders have bowed to "the defiant egalitarianism of the teachers union" and blocked merit pay for the best teachers, thus perpetuating "mediocrity" in the classroom.

But the senator acknowledged, in effect, that one of the biggest factors in his decision to endorse term limits was simply political revenge. There were "two straws that really finally broke the camel's back," he said.

One straw was the "completely deceptive and dishonest campaign" of Democratic leaders to defeat two reapportionment "reform" initiatives on the June ballot, Wilson said. Gerrymandering of legislative districts has kept incumbents in office, he implied. And he noted that Democrats also beat back a GOP-sponsored legislative "reform" in 1984, after which Brown boastfully described his side's advertising campaign as "a con job."

The other straw was a federal judge's recent ruling that threw out campaign contribution limits, a decision that has greatly helped Feinstein's fund-raising ability. Wilson told reporters Thursday that he regards the judge's ruling as "highly suspect," coming five weeks before the election.

The San Diego Union

Col. Ira C. Copley, 1864-1947
James S. Copley, 1916-1973

Editorials/Opinion

Helen K. Copley, Publisher
Gerald L. Warren, Editor

Page B-6 *A Copley Newspaper* Wednesday, October 10, 1990

Wilson '140' backing a bold move

Joe Scott

LOS ANGELES — Close elections are really about defining moments — when a candidate takes a calculated risk to break through a buzz of conflicting messages to seize control of the media agenda.

Republican Pete Wilson's dilemma, going into his first gubernatorial debate with Dianne Feinstein last Sunday, was that she appeared to have an edge on the issue of change by offering voters a more rhetorical vision of the '90s.

Feinstein's speeches have suggested that she, as the first woman nominee of a major party to run for governor, is the outsider running against the entrenched male "big cigars" — the insurgent who could make a difference in Sacramento.

What California needs is "a little mothering," she said after winning the Democraic primary against John Van de Kamp. It was a bold suggestion that she would be the best agent of change to end the practice of cronyism in a Legislature controlled by special interests — and get the state moving again on major issues.

The pre-debate question was how Wilson, portrayed by Feinstein as the consummate insider and politician of yesterday, could cut himself into the defining argument about change and emerge as an acceptable alternative to undecided voters.

Wilson needed an argument to dramatically link Feinstein to "the old boy network" and establishment politics that she has attacked with such passion and a way to play on the corruption scandals that have rocked the Capitol.

Defying convention, Wilson announced his support for Proposition 140 — a very restrictive November ballot initiative that would limit state Assembly members to three terms and state senators to two terms.

The initiative, along with another less-stringent term-limits measure, Proposition 131, is opposed by Feinstein, leaders in both parties and special-interest lobbyists.

Seizing upon voter anger about lawmakers' ineffectiveness that has put both initiatives ahead in early polls, Wilson reluctantly concluded that Proposition 140 was the only way basic change could take place in Sacramento.

Denying that he was merely being an opportunist, or as Feinstein put it in a tight sound bite, a "weather vane" politician, Wilson, a 25-year political careerist, explained the origin of his new-found populism.

Basically, it comes down to his anger about the tactics that Assembly Speaker Willie Brown used to defeat two reapportionment initiatives on the June ballot, and a ruling by federal Judge Lawrence Karlton that threw out spending limits voters approved by passing Proposition 73.

Wilson suggested that, instead of being an agent of change, Feinstein is a "captive" of Brown, consistently shown by polls to be one of the state's most unpopular politicians — and the key player in rounding up special-interest funds to defeat the term-limit initiatives.

"She can't be the agent of change when she has been led by the hand of Speaker Brown to the trial lawyers and the teachers' union."

Wilson has succeeded, at least initially, in putting Feinstein on the defensive over the term-limits issue. The best proof was her post-debate statement seeking to portray Proposition 140, which would also trim the Legislature's budget and trim lawmakers' pensions, as a question of leadership instead of an issue of change.

Feinstein said changing leaders does "not necessarily" guarantee change, but rather the ability of a leader to "lobby, convince and cajole" in a time of crisis.

But her insistence during the debate that, as governor, she could "handle" Brown is remarkable, given the control that the Speaker has long exerted over her — notably, convincing her to remain in the race last December against all odds.

The biggest surprise for Wilson's foes in the wake of his Proposition 140 endorsement is how it punctures their perception of him as little more than a "robopol" when it comes to asserting any real independence. But he has surprised his critics before.

In the 1976 presidential primary, Wilson, then San Diego mayor, bucked the California Republican establishment then backing the insurgent candidacy of Ronald Reagan by supporting incumbent Gerald Ford for re-election.

It was an expensive political decision. Unforgiving Reaganites struck back by playing a key role in Wilson's disastrous bid for the GOP gubernatorial nomination in 1978.

Not until Wilson's successful U.S. Senate campaign against Democrat Jerry Brown four years later was any degree of rapproachement achieved. But Wilson never became a Reagan White House clone, voting to override vetoes on the highway bill and the clean water act.

Wilson has not been afraid to challenge White House Chief of Staff John Sununu over offshore oil drilling, or oppose Administration policy toward China or arms sales to Saudi Arabia.

Wilson has angered Sen. Ken Maddy, R-Fresno, and Assemblyman Ross Johnson, R-Fullerton, the GOP leaders — and his running mate for lieutenant governor, Sen. Marian Bergeson, by supporting term limits.

Wilson, by bucking the incumbent system, has established an arguable case that he is more of an outsider than Feinstein — an alternative to change.

CAMPAIGN JOURNAL

Term Limits Not Popular Topic for Feinstein

10/7/96 A3 L.A. Times

By GEORGE SKELTON
TIMES SACRAMENTO BUREAU CHIEF

Dianne Feinstein is the candidate of "change." It says so in her television ads. She says so in almost every speech. That is her main message.

And it is true that as the race for governor speeds toward a Nov. 6 climax, Feinstein increasingly has been talking about changes she would make in such areas as education, crime and health care.

For example, while campaigning before labor groups last week she repeatedly promised to sign a bill providing health insurance for California's 5 million uninsured workers "within 100 days" of taking office.

But there is one "change" voters seem to be demanding that she cannot promise—in fact, one she does not even care to talk about very much. That is a major shake-up of the political system in Sacramento, starting with term limits for legislators. She does not believe in term limits, the candidate will say if pressed, because they weaken a Legislature by destroying the opportunity to develop experienced leaders.

"It's like throwing out the baby with the bathwater," she said during a press conference in Montebello last Tuesday. "If people don't like an incumbent, they should vote against that incumbent."

Feinstein's stand seemingly is at odds with most voters who, according to recent polls, favor two ballot propositions that would limit the terms of officeholders. Just as significant, Feinstein has been resisting the broader temptation to "run against Sacramento," a fat political target with its revealing FBI investigation, recent corruption convictions and incessant legislative gridlock.

Feinstein, a close ally of Assembly Speaker Willie Brown (D-San Francisco), is being careful not to alienate the legislators she hopes to deal with as governor. Aggressively attacking "Sacramento" and "special interests"—words regarded by most lawmakers as euphemisms for themselves—would risk "creating an atmosphere where they would go out of their way to see that I'd not be a successful governor," she said in an interview. "I'd like to create an atmosphere that addresses issues and where everybody is willing to work together."

History shows that although beating up on Sacramento may be popular with voters, there inevitably is a price to pay for gubernatorial candidates who do it. "That's a mild understatement," said former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., who pushed for political reform and enraged legislators when he ran for governor in 1974, the first post-Watergate election.

"Even to this date, it kind of sticks in their craw," Brown said of his first campaign. "There are a couple of senators who haven't spoken to me since. That was something not well received."

Atty. Gen. John K. Van de Kamp paid the price literally earlier this year for proposing Proposition 131—a government ethics initiative with term limits—and vowing to "drain the swamp" of political corruption in Sacramento. Angry legislative leaders used their leverage over bills to dry up Van de Kamp's campaign contributions from special interests, particularly trial lawyers who had supported him.

"We thought we had commitments [from trial lawyers] but they [legislators] shut off the funds," said one former Van de Kamp adviser, who asked not to be identified. "They found a way to get to us and it cost us well into seven figures."

This fall, the Republican gubernatorial candidate, Sen. Pete Wilson, is joining Feinstein in opposing Proposition 131. But his opposition is not based on term

Please see TERMS, A41

TERMS: Not Big Topic for Candidates

Continued from A3

limits. He is opposed because the measure also would allow tax dollars to be used to help finance political campaigns. Wilson has not taken a position on the more stringent term limit measure, Proposition 140, sponsored by Los Angeles County Supervisor Pete Schabarum.

Taking whacks at the Legislature could gain the gubernatorial candidates a lot of points with voters, The Los Angeles Times Poll indicated in its most recent statewide survey. Voters disapproved of the Legislature's job performance by 2 to 1. They also had a basically unfavorable impression of Speaker Brown. And they overwhelmingly backed the term limit initiatives, especially Schabarum's.

But as with Feinstein, Wilson's criticism of Sacramento has been relatively mild, confined primarily to denouncing the "arrogance" of Democratic leaders for "gerrymandering" legislative districts and assailing liberals for burying crime bills.

"He hasn't gone out of his way to say, 'We have to clean up the mess in Sacramento,' " said Wilson's press secretary, Bill Livingston. "He's not saying, 'Throw the bums out.' "

Feinstein's gentle scoldings of Sacramento have been aimed basically at the lame-duck Republican governor, George Deukmejian. There is gridlock in the capitol, she says, because of inertia in the governor's office.

That is not to say the Legislature is faultless, let alone ethically pure, the former San Francisco mayor will acknowledge if asked.

"That body has to come to grips with its own rules," she said. "That's the whole essence of ethics reform and I think it's beginning to happen. There have been some big and painful lessons learned. And with a new governor, there is an opportunity to set a new tone up there and that's what I hope to do."

Legislators line up against term limits

Wilson nearly alone among top politicians in backing initiative

By Vicki Haddock
and Steven A. Capps
OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

Pete Wilson stands alone. Almost every other top California politician is lining up behind a fierce last-minute blitz to torpedo the idea of term limits for legislators.

And staff members say they are being compelled by their legislator bosses to donate to the cause.

They say donations are being solicited with the implied threat that those who don't contribute money or time may be the first to lose their jobs should voters approve the more severe of two California initiatives that would limit legislative terms.

The campaign against the two propositions is a tough sell, contingent on persuading voters that they do not want precisely what they think they do want.

Polls show voters favor both measures on the November ballot, a groundswell that apparently influenced Wilson to take the riskiest gamble of the campaign by backing Proposition 140 — one of the two initiatives.

President Bush may join him soon. Bush suggested at a news conference Tuesday that he was toying with the idea of campaigning for term limits.

"I may go public on that. I'm certainly not opposed to it," Bush said. "Whether I make it a prime mover in the political campaign that lies ahead in the next few weeks, I don't know."

Most Republicans object

But in California, Marian Bergeson, Republican nominee for lieutenant governor, calls it a bad idea. And Republican Assembly Minority Leader Ross Johnson of Fullerton complained in a letter to colleagues that the two measures "subject all legislators, whether good, bad or indifferent, to arbitrary term limits." Only a few GOP legislators support term limits.

Opponents are scrambling to recruit a star-studded lineup to speak against the idea.

Unofficial overtures have been made to an array of big names, including TV superdad Bill Cosby and former President Ronald Reagan (although adviser Stu Spencer said Reagan has decided not to get involved despite his personal opposition to term limits.)

While celebrities may be more influential with voters viscerally drawn to the notion of "throwing the rascals out," academics will wage a more thoughtful debate in newspaper editorial boards and radio talk shows. Their arguments are targeted to better-informed voters who see a paralysis in state government and are reluctantly leaning toward term limits as a remedy.

Proposition 131 by Democratic Attorney General John Van de Kamp would limit legislators to 12 consecutive years in office.

Prop. 140 by Republican Los Angeles County Supervisor Pete Schabarum would limit members of the Assembly to six years and senators to eight years.

Prop. 140 would also cut the Legislature's budget by at least 38 percent and perhaps as much as 50 percent, forcing the layoff of scores of legislative employees.

Battle plan

Strategy is still in the making, but insiders gave a rough guide of plans to defeat Props. 131 and 140:

▶ Democratic legislative leaders Willie Brown and David Roberti and Republican leaders Johnson and Ken Maddy will continue overseeing a huge fund-raising drive to underwrite at least a $4 million campaign.

▶ Masterminded by Berman and D'Agostino Campaigns, a Los Angeles political firm, the No on 131 and 140 forces hope to saturate the airwaves in the final two weeks before the election.

▶ Ads will try to treat Props. 131 and 140 as Siamese twins. Conservatives balk more at the campaign financing mechanism in 131, while liberals balk more at the Draconian cuts of legislative budgets in 140; linking the two cements a bipartisan consensus. Opponents privately hope voters draw the mistaken impression that both measures would trigger unpopular taxpayer financing of campaigns.

▶ Another pitch will warn voters, in effect: "There may come a day when the state is in such need that we'll have to call on our best and brightest. What do we do if they've already served their time?" Focus groups show voters react strongly when informed that Prop. 140 enacts a lifetime ban once a term limit is reached.

BALLOT MEASURES

What the measures would do:

Proposition 140

▶ Limit statewide officers and state senators to two consecutive four-year terms, members of assembly to three two-year terms.

▶ Reduce the Legislature's budget by about $70 million.

▶ Eliminate the Legislature's pension plan, replacing it with the federal Social Security System.

Proposition 131

▶ Limit the governor and other statewide officers to eight years and members of the Legislature to 12 years. After an individual is out of office for a term, he or she could seek office again.

▶ Provide partial public campaign financing, tied to campaign expenditure limits.

▶ Enact "ethics reforms," prohibiting officials from accepting honorariums and reducing the value of gifts that could be accepted.

EXAMINER GRAPHICS

▶ With surveys showing that even voters dissatisfied with Sacramento's status quo still feel satisfied with their local Assembly member or senator, the goal is to exploit that popularity.

Two examples: Oakland voters might receive a direct-mail piece reminding them that popular longtime state Sen. Nicholas Petris would not be thrown out of office via term limits, and voters in urban Los Angeles might hear ads on black radio stations reminding them that Maxine Waters could not have achieved what she did under an Assembly term-limit system.

▶ Even without Reagan's direct participation, voters may be pointedly reminded of his opposition to term limits.

'People are really paranoid'

"Most people are really paranoid," said an upper-level staff member who, like others contacted, insisted on anonymity. "It's pretty much all that's being talked about in the Capitol, how to get on which (contributors') list, and make sure you're covered."

Rumors are rampant among Capitol aides. One legislator was said to have told a group of staff members, "Don't ante up, and you're out of here." Some say legislative leaders are keeping 3-by-5 cards listing each staffer and what he or she has contributed to the effort so far. There is no proof of either.

S.- Bee D3

10/12/90



DAN WALTERS

Limiting terms a hot button

Suddenly, limiting legislative terms is the hottest political issue in California, and one that could be pivotal in the otherwise close duel for the governorship.

Pete Wilson, the Republican candidate for governor, elevated term limits into front-page prominence last Sunday when he endorsed a highly controversial ballot measure, Proposition 140, during his first televised debate with Democrat Dianne Feinstein.

Declaring that "the California Legislature has deteriorated markedly," Wilson called for term limits in a bid to portray himself as the agent of political reform and Feinstein as the defender of the status quo.

Tactically, it was a masterstroke because Feinstein could hardly disavow her close political connections with legislative leaders such as Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. Indeed, the effect was to underscore those connections at a moment when term limits are highly popular and the Legislature is despised.

Post-debate polls indicated that it certainly didn't hurt Wilson. The California Poll, which was questioning potential voters as the debate occurred, found that his lead over Feinstein had already widened but remained about the same in the wake of the video confrontation. It now stands at 47 percent to 42 percent.

Wilson, at least, thinks it's a winning issue and is continuing to hammer on the Legislature in post-debate speeches.

By raising the intensity of the debate over term limits, Wilson has placed Feinstein on the defensive, forcing her to tell voters – rather lamely – that a "lack of leadership" rather than the Legislature is to blame for the Capitol's political stalemate when most Californians hold the opposite view. Indirectly, Wilson's tactical ploy also has altered the chemistry of the campaign over the term-limitation proposals themselves.

The one that Wilson is endorsing, Proposition 140, is the brainchild of Los Angeles County Supervisor Pete Schabarum and would limit legislators to three two-year terms in the Assembly and two four-year terms in the Senate and also would slash legislators' special retirement system and the Legislature's internal budget.

Another measure, Proposition 131, sponsored by Attorney General John Van de Kamp and some liberal reformers, has more elastic limits and would impose restrictions on campaign contributions and spending.

Both are hated by all but a few incumbent legislators of both parties and they have been organizing a multimillion-dollar campaign to defeat both, but they fear and loathe Proposition 140 much more than Proposition 131.

Having Wilson align his campaign for the governorship with Proposition 140 is a major boon to its sponsors, since they lack money to run a conventional campaign, and it will make the opposition drive being organized by Speaker Brown more difficult to pursue, no matter how much money they collect and spend.

The more Brown & Co. try to defend the legislative status quo, the more they are putting Feinstein and her trailing candidacy on the spot.

She will be identified more and more with the Legislature and its unpopular leaders and that will undercut her self-drawn reformer image. It is, in short, a political box.

Tactics aside, there will be an intensified political debate over term limits and their impact on a legislative process.

Advocates of limits say that the Legislature has become the private preserve of incumbents who are isolated from the larger public, virtually immune to political challenge. The incumbents control the shapes and the political inclinations of their own districts through reapportionment and blow away would-be challengers with huge campaign war chests extracted from special interest lobbyists.

Common Cause, the political reform group that supports Proposition 131, underlined that Thursday with a new report showing that legislative incumbents this year have raised six times as much money as challengers, referring to it as "a wall of political money that makes them almost invincible."

Cracking the wall that separates the Legislature from accountability is fundamental to any reformation of the Capitol. Term limits may not be the perfect approach, but precious few others are available to a disgusted California public.

DAN WALTERS' column appears daily, except Saturday. Write him at P.O. Box 15778, Sacramento 95852, or call (916) 321-1195.

WARREN
HINCKLE



Feinstein loses — you read it here first

EXACTLY three weeks to go until the election. Membership in the professional poll watchers association should be restricted to those who are willing to now put their predictions in a sealed envelope to be opened the morning after Nov. 6.

In that spirit of unbridled guessmanship, I put myself out on this gubernatorial limb: to predict that Dianne Feinstein will be defeated for governor by Pete Wilson. Dianne has zapped herself.

Zap No. 1: Dianne Feinstein's Catholic school girl training came back to bedevil her in their first TV debate. Everyone who has gone to parochial schools knows that the way you cheat in an exam is to scribble the answers in ballpoint on your hand. (You can also get a fair amount of copy on the inside of your wrist, if your dare.)

It matters little whether Dianne inked on her flesh only three little words, as she insisted, or had a copy of the Gettysburg Address temporarily tattooed on her, as is asserted by mean-spirited Southern California technocrats who claim access to computerized blow-ups of videotaped debate footage showing her gesticulating with a word-heavy palm. The dreary matter did candidate Feinstein no good with the electorate, because on the most elemental of perceptions it looks like she either (a) cheated, or (b) cheated and tried to tell little white lies about it. Feinstein is now tarred with a version of George Bush's "read my hips" credibility gap.

Zap No. 2: Feinstein surrendered her "fresh voice" high ground — and unthinkingly handed Wilson the governorship — when she allowed the Caspar Milquetoast-ish Wilson to sandbag her into linking her candidacy with the entrenched Democratic machine in Sacramento and the deal-cutting of Willie Brown.

This is a political no-no in the anti-incumbent climate of the nation. But when Wilson broke with his own state Republican leadership and surprised everyone by endorsing Prop. 140, the legislative term limitation measure, Feinstein — instead of attacking Wilson for his Republican military industrial complex pork-barreling — went into a time warp back to her Coro Foundation good-government intern days. She actually delivered a lecture on the importance of keeping Old Boys in Sacramento!

She was of course partly right — guaranteeing greenhorns every go-around in Sacramento makes the new crop easy pickings for the lobbyists. Where she was half wrong was that the lobbyists are already getting their way with the politically seasoned legislative hacks, who have made successive terms in office something akin to the divine right of kings. This is the half that is perfectly clear to the voters, whose present mood is "better the devil we don't know than the devils we do."

The hagiographic articles that appeared in this newspaper Sunday notwithstanding, the Feinstein campaign is entering a tailspin phase like those of previous Feinstein campaigns, which experienced intellectual paralysis in the home stretch.

Dianne appears to be too rigid to realize that the Year of the Woman in politics, the promising rock upon which she founded her gubernatorial effort, has, at least for the moment, subsided, and the year of Throw the Bums Out has caught the electoral winds.

> Feinstein is tarred with a version of Bush's 'read my hips' credibility gap.

Zap No. 3: Citizen Feinstein is going to be sorry she took all the available money and ran when a judge threw out state Sen. Quentin Kopp's campaign contribution limitation measure. Feinstein had previously supported this reform, but she couldn't wait to suck in the special-interest checks when barriers went down.

This gave the deeper-pocketed Wilson the morally superior ground of sticking by the law while his rival groveled for formally illegitimate bucks. After he has milked this for all it is worth, Wilson will then say he has to fight fire with fire, that Dianne started it, and take Republican special-interest money, which will bring in maybe $20 for every buck Dianne took.

Wilson, using a fattened war chest, will bury Feinstein in an avalanche of last-minute TV ads that will stress her going sidewise on principle.

Result: Feinstein the loser. Wilson wins big, by as much as 6 percent.

II. RICHARD BLUM -- STILL IN THE NEWS
pages 18-23

page:

18. "SEC Investigates Firm Whose Biggest Stockholder Is Feinstein's Husband," by David Willman, Los Angeles Times, October 4, 1990

20. "Feinstein's Husband Sold Stock Two Days Before Value Plunged," by David Willman, Los Angeles Times, September 14, 1990

22. "Blum's Client List Links Feinstein to Pier 39," by Philip J. Trounstine, San Jose Mercury News, September 8, 1990

23. "Feinstein's Mate, and His Money, Sort of Running Too," by Gerry Braun, San Diego Union, October 13, 1990



JOE KENNEDY / Los Angeles Times

Richard Blum says he did not participate in or know of alleged improprieties and was a "victim."

SEC Investigates Firm Whose Biggest Stockholder Is Feinstein's Husband

Securities: Blum denies participating in any improprieties. Probe focuses on allegations that the company and its officials inflated the value of stock.

10/4/90 A3 L.A. Times

By DAVID WILLMAN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SAN FRANCISCO—The Securities and Exchange Commission is investigating alleged stock manipulation by an engineering firm whose biggest stockholder is Richard C. Blum—the husband of Dianne Feinstein and the chief financial backer of her campaign for governor, records show.

The investigation focuses on allegations that the company and its officials inflated the value of the firm's stock by issuing false and misleading financial statements during 1986 and 1987, according to the company's quarterly financial statement, filed publicly with the SEC in late September.

The company, San Francisco-based URS Corp., said that the SEC "has under consideration . . . violations of certain sections of [federal securities law] and the seeking of an injunction against any violations . . . in the future." Officials with the SEC declined, as a matter of policy, to confirm or deny the existence of the investigation.

Blum, reached Wednesday, said he was unaware that the SEC is investigating the company. He said he neither participated in nor knew about the alleged improprieties at URS at the time and was a "victim."

"I can tell you absolutely and categorically I knew nothing," said Blum, a director and paid financial consultant of URS since 1975.

Blum blamed the company's former top executives for URS's problems. He said that his involvement in the running of the company was limited and that he did not compose the financial reports.

"We had a level of confidence that these guys, after being with them for 10 years, knew what they were doing," said Blum. "Obviously, things got out of control."

Blum's description of his involvement was disputed by the company's former chief financial officer, Richard H. Towle, who told The Times that Blum was "intimately involved" in the firm's operations.

The SEC's investigation comes in addition to settlements—for a total of $35 million—of shareholders' lawsuits that alleged financial misconduct by Blum and three of the companies in which he has been a major shareholder. Blum has said he was asked "some months ago" by the SEC whether he used inside information when he sold stock in one of those companies, National Education Corp.

Blum's investments and other business relationships became issues in the California governor's race last spring after he and Feinstein loaned about $3 million to her campaign. Records show that their money—most of it from Blum's income as an investor, consultant and manager of investing partnerships—represents the largest single source of funds for Feinstein's campaign.

Feinstein is expected to raise $10 million in her campaign while her Republican opponent, U.S. Sen. Pete Wilson, is expected to raise at least $16 million, according to aides.

Feinstein, who married Blum in 1980, listed Blum's URS income as more than $100,000 annually on financial disclosure

Please see BLUM, A38

BLUM: SEC Probes Firm

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atements she was required to file
uring her 10 years as mayor of
n Francisco.

Financial disclosure statements
led by URS in recent years show
at the SEC began investigating
e firm in 1988—well before Fein-
ein, a Democrat, signaled her
ndidacy for governor.

Blum, the firm's largest share-
older throughout the 1980s, in-
reased his holdings in URS from
bout 10% of the company to about
0% this year. Company records
lso show that Blum and his in-
estment company have received
onthly financial consulting fees
hroughout the last decade, includ-
ng more than $1 million from 1987
hrough 1989.

URS has contracts with Califor-
ia state government, including
ne for $3 million with the state
nergy Commission. The company
rovides consulting services and
onducts cleanups of contaminated
ater supplies for government and
rivate clients in the United States
nd abroad. Shares of the firm's
tock closed Wednesday at 3⅛ on
he New York Stock Exchange.

U.S. District Court records show
hat Blum's company and its offi-
ials also have suffered two legal
etbacks during the last year—
each related to allegations that the
firm falsely represented its finan-
ial condition to shareholders and
other potential investors.

In August, 1989, URS participated in a $19.3-million settlement of a class action lawsuit that named Blum and eight other directors or executives of the company as defendants. The class action alleged that URS directors and executives issued false and misleading financial statements "to artificially inflate the market value of [URS Corp.] common stock" in 1987 and 1988.

"There's a lot of people who took very substantial losses," said Jeffrey A. Klafter, an attorney with the Manhattan law firm of Bernstein, Litowitz, Berger & Grossman, who represented the shareholders who filed the lawsuit.

The suit alleged that Blum and the other defendants, including an outside auditing firm, "caused or permitted [URS Corp.] to issue a series of false and/or misleading positive public statements, annual and quarterly reports, and other communications regarding [URS], its businesses, growth, profitability, assets and future business prospects."

The defendants did this, the suit alleged, "in part . . . to continue and prolong the illusion of [URS Corp.'s] continued growth, to . . . protect their executive and/or directorship positions and the substantial compensation and/or prestige they obtained, [and to] enhance the value of their personal [URS stock] holdings and options."

A summary of the settlement said that Blum, URS and the other defendants, while agreeing to the $19.3-million settlement, denied "all liability and allegations of wrongdoing." Blum said that he did nothing wrong and that the settlement was paid entirely by an insurance company and by URS's former outside auditor, Touche-Ross. A representative of Touche-Ross said she was unable to comment.

The second setback for Blum's company came in May, 1990, when the SEC accused four former executives in a civil filing of issuing six "false and misleading" statements during 1986 and 1987 regarding the company's financial posture. Among other things, the SEC alleged that the executives overstated the company's revenue and earnings by $13.4 million.

Blum was not cited. Without admitting or denying the SEC allegations, the four executives consented to a permanent injunction barring them from future violations of securities laws.

One of the four executives was Arthur H. Stromberg, a longtime Blum business colleague. Stromberg resigned as chairman and chief executive officer of URS Corp. in June, 1989, and remained a director until last fall.

Blum and Stromberg were directors and leading shareholders of an Illinois-based company, Advanced Systems Inc., that was sued by shareholders in 1984. The lawsuit, federal court records show, accused Blum, Stromberg and two other company executives of inflating Advanced Systems' stock price by falsely portraying its finances.

Without conceding wrongdoing, Advanced Systems, Blum and the other defendants settled the lawsuit in August, 1988, for $3.9 million, according to John G. Jacobs, a partner in the Chicago law firm of Plotkin & Jacobs, who represented the plaintiffs. Stromberg, who also was chairman of the Advanced Systems, could not be reached for comment.

Blum on Wednesday said he did nothing wrong and relied on the executives and accountants employed by Advanced Systems.

In 1987, Advanced Systems, which originally had been a subsidiary of URS, was merged with an Orange County company, National Education Corp., and Blum became a director and the leading shareholder of the new, combined concern.

The Times reported last month that Blum sold $2.7 million of National Education Corp. stock in March, 1989, during the two days before that company announced a management shake-up that caused its stock value to plunge.

Blum, who continues to control more stock than any other director of Irvine-based National Education Corp., has denied any impropriety, saying he had no inkling of the impending shake-up because he was skiing near Lake Tahoe.

On Sept. 15, Blum said that he had been questioned by the Securities and Exchange Commission "some months ago" about his sale of the stock, but said he presumed the investigation had since ended.

In March, 1990, National Education Corp. settled for $11.85 million a shareholders' class action suit against the company, Blum and three other directors. The suit accused the defendants of lying about the company's falling revenue and earnings to keep the stock price "artificially inflated" during the time when Blum sold the $2.7 million in shares.

In settling the lawsuit, National Education Corp. termed the accusations groundless and said the suit was settled to avoid what could have been protracted litigation.

The current SEC investigation of URS centers on the same genre of alleged misrepresentations that were at issue in the consent decrees reached last May with the four executives, according to the company's September financial statement, called a 10-Q report.

Financial disclosure statements by URS and an interview with the company's former chief financial officer show that Blum was and remains involved in the company's operations.

During 1987—the year that the company says was the subject of the SEC's initial investigation—Blum received monthly payments for consulting, plus other income from URS. In all, the firm's annual 10-K report shows that Blum received $213,762 in payments that year from the company, personally and through his control of Richard C. Blum & Associates Inc.

Blum, 56, is the majority shareholder of Richard C. Blum & Associates, a partnership that invests his own money and the money of clients. Blum receives commissions on stock transactions conducted by Blum & Associates.

For the years 1987-89, Blum received from URS a total of $1,096,032 in payments, personally and through Blum & Associates, records show. Blum said that his consulting for URS has been "sporadic" and that he assisted the company in finding new sources of capital and with potential mergers and acquisitions.

As of June 8, 1990, Blum, now the vice chairman of the company, controlled 79.63% of URS's stock.

"He [Blum] was the largest shareholder and was intimately involved in what was going on" at the company, said Towle, URS's former chief financial officer and one of the four former executives named in the SEC consent decree last May.

Towle said that Blum, in addition to attending board meetings, frequently contacted company executives by telephone and was involved in selecting an investment banking firm employed by the company to raise new capital. "At that level, he was not a passive observer," said Towle.

Times staff writers Douglas Frantz in Washington and Dan Morain in San Francisco contributed to this report. *

Feinstein's Husband Sold Stock Two Days Before Value Plunged

L.A. Times A3 9/14/90

■ **Investment:** A company director, he says he had no knowledge of impending leadership shake-up that triggered price drop. His sales totaled $2.7 million.

By DAVID WILLMAN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

IRVINE—Dianne Feinstein's husband—the chief financial backer of her campaign for governor—sold $2.7 million of stock in an Orange County company in the two days before it announced a management shake-up that caused the stock price to plunge, records show.

Feinstein's husband, Richard C. Blum, is a director and leading shareholder of the company, Irvine-based National Education Corp., but said he had no knowledge that the company's No. 2 executive was about to resign when he sold the stock in March, 1989.



Los Angeles Times

Richard C. Blum

Blum, who continues to control the largest block of the company's stock, told The Times this week he is confident that the transactions complied with federal law that bars directors and other top corporate executives from profiting on information unknown to shareholders at large.

However, Blum recalled worrying at the time that the stock sale could become "an embarrassment" because of the proximity of the sale and the management announcement. Immediately after the announcement, the stock began falling and by year's end stood at 29% of the price Blum received.

Mary M. McCue, a spokeswoman for the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, which enforces the insider-trading law, said she could not comment on whether Blum's stock sales have been investigated, and there has been no evidence of an SEC probe.

But the stock sales were questioned in a civil lawsuit filed last year by shareholders who contended that the company issued rosy financial statements while Blum and other directors were selling their shares. National Education Corp., which was sued along with Blum and three other directors, settled the lawsuit last March for $11.8 million before it went to trial.

Please see BLUM, A36

BLUM: Feinstein's Husband Sold Stock

Continued from A3

A company spokesman said that the company considered the litigation groundless but that the $11.8-million settlement "rids the company of further devotion of effort and energy."

Blum's stake in National Education Corp. was among the business holdings he listed recently as part of the Feinstein campaign's effort to fully disclose the sources of the couple's income. Some of those holdings and past investments had already become campaign issues.

Blum, who married Feinstein in 1980, has played a significant role in financing the Democratic nominee's campaign. Bolstered by his multimillion-dollar income as an investor and manager of investment partnerships, he and his wife have loaned nearly $3 million to her campaign.

Blum sold the National Education Corp. stock—on behalf of the investment partnership he controls—on March 14, 1989, and March 15, 1989. He told The Times that he did so because he had become dissatisfied with the management "style" of H. David Bright, the company's top executive.

He had no idea, Blum said, that the company would announce on March 16 that Jerome W. Cwiertnia would resign as president to pursue other career opportunities.

"I had been skiing," at the Squaw Valley resort near Lake Tahoe, Blum said. Blum said that, as best he could recall, he learned of the announcement during a telephone conversation with Cwiertnia on the evening of March 15, when Blum returned to his home in San Francisco.

"I believe the announcement was the next day" after that phone call, Blum said. "But I can't swear to it."

Blum said that Cwiertnia "had been trying" unsuccessfully to reach him. When Cwiertnia informed him that he was going to resign, Blum said, "You could have knocked me over with a feather. . . . I had no knowledge that he was going to resign."

Blum also said that "within 45 seconds" of the outset of their phone conversation, he told Cwiertnia that he had been "selling the stock."

"I said to him, " 'Remember this, because it's significant.' . . . I knew that this could be an embarrassment."

Shortly after the stock was sold, Blum said he hired a law firm to analyze the propriety of the transactions. The conclusion, Blum said, was that he did nothing wrong.

"In hindsight, I wouldn't have done anything different," he said.

For his part, Cwiertnia, who rejoined the company in July, 1989, and is now chief operating officer, offered differing recollections of his March, 1989, phone conversation with Blum during interviews this week with The Times.

When first asked if he was aware that Blum had sold the stock in the days before the management announcement, Cwiertnia said: "I wasn't aware of it at the time," adding that he learned of Blum's stock sales after the shareholders' lawsuit months later.

When told that Cwiertnia recalled their March, 1989, phone conversation differently, Blum encouraged a reporter to re-interview the executive.

Cwiertnia later returned a second call placed by The Times and said that Blum "did tell me" during that March, 1989, phone conversation that he had been selling National Education Corp. stock.

Asked to reconcile that with his earlier comments, Cwiertnia said he "must have misunderstood" the question initially.

Cwiertnia also said during the first interview that he could not recall with certainty which day he had informed Blum of his intention to resign, but that he had told Blum at some point during a round of phone calls he made to directors of the company. Those calls, Cwiertnia said, started "several days before" the March 16, 1989, announcement of his resignation.

"Obviously," Cwiertnia said, "a decision of that magnitude is not made in a moment's notice. It wasn't made overnight."

In the second interview, Cwiertnia recalled with more certainty his conversation with Blum. He said he was "pretty sure" they spoke the night of March 15, 1989, the evening before the announcement. "I had tried to reach him earlier," Cwiertnia said, "and he had been out skiing."

Harvey L. Pitt, former general counsel of the Securities and Exchange Commission, said that corporate insiders risk running afoul of the law if they buy or sell stock on the eve of public announcements that can affect the value of the company's stock.

Blum became a prominent shareholder of National Education Corp. in 1987, when, through a $250-million exchange of stock, the company acquired Advanced Systems, a Chicago-based consulting company in which Blum was an investor.

National Education Corp. is one of the nation's largest providers of educational services aimed at teaching new skills to workers and has a high-profile board of directors. The chairman is David C. Jones, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and other directors include former U.S. Sen. Barry Goldwater.

According to filings with the SEC, Blum's stock sales began on March 14, 1989, when he sold 75,000 shares on behalf of the investment group he controls, Richard C. Blum & Associates Inc. That stock was sold at a per-share price of $24.13 and the value of Blum Associates' sale proceeds was $1,809,750. Blum & Associates invests in five limited partnerships, composed of a variety of investors, including Blum himself.

The records show further that, on March 15, 1989, Blum's partnership sold 40,000 more shares, at a per-share price of $23.25. The total value of that sale was $930,000. On March 16, 1989, National Education Corp. announced Cwiertnia was resigning. That same day, the company's stock plunged to $18 a share.

By year's end, after subsequent reports of low earnings and other troubles, the stock sold at $6.88 a share.

On March 17, 1989, noting the extraordinarily heavy selling of its shares and the drop of its stock price, National Education Corp. asked the New York Stock Exchange to investigate "unfounded rumors regarding [the company's] business performance and prospects." Jack Polley, a spokesman for National Education, said the stock exchange did not report any findings.

Seven months later, after the stock price had tumbled to about $8 a share, the investment partnership Blum controls began reinvesting. The stock closed Thursday at $3.50 a share, unchanged from the day before in composite trading on the New York Stock Exchange.

Federal records show that Blum controls 6.71% of National Education Corp.'s stock. Asked why he decided to reinvest, Blum said the return of Cwiertnia helped rekindle his confidence. "We changed our attitude about the company," he said.

Blum's client list links Feinstein to Pier 39

By Philip J. Trounstine
and Bert Robinson
Mercury News Staff Writers

In her final months as mayor of San Francisco, Dianne Feinstein approved a waterfront redevelopment plan containing special exceptions sought by the owners of Pier 39, who were business partners of her husband.

Feinstein also publicly supported a proposal by Pier 39 to build an underwater aquarium. And, while there is no evidence of her direct involvement, her hand-picked port director — who was her business partner and another of her husband's clients — sought speedy approval of a new lease authorizing the aquarium.

Waterfront business operators say they suspected that the pier owners — the billionaire Bass brothers of Fort Worth, Texas — were receiving favors from city hall because of their ties to Feinstein's husband.

But there is nothing in the record to suggest that Feinstein violated any laws, and Feinstein herself and other key players say she never used her position to benefit her husband's clients.

"This is one thing I was very, very careful about," Feinstein said. "There can't be anyone who says that I did anything inappropriate or out of place. Every one of those projects stood on their own ... I spoke to no one, I called no one, I wrote to no one ... my husband's partners are his business."

The aquarium project, after years of environmental delays, finally received approval of the Bay Conservation and Development Commission on Thursday. It remains in the planning process.



Feinstein



Blum

Feinstein herself says she never used her position to benefit her husband's clients.

Feinstein's connection to Pier 39 came to light last week when her spouse, investment banker Richard C. Blum, under pressure from U.S. Sen. Pete Wilson, released a full list of his clients.

Bass family among clients

Included were Robert M. Bass and family of Fort Worth; David Bonderman, who runs the Bass family business, and Vanilla Partners, a Bass family partnership. Also listed was Eugene Gartland, the former San Francisco Port director who is co-trustee with Feinstein of the Bertram Feinstein Trust, which owns part of the Carlton Hotel in San Francisco.

Blum said the Bass brothers are limited partners in some of the limited partnerships Blum manages as part of his $400 million investment business. The business relationship dates to 1985, he said.

Feinstein's public disclosure statements never included Bass or Gartland. But under state regulations, she was not required to list them. California's Political Reform Act prohibits politicians from taking any action affecting their own economic fortunes. But the law does not extend to the sort of limited partnerships linking Blum, Bass and Gartland.

Blum's client list and the couple's tax records also were the source of an article Thursday in the San Francisco Chronicle. The article reported that, as mayor in 1986, Feinstein did not report a series of investments by Blum in Marriott Corp., which was bidding for part of a $3 billion city redevelopment contract.

$3 million loan

Blum's sources of income have emerged as an issue in the California governor's race between Feinstein and Republican Sen. Pete Wilson because Blum and Feinstein have loaned the former San Francisco mayor's campaign about $3 million — by far the largest source of campaign funds in her bid to become the state's first woman governor.

In the final months of Feinstein's term as mayor in 1987, Pier 39 was at the center of two waterfront controversies in which Feinstein and Gartland had influence: the creation by the Board of Supervisors of a redevelopment area from Pier 35 to Pier 45, and approval by the Port Commission of plans for an "Underwater World" aquarium at Pier 39.

On Aug. 7, 1987, Feinstein proposed a redevelopment plan, including a new fishing boat berth on the west side of Pier 45, a public courtyard or plazza on Fisherman's Wharf, and a public marketplace at Pier 45. Most of the improvements in the multimillion-dollar plan were to be constructed three to six blocks from Pier 39. But the project's 215-acre redevelopment area stretched from Pier 35 to Pier 45.

Pier 39's owners, including Chronicle Ventures, a subsidiary of the San Francisco Chronicle, did not initially object to the plan. They were more concerned with obtaining a new lease from the Port Commission that would permit them to build an underwater aquarium.

Fritz Arko, president of Pier 39, recalled in an interview that "Dianne, as mayor, expressed her support for Underwater World" at one or two meetings in the mayor's office with tenants of the wharf.

But neither Arko, nor Feinstein, nor Gartland, the port director, could recall Feinstein taking any action to expedite or even to encourage the Port Commission to approve Pier 39's aquarium plan.

Her close friend Gartland, however, did seek quick approval of the aquarium plan at a Sept. 9, 1987 meeting of the Port Commission. But when environmentalists raised concerns about the project and commissioners raised questions about traffic and parking, the aquarium was put on hold until it could be reviewed by the Planning Commission and the Bay Conservation and Development District.

"There was nothing in which the mayor's office was in any way involved as far as we can tell," said Hadley Roff, Feinstein's former City Hall deputy. "No correspondence, no communications, that we're aware of."

