

Roy Knauft, Doris Knauft, Jane Dressen, Wendy Lee, Darlene Knoop.

I caught up with Chuck at the Chevron Research Installation where he was talking to an employees study group about energy and, as usual, decrying government regulation.

Most interesting thing he said was as we came out of La Habra City Hall "I haven't the slightest idea how other congressmen spend their time when they are home. We don't discuss such things. Do they do the same things I do? (Yes.) Once in a while someone will say 'I had a busy weekend at home', but I don't care whether someone talked to the Rotary Club or not. Maybe some of the younger classes talk to one another about their techniques. I don't. I don't have any idea what my colleague in the next district does." Indicative of and almost total substantive concern.

Do you touch base at city hall regularly? He had done two today. "This trip has a little more emphasis on visiting city officials than some others. Sometimes we emphasize schools. Sometimes we do a few plant visits. It's fun to sit down with a fellow and find out what his problems are. They all have the same problem--too much government regulation. But if I don't see city officials in their offices, I run into them anyway--at the service clubs and at the Chamber of Commerce. Whenever there's a community function they are there. But I try to stop by about twice a year."

The whole thing seemed very contrived to me--a totally unnecessary trip to the district. As if they were finding things for him to do.

"I wish my district were moved toward the water. Then I might stay in Congress and have my district office on a yacht."

To the mayor of La Habra who was late "I know, you had a three martini lunch." Not the kind of comment a Bonker would make.

At Brea, which is a city of about 28,000 and growing, they got an EDA grant for a 30 million dollar reservoir. "We did a very elaborate dance to get that project--because by any standards of unemployment we didn't qualify. We brought the EPA administrator out here, Wilmer Mizell, took him out to the ball game and flew him over the area in a helicopter pointing out the areas of poverty if we could find any. (Finger stabbing here and there). The city officials put on a seminar explaining to the EDA people the need for the project. And the EDA people did a "how to" demonstration. Then we flew the regional director down here and wined him and dined him. I don't know how many thousands of dollars we spent on him. And it turned out he was a good solid Republican who wanted to run for Congress. When we got the project it was the largest EDA project in all of California. I'm embarrassed by the amount of EDA money we have brought into this district. We have brought more money into the district than the whole of the city of Chicago got. That's not right. We got a project in *Yorba Linda* whose average income is about 17,000 - 18,000 a year. It all comes from knowing how to work the formula. They have two pots of money--one with 70% of the money, the other with 30% of the money. Most area fought with each other for the 70%. We got our cities to apply for the 30% and every one of them was right at the top of the list for the 30% money. It's not right, because we don't need it--not like other parts of the country. I vote against the program. But as long as the money is there, I'm going to get all I can for Orange County.

When I got to the Chevron place, Chuck was answering questions about energy in the way that was so common last time--filled with as much technical language as he could muster tremendously fluent and articulate, in praise of the free enterprise system, warnings about what the government will do to the "unfavored class, the energy producers," punctuating his comments with 'Let me tell you ladies and gentlemen', "and that's a fact." Warnings that govern-

vigor and, perhaps, along with Studds my most articulate person.

He still loves to sit down and work through the financial side of a problem. He kept asking the city officials where the money was coming from for each project, how financed, "You can tell the personality of a city by the way in which it spends its general revenue sharing money. La Habra spends most of its money buying land for parks."

"Each city has its own personality. I don't look at the district and see a blob--even though the cities run into each other. Most of them are old cities and were established before the growth began."

Started by saying that the economy of Orange County is very healthy, building is booming. "It's probably the fastest growing county in the country--not percentagewise perhaps but in numbers. The building industry is strong, and the economy is healthy--maybe not elsewhere but it's very good here." And he went on to talk about lack of heavy industry--improvement in pollution. "If anyone sees black smoke, they call the police."

"I like Barber Conable, but he's a strange sort of a person. He's urbane, intellectual and is probably at home in any company--except perhaps a union hall. His voting record overall is moderate but occasionally he will be a part of a very small minority on some matter he believes in. Most congressmen wouldn't be caught dead in a group smaller than 100 on a vote. I like Barber Conable. We have some good men doing useful work on the Ways and Means Committee--Barber, Bob Steiger and Bill Frenzel, he's a smart person."

