

He likes to explain -  
very nice  
created -  
1/16 Shidds -  
but no where near  
as organized as  
technique created.  
He really does present  
himself - & this  
kind of detail.

- When I cut up his stuff,  
he has a much higher %  
of expl than any else.

- A reader, teacher, a man with high  
candid but her entry is, perhaps 10/10 as independent thinker.

Charles Wiggins

October 21-23, 1974

- Conservative intellectual discussion  
- not idling at Crane - a man of the  
world - has  
a man of the  
world -  
with ideas -  
Any one who thinks a lot  
would want to be  
thought of as indep.  
I guess.

Got in from New York, rented a car, drove to Fullerton and went to  
find his headquarters at 1400 North Harbor Boulevard.

Went to office next day, met Wiggins (who didn't know I was coming--  
or had forgotten) and Pat Rowland, John Foote, Maryellen Gayle and Jane  
and Wendy \_\_\_\_\_. He has the four staff people.

We went to a plant for a tour, to L.A. for the Claremont Men's  
College Award and then spent the rest of the day getting and displaying  
HUD Secretary James Lynn--whom I never even got introduced to. So the  
rest of the day was a bust. And Wiggins had a cold and I felt bad about  
making him talk.

But--at the end of the first day, I have a very amorphous feeling  
about the Congressman. He is pleasant and forthcoming, but seems not to  
be the type who talks readily about his political life or views. At least  
not as sharply as I would like. But he's nice and we shall see. John  
Foote said he didn't think Chuck was all that political and didn't think  
he would slice up his district as educationally as some others might. So  
far, he hasn't. But it needs to be kept in mind that about 60% of his  
district is new.

The most interesting thing he said(though it's not that revealing  
about his constituency) came when I asked him why he went all the way into  
LA to get the award from the California Recognition Group of Claremont College.

On the way in he said it was an "academic ripoff" and was not a serious, objective evaluation of Congressmen--as it was supposed to be. He said he went because (1) he believed the program of Republican was a good idea (2) because he wanted to "identify" himself with the college (3) "It will be good for PR, to report in the local paper that I received an award" and ....

(4) "The people at the luncheon are fat cats. People who can give \$1000 to a college are in a class of givers and they give a lot more to political campaigns, for example. They have never given any money to my campaigns, and I have never asked them. I have never needed them. But they are there in reserve, let me tell you that. If I ever have to push the panic button, I can call on them. There might come a day when I would have to push the panic button and try to raise \$150,000. That kind of money is hard to get. It is only through my association with RePublican that I have come in contact with the big givers in California... men like Henry Salvatori, who gives hundreds of thousands of dollars I am told, or Ben Crocker of Crocker National Bank. There was another fellow there today who is always trying to raise money for me. I keep putting him down and telling him I don't need it. I think it's an abuse to collect it when you don't need it just to show you can collect it. Today he told me he got Ben Crocker--Crocker that stands for that huge building--to make me out a check, but he said his hand was shaking with age, that he couldn't sign his name. It's just as well. We have all we'll need this time. I'm confident."

North Orange County Board of Realtors--Fullerton, Brea, Placentia,

La Habra, Yorba Linda. (Yesterday, in Yorba Linda, he referred to his locale as "North Orange County," when introducing Secretary Lynn.)

Says to them he wants to bring good news and bad news--good news = interest rates coming down and savings flowing back to S & L. Bad news is Justice Department will be on your backs more than ever before regarding commissions to see if they are in conflict with anti trust laws, i.e., fee fixing,--interest rates being driven up by pressure of government borrowing in the short term market. He tells them their problem is related to other problems. "Why is government out there borrowing?" To pay bills resulting from its obligations because Congress has incurred a deficits. "When Congress incurs debts it is directly impacting your ability to make a comfortable living." Congress is challenged to help lots of groups and he ticked them off--on and on. "We can be a generous, sympathetic Congress." But if amount of generosity exceeds our revenue we will hit you right in the pocketbook. "As a matter of your self interest you should want us to exercise restraint on spending." "Congressman, if he has guts, must refuse sympathetic request and he will appear very callous." "It is a simple fact that Republican party has been more sensitive to the problem of government spending than our distinguished colleagues on the Democratic side."

"That's not the only thing I've learned in Washington. I've learned to stay away from bodies of <sup>water</sup> ~~veter~~s."

"You are the essence of America, you are out making a living. You don't have a guaranteed annual wage. You have to hustle to make a living."

You are what makes this system work. There's nothing wrong with hustling to make a living and I want to be as supportive as I can."

I have learned something that many of you ladies may also have learned--to say no."