Feinstein critics, like environmental attorney Sue Hestor, find the claim incredible, since Feinstein had a reputation for managing the details of public policy — especially in the case of a project as significant as Underwater World.

And Peter Brown, executive director of the Anchorage Shopping Center in the wharf area said, "There's always been a sense of favoritism toward Pier 39. Everyone looks at this aquarium project as something Dianne fostered."

Pier 39 wanted out

In October 1987, Feinstein's redevelopment plan came before the Board of Supervisors. By then, Pier 39's owners wanted out of the redevelopment plan because they feared it would further slow plans for Underwater World. The supervisors, under intense pressure, allowed Pier 39 out of the plan.

Fearing redevelopment would be meaningless unless Pier 39 were included, neighborhood activists then asked Feinstein to veto the board resolution and insist on her original plan. But she approved the plan on Oct. 16.

"Pier 39 can be added by amendment at a later time," she said the next day.

Chris Martin, co-chairman of the Fisherman's Wharf Citizen's Advisory Commission, recalls thinking of Pier 39's special treatment in the redevelopment plan: "I understand why they're exempted. It's because of Bass' relationship with Blum."

San Jose Mercury News ■ Saturday, Sept. 8, 1990 5B

Feinstein's mate, and his money, sort of running too

Dick Blum often targeted, but enjoys campaign

By Gerry Braun S.D. Union
Staff Writer 10/13/90 A1

SAN FRANCISCO — Dick Blum expected it might come to this. As his wife, Dianne Feinstein, campaigns for governor of California, there is as much scrutiny of his far-flung business deals as of her centrist politics.

Sensational headlines have divulged Blum's business exploits. Reporters have rooted around his tax returns. His confidential client list was published for all to read. And a stream of interviewers has paraded to his investment house in the shadow of the TransAmerica building.

For these one-on-one sessions, too numerous to count, Blum talks earnestly about politics and resists a strong inclination to prop his feet on his desk.

In due course, a secretary buzzes and the interview concludes with a quick tour of the office — the Himalayan photographs, his oil-painted Tibetan Wheel of Life, and then the door.

The campaign has been quite an experience, Blum wryly notes, and he has paid only $3 million for the honor.

"Obviously," he said, referring to his enormous loans to his wife's campaign, "there has never been anyone in the history of California who has done more for a candidate he was married to than I have."

Nor, one might suspect, has there been one who loved it more.

Although Blum, 56, has been the target of almost daily criticism from his wife's opponents since this spring, he continues to revel in campaign life, accompanying his wife to small-town meetings, working the phones to raise money, offering his ample handshake like an eager staff aide.

"My business partners can tell you I'm definitely not holding up my end of the bargain around here," Blum said, without much concern in his voice. "It takes a lot of time and effort to stay on top of all these investments, and frankly the campaign winds up being a major distraction from what I really like to do.

"On the other hand, as you know, I'll kill to get Dianne elected."

• • •

The union of money and power is nothing new to politics, though rarely has it been arranged so compactly as in the duo of Feinstein, the former San Francisco mayor, and Blum, the investment banker whose firm controlled $400 million in assets last year.

Public attention and even suspicion have dogged their relationship, dating back before their wedding to a time when the lanky, tousle-haired Blum was a constant companion and self-styled protector of the recently widowed mayor.

When Feinstein stood for election in 1979, Blum got his first taste of campaign life. The city buzzed with anecdotes about this unknown financier who had insinuated himself into City Hall, advising the mayor on everything from personal finances to city hiring.

Most vividly, Blum was at Feinstein's side during the so-called White Night riots, when protesters torched eight squad cars outside her office, outraged by the lenient jury verdict in the trial of Dan White, the assassin of Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk.

Feinstein huddled with police officials that night in her darkened office, its walls illuminated by the fire outside, its windows shattered by rocks.

Aides urged her to go out on the balcony and talk reason to the mob. But Blum, who had quietly monitored the street scene from a window, stepped forward and vetoed the idea, his concern for Feinstein's safety outweighing the political instincts of her staff.

A month later, allusions to that well-reported incident cropped up in a mocking speech by Feinstein's mayoral opponent, Supervisor Quentin Kopp, who chided Feinstein for spending so much time "closeted with her lover."

"I don't know whom to attack — Dick or Dianne," Kopp confessed. His previously friendly audience answered with hisses.

It was a turning point — the last time Kopp would attack the mayor's suitor that year, though in a recent interview he recalled having had more to say, much more to say, about Dick Blum.

Now, 11 years later, the Feinstein campaign hopes for similar relief from Sen. Pete Wilson's constant attacks on Blum, a day when voters sense the GOP candidate crossing some invisible line between the political and the personal, and — like Kopp's audience — they stop listening.

That day seems unlikely to arrive, given that Wilson carefully couches his inquiries into every aspect of Blum's affairs by arguing that the public deserves to know of any financial conflicts Feinstein might face as governor.

In his latest attack, Wilson complains that Blum is not releasing his income tax returns, but only allowing reporters to view them in the office of his accountant.

True enough, said Feinstein campaign manager William Carrick: "The Wilson people have a history of distorting everything they get their hands on, and we don't think it's in our interests to give them anything more to distort."

Blum calls the attacks sexist, saying Wilson "is such a product of the old-boy network that he can't imagine how to run against a woman."

But political consultants in both parties say Wilson is pursuing a solid strategy dictated by Feinstein herself, given that her moderate views and Reaganesque campaign style are so difficult to attack.

Instead, Wilson has gone after Blum, whose rumpled look and laid-back demeanor are ill-suited to television sound bites, whose occupation is mysterious, and whose clientele is a rarefied circle of multimillionaires.

The execution has been an unqualified success, said Mervin Field, director of the non-partisan California Poll.

"Feinstein needed the summer to gain visibility, to convey to voters that she is of a new wave of politicians, that she has a vision for California," Field said. "Instead, you had a wealthy man explaining why he makes so much money, defending why he sold stocks when he did. It's hard for the average voter to identify with that."

Wilson's attacks have been clumsy at times. One television spot, riddled with inaccuracies, included the false charge that Feinstein and Blum own a savings and loan. Actually, their interest in the S&L is negligible.

Field argued, however, that the innuendo sticks because voters are "relatively disengaged," and "when they get involved in the race, it's a matter of fleeting headlines or glimpses on the tube."

Indeed, it has been newspaper scrutiny of Blum that has unearthed the most damaging headlines, though Blum argues that he fares much better when all the facts are known. Some examples:

- The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that, in 1980, Feinstein's disclosure reports omitted Blum investments in the Marriott Corp. at a time the hotel company was bidding on a $3 billion city contract.

The revelation dashed Blum's repeated claim that he has scrupulously avoided business deals that overlap with Feinstein's duties.

Blum blames the error on bad advice given by a mayoral aide — who neither confirms nor disputes Blum's version — and says the disclosure laws were confusing, since he married Feinstein in midyear and sold his Marriott stock before the year ended.

- The *Chronicle* also reported that Blum purchased Disney stock a few days before a report of strong quarterly earnings caused its price to rise sharply. The article suggested that Blum was tipped off by a friend on the Disney board.

Blum's response, borne out by newspaper accounts of that time, is that inside information was unnecessary. The favorable earnings report was on the grapevine weeks before Blum bought Disney stock, and was touted in the *Wall Street Journal* "Heard on the Steet" column and in investor advisories issued by two major firms, Merrill Lynch and Goldman Sachs.

ed that Blum sold $2.7 million in stock in an Orange County firm, National Education Corp., only days before a management shake-up dropped the stock's price from $24 to $18 a share. Again, the implicit charge is insider trading.

Blum, who remains a director in the firm, denies knowledge of the pending resignations, and offers circumstantial evidence of his innocence: He sold only 15 percent of his firm's holdings that day and kept more than 1 million shares, including all his personally held stock, even as the price fell below $8. Today the shares aren't worth $3 each.

A subsequent story quoted company officials as saying that Blum "in no way acted improperly" and that an earlier inquiry by the Securities and Exchange Commission cleared him of any wrongdoing.

• • •

Before Blum became accustomed to having his motives questioned, he had his own modest agenda for when Feinstein becomes governor: to act as an informal adviser on economic matters.

Blum played a similar role when Moscone was mayor, and he was an "in-house investment banker" in the Carter White House, helping to create the Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) program, which steers corporate investment, and blue-collar jobs, back into urban centers.

Sounding very much like a Republican, Blum offers his qualifications this way: "Bureaucrats haven't lived in the private sector, so there tends to not be a lot of first-rate business expertise in government. Most people in government have never had to meet a payroll. What I would like to do is be the common-sense business voice in the administration."

Today, he admits, that dream has faded.

But Blum's other interest is mountaineering — the forbidding Himalayas have been a fascination since childhood — and he suggests that could lead to something "new and interesting."

"I do a lot of trail running — hundreds of miles in the Sierras and a lot of time in the Himalayas running," he said. "As a kid who grew up going up to the Sierras, I've seen what has happened to the environment there, and I'd like to have some voice in the environmental policy in this state."

Attesting to his credentials, Blum's office walls are covered with photos from his Himalayan treks, including an unsuccessful assault on Mount Everest in 1981, when his 16-member expedition sought to ascend the world's highest peak for the first time from China.

Blum's interest in that remote region led him to found the American Himalayan Foundation, which builds and supports hospitals and schools in Nepal and Tibet. It also led him to befriend the Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhists, and to dabble in Zen Buddhism.

— He doesn't talk much about Zen these days, but then Blum's interests have always been wide-ranging.

Before receiving a business degree and joining Sutro & Co. as a junior research analyst, Blum took a year to study the philosopher Kant at the University of Geneva.

And en route to earning a reputation as an investment whiz kid, he put together a syndicate that bought the Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus. A later brainstorm — buying Farrell's Ice Cream Parlors — was a colossal bust.

At age 29, Blum became the youngest partner in Sutro's 115-year history, and after helping to incorporate the firm in 1970, he emerged as its second biggest shareholder.

Five years later, he started his own firm and became chairman of a fiscal advisory committee under Mayor Moscone, whom he backed in the 1975 mayoral race. Feinstein finished third in the race.

When the committee issued a report on city finances that Feinstein did not understand, Blum scheduled lunch to talk it over. The report was updated a year later, and a second lunch was set.

In the interim, Blum had divorced his wife, with whom he had three daughters, now aged 22 to 29, and Feinstein had lost her second husband, surgeon Bert Feinstein, to cancer.

Though they were not allies in those days, Blum had been watching Feinstein's career on the Board of Supervisors with interest.

"She was sort of the bright, active light on the board," he recalled. "An independent. She cared about social issues, minority communities, mental health, that sort of stuff. We cared about the same issues even back then."

Over financial data and rex sole, a romance was kindled. "Lunch led to dinner, and the rest is kind of history," Blum said.

Moscone was assassinated a few months later, and when Feinstein succeeded him as mayor, the little-known Blum accompanied her into the spotlight.

In the early days of her mayorship, Blum was a constant presence — marching at her side in a candlelight vigil after the City Hall shootings, interviewing applicants for a deputy mayor's post, buying her in-laws' interest in the Hotel Carlton, an investment property she co-owned with her late husband.

Media coverage of Feinstein could not help but include the mayor's man, especially when his Everest expedition was underwritten by the *San Francisco Examiner*, which also published his firsthand accounts.

But after Blum was quoted extensively, and Feinstein not at all, in a press account of the White Night riots, he was asked to lower his profile.

"Blum's tendency to hover about the mayor constantly and to speak on her behalf has prompted jokes about 'Blum for Mayor' bumper stickers and buttons," the *Chronicle* reported in mid-1979.

III. JUST FOR FUN...
pages 26-27

page:

26. "BART SIMPSON OFFERS FEINSTEIN POINTERS ON PROPER CRIBNOTE TECHNIQUE; ANIMATED PUNDIT SAYS THAT DEMOCRAT WAS 'WAY TOO OBVIOUS, DUDE,'" CRP Press Release, October 8, 1990

27. Herb Caen, San Francisco Chronicle, October 2, 1990



California Republican Party

news!

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
OCTOBER 8, 1990

CONTACT: DAN SCHNUR
818/841-5210

BART SIMPSON OFFERS FEINSTEIN POINTERS ON PROPER CRIBNOTE TECHNIQUE
ANIMATED PUNDIT SAYS THAT DEMOCRAT WAS 'WAY TOO OBVIOUS, DUDE'

BURBANK -- Noted political pundit and spin doctor Bart Simpson today criticized Democratic gubernatorial nominee Dianne Feinstein for her performance in last night's debate, saying that the former San Francisco mayor's reliance on cribnotes was "way too obvious, dude!" According to several observers, including the Los Angeles Times, Feinstein repeatedly referred to notes written on her hand in ink throughout the debate.

"If you're gonna use cheat sheets, man, use 'em right. If she tried that in my school, she'd have two weeks of detention," said Simpson, who specifically criticized Feinstein's sloppy technique and poor timing in referring to her notes. "You can't check your notes while everybody's looking or you're gonna get caught."

Simpson offered Feinstein several other pointers on more sophisticated brands of cheating, suggesting notes fastened to the inside of a shirtsleeve, rolled inside of a hollow pen or pencil, or taped to the inside of a shoe as possible alternatives. Simpson dismissed the infamous "cough method" as impractical except on multiple choice tests, but suggested a small radio transmitter and earpiece as another, less obvious, possibility.

"The best is taping the notes in your shoe, dude," said Simpson, who also used the opportunity to announce his opposition to Propositions 128 and 134. "You can take your shoe off and look down at the notes, and nobody notices."

Simpson also expressed discomfort at Feinstein's refusal to endorse Proposition 140, the so-called Schabarum initiative that would limit the number of years a member could serve in the state legislature. He dismissed arguments that imposing term limits would be, in the words of the initiative's opponents, "throwing the baby out with the bathwater."

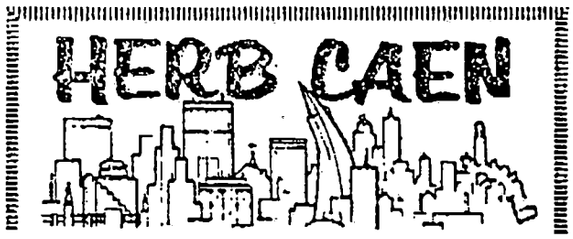
"Hey, man, there's nothing wrong with tossing a baby out once in awhile. I do it all the time," he said, pointing threateningly to sisters Lisa and Maggie. "When the water's that scummy and the baby isn't that great a kid, it's not that big a deal."

-30-

(A copy of the pre-debate agreement between the two campaigns has been attached.)

1903 West Magnolia Boulevard ▫ Burbank, California 91506 ▫ (818) 841-5210

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EX-GOV. Jerry Brown, orating at Fresno State, sniffed to the enraptured kids: "Crack cocaine didn't exist before Deukmejian and Pete Wilson came on the scene. I don't know whether it was supply-side economics or deregulation, but when I was governor, cocaine was expensive.".

10TH EDITION

THE ALMANAC OF AMERICAN POLITICS 1990

Michael Barone
Grant Ujifusa

National Journal

CALIFORNIA

In the days after Pearl Harbor, almost 50 years ago, many Americans thought California would be next. "People stacked sandbags against public buildings to prepare for an aerial attack and glued blackout paper to the windows of their homes in the case of night raids," writes historian John Patrick Diggins. "In Los Angeles and San Francisco civil defense wardens enforced curfews and police followed up rumors of spy networks in Japanese neighborhoods, while at night cars crept without lights along coastal highways. On bluffs and oceanfront rooftops people vigilantly tried to sight the enemy." Rumors flew: the Japanese fleet was 164 miles from Monterey, there were 34 Japanese ships between Los Angeles and San Francisco, periscopes were seen off beaches. A wacky general, John DeWitt, one of those later responsible for forcing Japanese Americans into internment camps, announced breathlessly that Japanese airplanes had flown over San Francisco Bay area on the night of December 8, though they unaccountably didn't drop any bombs.

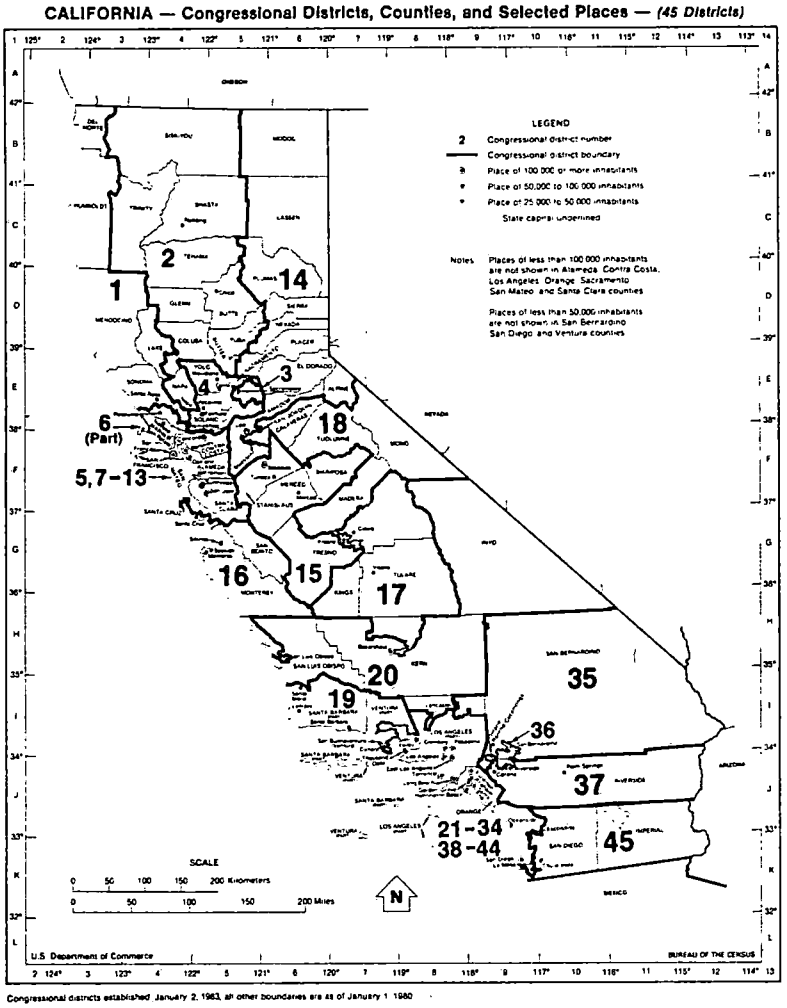
The fears were mostly baseless. A few balloon-borne bombs landed in an Oregon forest, and later there was some light shelling of the Santa Barbara oil fields. But, as J. Edgar Hoover argued without effect at the time, there was never any evidence of sabotage or disloyalty by Japanese Americans. Unfortunately, in the hysterical months that followed, demands from the Army and from California politicians resulted in their internment—a blight on America's reputation which was assuaged by apology and and redress law of 1988.

This fear and hysteria arose in a part of America that felt disconnected from the rest of the country. "California is an island," Carey McWilliams wrote in the 1940s, America's lightly populated outpost on the Pacific, with only 7 million of the country's 131 million people, thousands of miles across plains, mountains and desert from thickly settled parts of the country and separated from Japan only by the open waters of the Pacific. It was an affluent island in the early 1940s, and one unmistakably American in its culture—yet also a bit bizarre. Farming and oil, extractive industries, were the basis of a still colonial economy: California imported most of its finished goods and lived off its natural resources. Its people, leapfrogging the continent, had come from all over: Yankee stock migrants from the Midwest predominated, southerners (except for the Okies of the late 1930s) were relatively few, European immigrants included the Italian fishermen of San Francisco's North Beach and refugees and expatriate intellectuals like Aldous Huxley and Bertolt Brecht in Los Angeles.

"Sociologically detached from the rest of the country," McWilliams wrote, "California functions in its own right, has its own patterns of political behavior, and exists as a kind of sovereign empire by the western shore." Politically, this empire was ancestrally Republican, ideologically progressive, quickly embracing and quickly discarding nostrums like the End Poverty in California program that made Upton Sinclair the Democratic nominee for governor in 1934 (he lost when FDR among others renounced him), and the "$30 Every Thursday" proposal of a group called Ham and Eggs that got 45% in a 1938 referendum. It voted for Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and at home for progressive Republicans like Hiram Johnson and Earl Warren.

It is a long way from that California to the California of today. The change began explosively in the war, when California became one of the great defense industry states of the nation, making steel and aluminum for the first time, building ships and airplanes by the thousands. Millions of Americans came here, and millions stayed; California's economy was expected to collapse when the big firms shut down after the war; instead, as urbanologist Jane Jacobs points

CALIFORNIA — Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Places — *(45 Districts)*



Congressional districts established January 2, 1983; all other boundaries are as of January 1, 1980

See pages 1443-1448 for additional metropolitan area maps.

out, one-eighth of all the new jobs in the nation in the early postwar years were created in greater Los Angeles. California's growth has had its spurts and pauses, but it was as strong as ever in the 1980s. As the decade ends, California is a nation-state of 27 million people (after the 1990 Census it will account for a larger share of the nation's population than any state has since 1870), with the highest living standards and highest productivity in the world, an economy as technically advanced as any that has ever existed, and a gross domestic product that would be the sixth highest in the world if it were a separate nation.

And in many ways California resembles that separate nation, of similar geographic size and even greater population in the seismically active interstices between ocean and mountains and wasteland, across the Pacific: Japan. Both California and Japan are economically creative, productive, affluent, hard-working: for as Jan Morris wisely observed, "somewhere near the heart of the L.A. ethos there lies, unexpectedly, a layer of solid, old-fashioned, plain hard work.

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It suggests to me, unexpectedly, the guild spirit of some medieval town, where workers in iron or lace, the clockmakers and the armorers, competed to give the city the glory of their trades." If the Japanese are known for their fine workmanship, Californians—backup musicians and stagehands, plastic molders and toy designers—pride themselves quietly on being the very best at what they do. There is something bloodless about this competence, an air of nonchalance and unsurprise, but it has made Tokyo and Los Angeles—neither involved in world commerce 150 years ago—the leading trading cities in the world today. But like the great surging cities of the past—like Johnson's or Dickens's London, like Balzac's Paris or Dreiser's New York and Chicago—not the most comfortable. In the metropolitan areas of California, as in Japan, traffic is choking; and if the Japanese live in flimsy houses and cramped apartments, most Californians live in stucco houses in tightly-packed subdivisions or garden apartments on tiny plots of land that a midwesterner would find claustrophobic. California may be more spread out than New York, but there is some of the same surliness and lack of neighborliness in daily life; migrants from the great American interior are surprised when nobody says hi. More than 40% of Los Angeles householders have their phone numbers unlisted.

California, as it moves into the 1990s, also has this in common with Japan: it is a profoundly apolitical commonwealth. Busy in their work, intense in their pursuit of leisure, people on this as on that side of the Pacific Rim take government for granted and have no time for politics. They also take for granted the affluence that seems to flow naturally from the soil and the military security that comes from the resolve of others (for just as American military power defends Japan, so the hawkish American South provides the votes for the arms buildups that defend and enrich sometimes dovish but always defense-industry heavy California). The Los Angeles TV stations run hours of local newscasts each day, but none has a bureau in the state capital of Sacramento; Michael Dukakis, in California to campaign for the primary and at the time quite possibly the next President of the United States, had a hard time making the top four or five stories on the newscast. Viewers are much more interested in the latest drug triple-slaying, the all-day traffic jam on the Santa Monica Freeway, a soap opera actress telling how she has gotten in touch with herself or a reporter speculating on whether Elvis is alive.

Californians, like Japanese, delegate the conduct of their government to a few dull, faceless leaders and a gaggle of factional politicians who provide services to local constituencies but do their real business largely unnoticed in remote government buildings. These officials have created a self-sustaining system in which they routinely receive the renewal of their mandate from a public which is largely indifferent to what they are doing. In California, the liberal voters of the central cities are over-represented by the creative redistricting plans of the late Congressman Phillip Burton, which have given liberal Democrats control of the legislature and the state's congressional delegation. They are also helped because huge sums of money ($2 million in a state Senate race) are needed to reach voters uninterested in, if not actively hostile to, political communication, because almost all political money for state elections comes from lobbyists in Sacramento, and because most successful candidates for the legislature are former staffers who have the contacts and have made the alliances that are necessary to raise that money. And so, unwatched, unnoticed, little monitored, America's most competent state government is run by America's most skillful—but in some cases its most bloodless and cynical—politicians. But there are limits on Sacramento's power. California pioneered initiatives and referenda so voters can pass laws the legislature would never dream of: forcing down property taxes in 1978's Proposition 13, for example, or forcing lower auto insurance rates in 1988's Proposition 103. Affected economic interests spend freely on these issues in such amounts that they overshadow elections for public office. More than $20 million was spent on the 1988 Senate race in California. But $81 million was spent on five insurance ballot propositions.

At this point California ceases to be Japan's doppelganger, and the comparison breaks down. Japan believes in active governmental guidance of investment decisions and of allocating

economic growth among existing big corporations, while workers feel great loyalty to the companies that guarantee them lifetime jobs. California believes, inarticulately, that government should provide an infrastructure for economic growth—freeways, huge water supply systems, a fine system of higher and (at least at one time, and maybe in the future) public education and a network of agricultural research. But its growth has come largely from small business units in dozens of industries, with employees moving easily from one job to another, and one of the highest rates of self-employment in the country. Japan believes strongly in racial unity and cultural uniformity. California believes, as much as any place in the world, in racial tolerance and cultural variety, welcoming immigration and cherishing civil liberties. Finally, Japan sees itself as living in a cold corner of a hostile planet, where it must make a living selling things to people who are distant and different. California, naively and perhaps inaccurately, sees itself as the sunny center of the world, as the most American state in a world becoming more and more Americanized. Since so much of the world has come to California—check out the ethnic restaurants on Melrose in Los Angeles or Clement in San Francisco—so California has gone out all over the world. Japan assumes that it is hated and California assumes that it is loved; and if the Japanese assumption has the virtue of being more realistic, its pessimism also has the disadvantage of tending to be self-fulfilling.

The Japanese have also settled on one strategy of government—keeping the status quo liberal Democrats in—while Californians, with a nonchalance that comes from the security of being part of a larger nation, experiment with one form of politics after another. This is the state which anticipated the conservative trend of two decades by electing Ronald Reagan as governor in 1966, when conventional wisdom had it that only pro-welfare state Republicans could win in large states. It is the state that elected in 1974 as his successor the prototypical baby boomer politician, Jerry Brown—scorner of luxury, environmentalist and campaign finance reformer, skeptical about the efficacy of government spending programs and eager to embrace cultural diversity. And it is the state that elected as his successor George Deukmejian in 1982, a colorless and steadfast conservative.

As voters have become less interested in government, support for and opposition to each of these figures has become a way of making a cultural statement or striking a cultural pose, and differences in lifestyles and personal values explain Californians' voting behavior better than anything else. This behavior helps to explain, for example, why the affluent San Francisco media market area produced a 393,000-vote margin for Michael Dukakis, while the equally affluent Los Angeles media market produced a 394,000-vote margin for George Bush; why high-income Beverly Hills and Marin County are heavily Democratic and working-class Norwalk and Bakersfield vote Republican. As it happens, each of California's best-known recent political figures has embodied and represented the cultural values and style of one of the four political regions of the state which, conveniently, each cast about one-quarter of its votes: Los Angeles County, the rest of southern California, the San Francisco Bay area, and the rest of the state.

Personifying southern California is the man who received 63% and 69% of its votes for President, Ronald Reagan. While Los Angeles fills up with immigrants, blacks and singles, the rest of southern California looks more like the Los Angeles of the 1940s: predominantly white, middle-class, midwestern, although its has more Asians and Hispanics than you might think. Essentially, the old Los Angeles has grown out past the freeways into Orange County and the east end of the Los Angeles basin and out into the desert, out past the San Fernando Valley into Ventura County, down south of San Juan Capistrano and Camp Pendleton into northern San Diego County, where it merges with fast-growing San Diego. This is suburbia, but it is also half of the nation's second biggest metropolitan agglomeration, with 14 million people, close to New York's 17 million and far ahead of Chicago's 8 million. It is not farfetched to suppose that early in the 21st century Los Angeles will be the center of the nation's largest concentration of people—the first time in history a nation has ever had its greatest city so far from its center of

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This urban center developed not because of its location (Los Angeles has no natural harbor and had to build one) or its natural resources (it used to export oil but has had to import it since the 1940s) or its historical eminence (Los Angeles had 102,000 people in 1900). It is a great city because people have wanted it to be, and southern California reflects the optimism, the somewhat innocent confidence, and the know-how of its pioneers. They turned gratefully to Ronald Reagan in the late 1960s, not as someone who veered off the American political spectrum, but as a politician who articulated traditional American values when they seemed under attack from demonstrators on campuses and rioters in ghettos. Further disillusioned in the 1970s, they saw their views vindicated in Reagan's presidency. Their spirit was most vividly represented in the ceremonies of the 1984 Olympics, which Reagan opened in Los Angeles and which for the first time were put on not by a government but by private operators who generated a 33% profit. Here America was triumphant while the Soviet Union dared not let its athletes see the blandishments of southern California, lest they never return: this was not just an artistic triumph for American values but, in retrospect, the first clear admission by the Soviets, even before Gorbachev and perestroika, that they could not compete, that they had lost the Cold War.

Just as the Yankees lost their ancient capital of Boston to a majority of Irish Catholics, so the southern Californians who backed Reagan so strongly saw the center of their metropolis, Los Angeles County, increasingly become the home of people with different backgrounds and different values. By the 1980s, Los Angeles had become the number one immigrant destination in the world, and the central city's population had begun increasing as Mexicans and Koreans, Salvadorans and Vietnamese began doubling up in refurbished houses in central neighborhoods, with whole families working to earn enough to follow so many others out the Hollywood Freeway to the San Fernando Valley or out the Santa Ana Freeway to Orange County. Hispanics and Asians tend to vote for Democrats, but not always and not by large margins; the Vietnamese and Cambodians are pretty solidly Republican. Hollywood and the west side—the generic name for the show-bizzy part of town west of Fairfax—are the centers of one of the nation's largest Jewish populations, with large numbers of singles and gays, as well; these are cultural—not economic—liberals. And California's blacks are concentrated around Watts, in neighborhoods south and southwest of downtown L.A., along the Harbor Freeway and out toward LAX (the only American airport known colloquially by its three-letter code).

Los Angeles County, since the 1970s, has provided the core constituency for the politics of Jerry Brown—although to satisfy party rules he moved his residence to San Francisco in order to be elected state Democratic chairman in early 1989. That was 15 years after he was elected governor, when the balance of electoral power in California seemed to be moving toward the baby boom generation, in an atmosphere of cultural conflict between generations and lifestyles, a conflict mirrored in Brown's rejection of the New Deal politics and cultural conservatism of his own father, who had been elected governor in 1958 and 1962. And Brown's side seemed to be winning: Reagan had been unable to stem the tide of cultural liberation which had produced the de facto legalization of marijuana, abortion, prostitution and pornography, quite unable to persuade most Americans that their country's involvement in Vietnam had been, as he would later say, "a noble cause." Brown proclaimed that "small is beautiful" and that America and California were living in "an era of limits," suggesting that further economic growth was not to be expected, and argued that the United States must accommodate itself to rising movements around the world, by which he meant socialist-minded Third World dictatorships sympathetic or allied to the Soviets. Brown seemed poised to be the politician of the future, extolling the virtues of high-tech and questioning the verities of both welfare state liberals like Hubert Humphrey and free market conservatives like Ronald Reagan.

Yet this view of the world did not pan out very well. One reason is that the cultural conflicts

which accounted for much of his support died off; it turned out that there was room enough in California for everyone to live as he pleased. Mexican-American kids can parade their low-slung cars in East L.A., gays can promenade down San Francisco's Castro Street or in the newly incorporated gay-majority West Hollywood, crew cut NCOs can raise large families in Seaside or near Camp Pendleton, elderly ex-Iowans can stroll to the shopping center in Orange—and nobody else minds. A second reason is that voters turned against Brown on some cultural issues. His hesitancy to use pesticides on the 1981 Medfly infestation infuriated many, and his appointee, Chief Justice Rose Bird, who found reasons to overturn every death sentence conviction that came before her, was ousted by a 2 to 1 vote in 1986. A third reason is that California's economy—and America's—performed much better than its critics expected. True, the growth was in large part the product of small business units of the sort Brown championed and it also owed much to government—and had since Earl Warren kept taxes high during World War II to pay for the schools and highways he thought California would need after the war. But growth also produced a yearning for affluence that Brown had little use for, a desire that helps to explain the success of Proposition 13 in 1978. This undid Brown, for in opposing 13 with the same arguments as welfare state liberals, he seemed untrue to his own principles and as cynical as the politicians who rode in the limousines he eschewed. His support collapsed: after winning 59% in California's 1976 Democratic presidential primary, he got only 4% four years later. When he ran for the Senate in 1982, he won only 51% of the primary vote against such giants as novelist Gore Vidal, a state senator from Orange County, and the mayor of Fresno; he lost the general election to the little-known Pete Wilson, then mayor of San Diego, by an unambiguous 52%–45% margin. Brown got himself elected Democratic state chairman in early 1989, prompted by voter-approved campaign finance laws that make the parties the chief conduits of political money in state races; but this was an inside maneuver of the sort he scorned in the past, and there was no indication that his popularity with the voters had recovered.

In state politics the key figure for the 1980s, much to everyone's surprise, turned out to be George Deukmejian, a state senator from Long Beach who was elected attorney general in 1978 against a black congresswoman opposed to the death penalty and who narrowly defeated Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley for the Senate in 1982. In that race the key votes were cast in the quarter of the state outside the Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco media markets—namely the interior valley and mountain regions. This turned out to be California's high-growth area, populated by young families who headed from the smoggy outer reaches of the Los Angeles basin, with its crime-ridden freeways and drug-infested public schools, for the cleaner and culturally more traditional climes of the old Mother Lode country in the foothills of the Sierra, in the growing Sacramento area, and parts of the vast Central Valley. When issues were economic, and when the Democratic nominee was not identified with the cultural liberalism of Hollywood or San Francisco, as in the 1976 presidential race, this non-metropolitan California voted Democratic. But in 1982, against Los Angeles's mayor, and with a gun control referendum on the ballot that brought out many opponents in rural counties, Deukmejian carried the interior of California by a 55%–40% margin. (The coastal counties, filling up with liberals leaving the Bay area and L.A., trended in the other direction and voted 50%–47% for Bradley.)

As for the San Francisco Bay area, it has no better personification than Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, a far more vivid political figure and on occasion a more powerful one in Sacramento than Deukmejian. The Bay area, one of the most affluent parts of the world, is also politically one of the most liberal—if the liberalism in question is cultural rather than economic. For years not just San Francisco, but the East Bay and the Peninsula, and even prosaic-looking suburbs, have attracted those who felt their personal lifestyles were not accepted elsewhere or who relished an atmosphere of revolt—gays and perpetual graduate students, radicals and perennial rebels. The Bay area is environmentalist and dovish, but not much interested in income redistribution or helping the poor. So in 1976, the Bay area had little use for Southern Baptist

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Jimmy Carter and almost preferred Betty Ford's husband, voting only 50%–46% Democratic—and costing Carter California's electoral votes. In 1988, while nationally the Democratic ticket was 5% weaker, in the Bay area it was far stronger, as Michael Dukakis led George Bush by a 58%–41% margin. A 58%–40% Bay area margin, plus an edge in the increasingly Bay-influenced coast, helped save Senator Alan Cranston's seat in 1986, as he campaigned primarily as a champion of saving California's environment.

Dukakis's strong showing in the Bay area and the coast (50%–48%), and his carrying of Los Angeles County (52%–47%), were almost enough to enable him to carry California, despite the big margin for Bush in the south outside L.A. County (63%–36%) and the smaller Bush margin in the interior (54%–44%). Overall, Bush carried California by only 51%–48%, less than his national percentage, and one of his weaker showings in a big state. This is evidence that, as the baby boom generation continues to mature, and as Hispanics and Asians produce less-than-unanimous but still significant Democratic margins, national Democrats can hope to carry California, and that California, despite the fact that it has voted Republican in every presidential election since 1964 could be part of a Democratic electoral college majority. But a caution needs to be added. The liberalism that appeals to California is cultural, not economic. The redistributionist policies that may appeal to farmers in Iowa or blacks in Michigan and the trade policies that are thought to appeal to factory workers in Pennsylvania and Ohio are probably vote-losers in California. In the 1940s it was in California where anti-Japanese feeling was strongest, but in 1988 it was the Ohio Dukakis coordinator who produced a TV spot on trade showing the Japanese flag, while the California Dukakis coordinator made darn sure it was not shown in his state. Californians, however liberal, are aware that their affluence depends heavily on commerce and on continued trade with those other nation-states on the other side of the Pacific Rim. Those who look hopefully and with some reason to California as a building block for a new liberal majority must reckon with the differences between its liberalism and that of other states essential to their strategy.

They must remember as well that in the 1980s, as the post-baby boom voters come of age, the Republican Party has grown stronger. The number of registered Republicans has grown from 3.4 million in 1978 to 5.4 million in 1988, while in the same period the number of registered Democrats has increased from 5.7 million to 7.0 million; in other words, Republicans have signed-up more than 60% of net new registrants. Those numbers don't automatically translate into votes, for in the 1970s a lot of registered Democrats had voted Republican already for major office; but they can translate into greater strength in down-the-line contests, and they give the Republicans a body of primary voters that comes closer to representing the broader electorate.

Meanwhile, in this apolitical commonwealth, where political machines were outlawed 75 years ago and media campaigning started 35 years ago, both political parties are trying to reinvent organizational politics, in different ways. The Republicans are relying on money, technology and management techniques to get out their vote, using phone banks to identify their potential voters, mailings to communicate with them, and absentee ballot applications to get them to vote even before anyone goes to the polls. Ironically, it was Democrats who liberalized the registration laws, but Republicans who took advantage of them: Thomas Bradley got a majority of votes cast on election day 1982, but George Deukmejian won because of his big margins among the absentees. The Democrats' strategy is to reinvent the precinct organization. In 1988 the Dukakis campaign and the state Democratic Party hired 500 organizers to recruit precinct chairmen in the 25,000 precincts—they even had ceremonies where they took an oath to finish their quotas—and such efforts are being promised by the new state chairman Jerry Brown. A major target is to register blacks and the Hispanics and Asians who are bound to be a growing percentage of the electorate; such efforts are likely to be more successful than in other big states, since the targets are not those who have failed to vote in the past but those who are new to the area and may be ready to participate. The Democrats' organizational efforts were

probably worth a couple of points in 1988. In a state with some excruciatingly close races, Cranston was reelected in 1986 and Deukmejian won his first term as governor in 1982 by 49%–48% margins. Politicians from both parties have an incentive to innovate and organize where they have not before.

A case can be made that California's decline in political interest is a sign of health. Hostilities between different cultural groups produced a politics of enthusiasm and nomination victories for ideological candidates like Barry Goldwater in 1964 and George McGovern in 1972, neither of whom would have been nominated if they had not won California's then winner-take-all presidential primary; as those hostilities have declined, California primaries have produced more moderate winners, like Pete Wilson and Ed Zschau, and general elections have produced divided government, in which Deukmejian is checked by Speaker Willie Brown, while Bradley is balanced by a conservative Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors and Republican Presidents by a supertalented Democratic congressional delegation. The result is a government fiscally restrained and culturally tolerant, but ready at the same time to pump more money into education and to insist on stricter standards for students, sterner restrictions on drug use, and tougher penalties for crime. California, as it approaches the 1990s, after all, is a story of success and not of failure. Its supple and strong economy, its capacity and willingness to welcome newcomers and help them rise, its tolerance of eccentricity but insistence on standards, are all in the best of American traditions. They show what many Americans in the 1960s and 1970s forgot, that America works; and if Californians are less interested in politics and less inclined to call on government than they were in more troubled times, that is perhaps not cause for despair.

Presidential politics. For most of the 1980s California did not seem to count much in presidential politics. Its primary, coming at the end of the season, was pivotal in 1964 and 1972. Since then it has produced such winners as Jerry Brown, Edward Kennedy and Gary Hart for the Democrats, and has been won without serious contest by Ronald Reagan three times. Its 1988 winners were Michael Dukakis and George Bush—after they had already clinched their nominations. It's possible that California could play a critical role in 1992, but unlikely unless it is rescheduled. Otherwise, it's likely to result in the renomination of George Bush and the ratification of whoever has emerged as the leading Democratic opponent of Jesse Jackson—if he decides to run again for President.

In the general election, California may be more pivotal—and could easily have been in 1988 if the national race had gone a little differently. The fact that California ended up Republican by small margins in the close elections of 1960, 1968 and 1976, and that it gave Ronald Reagan two easy victories in 1980 (53%–36%) and 1984 (58%–41%) led many to chalk it up as straight Republican. But its liberal trend on cultural issues made it competitive in 1988 and, though it finally went for George Bush, may already have had its effect on public policy. Republican national chairman and Bush campaign manager Lee Atwater noticed the trend in California during the primary season, and the even stronger trend in Oregon and Washington, both of which Dukakis ultimately carried, and it may have contributed to George Bush's calling for a "kinder, gentler" nation. Certainly the Bush Republicans are not conceding the black, Hispanic, Asian and baby boom voters who are the Democrats' hopes for carrying California.

The 1988 election had one additional result worth noting. Despite the carping of West Coast politicians about the network projections of the election winner, California has usually produced a higher than average percentage for the *loser* of the presidential election, and it did so again in 1988. It's possible that Dukakis won a plurality among West Coast voters who went to the polls on election day, and that Bush's narrow margin was due entirely to absentees.