As we looked at the pictures of the 5 members of the La Habra city council, he noted that the one Democrat was a young woman. "She's a political activist who wants to be a member of Congress. Well, she can try and try and try." The implication was that his district would never elect such a person. Later, he came back to her when we were discussing party ratios in the city. "She's

a CETA employee. The only thing she has ever done is to take money from the government and live off grants. She's a total political animal."

There is in this the disdain for people who haven't worked in the world. His attitude toward me is friendly but not respectful. He introduced me as from Fordham when I first saw him. Later he said "He's a college professor on a Guggenheim grant writing a 600 page that no one will read except his students."

Two points about Wiggins as a "subject". He is not interested, naturally, in process. He loves substance. And secondly, he does not talk easily and naturally about himself. Every time we'd get back in the car, he would turn around in the front seat and talk animatedly to me--but not about what he was doing or about his career, but about the problems of the city we were in--explaining, teaching, describing, analyzing those problems--the aggressive development strategy of Brea, the "social consciousness" of La Habra--its senior citizens programs, youth programs, parks. He's not unfriendly at all. He tries hard; but it's difficult for me to get him on the wave length I'm interested in. After we left the conversation with the Mayor, City Manager and Mayor pro tem in Brea, with its complex financial-legal manipulations whereby the city is helping the school district, he turned and said "I suppose these city problems are the same as those in the other part of the country." I said yes, except that I hadn't seen as much development elsewhere. He really wanted to engage in a substantive discussion of comparative city problems, and would have delighted in that. But I wanted to get him to talk about his district. So there is a sense, all the time I'm with him that we are pulling and hauling against each other. He's not all that happy talking about the things I'm interested in and I don't have that kind of interest in financing, spending, lending, cash flow and profits margins that he does.

His main interest in dealing with city officials seems to be to get bureaucracy off their backs. Well, in La Habra it was. "The bureaucracy will go as far as it can go in regulating your life. It will go until it is stopped. Sometimes, a congressman can bring the bureaucracy up short."

He noted that district registration was 3-2 Republican. That Anaheim (200,000) was "about 50-50, maybe even a little more Democratic." And its size is so great, it tends to overwhelm the smaller cities." (I have to remember that he speaks of all of them as cities.

He told me that he had had office hours, and the one case he mentioned was a guy who was making some product that competed with the navy. Even though he "came in low" the buyers would take the navy bid because they did a lot of business with the navy and didn't want to risk disfavor. Guy was being driven out of business.

The other "case" he talked about was a guy that needed an export license and it had been held up because of new admin. attitude toward arms sales. They got it for him. Cases to Chuck are businesses in trouble with the government.

When I asked him to look at his schedule and rank the "importance" or "urgency" of the various items on his schedule, the one he went to immediately was the case of the guy competing with the navy. "I'm very interested in this man's problem. It's an injustice brought on by excessive government regulation." That is a passion of his.

The first thing he did on Friday was to run through the list for me with net effect that none of it was very important or urgent, confirming what I had suspected. Roy said later that he came home this trip because it was "time". Nothing important.

Then he said the most interesting thing of the trip--only part of which I can capture. "I come home partly out of a sense of duty. It's part of my job. Once every three weeks is about right. It means that I don't have to go to every birthday party and wedding. Some eastern congressmen go to every Bar Mitzvah/ it's expected of them. It is not expected of me. I get <sup>✓in</sup>reimigrated when I come home and I think every congressman does. You like to go where there are large numbers of people. And I enjoy talking to them, dispelling some myths about government explaining some policies. Then there is the PR aspect, and I don't demand it. Congressmen should be accessible and be thought to be accessible to their constituents. It affects the attitude of the citizenry toward the government. Coming home puts me under a lot of tension at home. My wife never wants me to leave Washington; she wants me to go to the office every day. Our latest argument was about whether a golf game was a reason enough for me to stay away an extra day. Whether it is or not, I'm going to stay. I know I shouldn't say this, but seldom if ever do I find out anything of a factual or technical nature here at home that is not available to me in Washington--nothing to help me with my job. Maybe if I was on the Banking Committee, I might get some technical information at home, but I doubt it. Perhaps you find out about the moods of people, but I have a thing about that. I don't legislate or vote on the basis of the moods of my constituents or on the basis of what they want. My job as a legislator is to get the facts and to exercise my best judgment on those facts within the areas where I have competence. I could wander around this district for a long time before I could learn anything that would help me in doing that job."

