

*open-ended
Anthem
"lookly ahead"
forward
"going forward."*

Zoe Lofgren (D/CA) October 29-31, 1996

Book #1

- She really is a
democratic woman.
Indignant*
- I flew from Rochester to Chicago to San Jose and went to the Alameda Motel--a less than spiffy ("all we could get") resting place. Called Kathy at the office, took the bus downtown (instructions on the bus are in English, Spanish, Vietnamese) and walked several blocks, hopped another bus, walked and got to the congressional office.
 - Kathy went from room to room introducing me as the person that will be "shadowing Zoe for a couple of days." They all shook hands dutifully. And I sat down to read the paper in the front office. No one said more or came over to ask what I was doing. I made a reservation to stay in a nicer place the next two nights, hung around reading stuff. Then it started to rain. I called a cab and went back to Shangri-La. Went up the street, had a steak and turned in.
 - In the waiting room there is a sheet with about 40 kid's drawings, a letter from Bill Clinton commending them on their "Village Project" and a framed "Village" saying "It takes a village, etc." over her desk. In an office full of pictures and certificates is a big picture of Einstein and a saying of his, "Imagination is more important than knowledge." So all I can divine her is that she is preoccupied with children. There's also a Zen-like set of sayings near the door--Welcome to California!
 - I changed hotels and met Zoe L. at the office. She's a friendly partisan, liberal, unstylish, soft-spoken, business-like (not a hugger like KT) person who let me sit in on all her meetings (much like Glenn P.). We moved from office to event to office all day--in the pouring rain, the first real rain since May, she says.
 - The day went like this: office meeting on female circumcision with African woman and friend; to "Gain" employment services to get people off welfare; about 25 five year olds came into office with ^{Halloween} costumes ("the highlight of the day," said ZL in evening!); public health, student interview; to anti-209 meeting of Vietnamese group; meeting with Iranian dissident, visit to husband's (John Marshall Collins) prospective new building; to "Macsa" job fair, to pick up daughter, Sheila, at

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husband's law office; to McDonald's for Horace Mann School fund-raiser (school 1-5, her kids went to).

- Strongest supporters, "My neighbors, the parents of my children's friends at school, people I worked with in health and human services (when she was county supervisor), health workers, especially public health nurses. [They are the best people in the world at walking precincts. It's what they are used to doing.] These are the people who, when you vote in a way they disagree with, will say 'I must be wrong.'" (You mean they give you the benefit of the doubt?) No, they just assume they were wrong."
- Coming out of McDonald's where she met and talked with some of the mothers from the school, she said, "You asked about my best supporters. These women, in there, would work the phone banks--three hours at a time, three nights a week."
- Re primary in 1994 vs. McEnery: "I became a cause. I became an icon of the women's movement."
- She called 1994 race as one "between the downtown business community, and the grass roots."
- I asked her about the "mother incident." "It had absolutely no effect here. When my opponent announced, the San Jose Mercury News wrote a long, glowing editorial saying how lucky we all were that he was willing to run. Then, for almost a week, they ran a series on all the improvements he had brought to the downtown--the greatest piece of unpaid publicity you ever saw. As far as any of my activity was concerned, there was a complete blackout. I was not expected to win. No one thought I could win. I can even remember calling my campaign manager and asking him, 'Do you think I can win? Because if I can't, there's just no sense in knocking myself out the way I am.' He said, 'It can be done. You can do it!' Whether he meant it or not, I don't know, but when I heard that, it energized me and we went back to work raising money and organizing the phone banks."
- "My district is completely within Santa Clara County. The only part I didn't have when I was County Commissioner was Silicon Valley. So when I became a congresswoman, I knew almost nothing about the businesses in Silicon Valley. Oh, I had met a few when we got into transportation. That does

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involve the County and, of course, they are very interested in it. Since my election, I have made it my major campaign to get to know business people there. They are worried about encryption, security, intellectual property--a whole set of issues I knew nothing about."