Governor. At the beginning of the 1980s, few would have picked George Deukmejian as the man who would stand astride California state government for most of the decade; but as the decade was ending there he was, in place and on top. His first victory over Tom Bradley in 1982 was by the narrowest of margins; his second in 1986 was won with a higher percentage than

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Ronald Reagan ever got in California. Deukmejian is orderly and aloof, a believer in pomp and ceremony; he is not close to other officials, not even Republicans though he spent four years as attorney general and 16 years in the legislature in Sacramento. He sticks closely to a tight-knit staff and, mostly, to his principles. His first term was marked by his stubbornness and success in sticking to his promise of no new taxes; in his second term, when the state was facing a $1 billion post-tax reform shortfall, he proposed a tax increase in 1988 and then had to back away from it. Critics charged that the state was neglecting education, highways and research, and would pay for it with a weaker economy and slower growth in the 1990s. Deukmejian replies that "we have become the gold at the end of the rainbow."

Deukmejian also made some mistakes. He angered many by abolishing without any notice the state worker health and safety program; organized labor retaliated by pumping crucial money into a close state Senate race and putting the issue on the 1988 ballot and winning. And he was unsuccessful in getting Congressman Dan Lungren confirmed as state treasurer to replace the late Jesse Unruh. Lungren was blocked in the state Senate, largely because he opposed monetary compensation to victims of the Japanese American internment in World War II. Unruh had become a power in the investment world by keeping careful control over the investment of California's pension billions. Probably one of Deukmejian's more notable successes was the defeat of Rose Bird and two other Supreme Court justices in the 1986 election, which gave him new appointments that would make the California Supreme Court, dominated by liberals since 1940, for the first time a bastion of judicial conservatism. And he was proud that the number of prisoners in California, in line with national trends, nearly doubled since he came to office.

These setbacks did not hurt Deukmejian much with the voters, however, and he probably could have been reelected in 1990. But he chose to retire instead. This caused considerable gnashing of teeth among Republicans, who fear that the Democrats will regain the governorship and, with control of the legislature, will control redistricting for the 1990s as Phil Burton did for the 1970s and 1980s. For that reason Senator Pete Wilson was trotted forward by Republican leaders, who were afraid that a little-known candidate couldn't raise the money under the new rules to compete.

The one Democrat clearly in the race in early 1989 was John Van de Kamp, who as attorney general holds an office that is easily portrayed as divorced from politics; a possible contender is Controller Gray Davis, a former top aide to Brown; a bit more colorful and considerably more likely to run is former (1978–87) San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein. All except Feinstein are rather colorless politicians—which seems to be what California has wanted since Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown left Sacramento. Leo McCarthy is running again for lieutenant governor, and the jockeying for other California statewide offices should be fierce: Van de Kamp will not be running for reelection as attorney general, Secretary of State March Fong Eu may get a primary opponent, and the new insurance commissioner post set up by Proposition 13 could attract multiple entrants. Treasurer Thomas Hayes is a civil servant type who may be opposed in the primary by Angela (Bay) Buchanan, former Treasurer of the United States and sister of conservative columnist, Pat Buchanan. If he were to win that election he may face Jerry Brown's sister Kathleen. These offices may attract some of the state legislators and so there is likely to be some turnover in the capital.

One who will not be leaving Sacramento, it seems, is Willie Brown. In 1988 he seemed on the ropes, and his prominence in Jesse Jackson's campaign seemed an attempt to make a national political career by a man whose state career seemed in decline. A "Gang of Five" Democratic legislators were prepared to run against him, and Assembly Minority Leader Pat Nolan was hoping to overturn the Democrats' 44–36 majority. But after the election it was Nolan who lost his leadership post and Brown who was stronger than ever. The Democrats increased their lead to 47–33, eliminating the leverage of the Gang of Five (who, one might guess, were assigned office space together in the same broom closet), and reducing downward toward zero the

Republicans' chances of gaining control of the Assembly in 1990. The Democrats also have a strong position (24–15) in the state Senate.

Senators. The Senate majority whip, the winner of the second highest number of popular votes in Senate history, is Alan Cranston of California. After nearly 40 years in California politics, he is clearly a survivor. But he is not quite the power these facts suggest. His most recent victory, in 1986, was actually the biggest upset in the 1986 elections and the product of one of the shrewdest campaigns of recent times. After his humiliating 1984 presidential campaign, he had looked like a goner. He had won nothing more than a victory in a 1983 Wisconsin straw poll—and a $2 million debt. He was 72 on election day 1986 and he looked gaunt and haggard, though he has always been in excellent physical shape, and made himself ridiculous by dying his hair a shade of orange. His views on issues seemed out of line with California: his longtime support of disarmament seemed irrelevant when the contrary policies of Ronald Reagan seemed to be bringing peace, and his longtime support of generous government spending at home seemed foolish to young affluent voters who believe that markets and entrepreneurs, not governments and regulators, produce economic growth. And finally, the Republicans nominated the strongest possible candidate to oppose him, Silicon Valley Representative Ed Zschau, a successful entrepreneur himself, well-financed, tolerant on cultural issues, assertive on foreign policy and market-oriented on economics.

But Cranston was not daunted. In 1984 he set about methodically raising money, phone call by phone call; he eradicated his debt (while Gary Hart and John Glenn, with much better political prospects, could not eradicate theirs) and by 1986 raised another $10 million or so besides. He criss-crossed California's small towns in 1985 and remained on the campaign trail—which these days means in TV studios and raising money personally on the phone and at parties—in 1986. The day after the Republican primary, he had ads on the air attacking Zschau for flip-flopping on issues, and kept a running attack on him through November. At the same time, he used Ansel Adams photographs to identify himself with all the best things in California, and at the last minute sent out 250,000 letters to coastal households on environmental issues. Zschau, a business school graduate who approached campaigning as a management exercise, eventually counterattacked by calling Cranston a liberal and an opponent of the death penalty and tough drug laws. But he never got the footing to get across his own positive message, and Cranston succeeded early in establishing a negative tone. In that environment, turnout was low (8% below 1982), and neither candidate got a majority. But Cranston won 50%–47%.

Cranston started off in public life in the 1930s; as a young journalist he published an unexpurgated version of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, and in the years after World War II he was a founder of the California Democratic Council, the leading liberal political force in the state. He was elected state controller in 1958 and 1962 and U.S. Senator in 1968, an office to which he has been reelected three times. His career has had its ups and downs: he was defeated for controller in the 1966 Reagan gubernatorial landslide, and he won the Senate seat only when the moderate incumbent, Thomas Kuchel, was defeated in the primary by right-winger Max Rafferty who, despite the revelation that he sat out World War II with an alleged injury and then threw away his crutches on VJ Day, held Cranston to 52%.

Cranston is part dreamy idealist, part shrewd political operator. He got into politics in the 1940s as an advocate of world government and remains more interested in arms control than any other issue. He favors some form of national service, not necessarily military, for young people. But he is also an operator. For 15 years his California colleagues in the Senate were men with rather abstract interests or limited attention spans, and so California constituencies—farmers, aerospace companies, banks and savings and loans, labor unions, the entertainment industry, the new Silicon Valley industries—went to Cranston when they needed help in the Senate. Cranston delivered. When Lockheed needed a federal loan guarantee to stay in business, Cranston produced the critical vote on the floor by persuading a colleague who later admitted to a

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drinking problem to change his mind. On the Banking Committee for years he looked out for the now beleaguered savings and loans. He also became known as a good vote-counter, cultivating not so much the strongest, best-known Senators as those who are obscure and in some cases of limited talents; and when Robert Byrd moved up to the majority leadership in 1977, Cranston became Democratic whip.

Since his 1984 campaign, his career has been in something of an eclipse. While he was out on the road in 1983 and 1984, he had for the first time a colleague, Pete Wilson, who also looked after the state's economic interests. No longer was Cranston indispensable. In much of 1985 and 1986 he was preoccupied with his campaign. In 1987, when the Democrats regained control of the Senate, Majority Leader Robert Byrd gave him a cold shoulder; he liked to be his own vote counter. In 1989, new Majority Leader George Mitchell seems to be using as his lieutenant South Dakota's Tom Daschle, who is a contemporary and campaign helper to many of the younger Democrats, while most of the men Cranston started off with are gone. Cranston easily beat back opposition from Wendell Ford for the whip post, and he has work that he cares about as chairman of the Veterans Committee.

In California, Cranston has worked hard on registering voters and developing a new Democratic organization with appeal to Hispanics and Asians. Many assume he will quit in 1992 when he turns 78. Cranston says he *is* running; he is a physical fitness buff (a champion sprinter into his seventies) and does not seem disposed to retire. If he is not as much at the center of things as he once was, he retains both his idealistic goals and his insider's skills, and there is more than one tenant in the political graveyard who underestimated his determination and political sense.

The man who has won more votes in a single election than anyone in the history of the United States Congress, could walk down just about any street in Washington or in his home state and not be recognized. He is nonetheless a politician of considerable competence and impressive accomplishments. Pete Wilson grew up in an affluent part of St. Louis, went to Yale, then joined the Marines and went to law school at Boalt Hall in Berkeley; he moved to San Diego, where he was elected assemblyman in 1966 and mayor in 1971. His reputation was as a moderate Republican and an environmentalist, interested in nuts-and-bolts state and local government; he supported Gerald Ford over Ronald Reagan in the 1976 presidential primary (better not bring up his name with Reagan even now), opposed Proposition 13 in 1978, and finished fourth in the Republican gubernatorial primary that year, with 9% of the vote. In 1982, still with the handicap of being well known only in the San Diego media market, which has only 8% of the state's voters, he ran in a 13-candidate primary field for Senator, and finished first, with 38% of the vote, as Pete McCloskey was unable to expand beyond his Bay area base, Barry Goldwater Jr. fizzled, and Robert Dornan and Maureen Reagan never got well enough known to be taken seriously. Wilson was then the beneficiary of the unpopularity of Jerry Brown, and beat him 52%–45%. Six years later, he beat Leo McCarthy, who grew up in the same St. Francis Wood neighborhood of San Francisco as Brown, by the almost identical margin of 53%–44%. In the 10 years between his first and his latest statewide race, Wilson increased his vote total from 230,000 to 5.1 million. In the process, he also broke the jinx that has clung to the seat he holds: no one had been reelected to it since 1952.

How did he do it? His voting record, despite his un-Reaganish past, was mostly pro-Reagan, with dissents on issues like offshore drilling, clean air and highways. On military issues, he has been an enthusiastic supporter of the Reagan defense buildup on the Armed Services Committee and on the floor—which evidently doesn't hurt in California, with its big defense industries—and he was one of those ready to move the military into the fight against drugs. He is an SDI enthusiast and the leading opponent of the Midgetman. In 1985, he showed up in pajamas while recovering from surgery to cast a decisive vote for the balanced budget constitutional amendment. He has worked for research on Alzheimer's disease and AIDS, and

wants government to do more about transportation and child care. George Will called him "a rarity: a conservative who understands the discriminating, but vigorous use of government for conservative purposes."

He has spent much time working for California interests and on California issues. On the Agriculture Committee he looks out for California's huge food industry and tries to increase its exports. He was the lead advocate of amendments to the immigration bill allowing in more guestworkers for California growers; he took on the chief sponsor of the immigration bill, Alan Simpson, and won. With less success he tried in 1984 to increase tuna tariffs (the U.S. tuna fleet is based in San Diego). He worked with Cranston and against some Republicans on the California wilderness bill, but broke with him over the Mojave Desert wilderness area; he was one of the leaders against offshore oil drilling off California's coast. Wilson was the chief Senate sponsor of the "wine equity act." He also maintained careful ties with California's entertainment industry, pushing bills to keep the TV networks from sharing syndication profits, to stop foreign pirating of films and videocassettes, and to get favorable transition rules for studios in the 1986 tax reform. And he has been a staunch supporter of Israel.

To all these issues Wilson has brought a strong intellect, a willingness to work hard and master details, and a steely and not terribly pleasant competitiveness. He brought those qualities to campaigning as well. With clockwork precision, he raised a record amount of money, calling in many of the chits he had accumulated, particularly among Los Angeles's usually Democratic west side fundraisers. And he spent his money effectively. His opponent was Leo McCarthy, a similarly quiet but also competent officeholder, a former Assembly speaker and now lieutenant governor, who in California's apolitical environment was scarcely known in any substantive way to the voters. McCarthy made some mistakes in the spring: he attended a fundraiser at which anti-nuclear activist Helen Caldicott called Reagan a lunatic and compared Gorbachev to Jesus Christ (statements which McCarthy did not immediately renounce); he was reluctant to release his income tax returns; he was not endorsed by Dianne Feinstein because he opposed homeporting the battleship Missouri in San Francisco; he was hurt by his opposition to capital punishment and 1986 support of Rose Bird; he was attacked by Wilson for a vote against aid to the elderly in the legislature. Wilson, meanwhile, was running ads saying he didn't send out newsletters but gave the money for research on Alzheimer's disease. In November, Wilson ran slightly better in Los Angeles and the South than he had against Brown, while McCarthy did better than Brown in the Bay area and the Coast. But the overall result was similar, and one Wilson would surely settle for if he runs for governor.

If Wilson is elected governor, he will get to pick the next Senator himself. But Wilson's successor will serve only two years and so will come up for reelection, to a two-year term, in 1992. Alan Cranston's term expires then too, and so it is possible that California will have two Senate races, one with an incumbent with less than two years' service, the other, either with no incumbent or with one who will be 78 years old. The incentive for ambitious politicians to run must be overwhelming, and the potential total cost of those campaigns must be frightening—perhaps as much as the insurance industry spent in this apolitical commonwealth on the referenda of 1988.

Congressional districting. California's House delegation of 45 is the largest since New York had that many districts in the 1940s; it is lopsidedly (27–18) Democratic. That is attributed to the redistricting plans drawn up by the late San Francisco Representative Phillip Burton and Michael Berman, an aide to Representative Henry Waxman and brother of former Assembly majority leader and now U.S. Representative Howard Berman. Republican efforts to forge an alliance with Hispanic legislators failed when Burton figured out how to draw one more Hispanic district than the Republican computers did. The Republicans turned to referenda and won at the polls in 1982, only to have Burton draw another plan before Jerry Brown left office, and the Republican's efforts to create a commission of retired judges to draw the district lines was

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The Burton plan is not quit
will tend to understate Repu
cast in a few high-income, hig
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In any case, Burton died ir
The census is expected to g
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redistricting, subject only to a
be pressure for a compromise.
safe seats for most if not quite
well-placed and powerful Hou
This is rather remarkable beca
three time zones to California

The People: Est. Pop. 1988: 28,1
11.19% of U.S. total, 1st largest.
level. Single ancestry: 8% English
Polish, Swedish, Dutch, Scottish,
married couples; 44.1% housing u
Voting age pop. (1980): 17,278,9
Indian. Registered voters (1988)
unaffiliated and minor parties (11

1988 Share of Federal Tax Burden

1988 Share of Federal Expenditure

Total Expend	$102,366m
St/Lcl Grants	11,676m
Salary/Wages	16,380m
Pymnts to Indiv	41,941m
Procurement	29,457m
Research/Other	2,913m

Political Lineup: Governor, George
March Fong Eu (D); Atty. Gen., Jo
Gray Davis (D). State Senate, 40 (
Senators, Alan Cranston (D) and Pe

1988 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	5,054
Dukakis (D)	4,702

1988 Democratic Presidential Primary

Dukakis	
Jackson	1,910,
Gore	1,102,
Simon	56,
	43,

turned down by the voters in 1984; the final court challenge wasn't dismissed until early 1989. The Burton plan is not quite as unfair as the Republicans claim, however. Any districting plan will tend to understate Republicans' popular vote strength, because so many of their votes are cast in a few high-income, high-turnout areas. And the Republicans' failure to capture majorities in the legislature in the 1980s is due more to their candidates' weaknesses than to the district lines.

In any case, Burton died in 1983, and by 1989 the focus was on what will happen after 1990. The census is expected to give California five or six new seats, to make it the largest state delegation in history. At least two, in southern California, will be Republican no matter who draws the lines: there are no Democratic precincts in this rapidly growing territory. Otherwise, the key is the governor's race in 1990. If the Democrats win, they will probably totally control redistricting, subject only to a court case. If Pete Wilson or another Republican wins, there will be pressure for a compromise. There is, at this point, a good government argument for drawing safe seats for most if not quite all of California's incumbents, since the state has many talented, well-placed and powerful House members, most of them Democrats but some Republicans too. This is rather remarkable because it is hard to be a good legislator if you must fly five hours over three time zones to California on weekends and then take the redeye back to Washington.

The People: Est. Pop. 1988: 28,168,000; Pop. 1980: 23,667,902, up 19% 1980–88 and 18.5% 1970–80; 11.19% of U.S. total, 1st largest. 23% with 1–3 yrs. col., 20% with 4+ yrs. col.; 11.4% below poverty level. Single ancestry: 8% English, 5% German, 3% Irish, 2% Italian, 1% French, Russian, Portuguese, Polish, Swedish, Dutch, Scottish, Norwegian. Households (1980): 69% family, 37% with children, 55% married couples; 44.1% housing units rented; median monthly rent: $253; median house value: $84,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 17,278,944; 16% Spanish origin, 7% Black, 5% Asian origin, 1% American Indian. Registered voters (1988): 14,004,873; 7,052,368 D (50%); 5,406,127 R (39%); 1,546,378 unaffiliated and minor parties (11%).

1988 Share of Federal Tax Burden: $113,203,000,000; 12.80% of U.S. total, largest.

1988 Share of Federal Expenditures

	Total		Non-Defense		Defense	
Total Expend	$102,366m	(11.58%)	$66,020m	(10.07%)	$42,398m	(18.56%)
St/Lcl Grants	11,676m	(10.19%)	11,674m	(10.20%)	2m	(2.16%)
Salary/Wages	16,380m	(12.20%)	6,240m	(9.31%)	10,140m	(9.31%)
Pymnts to Indiv	41,941m	(10.25%)	39,199m	(10.04%)	2,741m	(14.71%)
Procurement	29,457m	(15.61%)	6,052m	(13.02%)	29,457m	(15.61%)
Research/Other	2,913m	(7.80%)	2,855m	(7.70%)	58m	(7.70%)

Political Lineup: Governor, George Deukmejian (R); Lt. Gov., Leo T. McCarthy (D); Secy. of State, March Fong Eu (D); Atty. Gen., John Van de Kamp (D); Treasurer, Thomas Hayes (R); Controller, Gray Davis (D). State Senate, 40 (24 D and 15 R and 1 I); State Assembly, 80 (47 D and 33 R). Senators, Alan Cranston (D) and Pete Wilson (R). Representatives, 45 (27 D and 18 R).

1988 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	5,054,917	(51%)
Dukakis (D)	4,702,233	(48%)

1988 Democratic Presidential Primary

Dukakis	1,910,808	(61%)
Jackson	1,102,093	(35%)
Gore	56,645	(2%)
Simon	43,771	(1%)

1984 Presidential Vote

Reagan (R)	5,467,009	(58%)
Mondale (D)	3,922,519	(41%)

1988 Republican Presidential Primary

Bush	1,856,273	(83%)
Dole	289,220	(14%)
Robertson	94,779	(4%)

Key Votes

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

Election Results

1986 general	Alan Cranston (D)	3,646,672	(50%)	($11,037,707)
	Ed Zschau (R)	3,541,804	(47%)	($11,781,316)
1986 primary	Alan Cranston (D)	1,807,244	(81%)	
	Charles Greene (D)	165,594	(7%)	
	John Hancock Abbott (D)	124,218	(6%)	
	Two others (D)	142,193	(6%)	
1980 general	Alan Cranston (D)	4,705,399	(57%)	($2,823,462)
	Paul Gann (R)	3,093,426	(37%)	($1,705,523)

Sen. Pete Wilson (R)



Elected 1982, seat up 1994; b. Aug. 23, 1933, Lake Forest, IL; home, San Diego; Yale U., B.A. 1955, U. of CA at Berkeley, J.D. 1962; Protestant; married (Gayle).

Career: USMC, 1955–58; Practicing atty., 1963–66; CA Assembly, 1966–71, Minor. Whip, 1967–69; Mayor of San Diego, 1971–83.

Offices: 720 HSOB 20510, 202-224-3841. Also 2040 Ferry Bldg., San Francisco 94102, 415-556-4307; 11111 Santa Monica Blvd., #915, Los Angeles 90025, 213-209-6765; Fed. Bldg., 1130 O St., Rm. 4015, Fresno 93721, 209-487-5727; and 401 B St., Ste. 2209, San Diego 92660, 619-557-5257.

Committees: *Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry* (8th of 9 R). Subcommittees: Agricultural Production and Stabilization of Prices; Agricultural Research and General Legislation (Ranking Member); Domestic and Foreign Marketing and Production Promotion. *Armed Services* (3rd of 9 R). Subcommittees: Conventional Forces and Alliance Defense (Ranking Member); Manpower and Personnel; Strategic Forces and Nuclear Defense. *Governmental Affairs* (6th of 6 R). Subcommittees: Investigations; Federal Services, Post Office and Civil Service; Oversight of Government Management. *Special Committee on Aging* (5th of 9 R). *Joint Economic Committee.* Subcommittees: Economic Goals and Intergovernmental Policy; Education and Health; National Security and Economics.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	15	46	15	42	70	75	67	100	77	53
1987	30	—	13	42	—	75	—	—	87	62

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	30% — 69%	29% — 70%
Social	54% — 45%	50% — 49%
Foreign	13% — 84%	0% — 76%

Key Votes

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

Election Results

1988 general	Pete Wilson (R)	5,143,409	(53%)	($12,969,294)
	Leo T. McCarthy (D)	4,287,253	(44%)	($6,986,342)
1988 primary	Pete Wilson (R), unopposed			
1982 general	Pete Wilson (R)	4,022,565	(52%)	($7,082,651)
	Edmund G. Brown, Jr. (D)	3,494,968	(45%)	($5,367,931)

FIRST DISTRICT

The Redwood Empire, the North Coast—50 years ago this seemed an antique, left-behind part of California. "Eureka spreads in checkerboard fashion over an area large enough to accommodate a population several times its present size," wrote the *WPA Guide*. "Its solitary houses are scattered over vast stretches of vacant, weed-grown lots. Along the waterfront are the saloons, cheap hotels and poolrooms of the late 19th century—relics of the days when the tough, flamboyant life of the lonely frontier settlement centered here."

Farther south, back off the foggy coastal valleys in the protected inland flatlands, was agronomist Luther Burbank's laboratory in Santa Rosa, a town that looks middle American enough to have been the setting for dozens of movies. Sealed off from the rest of the country, and in most places from the Pacific itself, by the various ridges of the Coast Range, the north coast of California is a world unto itself. This is wet country, with some of the highest rainfall in the United States—higher as you get toward Oregon—a moist, rainy land of massive trees and rounded mountains, of small towns with filigreed Victorian houses and lumber mills. The Redwood Empire some call it, after the giant trees which grow up and down the coast, is nourished most of the year by drizzle and fog. The first white settlers here were Russians who left little behind them but interesting place names (the Russian River, Fort Ross). They were followed, in the years after the California Gold Rush, by lumbermen and fishermen. By the late 19th century, great fortunes had been made in lumber from the redwoods and Douglas firs, as Eureka's still standing Victorian mansions attest. This Redwood Empire, beginning in the south around Santa Rosa (and, over a hill, in Napa) and continuing all the way up to the Oregon border, forms California's 1st Congressional District.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the North Coast has changed as people have moved here from the San Francisco Bay area. The movement has been heavy in Sonoma County, which is within easy reach of the Golden Gate Bridge on U.S. 101; it has been lighter but more distinctively countercultural in Mendocino County, where the leading cash crop was said to be marijuana. These new North Coasters have brought many of the values and attitudes from the Bay area's liberal and even radical precincts to counties discontented with the sagging fortunes of the lumber industry in a time of national prosperity. The result is that politically, as the country and the interior of California have become more Republican in the 1980s, the Redwood Empire has become more Democratic. In the 1988 presidential election, as in the close 1986 Senate contest, the Redwood Empire counties were solidly Democratic.

Coming along at just the right time for this trend is Congressman Doug Bosco. Throughout his career he has had a gift for being at the right place at the right time. In the 1960s he left New York (which has been losing congressional districts) for school on the West Coast (which has been gaining); in the 1970s he m
ran for Congress and lost, and wa
just as the 1st District was mc
Representative Don Clausen. He
his support for the lumber and fi
part of the district, and when De
enthuse the counterculture migra

And he has had the good luck t
rather united environmentalist m
the California wilderness bill, but
now is offshore drilling of oil, whic
helped to move the North Coast fu
a postponement of drilling before
from stopping oil drilling, Bosco'
everyday needs of North Coast res
Merchant Marine Committees to s
Russian River restoration, Napa Ri
on Highway 101 and acquiring a p
Santa Rosa marshes. In 1989 he go
support for the nuclear freeze, now
brilliant: in the last three elections
Empire congressman in 20 years.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 592,800
Households (1980): 69% family, 35% w
median monthly rent: $233; median hou
origin, 2% American Indian, 1% Asian

1988 Presidential Vote: Dukakis (D)
Bush (R) . .

Rep. Douglas H. Bosco (D)



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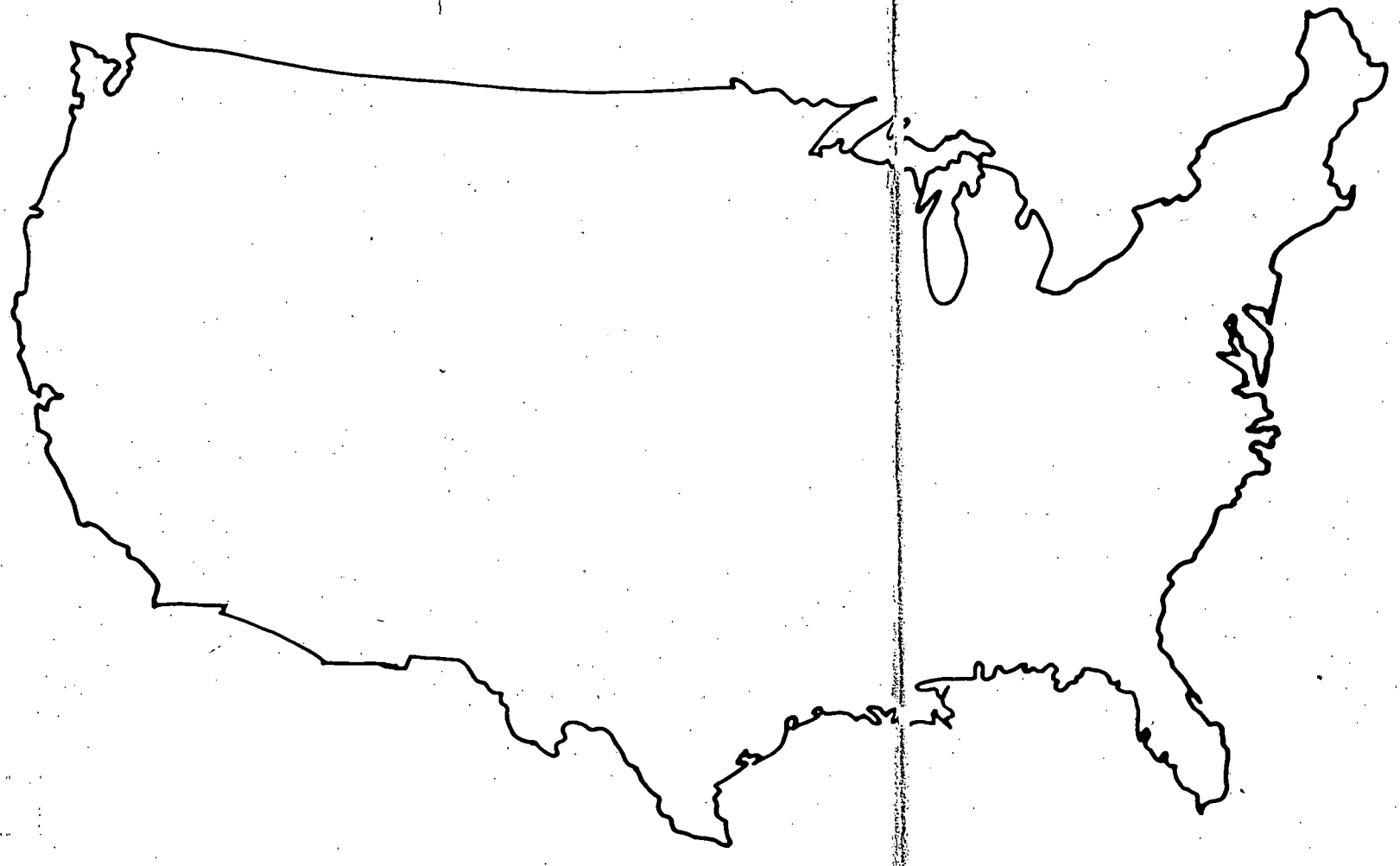
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Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA
1988	80	74	79	73
1987	68	—	77	57

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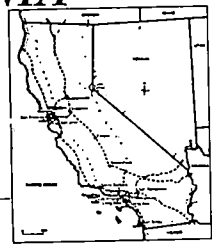
AMERICA THE QUOTABLE



Mike Edelhart and James Tinen

Facts On File Publications
460 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10016

CALIFORNIA



Capital: Sacramento
Entered the union (with rank): Sept. 9, 1850 (31)
State motto: *Eureka* (I have found it)
State flower: Golden poppy
State bird: California valley quail
State song: "I Love You, California"
State tree: Sequoia
Nickname: Golden State
Origin of state name: From the book *Las Sergas de Esplanadian* by Garcia Ordonez de Montalvo, c. 1500

America's most populous state and the nation's trend setter, California is modern America's fantasy land, representing the most fashionable reflection of ourselves at any given moment. Geographically, it encompasses examples of just about every physical feature found in America, including the nation's lowest spot, Death Valley, within borders that reach from Mexico to the far north and from the Pacific Ocean to the Sierra Nevada.

California's role as a dream land for Americans began with the settling of the West. This one-time Spanish colony, ceded to the United States by Mexico in 1847, was the place where gold was discovered by James Marshall at Sutter's Creek. It was the ocean paradise where fruits grew wild and the weather was always kind, as compared to the barren desert and scrubby prairies settlers trudged through on their way westward. Ever since, this slice of seaside America has represented a perfect environment for American life.

Since World War II, California has experienced a population explosion that has led to the formation of a wandering megalopolis that stretches southward from Santa Barbara through Los Angeles all the way down to San Diego and eastward to Palm Springs. In this urban expanse the modern highway and suburb came to be; it still produces most popular American fashion today. San Francisco in the north is the freethinking hilltop enclave where experimentation and the unusual are accepted as they would be nowhere else.

Apart from its social role, California is America's vegetable garden. The Imperial Valley, a flat wedge running down the center of the state, produces more variety and greater income from farming than any other area in America. California's north central wine region produces the greatest volume of wine on Earth, at quality levels that often equal or surpass those of French wines.

Industrially, the state has led the way in development of soft technology—electronics, computers, video. Aerospace also plays an important role in California commerce.

Several of America's great physical attractions lie in California. The forests of unbelievable giant redwoods are the oldest living communities on the continent. The coast highway running from San Francisco to Los Angeles follows some of the most spectacular ocean cliffs in the world. The Pacific Coast Trail winds along the spine of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. And Lake Tahoe, a cold, crystalline body of water set in a mountain basin along the Nevada border, offers some of the best skiing and outdoor sports in the country.

All of these attributes and accomplishments have led to a certain smugness in Californians' self-perception and a bit of envy and incomprehension on the part of outsiders.

THE STATE

"What America is to Europe, what Western America is to Eastern, that California is to the other Western states . . . the most active minds are too much absorbed in great business enterprises to attend to politics; the inferior men are frequently reckless and irresponsible; the masses are impatient, accustomed to blame everything and everybody but themselves for the slow approach of the millennium, ready to try instant, even if perilous, remedies for a present evil."

James Bryce
The American Commonwealth
1889

* * *

"California, the department store state."

Raymond Chandler
The Little Sister
1949

* * *

[An old saying about California]: "The west coast of Iowa."

Joan Didion
"John Wayne: A Love Song"
Slouching Toward Bethlehem
1968

* * *

"The future always looks good in the golden land, because no one remembers the past."

Joan Didion
"Some Dreamers of the Golden Dream"
Slouching Toward Bethlehem
1968

* * *

"California is a place in which a boom mentality and a sense of Chekhovian loss meet in uneasy suspension."

Joan Didion
"Notes from a Native Daughter"
Slouching Toward Bethlehem
1968

* * *

"Although there are still slices of Berkeley in almost every college town, and little Sunset Strips or Haight-Ashburys in every big city, minigrokkers and groovers everywhere, California in the 80s has floated partway back toward the general American reality."

Herbert Gold
A Walk on the West Side
1981

* * *

"California, the most spectacular and most diversified American state, California so ripe, golden, yeasty, churning in a flux, is a world of its own in this trip we are beginning. It contains both the most sophisticated and the most bigoted community in America; it is a bursting cornucopia of peoples as well as of fruit, glaciers, sunshine, desert, and petroleum. There are several Californians, and the state is at once demented and very sane, adolescent and mature, depending on the point of view."

John Gunther
Inside U.S.A.
1947

* * *

"Iowa gets here and goes crazy."

Resident
Quoted by John Gunther
Inside USA
1947

* * *

"The endless tide of immigration, peculiarities of geography, and the forced-draft growth of California's economy have made it a kaleidoscope succession of states changing from year to year, almost day to day."

Gladwin Hill
Dancing Bear
1968

* * *

"Here I was at the end of America—no more land—and now there was nowhere to go but back."

Jack Kerouac
On the Road
1955

* * *

"Just as the energies released by the discovery of gold put California into orbit with a mighty blast-off, so it has been kept spinning, faster and faster, by a succession of subsequent, providentially timed discoveries and 'explosions' of one kind or another."

Neal R. Peirce
The Pacific States of America
1972

* * *

"California stretches out on the west coast of America like a centerfold from *Playboy*."

Song at Twilight
PBS–TV
Jan. 21, 1977

* * *

"Facing west from California's shores,
Inquiring, tireless, seeking what is yet unfound,
I, a child, very old, over waves, towards the house
Of maternity, the land of migrations, look afar.
. . ."

Walt Whitman
"Facing West from California's Shores"
1867

* * *

"But more in you than these, lands of the Western shore . . .
I see in you, certain to come, the promise of thousands of years, till now deferr'd,
Promis'd to be fulfill'd, our common kind, the race.
The new society, proportionate to Nature . . .
I see the genius of the modern, child of the real and the ideal,
Clearing the ground for broad humanity, the true America, heir of the past so grand. . . ."

Walt Whitman
"Song of the Redwood-Tree"
1881

* * *

"California, since we took it from the Mexicans, has always presented itself to Americans as one of the strangest and most exotic of their exploits."

Edmund Wilson
The Boys in the Back Room
1941

THE LANDSCAPE

"California's growth has been suburban sprawl, and though each new California suburb has been much

like all the others, no prevailing emotional force had appeared to bind them all together except, perhaps, the climate."

Stephen Birmingham
The Golden Dream
1978

"On the right [driving south along the coast] the great solid Pacific trudging into shore like a scrub woman going home."

Raymond Chandler
The Little Sister
1949

* * *

"The air is delicious, tangy, and when you return after a stint in a place like New York you can eat it."

John R. Coyne, Jr.,
The Kumquat Statement
1970

* * *

"All that is constant about California is the rate at which it disappears."

Joan Didion
"Notes from a Native Daughter"
Slouching Toward Bethlehem
1968

* * *

". . . the [typical California] kind of day when Catalina floats on the Pacific horizon and the air smells of orange blossoms and it is a long way from the bleak and difficult East. . . ."

Joan Didion
"Some Dreamers of the Golden Dream"
Slouching Toward Bethlehem
1968

* * *

"It is easy to forget that the only natural force over which we have any control out here is water, and that only recently. In my memory California summers were characterized by the coughing in the pipes that meant the well was dry, and California winters by all-night watches on rivers about to crest, by sandbagging, by dynamite on the levees and flooding on the first floor. Even now the place is not all that hospitable to extensive settlement."

Joan Didion
The White Album
1979

* * *

"The bird's-eye view suggests that California is not even yet an agrarian state—that it is still mainly wilderness. In spatial terms, this is true. It encompasses more than 100 million acres. Nearly half the total is still national forests, national parks, and other federal reserves. One-third is still forested and another 20 percent is barren mountains and desert. Only about 15 percent of the land is classified as arable."

Gladwin Hill
Dancing Bear
1968

* * *

"The light blue haze in the lower canyon [along the California coast] was like a thin smoke from slowly burning money. Even the sea looked precious through it. . . . I had never seen the Pacific look so small."

Ross Macdonald
The Moving Target
1949

* * *

"Nature in California is neurotic, its apparent stability a mask for anguish and anxiety; drought and fire are her most frequent aggressions, but earthquake her constant menace."

Wilson Carey McWilliams
"California: Notes of a Native Son"
The Activist
1967

* * *

"They have taken a beautiful land and destroyed it."

Ashley Montagu
The American Way of Life
1967

* * *

"Californians rank among the most determined exploiters, desecraters, and protectors of the natural environment that the world has ever seen. Like its citizens, the state government has a spotty record."

Neal R. Peirce
The Pacific States of America
1972

* * *

"For all of California's sweetness and artificiality, the primordial cycles of fire and rain and earthquake continue, nature keeping man in his place."

Neal R. Peirce
The Pacific States of America
1972

* * *

"I am struck in California by the deep and almost religious affection people have for nature . . . it is their spontaneous substitute for articulate art and articulate religion."

George Santayana
Letter to Porter Garnett
1911

* * *

[On crossing the Mojave Desert]: "It's as though nature tested a man for endurance and constancy to prove whether he was good enough to get to California."

John Steinbeck
Travels with Charley
1962

* * *

"From them [the redwoods] come silence and awe. It's not only their unbelievable stature, nor the color which seems to shift and vary under your eyes, no, they are not like any trees we know, they are ambassadors from another time."

John Steinbeck
Travels with Charley
1962

* * *

"The spring is beautiful in California. Valleys in which the fruit blossoms are fragrant pink and white waters in a shallow sea. Then the first tendrils of the grapes swelling from the old gnarled vines, cascade down to cover the trunks."

John Steinbeck
The Grapes of Wrath
1939

* * *

"At last we are through the Golden Gate—fit name for such a magnificent portal to the commerce of the Pacific."

Bayard Taylor
Eldorado, or Adventures in the Path of Empire
1926

* * *

"Oct. 23—Mild, balmy earthquakes.
Oct. 24—Shaky
Oct. 25—Occasional shakes, followed by light showers of bricks and plastering . . . .
Nov. 3—Make your will.
Nov. 4—Sell out . . .
Nov. 6—Prepare to shed this mortal coil.
Nov. 7—Shed."

Mark Twain
Golden Era (newspaper in San Francisco)
1865

* * *

"A California song,
A prophecy and indirection, a thought impalpable to breath as air . . .
A murmuring, fateful, giant voice, out of the earth and sky,
Voice of a mighty dying tree in the redwood forest dense."

Walt Whitman
"Song of the Redwood Tree"
1881

* * *

"The flashing and golden pageant of California,
The sudden and gorgeous drama, the sunny and ample lands. . . ."

Walt Whitman
"Song of The Redwood Tree"
1881

* * *

"This slender ribbon of land and water is remarkable in many ways; its variety, its climate, its promise. And the people who live along this ribbon recognize that, both because of the nature of the coastline and the nature of the sea, they are sharing in a special experience."

Merrill Windsor
"America's Sunset Coast"
National Geographic
1978

PEOPLE

"As for the people in California, they are samples of all our people. They come from every state to enjoy climate and scene—a perilous enjoyment, for the foundations of the state, which hangs between sea and mountain ranges, are unsteady."

Pearl S. Buck
America
1971

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"East is East, and West is San Francisco, according to Californians. Californians are a race of people; they are not merely inhabitants of a state."

O. Henry
"A Municipal Report"
1910

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"California is the biggest collection of losers who ever met on one piece of real estate."

David Karp
New York Times
Aug. 17, 1968

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"I am prepared to argue that these mythmakers [who propagate the idea that California is wonderful] have a good deal to do with driving Californians to the bottle, the psychiatrist, the divorce court, or the Golden Gate Bridge. The mechanism, I suspect, goes something like this: 'Why am I so unhappy, so miserable, and so wretched when I am living in the most desirable place in the world among happy, well-adjusted anxiety-free people? There must be something dreadfully wrong with *me.*' This is a gross over-simplification, but it can't be far from one

aspect of the truth, for all the statistical evidence makes one point clear: Californians in the mass are the unhappiest people in the United States."

Kenneth Lamott
Anti-California
1971

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[On why political and social trends show up first on the West Coast]: "California is peopled by immigrants who left their traditions on the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada. What native traditions we do have are largely technological rather than humane. Our thought, such as it is, revolves around the superficial comedy of acquisition and enjoyment, and rarely touches on our real tragedies. We are a people without a usable past, and the ultimate results are proving to be disastrous."

Kenneth Lamott
Anti-California
1971

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[On post-war unrest]: "War and inflation always raise a crop of stinkers, and a lot of them have settled in California."

Ross Macdonald
The Moving Target
1949

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"The Mexican is in California usually because poverty has driven him out of his own country. The Californian is moving too fast to notice, or to wonder why."

Neil Morgan
Westward Tilt
1963

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"I attended a dinner the other morning given for the Old Settlers of California. No one was allowed to attend unless he had been in the State two and one-half years."

Will Rogers
The Illiterate Digest
1924

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"The Californian has too often come to love mere fullness of life and to lack reverence for the relations of life."

Josiah Royce
California
1948

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"California was full of Jonahs [the early settlers], whose modest and possibly unprophetic duties had lain in their various quiet paths at home. They had found out how to escape all these duties, at least for the moment, by fleeing over seas and deserts."

Josiah Royce
California
1914

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"People come to California, I say, to get out of the world."