Then he looked off to the left and said "I get all the guidance I need from that great organ over there--the Los Angeles Times." And he launched

into a critique of their editorial in the morning paper concerning aid to Viet Nam refugees. It had never been (except Cubans) a matter of national policy to aid such people and he didn't think it was appropriate to do so.

As he went through the list of items for the day, he mentioned that a deputation from the NEA was coming in to see him. "We don't have much in common. So I'll listen politely and then say 'go screw yourself.' They have become a powerful political force in California politics. They have a lot of money to dispense and they rarely support Republicans. I won't learn anything from them that I don't already know. Oh, perhaps a millimeter more, which by itself is unimportant but added to all the other millimeters might tell me something new."

His emphasis is always on learning something from every contact. He does "PR", but he tends to put that down. When the NEA people (six of them) came in and wanted him to vote for a bill extending collective bargaining to gov't employees, he kept them explaining segments of the their bill. His basic position was that he did not want any unelected body making the final ultimate decision on public employees, i.e. no arbitration panel. And clearly he didn't like idea of strike by public employees. But he put them through their paces for a half hour--very different from Bonker--and they had to argue with him, admit they didn't know, explain their point of view on such matters as scope of bargaining, conformity with ussery decision of Supreme Court. It was again, a highly substantive meeting, and he was seeking information on the bill. Then he asked them about their organizational structure, dues-- "That's quite a cash flow." was closest he got to anything political. Idea of support never came up. It was a kind of dance in which the NEA-CIA people must have felt they were dealing with a very smart, very unsympathetic person.

As he went through the schedule, he said first guy from Delco <sup>P. 22</sup>-Remy was a

great guy and an old friend--who had very good employer-employee relations--a model for the county in terms of educating employees to company situation. "He just stopped by to say hello so that wasn't important." I heard the guy's name mentioned at the Angeles luncheon.

The guy from the civil service employees came to remind Chuck of something he already knew and so he said of that meeting "I didn't learn anything from that meeting."

Of the Chevron meeting he didn't seem to think it was very important. "The only thing I learned there was that they have this discussion group. It's the only thing of its kind in my district." But he didn't see it in terms of talking to constituents.

Fire Department visit - "straight PR".

Two city hall visits "You could say the same for them; they were PR. We were showing the flag. I couldn't call it urgent because they had no particular problems they wanted to discuss. But I think it's important for city officials to know they have access to their congressman."

Re Special Olympics. "They wrote sometime ago asking us if we could come and we said yes, because we want to lend our support to worthy causes. I didn't know anything about it, and now it turns out I'm to be the master of ceremonies." He learned something there "There's a tremendous amount of love in this group." "Every child represents a family tragedy of great proportion." "It's very depressing." etc. But he never thought of the situation in terms of, say, legislation, or funding levels.

Angeles luncheon, he said was the same thing "a worthy cause of great interest to the community. All the community leaders will be there." Roy felt very good about the "exposure" to the 600-700 people there. "It was



great exposure." His name was mentioned 15 times. There were 600 people there. It beats talking to rotary clubs of thirty each. An expression of the value of quantity--over quality. But it was Roy and not CW who said it.

After the appointment with the retired Navy captain who didn't want pension reduced when he got disability he said the group was militant and unreasonable and rather powerful in the district, i.e. Reserve Officers Association but that he agreed in this case.