- To nearly everyone who came to her office or to whom she spoke, she would say, "I've only been in Congress for 22 months..." So I'm not as knowledgeable as some. To the Iranian who came to plead for a Radio Free Iran and sticking with sanctions, she began by saying, "I've only been in Congress for one term. And Santa Clara County didn't have a foreign policy," and she ended by saying, "I'm only a freshman, and I rely a lot on people like Tom Lantos who have been here much longer than I have."
- "I was talking to one of the freshmen Republicans--Mark Neuman or Roger Wicker--who were arguing for a constitutional amendment providing for a spoken school prayer. I asked them 'who gets to pick the prayer?' They said the local school does. I said how would your child like it if he or she had to say a Sikh prayer? They said, 'What's that?' She laughed. There actually is a Sikh school in my district."
- Early on, when I told her the names of some of the people I was studying, she said that one thing she had learned from being in Congress was "what an incredibly diverse country this is."
- It turns out that she was the one who, as County Supervisor, put through the tri-lingual signs on the bus, on the light-rail and in public buildings. After we left the anti-Prop 209 meeting with the Vietnamese group, she commented that the Vietnamese community had split into conservative and liberal groups, had recently come together on this, and that one of the speakers had been part African-American and that the conservatives and the more liberal elements of the community had joined hands and that all of that showed a growing maturity. How did that happen? "I think it's because of what I did."
- "This is a funny electoral cycle. I'm spending only \$35,000. My opponent is spending \$100,000, but he's spending it poorly. We're sending out one large mailing to all the addresses where there's a woman. That is, 82% of all the addresses. And

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we're sending out a smaller mailing to Vietnamese leaders." (They went out today.) She says 18-20% of the district is Vietnamese--by population. She mentioned that Ky and the generals came here first and established a conservative tradition. Then families came and relatives, etc. in normal pattern. But the voting percentage is much smaller. She fixed a number I can't recall.

- "There is no dominant ethnic group in the district. We have Vietnamese, Cambodians, Phillipines, Latinos, African-Americans, Hindus, Sikhs. We have more Buddhists in my district than Baptists. What is more, they get along, too. There are a few rumbles, but not many. And they are all very proud of that fact."
- The African-American population is not large--about 5%.
- "When I was on the County Board of Supervisors, only one of the six was a white male."
- The dominant thing about her career is that less than anyone I've studied, she had to change her priorities or practices when she moved from County Supervisor to Congress. She keeps finding her county work applicable to her congressional work--seamlessly in some cases. She drew on it widely in public health interview. The guy in McDonald's told me how she intervened when INS agents were asking kids questions about relatives and drove them out of this area. When we went to Macsa, she had helped start it. She seems to be a veteran of countless community campaigns.
- The other thing is that she continually talks about children and education. She's aware of programs elsewhere and in San Jose--homework classes, juvenile gangs (program to convince leaders to let members leave freely).
- "I love San Jose. I think it's the best community to live in anywhere in the country."
- At San Jose State, the talk about the various presidents, and their strengths and weaknesses. Student age is high.
- Re representation, she said, "Sometimes I wonder whether the job is to find out what people want and do it or do what you want and hope people want it. In the end, though, when I do

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what I want, I'm so much like them that they'll agree with me. What worries me is that after I've been in Washington, I may not be like them anymore. For that reason, I think it's better not to come home and make speeches, but rather to come home and go to barbeques, sit on the front porch with your neighbor, get in the supermarket lines and talk to people to keep up with the rhythms of what they're saying." She also mentions standing around on the playground as one of her neighborhood activities or putting out the ironing board. (See later quote.)

