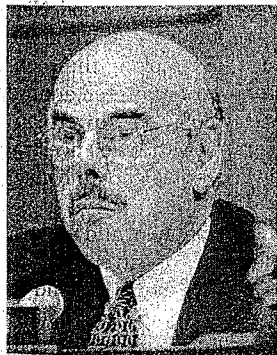


Harvard Law School. From 1987 to 1993, he worked in the U.S. attorney's office in Los Angeles. He ran for the Assembly and lost three times, twice to Rogan. But in 1996 he was elected to the state Senate, where he became its youngest member. In his first two years, he authored dozens of measures that Governor Pete Wilson signed into law, including landmark textbook legislation. Schiff also taught political science at Glendale Community College. As a state senator, Schiff was limited to two four-year terms; rather than seeking a second term, he ran for the House. This was one of the few House races in which the impeachment of Bill Clinton was an important issue. Rogan was a leading player in the Judiciary Committee's deliberations, and a persuasive voice for the case against Clinton. He obviously knew that supporting impeachment carried political risks; while most impeachment managers had safe seats, Rogan's was anything but: he had won reelection in 1998 by just 51%-46%. Hollywood Democrats were almost hysterical in attacking him. Entertainment mogul—and Clinton pal—David Geffen promised to raise millions to oppose him. After exploring the possibility of running against Senator Dianne Feinstein, Rogan decided to seek reelection, despite the obvious difficulty. The Schiff-Rogan race became a fundraising contest; the candidates, buoyed by responses to direct mail, raised more than \$10 million combined, and more was spent by Clinton lovers and Clinton haters. Rogan had no apologies for his work on impeachment. The candidates disagreed on health care, abortion, gun control and taxes. Rogan branded his opponent as a traditional tax-and-spend liberal, who would "run naked through the Treasury, spending everything he can." Schiff attacked Rogan for calling abortion a "Holocaust" for the African-American community and saying that the Ku Klux Klan "couldn't do a better job on committing genocide on African Americans." They also battled for the support of more than 67,000 local Armenians. Rogan was a lead sponsor of a House resolution commemorating their genocide from 1915 to 1923 by the Ottoman Turks; he was promised a floor vote in October 2000 by Speaker Dennis Hastert, but Hastert reneged after phone calls from Clinton and his foreign policy appointees. Schiff cosponsored a state Senate resolution declaring "a day of remembrance of Armenian genocide," and got \$400,000 from state taxpayers to produce a documentary about Armenian issues. Schiff said that Rogan's focus on Washington led him to ignore local problems.

Schiff won by a surprisingly large 53%-44% margin. He said he was ready to work across party lines, though few of his issue positions offered much opportunity to cooperate with the Bush administration. In the Judiciary Committee debate on whether to ban human cloning, his substitute proposal to permit therapeutic cloning was defeated. On local issues, Schiff was a big booster of a 22 mile light-rail extension from Los Angeles to Pasadena. With neighboring Republican David Dreier, he restored \$50 million to preserve the Mars surveyor program, which is based at the Jet Propulsion Lab in La Canada Flintridge, just north of Pasadena.

Schiff was reelected 63%-33% in 2002; he spent \$712,000 against an opponent who did not raise the \$5,000 that would require him to file a report with the Federal Election Commission. Schiff's biblical moment came when he and his wife Eve had their first son in July 2002. Helpful constituents urged them to name him Cain or Abel; the parents named him Elijah instead.

THIRTIETH DISTRICT



Rep. Henry Waxman (D)

Elected 1974, 15th term; b. Sept. 12, 1939, Los Angeles; home, Los Angeles; U.C.L.A., B.A. 1961, J.D. 1964; Jewish; married (Janet).

Elected Office: CA Assembly, 1968-74.

Professional Career: Practicing atty., 1965-68.

DC Office: 2204 RHOB 20515, 202-225-3976; Fax: 202-225-4099; Web site: www.house.gov/waxman.

District Office: Los Angeles, 323-651-1040.

Committees: Energy & Commerce (2d of 26 D): Energy & Air Quality; Health; Oversight & Investigations. Government Reform (RMM of 19 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	AFS	LCV	CON	ITIC	NTU	COC	ACU	NTLC	CHC
2002	80	87	100	75	68	38	22	33	5	3	0
2001	90	—	100	100	—	—	10	36	0	—	—

National Journal Ratings

	2001 LIB	—	2001 CONS	2002 LIB	—	2002 CONS
Economic	95%	—	0%	84%	—	16%
Social	83%	—	11%	92%	—	6%
Foreign	77%	—	22%	75%	—	24%