I asked him to rank the factors important in his elections and, again, could not capture it all. "It depends on which election you are talking about. When I first ran, in 1966, it was a good Republican year, so I rode over the crest of a wave/which I had no control and to which I contributed nothing. But I was also a good candidate for that district. It was 75% Democratic; I had lived all my life in the largest city in the district and I had many Democratic friends. So I could get votes that would routinely and regularly gone to the Democrats. The Republicans in the district live by themselves upon a hill somewhere, they worry about their ideological purity, they always nominate one of their own who lives up there with them, he doesn't have a ghost of a chance of winning and he always loses. Most of the people live down at the bottom of the hill, not on the hill. I lived down there, and was the mayor of the most Democratic city in the district and I had a lot of Democratic friends. I had to play hard ball politics to succeed. I told the regular Republicans that if they opposed me in the primary and if the decisions of that primary cost me the general election, I would make them pay. I told them I would see to it that they were finished forever in the district. They apparently felt that it wasn't worth it and so they backed off and didn't run anyone serious against me in the primary. Anyway they didn't think I had

any chance of winning. The 75% Democratic majority was misleading because there was a strong streak of redneck conservatism among the Democrats. They were lower middle income--even lower income. They drank a lot of beer and didn't cotton to liberalism. So I would say, in answer to your question that in my first election it was the good year and the good candidate."

"In my second election, the incumbency factor began to take hold. I worked the district hard. I was the typical freshman congressman busting my ass--coming home, getting out the mailings, servicing the constituents. After that, the district kept getting better as I moved more and more into Orange County. And as the district got progressively better (i.e. more Republican), I campaigned less and less aggressively."

As for the 1976 campaign, he said at dinner that they spent about \$20,000. They had one mailing and spent the rest on newspaper ads in each city with a list of people in the city who endorsed Chuck. They got the people for the list by going to the file of people they had helped--5000 said Roy--they would write and ask people if they would be willing to endorse Chuck and if they said yes, they put them in the ad. Very effective in communities where people know each other--especially among the elites that Chuck depends upon.

At the special olympics, sitting on the side waiting for things to begin, we talked a little about Chuck's voting record and how one would characterize it. "In civil rights matters, I'm a liberal--though there is always a question of just what you consider civil rights. On fiscal matters, I'm very conservative, to the right of the right. And in cases where I feel there has been an abuse of governmental regulatory power affecting the liberty of an individual I'm in a handful of five or six. I think I'm a moderate. But if you ask the extreme Democrats, they think I'm a conservative.

And the extreme conservatives, the Reaganites, think I'm a liberal because I'm not ideologically pure. But I don't much care about what any of them think. There are certain litmus tests that groups use--not accurate, but nonetheless litmus test votes. If I were especially concerned about senior citizens, I would have to vote for every social security increase--10%, 20%. I can go for 6% or 7%, but I fail the litmus test.

Before that he had talked about the ideal candidate. "I suppose the ideal candidates is in the middle of the district philosophically. But we have to fight a primary as well as a general election. And the constituencies are not the same. So the ideal Republican is a little to the right of the middle of the district, but not too far. And the ideal Democrat is a little, but not too far, to the left of the middle."

"My district is Republican now, but as more and more people move in it is losing its identity."

We talked off and on about the person who would replace him--and it's clear that no one knows right now what will happen. "It will depend on how able the Democratic candidate is. But I think the Republican will win even if he is not the better candidate. The best candidate is someone who can hold the party together after the primary, because we will need that. It should be someone with good identification throughout the county. And you get that through involvement in community activities. That boils down to a very few political figures--the state senator and the two assembly men. The best of those will be the one who can run strongest in the three largest cities of the district--Anaheim, Fullerton and Orange. There are some other people who would be good candidates--Roy would be, the President of the college would be--he's a good Republican. But he's shown no interest in running."

He talked off and on about the three politicians. One assemblyman is running and CW doesn't seem to like him much. Badderly? The other assemblyman hasn't said much and Chuck thinks a lot will depend on how he goes. The State Sen., whose district is almost coextensive with Chuck's wants to go for Lieut. Gov. Chuck doesn't like him. "We don't have the highest quality legislators from this area. The State Senator, for instance, I don't trust him. I think he's a crook, that he's on the take."