- When she talked about passing the 1/2-cent tax for road construction, she said she knew it would pass because she sounded people out like that, "I talked to people on their porches and in the supermarket lines. I asked them if they would be willing to pay 1/2-cent more on their county tax to improve three highways. Traffic was so bad, businesses were threatening to leave." It passed 57-42. They call this Measure A.
- At the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce luncheon, Mayor Sue Hammer spoke of the "respect for other cultures." Said that there was "no politics of resentment" in San Jose and called Prop 209 a special disaster for this community.
- The second day went: fund-raiser for Ellen Tauscher in Livermore; swearing-in of Major An from Vietnam as a U.S. citizen; Hispanic Chamber of Commerce luncheon; Means Co. Home Health Service visit to three patients; San Jose State Democratic Club.
- After the Major An swearing-in, Zoe Lofgren said, "I have a very good relations with the veterans. You might think that strange since I voted in favor of the assault weapons ban and against the flag amendment. They oppose me on those things, but it doesn't matter to them. It's the little things that matter. For instance, the county has a 20-year contract to keep up the graves of the Santa Clara veterans who have no family. It costs \$6,000. The county proposed to cut that out of the budget as a cost-saving. I said, "Are you crazy-- \$6,000? I fought for that and got it put back. I also helped facilitate their veterans benefits. Those things gave me a pass on the flag amendment. It may sound corny, but these men went to war, put their lives on the line and saved civilization. That was Hitler! Why shouldn't they get their

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due from the rest of us?" Interesting that she should think that sentiment "corny"--not in Georgia or South Carolina!

- Walking into the Hispanic Chamber luncheon, "I've been a member of the Hispanic C of C for 16 years." *This little comment--made as we walked from parking lot to the door of the Radisson Hotel--helped to crystalize what is most special about Zoe Lofgren--her long time, deep immersion in the community. She's a veteran at all this! She has run umpteen campaigns for office or for causes; she has sat on umpteen committees and boards. The district is almost wholly familiar and it's within one county--which means that the people she knew and the projects she was involved in as County Supervisor will be very close and fit very well with those she deals with in Congress--especially the people she worked with on various boards, committees and campaigns. Her penetration into the life of the community was much deeper and more lasting than a state representative or state senator would get. She has one county board and one city council to deal with for the most part. Easy to reach in government. (May be I ought to look for county supervisors for fair comparison!)
- Naturally, therefore, when I asked her if it was an easy district to represent, she said, "Yes, I grew up here and I am so much a part of the district--by experience and by outlook. It's not just with the community activists. When I stand on the school playground talking with other parents, I think like they do... I love it here. I love the people here. I love to talk to them. I love to listen to them."
- She talks enthusiastically about her diverse county Board of Supervisors. "Out of five members of the Board, only one was a white male. I represented an area with the largest Latino population. An Asian represented the area with the largest Anglo population. A Latino represented the area with the largest African-American population. The other Anglo woman represented a mixed Asian-American, Anglo area. People were very proud of that--as they should be." Not descriptive representation.
- There were no signs at all of any opposition in the primary this year. (She had 500 lawn signs.) Next time, there will be an open primary (pushed by Tom Campbell to get moderate Republicans in). So she's going to raise money to be prepared. Doesn't anticipate any trouble, however.

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- I asked her if she had any rule of thumb to govern her intervention in local races. She didn't and she ticked off those races--state assembly and school board that she gave endorsements in, others she didn't. Made one mistake by endorsing someone for school board whose kids played with her kids. She endorsed all local Democrats and sometimes intervenes when she has ties with someone. The point is: she is not a hands-off-the-local-political-scene person. She's a get-involved-in-local-politics person. Not surprising, but part of an involvement pattern. It's very much in her interest to have the right people in local offices. So she works at it.
- Talked about her battles with the Mayor--says they fought over money when she was on Board of Supervisors. Mayor endorsed her opponent. "After I got elected, we sat down and talked. I reminded her how we fought over money. She asked me, 'Is that all it was? I thought you didn't like me.' 'No, I said, I like you. It was only about the money.' As it should be--between city and county. Since then we've worked well together. I've helped her and she has helped me. Sometimes, we still disagree about what to do with the money. But it's not personal. I wish now that we had had that talk much earlier."
- Santa Clara county one of two or three to vote vs. Prop 187-Immigration.
- I asked her if the welfare bill was a hard one for her. No, she said. She believes that welfare should be a work program "people need a kick in the fanny to get them to work." But she voted vs. it because the accompanying services weren't there--especially child care. I suspect that she's just too liberal and her district's too liberal to countenance such a bill. All the community activists and care-givers would never understand it. What she said was, "If they had known what I knew, they would have voted against it. That made it easy for me to explain it. The County Commission passed a resolution opposing it. The City Council passed a resolution opposing it. The San Jose Mercury News wrote an editorial against it that made it easier." (I blew the question, "Could you have explained a vote for it?")
- She talked about a campaign--led by three women commissioners, "we were just three girls, not to be taken seriously"--to take