Key Votes of the 107th Congress

1. Approve Bush Tax Cuts	*	5. Faith-Based Charities	N	9. Trade Promotion Authority	N
2. Limit Patients' Bill of Rights	N	6. Bar Gays in the Boy Scouts	N	10. Bar Funds for Intl. Court	*
3. Campaign Finance Reform	Y	7. Ban Partial-Birth Abortion	N	11. Authorize Force in Iraq	Y
4. Ban ANWR Development	Y	8. Arm Commercial Pilots	N	12. Deny Home. Sec. Dept. Union	N

Election Results

2002 general	Henry Waxman (D)	130,604	(70%)	(\$509,690)
	Tony Goss (R)	54,989	(30%)	
2002 primary	Henry Waxman (D)	52,785	(90%)	
	Kevin Feldman (D)	6,146	(10%)	
2000 general (CA 29)	Henry Waxman (D)	180,295	(76%)	(\$389,766)
	Jim Scileppi (R)	45,784	(19%)	
	Other	12,122	(5%)	

Prior Winning Percentages: 1998 (74%); 1996 (68%); 1994 (68%); 1992 (61%); 1990 (69%); 1988 (72%); 1986 (88%); 1984 (63%); 1982 (65%); 1980 (64%); 1978 (63%); 1976 (68%); 1974 (64%)

The People		Race/Ethnic Origin		Ancestry	
Area size:	388 sq. mi.	76.4%	White	German: 8.4%	English: 6.8%
Urban population:	97.5%	2.6%	Black	Irish: 6.8%	
Rural population:	2.5%	8.8%	Asian	2000 Presidential Vote	
Pop. 2000:	639,088	0.2%	Native Am.	Gore (D)	199,282 (68%)
Median income:	\$60,713	0.1%	Hawaiian	Bush (R)	81,336 (28%)
Poverty status:	9.0%	3.3%	Two+ races	Other	11,464 (4%)
Military veterans:	8.3%	0.3%	Other	Cook Partisan Voting Index: D +21	
		8.3%	Hispanic Origin		
Occupation	Blue collar: 6.9%	White collar: 84.4%	Gray collar: 8.7%		

The Westside: The term was not much used 20 years ago, but is now shorthand for what might be the biggest and flashiest concentration of affluence in the world. It is the heartland of one of America's most productive and creative industries and one of the nation's major exports, show business. The first moviemakers came here earlier in the century, looking for a place to shoot silent films where the sunlight was more dependable than in Astoria, Queens, or Englewood, New Jersey. They found it in Hollywood, a suburb just annexed by burgeoning Los Angeles when the first movie studio was built in 1911. In 1923 came the Hollywood sign, overlooking the soon-famous intersection of Hollywood and Vine. By the 1930s, big studio lots were scattered around town, over the mountains in Burbank or out toward the ocean in Westwood and Culver City. Miraculously, the studio bosses of that era—most of them Jewish immigrants with little ancestral experience of America—created a popular culture that was universally accessible and embodied the American spirit in a way that still captures the imagination.

Showbiz still sets the tone for the Westside. It remains tremendously profitable, and not just for the big studios which are owned by large conglomerates; there are thousands of entrepreneurs, actors, writers and craftsmen who are the best in the world at what they do and who tend to cluster on the Westside because so many of the others they do business with are here. Many people on the Westside like to portray themselves as artists in a garret, willing to risk starving to

make art and speak truth to bourgeois society. But their yen for fashionable new moral standards often make them disdainful of the ordinary people who are the market of mass entertainment. Showbiz rejoiced in the election of Bill Clinton and in his frequent forays into California and obvious fascination with entertainers; it rejected with fury the notion that there was something wrong about his affair with a White House intern (from the Westside, it turns out) or with lying under oath in a sexual harassment case in a federal court.

Not everyone on the Westside is in show business, of course. The 30th ranks first in the nation in percentage of people who work at home and this is a place where thousands of small entrepreneurs, manufacturers, and inventors and marketers of everything imaginable helped spark the huge growth of the Los Angeles Basin, and there are even traces of pre-show business Los Angeles money, which is also plentiful. There are large numbers of singles and gays here. The Fairfax neighborhood remains solidly middle-class Jewish—though many of its Jews today are recent Russian immigrants. The Westside has been the home of a former president who does not at all exemplify its politics, Ronald Reagan; before his Alzheimer's disease worsened, he kept his office on the former Fox lot that is now Century City. It is the center of the second-largest Jewish community in the United States, as well as the focus of the 1980s immigration of Iranians to the United States (6% of the district population is of Iranian ancestry). It is also the locus of some of America's most expensive residential real estate, where people buy houses for multiples of \$1 million, knock down the structure and build something new for more millions, and of one of the world's premier high-priced shopping areas—Rodeo Drive, once a quite ordinary shopping street.