I asked him if he was doing anything differently now that he had announced his retirement. "I'm doing everything the same except I'm not getting my "Reports" out the way I did. I write them all myself and they take a lot of my time. Each one is about a simple issue. Usually I send out 3 or 4 each year--newsletters. Here we are well past the first quarter and I haven't produced one yet. It's hard for me to sit down and write it. I'm coming home just as much, though, and doing everything else I always did. I'm worrying about my staff some--because in their interest they will start looking for jobs soon."

Conversation over the phone. "I'm playing golf tomorrow. Janie accepted an invitation from someone. I guess they are from the gas Company."

Another conversation: "What do you think about the new SEC appointment?" If you put the last 2 comments together with the comment to the city manager of La Habra about the three martini lunch, you have a collection of business-oriented banter that tells a lot about Chuck's world.

He sponsors an annual "Chuck Wiggins Golf Tournament" which raises money - 4000 or so. This year they'll give proceeds to Orange County Central Committee.

At the Real Estate Open House, he was very tired and had said so to Roy earlier. Roy was tugging him around when he really wanted to go to bed. "I'm

suffering from jet lag." As we stood waiting in line to get a drink at the bar, I said to him. "A drink will wake you up a little." And he said "And the people will. Once I'm on center stage, I'll start to dance a little." He said it facetiously, but it's a nice comment about ego trip that they are on--as compared to me. For the method section.

*from  
men  
offshore*

At dinner at the Red Onion with Roy and Doris Knauft, we talked some about professional campaign consultants and pollsters and Chuck took a very strong position in opposition to them. "I challenge anyone to show me where professional campaign consultants have ever done anything that the people in the district, who know the district and who have campaigned there couldn't have done. Besides, the local people are even resentful of having someone come in who doesn't know anything about the district tell them how to run a campaign. They are a monumental ripoff. If you know an area, you don't need a pollster to tell you anything about it. When I was mayor, the city council hired a consultant to come in and do a poll. He didn't know his ass from a hole in the ground; and he would sneak around to each one of em and ask, "What do you think!" He produced a beautiful, colored brochure whose conclusions were a collection of all the things we had told him. I didn't need him to tell me anything about what people thought. I had lived in that city all my life. I knew every goddamned corner of that city. If you have a candidate that needs a pollster to tell him what people think, he's not a good candidate--in my opinion. These campaign consultants can't tell you who to contact to do a job or where the power levers are in the community. Only someone who has lived there can tell you those things. I suppose I shouldn't generalize--maybe there are candidates who don't know their districts--but I'm convinced

that no consultant can tell a good candidate anything he doesn't already know about his district." Then he did go on to say that his son brought home a problem of how to conduct a campaign, with lots of data about a mythical district and said you could learn a lot about it from polls--but this was a dist. you didn't know. That is, pollster can learn from polls, but can the candidate?

Said he consulted Stu Roberts of Spencer-Roberts when he first ran. He noted that he had started early in 1966 and in January of 1966 had people on his staff working on it. I think he concluded Roberts wasn't worth it to him--that he really didn't know district.

I never got to ask a lot about his retirement; but it never came up. He talked to one guy over phone who was proposing something to him and they agreed to meet for lunch. But it does not seem to be something heavy on his mind. In Washington he said he had not been able to accomplish what he had set out to accomplish, that it was an indignity "the way Dems treated Republicans and that "I don't have to submit myself to that indignity any longer." That he was a lawyer and would probably practice law, but that he could be a lobbyist and that "financial consideration will play a large part in dictating what I will do." That Betty likes D.C. and he has emotional ties to California.

At the Rotary Club Auction, Chuck sat in corner and made no effort to mingle. He was pleasing Roy, I think, and he was very withdrawn as the silliness of the auction in that "garish" house went on.

At dinner when he asked me how I was organizing book and we started talking about styles he said "I guess there's no school formula for these things. It depends on the person and the district."