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the jails away from the sheriff's department. Sheriff raised \$1,000,000. Used money set aside for a new building, sheriff mortgaged his home. "We raised \$200,000 and we crushed them. They hate me for it. They have not forgotten. But the jails are now less costly and our programs for literacy, drug abuse and teaching skills are a huge improvement."

- "People here are hard-pressed, but they will sacrifice for education and for the future." She mentions property assessment for libraries that passed by over 80%. She mentions increase of some sort for schools that 90% of senior citizens voted for."
- She says that the County has had good leadership, too. Leaders and people "believe they can work things out. Almost no corruption." She can think of two cases since she can remember. And we agree that's pretty good!

Book #2

- The Major An Citizenship swearing-in was, pound for pound, the best covered event in my travels. He saved the lives of three Americans in Viet Nam and later lost both arms in combat. He couldn't get into the U.S. and once in, couldn't become citizen for some reason. Zoe got through a private bill allowing him to become a citizen and this was the ceremony. One of the men whose life he saved spoke to the group over the intercom. There were lots of people that helped him along the way--a Japanese sponsor, the VFW, Zoe; and after he took the oath from Director of INS (San Francisco) there were pictures, interviews for one and all. Three TV stations, numerous radio stations--everyone crowding around, Vietnamese-Americans, others. A big event--more like a wedding--a hero to U.S., military and to local Vietnamese population. I got teary and there wasn't a dry eye anywhere after. Zoe and the American soldier and the INS commission got through. Flood of picture-taking, great feeling, Zoe in the middle of it--running the ceremony. Very moving. Mostly like a wedding!
- Zoe is optimistic about the community. She doesn't downplay the problems (for example, she points out areas where drugs and crime are a problem ("the corner of King and Story"), but her entire attitude is "can do" and her conversation runs from one success or bit of success to another. As she rolls along in the car, or when she meets people in a meeting, there's

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always some recollection. "They tried to close those houses down, but we wouldn't let them." "The owner thought about selling those homes, but we told him not to and he didn't." "The church is involved in the PAC program." "We even worked on a planned parenthood program with the Catholic Church. We differ totally on abortion, but we didn't let that stop us from moving ahead with a planned parenthood program. Did you ever hear of that back east?"

- She has a way of recalling individual encounters, as she tells a story of an event. Maybe they help her remember. Point is, she personalizes events. On election day, there's a guy with his hood up and his head under the hood of his car. Zoe introduces herself. He says, "I know you. I voted for you. You saved my son's life." (via programs of rehabilitating drug users.) Then these two ladies going into the shopping market. They say "we're going to vote for you." Zoe says, "You only have 15 minutes before the polls close." They go in the store anyway, but come right back out. "We decided we'd better vote now. The shopping can wait." These are omens, she says.
- Then there's the man she meets who recites her brochure by heart. "I know you. You're the truck driver's daughter."
- (I met Zoe's Dad. She calls him every night. Her Mom died 34 years ago. He keeps a scrapbook. N.B!)
- About the decision to run, she said she had good idea Don Edwards was not going to run. "I called him to urge him to run again; and I got the feeling that he wasn't. So we began to think about what would I do if he decided not to. We went back and forth, back and forth, how could we manage it, what about the children. We went on a trip to New Zealand and I remember standing on the edge of a beautiful blue lake and thinking all of a sudden, 'Of course, I want to go to Congress.' Whether we could work it out or not was another question, but as far as my wishes were concerned, I wanted to go. That realization helped a lot. A day or so later, the phone rang and Mavis said, 'He's not running!' Then John and I went back and forth some more and decided to do it. The former Mayor was already in the race. My former campaign manager, Richie Rose, had already signed up with him. Mavis (Zoe's #1 advisor) had been asked to join his campaign; and she had run his campaign. But she stayed with me. I got Bill