Harrison Salisbury
Travels Around America
1976

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"California Girls. There is a difference. Maybe it's the orange juice. Or the incessant sunshine. Or the surfing and the skiing. But there's something transporting about a California girl; the legs are longer, the eyes clearer, the skin more exuberant. Maybe an out-of-towner can become a California Girl if she comes here early—say at about age three. After that, it's too late. She can be beautiful. And healthy. And sexy. But she can never quite be that combination of maximum looks and minimum restraint, that tranquil body and restive psyche that is the California Girl!"

Tim Tyler
Time
Nov. 11, 1969

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"People out here [California] talk entirely for their own pleasure."

Evelyn Waugh
The Loved One
1948

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"For northern Europeans made somber and astringent by a centuries-long struggle with obdurate soil and unfriendly climate to stumble upon such a land and discover it empty and waiting was in itself a dramatic episode in the life of the race. The people who call themselves Californians are not yet over their surprise. A sense of the prodigious abides with them. They are like children let loose in a new and wonderful nursery, and their enjoyment lies still in the contrast of its spacious magnificence with the meagerness into which they were born."

George P. West
These United States
1924

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"A great many of the people [in California] wore sports clothes which were not really sports clothes. Their sweaters, knickers, slacks, blue flannel jackets with brass buttons were fancy dress. The fat lady in the yachting cap was going shopping, not boating; the man in the Norfolk jacket and Tyrolean hat was returning, not from a mountain, but an insurance office; and the girl in slacks and sneakers with a bandanna around her head had just left a switchboard, not a tennis court."

Nathanael West
The Day of the Locust
1939

WAY OF LIFE

"If life [for old people] is to be conceived as a greasy pole, [California,] for them, is the top, where the bottles, the chickens and the hams are strung."

Luigi Barzini
Americans Are Alone in the World
1953

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"Truly, California's communities waste a great deal of energy denigrating each other. Publisher Michael Korda . . . thinks all this is because when the westward settlement of the United States ran its final course, it encountered the Pacific Ocean; it stopped there and could go no farther. The pioneer spirit that had pushed across Ohio and the Great Plains, over the ordeal of the Rockies and the Sierras, came to rest at the beach. There, with a feeling of 'Was it this that we were after?' it has been reposing ever since, disappointed, but too tired to go back."

Stephen Birmingham
The Golden Dream
1978

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"Single women, it was agreed, should not move to Los Altos. Divorced and widowed women should move away as quickly as possible. The suburbs offer hostile territory to the unattached female."

Stephen Birmingham
The Golden Dream
1978

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"If the 'California fever' [laziness] spares the first generation, it always attacks the second."

Richard Henry Dana,
Two Years Before the Mast
1840

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"At least I heard a little rat of a creature with hock-bottle shoulders explaining that a man from Chicago could pull the eye-teeth of a Californian in business. Well, if I lived in Fairyland, where cherries were as big as plums, plums as big as apples, and strawberries of no account; where the procession of the fruits of the seasons was like a pageant in a Drury Lane pantomime and where the dry air was wine, I should let business slide once in a way and kick up my heels with my fellows."

Rudyard Kipling
From Sea to Sea
1899

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"Here are nine million people with a life rich and full of everything except meaning. Families are 'units,' salaries are paid in 'K's' (i.e., kilodollars, on the analogy of kilowatts, as in the phrase, 'I'm making 12 K a year'), and there is good medical evidence that kidneys are swimming-pool shaped."

Andrew Kopkind
The New Republic
July 15, 1967

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[On the future of California]: "We will insist that we are living in the realm of Eros, but the temple we will have built will be occupied by Thanatos. The rhetoric will remain that of the Promised Land, but the reality will be closer to George Orwell's nightmare. We will give away the truth by destroying ourselves literally and symbolically at an increasing rate. Alcohol will remain our principal anesthetic, but marijuana and the less virulent narcotics will be increasingly used in wider circles than they are now. Our madhouses will overflow. There will be an increasing number of suicides that will be hard to explain on any rational basis. And so in the end the land that Walt Whitman described as a 'flashing and golden pageant' and that Mark Twain called the 'Crown Princess of the new dispensation' will indeed become our first parafascist state [the result of social and economic trends under Governor Ronald Reagan, according to Lamott]. As California has gone, so eventually will go the rest of the United States."

Kenneth Lamott
Anti-California
1971

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"The pathetic and dreadful secret is out [after surveying rates of alcoholism and suicide]: *Nothing really matters very much.* Winning a yacht race is just as important as winning a case in court. Playing a first-rate game of tennis is just as important as painting good pictures. Remodeling a house with one's own hands is just as important as painting good pictures. Remodeling a house with one's own hands is just as important as taking a class of freshmen through *Heart of Darkness.* Nothing really matters very much, but the view of the bay is great. This is

the great tragedy of California, for a life oriented to leisure is in the end a life oriented to death—the greatest leisure of all—and in its psychic consequences we find the seedbed for the parafascist revolution."

Kenneth Lamott
Anti-California
1971

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"California prophets [gurus and psuedo-holy-men], like its geraniums, grow large, rank and garish."

Carey McWilliams
Holiday
January, 1947

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"California is a land of sepulchral visions; it calls up nightmares of human degeneration and extinction."

Wilson Carey McWilliams
The Activist
Fall, 1967

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"But California, at one time, promised to develop a charming and enlightened civilization. . . . What remains is an Alsatia of retired Ford agents and crazy fat women—a paradise of 100 percent Americanism and the New Thought."

H. L. Mencken
"The Champion"
Prejudices: Fifth Series
1926

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"The California climate makes the sick well and the well sick, the old young and the young old."

Traditional saying
Quoted by H. L. Mencken
A New Dictionary of Quotations, On Historical Principles
1942

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"California audiences applaud whenever a musician hesitates long enough to turn a page."

Leonard Michaels
New York Times
Oct. 26, 1975

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"In California there are the largest, biggest and most complex freeways in the world, where often to drive under 75 miles an hour is to court death. To drive on these freeways is an open invitation to death, anyway, so this last statement is redundant."

Ashley Montagu
The American Way of Life
1967

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"In other parts of the world, youth lasts a reasonable period of time; in California it lasts a lifetime."

Ashley Montagu
The American Way of Life
1967

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"It is the land of perpetual pubescence, where cultural lag is mistaken for renaissance."

Ashley Montagu
The American Way of Life
1967

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"But what, one asks, lies at the heart of the peculiar vortex of human energy and desire called California? Theories abound—futurism, anomie, boosterism, sun and leisure culture in a beneficent climate, a lemming-like rush to the precipice of the next great earthquake."

Neal R. Peirce
The Pacific States of America
1972

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"California long ago got the reputation of being a land of loony schemes and political extremes, an image which has stuck and somehow refuses to come unglued."

Neal R. Peirce
The Pacific States of America
1972

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"California has been a dream for so long, and we have dreamed of California for so long, that we hardly even any longer notice the mechanism. The audioanimatronic men and women, the vinyl surf, the polyurethane clouds move grandly on the stage; caught up in the verisimilitude—or, rather, their lack of verisimilitude, because it is their difference from us that attracts us—we ignore the whirring of the ordinary gears and slap-slap of the ordinary tapes running out in the pit below."

Richard Rhodes
Playboy
June, 1975

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"California is the state, above all others in the United States of America, Florida included, where people move who covet the best view, who believe that art, beauty and truth can be bought."

Richard Rhodes
Playboy
June, 1975

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". . . the basic, generic California shuffle: you move to California and buy a little beauty, buy a little space so you can have a little grace, and the neighbors be damned."

Richard Rhodes
Playboy
June, 1975

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"There aren't any *standards* here."

A young woman
Quoted by Harrison Salisbury
Travels Around America
1976

* * *

"The truth is that what is missing in California is quality of life. The oranges are enormous but lack taste. The peaches are rosy beyond belief but lack tang. The people are lovely but disconnected from reality."

Harrison Salisbury
Travels Around America
1976

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"In more than one respect living in California is like being happily married to a very beautiful woman, a placid, maternally wise, mentally indolent woman of the classic tradition, whose mere presence allays restlessness by making it seem gratuitous and a little ridiculous."

George P. West
These United States
1924

HISTORY AND POLITICS

"Somebody has attempted to rob the safe in the office of the City and County Treasurer. This is rushing matters; the impatient scoundrel ought to try his hand at being a supervisor first."

Ambrose Bierce
News Letter and Commercial Advertiser, San Francisco
1869

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"There is a sense of history in California, not of its own, but of its founders."

Pearl S. Buck
America
1971

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"I met a Californian who would
Talk California—a state so blessed,
He said, in climate, none had ever died there
A natural death, and Vigilance Committees
Had had to organize to stock the graveyards
And vindicate the state's humanity."

Robert Frost
New Hampshire
1923

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"In California there has been a certain cosmopolitanism, a certain freedom and breadth of common thought and feeling, natural to a community made up from so many different sources, to which every man and woman had been transplanted—all travelers to some extent, and with native angularities of prejudice and habit more or less worn off. Then there has been a feeling of personal hopefulness and self-reliance, and a certain large-heartedness and open-handedness which were born of the comparative evenness with which property was distributed, the high standard of wages and of comfort, and the latent feeling of everyone that he might 'make a strike,' and certainly could not be kept down long. . . ."

Henry George
The Overland Monthly
1868

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"The California of the new era [with the railroads] will be greater, richer, more powerful than the California of the past; but will she be still the same California whom her adopted children, gathered from all climes, love better than their own motherlands; from which all who have lived within her bounds are proud to hail; to which all who have known her long to return? She will have more people; but among these people will there be so large a proportion of full, true men? She will have more wealth; but will it be so evenly distributed?"

Henry George
The Overland Monthly
1868

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"Many [of the Forty-Niners] who came here doubtless already wearied and disgusted with the hardships of their tedious journey—with sleeping in wet blankets through storms of snow and hurricanes of hail, and urging hollow and weary cattle over immense, treeless plains, on which the grass had hardly started. Coming in thus weather-beaten, chafed and soured, and finding but a handful of squalid adventurers living in the rudest log huts, barred out from the mountains by snow and ice, and precluded from washing the sands of the streams on the plains by high water, they jumped at once to the conclusion

that the whole thing was a humbug, got up by reckless speculators to promote selfish ends."

Horace Greeley
An Overland Journey
1859

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"There was commotion in Roaring Camp. It could not have been a fight, for in 1850 that was not novel enough to have called together the entire settlement."

Bret Harte
The Luck of Roaring Camp
1868

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"The 'nice guy' candidate takes the high road, and he deals in constructive-sounding truisms at which few voters can take offense. He identifies himself implicitly with all that's solid and worthwhile, maneuvering his opponent into the offensive role of fault-finding, criticizing, carping, and throwing brickbats. Soon the opponent starts looking like a disruptive boat-rocker, a negative figure. Then he is finished. California's populace, rootless by definition to begin with, and now wedded to a veritable state of flux, dislikes any injection of further instabilities. What the people really want is reassurance. The 'nice guy' candidate offers this."

Gladwin Hill
Dancing Bear
1968

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" 'What,' James Reston asked me, 'does California have to give to the nation?' Well, I said, for one thing it offers the example of a large number of people who have scrapped the party system in its orthodox American form, and have got along fairly well nevertheless. It has demonstrated that with the most ramshackle, illogical arrangements for party politics, citizens still can keep closely in step with national political trends, and state government can be kept honest and progressive, when 'the people' have the means of correcting aberrations."

Gladwin Hill
Dancing Bear
1968

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"One morning in January [1848]—it was a clear cold morning; I shall never forget that morning—as I was taking my usual walk along the race, after shutting off the water my eye was caught by a glimpse of something shining in the bottom of the ditch."

James Marshall
Account of the Discovery of Gold
1848

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"California has been the hardest hit of the western states by the four big problems of growth: urban sprawl, traffic congestion, air pollution, water shortage. But it moves, often aggressively, to solve its problems; it must, or be buried under the avalanche."

Neil Morgan
Westward Tilt
1963

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"The miner came in forty-nine,
The whores in fifty-one,
And when they got together,
They made a Native Son."

Old ditty ascribed to California newcomers
Quoted by John Steinbeck
Travels with Charley
1962

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"First of all, let us remember a far-off land with the strange name California. The great Cortez heard of it—a rumor of gold and griffins and black Amazons two centuries later, so distant was it and so unknown still, that Jonathan Swift, wishing to put his giant Brobdingnagians in the most unknown part, wrote that their country lay northwest of California. But a few years later the Spaniards came up from Mexico, and peopled the land thinly."

George R. Stewart
The California Trail
1962

CITIES, TOWNS AND REGIONS

Big Sur

"This [Big Sur] may be a place where vocabulary is simplified, and Really means Yes, I do, I understand, I will, and Hello. But it is also a place where the sun shines, the fog rolls, the sea gleams, the hot springs beneath the surface bubble up, and the body takes pleasure in a museum of miraculous beauty. Really. 'Space mates' tend to replace spouses among the residents, and there is never a fight, although sometimes an interpersonal conflict will break out."

Herbert Gold
A Walk on the West Side
1981

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"This [Big Sur] is the California that men dreamed of years ago, this is the Pacific that Balboa looked at from the Peak of Darien, this is the face of the earth as the Creator intended it to look."

Henry Miller
Big Sur and the Oranges of Hieronymous Bosch
1957

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"Every day of my life at Big Sur I had before me the incomparable vista of the Pacific. Its ever-changing aspects offered me alternately peace and stimulation. I had to learn to live with this overwhelming force which is hidden within its obvious grandeur."

Henry Miller
My Life and Times
1971

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"Big Sur is a state of mind. On a less than literal map, it is one of the capitals of the California lifestyle, a landmark in the American imagination."

Reader's Digest
1973

Carmel

"I discovered one morning a truth about Carmel: that it was beauty without substance; that it was a rest home."

Richard Rhodes
Playboy
June, 1975

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"If Carmel's founders should return, they could not afford to live there, but it wouldn't go that far. They would be instantly picked up as suspicious characters and deported over the city line."

John Steinbeck
Travels with Charley
1962

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"It is probably a good deal too easy to be a nihilist on the coast of Carmel; your very negation is a negation of nothing."

Edmund Wilson
The Boys in the Back Room
1941

The Central Valley

"Scattered along the slopes of the ridges are small potreros—mountain meadows of a sort—grassy glades surrounded by thicket and forest. By the time midsummer has come, the grasses are burnt dry and the potreros turn to splashes of gold on the blue-green mountainside."

Steve Crouch
Steinbeck Country
1973

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"Along the shore, where long ago mountains were lifted from the depths of the sea, waves wage unending war against the land, the sea the constant victor."

Steve Crouch
Steinbeck Country
1973

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"The rains of ten million years nibbled at the slopes of the mountains and erosion cut deep canyons and filled the valleys with fine, rich silt."

Steve Crouch
Steinbeck Country
1973

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"Man's back roads in the Gabilans are white scars on the chalky soil; on the bajadas of the Santa Lucias, the roads of erosion leave deep gashes in the hillside pastures."

Steve Crouch
Steinbeck Country
1973

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"They [Central Valley towns] are all the same at heart, one- and two- and three-story buildings artlessly arranged."

Joan Didion
"Notes from a Native Daughter"
Slouching Toward Bethlehem
1968

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[The Central Valley]: "A giant outdoor hothouse with a billion-dollar crop."

Joan Didion
"Notes from a Native Daughter"
Slouching Toward Bethlehem
1968

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"...And almost at once the mighty valley of the Sacramento—as broad as a continent—and all through the morning through the great floor of that great plain-like valley—the vast fields thick with straw grass lighter than Swedes' hair."

Thomas Wolfe
A Western Journal
1938

Death Valley

"Death Valley is at once a dramatic natural phenomenon and a powerful symbol in the American imagination. Its physical credentials are formidable—the hottest and driest spot in the United States and the lowest point in the Western Hemisphere. From one

end to the other, it appears as an unyielding slice of desert that penalizes the unlucky and the unprepared; more than any other corner of sagebrush country, it epitomizes the severity and starkness of that arid realm."

—Donald Dale Jackson
Sagebrush Country
1975

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"It is no more hostile than the Arctic or the top of a mountain. Land is not hostile; it is neutral. People who say it is hostile are unwilling to adjust to it."

Donald Dale Jackson
Sagebrush Country
1975

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"It requires an exercise of strongest faith to believe that the great Creator ever smiled upon it."

William Manly
Quoted by Donald Dale Jackson
Sagebrush Country
1975

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"The Panamint hills were already but blue hummocks on the horizon. Before him . . . stretched primordial desolation [Death Valley]. League upon league the infinite reaches of dazzling white alkali laid themselves out like an immeasurable scroll from horizon to horizon: not a brush, not a twig relieved that horrible monotony . . . it was abominable, this hideous sink of alkali, this bed of some primeval lake lying so far below the level of the ocean."

Frank Norris
McTeague
1899

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"The California desert, so vast it once appeared limitless, is starting to look used, almost worn out in places . . . modern man has left strips of asphalt, railroad tracks, power lines, tin cans, motels and gas stations, and waste materials from mines. California's more than one million motorcycles, trail bikes, dune buggies and other off-road vehicles have churned ruts in a desert environment so fragile it still bears the tracks of Gen. Patton's tanks on World War II maneuvers."

Neal R. Peirce
The Pacific States of America
1972

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"Many bodies [in Death Valley] have been found with water jugs beside them."

Ernie Pyle
Home Country
1947

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"It was just a private home with two people in it. It was on the map [of Death Valley] because it was the only house in a stretch of 140 miles."

Ernie Pyle
Home Country
1947

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"There is plenty in Death Valley to remind a visitor of the 'valley of the shadow of death' in the 23rd Psalm. Anyone who arrives there by way of nearby Las Vegas could even imagine the place as a convenient purgatory in which to atone for a luxurious stay in the gambling capital."

Reader's Digest
Scenic Wonders of America
1973

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"[As the sun sets] every ravine and canyon becomes a fathomless abyss of purple haze, shrouding the bases of gorgeous towers and battlements that seem encrusted with a mosaic more brilliant and intricate than the work of the Venetian artists."

Israel Russel, 19th century geologist
Quoted by Donald Dale Jackson
Sagebrush Country
1975

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"Every peak, every face, every ledge, every declivity, every gorge, every stratum, every rock, has a color of its own and there are no two breadths of color exactly alike. They vary from marble white to lava black, from the palest green to the darkest carmine, from the faintest cream to royal purple—there is every tint and every brilliant and every dull body of color, and all mingled, contrasted, and blended, all piled up in such magnificent masses as are beyond description."

John Spears
Quoted by Donald Dale Jackson
Sagebrush Country
1975

Monterey

"In Monterey there are a number of English and Americans (English or 'Ingles' all are called who speak the English language) who have married Californians, become united to the Catholic Church, and acquired considerable property. Having more industry, frugality, and enterprise than the natives, they soon get nearly all the trade into their hands."

Richard Henry Dana, Jr.
Two Years before the Mast
1840

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"After the scenery—which seems to possess a perennial charm, giving the visitor fresh surprises every morning—there is nothing more attractive about Monterey than this dreamy Spanish life that takes no count of time or progress, the changes in governments or the new discoveries of science."

J. R. Fitch
Picturesque California
1888

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"I could see people [on the Monterey coast] living—amid magnificent scenery—essentially as they did in the idylls or the Sagas, or in Homer's Ithaca. Here was life purged of its ephemeral accretions. Men were riding after cattle, or plowing the headland, hovered by white sea gulls, as they have done for thousands of years, and will for thousands of years to come."

Robinson Jeffers
Preface to *Selected Poems*
1938

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"They [the people of Monterey] fish for tourists now, not pilchards, and that species they are not likely to wipe out."

John Steinbeck
Travels with Charley
1962

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"Why, I've read there's more unexplored country in the mountains of Monterey County than any place in the United States."

John Steinbeck
The Red Pony
1933

Sacramento

"In that gentle sleep [in years before World War II] Sacramento dreamed until perhaps 1950, when something happened. What happened was that Sacramento woke to the fact that the outside world was moving in, fast and hard. At the moment of waking, Sacramento lost, for better or worse, its character."

Joan Didion
"Notes from a Native Daughter"
Slouching Toward Bethlehem
1968

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"It [Sacramento] is a town many of whose most solid citizens sense about themselves a kind of functional obsolescence."

Joan Didion
"Notes from a Native Daughter"
Slouching Toward Bethlehem
1968

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[On local aerospace industry in Sacramento]: "People here talk, eat and sleep rockets."

Philip Hamburger
An American Notebook
1965

San Diego

"You are struck by the fact that it [San Diego] is rich communally . . . and then you come to one reason for these communal riches: San Diego is also a great naval base, and Southern California the setting for a great concentration of military bases. The entire region therefore benefits from the lavish expenditures of a wealthy government, in an area—defense—in which expenditure is always freest."

Nathan Glazer
Commentary
August, 1959

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"Unbelievably, in the wake of such explosive growth, San Diego has remained a pleasant and leisurely city. It glistens under a flood of sunlight, and the toasted browns of its canyons and mesas form mountings for pampered green lawns, burnt-red tile roofs and pastel stuccos."

Neil Morgan
Westward Tilt
1963

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"And when they [immigrants] move to San Diego, they find they are finally cornered, there is nowhere farther to go."

Edmund Wilson
"The Jumping-Off Place"
1931

San Francisco

"Of course, San Francisco has always been a gambling city. It is in the marrow and braincells of her people, whether their blood ancestors were 'forty-niners' or not, and as there is no evil out of which good may not come, it is the source of their superb powers of bluff, their unquenchable optimism, and their indomitability under the most harrowing afflictions."

Gertrude Atherton
California: An Intimate History
1889

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"That scum which the westward moving wave of emigration carries on its crest is here stopped, because it can go no farther. It accumulates in San Francisco. . . ."

James Bryce
The American Commonwealth
1889

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"It [San Francisco] was a New York which has got no New England on one side of it, and no shrewd and orderly rural population on the other, to keep it in order. Hence both state and city were, and in a sense are still, less steadied by national opinion than any other state or city within the wide compass of the Union."

James Bryce
The American Commonwealth
1889

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"In San Francisco there is the best Chinese settlement in the western world."

Pearl S. Buck
America
1971

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"Bachelor Matthew Kelly returned to his Stockton Street town house late one night to discover that his digs had been burglarized of only two items—a huge white bearskin rug, complete with head, and a gold-handled cane. When the police arrived, Matthew observed: 'Shouldn't be too hard to find a person wearing a bearskin rug and carrying a gold-handled cane.' 'Well,' replied one of the officers, 'in any other town, maybe, but in San Francisco, who'd look twice?' "

Herb Caen
One Man's San Francisco
1976

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"Soon, as somebody once said, the only thing old in San Francisco will be the young men's faces."

Herb Caen
One Man's San Francisco
1976

* * *

" 'We thought the world had come to an end' [after the earthquake of 1906]—that is the key sentence, the one that gnaws perpetually at everyone who is fascinated by this city. From reading the record, we know that all San Francisco is divided into two parts: the city that flowered before the earthquake, and the entirely different one that rose from the flames. What is not quite clear, to this day, is what it was that died in those flames, but we suspect it was something special. 'The gayest, lightest-hearted and most pleasure-loving city of the western continent is dead,' wrote Will Irwin as the fire marched across the hills."

Herb Caen
One Man's San Francisco
1976

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"The Saroyan-Sam Spade city—perhaps that was the last of it as far as the storybooks are concerned, but there is no way to give up on San Francisco, once you have fallen under its spell. You keep looking for the magic, and now and then, when the wind and the light are right, and the air smells ocean-clean, and a white ship is emerging from the Golden Gate mist into the Bay, and the towers are reflecting the sun's last rays—at moments like that you turn to the ghosts and ask, 'Was this the way it was?' and there is never an answer. . . ."

Herb Caen
One Man's San Francisco
1976

* * *

"[In San Francisco] we get baseball weather in football season and football weather in July and August."

Herb Caen
New York Times
Sept. 26, 1975

* * *

"Nature has endowed the north of California with resources that will endure and flourish when Hollywood has disappeared in the prehistoric tarpits of Wilshire Boulevard."

Charlie Chaplin
1910

* * *

"The song ["I left my heart in San Francisco"] made us rich and comparatively well-known, and at first that all seemed wonderful. But now I'm sorry we ever wrote it. Lately, San Francisco seems to be dying by inches, and all the qualities that appealed to us are vanishing. Maybe we were partly responsible—I suppose the song made thousands of people come to the city and, in various ways, contribute to the changes that are destroying it. San Francisco is no longer the city we wrote about."

Douglass Cross, one of the composers of the song
Quoted by Herb Caen
One Man's San Francisco
1976

* * *

"Make no mistake, stranger, San Francisco is West as all hell."

Bernard De Voto
Quoted by Curt Gentry
Dolphin Guide to San Francisco
1962

* * *

"San Francisco was where the social hemorrhaging [of 1960s] was showing up."

Joan Didion
Slouching Toward Bethlehem
1967

* * *

"In Golden Gate Park that day
a man and his wife were coming along
thru the enormous meadow
which was the meadow of the world"

Lawrence Ferlinghetti
A Coney Island of the Mind
1955

* * *

"To this Gate I gave the name of *Chrysopylar,* or Golden Gate; for the same reasons that the harbor of Byzantium (Constantinople afterwards), was called *Chrysoceras,* or Golden Horn. Passing through this gate, the bay opens to the right and left, extending in each direction about 35 miles, having a total length of more than 70, and a coast of about 275 miles. . . ."

John Charles Fremont
A Year of American Travel
1878

* * *

"You can relax and listen in San Francisco. You can't in New York."

Ralph Gleason, publisher
Quoted in the *New York Times*
June 4, 1975

* * *

"I always dreamed of eventually settling in Paris. . . . So when I arrived to pass a season in San Francisco, having sublet my flat in Greenwich Village, it was just to do a job. I was having a play produced in the old Actors' Workshop. Hmm, so this is Frisco, I thought. Two weeks later I phoned back to New York and told my tenants to keep the place. I was staying."

Herbert Gold
A Walk on the West Side
1981

* * *

"But for some who come to San Francisco, Chinese New Year never ends, despite the alcoholism and breakdown rates, the busing and ghetto issues, the complacent hustle of city politics. It's possible to treat San Francisco as a continuous costume party, Halloween-by-the-Bay, and amazingly enough—the flower-child spasm was partly about this—some manage to make of Halloween a way of life."

Herbert Gold
A Walk on the West Side
1981

* * *

"But despite media overload, despite its being fed into the great international media meat-grinder, and coming out Hilton Hamburger and Fisherman's Wharf link sausage, San Francisco remains something of what people have always thought of it. While New York and Paris seem to be yearning to become larger versions of Cleveland, and Cleveland is becoming Detroit, San Francisco remains mysteriously itself."

Herbert Gold
"A Walk on the West Side"
1981

* * *

"Everybody looked like a broken-down movie extra, a withered starlet; disenchanted stunt-men, midget auto racers, poignant California characters with their end-of-the-continent sadness, handsome, decadent, Casanova-ish men, puffy-eyed motel blondes, hustlers, pimps, whores, masseurs, bellhops—a lemon lot, and how's a man going to make a living with a gang like that?"

Jack Kerouac
On the Road
1955

* * *

"There was the Pacific, a few more foothills away, blue and vast and with a great wall of white advancing from the legendary potato patch where Frisco fogs are born. Another hour and it would come streaming through the Golden Gate to shroud the romantic city in white, and a young man would hold his girl by the hand and climb slowly up a long white sidewalk with a bottle of Tokay in his pocket. That was Frisco."

Jack Kerouac
On the Road
1955

* * *

"San Francisco has only one drawback. 'Tis hard to leave."

Rudyard Kipling
From Sea to Sea
1899

* * *

"The thing that makes me so sad in San Francisco is the kids. All those sad-eyed children, hippies."

Resident
Quoted by Douglas Kneeland
New York Times
Nov. 15, 1970

* * *

"Even tainted as it is with narcissism, the conformity of San Francisco is more interesting than are the wilder sprees of most cities."

Neil Morgan
Westward Tilt
1963

* * *

"If San Francisco cannot resist conformity, the threat of sameness is grave throughout the West."

Neil Morgan
Westward Tilt
1963

* * *

"Fancy a novel about Chicago or Buffalo, let us say, or Nashville, Tennessee! There are just three big cities in the United States that are 'story cities'—New York, of course, New Orleans, and, best of the lot, San Francisco."

Frank Norris, author,
Quoted by O. Henry
Great American Short Stories
1910

* * *

"San Francisco put on a show for me. I saw her across the Bay, from the great road that bypasses Sausalito and enters the Golden Gate Bridge. The afternoon sun painted her white and gold on her hills like a noble city in a happy dream. A city on hills has it over flatland places. New York makes its own hills with craning buildings, but this gold and white acropolis rising wave on wave against the blue of the Pacific sky was a stunning thing, a painted thing like a picture of a medieval Italian city which can never have existed."

Neal R. Peirce
The Pacific States of America
1972

* * *

"But inexorable physical change is pressing in on San Francisco, threatening what some call 'Manhattanization'—the brutalization of its uniquely delicate skyline with sterile, forbidding monuments of glass and steel twice as high as anything that precedes them and [that] are totally out of scale with the existing hills and city setting."

Neal R. Peirce
The Pacific States of America
1972

* * *

"San Francisco has a lovely sense of the absurd, preserved in the artful foolishness of old Victorian houses and the ding-dong cable cars, sure cures for depression."

Neal R. Peirce
The Pacific States of America
1972

* * *

"The diversity of this city of light and color has attracted, from others, words like these: Mediterranean, Renaissance, Athens of America, a place of *joie de vivre*, elegant, witty."

Neal R. Peirce
The Pacific States of America
1972

* * *

"For several years after the California gold rush, San Francisco was notorious around the world for the frequency and magnificence of its municipal disasters. Time and again, devastating fires swept through the business district."

Richard Reinhardt
American Heritage
December, 1971

* * *

"Perhaps we will live in our suburban wastelands and pilgrimage, periodically, to enclaves of reality like San Francisco, where, by then, they may have decided to add more cable cars and ban the automobile entirely, and where, in the sun of day and the fading light of evening, grown-ups may happily play.

Richard Rhodes
Harper's Magazine
November, 1970

* * *

"When I was a child growing up in Salinas we called San Francisco 'the City.' Of course it was the only city we knew, but I still think of it as the City, and so does everyone else who has ever associated with it."

John Steinbeck
Travels with Charley
1962

* * *

"This straggling town [San Francisco] shall become a vast metropolis: this sparsely populated land shall become a crowded hive of busy men: your waste places shall blossom like a rose."

Mark Twain
Alta Californian
1866

* * *

[On efforts of clergymen to reform San Francisco]:

"Why sinners are so thick that you can't throw out your line without hooking several of them."

Mark Twain
Californian (San Francisco newspaper)
1865

* * *

"...the one pioneer American community where Puritanism was never permitted to intimidate the gusto and zest for living of healthy men."

George P. West
These United States
1924

* * *

"Contrast and surprise lurk around every corner, and the city's people are sensitive and untiringly appreciative of every beauty, every contrast, every grotesquerie. They love their city as a man loves a woman of many moods and surprises."

George P. West
These United States
1924

* * *

"Chinatown [in San Francisco] is now adored by a people who stoned Chinese a generation ago, only to discover, after the exclusion act had removed them as an economic factor, that they are a singularly honest, humorous, and lovable folk."

George P. West
These United States
1924

* * *

"But the city would be hideous if its streets were not forever marching up sheer hillsides or plunging down from dizzy heights to the flashing sea, so that the poorest Italian on Telegraph Hill knows the imminent glory of far-flung waters and encircling hills, and breathes clean winds from afar."

George P. West
These United States
1924

* * *

"The crows pick little yellow apples from the old tree by the shed and carry them to some high perch before rifling them for seeds. In this respect they are no different from the people of San Francisco, who like to drink at the Top of the Mark [Mark Hopkins Hotel], where they can really see what they are doing."

E. B. White
"Home-Coming"
Essays of E. B. White
1955

* * *

"Well, it hasn't taken long to fall in love with San Francisco."

T. H. White
America At Last
1965

* * *

[After cross-country tour] "I believe this is the *happiest* city we have visited."

T. H. White
America At Last
1965

* * *

"San Francisco is the only city I can think of that could survive all the things people are doing to it and still look beautiful."

Frank Lloyd Wright, architect
Quoted in *Newsweek*
Dec. 28, 1970

The Sierra Nevadas

"One noble feature of the whole Sierra—of all of it save that which lies above the level of any vegetable life—is its magnificent forest-covering. It may well be doubted if the growth of forests of pine is ever seen in greater perfection than is found here. These tall, straight, noble shafts are the very king of trees. ... They are magnificent in size, as they are admirable in proportion. No mast or spar ever shaped by men's hands exceeds the already perfect grace of their straight, unbroken trunks. They are things to study for their mere beauty as individual trees, apart from their effect upon the general landscape, which even without them would be wild and picturesque enough."

E. L. Burlingame
Picturesque America
1872

* * *

"From the cemetery you can see the evergreen slope of Baldy Mountain, Sun Valley's most famous ski hill. And from Baldy Mountain the Sawtooths rise into view, green and white and breathless to behold."

Ralph Friedman
United Mainliner
1966

* * *

"The Sierra Nevadas lack the glorious glaciers, the frequent rains, the rich verdure, the abundant cataracts of the Alps; but they far surpass them—they surpass any other mountains I ever saw—in the wealth and grace of their trees. Look down from almost any of their peaks, and your range of vision is filled, bounded [sic], satisfied, by what might be

termed a tempest-tossed sea of evergreens, filling every upland valley, covering every hillside, crowning every peak but the highest with their unfading luxuriance."

Horace Greeley
An Overland Journey
1859

* * *

"A conspiracy of climate, geology and history has made the western side of the Sierras, between 5000 and 8000 feet above the sea, the theater of organic size."

Verna Johnston
Sierra Nevada
1970

* * *

"In contrast to the Appalachians the Sierra is a young range, lifted skyward almost yesterday."

Verna Johnston
Sierra Nevada
1970

* * *

"At your feet lies the great Central Valley glowing golden in the sunshine, extending north and south farther than the eye can reach, one smooth, flowery, lake-like bed of fertile soil. Along its eastern margin rises the mighty Sierra, miles in height, reposing like a smooth cumulus cloud in the sunny sky, and so gloriously colored and so luminous, it seems not to be clothed with light, but wholly composed of it, like the wall of some celestial city."

John Muir
Mountains of California
1911

* * *

"The Pacific coast in general is the paradise of conifers. Here nearly all of them are giants, and display a beauty and magnificence unknown elsewhere. The climate is mild, the ground never freezes, and moisture and sunshine abound all the year. Nevertheless, it is not easy to account for the colossal size of the sequoias. The largest are about three hundred feet high, and thirty feet in diameter."

John Muir
My First Summer in the Sierras
1911

* * *

"It is a curious fact that all the very old sequoias have lost their heads by lightning. 'All things come to him who waits'; but of all living things sequoia is perhaps the only one able to wait long enough to make sure of being struck by lightning. Thousands of years it stands ready and waiting, offering its head to every passing cloud as if inviting its fate, praying for heaven's fire as a blessing; and when at last the old head is off, another of the same shape immediately begins to grow on. Every bud and branch seems excited, like bees that have lost their queen, and tries hard to repair the damage. Branches that for many centuries have been growing out horizontally at once turn upward, and all their branchlets arrange themselves with reference to a new top of the same peculiar curve as the old one."

John Muir
My First Summer in the Sierras
1911

* * *

"The Sierra Nevada tends to unite Californians in some sense of community. In its alpine fastness, one cannot escape the feel of history. Here lies an unyielding, unchanging California in contrast with the one below."

Neal R. Peirce
The Pacific States of America
1972

* * *

"... a massive faulting of the earth's crust forced the edge of Nevada down below California and thrust up the Sierra Nevada, sheerest of mountain ranges. Gabriel might have raised it there, barricade before paradise."

Richard Rhodes
Harper's
1970

* * *

"It is no transcendental logic that they [Sierras] teach, and they give no sign of any deliberate morality in the world. It is rather the vanity and superficiality of all logic, the needlessness of argument, the finitude of morals, the strength of time, the fertility of matter, the variety, the unspeakable variety, of life."

George Santayana
Speech in Berkeley, California
1911

* * *

"If the philosophers had lived among your mountains their systems would have been different from what they are."

George Santayana
Speech in Berkeley, California
1911

* * *

"Beyond the Rocky Mountains, over a distance of a thousand miles, there was no road and not even an established trail. The emigrants must expose themselves to attack by powerful Indian tribes. They must scale high and rough mountains—particularly, near

the end of the journey, the lofty Sierra Nevada, seamed by often-impassable canyons."

George R. Stewart
The California Trail
1962

Southern California

"This is shopping-center country. Nowhere on earth, they say, are more shopping centers more heavily concentrated than in this long, wide Santa Clara Valley.... They proliferate like suburban weeds."

Stephen Birmingham
The Golden Dream
1978

* * *

"This [Southern California] is the California where it is possible to live and die without ever eating an artichoke, without ever meeting a Catholic or a Jew. This is the California where it is easy to Dial-a-Devotion, but hard to buy a book."

Joan Didion
Slouching Towards Bethlehem
1968

* * *

"When you speak of Southern California taste, you think of the ice-cream parlor in the shape of an ice-cream cone, the hot-dog stand in the shape of a hot dog. But our images are always 10 or 20 years behind the reality. A clean, simple line prevails in Southern California, enlivened by color in materials, by tasteful landscaping, and interesting patterns in wood—exuberance is now generally limited to the gardens and the planting."

Nathan Glazer
Commentary
August, 1959

* * *

"Reagan and his organizers saw (as the Democratic liberals did not) that the mega-people of Southern California are potentially radical, not merely status-quo minded. They don't want more; they want different."

Andrew Kopkind
The New Republic
July 15, 1967

* * *

"In a strenuous effort to force some poetry out of the region the three thousand poets of Southern California have banded together into a network of organizations that structurally resembles the National Association of Manufacturers. There are more poets per square mile in Southern California than in any other section of the United States. They have poetry societies, poetry magazines, poetry breakfasts, and poetry weekends.... In Los Angeles, there are poetry lanes, poetry shrines, and poetry gardens."

Carey McWilliams
Southern California Country
1946

* * *

"In Southern California the vegetables have no flavor, and the flowers have no smell."

Hollywood proverb
Quoted by H. L. Mencken
A New Dictionary of Quotations, On Historical Principles
1942

* * *

"In Southern California, the Mexican-American is not the target of prejudice that he is in Texas. He is in a kind of limbo."

Neil Morgan
Westward Tilt
1963

* * *

"One of the most alluring things about Southern California is the image in the minds of its people of what this land can be."

Neil Morgan
Westward Tilt
1963

* * *

"In a short generation they [midwesterners settling in Southern California] have wiped out a Homeric society of Latins and Indians and replaced it with a Gopher Prairie de luxe."

George P. West
These United States
1924

* * *

"The important thing to know about Southern California is that the people who live there, who grew up there, love it. Not just the way one has an attachment to a hometown, any hometown, but the way people love the realization that they have found the right mode of life."

James Q. Wilson
Commentary
May, 1967

Yosemite

"I know no single wonder of nature on earth which can claim a superiority over the Yosemite. Just dream yourself for one hour in a chasm nearly 10 miles long, with egress, save for birds and water, but at three points, up the face of precipices from 3,000 to

4,000 feet high, the chasm scarcely more than a mile wide at any point, and tapering to a mere gorge, or canyon, at either end, with walls of mainly naked and perpendicular white granite, from 3,000 to 5,000 feet high, so that looking up to the sky from it is like looking out of an unfathomable profound—and you will have some conception of Yosemite.

Horace Greeley
An Overland Journey
1859

* * *

"Innumerable spires of the noble yellow pine were displayed rising one above another on the braided slopes, and yet nobler sugar pines with superb arms outstretched in the rich autumn light, while away toward the southwest, on the verge of the glowing horizon, I discovered the majestic domelike crowns of big trees towering high over all, singly and in close grove congregations."

John Muir
The Yosemite
1912

* * *

"Then your eye is smitten by the marvel of Yosemite falls. You stand entranced while a river rushes out of the blue in great spurts like the throbbing of the heart of the earth. You see it fall half a mile in a rock-shaking torrent into a land of soft beauty that differs from the snowy regions of the valley's rim as Italy differs from Norway. One never wearies of watching the comets or rockets of water whitened by the friction of the air. They are continually forming, shooting downward and either exploding or fading into mist-wraiths before the end of the first clear plunge of 2,600 feet."

Robert Haven Schauffler
Romantic America
1913

* * *

"I could give the reader a vivid description of the marvels of Yosemite—but what has this reader done to me that I should persecute him?"

Mark Twain
Roughing It
1872

* * *

[On a trip to Yosemite]: "Dizzy masses night-black as a cloud, a sense of the imminent terrific and at length the valley of the Yosemite."

Thomas Wolfe
A Western Journal
1938

Other Cities, Regions and Places

Berkeley:

"I wanted to cry when I tasted the air again and smelled that strange spicy herblike smell [common to Berkeley] that makes you want to eat the foliage."

John R. Coyne, Jr.
The Kumquat Statement
1970

* * *

"At Berkeley in the 50s no one was surprised by anything at all, a *donnee* which tended to render discourse less than spirited, and debate non-existent."

Joan Didion
"On the Morning After the Sixties"
The White Album
1979

Malibu:

"... Malibu tends to astonish and disappoint those who have never before seen it, and yet its very name remains, in the imagination of people all over the world, a kind of shorthand for the easy life. I had not before 1971 and will probably not again live in a place with a Chevrolet named after it."

Joan Didion
"Quiet Days in Malibu"
The White Album
1979

* * *

"I knew some guys from Malibu once. . . . They take their surfing real seriously out there. I mean, some of those guys even take off their headphones when they hit the water."

David Hinckley
New York Daily News
Nov. 19, 1981

Mt. Shasta:

"Mount Shasta—pine lands, canyons, sweeps and rises, the naked crateric hills and the volcanic lava masses, and then, Mount Shasta, omnipresent—Mount Shasta all the time—always Mount Shasta."

