

William Mailliard

March 21, 1974

"There was a crazy, outrageous redistricting--giving me 135,000 new ^{STRAIGHT} ~~stronger~~-voting Democrats--which would have made it very difficult for me to win. That was the last straw. It had been getting rougher and rougher and rougher. I had been forced more and more to cater to special interests in order to get reelected. And I didn't like that. I could have won; because I have won in areas like that before. But it would have meant shoe leathering the new part of ^{the} district block by block. And I just didn't want to do ^{that} it. What's the use of having ^{high} all the seniority with the opportunity of being influential in Congress if you have to spend all your time in the district. You can't be a senior congressman with an insecure district. They are incompatible. Even if I won, I would have had to be right back at it the next year. I would have had to work for six years to ^{digest the new area and} solidfy that district. It would have meant starting in all over again. And I wasn't about to do it.

" Another thing that turned me off was the amount of money I had to spend in 1972. I was appalled at what we had to spend. Roger spent ^{\$450,000} ~~\$500,000~~ and we spent \$150,000. When you spend that much, people expect things from you. They say we gave him money and he didn't do ^{thus} ~~this~~ and so. I had never spent more than 50,000 before, and then

only once, in 1970, and before that I had never spent more than
 # 35,000. My brother Jim would write 200 letters and we would get
 all the money we wanted. The contributors never asked for anything
 in return. But you can't ask your friends for # 150,000 every two
 years. In the new district I would have to go to the black community--
 the central city, ^{URBAN HOUSING} ~~having~~ blacks--and negotiate for their support. On
 civil rights, no one in Congress has a record more in line with theirs
 than I. But on other issues--so many jobs for their group--I would
 have to negotiate. And I don't want to be put in that position. I
 think I could have done it, because they respect seniority. They'd
 rather own a piece of someone who is influential, than own someone
 else completely. But I didn't want to have to digest that new area.
 And I would have had to promise what they wanted. Once you start
 you want to get reelected and so you have to cater to special
 interests. I think it was the right decision not to run. And I'm
 completely happy with it. After I announced, I had a physical exam
 and found out I had cancer. They've operated and say it will be
 all right. I'm glad I announced for other reasons--but the physical
 report makes me glad also. I can attend to my family more. I don't
 know how Millie will like the social obligations--we had those anyway--
 but I know she's glad I'm out of politics."

Redistricting by ^{then} ~~M~~asters adopted. Idea that state assembly
 districts should be within congressional districts. They didn't

change ^{the} exterior boundaries of ^{BURTON} and Mailliard but traded 135,000 people. It was Willie Brown's district that they put in Mailliard's. "Central city, urban housing ^{URAL} blacks." He said it made no sense.

"They said that districts should be ^Nnational communities. But it will be impossible for anyone to represent this new district==from central city, urban housing blacks to ^{SOMOMA} County dairy farmers--literally. He said he cussed out the judge--after he had resigned from Congress.

Talked about Roger ^{BOAS} "a long time social friend of mine, wealthy and Jewish," "cadillac liberal." "I can get along with real liberals, because they think very much like I do. But I can't stand the cadillac liberals. They don't believe what they say."

Says Roger played Marin County well--told each little group what they wanted to hear.

"My old district was easier to run in. I never felt representative of Marin County, strangely enough--because it is more republican than the city. But I didn't feel comfortable in ^{SUBURBIA}. They had so many local jealousies and rivalries. I wasn't prepared for their pettiness and petulance, for the dozen different city councils and all those government districts of one kind or another. I'm used to dealing with a city. It has problems but if you have a reasonable solution to those problems, people listen to you and you can accomplish something. Not in Marin. My opponent played Marin County skillfully. He told each one what they wanted to hear. He'd

go to Belvedere and Tiburon and tell people how great a job Nixon was doing; and then he'd go to Mill Valley and Sausalito and say just the opposite. Since they don't talk to each other no one would know the difference. An incumbent can't do that. I never have and never will. ^{BOAS} Boas could get away with it because people in Marin didn't know him. In San Francisco, where he was on the Board of ^{HE'S GOT A RECORD, and, besides I just can't operate that way.} Supervisors ^{Superiors}

he voted on every side of every issue. And word had gotten around about him." Said if ^ABoas had done what he tried better, he'd have won.

He also noted that old district and new district in city were "pretty much the same." "I lost some of Nob Hill but gained some in ^{PACIFIC} Heights.

"I lost some of Sunset and gained some of sunset." ^{Again, not good on electoral geography or demography}

Only time an issue ever counted in a campaign of his was Viet Nam.

Otherwise his personal qualities were the key. He mentioned Viet Nam as accounting for part of his 20 point drop in 1970.