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Carrick--who is now Bill Clinton's media person--to be the manager."

- "We did it with phone banks. We had 40 going in the valley for 6 weeks."
- "I didn't walk precincts. I hate to walk precincts. We relied on phone banks. I went from one to the other--to keep up morale and to allow phone bankers to say 'Zoe is right here now. Do you want to talk to her?' And I would talk to the person directly. The volunteers were unbelievable--the hours they put in on the phone banks. It was a low turnout election. We won by 1000 votes--because we were able to turn our folks out. We did especially well getting our folks out in the working class areas of east San Jose. The phone banks were the key to my election."
- She speaks of East San Jose, North San Jose, Silicon Valley, South Valley, Rose Garden (?).
- Quote from talk at Livermore (on tape): "I grew up in the Bay area. My father was a truck driver, my mother was a cook at a school cafeteria--they still use her spaghetti sauce. I had the good fortune to go to California's public schools at a time when California valued education, put money in education. I got a scholarship. I was the first person in my family to go to college. I understood the value of education and the importance of investing in education. I know that in my gut because it has made my life bright. It has changed my life from one of dreariness to one where I can go ahead and dream."
- She often says, "It's a Democratic district," or "it's a liberal district."
- She served on school board and ran for supervisor in 1980. Was afraid she'd lose when Carter conceded early.
- She noted that her mother worked in a factory. "She was a riveter." Her dad volunteered the day after Pearl Harbor, but was rejected because of bad knees. Went in the Army, but because of knees, never went overseas.
- "Sometimes we go out unannounced and set up an ironing board in front of a grocery store and invite people to come talk. If they have a problem, they can talk to the staff person

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there. When we announce these visits, we'll set up a card table and a couple of chairs and people line up. One very hot day, an elderly man stood in line for over an hour, got to the table and said, 'I just wanted to say thank you.' I said, don't you want to talk about anything in particular? He said, 'No, I just wanted to tell you that you're doing a good job and thank you.' Wasn't that sweet?" This was another case of her personalization of events. ZL is a real people person.

- Whether it is relevant or not, she never asked me a thing about myself. And while she did call me Dick, she referred to me when talking to others as "the professor." I'll need more with her before I can conclude anymore. I did, however, find her staff efficient, but not loose. With the exception of Dan, the recent San Jose grad who came up to me as I was leaving to ask a few questions, the staff stuck to their jobs and did not come near me. The office is not full of laughter or banter or socializing--at least not while I was around. They were competent in the sense that people knew I was coming to various events--that was Kathy's job. They were good about getting me materials--again, Kathy mostly. They weren't curious about me; just went about their work in a serious manner. As I was leaving, I told Kathy that I'd probably be back because I took in more than I can process; she said, "And you saw the staff walking back and forth, but they were too busy to be of much help to you." An odd thing to say; but it implied that she knew I hadn't gotten much help from staff. And, aside from Kathy (who never asked me about myself), not one of them ever offered to help me in any way. In that sense, I felt the office was business-like and a little uptight--much less hospitable than most.
- Zoe couldn't have been better about taking me everywhere and opening up to me and answering all my questions, and treating me well. But I would not call her personally warm. She is a good interview and travelling companion. She is a big woman, with a nice smile which she flashes at times. But at rest, she is more somber looking and tends to be a little nervous or fidgety, moving her hands and head quite a bit as if she is sitting still, but wishes she were in motion. She was very patient, listening to 40 minutes of monologue with the Iranian. And very patient on the surface when the health people dragged her all over the county and she got behind. I thought she would be very exasperated in both cases, but she wasn't. So she likes to be in motion, but she is patient.