Thomas Wolfe
A Western Journal
1938

Palm Springs:

"Like its Los Angeles parent, Palm Springs is low and slung-out; a shadow law prohibits any building

in the shadow of another. By day, the city can scarcely be distinguished from the palmier shopping centers of Los Angeles; by night, amber floodlights playing on the palms create an atmosphere of warmth and opulence contrasted with the backdrop of gaunt mountains etched against the dark purple desert sky."

Neal R. Peirce
The Pacific States of America
1972

Pasadena:

"Come with us tonight,
drifters in the drifting crowd,
we shall arrive, late
and tired, beyond the false lights of *Pasadena*
where the living are silent
in America."

Philip Levine
"Silent in America"
1965

San Jose:

"There are no landmarks in San Jose."

Philip Hamburger
An American Notebook
1965

Santa Barbara:

"We had just stopped at Santa Barbara and Khrushchev had been welcomed by a crowd which, at a minimum, had been kinder to him than Santa Barbara had been to Harry Truman in 1952."

Murray Kempton
New York Post
Sept. 21, 1959

* * *

"Way out in California
Upon a hill so tall
Was the town of Santa Barbara,
That they thought would never fall."

Folk song, "Santa Barbara Earthquake"
recorded from singing of Vester Whitworth at
FSA camp, Arvin, Calif.
1940

Santa Monica

"It [the rain] streamed down the blank windows of unleased offices, loosened the soft coastal cliffs and heightened the most characteristic Santa Monica effect, that air of dispirited abandonment which suggests that the place survives only as an illustration of a boom gone bankrupt, evidence of some irreversible flaw in the laissez-faire small-business ethic."

Joan Didion
The White Album
1979

CHICAGO

Incorporated: 1837
Population (1980): 3,005,072

From its perch alongside Lake Michigan, Chicago got off to a relatively recent start as a major city. Because of its importance as a passage point from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River, however, the city grew swiftly. By 1890 it was the nation's second largest city, a position it still holds—just barely—over Los Angeles.

Chicago has been a mercantile city from its inception. Trade and industry formed the city's heart, and the workers who make up the largely blue-collar population followed the jobs here. So powerful was Chicago's commercial lure that the community bounced back almost instantly from the devastating fire of 1871.

Hurly-burly is probably the best way to describe the Chicago character. Politics are rough and seamy, but filled with a cigar-smoking gusto not found elsewhere today. The city's pleasures are more at the level of drinking beer and polkaing than sipping wine and ballroom dancing. Not that Chicago is entirely a working-class town; its Magnificent Mile along Michigan Avenue is arguably the most elegant street in the country. Still, even the local aristocracy enjoy the city's image as a gruff, brawling place, the can-do city.

THE CITY

"No city ever owed its poets more. No poet could owe any city less."

Nelson Algren
Who Lost An American?
1963

* * *

10TH EDITION

THE ALMANAC OF AMERICAN POLITICS 1990

Michael Barone
Grant Ujifusa

National Journal

CALIFORNIA

In the days after Pearl Harbor, almost 50 years ago, many Americans thought California would be next. "People stacked sandbags against public buildings to prepare for an aerial attack and glued blackout paper to the windows of their homes in the case of night raids," writes historian John Patrick Diggins. "In Los Angeles and San Francisco civil defense wardens enforced curfews and police followed up rumors of spy networks in Japanese neighborhoods, while at night cars crept without lights along coastal highways. On bluffs and oceanfront rooftops people vigilantly tried to sight the enemy." Rumors flew: the Japanese fleet was 164 miles from Monterey, there were 34 Japanese ships between Los Angeles and San Francisco, periscopes were seen off beaches. A wacky general, John DeWitt, one of those later responsible for forcing Japanese Americans into internment camps, announced breathlessly that Japanese airplanes had flown over San Francisco Bay area on the night of December 8, though they unaccountably didn't drop any bombs.

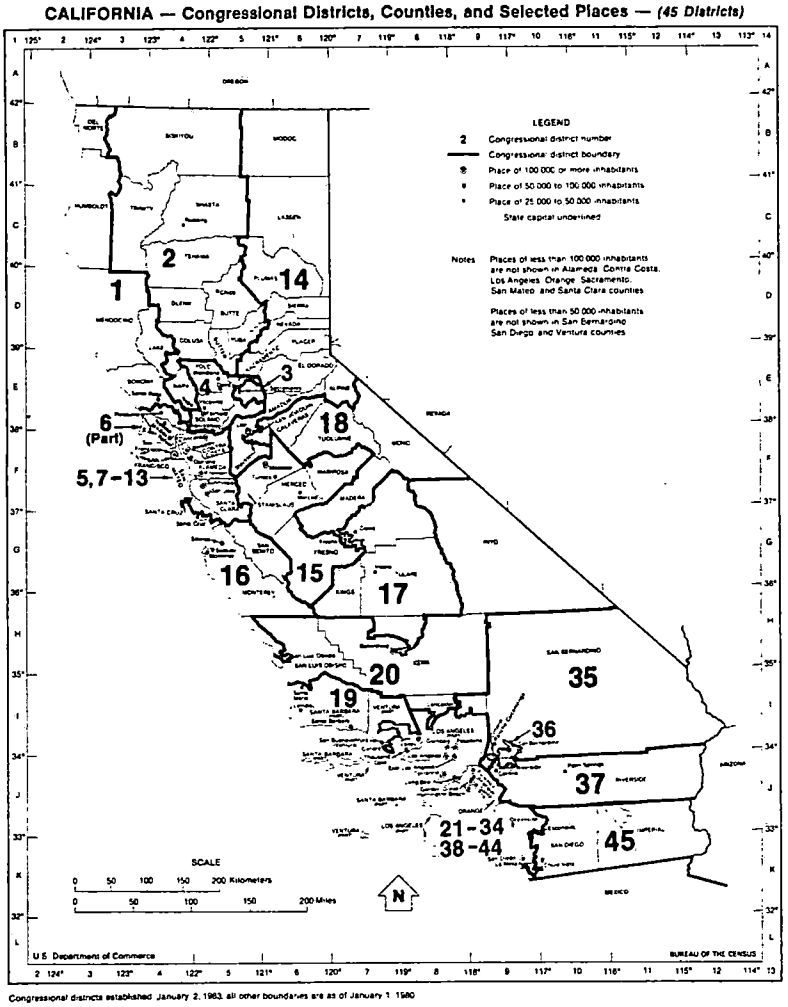
The fears were mostly baseless. A few balloon-borne bombs landed in an Oregon forest, and later there was some light shelling of the Santa Barbara oil fields. But, as J. Edgar Hoover argued without effect at the time, there was never any evidence of sabotage or disloyalty by Japanese Americans. Unfortunately, in the hysterical months that followed, demands from the Army and from California politicians resulted in their internment—a blight on America's reputation which was assuaged by apology and and redress law of 1988.

This fear and hysteria arose in a part of America that felt disconnected from the rest of the country. "California is an island," Carey McWilliams wrote in the 1940s, America's lightly populated outpost on the Pacific, with only 7 million of the country's 131 million people, thousands of miles across plains, mountains and desert from thickly settled parts of the country and separated from Japan only by the open waters of the Pacific. It was an affluent island in the early 1940s, and one unmistakably American in its culture—yet also a bit bizarre. Farming and oil, extractive industries, were the basis of a still colonial economy: California imported most of its finished goods and lived off its natural resources. Its people, leapfrogging the continent, had come from all over: Yankee stock migrants from the Midwest predominated, southerners (except for the Okies of the late 1930s) were relatively few, European immigrants included the Italian fishermen of San Francisco's North Beach and refugees and expatriate intellectuals like Aldous Huxley and Bertolt Brecht in Los Angeles.

"Sociologically detached from the rest of the country," McWilliams wrote, "California functions in its own right, has its own patterns of political behavior, and exists as a kind of sovereign empire by the western shore." Politically, this empire was ancestrally Republican, ideologically progressive, quickly embracing and quickly discarding nostrums like the End Poverty in California program that made Upton Sinclair the Democratic nominee for governor in 1934 (he lost when FDR among others renounced him), and the "$30 Every Thursday" proposal of a group called Ham and Eggs that got 45% in a 1938 referendum. It voted for Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and at home for progressive Republicans like Hiram Johnson and Earl Warren.

It is a long way from that California to the California of today. The change began explosively in the war, when California became one of the great defense industry states of the nation, making steel and aluminum for the first time, building ships and airplanes by the thousands. Millions of Americans came here, and millions stayed; California's economy was expected to collapse when the big firms shut down after the war; instead, as urbanologist Jane Jacobs points

CALIFORNIA — Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Places — *(45 Districts)*



Congressional districts established January 2, 1983; all other boundaries are as of January 1, 1980

See pages 1443-1448 for additional metropolitan area maps.

out, one-eighth of all the new jobs in the nation in the early postwar years were created in greater Los Angeles. California's growth has had its spurts and pauses, but it was as strong as ever in the 1980s. As the decade ends, California is a nation-state of 27 million people (after the 1990 Census it will account for a larger share of the nation's population than any state has since 1870), with the highest living standards and highest productivity in the world, an economy as technically advanced as any that has ever existed, and a gross domestic product that would be the sixth highest in the world if it were a separate nation.

And in many ways California resembles that separate nation, of similar geographic size and even greater population in the seismically active interstices between ocean and mountains and wasteland, across the Pacific: Japan. Both California and Japan are economically creative, productive, affluent, hard-working: for as Jan Morris wisely observed, "somewhere near the heart of the L.A. ethos there lies, unexpectedly, a layer of solid, old-fashioned, plain hard work.

It suggests to me, unexpectedly, t
lace, the clockmakers and the ar
the Japanese are known for th
stagehands, plastic molders and .
at what they do. There is someth
unsurprise, but it has made Toky
years ago—the leading trading c
past—like Johnson's or Dicken
Chicago—not the most comforta
is choking; and if the Japanese li
live in stucco houses in tightly-p
that a midwesterner would find
York, but there is some of the s
from the great American interi
Angeles householders have their

California, as it moves into th
apolitical commonwealth. Busy i
on that side of the Pacific Rim ta
also take for granted the affluen
security that comes from the re
Japan, so the hawkish American
enrich sometimes dovish but alv
stations run hours of local news
Sacramento; Michael Dukakis, i
possibly the next President of th
stories on the newscast. Viewers
all-day traffic jam on the Santa M
in touch with herself or a report

Californians, like Japanese, d
leaders and a gaggle of factiona
their real business largely unn
created a self-sustaining system
from a public which is largely in
of the central cities are over-
Congressman Phillip Burton, wh
the state's congressional delega
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It suggests to me, unexpectedly, the guild spirit of some medieval town, where workers in iron or lace, the clockmakers and the armorers, competed to give the city the glory of their trades." If the Japanese are known for their fine workmanship, Californians—backup musicians and stagehands, plastic molders and toy designers—pride themselves quietly on being the very best at what they do. There is something bloodless about this competence, an air of nonchalance and unsurprise, but it has made Tokyo and Los Angeles—neither involved in world commerce 150 years ago—the leading trading cities in the world today. But like the great surging cities of the past—like Johnson's or Dickens's London, like Balzac's Paris or Dreiser's New York and Chicago—not the most comfortable. In the metropolitan areas of California, as in Japan, traffic is choking; and if the Japanese live in flimsy houses and cramped apartments, most Californians live in stucco houses in tightly-packed subdivisions or garden apartments on tiny plots of land that a midwesterner would find claustrophobic. California may be more spread out than New York, but there is some of the same surliness and lack of neighborliness in daily life; migrants from the great American interior are surprised when nobody says hi. More than 40% of Los Angeles householders have their phone numbers unlisted.

California, as it moves into the 1990s, also has this in common with Japan: it is a profoundly apolitical commonwealth. Busy in their work, intense in their pursuit of leisure, people on this as on that side of the Pacific Rim take government for granted and have no time for politics. They also take for granted the affluence that seems to flow naturally from the soil and the military security that comes from the resolve of others (for just as American military power defends Japan, so the hawkish American South provides the votes for the arms buildups that defend and enrich sometimes dovish but always defense-industry heavy California). The Los Angeles TV stations run hours of local newscasts each day, but none has a bureau in the state capital of Sacramento; Michael Dukakis, in California to campaign for the primary and at the time quite possibly the next President of the United States, had a hard time making the top four or five stories on the newscast. Viewers are much more interested in the latest drug triple-slaying, the all-day traffic jam on the Santa Monica Freeway, a soap opera actress telling how she has gotten in touch with herself or a reporter speculating on whether Elvis is alive.

Californians, like Japanese, delegate the conduct of their government to a few dull, faceless leaders and a gaggle of factional politicians who provide services to local constituencies but do their real business largely unnoticed in remote government buildings. These officials have created a self-sustaining system in which they routinely receive the renewal of their mandate from a public which is largely indifferent to what they are doing. In California, the liberal voters of the central cities are over-represented by the creative redistricting plans of the late Congressman Phillip Burton, which have given liberal Democrats control of the legislature and the state's congressional delegation. They are also helped because huge sums of money ($2 million in a state Senate race) are needed to reach voters uninterested in, if not actively hostile to, political communication, because almost all political money for state elections comes from lobbyists in Sacramento, and because most successful candidates for the legislature are former staffers who have the contacts and have made the alliances that are necessary to raise that money. And so, unwatched, unnoticed, little monitored, America's most competent state government is run by America's most skillful—but in some cases its most bloodless and cynical—politicians. But there are limits on Sacramento's power. California pioneered initiatives and referenda so voters can pass laws the legislature would never dream of: forcing down property taxes in 1978's Proposition 13, for example, or forcing lower auto insurance rates in 1988's Proposition 103. Affected economic interests spend freely on these issues in such amounts that they overshadow elections for public office. More than $20 million was spent on the 1988 Senate race in California. But $81 million was spent on five insurance ballot propositions.

At this point California ceases to be Japan's doppelganger, and the comparison breaks down. Japan believes in active governmental guidance of investment decisions and of allocating

economic growth among existing big corporations, while workers feel great loyalty to the companies that guarantee them lifetime jobs. California believes, inarticulately, that government should provide an infrastructure for economic growth—freeways, huge water supply systems, a fine system of higher and (at least at one time, and maybe in the future) public education and a network of agricultural research. But its growth has come largely from small business units in dozens of industries, with employees moving easily from one job to another, and one of the highest rates of self-employment in the country. Japan believes strongly in racial unity and cultural uniformity. California believes, as much as any place in the world, in racial tolerance and cultural variety, welcoming immigration and cherishing civil liberties. Finally, Japan sees itself as living in a cold corner of a hostile planet, where it must make a living selling things to people who are distant and different. California, naively and perhaps inaccurately, sees itself as the sunny center of the world, as the most American state in a world becoming more and more Americanized. Since so much of the world has come to California—check out the ethnic restaurants on Melrose in Los Angeles or Clement in San Francisco—so California has gone out all over the world. Japan assumes that it is hated and California assumes that it is loved; and if the Japanese assumption has the virtue of being more realistic, its pessimism also has the disadvantage of tending to be self-fulfilling.

The Japanese have also settled on one strategy of government—keeping the status quo liberal Democrats in—while Californians, with a nonchalance that comes from the security of being part of a larger nation, experiment with one form of politics after another. This is the state which anticipated the conservative trend of two decades by electing Ronald Reagan as governor in 1966, when conventional wisdom had it that only pro-welfare state Republicans could win in large states. It is the state that elected in 1974 as his successor the prototypical baby boomer politician, Jerry Brown—scorner of luxury, environmentalist and campaign finance reformer, skeptical about the efficacy of government spending programs and eager to embrace cultural diversity. And it is the state that elected as his successor George Deukmejian in 1982, a colorless and steadfast conservative.

As voters have become less interested in government, support for and opposition to each of these figures has become a way of making a cultural statement or striking a cultural pose, and differences in lifestyles and personal values explain Californians' voting behavior better than anything else. This behavior helps to explain, for example, why the affluent San Francisco media market area produced a 393,000-vote margin for Michael Dukakis, while the equally affluent Los Angeles media market produced a 394,000-vote margin for George Bush; why high-income Beverly Hills and Marin County are heavily Democratic and working-class Norwalk and Bakersfield vote Republican. As it happens, each of California's best-known recent political figures has embodied and represented the cultural values and style of one of the four political regions of the state which, conveniently, each cast about one-quarter of its votes: Los Angeles County, the rest of southern California, the San Francisco Bay area, and the rest of the state.

Personifying southern California is the man who received 63% and 69% of its votes for President, Ronald Reagan. While Los Angeles fills up with immigrants, blacks and singles, the rest of southern California looks more like the Los Angeles of the 1940s: predominantly white, middle-class, midwestern, although its has more Asians and Hispanics than you might think. Essentially, the old Los Angeles has grown out past the freeways into Orange County and the east end of the Los Angeles basin and out into the desert, out past the San Fernando Valley into Ventura County, down south of San Juan Capistrano and Camp Pendleton into northern San Diego County, where it merges with fast-growing San Diego. This is suburbia, but it is also half of the nation's second biggest metropolitan agglomeration, with 14 million people, close to New York's 17 million and far ahead of Chicago's 8 million. It is not farfetched to suppose that early in the 21st century Los Angeles will be the center of the nation's largest concentration of people—the first time in history a nation has ever had its greatest city so far from its center of

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This urban center developed not because of its location (Los Angeles has no natural harbor and had to build one) or its natural resources (it used to export oil but has had to import it since the 1940s) or its historical eminence (Los Angeles had 102,000 people in 1900). It is a great city because people have wanted it to be, and southern California reflects the optimism, the somewhat innocent confidence, and the know-how of its pioneers. They turned gratefully to Ronald Reagan in the late 1960s, not as someone who veered off the American political spectrum, but as a politician who articulated traditional American values when they seemed under attack from demonstrators on campuses and rioters in ghettos. Further disillusioned in the 1970s, they saw their views vindicated in Reagan's presidency. Their spirit was most vividly represented in the ceremonies of the 1984 Olympics, which Reagan opened in Los Angeles and which for the first time were put on not by a government but by private operators who generated a 33% profit. Here America was triumphant while the Soviet Union dared not let its athletes see the blandishments of southern California, lest they never return: this was not just an artistic triumph for American values but, in retrospect, the first clear admission by the Soviets, even before Gorbachev and perestroika, that they could not compete, that they had lost the Cold War.

Just as the Yankees lost their ancient capital of Boston to a majority of Irish Catholics, so the southern Californians who backed Reagan so strongly saw the center of their metropolis, Los Angeles County, increasingly become the home of people with different backgrounds and different values. By the 1980s, Los Angeles had become the number one immigrant destination in the world, and the central city's population had begun increasing as Mexicans and Koreans, Salvadorans and Vietnamese began doubling up in refurbished houses in central neighborhoods, with whole families working to earn enough to follow so many others out the Hollywood Freeway to the San Fernando Valley or out the Santa Ana Freeway to Orange County. Hispanics and Asians tend to vote for Democrats, but not always and not by large margins; the Vietnamese and Cambodians are pretty solidly Republican. Hollywood and the west side—the generic name for the show-bizzy part of town west of Fairfax—are the centers of one of the nation's largest Jewish populations, with large numbers of singles and gays, as well; these are cultural—not economic—liberals. And California's blacks are concentrated around Watts, in neighborhoods south and southwest of downtown L.A., along the Harbor Freeway and out toward LAX (the only American airport known colloquially by its three-letter code).

Los Angeles County, since the 1970s, has provided the core constituency for the politics of Jerry Brown—although to satisfy party rules he moved his residence to San Francisco in order to be elected state Democratic chairman in early 1989. That was 15 years after he was elected governor, when the balance of electoral power in California seemed to be moving toward the baby boom generation, in an atmosphere of cultural conflict between generations and lifestyles, a conflict mirrored in Brown's rejection of the New Deal politics and cultural conservatism of his own father, who had been elected governor in 1958 and 1962. And Brown's side seemed to be winning: Reagan had been unable to stem the tide of cultural liberation which had produced the de facto legalization of marijuana, abortion, prostitution and pornography, quite unable to persuade most Americans that their country's involvement in Vietnam had been, as he would later say, "a noble cause." Brown proclaimed that "small is beautiful" and that America and California were living in "an era of limits," suggesting that further economic growth was not to be expected, and argued that the United States must accommodate itself to rising movements around the world, by which he meant socialist-minded Third World dictatorships sympathetic or allied to the Soviets. Brown seemed poised to be the politician of the future, extolling the virtues of high-tech and questioning the verities of both welfare state liberals like Hubert Humphrey and free market conservatives like Ronald Reagan.

Yet this view of the world did not pan out very well. One reason is that the cultural conflicts

which accounted for much of his support died off; it turned out that there was room enough in California for everyone to live as he pleased. Mexican-American kids can parade their low-slung cars in East L.A., gays can promenade down San Francisco's Castro Street or in the newly incorporated gay-majority West Hollywood, crew cut NCOs can raise large families in Seaside or near Camp Pendleton, elderly ex-Iowans can stroll to the shopping center in Orange—and nobody else minds. A second reason is that voters turned against Brown on some cultural issues. His hesitancy to use pesticides on the 1981 Medfly infestation infuriated many, and his appointee, Chief Justice Rose Bird, who found reasons to overturn every death sentence conviction that came before her, was ousted by a 2 to 1 vote in 1986. A third reason is that California's economy—and America's—performed much better than its critics expected. True, the growth was in large part the product of small business units of the sort Brown championed and it also owed much to government—and had since Earl Warren kept taxes high during World War II to pay for the schools and highways he thought California would need after the war. But growth also produced a yearning for affluence that Brown had little use for, a desire that helps to explain the success of Proposition 13 in 1978. This undid Brown, for in opposing 13 with the same arguments as welfare state liberals, he seemed untrue to his own principles and as cynical as the politicians who rode in the limousines he eschewed. His support collapsed: after winning 59% in California's 1976 Democratic presidential primary, he got only 4% four years later. When he ran for the Senate in 1982, he won only 51% of the primary vote against such giants as novelist Gore Vidal, a state senator from Orange County, and the mayor of Fresno; he lost the general election to the little-known Pete Wilson, then mayor of San Diego, by an unambiguous 52%–45% margin. Brown got himself elected Democratic state chairman in early 1989, prompted by voter-approved campaign finance laws that make the parties the chief conduits of political money in state races; but this was an inside maneuver of the sort he scorned in the past, and there was no indication that his popularity with the voters had recovered.

In state politics the key figure for the 1980s, much to everyone's surprise, turned out to be George Deukmejian, a state senator from Long Beach who was elected attorney general in 1978 against a black congresswoman opposed to the death penalty and who narrowly defeated Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley for the Senate in 1982. In that race the key votes were cast in the quarter of the state outside the Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco media markets—namely the interior valley and mountain regions. This turned out to be California's high-growth area, populated by young families who headed from the smoggy outer reaches of the Los Angeles basin, with its crime-ridden freeways and drug-infested public schools, for the cleaner and culturally more traditional climes of the old Mother Lode country in the foothills of the Sierra, in the growing Sacramento area, and parts of the vast Centrai Valley. When issues were economic, and when the Democratic nominee was not identified with the cultural liberalism of Hollywood or San Francisco, as in the 1976 presidential race, this non-metropolitan California voted Democratic. But in 1982, against Los Angeles's mayor, and with a gun control referendum on the ballot that brought out many opponents in rural counties, Deukmejian carried the interior of California by a 55%–40% margin. (The coastal counties, filling up with liberals leaving the Bay area and L.A., trended in the other direction and voted 50%–47% for Bradley.)

As for the San Francisco Bay area, it has no better personification than Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, a far more vivid political figure and on occasion a more powerful one in Sacramento than Deukmejian. The Bay area, one of the most affluent parts of the world, is also politically one of the most liberal—if the liberalism in question is cultural rather than economic. For years not just San Francisco, but the East Bay and the Peninsula, and even prosaic-looking suburbs, have attracted those who felt their personal lifestyles were not accepted elsewhere or who relished an atmosphere of revolt—gays and perpetual graduate students, radicals and perennial rebels. The Bay area is environmentalist and dovish, but not much interested in income redistribution or helping the poor. So in 1976, the Bay area had little use for Southern Baptist

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Jimmy Carter and almost preferred Betty Ford's husband, voting only 50%–46% Democratic—and costing Carter California's electoral votes. In 1988, while nationally the Democratic ticket was 5% weaker, in the Bay area it was far stronger, as Michael Dukakis led George Bush by a 58%–41% margin. A 58%–40% Bay area margin, plus an edge in the increasingly Bay-influenced coast, helped save Senator Alan Cranston's seat in 1986, as he campaigned primarily as a champion of saving California's environment.

Dukakis's strong showing in the Bay area and the coast (50%–48%), and his carrying of Los Angeles County (52%–47%), were almost enough to enable him to carry California, despite the big margin for Bush in the south outside L.A. County (63%–36%) and the smaller Bush margin in the interior (54%–44%). Overall, Bush carried California by only 51%–48%, less than his national percentage, and one of his weaker showings in a big state. This is evidence that, as the baby boom generation continues to mature, and as Hispanics and Asians produce less-than-unanimous but still significant Democratic margins, national Democrats can hope to carry California, and that California, despite the fact that it has voted Republican in every presidential election since 1964 could be part of a Democratic electoral college majority. But a caution needs to be added. The liberalism that appeals to California is cultural, not economic. The redistributionist policies that may appeal to farmers in Iowa or blacks in Michigan and the trade policies that are thought to appeal to factory workers in Pennsylvania and Ohio are probably vote-losers in California. In the 1940s it was in California where anti-Japanese feeling was strongest, but in 1988 it was the Ohio Dukakis coordinator who produced a TV spot on trade showing the Japanese flag, while the California Dukakis coordinator made darn sure it was not shown in his state. Californians, however liberal, are aware that their affluence depends heavily on commerce and on continued trade with those other nation-states on the other side of the Pacific Rim. Those who look hopefully and with some reason to California as a building block for a new liberal majority must reckon with the differences between its liberalism and that of other states essential to their strategy.

They must remember as well that in the 1980s, as the post-baby boom voters come of age, the Republican Party has grown stronger. The number of registered Republicans has grown from 3.4 million in 1978 to 5.4 million in 1988, while in the same period the number of registered Democrats has increased from 5.7 million to 7.0 million; in other words, Republicans have signed-up more than 60% of net new registrants. Those numbers don't automatically translate into votes, for in the 1970s a lot of registered Democrats had voted Republican already for major office; but they can translate into greater strength in down-the-line contests, and they give the Republicans a body of primary voters that comes closer to representing the broader electorate.

Meanwhile, in this apolitical commonwealth, where political machines were outlawed 75 years ago and media campaigning started 35 years ago, both political parties are trying to reinvent organizational politics, in different ways. The Republicans are relying on money, technology and management techniques to get out their vote, using phone banks to identify their potential voters, mailings to communicate with them, and absentee ballot applications to get them to vote even before anyone goes to the polls. Ironically, it was Democrats who liberalized the registration laws, but Republicans who took advantage of them: Thomas Bradley got a majority of votes cast on election day 1982, but George Deukmejian won because of his big margins among the absentees. The Democrats' strategy is to reinvent the precinct organization. In 1988 the Dukakis campaign and the state Democratic Party hired 500 organizers to recruit precinct chairmen in the 25,000 precincts—they even had ceremonies where they took an oath to finish their quotas—and such efforts are being promised by the new state chairman Jerry Brown. A major target is to register blacks and the Hispanics and Asians who are bound to be a growing percentage of the electorate; such efforts are likely to be more successful than in other big states, since the targets are not those who have failed to vote in the past but those who are new to the area and may be ready to participate. The Democrats' organizational efforts were

probably worth a couple of points in 1988. In a state with some excruciatingly close races, Cranston was reelected in 1986 and Deukmejian won his first term as governor in 1982 by 49%–48% margins. Politicians from both parties have an incentive to innovate and organize where they have not before.

A case can be made that California's decline in political interest is a sign of health. Hostilities between different cultural groups produced a politics of enthusiasm and nomination victories for ideological candidates like Barry Goldwater in 1964 and George McGovern in 1972, neither of whom would have been nominated if they had not won California's then winner-take-all presidential primary; as those hostilities have declined, California primaries have produced more moderate winners, like Pete Wilson and Ed Zschau, and general elections have produced divided government, in which Deukmejian is checked by Speaker Willie Brown, while Bradley is balanced by a conservative Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors and Republican Presidents by a supertalented Democratic congressional delegation. The result is a government fiscally restrained and culturally tolerant, but ready at the same time to pump more money into education and to insist on stricter standards for students, sterner restrictions on drug use, and tougher penalties for crime. California, as it approaches the 1990s, after all, is a story of success and not of failure. Its supple and strong economy, its capacity and willingness to welcome newcomers and help them rise, its tolerance of eccentricity but insistence on standards, are all in the best of American traditions. They show what many Americans in the 1960s and 1970s forgot, that America works; and if Californians are less interested in politics and less inclined to call on government than they were in more troubled times, that is perhaps not cause for despair.

Presidential politics. For most of the 1980s California did not seem to count much in presidential politics. Its primary, coming at the end of the season, was pivotal in 1964 and 1972. Since then it has produced such winners as Jerry Brown, Edward Kennedy and Gary Hart for the Democrats, and has been won without serious contest by Ronald Reagan three times. Its 1988 winners were Michael Dukakis and George Bush—after they had already clinched their nominations. It's possible that California could play a critical role in 1992, but unlikely unless it is rescheduled. Otherwise, it's likely to result in the renomination of George Bush and the ratification of whoever has emerged as the leading Democratic opponent of Jesse Jackson—if he decides to run again for President.

In the general election, California may be more pivotal—and could easily have been in 1988 if the national race had gone a little differently. The fact that California ended up Republican by small margins in the close elections of 1960, 1968 and 1976, and that it gave Ronald Reagan two easy victories in 1980 (53%–36%) and 1984 (58%–41%) led many to chalk it up as straight Republican. But its liberal trend on cultural issues made it competitive in 1988 and, though it finally went for George Bush, may already have had its effect on public policy. Republican national chairman and Bush campaign manager Lee Atwater noticed the trend in California during the primary season, and the even stronger trend in Oregon and Washington, both of which Dukakis ultimately carried, and it may have contributed to George Bush's calling for a "kinder, gentler" nation. Certainly the Bush Republicans are not conceding the black, Hispanic, Asian and baby boom voters who are the Democrats' hopes for carrying California.

The 1988 election had one additional result worth noting. Despite the carping of West Coast politicians about the network projections of the election winner, California has usually produced a higher than average percentage for the *loser* of the presidential election, and it did so again in 1988. It's possible that Dukakis won a plurality among West Coast voters who went to the polls on election day, and that Bush's narrow margin was due entirely to absentees.

Governor. At the beginning of the 1980s, few would have picked George Deukmejian as the man who would stand astride California state government for most of the decade; but as the decade was ending there he was, in place and on top. His first victory over Tom Bradley in 1982 was by the narrowest of margins; his second in 1986 was won with a higher percentage than

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Ronald Reagan ever got in California. Deukmejian is orderly and aloof, a believer in pomp and ceremony; he is not close to other officials, not even Republicans though he spent four years as attorney general and 16 years in the legislature in Sacramento. He sticks closely to a tight-knit staff and, mostly, to his principles. His first term was marked by his stubbornness and success in sticking to his promise of no new taxes; in his second term, when the state was facing a $1 billion post-tax reform shortfall, he proposed a tax increase in 1988 and then had to back away from it. Critics charged that the state was neglecting education, highways and research, and would pay for it with a weaker economy and slower growth in the 1990s. Deukmejian replies that "we have become the gold at the end of the rainbow."

Deukmejian also made some mistakes. He angered many by abolishing without any notice the state worker health and safety program; organized labor retaliated by pumping crucial money into a close state Senate race and putting the issue on the 1988 ballot and winning. And he was unsuccessful in getting Congressman Dan Lungren confirmed as state treasurer to replace the late Jesse Unruh. Lungren was blocked in the state Senate, largely because he opposed monetary compensation to victims of the Japanese American internment in World War II. Unruh had become a power in the investment world by keeping careful control over the investment of California's pension billions. Probably one of Deukmejian's more notable successes was the defeat of Rose Bird and two other Supreme Court justices in the 1986 election, which gave him new appointments that would make the California Supreme Court, dominated by liberals since 1940, for the first time a bastion of judicial conservatism. And he was proud that the number of prisoners in California, in line with national trends, nearly doubled since he came to office.

These setbacks did not hurt Deukmejian much with the voters, however, and he probably could have been reelected in 1990. But he chose to retire instead. This caused considerable gnashing of teeth among Republicans, who fear that the Democrats will regain the governorship and, with control of the legislature, will control redistricting for the 1990s as Phil Burton did for the 1970s and 1980s. For that reason Senator Pete Wilson was trotted forward by Republican leaders, who were afraid that a little-known candidate couldn't raise the money under the new rules to compete.

The one Democrat clearly in the race in early 1989 was John Van de Kamp, who as attorney general holds an office that is easily portrayed as divorced from politics; a possible contender is Controller Gray Davis, a former top aide to Brown; a bit more colorful and considerably more likely to run is former (1978–87) San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein. All except Feinstein are rather colorless politicians—which seems to be what California has wanted since Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown left Sacramento. Leo McCarthy is running again for lieutenant governor, and the jockeying for other California statewide offices chould be fierce: Van de Kamp will not be running for reelection as attorney general, Secretary of State March Fong Eu may get a primary opponent, and the new insurance commissioner post set up by Proposition 13 could attract multiple entrants. Treasurer Thomas Hayes is a civil servant type who may be opposed in the primary by Angela (Bay) Buchanan, former Treasurer of the United States and sister of conservative columnist, Pat Buchanan. If he were to win that election he may face Jerry Brown's sister Kathleen. These offices may attract some of the state legislators and so there is likely to be some turnover in the capital.

One who will not be leaving Sacramento, it seems, is Willie Brown. In 1988 he seemed on the ropes, and his prominence in Jesse Jackson's campaign seemed an attempt to make a national political career by a man whose state career seemed in decline. A "Gang of Five" Democratic legislators were prepared to run against him, and Assembly Minority Leader Pat Nolan was hoping to overturn the Democrats' 44–36 majority. But after the election it was Nolan who lost his leadership post and Brown who was stronger than ever. The Democrats increased their lead to 47–33, eliminating the leverage of the Gang of Five (who, one might guess, were assigned office space together in the same broom closet), and reducing downward toward zero the

Republicans' chances of gaining control of the Assembly in 1990. The Democrats also have a strong position (24–15) in the state Senate.

Senators. The Senate majority whip, the winner of the second highest number of popular votes in Senate history, is Alan Cranston of California. After nearly 40 years in California politics, he is clearly a survivor. But he is not quite the power these facts suggest. His most recent victory, in 1986, was actually the biggest upset in the 1986 elections and the product of one of the shrewdest campaigns of recent times. After his humiliating 1984 presidential campaign, he had looked like a goner. He had won nothing more than a victory in a 1983 Wisconsin straw poll—and a $2 million debt. He was 72 on election day 1986 and he looked gaunt and haggard, though he has always been in excellent physical shape, and made himself ridiculous by dying his hair a shade of orange. His views on issues seemed out of line with California: his longtime support of disarmament seemed irrelevant when the contrary policies of Ronald Reagan seemed to be bringing peace, and his longtime support of generous government spending at home seemed foolish to young affluent voters who believe that markets and entrepreneurs, not governments and regulators, produce economic growth. And finally, the Republicans nominated the strongest possible candidate to oppose him, Silicon Valley Representative Ed Zschau, a successful entrepreneur himself, well-financed, tolerant on cultural issues, assertive on foreign policy and market-oriented on economics.

But Cranston was not daunted. In 1984 he set about methodically raising money, phone call by phone call; he eradicated his debt (while Gary Hart and John Glenn, with much better political prospects, could not eradicate theirs) and by 1986 raised another $10 million or so besides. He criss-crossed California's small towns in 1985 and remained on the campaign trail—which these days means in TV studios and raising money personally on the phone and at parties—in 1986. The day after the Republican primary, he had ads on the air attacking Zschau for flip-flopping on issues, and kept a running attack on him through November. At the same time, he used Ansel Adams photographs to identify himself with all the best things in California, and at the last minute sent out 250,000 letters to coastal households on environmental issues. Zschau, a business school graduate who approached campaigning as a management exercise, eventually counterattacked by calling Cranston a liberal and an opponent of the death penalty and tough drug laws. But he never got the footing to get across his own positive message, and Cranston succeeded early in establishing a negative tone. In that environment, turnout was low (8% below 1982), and neither candidate got a majority. But Cranston won 50%–47%.

Cranston started off in public life in the 1930s; as a young journalist he published an unexpurgated version of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, and in the years after World War II he was a founder of the California Democratic Council, the leading liberal political force in the state. He was elected state controller in 1958 and 1962 and U.S. Senator in 1968, an office to which he has been reelected three times. His career has had its ups and downs: he was defeated for controller in the 1966 Reagan gubernatorial landslide, and he won the Senate seat only when the moderate incumbent, Thomas Kuchel, was defeated in the primary by right-winger Max Rafferty who, despite the revelation that he sat out World War II with an alleged injury and then threw away his crutches on VJ Day, held Cranston to 52%.

Cranston is part dreamy idealist, part shrewd political operator. He got into politics in the 1940s as an advocate of world government and remains more interested in arms control than any other issue. He favors some form of national service, not necessarily military, for young people. But he is also an operator. For 15 years his California colleagues in the Senate were men with rather abstract interests or limited attention spans, and so California constituencies—farmers, aerospace companies, banks and savings and loans, labor unions, the entertainment industry, the new Silicon Valley industries—went to Cranston when they needed help in the Senate. Cranston delivered. When Lockheed needed a federal loan guarantee to stay in business, Cranston produced the critical vote on the floor by persuading a colleague who later admitted to a

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drinking problem to change his mind. On the Banking Committee for years he looked out for the now beleaguered savings and loans. He also became known as a good vote-counter, cultivating not so much the strongest, best-known Senators as those who are obscure and in some cases of limited talents; and when Robert Byrd moved up to the majority leadership in 1977, Cranston became Democratic whip.

Since his 1984 campaign, his career has been in something of an eclipse. While he was out on the road in 1983 and 1984, he had for the first time a colleague, Pete Wilson, who also looked after the state's economic interests. No longer was Cranston indispensable. In much of 1985 and 1986 he was preoccupied with his campaign. In 1987, when the Democrats regained control of the Senate, Majority Leader Robert Byrd gave him a cold shoulder; he liked to be his own vote counter. In 1989, new Majority Leader George Mitchell seems to be using as his lieutenant South Dakota's Tom Daschle, who is a contemporary and campaign helper to many of the younger Democrats, while most of the men Cranston started off with are gone. Cranston easily beat back opposition from Wendell Ford for the whip post, and he has work that he cares about as chairman of the Veterans Committee.

In California, Cranston has worked hard on registering voters and developing a new Democratic organization with appeal to Hispanics and Asians. Many assume he will quit in 1992 when he turns 78. Cranston says he *is* running; he is a physical fitness buff (a champion sprinter into his seventies) and does not seem disposed to retire. If he is not as much at the center of things as he once was, he retains both his idealistic goals and his insider's skills, and there is more than one tenant in the political graveyard who underestimated his determination and political sense.

The man who has won more votes in a single election than anyone in the history of the United States Congress, could walk down just about any street in Washington or in his home state and not be recognized. He is nonetheless a politician of considerable competence and impressive accomplishments. Pete Wilson grew up in an affluent part of St. Louis, went to Yale, then joined the Marines and went to law school at Boalt Hall in Berkeley; he moved to San Diego, where he was elected assemblyman in 1966 and mayor in 1971. His reputation was as a moderate Republican and an environmentalist, interested in nuts-and-bolts state and local government; he supported Gerald Ford over Ronald Reagan in the 1976 presidential primary (better not bring up his name with Reagan even now), opposed Proposition 13 in 1978, and finished fourth in the Republican gubernatorial primary that year, with 9% of the vote. In 1982, still with the handicap of being well known only in the San Diego media market, which has only 8% of the state's voters, he ran in a 13-candidate primary field for Senator, and finished first, with 38% of the vote, as Pete McCloskey was unable to expand beyond his Bay area base, Barry Goldwater Jr. fizzled, and Robert Dornan and Maureen Reagan never got well enough known to be taken seriously. Wilson was then the beneficiary of the unpopularity of Jerry Brown, and beat him 52%–45%. Six years later, he beat Leo McCarthy, who grew up in the same St. Francis Wood neighborhood of San Francisco as Brown, by the almost identical margin of 53%–44%. In the 10 years between his first and his latest statewide race, Wilson increased his vote total from 230,000 to 5.1 million. In the process, he also broke the jinx that has clung to the seat he holds: no one had been reelected to it since 1952.

How did he do it? His voting record, despite his un-Reaganish past, was mostly pro-Reagan, with dissents on issues like offshore drilling, clean air and highways. On military issues, he has been an enthusiastic supporter of the Reagan defense buildup on the Armed Services Committee and on the floor—which evidently doesn't hurt in California, with its big defense industries—and he was one of those ready to move the military into the fight against drugs. He is an SDI enthusiast and the leading opponent of the Midgetman. In 1985, he showed up in pajamas while recovering from surgery to cast a decisive vote for the balanced budget constitutional amendment. He has worked for research on Alzheimer's disease and AIDS, and

wants government to do more about transportation and child care. George Will called him "a rarity: a conservative who understands the discriminating, but vigorous use of government for conservative purposes."