The 30th Congressional District contains most of Westside Los Angeles plus territory to the west. It includes the Fairfax neighborhood east to La Brea Avenue, heavily gay West Hollywood, Beverly Hills and the heavily Jewish Los Angeles neighborhoods to the south, Westwood and UCLA, Bel Air and Brentwood, Santa Monica and the whole 27 miles of Malibu on the ocean; most of the workload of the California Coastal Commission comes from Malibu. The district also includes the western end of the San Fernando Valley, the high-income neighborhoods of Woodland Hills and Chatsworth up against the mountains that rim the Valley. And it includes the high-income suburbs of Hidden Hills, Calabasas, Agoura Hills and Westlake Village, nestled amid mountains along the Ventura Freeway west of the San Fernando Valley. This is a mostly high-income district with a large number of Jews and immigrants from Russia and Iran, but by today's definitions it is the least diverse district in metro Los Angeles. Only 3% of its residents are black; no L.A. County district has a lower percentage. Only 8% of its residents are Hispanic, by a considerable margin the lowest percentage in southern California. Many Latinos work in the district, but few are interested in paying the prices for housing that has been bid up by rich people who can't imagine living anywhere else.

The congressman from the 30th District is Henry Waxman, a Democrat first elected in 1974, one of the ablest members of the House, a shrewd political operator who is a skilled and idealistic policy entrepreneur. There is no Westside glitz about him: He grew up over his family's store in Watts, his personal demeanor is quiet, and he has never attended the Oscars ceremony. He graduated from UCLA and its law school, where he met Howard Berman, his longtime political ally and colleague. He moved up rapidly in politics by spying openings before others did and taking advantage of them. He ran against Assemblyman Lester McMillan in the mostly Jewish Fairfax area in 1968, at 28, and won 64% in the primary. From 1971–72 he chaired the redistricting committee, a good place to make friends, but he went to Congress in 1974 in a district designed, he points out, not by his committee but by a court. Waxman's biggest break came after the 1978 election, when he was elected chairman of the Commerce Committee's Health and Environment Subcommittee. This was one of the first times House Democrats decided to ignore seniority in handing out subcommittee chairs. Nevertheless, Waxman argued his case on the issues and—in a move quite unprecedented at the time, though common in Sacramento and now also in Washington—made campaign contributions to other Democrats on the full committee, and won the post, 15–12, over the widely respected Richardson Preyer of North Carolina.

The campaign contributions were no accident. In the 1970s and 1980s Waxman and Berman built their own political machine in Los Angeles. Its power came not from patronage but from fundraising and savvy. They raised huge sums on the Westside for favored candidates. For them

they put out carefully targeted direct mail, with hundreds of customized letters and endorsement slates sent out to different lists of people. In the apolitical commonwealth of California, where television advertising is exceedingly expensive and people seem to avoid politics, this made them critical though not always successful players. But in 1992 their machine foundered; since then, Waxman has rarely taken an active role in Los Angeles area politics.

As part of the Democratic majority and chairman of a key subcommittee from 1978 to 1994, Waxman was a major national policymaker, usually from behind the scenes. In 1981 and 1982 he prevented the Reagan Administration and Commerce Committee Chairman John Dingell from revising the Clean Air Act; biding his time, he worked to strengthen the law in its 1990 revision. Another great Waxman project was expanding Medicaid for the poor. Between 1984 and 1990, he got coverage for all poor children up to 18, all children under seven and pregnant women in families under 133% of poverty income. This helped raise Medicaid from 9% to 14% of state spending in the 1980s, and helps to explain why Waxman was so disliked by many governors because many of these mandates were unfunded.

Waxman had less success on reforming national health care. He wanted to move to something like a single-payer program and supported the Clinton plan but to no avail. He has secured more funding for AIDS research, important in the 30th District with its large gay population. In early 1994, in widely publicized hearings, he lined up the chief executive officers of leading tobacco companies and accused them of adding nicotine and other substances to cigarettes and of lying in their testimony. All this had no immediate legislative result, and when Thomas Bliley of Virginia became Commerce Committee chair, the hearings stopped. But Waxman brought the tobacco issue into public view, and he helped to inspire the lawsuits against tobacco companies which have resulted in the biggest redistribution of corporate assets—from the tobacco companies to state governments and trial lawyers—in history.

Waxman reacted with dismay to the Republican takeover of Congress, but with no slackening of effort. He led the fight against Republicans' regulatory reform and Medicare and Medicaid changes. He and Lincoln Diaz-Balart sought to establish nationally the California practice of not barring immigrants from Medicaid.