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She wheels her Mazada van around like a truck driver, and drives pretty fast. Mavis is her long-time sidekick and political person. Kathy seems to be a confidante, too. The others seem intimidated. She has the habit of calling people "dumb," "jerks," "not very bright," etc. which can be intimidating. (That's a lot like Ray--outspoken!)

- She is a legislator, and she does work across party lines, but when she speaks of working with a Republican--Chris Smith, Roger Wicker, "We were each President of our class, and worked some things out"--she always prefaces with a comment that indicates, with an ideological comment, how much she disagrees with them on everything else. It's not necessary to say that, but she seems to need to--as if collaboration might be taken to mean agreement. Maybe I'm just over analyzing. After all the thrust is that she can do business across ideological lines--on minor things. She hates Bob Dornan and obsesses about him quite a bit, with Dana Rohrbacher a close second. I guess what I see is that more than most, she defines what she's for, but also underlines that view by defining what she's against. Maybe in this district, keeping the enemy constantly in your sights helps to define yourself. And maybe it's the minority party syndrome and she's just calling attention to need for new Democratic and liberal majority.
- On the idea that she's interested in Silicon Valley problems, she noted that no one else in the committee delegation has picked up on it. "Howard Berman and Sonny Bono are on the subcommittee, but interested in Hollywood--music, videos, pictures. Sonny is Chairman of the Intellectual Property Subcommittee. They put him in there to get Hollywood money. When the CEO's came to testify before his subcommittee--Bill Gates and others--he opened the meeting by reading a few lines from a sheet of paper. They were appalled. He had no understanding at all of the issues they were interested in."
- She talked about her committees. She's stymied a little by northern Californians already in place. She's thinking of Ways and Means, but Matsui and Stark are on it. "I thought I'd like Appropriations, but I went to one of their meetings and found it so boring that I'm not sure I could stand it. Besides, Anna Eshoo is a member now." If she stays put, she'd like to get on (chair?) the Intellectual Property Subcommittee. And she thinks George Brown is "fun," "smart," "thoughtful," "has a plan" if he becomes Chair of Science

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Committee. She asked my opinion (the only time she did--on anything). I couldn't help her."Bob Walker is a jerk. The Democrats can't stand him. And the Republicans can't stand him." I told her LG agreed. When I mentioned LG, she just rolled her eyes!

- She talks about her favorite grandfather that came from Sweden with his clothes on his back and no money, who had a relative in Oakland. "When we visited, I always ran straight to my grandfather. I would sit with him for hours and listen to his stories about how poor he was and how he got work and became a citizen." That's part of her working class origin. She has pictures of her grandparents on her wall in the office.
- She says of the House Democrat's agenda "Families First," that "a lot of that was mine. I told Gephardt that we had better be specific about modest things that were doable and then make sure we did it. It was suggested that we go back and meet with our constituents and talk about how those things could be done. Most didn't do that, but I did. I met with groups at home to discuss the proposals." She is very conscientious.
- In her interview with the public health student, she showed a complete command of the issues. She is very concerned for quantification as a means of linking intentions to outcomes. She wants means of accountability in time of tight budgets. Talked about coming TB epidemic; had a broad view of public health--not just immunization, aids, epidemics, but also violence, domestic and non-domestic. The student kept asking where she got her information, and ZL said, "I get most of it informally because I served on the board of the county hospital, I know these people and I talk to them all the time." (Example of immersion and her linkages.) When the student gave her a copy of the "Health Status Report of Santa Clara County," Zoe said simply, "We started that when I was on the board."
- She talks a lot about the internet--public school access to the internet was one of her major accomplishments in her first term. When kid at SJS asks about the future of governances, she touts the internet. "I love the internet. It is bound to improve the country when people can get their own information and use it." She touted Netday--30 people at a school on a Saturday. When given the slightest incentive, she blasts Gingrich--calls his campaign finance idea "ludicrous" and

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finds money flowing in from all directions. Has many examples of how he pushed tough contract items without debate, hearings, etc.