He has spent much time working for California interests and on California issues. On the Agriculture Committee he looks out for California's huge food industry and tries to increase its exports. He was the lead advocate of amendments to the immigration bill allowing in more guestworkers for California growers; he took on the chief sponsor of the immigration bill, Alan Simpson, and won. With less success he tried in 1984 to increase tuna tariffs (the U.S. tuna fleet is based in San Diego). He worked with Cranston and against some Republicans on the California wilderness bill, but broke with him over the Mojave Desert wilderness area; he was one of the leaders against offshore oil drilling off California's coast. Wilson was the chief Senate sponsor of the "wine equity act." He also maintained careful ties with California's entertainment industry, pushing bills to keep the TV networks from sharing syndication profits, to stop foreign pirating of films and videocassettes, and to get favorable transition rules for studios in the 1986 tax reform. And he has been a staunch supporter of Israel.

To all these issues Wilson has brought a strong intellect, a willingness to work hard and master details, and a steely and not terribly pleasant competitiveness. He brought those qualities to campaigning as well. With clockwork precision, he raised a record amount of money, calling in many of the chits he had accumulated, particularly among Los Angeles's usually Democratic west side fundraisers. And he spent his money effectively. His opponent was Leo McCarthy, a similarly quiet but also competent officeholder, a former Assembly speaker and now lieutenant governor, who in California's apolitical environment was scarcely known in any substantive way to the voters. McCarthy made some mistakes in the spring: he attended a fundraiser at which anti-nuclear activist Helen Caldicott called Reagan a lunatic and compared Gorbachev to Jesus Christ (statements which McCarthy did not immediately renounce); he was reluctant to release his income tax returns; he was not endorsed by Dianne Feinstein because he opposed homeporting the battleship Missouri in San Francisco; he was hurt by his opposition to capital punishment and 1986 support of Rose Bird; he was attacked by Wilson for a vote against aid to the elderly in the legislature. Wilson, meanwhile, was running ads saying he didn't send out newsletters but gave the money for research on Alzheimer's disease. In November, Wilson ran slightly better in Los Angeles and the South than he had against Brown, while McCarthy did better than Brown in the Bay area and the Coast. But the overall result was similar, and one Wilson would surely settle for if he runs for governor.

If Wilson is elected governor, he will get to pick the next Senator himself. But Wilson's successor will serve only two years and so will come up for reelection, to a two-year term, in 1992. Alan Cranston's term expires then too, and so it is possible that California will have two Senate races, one with an incumbent with less than two years' service, the other, either with no incumbent or with one who will be 78 years old. The incentive for ambitious politicians to run must be overwhelming, and the potential total cost of those campaigns must be frightening—perhaps as much as the insurance industry spent in this apolitical commonwealth on the referenda of 1988.

Congressional districting. California's House delegation of 45 is the largest since New York had that many districts in the 1940s; it is lopsidedly (27–18) Democratic. That is attributed to the redistricting plans drawn up by the late San Francisco Representative Phillip Burton and Michael Berman, an aide to Representative Henry Waxman and brother of former Assembly majority leader and now U.S. Representative Howard Berman. Republican efforts to forge an alliance with Hispanic legislators failed when Burton figured out how to draw one more Hispanic district than the Republican computers did. The Republicans turned to referenda and won at the polls in 1982, only to have Burton draw another plan before Jerry Brown left office, and the Republican's efforts to create a commission of retired judges to draw the district lines was

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The People: Est. Pop. 1988: 28,1
11.19% of U.S. total, 1st largest.
level. Single ancestry: 8% English
Polish, Swedish, Dutch, Scottish,
married couples; 44.1% housing u
Voting age pop. (1980): 17,278,9
Indian. Registered voters (1988)
unaffiliated and minor parties (11

1988 Share of Federal Tax Burden

1988 Share of Federal Expenditure

Total Expend	$102,366m
St/Lcl Grants	11,676m
Salary/Wages	16,380m
Pymnts to Indiv	41,941m
Procurement	29,457m
Research/Other	2,913m

Political Lineup: Governor, George
March Fong Eu (D); Atty. Gen., Jo
Gray Davis (D). State Senate, 40 (
Senators, Alan Cranston (D) and Pe

1988 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	5,054
Dukakis (D)	4,702

1988 Democratic Presidential Primary

Dukakis	
Jackson	1,910
Gore	1,102
Simon	56
	43

turned down by the voters in 1984; the final court challenge wasn't dismissed until early 1989. The Burton plan is not quite as unfair as the Republicans claim, however. Any districting plan will tend to understate Republicans' popular vote strength, because so many of their votes are cast in a few high-income, high-turnout areas. And the Republicans' failure to capture majorities in the legislature in the 1980s is due more to their candidates' weaknesses than to the district lines.

In any case, Burton died in 1983, and by 1989 the focus was on what will happen after 1990. The census is expected to give California five or six new seats, to make it the largest state delegation in history. At least two, in southern California, will be Republican no matter who draws the lines: there are no Democratic precincts in this rapidly growing territory. Otherwise, the key is the governor's race in 1990. If the Democrats win, they will probably totally control redistricting, subject only to a court case. If Pete Wilson or another Republican wins, there will be pressure for a compromise. There is, at this point, a good government argument for drawing safe seats for most if not quite all of California's incumbents, since the state has many talented, well-placed and powerful House members, most of them Democrats but some Republicans too. This is rather remarkable because it is hard to be a good legislator if you must fly five hours over three time zones to California on weekends and then take the redeye back to Washington.

The People: Est. Pop. 1988: 28,168,000; Pop. 1980: 23,667,902, up 19% 1980–88 and 18.5% 1970–80; 11.19% of U.S. total, 1st largest. 23% with 1–3 yrs. col., 20% with 4+ yrs. col.; 11.4% below poverty level. Single ancestry: 8% English, 5% German, 3% Irish, 2% Italian, 1% French, Russian, Portuguese, Polish, Swedish, Dutch, Scottish, Norwegian. Households (1980): 69% family, 37% with children, 55% married couples; 44.1% housing units rented; median monthly rent: $253; median house value: $84,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 17,278,944; 16% Spanish origin, 7% Black, 5% Asian origin, 1% American Indian. Registered voters (1988): 14,004,873; 7,052,368 D (50%); 5,406,127 R (39%); 1,546,378 unaffiliated and minor parties (11%).

1988 Share of Federal Tax Burden: $113,203,000,000; 12.80% of U.S. total, largest.

1988 Share of Federal Expenditures

	Total		Non-Defense		Defense	
Total Expend	$102,366m	(11.58%)	$66,020m	(10.07%)	$42,398m	(18.56%)
St/Lcl Grants	11,676m	(10.19%)	11,674m	(10.20%)	2m	(2.16%)
Salary/Wages	16,380m	(12.20%)	6,240m	(9.31%)	10,140m	(9.31%)
Pymnts to Indiv	41,941m	(10.25%)	39,199m	(10.04%)	2,741m	(14.71%)
Procurement	29,457m	(15.61%)	6,052m	(13.02%)	29,457m	(15.61%)
Research/Other	2,913m	(7.80%)	2,855m	(7.70%)	58m	(7.70%)

Political Lineup: Governor, George Deukmejian (R); Lt. Gov., Leo T. McCarthy (D); Secy. of State, March Fong Eu (D); Atty. Gen., John Van de Kamp (D); Treasurer, Thomas Hayes (R); Controller, Gray Davis (D). State Senate, 40 (24 D and 15 R and 1 I); State Assembly, 80 (47 D and 33 R). Senators, Alan Cranston (D) and Pete Wilson (R). Representatives, 45 (27 D and 18 R).

1988 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	5,054,917	(51%)
Dukakis (D)	4,702,233	(48%)

1988 Democratic Presidential Primary

Dukakis	1,910,808	(61%)
Jackson	1,102,093	(35%)
Gore	56,645	(2%)
Simon	43,771	(1%)

1984 Presidential Vote

Reagan (R)	5,467,009	(58%)
Mondale (D)	3,922,519	(41%)

1988 Republican Presidential Primary

Bush	1,856,273	(83%)
Dole	289,220	(14%)
Robertson	94,779	(4%)

Key Votes

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

Election Results

1986 general	Alan Cranston (D)	3,646,672	(50%)	($11,037,707)
	Ed Zschau (R)	3,541,804	(47%)	($11,781,316)
1986 primary	Alan Cranston (D)	1,807,244	(81%)	
	Charles Greene (D)	165,594	(7%)	
	John Hancock Abbott (D)	124,218	(6%)	
	Two others (D)	142,193	(6%)	
1980 general	Alan Cranston (D)	4,705,399	(57%)	($2,823,462)
	Paul Gann (R)	3,093,426	(37%)	($1,705,523)

Sen. Pete Wilson (R)



Elected 1982, seat up 1994; b. Aug. 23, 1933, Lake Forest, IL; home, San Diego; Yale U., B.A. 1955, U. of CA at Berkeley, J.D. 1962; Protestant; married (Gayle).

Career: USMC, 1955–58; Practicing atty., 1963–66; CA Assembly, 1966–71, Minor. Whip, 1967–69; Mayor of San Diego, 1971–83.

Offices: 720 HSOB 20510, 202-224-3841. Also 2040 Ferry Bldg., San Francisco 94102, 415-556-4307; 11111 Santa Monica Blvd., #915, Los Angeles 90025, 213-209-6765; Fed. Bldg., 1130 O St., Rm. 4015, Fresno 93721, 209-487-5727; and 401 B St., Ste. 2209, San Diego 92660, 619-557-5257.

Committees: *Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry* (8th of 9 R). Subcommittees: Agricultural Production and Stabilization of Prices; Agricultural Research and General Legislation (Ranking Member); Domestic and Foreign Marketing and Production Promotion. *Armed Services* (3rd of 9 R). Subcommittees: Conventional Forces and Alliance Defense (Ranking Member); Manpower and Personnel; Strategic Forces and Nuclear Defense. *Governmental Affairs* (6th of 6 R). Subcommittees: Investigations; Federal Services, Post Office and Civil Service; Oversight of Government Management. *Special Committee on Aging* (5th of 9 R). *Joint Economic Committee.* Subcommittees: Economic Goals and Intergovernmental Policy; Education and Health; National Security and Economics.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	15	46	15	42	70	75	67	100	77	53
1987	30	—	13	42	—	75	—	—	87	62

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	30% — 69%	29% — 70%
Social	54% — 45%	50% — 49%
Foreign	13% — 84%	0% — 76%

Key Votes

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

Election Results

1988 general	Pete Wilson (R)	5,143,409	(53%)	($12,969,294)
	Leo T. McCarthy (D)	4,287,253	(44%)	($6,986,342)
1988 primary	Pete Wilson (R), unopposed			
1982 general	Pete Wilson (R)	4,022,565	(52%)	($7,082,651)
	Edmund G. Brown, Jr. (D)	3,494,968	(45%)	($5,367,931)

FIRST DISTRICT

The Redwood Empire, the North Coast—50 years ago this seemed an antique, left-behind part of California. "Eureka spreads in checkerboard fashion over an area large enough to accommodate a population several times its present size," wrote the *WPA Guide*. "Its solitary houses are scattered over vast stretches of vacant, weed-grown lots. Along the waterfront are the saloons, cheap hotels and poolrooms of the late 19th century—relics of the days when the tough, flamboyant life of the lonely frontier settlement centered here."

Farther south, back off the foggy coastal valleys in the protected inland flatlands, was agronomist Luther Burbank's laboratory in Santa Rosa, a town that looks middle American enough to have been the setting for dozens of movies. Sealed off from the rest of the country, and in most places from the Pacific itself, by the various ridges of the Coast Range, the north coast of California is a world unto itself. This is wet country, with some of the highest rainfall in the United States—higher as you get toward Oregon—a moist, rainy land of massive trees and rounded mountains, of small towns wi.h filigreed Victorian houses and lumber mills. The Redwood Empire some call it, after the giant trees which grow up and down the coast, is nourished most of the year by drizzle and fog. The first white settlers here were Russians who left little behind them but interesting place names (the Russian River, Fort Ross). They were followed, in the years after the California Gold Rush, by lumbermen and fishermen. By the late 19th century, great fortunes had been made in lumber from the redwoods and Douglas firs, as Eureka's still standing Victorian mansions attest. This Redwood Empire, beginning in the south around Santa Rosa (and, over a hill, in Napa) and continuing all the way up to the Oregon border, forms California's 1st Congressional District.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the North Coast has changed as people have moved here from the San Francisco Bay area. The movement has been heavy in Sonoma County, which is within easy reach of the Golden Gate Bridge on U.S. 101; it has been lighter but more distinctively countercultural in Mendocino County, where the leading cash crop was said to be marijuana. These new North Coasters have brought many of the values and attitudes from the Bay area's liberal and even radical precincts to counties discontented with the sagging fortunes of the lumber industry in a time of national prosperity. The result is that politically, as the country and the interior of California have become more Republican in the 1980s, the Redwood Empire has become more Democratic. In the 1988 presidential election, as in the close 1986 Senate contest, the Redwood Empire counties were solidly Democratic.

Coming along at just the right time for this trend is Congressman Doug Bosco. Throughout his career he has had a gift for being at the right place at the right time. In the 1960s he left New York (which has been losing congressional districts) for school on the West Coast (which has been gaining); in the 197(ran for Congress and lost, just as the 1st District Representative Don Clau: his support for the lumbe part of the district, and w enthuse the countercultur

And he has had the goc rather united environmen the California wilderness now is offshore drilling of helped to move the North a postponement of drilling from stopping oil drilling everyday needs of North Merchant Marine Commi Russian River restoration, on Highway 101 and acqu Santa Rosa marshes. In 1(support for the nuclear fre brilliant: in the last three Empire congressman in 2(

The People: Est. Pop. 198(Households (1980): 69% fan median monthly rent: $233; origin, 2% American Indian.

1988 Presidential Vote: D B

Rep. Douglas H. Bosco (D



Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	(
1988	80	74	
1987	68	—	

TAKING CHARGE OF
CALIFORNIA'S FUTURE

PETE WILSON

A RECORD OF
PERFORMANCE, COURAGE AND VISION

Pete Wilson

Taking Charge of California's Future

PAID FOR AND AUTHORIZED BY PETE WILSON FOR GOVERNOR 1990
I.D. No. 89-0351

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

i. Pete Wilson Biography.....1

I. Quality of Life.....4

A. Protecting the Environment.....5
1. California Wilderness Bill.....7
2. Parks and Rivers.....8
3. Coastline Protection.....9
4. Fish and Wildlife.....10

B. Cleaning the Environment.....11
1. Toxics.....12
2. Air Quality.....13
3. Water Quality.....14

C. Improving Our Infrastructure.....16
1. Housing and Community Development.....18
2. Transportation.....19
3. Water and Sewer.....20
4. Harbors.....21
5. Disasters.....22

D. Promoting Economic Diversity.....23
1. Trade.....25
2. Agriculture.....26
3. Defense.....27
4. Entertainment.....28

E. Celebrating Diversity.....29
1. Economic Development.....31
2. Economic Opportunity.....32

II. Crime and Drugs.....33

A. Fighting Drugs.....34
1. Interdiction.....36
2. Prevention.....37
3. Treatment.....38

B. Cops and Courts.....39
1. Local Law Enforcement.....41
2. Cop Killers.....42
3. The Wilson Judges.....43
4. Crime Victims.....44

III. California's Future: Our Children.....45

A. Education.....46
1. Integrated Services.....48
2. Federal Aid.....49

B. Caring for Our Children.....50
1. Health Care.....52
2. Day Care.....53

IV. The Business of Government.....54

A. Government Efficiency.....55
1. Deficit Reduction.....57
2. Military Inventory Management.....58
3. Midgetman.....59
4. Fair Labor Standards Act.....60
5. Mandates.....61
6. Earthquake Engineering.....62

B. Government Integrity.....63
1. Congressional Pay.....65
2. Newsletters.....66

V. Human Resources.....67

A. Health Care.....68
1. Long-Term Health Care.....70
2. AIDS.....71

B. The Elderly.....72
1. Income.....74
2. Preventive Health Care.....75

C. Women's Rights.....76
1. Equal Rights.....78
2. Reproductive Rights.....79

Appendix I

U.S. Senator Pete Wilson Offices.....80

Pete Wilson for Governor Offices.....81

Pete Wilson
Biography

In 1982, Pete Wilson won the U.S. Senate seat earlier held by such giants of California history as John Fremont, Hiram Johnson and William F. Knowland.

In 1988, Wilson did something no occupant of that seat had done in 36 years. Making history himself, Wilson became the first Senator to re-capture the "jinxed" seat since Knowland won re-election in 1952.

An Opportunity to Serve

Pete Wilson was born August 23, 1933, in suburban Chicago. He attended Yale University on an ROTC scholarship, and was graduated with a bachelor's degree in 1955. From 1955 to 1958, Wilson served as a Marine Corps infantry officer, then went on to earn a law degree from the University of California, Berkeley, Boalt Hall, in 1962.

Given an opportunity to serve, Pete Wilson has never hesitated. His public service career began in 1966, when he was elected to represent San Diego in the California Assembly, taking a seat in Sacramento alongside newly-elected Governor Ronald Reagan and State Senator George Deukmejian. Wilson immediately won the recognition of his Republican colleagues, who chose the freshman to hold the second-ranking legislative leadership post of Minority Whip.

Opportunity knocked unexpectedly in 1970. Pete's election as Mayor of San Diego that year presented him with a unique chance to steer the city through unparalleled growth and change along a course combining fiscal restraint and no-nonsense crime fighting with thoughtful land management and significant political reforms.

From San Diego to the Senate

In 1982, after 11 years as Mayor, Wilson went on to win his first term in the U.S. Senate, sweeping all but five of the state's 58 counties in a hard-fought victory over Governor Jerry Brown. Californians returned him to that office in 1988, giving him a 900,000 vote margin of victory, the largest recorded in the nation that fall.

Along his way from Sacramento to San Diego to the Senate, Californians have come to know Pete as a man who addresses problems with intellect, not rhetoric; a man who seeks solutions through innovation, not imitation; a man of principle who wants government to be practical.

A Compassionate Conservative

As columnist George Will wrote in 1982, Wilson is "a valuable rarity: a conservative who understands the discriminating, but vigorous use of government power for conservative purposes." Wilson labels himself a "compassionate conservative."

In this time of record budget and trade deficits, Pete has been a leading voice for fiscal restraint at home and more agressive action in the global marketplace. His record is clearly one of fiscal conservatism, paving the way to a leaner, more efficient government, rather than taking the path of least resistance, inevitably leading to new taxes. When it comes to trade, he espouses "Wilson's Golden Rule" -- "I'll let you into my market if you let me into yours."

Fiscal reform has to begin at home, Wilson believes, including in the houses of Congress. He wants to curb mailing privileges for Congressional newsletters, which cost taxpayers millions annually, and he objected to Congressional pay raises, donating his additional income to charity, for purposes ranging from AIDS to Alzheimer's.

Among his proudest accomplishments in the Senate, Wilson counts his contributions to the war on drugs, including provisions he authored to increase the military role in drug interdiction, restrict illegal trade of chemicals used to make "meth" and PCP, and make murder of a police officer in a drug-related crime punishable by death.

Even though he's hard-line on crime, Wilson also is committed to building a drug-free society through better prevention and treatment, including early drug education. He is the sponsor of legislation to expand the availability of drug and alcohol treatment for pregnant and postartum women.

ENVIRONMENT

An Advocate for California

Since introducing the first California coastal protection bill in the Assembly in 1967 to forging the historic California wilderness compromise in the Senate in 1986, Wilson has forged a trail of environmental accomplishment. In his Senate service, he's won funds for new parklands and toxic waste clean-up, earned wilderness designations for California rivers, and improved pesticide inspection of imported foods.

Pete's committee assignments on the Armed Services, Agriculture and Government Affairs committees afford him an unparalleled opportunity to advocate California's interests. He also serves on the Special Committee on Aging and the Joint Economic Committee.

An advocate of peace through strength, Wilson is considered a leading Senate expert on arms control and strategic force modernization. He supports the MX missile, but opposes the unaffordable Midgetman missile; for while Wilson advocates defense spending equal to the task of keeping America secure, he also demands the money be well spent. His efforts improved management of the military's $160 billion inventory.

MILITARY (kind of wishy washy)

Agriculture is California's biggest single industry. Wilson has taken a leading role in writing legislation to promote the export of crops, while helping farmers compete against a flood of foreign imports at home. The Targeted Export Assistance (TEA) program is among the many achievements that earned Wilson the California Farm Bureau's "Man of the Year" award in 1986.

Wilson's assignment in 1989 to the Government Affairs Commitee caps his reputation as a strong advocate for state and local governments, already recognized by groups like the League of California Cities, who named him "Legislator of the Year" in 1985.

ENVIRONMENT

I. Quality of Life

It is the California dream and Pete Wilson's challenge: "To make a living in a state worth living in."

In the Golden State, unparalleled scenic beauty and abundant natural resources create employment in tourism and agriculture. Here, preserving the environment and providing jobs go hand-in-hand.

Pete Wilson has built a reputation as the "pro-business legislator with the conservationist bent," from his early days in the State Assembly, when he wrote the first coastal protection plan, to his years as Mayor of San Diego, where he pioneered "managed growth" planning.

In the U.S. Senate, Wilson legislated the "California Wilderness Act," an offshore drilling ban, and the "Safe Foods Import Act," to name a few of his environmental credits.

The daily beauty of our lives is the sum not only of nature's works but also of man's; safe roads, affordable housing and clean water are essential to a liveable world.

As Mayor, Pete Wilson made San Diego "America's Finest City." As Senator, he's fought to keep California America's finest State, whether it's budging the bureaucracy to build housing for the elderly or bucking the tide to override the veto of the 1987 "Highway and Mass Transit Bill."

Finally, when it comes to the quality of each of our lives, the bottom line is economic opportunity. Pete Wilson always emphasizes: "The best social program is a job."

The American economic resurgence led by President Reagan found a willing partner in Pete Wilson. In California, farm exports are up, thanks to Wilson's "Targeted Export Act," and foreign copyright violations are down, due to his "Anti-Piracy and Market Access Act," just to name a few of his California economic initiatives.

To live securely and comfortably, in harmony with nature and each other, is the dream that brings us to California.

It has been and is Pete Wilson's challenge to help fulfill that dream for millions of Californians.

A. Protecting the Environment

Since Pete Wilson came to the U.S. Senate, more California land has been set aside as wilderness than in any single term of any previous Senator. When Wilson took office, the debate over how many and which acres to declare federal wilderness areas had been raging for 20 years.

Within two years after taking office, Wilson ironed out a compromise bill with Sen. Alan Cranston that included not only 1.8 million acres of wilderness but also -- at Wilson's insistence -- protection for the Tuolumne River and National Scenic Area status for Mono Lake.

Wilson's arrival in Washington, D.C. also turned the tide against Administration plans to open California's coastal waters for oil exploration and production. With a vigorous new Senator opposed to reckless, random offshore drilling, the California delegation mustered a successful bipartisan effort to keep a moratorium on new lease sales throughout the 1980s.

Wilson's support for parks and rivers has helped save scenic California treasures like Portola's Sweeney Ridge and Tahoe's Hope Valley and to restore unique ecosystems like the Trinity River Basin, as well as the vital fish and wildlife habitat they provide.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT PETE WILSON....

Continuing the Teddy Roosevelt Tradition

> "*Environmentalism...first became a political issue when it was championed by such turn-of-the century Republican Progressives as Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot....and environmentalists have continued to find some Republicans willing to support them. Wilson has long been one....*" -- **Martin Smith, Political Columnist, SACRAMENTO BEE** 7/25/89

Setting an Example for Republicans

"If you want an example of someone who can work for a better environment without abandoning conservative principles, look no further than Senator Pete Wilson....Pete is not embarrassed, as we should not be, to side with those who have no voice in politics -- the Blue Whale, the Pacific Seal and the Bald Eagle. We...must not be afraid to proudly follow the leadership of the Pete Wilsons of our party." **-- Frank Fahrenkopf, Chairman, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE** 1/1/88

Passing the Wilderness Bill

"Passage of the California wilderness legislation in the U.S. Senate is cause for jubilation on the part of all Californians....the California bill represents an effective compromise worked out by Alan Cranston and Pete Wilson." -- **LOS ANGELES TIMES** 8/13/84

Protecting Coastal Waters

"We at the Sierra Club greatly appreciate the effort the Senator and his staff have given in the fight to protect our fragile coastal waters. Once again, many thanks." **-- Robert Hattoy, SIERRA CLUB** 2/1/86

Keeping Wild Rivers Running Free

"With Sen. Pete Wilson's endorsement this week, a bill granting wild and scenic river status for the Kern River is almost assured passage in the U.S. Senate this year...." **-- RIDGECREST DAILY INDEPENDENT** 1/23/87

Adding to the Parklands Inventory

"Wilson has earned the accolades of conservationists by stepping into the controversy over adding Sweeney Ridge to the Golden Gate NRA....Our thanks...for his efforts on behalf of the generations who will enjoy Sweeney Ridge." -- **OAKLAND YODELER** 1984

1. CALIFORNIA WILDERNESS BILL

The decades-long effort to preserve California's wilderness for the enjoyment and inspiration of generations yet to come culminated in the "California Wilderness Bill" of 1984.

The bill, written by Senator Pete Wilson and Senator Alan Cranston, set aside 1.8 million acres of unique and irreplaceable wilderness areas, at the same time it freed up for development other areas that had been under a court moratorium.

At Wilson's insistence, the bill designated an 83-mile stretch of the Tuolumne River as a Wild and Scenic River. Not since 1978 had a California river been added to the wild and scenic rivers inventory.

The landmark wilderness bill, which was signed into law in 1984, also designated the Mono Lake National Scenic Area.

> *"Reconciling the need for jobs and economic growth with concern for the environment is one of the great challenges of our time....The compromise on the terms of the California wilderness bill is a fine example of constructive statesmanship on the part of Senator Pete Wilson and Senator Alan Cranston."* -- **Ontario Daily Report** 7/5/84
>
> *"In the gutsiest call of his tenure so far, he bucked business interests in California to back a landmark wilderness bill...."* -- **Golden State Report** 12/86
>
> *"The Tuolumne will now be rescued....For that, Senator Wilson deserves profound appreciation. His decision was difficult but wise, and...new generations...will remember the freshman Senator who tipped the balance in favor of a national treasure."* -- **Santa Rosa News Herald** 2/14/84
>
> *"Wilson's bill is a reasonable compromise. Environmental protection should be a bipartisan cause. As a Republican, Wilson is helping make it so."* -- **San Diego Tribune** 2/84

2. COASTLINE PROTECTION

Pete Wilson has been a consistent, effective proponent of coastal protection throughout his career in public office, as independent observers have noted:

> "*...as a state assemblyman, [Wilson] strongly backed the original legislation that later became the 1972 Coastal Initiative....as mayor of San Diego...he fought...an oil drilling plan almost as ambitious as Hodel's. And he's consistently sided with the...fight to stop Hodel's proposed lease sale.*" -- **Syndicated Columnist Tom Elias** 12/87

> "*James Watt's determined effort to start off-shore drilling next year appears to have been scuttled because of a bipartisan effor...led by Senator Pete Wilson....*" -- **California Eye** 10/3/83

> "*Wilson has lent a consistent, credible voice to the bipartisan collection of Californians in Congress that has blocked the administration from expanding oil drilling off the state's coast.*" -- **California Journal**

With Wilson's arrival in the Senate in 1983, the tide was turned against Administration plans to open California's coastal waters to widespread random offshore drilling.

With Wilson's vigorous support, the California delegation has maintained a moratorium on lease sales ever since.

Among his long list of achievements are:

** Wilson's 1987 amendment halted action to decertify the California Coastal Commission;

** Wilson persuaded George Bush in 1988 to indefinitely delay any action on offshore oil leasing along California's northern coast;

** Wilson amended a bill in 1989 to cap liability for oil spills at $100 million, maintaining unlimited liability on cleanup costs of oil disasters.

3. PARKS AND RIVERS

Early in his Senate term, Wilson convinced the Interior Department to acquire the Sweeney Ridge, a 1063 acre historical site near Pacifica, for the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA).

In the years since, Wilson has won funding for buying more parkland in the Santa Monica Mountains, the Giant Sequoia Redwoods in the Sequoia-Kings Canyon National Park, the Martinelli ranch in the GGNRA and Tahoe's Hope Valley, to name just a few key acquisitions made with Wilson's support.

Wilson's successful bid to win protection for the Tuolumne River in the 1984 Wilderness Act won him the 1984 Golden Trout Award from Caltrout, Inc. Wilson went on to sponsor bills to declare California's Kings, Kern and Merced Rivers as Wild and Scenic.

> *"Although the Secretary [of Interior James Watt] rigidly opposes new parkland purchases this year, Wilson succeeded in adding...$15 million for land acquisitions in the Santa Monica Mountains."*
> -- **The Los Angeles Times** 10/83

> *"Observers credit Senator Pete Wilson with decisive leadership in finally bringing the Interior Department into good faith negotiations [on purchase of Sweeney Ridge.]"*
> -- **Not Man Apart**, Friends of the Earth 4/84

> *"We also appreciate your active support [for] Upper Franklin Canyon Reservoir....Your active support...meant the difference in getting this bill passed..."* -- *Joseph T. Edmiston*, **Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy** 10/84

> *"Sen. Pete Wilson's backing of a congressional appropriation to buy West Marin Ranchland for the Golden Gate National Recreation Area is good news....Wilson is a powerful ally,"* -- **Marin Independent Journal** 8/21/86

> *"Thank you for your leadership and support in protecting the Merced and Kern Rivers....We are very grateful to you."* -- **American Rivers** 11/4/87

4. FISH AND WILDLIFE

Preserving wild rivers is only half the battle for fish and wildlife habitat. Many of California's riverways and wetlands are seriously degraded and require restoration.

In 1984, Wilson was among supporters of a bill that authorized $57 million to restore the Trinity River Basin.

> "*Thank you for the tireless effort put forth to see this legislative milestone come to pass....The economy of this county...is closely linked with the fishery this bill is designed to restore.*" -- **Trinity County Board of Supervisors** Chairman Donald A. Straw 10/8/84

In 1986, Wilson sponsored legislation with Congressman Doug Bosco to authorize $41 million for restoration of fish stocks in the Klamath River.

The Upper Sacramento River is the target of a similar legislative effort, the Wilson/Bosco Upper Sacramento River Fishery Resources Restoration Act, begun in 1989.

> "*Rep. Doug Bosco and Sen. Pete Wilson are sponsoring legislation to provide $185 million for long-term improvements in the sadly depleted fisheries of the Sacramento River....an important step...in the long and difficult task of restoring the river to environmental good health.*" -- **The Sacramento Bee** 11/9/89

Wilson has also worked for legislation to help protect endangered species like the California Condor and the California Sea Otter, to study the effect of commercial gill net fishing on endangered species, and to establish a preserve for the endangered fringe-toed lizard.

> "*...this project is an excellent example of cooperation between the public and private sectors...and [it will] make an important commitment to endangered species preservation.*" -- **The Nature Conservancy** 10/17/84

Wilson's efforts have also won funds for habitat acquisition, including wetlands near Modesto, waterfowl habitat in the Sacramento Wildlife Refuge, and others.

B. Cleaning Our Environment

What we eat, drink and breathe can poison us. Safe food and clean air and water have all been subjects of Pete Wilson's legislative efforts.

Wilson's "Safe Food Imports Act" and his "Global Ban on Dangerous Pesticides Act" are aimed at reducing the potential for toxic contamination of food. Wilson has also been instrumental in Agriculture Committee legislation updating U.S. pesticide law.

Clean air, according to the American Lung Association, would save the nation $40 to $50 billion in annual health care costs and spare as many as 120,000 lives.

As an amendment to the Clean Air Act, Wilson authored legislation to require offshore oil drilling operations to meet the same air quality standards as industrial plants onshore.

The greatest hope for cleaner air is alternative fuels, and to that end, Wilson was an original cosponsor of a bill to induce automakers to produce more "flexible fuel" cars.

Three major clean water bills bore Wilson's stamp. He spared California massive cuts in sewer grants in the "Clean Water Act." His vote to override vetoes of both that bill and the "Safe Drinking Water Act" were keys to their enactment. The Coordinated Operating Agreement, which Wilson cosponsored, will increase both water quality and availability.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT PETE WILSON....

Working for Food Safety

> "*Senator Pete Wilson, R-Calif., unveiled a bill yesterday to outlaw U.S. exports of hazardous pesticides that have been banned or taken off the market in this country.*" -- **SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE** 11/28/89

Ending Dangerous Pesticide Exports

"Sen. Pete Wilson has unveiled a promising two-pronged strategy. He would end U.S. chemical companies' current practice of exporting pesticides that have been banned here [and] organize a conference of major agricultural nations aimed at writing and...enforcing international pesticide rules....Wilson's initiative deserves serious attention from Congress." -- **CONTRA COSTA TIMES** 12/4/89

Monitoring Imported Produce

"Sen. Wilson is absolutely right that tougher pesticide monitoring is required for fruits and vegetables imported into the United States...." -- **GILROY DISPATCH** 12/5/86

Reducing Air Pollution

"Smog is smog, whether it's hovering over Los Angeles or out at sea....Legislation proposed by Senator Pete Wilson would...extend the federal Clean Air Act to include the Outer Continental Shelf [and] it would shift regulatory power over off-shore emissions to the Environmental Protection Agency ....KNX urges Congress to pass the Wilson legislation." -- **KNX RADIO EDITORIAL** 2/12/87

Encouring Alternative Fuel Use

"Aready abuzz with ideas about using alcohol fuels to fight the state's smog problem, California received word recently that 14 U.S. senators have launched an effort to encourage automakers to increase production of methanol-fueled cars....We commend Pete Wilson...for co-sponsoring the Senate bill...." -- **NAPA REGISTER** 8/11/87

Taking a Stand for Clean Water

"Thank you for your strong support for the Clean Water Act....Your leadership and courage in support of the veto override reaffirms our confidence." **--LEAGUE OF CALIFORNIA CITIES** 2/25/87

Get a grip!!

1. TOXICS

In our food and water, in the ground beneath our feet and the skies overhead, the toxic threat pervades our lives. Pete Wilson has been a leader in the effort to diminish the toxic threat.

Wilson's 1989 "Global Ban on Dangerous Pesticides" Act would bar exporting pesticides currently banned in the U.S.

> *"Senator Pete Wilson's bill to prohibit the export of dangerous pesticides...is long overdue. It is plainly immoral to sell...insecticides regarded as too hazardous for use in this country."* **-- San Diego Union** 12/3/89

In 1988, Wilson's leadership in the Agriculture Committee stopped a move to preempt California's authority over pesticide safety.

> *"Pete Wilson recently led a successful fight in the Agriculture Committee to prevent the feds from overriding the state's management of pesticides, which generally is more stringent than the E.P.A...."* **-- Sacramento Newsletter** 5/30/88

Wilson's "Safe Food Imports Act," which was adopted in 1988, stepped up FDA inspection of imported foods and required more consistent application of penalties.

> *"Sen. Pete Wilson's [bill to] beef up inspection of the 20 million tons of produce that come into the country every year...is getting rave reviews."* **-- Visalia Times Delta** 12/18/86

During the consideration of the Superfund bill in 1985:

** Wilson's amendments to improve military toxic waste cleanup were adopted by the Senate;

** Wilson backed the "Bhopal Amendment" to require listing and public notice of hazardous substances.

Also in 1985, Wilson's protests reversed the Food and Drug Administration's plan to shut down its San Francisco laboratory, the same lab that detected contamination in Austrian wine, French brie, and watermelon.

2. AIR QUALITY

"Smog" is as much a California hallmark as Hollywood or the Golden Gate -- but smoggy skies aren't scenic, they're sickening. Smog's high levels of ozone and carbon monoxide are dangerous to human health, not to mention downright ugly.

wilson on alternative fuels

Alternative fuels are one of the greatest hopes for reducing air pollution, and Wilson has been extremely active in their promotion.

Wilson was among the original sponsors of the "Methanol and Alternative Fuels Promotion Act" of 1987, authored by Sen. Jay Rockefeller (D-WV) to give automakers incentives to produce "flexible fuel" cars -- autos that will burn either alternative fuels or gasoline.

The Rockefeller/Wilson methanol bill swept through Congress and was signed by the President in spring of 1988.

The "Offshore Oil Pollution Reduction Act" Wilson introduced in 1987 to transfer the authority for policing emissions from offshore oil operations from the Interior Department to the Environmental Protection Agency was included in the Clean Air Act.

> "*...Wilson's legislation may mean a difference in the vital struggle to protect U.S. coastal waters and inland areas from pollution.*" -- **San Diego Tribune** 12/1/86

> "*If the move in Congress...succeeds, air quality in Southern California could actually decline...California's sizeable congressional delegation should join ranks to amend this gaping flaw in the clean air package. Sen. Pete Wilson already has pledged to lead the campaign in the Senate.*" -- **Paso Robles Press** 10/23/89

> "*...if Sen. Pete Wilson is successful....Authority to control air quality would rest solely with the Environmental Protection Agency....Wilson announced his solution at a special federal hearing in Santa Barbara Monday ....Wilson's idea was the only concrete solution presented at the hearing.*" -- **Santa Maria Times** 11/25/86

3. WATER QUALITY

California's legendary "water wars" have faded into the past as conservation of the state's precious supply of water has become the foremost priority.

Pete Wilson cosponsored the "Clean Water Act" of 1987 and voted to override the President's veto of the measure. Wilson pushed for inclusion of a $12 million San Francisco Bay cleanup program and a study of Santa Monica Bay pollution.

Wilson defeated an attempt to revise the sewer grant allocation formula that would have cut California's share of the $2.4 billion fund by 15 percent.

> "*Please accept our appreciation for your substantial efforts on the...Clean Water legislation. I recognize how difficult it was for you to oppose the administration...and we are most grateful.*" -- **San Mateo Mayor Florence Rhoads** 2/17/87

Other provisions of the Clean Water Act benefitted the San Diego Wastewater Reclamation Agency, the Los Angeles County Sanitation Districts, the East Bay Municipal Utility District, and Lake Merritt.

Improving water supply and water quality through intergovernmental cooperation was the key to ratification in 1986 of the "Coordinated Operating Agreement."

With Wilson's sponsorship, this federal/state pact increased the amount of water available to the south at the same time it insured the quality of water in the north.

> "*Sen. Pete Wilson, who understands California water conflicts...deserves credit for shepherding this landmark legislation through Congress.*" -- **San Diego Tribune** 10/13/86

Wilson has also been very active in the effort to control the salinity of the Colorado River. His efforts helped pass the Colorado River Salinity Control Act of 1984 to help improve water quality for Southern California users. In the years since, Wilson has successfully won continued funding for the program.

C. Improving Our Infrastructure

"We need not suffer change. We need to shape it."

Pete Wilson

A 17-year record in state and local government -- six years in the California Assembly and eleven years as Mayor of San Diego -- earned Pete Wilson a reputation as one of America's foremost leaders in implementing innovative infrastructure solutions to the problems of managing explosive growth.

California's natural beauty and bounteous natural resources continue to attract literally millions of new residents. Ironically, the same qualities that attract people to California could be destroyed if rapid growth overwhelms the capacity of services including transportation, sewer and water, and housing.

In the Senate, Wilson has championed state and local governments. He was named "Legislator of the Year" in 1985 by the California League of Cities, the only federal official ever to win the award.

Examples abound in the pages to follow of Wilon's succesful efforts to obtain federal assistance for California, from housing to disaster assistance to mass transit -- temporary housing for residents of a fire-damaged senior citizens apartment complex in Redwood City, federal damage assistance to help rebuild the Bay Area's earthquake-racked cities, a new air traffic control tower for the San Fernando Valley.

State and local government -- and state and local taxpayers -- couldn't find a better friend than Pete Wilson.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT PETE WILSON....

"Dramatic Leadership" for Cities

"...[The League] commends you on your dramatic leadership [for cities] in Washington. It gives me great pleasure to inform you that the League Board of Directors voted to name you `Legislator of the Year.'" -- **CALIFORNIA LEAGUE OF CITIES** 8/18/85

Improving Low-Income Housing

"You are to be commended for the...attention you have shown in improving the housing conditions for the City's low income tenants." -- **Mayor Peg Gunn, Menlo Park** 6/5/84

Encouragement for Housing Bill

"As a resident of California as well as the President-Elect of NAHB, I thank you for your efforts to encourage enactment of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1987." -- **Dale Stuard, National Association of Homebuilders** 1987

Helping Build Senior Citizen Housing

"Thank you very much for your help...gaining loan approval for funds to construct new senior housing...for the 400+ seniors on the waiting list." -- **Ramona Senior Center** 8/1/85

Funding for Highways and Transit

"I would like to thank you for your efforts on H.R. 2, reauthorizing the federal transportation programs. In particular, your vote...has ensured continued federal funding for highway and transit programs throughout California." -- **Mayor Tom Bradley, CITY OF LOS ANGELES** 4/14/87

Keeping Transportation Rolling

"...thanks for your leadership role....your actions...mean important transit and interstate transfer projects here...will not be unnecessarily delayed." -- **Mayor Dianne Feinstein, CITY OF SAN FRANCISCO** 5/22/87

Recovering from Earthquake Disasters

"...we would like to express our sincere gratitude for the support you gave to the community after the earthquake of October 17....we could not have begun to recover as quickly as we were able to without your help and assistance." -- **Mayor Thomas J. Ferrito, TOWN OF LOS GATOS** 12/11/89

1. HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Pete Wilson's policies to promote affordable housing and liveable communities earned Wilson the 1985 "Legislator of the Year" by the **California League of Cities**, the only federal official ever chosen.

At the federal level, Wilson has given strong support to housing and community development legislation and helped localities win federal assistance for their efforts.

> "*Anni Chung, executive director of Self-Help for the Elderly, credited Wilson with making the Pineview senior housing project possible.*" -- **Asian Week** 8/21/87

> "*Thank you for the support you gave our project...a downtown community center has been a dream for many years. Thank you very much for helping Modesto realize its dream.*" -- **Mayor Peggy Mensinger**, 8/16/85

> "*Thank you for your repeated efforts on behalf of the City's program to improve living conditions in the Buena-Clinton neighborhood.*" -- **Mayor Jonathan H. Cannon, Garden Grove** 12/18/85

It is, however, at the state and local level where decisions are made that determine to a large extent where Californians will live and how well, and Wilson's experience as San Diego Mayor won very high marks in that category.