Also, of 1970 campaign he said "In the 1960's I wrote a memo to my staff saying 'You are too damn complacent. If I were running a campaign against myself, here's how I'd do it.' (How?) Overall, I have a voting record that reasonable people will agree with. But if you start picking out individual votes and attacking each one separately before groups interested in that one vote, it will kill me. That's what Miller started to do. Right off the bat, he spent enough money to get himself identified as my opponent. Once I saw that, I knew I was in trouble. Before, people had run against me but nobody ever knew what they were running for. (Then said he almost lost that one.)

Re, his supporters and hard core, he was really very vague.

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Re, supporters. "That's very hard to evaluate. I never thought in terms of groups. Except for the support I had from the shipping industry, from the maritime union right on through the management. They supported me because I worked for them on my committee--even if I disagreed with them much of the time. I never thought of my support as coming from groups. Otherwise, I don't know the middle group, I guess, home owners. It's very hard to say." And then to idea of trust.

Re, hard core, ^{he} They said, "old friends. And people whom you helped." Told story of taxi driver who liked him and didn't know anything except he'd helped him with program. detail see much in between old pal and case - helped people - 10. 1 to middle range of groups.

Re, trust. "There isn't one voter in 20,000 who knows my voting record, except on the one thing that affects him. Some may think it is liberal or conservatives, but as often as not they are wrong. They trust me. That is proven by the letters I've gotten since I resigned. Many people have written and said, We never have written to you, but we trusted you. Who are we going to trust now? They had built up a familiarity with me slowly and over a long period of time."

How did he account for trust. He thought a while, said it was hard to know and then said, "I was the first in Northern California to send out a questionnaire and a newsletter. I think those helped a lot. It tells people you want them to know what you are doing and you want to know what they think. Not that you will follow it, but you want to know. It's one factor in the decision-making process. I pioneered in those things. Now it's old hat."

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Agreed there was some difference between Washington and deal district because in Washington you ~~deal~~ with "certain key people" and in district you deal with "all the people." Not very helpful. Talked about trust in Washington, how crucial it is and how you learn whom to trust "very quickly," by ^{trial} ~~trick~~ and error" and ^{by} ~~only~~ "your ability to judge human nature." "The curious thing is that the people you trust are not necessarily the people you agree with. My best friends in the Senate are Fullbright, Mansfield, Church and McGee--all Democrats. And we have pitched battles. But I feel closer to them than anyone in the House."

Did you ever want to run for Senate? "No."

He feels strongly on foreign affairs. Did constituents agree with him? No - he felt it was irrelevant, that they didn't know anything about his foreign policy stands,--except for a very few." Would those few be especially important to him? Yes. "San Francisco is a trading city, so my support of relatively free trade would be important to the business community. Their financial support is important to me." Suppose you voted ^{against} ~~vs~~, it, would you lose their support? Yes, but I'd pick up some from the other side. (Again, the heterogeneity and, maybe, lack of enduring primary constituency). But wouldn't first group be more important to you? No answer - no strong feeling I guess.

Re issue position. "I came in as a strong liberal and ended ~~by~~ being more conservative. I didn't change. My reference points

On matters he feels internal about, he sticks to his guns - Foreign Affairs, like Communism & civil rights. Even if it causes him trouble.

remained the same. But the world changed. I came in as a strong supporter of public housing and ended as an opponent. I became convinced it wouldn't work--not as a matter of philosophy but as a practical matter. You took people from the ghettos of the past and moved them into the ghettos of the future. Also, as Republicans more liberal than I came in, I seemed less liberal than I had been and ended up somewhere in the middle."

He said people may have idea about his philosophy but that just as often as not they would be wrong--so that even if they had an idea, it might be quite useless in relating to him. Maybe, though, he was all things to all people--just as he had hoped he was not!

Didn't think Republican other than himself could hold district. His first answer was, No. Then he said, well, maybe Senator Milton Marks, who had been well known in area. Then possibly Bill Baggeley (running for State Controller) because he could have done well in Marin--which Bill saw indigestible.

He never had problem with Republicans leaving him because "they had no place else to go". But "I never sought Democratic support as such." He never had a primary except in 1st election. "My opposition came from the far right. They talked about a primary, but always decided they would lose the election if they didn't support me. They tested their muscle in 1952, spent \$50,000 dollars and got 5,000 votes--ten dollars a vote. I never discouraged them because I always thought a right wing opponent in the primary would help me with the Democrats in the general election.

- Chris Holme said Bill typically took a young man on staff & kept him for 3-4 years. Did not build up a senior, experienced staff.