- Re juvenile delinquency, "I have a great bill. We know a lot about what works." Goes into Orange County study which takes a set of indicators and predicts what kids will be fine (most) and which will get into trouble. "Most kids will go on ok. A subset will cause a lot of crime. It's possible to identify the trouble makers. And with resources you can stop many of them from becoming criminals. She talks of the "grid" formed by the indicators and the value of quantification in "pinpointing" problem kids. What's interesting is that she does not end with persons, but with "resources" to help them. Key indicators are troubled home life, arrest before 12 years of age.
- "We have a diverse party. I've wondered what our core values are. When I went to Congress, I only knew Mineta, Stark and Eshoo. Now I see Democrats like Charlie Stenholm and Sam Hall are as conservative as you can get. What do they have in common with Ron Dellums or Pat Schroeder? I think it's that all of them were seared by the civil rights movement and have rejected racism as a basis for public policy. And, in the spirit of the 1930's, they think about wage earners."
- On environmental issues, she tells how "Boehlert and those guys said we're not going to trash the environment--seventeen of them took a hike. Some did it out of principle, and others knew that if they voted yes, they'd be dead meat here." She talks "street talk" in this way sometimes, i.e., "dead meat."
- Re Prop 209 against affirmative action. "Not all people who vote for it are bad. You can read it a different way and not be evil." ("Well, thank you Zoe for the gracious benefit of the doubt," would be the Republican response.) Maybe (this was at SJS) she was educating the kids; but there's a tone that puts Republicans almost beyond the pale of respect. The point is, she's a tough partisan Democrat--and something of a fresh breeze after the southern swing!
- At SJS, she was asked to name "one good thing and three bad things about the Republicans in the 104th."
Good thing: "They haven't been reluctant to ask questions. We've done it this way for 15 years and it

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isn't working. Why not?" That's good. My answers are different from theirs, but we should be asking questions.

Bad things: Some of the bad things were vetoed and stopped. (1) "Stylistically, they opened up the Capitol and put a cash sign on amendments. That was the worst thing they did. I've heard from lobbyists that they've never seen anything like it. On the clean water bill, between the committee and the floor, 100 pages of amendments were added by the petro-chemical industry and others. The cash flowed in for the Republican House. If that's going to be the pattern, we're in trouble." (2) "The vicious rhetoric directed toward people who were not white, male fundamentalists. I sat next to Maxine Waters who came from a very poor family on public assistance. I heard people call people on public assistance breeders and animals--to say they were not human beings--to keep us from doing what the country needs." (3) "The efforts to stifle voices of dissent. There were numerous occasions where that happened. They tried to stop anyone who wants money from the government--except for defense--from lobbying the government to get it.

- "With one minute still left on the clock to cast a vote, the Whip, Tom Delay, closed the vote while people were running down the aisle on our side to vote. He didn't allow their votes to be cast. That's a chilling thought. The desire to win was too great. There's a need to be constrained by decency which, in the end, is more important than any vote."
- No talk on prisons from her, but at one point she said, "we spend more on prisons in California than we do on education. Now that's appalling." She thinks higher education has been neglected and that's bad. What she really thinks is bad is K-12.
- She tells story of father and mother. "One day the teacher pulled me out of class and said, 'You should go to college.' I said, How can I go to college. We have no money? 'You can get A's instead of B's and get a scholarship.' So I worked hard and I got A's and I got a scholarship. People will try to fulfill the expectations other people have for them."
- East Orange, NJ had an experiment--they gave one computer to every two kids. Everything improved--drop out rates,

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discipline, attention span and test scores.