Wilson's passion for "managed growth" was ignited as Mayor of San Diego, where his innovative leadership won him national recognition.

> "*Pete Wilson, San Diego's young and aggressive mayor...has attracted national attention with his efforts to manage growth and check sprawl.*" -- **Planning Magazine** 1977

> "*...the City agreed to create the San Diego Housing Commission....[to] as then-mayor Pete Wilson put it, `hustle for housing'....A decade later, the Housing Commission can point to tangible accomplishments.*" -- **San Diego Tribune** 12/13/89

2. TRANSPORTATION

Delays and detours not only dispirit Californians, but also diminish productivity. If left unmanaged, growth breeds gridlock.

In early 1987, with California on the verge of running out of federal highway funds, Senator Wilson cast the crucial vote to override the President's veto of the Highway and Mass Transit Act.

> "*...the Senator is willing to stand up for his state when needed.*" -- **The Political Report** 5/1/87

The bill released billions in federal gas taxes from the Highway Trust Fund, including over $1 billion for California highways and millions more for mass transit projects like the San Diego Trolley and BART.

The bill also raised the speed limit in rural areas to 65 mph, a policy Wilson strongly supported.

Wilson's also won federal support for airport projects, like an air traffic control tower at Whiteman Air Park and upgraded radar equipment at Buchanan Field.

> "*I would like to...express my gratitude to you for your time and effort in holding the Air Safety Control hearings...the information gleaned...will be extremely beneficial...to help insure the safety of our airways.*" -- **Supervisor Deane Dana, County of Los Angeles** 12/9/86

> "*Thank you for the assistance....to obtain a grant for 15 buses. I would also like to thank you for the personal effort that you have taken in communicating your support of our project to UMTA Administrator Ralph Stanley.*" -- **Santa Cruz Metropolitan Transportation District** 12/12/85

> "*With your support the Appropriations Committee included report language highlighting the need for...funding for the BART Daly City turnback zone project and for new rail cars.*" -- **General Manager Keith Barnard, Bay Area Rapid Transit** 10/85

3. WATER AND SEWER

The high costs of water and sewer systems are among the greatest fiscal concerns with which the states and localities must grapple. Federal funds for such projects are diminishing, yet Pete Wilson continues to fight for California's fair share of these funds.

Senator Wilson was an original cosponsor of the "Water Resources Act" of 1986, the first bill in more than ten years to authorize new federally-assisted water projects. The bill authorized numerous water projects crucical to California.

The largest of all the projects authorized by the bill was the Santa Ana River Main Stem Project, a $1.09 billion Corps of Engineers project to provide flood control for millions of Orange and Riverside County residents.

> "*Thank you so much for the part you played in passage of H.R. 6. This is really good news for Orange County.*" -- **Tustin Mayor Donald J. Saltarelli** 12/17/86

> "*Sen. Pete Wilson, R-Calif., also went to bat for the project before a Senate Appropriations subcomittee. Wilson asked for $20 million....*" -- **The Daily Report** 4/6/89

Sewage overflows from Mexico have threatened the water supply of border communities including San Diego and Calexico for many years. Pete Wilson has been a partner in reaching a binational solution to the problem:

> "*Thank you very much for your attention to the Tijuana sewage problem....The agreement signed recently with the Republic of Mexico is...due to your personal involvement and commitment.*" -- **San Diego County Supervisor Brian Bilbray** 10/24/89

> "*Together with Sen. Pete Wilson, Rep. Hunter takes much of the credit for the $1.2 million joint U.S.-Mexican project...[to] expand the...Mexicali sewage system.*" -- **Imperial Valley Press** 1/31/89

Wilson's efforts have also helped win federal funds for projects ranging from drainage studies in Los Angeles to reclamation operations in the Central Valley.

4. HARBORS

California ports are critical to the state's economy, with 18 percent of the nation's ship traffic recorded at the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach alone. In addition to being centers of commerce, California's harbors are havens for recreation, including boating and fishing.

Among the harbor projects Wilson's championed include:

** Project 2000, to expand the Ports of L.A. and Long Beach, was among six California port and harbor improvements Wilson worked to include in the 1987 water bill. Wilson had helped the project win an interim appropriation in 1986.

"*Your effort...in obtaining a commitment from the Corps of Engineers on continued funding...is greatly appreciated,*" **Executive Director Ezunial Burts, Worldport L.A.** 10/29/86

** Wilson was working to improve the breakwater at King Harbor when storms in 1986 and 1987 caused serious damage along the shore. Later, storm-damaged electrical wiring ignited a fire that destroyed the pier. Wilson helped win federal aid to rebild.

"*The words `Thank you' seem inadequate to express the City's gratitude for your help....your efforts made a significant difference....the Community will long remember your help.*" -- **City of Redondo Beach**

** Wilson's amendment in 1983 authorized a $19 million breakwater to protect San Francisco's Fisherman's Wharf, for which Mayor Dianne Feinstein presented to him an Award of Merit.

** Wilson helped win authorization for the sale of Navy land to Port Hueneme to allow for its expansion.

"*The Navy agreed -- after threats by Sen. Wilson to cut off funding for a wharf in Iceland if a deal wasn't reached.*" -- **Ventura Star Free Press** 12/11/84

5. DISASTERS

Whether obtaining emergency assistance to rebuild Whittier's earthquake-ravaged business district or providing temporary housing for Redwood City residents of a fire-damaged senior citizens apartment complex, Senator Wilson has quickly responded to help communities recover from natural disasters.

> *"According to Whittier City Manager Thomas G. Mauk, the grant [for earthquake relief] was approved largely because of...Sen. Pete Wilson. Mauk praised the senator...and recounted how Wilson `didn't wait for us to call. He came here to see the damage then asked how he could help.'"* -- **SAN GABRIEL VALLEY TRIBUNE** 4/24/88

When the Loma Prieta earthquake hit in 1989, Wilson's on-the-spot assistance in coordinating federal aid proved invaluable, as a bipartisan partner in appropriating $3.5 billion in disaster aid and a leader in winning the full support of the Bush Administration for the recovery effort.

> *"Wilson was an architect of the $3.45 billion U.S. emergency relief package President Bush signed Thursday."* -- **Santa Rosa Press Democrat** 10/29/89

> *"The Traffic Authority wishes to commend you ...on behalf of the Bay Area region in securing Federal disaster relief aid...The amount of Federal aid forthcoming would not have been possible without the concerted effort of you and your colleagues."* -- **Chairperson Brian O'Toole, Santa Clara County Traffic Authority** 11/20/89

In addition to earthquakes, Wilson has helped expedite federal disaster declarations as well as overseen the federal disaster response to devastation from fires, floods, and winter storms.

In particular, Wilson has been instrumental in gaining federal cooperation for California firefighting efforts. Wilson's legislation to make available twelve Air Force helicopters was critical to firefighting efforts during the summer of 1985, and in 1987, Wilson arranged with the Air Force to transfer airdrop fire fighting equipment to the California National Guard.

D. Promoting Prosperity

Trade supports one out of ten jobs in California. One-fifth of the state's agricultural harvest is exported, and California manufactured goods like machinery and aircraft are heavily marketed abroad.

In the future, not only the traditionally-exported goods, but also products of cutting-edge fields like robotics and biotechnology and services like insurance and engineering will yield dramatic growth in exports, providing jobs.

While Pete Wilson's dogged work to open foreign doors to California goods and services may always make today's headlines, it is making a big difference in the state's ability to compete abroad, now and in the decade ahead.

Californians are proud of our historically prominent role in the nation's defense. Pacific-theatre fighting during World War II, Korea and Vietnam built up the military presence in California that continues to this day.

Today, California is home to over 100,000 civilian Defense Department employees, and thousands more civilian employees serve the needs of the more than 200,000 active duty military personnel, their families, and a growing number of military retirees.

Furthermore, California's preeminence in the aerospace and electronics industries make it the number one recipient of defense contracts, U.S. and foreign.

The entertainment industry is not only an important employer but also a unique asset to California's economy and culture. Senator Wilson has earned tremendous support in the entertainment community for his efforts in their behalf.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT PETE WILSON...

"Adept at Covering the State"

> *"The Senator and his sharp staff have been adept at covering the state....He has been extremely visible on trade and defense matters, both of major concern to California."* -- **GOLDEN STATE REPORT** 1985

Getting Tough on Trade

"Wilson has generally opposed protectionist trade policies, but at the same time has criticized the Reagan administration for not working aggressively enough to get Japan and other countries to eliminate barriers to American exports." -- **SAN DIEGO UNION** 12/5/86

"The Fighter Farmers Deserve"

"Although California's No. 1 industry is agriculture, it has been many, many years since California has had a U.S. Senator like Pete Wilson to give farmers the support they deserve....Wilson is a fighter." -- **CALIFORNIA GRAPE GROWER** 10/20/83

Safeguarding America

"Wilson is the first California Senator in 16 years to serve on the Armed Services Committee. Not withstanding its importance to national security, the assignment also is a relatively unknown but powerful instrument of job creation for the state." -- **CALIFORNIA VIEWPOINT** 1/28/87

Sinking Trade Pirates

"Intellectual piracy costs American businesses...as much as $20 billion a year [and] hits California's entertainment and computer industries particularly hard. And it has prompted Sen. Pete Wilson to introduced a measure that would require stiff penalties against nations winking at or aiding intellectual property theft." -- **SAN DIEGO UNION** 5/22/86

Taking Care of Business

"U.S. Senator Pete Wilson...takes care of California's key industries. In the latest case, Wilson says he will introduce legislation to stop Canadian cablecasters from stealing signals from U.S. television stations." -- **CALPEEK** 1/87

1. TRADE

California's perch on the rim of the Pacific gives the Golden State a golden opportunity to tap the burgeoning markets of Asia's industrialized nations.

> "*Wilson...has made international trade issues a focus.*" -- **San Diego Union** 12/5/86

An ardent foe of protectionism, Pete Wilson nevertheless believes firmly that when foreign governments act unfairly, the U.S. must retaliate. Wilson's made many contributions to tougher U.S. trade laws, including:

** The "Targeted Export Assistance Act" of 1985 was the first program to offer farm export assistance to counter unfair trade barriers.

** The "Fair Access to Foreign Markets Act" in 1985 directed the U.S. to resolve promptly all pending agricultural trade complaints against the European Community.

> "*Thank you...regarding the canned fruit case with the EEC. Knowing that you supported a strong stand...[we] were able to...eliminate...an unfair trade practice.*" -- **Ronald A. Schuler, President, California Canning Peach Assn.** 3/18/87

** Wilson's resolution urging retaliation for Japanese violations of the trade agreement on semiconductors passed unanimously in 1987, prompting action.

> "*Unanimous passage of your resolution...sent a strong message that dumping...must end and the Japanese semiconductor market must open.*" -- **Semiconductor Industry Association** 3/20/87

** The "Anti-Piracy and Market Access Act" beefed up copyright, patent and trademark laws on "intellectual property" like movies, books, and computer software. It became law in 1988.

> "*Wilson's bill would provide the strongest legislative remedy,*" -- **San Diego Union** 5/19/86

2. AGRICULTURE

With California farmers increasingly dependent on foreign markets for sales, Pete Wilson's tenure on the Agriculture Committee has been marked by his tenacious pursuit of fair treatment for U.S. farm products.

For his efforts, the **California Farm Bureau** named Wilson "Man of the Year" in 1986.

Wilson's "Targeted Export Assistance" program, known as TEA, was enacted in 1985. Since then, exports of many California crops have boomed. In the first year of the program, kiwifruit exports to Japan jumped 270 percent, pistachio exports rose 180 percent, and avocado exports increased by 257 percent.

> "*It has been a tremendously successful program in stimulating sales,*" -- **U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Richard Lyng** 3/22/88

> "*It was Sen. Wilson who went to bat for TEA.*" -- **Washington Post** 6/86

> "*Such significant export assistance should be of incalculable benefit to...sales of California wines.*" -- **The Christian Brothers** 5/6/86

The "Wilson amendment" to the 1985 immigration reform bill -- a "political coup" according to the **Golden State Report** -- assures California growers a continuing supply of legal workers to harvest crops.

> "*The Senator's legislation is humane, realistic and essential to maintaining the West's agricultural output.*" -- **Sacramento Union** 1/10/86

> "*This prospective happy ending to what has been a long and difficult legislative struggle stems from the stubborn refusal of California's Senator Pete Wilson to admit defeat.*" -- **San Francisco Chronicle** 11/12/85

Wilson's advocacy for California farmers and ranchers also includes sponsorship of the "Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act," the "Fair Access to Foreign Markets Act," and the "Wine Equity Act."

3. DEFENSE

In 1983, Senator Wilson became the first Californian to serve on the Armed Services Committee in twelve years. An advocate of the doctrine of peace through strength, Wilson fought to restore a tattered U.S. defense posture, while assuring California received its "fair share" of funds.

By the estimates of the California Labor Council, Wilson's first term efforts yielded California over 600,000 jobs.

Typical of the hundreds of examples of Senator Wilson's work on behalf of California are the following:

** Wilson and Mayor Dianne Feinstein waged a successful campaign to convince the Navy to name San Francisco as the homeport for the U.S.S. Missouri.

"The Navy's decision to base the battleship Missouri in San Francisco will mean an increase in jobs and a substantial boost to the sagging ship repair industry here....Pete Wilson's vigorous espousal of San Francisco's cause was of critical importance." -- **San Francisco Chronicle** 6/2/85

** At Wilson's insistence, the Pentagon ordered a head-on competition between the F-16 and the California-built F-20 fighter plane. The "fly-off" saved taxpayers millions of dollars when the F-16's manufacturer dropped its price to become more competitive. It also netted California aerospace companies the opportunity to develop a prototype for the advanced tactical fighter (ATF) plane.

** Wilson's leadership as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Manpower and Personnel to improve the quality of health care for the military led to the creation of CHAMPUS, a new health care system. A Sacramento-based group subsequently won a three billion dollar contract to provide outpatient services to military dependents in California and Hawaii, a contract that will provide high quality health care while saving taxpayers $300 million.

4. ENTERTAINMENT

The entertainment industry is not only one of California's biggest employers, but also a source of cultural pride for Californians. The impact on the nation, and the world, of the movies, television programs and sound recordings produced in California is tremendous.

Senator Wilson has earned the respect and appreciation of the entertainment community in California, primarily for his leading role in strengthening laws to protect U.S. copyrights from foreign "pirates."

Wilson's "Anti-Piracy and Market Access Act" cracked down on foreign governments sanctioning pirating. It was included in the 1988 trade bill. The bill was hailed as a tough response to increasing rip-offs of U.S. films, records, and TV programs.

Wilson has also been an active participant in entertainment industry efforts to fight unfair foreign trade barriers, as well as to promote the industry's positions domestically.

> *"He earned the support of the motion picture industry as their Senate champion....I think he did a superb job."* -- **Congressman Henry Waxman** (R-CA) 3/15/85
>
> *"I thank you, heartily, jubilantly for your steady support of our determination to open up the Korean marketplace for acces to the U.S. film and television industry."* -- *Jack Valenti, President,* **Motion Picture Association of America** 12/18/85
>
> *"U.S. Sen. Pete Wilson...spearheaded a conference committee rescue effort to restore job-seeking deductions eliminated in the Senate tax reform bill. He focused on entertainment industry talent as the principal victims of the proposed repeal."* -- **Variety** 6/24/86
>
> *"The new requirement...presents a serious problem to struggling songwriters....We appreciate all of your support."* -- **Burt Bacharach and Carole Bayer Sager** 12/87

E. Celebrating Diversity

"We ought not to tolerate diversity. We ought to celebrate it." --

Pete Wilson

Native Americans and Spaniards, the first Californians, have been joined by waves of settlers from Europe, Asia, Africa and Mexico.

Today, new immigrants continue to come to California: we grow each year by a number roughly equal to the entire population of the State of South Dakota.

In the Senate, Wilson has worked diligently to serve California's diverse racial and ethnic population, and to see that all Californians are given the opportunity to participate fully in California's economic miracle.

In his early years, as Mayor of San Diego, Wilson's vision brought new vigor and jobs to neighborhoods thought hopelessly blighted.

When other cities were "clearing slums," Wilson's innovative leadership in economic redevelopment showed the way to reverse decline, provide jobs and at the same time preserve the unique heritage of neighborhoods.

In the Senate, Wilson continues to carry the banner for urban revitalization, protecting important fiscal tools such as tax-exempt Industrial Bond financing, winning urban redevelopment aid for many California projects, and promoting minority business development.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT PETE WILSON...

The Roots of Redevelopment

"Reflecting a progressive brand of Republican politics in California's predominantly Democratic structure, Pete Wilson...has required developers to pay the cost of public facilities. He has sought to limit slums and shoddy development through tax penalties...and has led an effort to redevelop the ailing center city." -- **Planning Magazine** 1977

Among San Diego's "Founding Fathers"

"Sen. Pete Wilson, mayor of San Diego from 1971 to 1983, was the recipient of the Founding Father Award. Wilson...was instrumental in getting private developers to build Horton Plaza shopping center, housing projects and new office buildings downtown. He also spurred plans to build a new convention center." **-- SAN DIEGO UNION** 10/22/89

"Great Credit" from "Grateful County"

"The County's UDAG application, which provides $1,000,000 to help finance the Slauson Square Shopping Center in the City of Maywood...would not have been [approved] without...your interest in the project....We are confident this project will reflect great credit on you as the Senator. This is only the second UDAG grant the County has received. It is most important to us, and we are extremely grateful for your support." **-- Executive Director David Lund, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT COMMISION, COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES** 1/29/88

Working for Latino-Americans

"We are extremely impressed with your record...on behalf of the Latino-American community. We share your concern about the high illiteracy rate...and we applaud your efforts in seeking a solution..., your encouragement of entrepreneurial and economic development, your commitment to equal opportunity and protection under the law, and your work to establish an immigrant law that is fair to all peoples...." **-- George Ruiz, Political Action Chairman, LATINO PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION** 10/31/89

Supporting Civil Rights

"We want to express our deepest appreciation for your support of...one of the most important civil rights measures ever to come before the Congress....Again, we thank you for your leadership on this historic legislation." **-- Chairperson Benjamin L. Hooks, LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS** 10/4/89

1. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Diversity is the key to California's economic strength. But with diversity comes the responsibility to keep the boundaries of democracy wide enough for all to pass.

California's minority population has helped fuel the engine of economic growth, and many minority entrepreneurs have availed themselves of assistance from the Minority Business Development Agency (MBDA).

The coauthor of S. 1848, "Minority Business Development Act" of 1987, Wilson has twice earned the Minority Business Development Centers' Advocate of the Year Award from Southern California MBDCs, as well as the Western Region's Legislator of the Year Award in 1987.

> *"This `Award of Recognition' is presented to you for your long and continued suport and your active role in expanding economic opportunities for minority business enterprise...."* **-- Minority Business Development Center, San Bernardino** 10/11/88

Depressed communities with high unemployment do exist in California. Reversing their decline is just as important in the Golden State as it is in the Rust Belt, and Pete Wilson has championed local economic redevelopment efforts.

** Wilson amended a 1984 tax bill to exempt Industrial Development Bond (IDB) projects already underway from the new law limiting the tax benefits of IDBs.

** Wilson blocked a 1986 bid to severely restrict tax increment financing, a widely used tool for urban redevelopment. As Mayor, Wilson launched downtown projects like Horton Plaza using tax increments.

** Wilson has been pivotal in obtaining Urban Development Action Grants for local development projects, like the South Gate Plaza:

> *"This project should create thousands of badly needed new jobs in this area and we are deeply appreciative of your successful efforts in our behalf."* **South Gate Mayor John F. Sheehy** 3/31/87

2. EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

Californians take pride in the state's diverse ethnic mix, the largest and most diverse melting pot in the nation. Pete Wilson is a fighter for economic opportunity for all.

Senator Wilson supported the "Civil Rights Restoration Act," opposed curtailment of the fifth preference immmigration category, and voted to establish a national holiday in honor of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

> "*Sen. Pete Wilson voted to override President Reagan's veto of the so-called Grove City civil rights restoration bill.*" -- **San Diego Union** 3/23/88

Wilson has pushed for jobs for disadvantaged youth, including a minimum wage differential. He's also supported a myriad of public-private partnerships for job training, such as the East Oakland Youth Development Center.

> "*A distinct air of pride in their accomplishment was on the faces of people at the East Oakland Youth Development Center on Tuesday when U.S. Sen. Pete Wilson visited the job training facility to deliver a $25,000 federal grant.*" -- **Oakland Tribune**, 1/18/84

Wilson cosponsored legislation to provide $200 million for adult literacy education focusing on adults who lack sufficient language skills to gain productive employment, with $50 million earmarked for "Workplace Literacy Partnership Grants."

Wilson won funds from the Department of Education to promote literacy, like the SER-Jobs for Progress grant approved in 1988 to expand the network of Literacy Family Learning Centers among Hispanics.

Wilson has also supported economic opportunity for those trapped in poverty, voting for the 1988 "Family Security Act" to help train and employ welfare-dependent individuals.

The Family Security Act was patterned after California's GAIN program, a workfare-based effort to reduce welfare dependency that had its roots in a San Diego demonstration project during Pete Wilson's years as Mayor.

Saving "Cocaine Babies"...

"The surprise proposal by Senator Pete Wilson would use an estimated $45 million in franking savings this year to finance treatment programs for coke-addicted women and infants." -- **LOS ANGELES HERALD EXAMINER** 9/12/89

...Without Raising Taxes

"Democratic critics on Capitol Hill have flailed President George Bush for not raising taxes and spending more to combat drug abuse. Now, Senator Pete Wilson has given lawmakers a chance to spend more without raising taxes." -- **UKIAH DAILY JOURNAL** 9/19/89

Giving Smugglers the Blues

"Pete Wilson has been a fighter for more drug interdiction resources for the southwest border; better use of our military assets to combat the drug smuggler; and tougher laws to keep the narcotics smuggler off our streets." -- **SENATOR DENNIS DECONCINI** (D-AZ) 2/6/87

"A Soldier in the War on Drugs"

"Because you publicly rode to the rescue of the Border Patrol, our most beleaguered law enforcement agency; and because you became a soldier in the war to stem the flow of illegal drugs....you, Pete Wilson, have been selected as our Legislator of the Year." -- **STAMP OUT CRIME COUNCIL OF SAN DIEGO** 12/86

Preventing Drug Use

"One more small step in the march against drug use was taken recently when legislation was introduced by California Sen. Pete Wilson...to ban the mail-order and catalog sales of drug paraphernalia....We think Sen. Wilson did a good job." -- **OROVILLE MERCURY-REGISTER** 4/3/85

1. DRUG INTERDICTION

Policing U.S. borders for incoming drug shipments is a primary federal responsibility, which has required tremendous resources and changing attitudes toward foreign policy and the military.

Among Pete Wilson's numerous efforts to step up border drug interdiction efforts, he led the Congressional fight in 1988 to sanction Mexico for not doing enough to fight drug traffickers.

> "*...as its chief sponsor, Sen. Pete Wilson (R-Calif.), put it,...the United States is demanding better cooperation in narcotics eradication and interdiction efforts....Wilson cited Mexico for providing `safe havens' for drug traffickers, refusing to cooperate on narcotics-related financial information and turning down...hot pursuit of suspected drug-carrying aircraft...,*" -- **The Washington Post** 4/15/88

In May of 1988, the Senate overwhelmingly approved Wilson's amendment to the defense authorization bill stipulating that it is a mission of the military to assist local authorities in the interdiction of illegal drugs.

> "*Sen. Pete Wilson's...call to arms helped rally the U.S. Senate behind needed legislation throwing the armed forces into the war on drugs....Sen. Wilson's argument as a chief proponent of the Senate legislation is convincing.*" -- **Glendale Daily News Press** 5/23/88

Also in 1988, Wilson was named to a special task force to assist in writing a new omnibus bill anti-drug bill to increase funds for the DEA, FBI, and other federal drug-fighting agencies, as well as local law enforcement.

> "*Senator Pete Wilson should be applauded for his leadership in gearing up the federal bureaucracy for the war on drugs....Wilson has been supportive of local law enforcement's efforts to fight major drug traffickers.*" -- **Orange County Sheriff Brad Gates** 4/21/88

2. PREVENTION

Senator Pete Wilson has worked to provide federal funding for programs to help reduce the demand for drugs through education and treatment programs, as well as to enforce stricter rules to help achieve a drug-free society.

Wilson is the chief Senate sponsor of the "Drug War Bond Act" of 1989 sell bonds to raise money and public support for the war on drugs.

> "*The proposal sounds appealing. Prevention is the key, and bond money...,combined with effective government programs and grassroots efforts to keep communities drug-free, just might make a difference. It certainly did in World War II,*" -- **Santa Maria Times** 8/4/89

A model drug prevention program, Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE), was pioneered by the Los Angeles Police Department and has spread throughout the country. The Senate approved a bill by Wilson in 1989 to provide $10 million to fund more DARE programs.

Wilson's Drug Paraphernalia Act to stop the mail-order sale of pipes, "bongs," and drug devices plugged a major loophole in community efforts to prevent drug use when it was adopted in the 1986 drug bill.

> "*I am writing to express my strong support for legislation you have sponsored which would prohibit the interstate sale and shipment of drug paraphernalia....I commend you for your foresight in introducing this important legislation,*" **New York Governor Mario Cuomo** 12/10/85

Wilson also supports drug testing of national security and public safety workers. In 1988, Wilson authored a provision of the drug bill to encourage states to require random drug testing of first-time drivers license applicants.

> "*A driver's license is not a right....I want that driver in the sedan going 60 miles an hour to be...in possession of his full faculties. Anything the law can do to assure that is so is fine with me,*" **Contra Costa Times Columnist Mary Bachmann-Hartman** 12/20/88

3. TREATMENT

Drug treatment, while expensive, does work for many addicts. Pete Wilson believes the government does have a role in promoting accessible, affordable treatment, such as the programs offered at California's Mandela House and Phoenix Houses -- highly regarded residential facilities for treating recovering addicts and alcoholics.

Wilson believes treatment should be mandatory for women who give birth to drug or alcohol addicted or impaired children.

To this end, Wilson authored S. 1444, "The Child Abuse During Pregnancy Prevention Act of 1989," to encourage states to establish programs to meet the need for treatment of pregnant drug and alcohol addicts.

Wilson has led efforts in Congress and encouraged the Administration to multiply the amount of money available for treatment for pregnant mothers from $4.5 million to over $100 million.

> *"Regardless of how it is funded, the Wilson bill deserves to be enacted....The Wilson measure provides for mandatory treatment of mothers in rehabilitation centers rather than jails. This is a balanced approach that recognizes society's responsibility to protect vulnerable infants from the ravages of illicit narcotics."* -- **Torrance Daily Breeze** 9/15/89

> *"For Joan, the drug treatment center is a last-ditch attempt to become drug-free....She said she supports Republican Senator Pete Wilson's recent proposal for mandatory rehabilitation of pregnant drug-users and would even like the measure to include enforced drug treatment for the entire family."* -- *"What To Do With Crack Mothers"* **San Francisco Chronicle** 9/11/89

> *"Last Thursday, the Senate passed a worthy measure, proposed by Senator Pete Wilson, to transfer $45 million from the Senate's mass-mailing fund [to] drug-treatment programs to help addicted women, mothers and infants."* -- **Los Angeles Daily News** 9/10/89

B. Cops and Courts

While state and local governments are primarily responsible for law enforcement, a federal legislator can -- and Pete Wilson does -- have a big impact on public safety.

Wilson is a dependable friend of local law enforcement. He was the champion of local police and sheriff's agencies seeking a fair share of the proceeds of drug profits seized in joint operations with federal agencies, a program that has earned millions for California law enforcement.

He authored the 1988 law to allow the death penalty in cses of murder of law enforcement officers -- federal, state and local -- in drug-related crimes.

Not only has he helped fill the law books with tough-on-crime statutes, but he's also been filling the legal bench with tough, fair judges.

Wilson has recommended nearly 20 individuals -- qualified, representative, tough and fair -- to serve on the federal bench, and his choices have been unanimously approved by the President and the Senate.

And finally, Pete Wilson has promoted victims rights. Criminals get their "day in court," but too often victims and their families must endure years in court before justice is done. Wilson was Southern California Chairman of the 1982 Victims Bill of Rights and is honorary chairman of the 1990 "Speedy Trial Initiative."

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT PETE WILSON...

Going to Bat for Local Law Enforcement

> *"We strongly agree with you, that this is one of the most wrong-headed proposals in the law enforcement area ever passed by the House, and we are pleased to know that you will do everything possible to restore full funding."* -- **Chief Conrad Aponte, Jr., President, MONTEREY COUNTY CHIEF LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICER'S ASSOCIATION** 10/6/87

Standing Up for Law Officers

"During your seven years in the United States Senate you have stood for...dedication to the law enforcment community and a commitment to Latino-Americans. In law enforcement, you have led the battle for better drug resources of the military. We also appreciate your efforts to keep the Federal asset forfeiture program intact...." **-- George Ruiz, Political Action Chairman, LATINO PEACE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION** 10/31/89

Winning Praise for Judicial Choices

"Sen. Pete Wilson, quietly taking advantage of a chance to influence the federal judiciary perhaps more than any other senator, has proved to be a willing partner with President Reagan in moving the courts away from liberal activism....The underlying philosophy that Wilson looks for in recommending judges is the same thing the White House looks for: judicial restraint, not activism....Wilson's choices to date have generally won warm, bipartisan praise from the California legal community." **-- SAN DIEGO UNION** 10/20/85

Earning High Marks for High Quality Judges

"The lawyers credited Pete Wilson, California's Republican senator, for the high quality of Reagan's appointments to the federal district courts in the state." **-- SACRAMENTO BEE** 11/86

Promoting Victims Rights

"If passed by the voters, this new initiative will greatly enhance and streamline our criminal court system. Valuable court time and taxpayer dollars will be saved through several reforms, and all crime victims and citizens will be given a right to a speedy trial....For example, under present laws, if four men raped and robbed a woman, that victim might have to testify in four separate trials. Now she would only have to testify in one." -- Mike Spence, Columnist, **DAILY BRUIN** 10/11/89

1. LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT

Ironically, one of the richest sources of anti-drug funds for local law enforcement comes from cash and other assets seized from drug dealers. Known as the "asset forfeiture" program, it has been in existence since 1981.

In 1986, Wilson authored legislation to allow for more assets to be used to support anti-drug efforts, increase the dollars going to local law enforcement, and step up distribution of the funds.

In 1987, when the House tried to freeze the asset forfeiture fund, Wilson, working with California law enforcement agencies, successfully mobilized a nationwide effort to restore the funds.

Congress again tampered with the program in 1988, voting to end local sharing of assets seized in so-called "adoptive cases," in which the bulk of the investigative effort is made locally, yet the forfeiture is processed under federal law.

Wilson's "Law Enforcement Cooperation Act" was adopted in 1989, preventing the ban on asset sharing in adoptive cases from going into effect.

Since its inception, in California alone, more than $60 million has been forfeited and distributed to state and local law enforcement agencies under the equitable sharing program.

> "...*our sincere thanks for your all-out, successful efforts toward restoring the funds for state and local law enforcement agencies.*" -- **Watsonville Chief of Police Ray Belgard** 10/14/87

> "...*thank you for your outstanding efforts in restoring over $120 million in asset forfeiture funds, which we seize annually from drug dealers.*" -- **Sonoma County Sheriff Dick Michaelsen** 10/16/87

In another effort, Wilson twice convinced the Federal Communications Commission to set aside part of the radio frequency band for public safety. For example, the LA County Sheriff must coordinate police, fire, and rescue activities of hundreds of municipalities and outlying counties. As new technologies require more and more band space, this set-aside will be literally "a lifesaver."

2. COP KILLERS

Pete Wilson emphathizes with the personal risk taken by law enforcement officers to keep our streets safe.

Michael Callahan, Pete's grandfather, came from Ireland to Chicago, where he rose to become a detective sergeant in the police force. He was gunned down in the line of duty in 1908, at the age of 30, leaving Pete's grandmother to raise Meg, Pete's mother, alone.

Among Wilson's most strongly-held beliefs is his conviction that a constitutionally-sound death penalty protects innocent lives. Wilson believes the deterrent force of capital punishment helps safeguard American citizens, especially peace officers on the frontlines against crime.

The murder of two DEA agents involved in a joint operation with the Monterey Park police in early 1988 prompted Wilson's to introduce the "Law Enforcement Officers Protection Act."

This bill established a federal death penalty for anyone convicted of drug-related murder of a federal, state or local law enforcement officer, officer of the court, or prison guard.

Wilson's bill also doubled the death benefit for survivors of officers felled in the line of duty.

The provision of Wilson's legislation covering the killing of police officers in drug-related crimes was included in a related death penalty bill adopted by the Senate in the summer of 1988.

> "*The bill...supported by California Sen. Pete Wilson, would...allow the death penalty for drug kingpins [and]...anyone who kills a law enforcement officer in an incident related to drugs. The bill would...send a loud and clear message to those who are keeping our nation in violent turmoil that we have had enough*," **-- Pleasanton Valley Times** 6/16/88

Wilson also voted to ban cop killer bullets, an issue of extreme importance to law enforcement.

3. THE WILSON JUDGES

Presidents traditionally turn to Senators of their own party to recommend individuals for the federal bench. Wilson has had the opportunity to recommend numerous candidates for judicial posts, as well as for U.S. Marshals and U.S. Attorneys, every one of which has been nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

Twelve judges in California's Central District, two in the Southern District, three in the Northern District and one in the Eastern District have taken seats on the bench at Wilson's recommendation.

Wilson is a firm believer in the concept of judicial restraint, and while he opposes "litmus tests" for judicial candidates, he has consistently recommended judicial candidates who reject an activist approach.

At the same time, Wilson has made a special effort to seek out qualified candidates for the bench who belong to minority groups.

> *"We applaud Wilson for the commitment toward making the federal judicial selection process more open and accessible to all well qualified members of our society."* -- **William Lew Tan, Chairman of the Board, Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics**

> *"Sen. Pete Wilson's recommendation of Superior Judge Lourdes G. Baird as U.S. Attorney in Los Angeles is an imaginative and constructive move....it suggests a serious commitment by Wilson to less partisan leadership that is more open to women...."* -- **Los Angeles Times** 12/4/89

> *"[The] new conservative majority in the Federal Courthouse in Los Angeles [has]...lived up to a reputation for toughness in sentencing, but...the legal community no longer sees them merely as tough, but some of the most experienced and qualified federal judges ever selected....most have been named by Sen. Pete Wilson [who] is given most of the credit for the highly praised judges."* -- **Los Angeles Times** 2/21/86

4. CRIME VICTIMS

The Speedy Trial Initiative is supported by all 58 elected D.A.s in California, every police chief and law enforcement group and a large bipartisan group of lawmakers. Pete Wilson, who served as the Southern California Chairman of the 1982 Victims' Bill of Rights, agreed to chair the group seeking to quality the initiative as a logical extension of the effort begun in 1982.

The initiative, sometimes known as the "Nightstalker Initiative" would limit the rights of criminal defendants to those recognized by the U.S. Supreme Court, thus rolling back earlier actions of the California Supreme Court under Chief Justice Rose Bird to vastly expand the rights of the accused.

> "*Senator Pete Wilson...was hailed as the initiative's angel. Two previous attempts to qualify the initiative had failed....this time, however, Wilson's support and fundraising clout would put it over the top.*" -- **Los Angeles Magazine**

> "*Speedier trials are essential.*" -- **Pleasanton Valley Times** 8/31/89

> "*Pete Wilson, now serving as a U.S. Senator, is the most prominent public figure associated with the effort. Senator Wilson says he has lent his name to the movement in order to "...change the odds in favor of the citizen and not the criminal.'*" -- **San Gabriel Valley Tribune** 6/2/89

A challenge to the initiative by California Attorney General John Van de Kamp that it would take away women's abortion rights was discarded by the state's district attorneys and an independent legislative counsel.

> "*District attorneys from throughout California yesterday declared Attorney General John Van de Kamp dead wrong in claiming a proposed crime initiative could jeopardize the state's abortion rights....the California District Attorneys Association...by unanimous vote late Monday, reaffirmed its endorsement of the crime initiative.*" -- **Los Angeles Herald Examiner** 8/2/89

III. California's Future: Our Children

"Let California's children be the best nourished in body and spirit, the best cared for, the best educated, and the best prepared to give America the confident leadership she will require in the new century."

Pete Wilson

From prenatal care to pre-school for four-year-olds, Pete Wilson believes California's children deserve the best.

In early childhood, from cradle to kindergarten, is the time when many potentially serious developmental problems can be most successfully addressed. It is in the early years Wilson believes California must make a greater investment.

Prevention of birth defects through anti-drug and alcohol programs, early detection of mental and emotional difficulties, and integration of health and welfare services into the educational system -- Wilson has advocated all these steps and more in the creation of a comprehensive child development program for the State of California.

Wilson wants to invest in prenatal care -- a minimum of $1200 for every pregnant woman -- to save tax dollars that would otherwise be spent later on remedial services and, most importantly, to spare our children needless suffering.

Wilson is the acknowledged leader in Congress of efforts to improve drug and alcochol prevention and treatment for pregnant and post partum women and their children.

Wilson also believes the government should act to expand affordable, high quality child care. To that end, Wilson authored the Kids in Day Care Services Act, offering tax credits or refunds to parents with children in day care.

Wilson's proposal to integrate social and educational services into a Cabinet-level Department of Child Development and Services is undoubtedly his most ambitious attempt to change the lives of California's children for the better.

Choice and responsibility -- on the part of local school districts and parents alike -- lie at the basis of all Wilson's proposals. The hand that rocks the cradle, not the hand of government, guides our children best.

A. Education

To the three "R"s, Pete Wilson adds a fourth: readiness.

For in order to learn, children must be ready -- healthy in mind and body, safe in classrooms and on playgrounds, motivated and stimulated by parents, mentors and teachers, and reassured of the rewards of learning.

It is said that schools are society in microcosm. To the halls of education, Wilson's reform proposals would bring the tools of a healthy society -- the social services to insure the physical, emotional, and developmental readiness of our children for learning.

While education is largely a state and local responsibility, Wilson, in addition to spelling out his educational reform plan for California, has been a solid supporter of California's educational needs in Congress.

He has been an advocate for immigrant education, impact aid, education for disadvantaged children, and bilingual education.

Wilson's contributions to education earned him the Special Recognition Award for Congressional service fromm the National School Boards Association in 1989.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT PETE WILSON...

"*Sweeping Reform*"

"*Sen. Pete Wilson has reached into the theoretical world of the social sciences and education...and proposed reform so sweeping that even his political opposites are stunned and elated....*" -- **SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER** 12/10/89

"*Imaginative Solutions*"

"*Pete Wilson understands that the serious problems confronting California's schools require imaginative solutions that cut across ideological lines.*" -- **SAN DIEGO UNION** 12/17/89

Reaching Out to Children At Risk

"Wilson laid out an ambitious, perhaps even a bit radical, program...including integration of social services with education for children most at risk of educational, economic and social failure." **-- Columnist Dan Walters, L.A. DAILY NEWS** 12/19/89

"Refreshing, Positive" Proposals

"It's hard to recall the last Californian who has sounded as gubernatorial -- or as positive -- as...Pete Wilson. Wilson's proposals go beyond the doctrine of either party, which is one of the things that make them refreshing." **-- SACRAMENTO BEE** 12/6/89

"Ahead of the Curve"

"Sen. Wilson...is ahead of the curve in spotting a critical social dilemma...[He] declared education is not only a school burden but an overriding human care problem." **-- Herb Fredman, Columnist, SAN DIEGO TRIBUNE** 12/20/89

"Tireless Efforts"

"Thank you for your advocacy and tireless efforts on behalf of the educational needs of California's young people." **-- Linda Lanterman, FREMONT UNION HIGH SCHOOL DISTRICT** 10/2/89

Restoring Vital Funds

"[Irvine has]...used available Emergency Immigrant Education Assistance Act funds...I wish to commend you for your efforts to restore funding to this vital program...." **-- A. Stanley Corey, Superintendent, IRVINE UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT** 11/5/86

Supporting Immigrant Education

"I wish to...express our sincere appreciation for your efforts on behalf of immigrant education," **-- Richard M. Firpo, ADMINISTRATOR OF STATE AND FEDERAL PROGRAMS, FRESNO** 10/22/86

1. INTEGRATED SERVICES

Pete Wilson's proposal for universal reform of California's educational system integrates social welfare programs currently provided by a myriad of state agencies into the school system.

Wilson is convinced that for children to learn, the home life stress causing many of their problems -- substance abuse, mental illness, physical abuse -- must be addressed. His conviction is widely shared:

> *"Wilson called for a systematic integration of social welfare services and the...school system. Wilson...was interrupted several times by applause. The new president of the California School Boards Assn. said Wilson's platform..."seems to be a dramatic proposal for addressing the needs of children."* -- **Los Angeles Times** 12/4/89

> *"Sen. Pete Wilson has served notice that he intends to be California's education governor. His common-sense educational blueprint ought to command bipartisan support."* -- **San Diego Union** 12/17/89

> *"Sen. Pete Wilson...offered thoughtful and innovative suggestions...to coordinate and integrate...social services available to children...."* -- **San Diego Tribune** 12/12/89

Wilson would establish County Child Councils and a state Cabinet-level Department of Child Development and Services to oversee and assist in carrying out these reforms.

Wilson's far-reaching plan to reform California education also embraces:

** "alternative credentialing" to help attract specialists in other fields into the classroom;

** "mentor programs" to provide adult role models;

** "merit pay" and volunteer aides for teachers;

** thorough testing of "open enrollment" as a means to provide improved services and greater parental choice.

2. FEDERAL AID

California has by far the largest and most diverse school-age population in the nation. Helping California schools win their "fair share" of federal funds is important to Senator Wilson.