In 1997 Waxman gave up the ranking position on Health to become ranking Democrat on the Government Reform Committee. There he sharply attacked Chairman Dan Burton's investigation of Clinton campaign misdeeds, arguing that Burton had given himself unprecedented subpoena power and was misusing it, and he emerged as perhaps the House's most articulate defender of Clinton against scandal charges. In 2001, Waxman switched from being a defender of the administration to being a critic, frequently writing letters to Burton calling for investigations. There is an apologetic note in his comment about this course. "I'm doing what I think I ought to be doing. It's not what I'd like to be doing." In a February 2001 hearing he got NBC president Andrew Lack to promise to hand over an internal videotape of the NBC election desk on election night in 2000; Waxman was concerned about reports that Jack Welch, CEO of NBC's parent company GE, had urged the network's election desk to call the election for George W. Bush. Lack changed his mind a week later; Waxman threatened a subpoena in August (though it seems unlikely that the House would vote for one) and the two had talks in September; but the tapes were never released. In May 2001 he and 15 other members sued the Commerce Department to get release of adjusted population totals for the 2000 Census; Census Bureau professionals had determined that the adjusted totals were too inaccurate to be relied on. In January 2002 a federal court in California ruled in Waxman's favor. The Commerce Department appealed to the Ninth Circuit; the case was later settled.

In May 2001 he and John Dingell asked the GAO for the names of company executives who had been consulted by Vice President Dick Cheney's energy task force. In June he asked Burton to seek the names. In July the GAO sent a letter to Cheney asking for the names, the first such demand letter the GAO had ever sent; Cheney declined. In February 2002 the GAO brought a lawsuit against Cheney. In December 2002 a federal judge ruled against the GAO, and the agency declined to appeal.

Waxman was roused to action by the collapse of Enron. "Whenever I feel I can't be outraged about anything any more something like Enron comes along." In January 2002 he released a copy

of the optimistic email Enron Chairman Kenneth Lay sent out to employees in August 2001. In February 2002 he wrote to Burton demanding an investigation of Enron's political activities. He identified issues relating to the Clinton administration (the company's support of the Kyoto Protocol, the administration's actions to help Enron's Dabhol electricity plant in India) as well as the Bush administration (the energy task force, FERC appointments, the company's position on the corporate Alternative Minimum Tax). He looked for evidence that the administration had tried to help the company out of its financial difficulties; no such evidence turned up. On foreign policy, Waxman has always been a strong supporter of Israel. Many Arab countries, in his view, "don't want to reconcile with Israel, they want to destroy Israel."

Waxman has always won re-election easily, and has contributed generously to other Democrats' campaigns. Redistricting added Malibu and the San Fernando Valley to his district but it is still very heavily Democratic; the lines were drawn by Howard Berman's brother, Michael Berman.

THIRTY-FIRST DISTRICT



Rep. Xavier Becerra (D)

Elected 1992, 6th term; b. Jan. 26, 1958, Sacramento; home, Eagle Rock; Stanford U., B.A. 1980, J.D. 1984; Catholic; married (Carolina Reyes).

Elected Office: CA Assembly, 1990-92.

Professional Career: Staff Atty., Legal Assistance Corp. of Central MA; Dist. Dir., CA Sen. Art Torres, 1986; CA Dep. Atty. Gen., 1987-90.

DC Office: 1119 LHOB 20515, 202-225-6235; Fax: 202-225-2202; Web site: www.house.gov/becerra.

District Office: Los Angeles, 213-483-1425.

Committees: *Ways & Means* (13th of 17 D); Social Security; Trade.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	AFS	LCV	CON	ITIC	NTU	COC	ACU	NTLC	CHC
2002	100	87	100	100	19	38	25	32	0	0	0
2001	95	—	100	93	—	—	11	40	0	—	—

National Journal Ratings

	2001 LIB	—	2001 CONS	2002 LIB	—	2002 CONS
Economic	95%	—	0%	91%	—	8%
Social	90%	—	0%	84%	—	8%
Foreign	80%	—	20%	94%	—	0%

Key Votes of the 107th Congress

1. Approve Bush Tax Cuts	*	5. Faith-Based Charities	N	9. Trade Promotion Authority	N
2. Limit Patients' Bill of Rights	N	6. Bar Gays in the Boy Scouts	N	10. Bar Funds for Intl. Court	N
3. Campaign Finance Reform	Y	7. Ban Partial-Birth Abortion	N	11. Authorize Force in Iraq	N
4. Ban ANWR Development	Y	8. Arm Commercial Pilots	N	12. Deny Home. Sec. Dept. Union	N

Election Results

2002 general	Xavier Becerra (D)	54,569	(81%)	(\$441,254)
	Luis Vega (R)	12,674	(19%)	
2002 primary	Xavier Becerra (D)	unopposed		
2000 general (CA 30)	Xavier Becerra (D)	83,223	(83%)	(\$1,046,470)
	Tony Goss (R)	11,788	(12%)	
	Other	4,909	(5%)	

Prior Winning Percentages: 1998 (81%); 1996 (72%); 1994 (66%); 1992 (58%)