- Pre 1994 Democratic leadership "arrogant and out of touch--the Democrats lost the election. The Republicans had what I call Grade B candidates. They didn't win. The Democrats were rejected."
- She talked about Don Edwards off the record--so I'll have to put this in someone else's mouth (a long-time co-worker "who contrasted him with Lofgren.") "Don Edwards was a marvelous, courageous spokesman on all the great issues of our time. He represented the views of his constituents well. But he didn't know his district well. He didn't live in the district. He didn't come back to the district. He didn't answer his mail. When he first ran, he bought the seat with \$900,000--much of it his own. He was untouchable. He only had one challenger that I can remember."
- Zoe says, "People were surprised when I answered their letters. They weren't used to that."
- She is, by the sharpest contrast, a congresswoman in the streets, in the neighborhoods of the district--"thoroughly modern Millie." And the question is whether or not she gets a bonus for being different from her predecessor. People sense change. They may like it or they may not (Conable-Eckert). She tried to talk Edwards into running again. She worked for him as an intern and was very fond of him. He was, however, a type of politician of another era. It was allowable in the 70's. ^{Also, he's} It's not allowable now--as a political-cultural-social matter. She is better than he was.
- At Prop 209 rally: "Prop 209 legalizes discrimination vs. women. It is shameful when people say Prop 209 will help... People new to our community need help; they need outreach efforts to tell people what opportunities there are to help them succeed. I am present to stand with you once again in your efforts. I congratulate your magazine."
- At the Horace Mann fund-raiser at McDonald's, I had a long time with the new principal of the school. He said he had three criteria in hiring teachers--respect, sincerity, empathy. We chewed on that. "Let's stay in touch," he says. He tells story of how he called Zoe when INS agents began stopping kids on way to school and quizzing them about who

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lived with them--which led the parents to start keeping their kids at home. Zoe "drove 'em out," he said and she agreed. "I don't think we did anything except to let them know we were watching them and they left."

- To SJS students, "The difference in agenda, life experience and outlook between the freshmen Republicans and Democrats was marked indeed."
- "In funding and availability, the federal government should make a substantial contribution to education."
- She talks about the generally favorable county economy: 3.7% unemployment, number one in revenue and jobs from exports, the smallest gap in California between the affluent and the rest. One of the smallest gaps in the country.
- Her concern for the work force of the next generation. Can't afford to cut education more. Hence, "a crucial election." "The division between Republicans and Democrats on where we go is stark." "I spent a lot of time listening to the Republicans and where they want to take the country. They are a strict market economy people. They see almost no role for the government except for the military."
- When student asks about rising tuition and difficulty of going to college, she contrasted the GI bill with today. "After World War II, people that never would have gone to college, went. The government helped educate a whole generation. They created Silicon Valley. We have been living off that investment for decades." Now, the implication is, government should do it again, some how. Where crying need is, the government should be there.
- Zoe does not talk about markets at all. She seems as opposed to markets as a David McIntosh is devoted to them. She's a 1960's liberal in many respects. But what is admirable (to me) about her is that she lives at the "interface" between government and people in need. There's lots of district rhetoric about the civic cultures and neighborhoods and families. She works closer to them than most members of Congress I know. In that sense, she represents one side of the polarization as LG represents the other side. She does say, often, that she listens to other side, that she can work with people personally that she disagrees with ideologically.

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So, maybe, she could be a bridge-builder. As of now, I wouldn't bet too much on it. We'll see.

- On extra reflection, I'm reminded that one of her characteristics when she talks about someone is that she tells you whether she agrees with them or not. That's a crucial definition, or an overt one anyway. "I like Glenn (Poshard) even though I don't agree with him on everything." "Same with Karen Thurman. Very fond of her although we don't always agree on everything." "I work with X, even though he's a hard right Republican." Issues are very important to Zoe. So why wouldn't she think of people in those terms. But it does emphasize and underline that side of her and I think it's part of the reason why she seems less warm personally than some others.

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