> "*Your recognition of education as a funding priority affirms the vital role it must play in building a solution to the nation's economic problems...*" -- **H. David Fish, Legislative Program Director, San Diego City Schools** 11/23/87

Wilson is the Senate champion of "impact aid" for local school districts, winning the Special Recognition Award from the National School Boards Association in 1989 for his efforts.

Wilson's support has helped protect federal impact aid to school districts where many students' parents work or live on federal property, which includes the vast population of California military families.

> "*Quite frankly because of your leadership..., the program has withstood what could have been a major disaster....*" -- **John B. Forkenbrock, Nat. Assn. of Federally Impacted Schools** 10/25/89

> "*The 100 member school districts...join in extending to you our sincere appreciation for your support....*" -- **Steven F. Speech, California Impact Aid Association** 7/6/87

Wilson has also been a leading proponent of immigrant education and education for disadvantaged students.

> "*Your work was the determining factor in restoring the $30 million of immigration education funding...you understand the importance in educating immigrant children.*" -- **Superintendent Thomas W. Payzant** 11/4/86

> "*Thank you so much for your effort to restore...[to] California $27 million in services for disadvantaged children.*" -- **Superintendent of Schools Bill Honig, State of California** 12/16/87

B. Caring for Our Children

Childhood specialists tell us that the early years, from birth to age three or four, are the most critical to a child's development.

From providing the best possible prenatal health care to addressing developmental disabilities at the earliest possible stages, Pete Wilson contends California can do more to improve the health and welfare of our children.

Wilson believes a comprehensive program of caring for our children must include adequate prenatal, neonatal and infant health care, as well as quality day care for preschoolers. He has proposed four-year old kindergarten for children whose parents are unable to afford private preschool.

Healthy babies are the aim of Wilson's efforts to prevent drug and alcohol abuse by pregnant women. He supports funding for prenatal and infant nutrition programs, cosponsoring the Child Nutrition Act of 1986.

Wilson has been a leader in gaining additional funding for preventing and treating pediatric AIDS. He supported the Child Abuse Amendments of 1984, including $5 million to assist in the care of severely handicapped infants.

"KIDS" the Kids in Day Care Services Act, is Wilson's bill to expand the availability of affordable, quality child care. The bill is among a number of child care proposals currently before Congress.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT PETE WILSON....

"A Good Plan"

> *"Sen. Wilson's plan is a good one....We can hardly afford to ignore this legislation. If the babies of the world could speak, we wouldn't have waited this long."* -- **SANTA PAULA CHRONICLE** 9/6/89

Promoting Prenatal Care

"His call for a $1,200-per-mother investment for adequate prenatal care could save California millions of dollars in the long run. Better to overcome learning disorders early than to spend a fortune on remedial education..." -- **SAN DIEGO UNION** 12/17/89

Caring for Abandoned Babies

"In Congress last week, Sen. Pete Wilson (R-Calif.) won approval for an amendment to the D.C. appropriations bill that would create a task force to coordinate and improve the care of babies abandoned at hospitals by their drug-addicted mothers." -- **THE WASHINGTON POST** 9/17/89

Dealing With Parental Substance Abuse

"The National District Attorneys Association applauds your leadership....The lack of adequate resources to respond to growing numbers of children whose safety and lives are at risk because of parental substance abuse has produced a crisis....Prosecutors support the expansion of treatment facilities and improved child abuse interventions, and we urge your continued leadership in addressing these critical needs." -- **NATIONAL DISTRICT ATTORNEYS ASSOCIATION** 12/7/89

Help for Missing Children

"We want to take the opportunity to once again applaud your efforts on behalf of missing children...." -- *Ann and David Collins, Co-Presidents,* **KEVIN COLLINS FOUNDATION FOR MISSING CHILDREN** 5/21/86

"Dedication to Improving Child Health"

"Your efforts...show your recognition of the health benefits and cost-effectiveness of this important program [Women, Infants, and Children nutrition program] and your dedication to improving maternal and child health." -- **MARCH OF DIMES** 11/86

1. HEALTH CARE

Healthy children -- in mind, body, and spirit -- become responsible adults. Our educational system cannot do it all, however, for teachers are teachers, not psychologists or social workers or physical therapists.

Too often, by the time children reach school age, it is too late. Opportunities to discover and defuse disabling difficulties have already been lost.

That is why Pete Wilson believes child health care must begin with prenatal care, for which he has proposed a $1200 per mother investment, and include neonatal and infant care.

> *"Wilson has proposed a $1,200 prenatal-care stipend for every poor pregnant woman in the state....His proposal...is designed to catch medical, emotional and financial problems in the young before they poison their adult lives."* -- **The Washington Post** 1/2/90

His ardent support of the war on drugs is fueled by Wilson's knowledge that parental drug and alcohol abuse can harm innocent infants and drug-related neglect and physical abuse can jeopardize child safety.

> *"U.S. Sen. Pete Wilson on Monday dedicated himself to stemming the increasing number of babies born addicted to drugs. Wilson said he has proposed legislation that would make five $10 million grants available to states that create programs to prevent pregnant women from using drugs."* -- **Torrance Daily Breeze** 9/12/89

From a long-time involvement with the March of Dimes to his current campaign to provide treatment for pregnant drug and alcohol users, Wilson has stood up for combatting birth defects as among the wisest investments our society can make.

> *"He's one politician who's doing more than just kissing babies -- he's helping to assure that all babies start life healthy."* -- **March On, San Diego/Imperial Chapter of March of Dimes**

2. DAY CARE

As in so many areas, California is a leader in providing innovative approaches to child care, and Pete Wilson is an innovative leader for California in child care.

> "*Pete Wilson [helped] the hospital celebrate the start of construction on a...child care center. Wilson said he wanted California's children to be `the best educated, cared for, and nourished.'*" -- **SOUTH GATE PRESS** 8/10/89

Wilson is the author of the "Kids in Day Care Services Act" (KIDS) to give states the flexibility to set their own child care standards and provide federal tax credits and incentives to private business for child care.

"KIDS" would expand access to affordable, quality child care for all American families by establishing refundable tax credits worth up to $1500 per year for low income families.

> "*Sen. Pete Wilson recently introduced the `Kids in Day Care Services Act' to expand child care services through private sector initiatives and federal grants to states to improve...quality of service.*" -- **Del Norte Triplicate** 4/5/89

> "*Wilson's KIDS...bill would, for the most part, leave [choice] up to the parent. The ABC bill permits the funds to go where the government determines.*" -- **Santa Monica News** 5/26/89

Wilson firmly opposes federal legislation that would give up local control and parental choice, and cost Californians more to boot.

> "*California parents could wind up paying an additional $400 a year for child care if legislation...in Congress is approved, Sen. Pete Wilson recently told a Senate panel.*" -- **Hanford Sentinel** 5/24/89

> "*Following a tour today of the St. Lawrence The Martyr Child Care Center, Senator Pete Wilson warned parents [a] bill now under consideration by Congress would severely restrict their choice of child care.*" -- **Atascadero News** 6/7/89

IV. The Business of Government

Administrative ability and ethical responsibility are at the core of good government. Governing well requires both efficiency and integrity.

Throughout his career, Pete Wilson has earned a reputation as a top-drawer administrator and public servant of the highest caliber.

Conducting the business of government requires the application of standards and practices that are above average and beyond reproach.

Throughout a twenty-year career, Pete Wilson has gained renown as an honest and capable public servant.

As Mayor of San Diego, Wilson kept a tight fist on government spending. Wilson won approval for a City Charter amendment limiting city spending, and during his tenure in City Hall, spending increased only 18 percent. Spending per capita actually decreased 11 percent.

As Mayor, he also authored and led adoption of one of the toughest campaign spending measures in the nation. He was widely regarded as the man who restored integrity to the scandal-tarnished reputation of San Diego city government.

Wilson has continued his conservative, conscientious ways as a U.S. Senator, and they have proven to be winning ways.

In battle after battle, Wilson has fought waste and fraud in federal government. He has won many, including his campaign to restore order to the grossly mismanaged military inventory system -- a victory that saved taxpayers millions of dollars annually.

His tenacious opposition to spending on Congressional newsletters is not only an anti-waste campaign, but also an effort to kill one of Congress' most notorious "perks."

Wilson does not send newsletters himself, nor does he accept Congressional pay raises. He has striven in every respect to earn the trust of Californians and to hold inviolate the faith they have come to place in him.

A. Government Efficiency

Tackling waste, fraud and inefficiency in government has been a Pete Wilson hallmark.

Wilson's dogged pursuit of waste in the military budget led Sen. Barry Goldwater to name him to head a special task force on mismanagement of the military's $180 billion inventory system.

Wilson is also credited with substantially scaling back spending for the Midgetman missile, which Wilson considers too expensive for the limited deterrent benefit it offers the nation's defense.

For local governments, Wilson has been a long-time leader for efficiency. In the California Assembly, he was an ardent supporter of the "mandate" bill to put a stop to the State passing along costly new regulations to localities.

In the U.S. Senate, Wilson fights costly mandates and wins funds to help implement new laws, such as the 1985 immigration bill. Wilson added millions to the bill to help localities cover the costs of the amnesty program.

The Wilson/Nickles bill of 1985 saved local governments millions annually by effectively reversing a Supreme Court decision forcing states and cities to pay premium overtime rather than to offer compensatory time off.

Wilson's ongoing investigations of federal grants for earthquake engineering research by the National Science Foundation has revealed serious flaws in the process.

It's no wonder Wilson has repeatedly won the "Golden Bulldog Award" from the "Watchdogs of the Treasury."

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT PETE WILSON...

"Budgetary Toughness"

"Wilson, who endeared himself to many fiscal conservatives...as San Diego's mayor, has lost none of his budgetary toughness in the U.S. Senate."
-- **SCRIPPS RANCH STAR NEWS** 3/6/86

Implementing Grace Commission Ideas

"Thanks to your interest -- and support -- a number of bills were introduced...to implement many of the recommendations of the Grace Commission." -- **CITIZENS AGAINST GOVERNMENT WASTE** 10/30/86

"A Rose to Wilson"

"A rose...to Sen. Pete Wilson for showing up on the Senate floor to vote on the deficit-reduction package just hours after he had surgery to remove a ruptured appendix." -- **ESCONDIDO TIMES ADVOCATE** 5/16/85

Investigating Pentagon Waste

"The armed forces are confronting...the loss of hundreds of millions of dollars in arms, ammunition and explosives....Congressional scrutiny began...when Senator Pete Wilson...asked the GAO to investigate." -- **NEW YORK TIMES** 2/12/87

Looking for Savings

"A leading critic, Senator Pete Wilson, contends that a system of 1,000 of these [Midgetman] missiles would cost up to 100 billion dollars -- more than four times the price of the MX program." -- **U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT** 9/23/85

"Heroic Efforts"

"Your efforts...were heroic. As Fire Chief of the City of Riverside I can say for my department alone its passage avoided the expenditure of approximately $450,000." -- **Richard Bosted, CA FIRE CHIEFS ASSOCIATION** 12/4/85

Oversight Reveals Problems

"Scientists nationwide were stunned when the NSF chose Buffalo, not Berkeley, [for] a proposed Earthquake Engineering Research Center....thanks to inquiries by Sen. Pete Wilson..., it has been discovered that the selection process was compromised." -- **SAN PEDRO NEWS PILOT** 12/2/86

1. DEFICIT REDUCTION

America continues to experience the longest sustained period of economic growth since World War II, as inflation and interest rates have been brought under control and new job formation has reached record highs. But with economic recovery has come an evil twin -- the federal debt.

Wilson takes a hard line against federal spending, voting consistently to cut costs without raising taxes.

> "*U.S. Senator Pete Wilson is a man after everyone's heart. He wants to cut federal expenses.*" -- **Merced Sun Star** 6/18/86

Wilson is among the most fiscally conservative members of the Senate. His annual Congressional voting record has been consistently lauded by the National Taxpayers Union, and has repeatedly earned him the following distinctions:

** The "Golden Bulldog Award" from the Watchdogs of the Treasury, a taxpayer group;

** The "Spirit of Enterprise Award" from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce;

** The "Guardian of Small Business Award" from the National Federation of Independent Businesses

Touting unpopular budget cuts takes guts, but never more so than in Wilson's case in 1985, when he left the hospital 32 hours after an emergency appendectomy to cast the crucial vote for a landmark deficit-cutting measure.

> "*This was real budget statesmanship.*" -- **San Jose Mercury News** 5/12/85

> "*Somebody in Washington finally bit the bullet.*" -- **Peninsula Times Tribune** 5/13/85

> "*Wilson's midnight ride saved the package....*" -- **Santa Ana Register** 5/16/85

Wilson has repeatedly voted in favor of a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget, and to grant the President line-item veto power for spending bills.

2. MILITARY INVENTORY MISMANAGEMENT

In 1985, Pete Wilson requested a General Accounting Office (GAO) report on the Navy's inventory practices, launching what has become an unprecedented individual campaign to eliminate waste and mismanagement in the military's inventory system.

Mishandling of the military's billion-dollar inventory system not only costs taxpayers tens of millions of dollars annually, but also creates the opportunity for dangerous weaponry to fall into the hands of criminals and terrorists due to lax security.

Armed Services Committee Chairman Barry Goldwater in early 1986 named a special task force headed by Wilson to launch a world-wide investigation into the problem.

Following a comprehensive analysis of the issue, Wilson drafted a bill to reform the military inventory system. "The Defense Supplies Security and Control Reform Act" adopted in 1988 requires the military to modernize facilities, tighten security, and upgrade controls over ammunition and explosives.

> *"I look forward to working with Senator Wilson on this task force. He is the right person for the job of trying to find the source of these problems....The taxpayers of this country...are very much in his debt for this initiative."* -- **Sen. Carl Levin (D-Michigan), Task Force on Military Inventory Management** 7/22/86

> *"...theft...of weapons, ammunition and explosives...is virtually out of control....We agree with California Sen. Pete Wilson, chairman of the Senate panel studying the problem, that all the armed services must institute more strict and effective control and accounting procedures...."* -- **San Mateo Times** 8/8/86

> *"Pilfering Army supplies is so common, motorcycle gangs buy...grenades for `$50 a pop.' Anti-tank weapons go for $1,000 each....it's impossible to say how much of the military's $160 billion inventory is missing, said Sen. Pete Wilson...."* -- **USA Today** 11/13/86

3. MIDGETMAN

Senator Wilson's was the lone voice raised in early 1985 on the cost and effectiveness of the Small Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (SICBM), better known as the Midgetman.

Wilson not only argued against the huge cost ($40-60 billion) of the small missile program, but also maintained that the strategic reasoning behind the missile was flawed.

A rail-mobile MX, Wilson asserted, would offer a more affordable, equally survivable land-based missile force at the same time it provided a greater deterrent to attack than the single-warhead Midgetman.

With letters to the President and Congressional leaders, articles in scholarly journals like "Strategic Review," Wilson's anti-Midgetman campaign got results.

> "*A leading critic, Senator Pete Wilson, contends that a system of...these [Midgetman] missiles would cost up to... four times the price of the MX program.*" -- **U.S. News and World Report** 9/23/85

> "*Sen. Pete Wilson [is] the leader of a more conservative group that has increasing doubts about the Midgetman program.*" -- **Wall Street Journal** 3/4/86

> "*Wilson argues that the huge cost of the small Midgetman...threatens to delay the new missile or prevent it from ever being built.*" -- **Issues in Science and Technology, National Academy of Sciences**

> "*Congress should be listening to Sen. Pete Wilson. Wilson's idea...could reduce the cost of the Midgetman....*" -- **San Gabriel Valley Tribune** 3/8/86

In 1987, Wilson the Senate to eliminate funds for the missile, "zeroing" the Midgetman budget. Then, the Air Force openly announced its opposition to building the missile. While the Midgetman still has its supporters, Wilson's position has won widespread support and it appears the missile will never be built.

4. FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

The 1985 Wilson/Nickles bill saved state and local taxpayers throughout the country millions of dollars annually by mitigating the financial burden on state and local governments resulting from the Supreme Court's Garcia v. San Antonio Transit Authority decision.

Wilson initiated legislation early in 1985 to restore to states, cities, and counties the opportunity to continue to offer "compensatory time" to employees for overtime hours, rather than mandatory premium overtime pay, as ordered by the Garcia decision.

Subcommittee Chairman Don Nickles of Oklahoma and Wilson steered the bill through Congress and the Wilson/Nickles bill was signed by the President in December of 1985.

For his legislative efforts, as well as his work on behalf of California local government in general, the California League of Cities named Wilson "1985 Legislator of the Year," the first federal official to earn the distinction.

> *"Your efforts on behalf of state and local governments to ameliorate the impact of the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) are greatly appreciated by the City of Los Angeles....I feel strongly that local people can identify their problems and develop workable solutions more skillfully than people in Washington who do not have the background in state and local government which you and I share,"* -- **Mayor Tom Bradley, City of Los Angeles** 1/7/86

> *"Citing your help in such areas as the FLSA exemptions,...efforts to procure reimbursement to cities for federally mandated programs,...Mayor Lionel Wilson nominated you for [Legislator of the Year] and you received unanimous support. Thank you very much for your continuing recognition of California cities' needs and for your dramatic leadership in Washington,"* -- **Don Benninghoven, Executive Director of the League of California Cities** 10/18/85

5. MANDATES

In the California Assembly, Pete Wilson sponsored SB 90, a bill to stop the state from passing along the costs of newly-mandated programs to local government.

As Mayor, Wilson coped with costly federal "mandates" that passed along the cost and enforcement of new federal laws to the city government.

In the Senate, Wilson, has doggedly supported the "Intergovernmental Regulatory Relief Act," which has been reintroduced three times in an attempt to require federal reimbursement of the costs of new federal mandates.

> "*We think [Wilson] is correct and the proposed bill is worthy of serious consideration.*" -- **Crescent City Triplicate** 5/17/86

Wilson amended the 1985 Senate immigration bill to require an additional $50 million annually to cover increased costs expected to accrue due to the amnesty program.

> "*We appreciate that you went out of your way on a very difficult piece of legislation.*" -- **Ron Diridon, Chairperson of the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors** 12/19/85

In 1987, Wilson managed to forestall the Reagan Administration's move to accelerate the schedule for including local employees under Medicare.

> "*You are correct... that local governments are in no position to shoulder yet another financial burden as contemplated under mandating Medicare coverage for all state and local government programs. Your sensitivity and understanding of local government must be applauded,*" **Buena Park Mayor Rhonda J. McCune** 11/20/87

> "*...thank you for taking an active role in the discussion of mandatory Medicare coverage...we must oppose it unless and until it is fully funded through the federal budget. CSBA appreciates your dedication.*" -- **California School Boards Association** 12/2/87

6. EARTHQUAKE ENGINEERING

"Next, the government will put a hurricane center out in Kansas," **The Wall Street Journal** wrote of the National Science Foundation's decision to locate a new national earthquake engineering center in Buffalo, New York.

When the NSF bypassed California to award the $50 million center to Buffalo, Senator Wilson called for an investigation of the NSF decision, noting numerous problems in the NSF's decision-making process.

> "*Sen. Wilson is on the right track in trying to find out why the [NSF] wants to establish a $50 million federal earthquake research center in Buffalo....*" -- **Contra Costa Times** 9/25/86

> "*Sen. Pete Wilson and some California scientists think a federal grant for earthquake studies went to New York rather than California on very shaky grounds. After looking over their evidence, we agree.*" -- **Los Angeles Times** 10/2/86

> "*Wilson is on solid ground....Californians should join Wilson in sending protest tremors.*" -- **San Francisco Examiner** 7/12/87

> "*Wilson wants the General Accounting Office to investigate....Our government has made many colossal blunders over its two centuries of bureaucratic bungling, but few of this magnitude.*" -- **Antelope Valley Press** 10/10/86

As the Buffalo center siphoned away limited funding for earthquake research from California universities, Wilson sought more funding. When the Loma Prieta earthquake struck, Wilson redoubled his efforts to bolster federal support for earthquake engineering in California.

> "*Wilson will push for more funds for western research in light of the Bay Area disaster. Wilson noted that earthquake engineering funds at UC Berkeley had dropped..., UCLA had to stop seismic testing of bridges and bridge components and [other universities] also experienced cutbacks,*" -- **The Washington Post** 10/26/89

B. Government Integrity

In the tradition of the great California reformer Hiram Johnson, Pete Wilson has stood on the front lines of ethics in government for over two decades.

As Mayor of San Diego, Pete Wilson drafted and won City Council passage of one of the toughest campaign reform ordinances in the nation.

Wilson's personal finances are an open book. He has upheld complete financial disclosure, going above and beyond the legal requirement by releasing annually his income tax returns. Furthermore, so as to avoid any possibility or appearance of a conflict of interest, Wilson and his wife Gayle have placed their assets in a blind trust.

Wilson has declined to accept the pay raises Congress has voted itself. Instead, he has donated tens of thousands of dollars in additional pay to California charities. In addition, Wilson has donated thousands of dollars in speaking fees to charities.

Wilson's decision not to send Congressional newsletters, which he believes to be thinly-veiled campaign mailings, has saved taxpayers millions annually.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT PETE WILSON...

Restoring Integrity to City Hall

"*Wilson has done an outstanding job....He restored honor and integrity to the mayor's office and to a city government that had been battered by scandal.*" -- **Tom Goff, Columnist, L.A. Times** 11/15/82

Lawmakers Should "Follow Wilson's Lead"

"*Until other lawmakers begin to follow Wilson's lead, the crying need for institutional reform on Capitol Hill will continue.*" -- **GRASS VALLEY UNION** 6/29/89

"More Power to Wilson"

"Wilson's call for an amendment blocking a proposed congressional pay hike....deserves at least a few whistles and cheers from taxpayers....More power to Wilson if he can throw a monkey wrench into the pay raise process." -- **THE VALLEY TIMES** 1/16/87

Leading the Anti-Pay Raise Lobby

"Wilson...had been a ringleader among the senators who lobbied for a vote to cancel the pay raise....Wilson denounced the House's `bald-faced and hypocritical action' in casting a fake vote against the pay raise one day after the deadline to block it." -- **SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE** 2/12/87

"Wilson Deserves Bouquets"

"Sen. Pete Wilson and Sacramento congressmen Wally Herger and Norman Shumway deserve bouquets for...opposition to the proposed 16 percent congressional pay increase." -- **SACRAMENTO UNION**

Wilson "Has Set An Example"

"California's Sen. Pete Wilson has introduced legislation to restrict the franking privilege. And he has set an example by declining to send out mass mailings." -- **CHICO ENTERPRISE RECORD** 7/5/89

Fighting Millions for Mailings

"...the mailings, which cost approximately $125 million a year, could be in serious trouble. On Sept. 7, the Senate approved, 83-8, an amendment by Pete Wilson that would eliminate the newsletters and invest the savings in programs designed to help drug-addicted mothers....Wilson has long fought against newsletters." **-- NATIONAL JOURNAL** 9/23/89

"Wilson Is On the Right Track"

"California Sen. Pete Wilson is on the right track in taking on congressional mail practices." -- **CONTRA COSTA TIMES** 5/1/86

V. Human Resources

California is blessed with bountiful natural resources, to be certain. However, it is not the rich soil or abundant sunshine but the rich heritage and abundant talent of Californians themselves that make California "The Golden State."

If a child with AIDS is denied AZT because his parents can't afford to buy the drug, or an elderly woman is left penniless after paying her husband's nursing home bills, or a widow's children go unfed because she lacks the training to find a good job, it hurts all Californians.

The suffering or death of one Californian diminishes us all.

Pete Wilson has consistently extended a helping hand for Californians in need. He believes government and the private sector, working together, can and must satisfy the human needs of all our people.

Wilson has pushed for improved health care services, from allowing innovative preventive health care approaches by Medicare beneficiaries, to expanding availability of long-term health care insurance for Americans concerned about the high costs of nursing home care.

Wilson's support for elderly citizens includes not only advocating improved health care delivery but also protecting Social Security benefits.

Senior citizens should have the right to keep working and keep earning income without losing their Social Security benefits, Wilson believes. He's supported legislation to phase out the earnings cap imposed on working seniors.

For working women, too, Wilson has been a proponent of equal opportunity. He first endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment as Mayor of San Diego and has cosponsored the ERA every year it has been introduced in the Senate.

Wilson has been an advocate of women's rights not only in the workplace but also in the control of their own bodies. Wilson supports women's reproductive rights. He is a sponsor of the Freedom of Choice Act of 1989, and he is a long-time proponent of funding for family planning programs.

A. Health Care

Senator Wilson has been a leader in health care issues, particularly in proposing and promoting innovative, affordable approaches to providing quality health care.

Wilson's bill, S. 38, would allow federal employees to convert their life insurance to long-term health insurance -- at no additional cost to the taxpayer. The large new market would spur competition among insurance companies to sell more policies, and in turn, to offer coverage to the general public at competitive rates.

In its Spring 1988 issue, "Who's Who in Senior Citizen Health Care Policy," the California Medical Review identified Senator Wilson as one of the "key Congressmen involved in health care," noting his long-term care legislation.

Wilson is also a leader in the war on AIDS: he called for a Presidential Commission on AIDS; he co-authored the Dole/Wilson AIDS bill; he convinced the Army to turn over a vacant San Francisco hospital for AIDS care, and he fought for funding for AZT for low-income AIDS patients.

His advocacy of health care concerns has also included promoting burn prevention and treatment, easing shortages of health care providers, lowering the incidence of adverse drug reactions, and numerous other efforts.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT PETE WILSON...

Long-Term Care Bill Earns Attention...

"Wilson's bill is the only game in town -- With the House defeat of Pepper's costly long-term care bill, a budget-neutral version by Sen. Pete Wilson (R-CA) is gaining attention." -- **The California Report** 6/27/88

...and Appreciation

"I sincerely appreciate your interests in developing a beneficial and affordable long-term care policy." -- **Congressman Fortney H. (Pete) Stark** (D-CA) 7/8/88

"Meaningful and Humane" AIDS Policies

"We would like to thank you....for your efforts and contribution to the first public hearings on AIDS/ARC discrimination in the nation. Your testimony will go a long way toward bringing an end to AIDS/ARC based discrimination and working toward meaningful and humane solutions to the difficult tasks ahead." -- Human Rights Commission, **San Francisco** 3/7/86

Coping With The Nursing Shortage

"Thank you for your recent efforts to assist California hospitals to better cope with the current nursing shortage problem. Your active support and involvement helped convince the INS to grant a one-year blanket extension to all foreign nurses....[including] almost 1,000 in California." **-- California Assn. of Hospitals and Health Systems** 6/7/88

Finding Health Professionals for Rural Areas

"Thank you for all your help in the recent designation of...Tehama County as a Health Manpower Shortage Area....the medically indigent of the county will now have continuous ready access to primary health care services." **-- Richard Blohm, M.D.** 9/7/86 Sacramento

Support for Trauma Care

"Thank you for the time and effort you have expended recently on behalf of the trauma system in San Diego county [and] in helping relieve the financial problems plaguing our hospitals." **-- David W. Cloyd, M.D., Chairman, Dept. of Trauma, Palomar Medical Center** 12/30/87

Bolstering Burn Units

"Your letter...weighed heavily in the Committee's decision to mandate immediate financial relief to Burn Center Hospitals." **-- M. Marc Goldberg, CEO, Sherman Oaks Community Hospital**

1. LONG-TERM HEALTH CARE

At an average cost of over $22,000 a year, few Americans can afford insurance premiums for long-term health care.

In 1988, Congress balked at adopting a bill to finance long-term care at a cost of $30 billion. The 1989 Catastrophic Health Care Act (which has since been repealed) did not address long-term care coverage.

Pete Wilson has a better approach. In 1987, Wilson introduced a plan to allow federal employees to convert their life insurance equity to purchase long-term care policies.

Wilson's bill, S. 1738, would cost the taxpayers nothing and create a huge pool of potential policyholders to which insurance companies would be induced to sell. As more companies enter the market, competition would expand the availability of coverage and reduce premiums.

A hearing has been held on Wilson's legislation and support continues to build. Fifty-five of his Senate colleagues have cosponsored the bill.

> *"Sen. Pete Wilson introduced legislation last fall to provide low-cost, long-term nursing home/home health care insurance....The beauty of Wilson's plan is that it wouldn't deprive the government of income....It deserves a push."* -- *Peter J. Hayes,* **Sacramento Union** 1/15/88

> *"Republican U.S. Sen. Pete Wilson is proposing `an old idea with a new twist' to expand life-insurance policies for federal workers to include coverage for nursing home costs or other long-term care."* -- **UPI** 8/28/87

The lack of coverage for long-term care was one of the concerns that led Wilson to vote to repeal parts of the catastrophic care bill and the Medicare surtax in 1989. When Congress revisits the catastrophic care issue in 1990, Wilson will push for a comprehensive look at long-term care as well.

> *"Wilson's action is significant because he... now feels that Congress can do better."* -- **Frank McPeak, "We Seniors," Senior Spectrum Weekly, Sacramento** 3/15/89

2. AIDS

Pete Wilson was the co-author, with Sen. Bob Dole, of the 1986 AIDS bill that served as the blueprint for the Administration's 1987 AIDS budget and was incorporated into the AIDS bill passed later that year in Congress.

The Dole/Wilson AIDS bill stressed education, research and counselling, with emphasis on outreach to ethnic and racial minority groups such as Hispanics and blacks.

Wilson's long involvement in AIDS issues includes:

** Wilson was the first Republican to call for a national panel on AIDS, asking President Reagan to create a Presidential Commission on AIDS.

"*...federal legislation to form a `medical war cabinet' on AIDS has been proposed by Sen. Pete Wilson...we urge passage of this badly needed federal legislation.*" -- **San Francisco Examiner**

"*Wilson's several-months battle to convince the Reagan administration it should take a tougher approach to the deadly disease by creating a National AIDS Commission is about to reach its goal,*" -- **Los Angeles Herald Examiner** 4/20/87

** It was Wilson who convinced the Army to transfer its old hospital building in San Francisco to the City to serve as a model AIDS patient care facility.

"*...a notable victory for the city and Wilson.*" -- **Sacramento Bee** 9/30/87

** Wilson supported the No on 64 forces against the Lyndon LaRouche-inspired quarantine initiative.

"*We would like to express our gratitude to you for...attending the No on 64 Dinner...[and] your...commitment to the defeat of the measure,*" -- **Board of Directors, MECLA** 10/24/86

** Wilson is an original cosponsor of legislation to help low-income patients pay for AZT, and has been a leader in the bipartisan effort to make AZT available to all, regardless of cost.

B. The Elderly

Social Security and Medicare are the twin towers supporting the entire span of services the government makes available to the elderly. Pete Wilson regards these two programs as sacred obligations made by this country to the elderly.

Wilson has cosponsored legislation to insulate the Social Security Trust Fund from budget politics, and he voted to exempt Social Security from budget cuts mandated under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill to require a balanced budget.

He's also cosponsored legislation to increase the Social Security earnings limit to allow working seniors to keep their jobs and their dignity.

Wilson has been a leader in health care for the elderly, too, working to expand health care options for Medicare beneficiaries through the use of Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs) and other innovative approaches to cost-efficient, quality care.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT PETE WILSON...

"Good to Know Someone Gives a Darn"

"Thank you very much for taking the time and effort to clear up the misunderstanding with Social Security for me. It is good to know there is someone like you in the Senate who does give a darn about the `little' people and follows through with action not just empty talk. I am very impressed."
-- Karin I. Reynolds, Westminster 4/22/85

Caring for Alzheimer's Patients

"Your letter of support was invaluable in securing this grant, and on behalf of the estimated 10,000 Alzheimer's families residing in San Diego County, I wish to sincerely thank you, our partner in easing the burden while finding the cure." --
Alzheimer's Family Center of San Diego 2/86

"*You Got Action*"

"I don't know why it takes you to intervene to get my Pacemaker checks paid by Medicare, but it seems to. I hate to bother you but you got action. I feel sorry for those who don't have your help." -- **William Rosser**, San Diego 2/7/86

"*What a Big Relief*"

"For many months I have been trying to get my Medicare straightened out....I was ready to give up when my son said,`Mom, call Pete Wilson's office, they will help you.' I finally did....That was Jan. 17, and on the 24th I received a call informing me the error had been corrected....What a big relief to have such an efficient man...working for people who need help so desperately." -- **Thelma D. Pearson**, Chula Vista 2/18/86

Helping Medicare Patients

"On behalf of the 5,000 Medicare patients that we serve..., I would like to thank you....This, obviously, could not have been completed without your understanding and assistance." -- **Family Health Foundation of Alviso, Inc.** 11/27/89

Assuring Vital Services

"The comprehensive outpatient services provided to low income seniors at the funded clinics are vital....The waiver program helps to assure that these seniors will take a prevention approach...rather than allowing their health to deteriorate....thank you for your interest in and support of our senior population." -- **Marilou Cristina, Director of Aging Services, Catholic Charities, Santa Clara** 12/4/89

"*Our Deep Appreciation*"

"The Ventura County Council on Aging [extends] to Senator Pete Wilson our deep appreciation [for his] valuable active concern...for Senior problems...." -- *Resolution of the* **Ventura County Council on Aging** 1/23/86

1. INCOME

Social Security helps provide financial security to our nation's elderly, and Pete Wilson has steadfastly supported this sacred obligation to America's senior population.

Since he came to the Senate in 1983 and voted for the landmark Commission-drafted plan to save the near-bankrupt system, Wilson has called for reforms to protect the system.

Wilson sponsored legislation to take the Social Security Trust Fund "off-budget," because there is always pressure to play budget politics by cutting benefits to make the deficit appear smaller or borrowing from the fund to make up for shortfalls in general revenues.

Wilson voted to exempt Social Security from Gramm-Rudman spending cuts, maintaining that Social Security is a self-supporting system funded solely through the Trust Fund and not by general revenues.

** Wilson's 1986 legislation exempted the costs of mailing Social Security checks from Gramm-Rudman limits, ensuring prompt mailing of checks.

"*The Senate has approved a bill authored by California Senator Pete Wilson to prevent any disruption in the mailing of Social Security checks....*" -- **Desert Star** 8/20/86

** Wilson introduced legislation in 1987 to expose illegitimate sales schemes for supplemental Medicare insurance, raising consumer awareness of abuses.

"*Many of the gullible elderly are particularly prone to sales pitches that prey on their vulnerability. They deserve the protection that is afforded in Senator Wilson's measure.*" -- **San Francisco Chronicle** 4/8/87

** Wilson's bill to allow homeowners confined to nursing homes or hospitals to take advantage of a one-time senior citizen capital gains break became law in 1988.

** Wilson also cosponsored legislation to increase the earnings limit to allow seniors to keep their jobs.

2. PREVENTIVE HEALTH CARE

An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

Preventive health care spares suffering and saves money. That conviction underlies Pete Wilson's efforts to adopt preventive federal approaches to providing health care.

Wilson's successful fight to gain a four-year extension on the Medicare Waiver demonstration program in 1989 prevented the closure of outpatient care clinics for low-income elderly.

Wilson also ensured the continued provision of needed health care services to roughly 15,000 elderly residents of Los Angeles and Orange Counties by securing a legislative waiver.

> *"Thank you for your...assistance with the waiver for the Watts Health Foundation...[to] enable Watts to continue to provide quality health care....to the population of south central Los Angeles."* -- **Michael R. Pollard, Attorney** 12/1/89

> *"We were delighted to hear of your hard work and support to extend the Medicare Waiver another four years. Thank you for your commitment to the elderly of our community."* -- **Mexican American Community Services Agency, Inc., San Jose** 12/4/89

** Wilson has been the key supporter of demonstration projects to allow Medicare beneficiares to enroll in Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs).

** When the government cut off service by five California HMOs to seniors in 1986, Wilson made sure they had access to interim coverage.

** Wilson amended a bill in 1984 to implement a demonstration program for Social Health Maintenance Organizations (SHMOs) to provide medical and other health-related benefits like meals and day care.

** Wilson's "Drug Utilization Review Act" would help pharmacists prevent dangerous drug interactions by creating a national computer network.

C. Women's Rights

Pete Wilson has been unwavering in his support of equal rights for all, regardless of race, color -- or gender.

Wilson came out early in support of the Equal Rights Amendment, during his tenure as Mayor of San Diego, and he has cosponsored the ERA in every session of Congress since his election to the U.S. Senate.

Wilson's is among those names sure to be counted on the list of public officials in support of equal opportunity for women, be it educational or economic.

He supported the "Grove City" bill to retore civil rights to women in higher education under Title X, and he voted for landmark legislation to enforce child support laws.

For those women on the lower rungs of the economic ladder, Wilson was among the sponsors of the 1988 "Family Security Act" to help train and employ welfare-dependent women collecting Aid to Families with Dependent Children, a bill modeled on California's pioneering "workfare" program.

Wilson is also a consistent voice in favor of reproductive rights for women.

He has voted against a constitutional amendment to make abortion illegal and to cut off funding for various family planning programs.

In 1989, in the wake of the Supreme Court's "Webster" decision, Wilson among the first to sign onto a bill to restrict states from abridging a woman's right to terminate a pregnancy.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT PETE WILSON....

Consistent Support

"Wilson consistently has favored abortion rights,...and opposed [the] recent decision to cut funds for family planning clinics." -- **WASHINGTON POST** 1/2/90

For Reproductive Freedom

"We at Planned Parenthood of Santa Clara County want to express our gratitude for your staunch support of family planning. Thank you for your consistent votes for reproductive freedom last term and for your co-sponsorship of the Freedom of Choice Act....we look forward to your continued championship of family planning funding and accessibility...." **-- Linda Williams, Executive Director, PLANNED PARENTHOOD ASSOC. OF SANTA CLARA COUNTY** 12/28/89

Sponsoring Pro-Choice Law

"Pro-choice members of Congress turned up the heat yesterday on the abortion debate, introducing a bill that would prevent states from interfering with a woman's decision to have an abortion....Sen. Pete Wilson, R-Calif...is a cosponsor of the bill." **-- SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE** 11/18/89

Guaranteeing the Right to Choose

"We...wish to thank you for...sponsoring legislation to guarantee a woman's right to reproductive choice....Your decision...is welcome news." **-- Gloria J. Potvin, Co-Chair, PLUMAS COUNTY PRO-CHOICE COALITION** 12/16/89

An "Extraordinarily Important Decision"

"Thank you for signing the brief...in Turnock v. Ragsdale. Your decision to...urge the Supreme Court not to erode a woman's right to reproductive choice nor to undermine the fundamental right to privacy is extraordinarily important." **-- Faye Wattleton, President, PLANNED PARENTHOOD** 11/30/89

A "Serious Commitment" to Women

"Sen. Pete Wilson's recommendation of Superior Judge Lourdes G. Baird as U.S. Attorney in Los Angeles is an imaginative and constructive move....it suggests a serious commitment by Wilson to less partisan leadership that is more open to women...." **-- LOS ANGELES TIMES** 12/4/89

1. EQUAL RIGHTS

Pete Wilson was an early supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment, publicly announcing his support for the ERA as Mayor of San Diego, and as a U.S. Senator he has cosponsored the ERA every year it has been introduced.

As Mayor of San Diego, Wilson created the first Commission on the Status of Women and implemented the consent decree signed in 1977 to increase the City's hiring of women.

In addition to his support of the Equal Rights Amendment, Senator Wilson has supported numerous other pivotal legislation supporting women's rights.

In 1985, Wilson was an original sponsor of a bill to overturn the "Grove City" case and restore civil rights protection to women in higher education under Title IX.

When President Reagan vetoed the "Grove City" bill -- formally known as the "Civil Rights Restoration Act" -- Wilson voted to override the veto in 1988.

In 1984 and 1988, Wilson supported landmark legislation to require states to attach salaries and wages of parents defaulting on child support payments and to withhold state income taxes to enforce court-ordered child support.

> "*Thank you for your continuing support of the Equal Rights Amendment. We have appreciated your proclamations for Women's Equality Day....On behalf of the women of San Diego, we thank you.*" -- **Sue Punjack, President, San Diego County Chapter, NOW** 2/4/82

> "*Sincerest thanks for your support of California Women Business Owners....*" -- **U.S. Small Business Administration** 8/2/84

> "*President Reagan has decided to nominate Orange County attorney Alicemarie Stotler for a federal judgeship..., She would become the fourth woman among federal judges in the district. Stotler's nomination...was recommended by Sen. Pete Wilson....*" -- **The Los Angeles Times** 4/4/84

2. REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

"Government does nothing wise or good if it enacts laws that force otherwise law-abiding citizens to resort to illegal and dangerous acts."

Pete Wilson

For over twenty years in public office, Pete Wilson has supported a woman's right to choose.

In 1967, as a member of the California State Assembly, Wilson supported the Therapeutic Abortion Act, which made abortion legal in California.

"...Wilson consistently supported the `pro-choice' position on abortion as a California assemblyman, as San Diego mayor and even during his statewide campaigns..." -- **San Diego Union** 6/29/83

In 1989, as a Senator, Wilson joined in a Supreme Court case and sponsored legislation to help protect the right to choose -- signing a legal brief in the Turnock v. Ragsdale case and introducing the "Freedom of Choice Act" in Congress.

"Thank you for your decision to join...in the Ragsdale case. It is a significant and vital statement that Roe v. Wade should stand." -- **National Abortion Rights Action League** 11/8/89

"...our deepest thanks for your sponsorship of the Freedom of Choice Act....[to] assure states could not undermine reproductive rights of women." -- **Planned Parenthood, Shasta-Diablo** 12/7/89

In the Senate, Wilson has also:

** voted against a constitutional amendment to criminalize abortion;

** opposed bans on the distribution of contraceptive devices to minors, and voted against cuts in funding for school-based health clinics;

** cosponsored reauthorization of Title X family planning legislation, and supported continuing aid to international family planning efforts.

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