Old age question. Said he hadn't made up his mind on the policy question of an old age pension." That will be a political judgment depending on power of lobby of senior citizens. Picture he painted is one of productive members of society paying for senior citizens.

Re tax exemptions on savings accounts. "I'm not cast in cement on this." Will study more on it--listen to all sides--get better informed.

He often says "ladies and gentlemen" as he moves to make a statement he wants to be listened to.

"I'm not going to take the demagogic position that I voted to cut, therefore I don't have to tax. That's playing politics; that's demagogic. I've watched Congress mouth the rhetoric of cutting spending for years. They aren't going to do it. Our politicians are going to dance all over the farmer saying they will take money from corporations and people with income over \$30,000! Money is not there; it's in middle class

Freedom. Most likely to be permanently taken away by government.

Democratic party--government is most efficient way of solving problems. Best way to solve problem is to approach from federal level. "Categorical aid programs almost a matter of principle for Democratic party in my lifetime."

Republican party-- Local government most efficient governmental agency. Can control local government better--"if you can walk down to city hall and pound on the desk." "Risk that distant administrator in Washington, will deprive you of your freedom."



Constant sense that he is in the minority in Washington, that "current view that societies problems can be solved by proliferation of federal <sup>problems</sup> problems."

Mass transit--conceptually against idea of Federal government into operating costs. Why should Texans pay for people who ride bus in Orange County. He explains that people "test your fidelity to idea of mass transit by whether or not you will support the most outrageous demand." Says he supports 11 B and mass transit advocates ask 21 B--which he rejects--need restraint, etc.

Often says "And that's a fact" or "that's reality."

At Hughes Aircraft, he said to first three questions, "I don't have a firm stand on that. I wish I were wise enough to have the answer to these tough problems. All I can say is that I will do my best in your interest and in the national interest." I.e., on surtax, land use, controlling wages.

He does not say he has an answer--uses idea of responsible.

"I'd rather go down with my flags flying on this issue of fiscal restraints than demagogue the issue of increased spending."

"I'm going to offer you something and you can take it or leave it. I'm not going to change. If you approve my record, I hope you will support one who has guts not to <sup>p. 16</sup>. If you do not approve of my record, vote for someone else."

LaHabra Chamber of Commerce luncheon. "La Habra reminds me of some of the happiest and most productive times of my life, when I was working

in my community doing what the community needed to have done." Then on to idea of people doing things privately. "Self governing muscles of local community will ~~drop by~~<sup>atrophy</sup> and distant federal government will take over, if efforts of communities like LaHabra cease their efforts."

"I've been in, through and around La Habra all my life. I feel as much a part of this community as the case of my home community of El Monte."

I asked him re his contributions and did he have limits. He said problem had never arisen--that he took \$100 without any question. That 2 men had offered him \$500 and no one had offered more than that, and that he gave back one of the \$500 because he was doing some case work for that guy.

He introduced me at Realtors meeting saying that "He is writing a book about how congressmen deal with their constituents. He is using me as a guinea pig. And, as I understand it, he will write a book of 500-600 pages whose only buyer will be the Library of Congress. That's what professors do when they are not grading papers."

In all his talks on inflation, he tells his audiences that they Congress is going to spend more than Ford wants, that Congress as presently constituted won't cut spending and therefore,

"Frankly, ladies and gentlemen, there is no way Congress will reject the public service employment concept, and that will give money to the consuming class. But who will pay the bill."

"I don't want to reflect knee jerk opposition to the president's program. If I were in your chair I think what I would want is to elect a man to Congress who will exercise his best judgment on the facts when he has them all. And the way we get facts is through committee hearings.' I don't know how I will vote--but I'll vote to cut back spending and if I lose and I expect to lose, based on the tack record, it would be the height of irresponsibility to say I lost, therefore I will not vote for taxes."

He speaks of "that's the cross I have to bear" in being criticized as unsympathetic. He also says "I live by the sword and I die by the sword."

His view of himself: "A willingness and a record of standing up to pressures and saying no."

Conversation between Chuck and Pat directed at me. CW: "You'll be interested in Villa Park. It's an interesting little community. They have banded together to preserve a life style centered around horses. And they're all Republican." Pat: "There are 400 registered Democrats and 1500 Republicans." CW: 400 Democrats? I thought they had better zoning laws than that. Well, it doesn't matter, they vote Republican."

When we left the Chamber of Commerce luncheon I asked him about the kind of campaigning he was doing. Do you speak to that group often? "About once a year. You can't create crowds. You have to go where there are crowds. So you go where people meet. That means you spend more time talking to groups like the Chamber of Commerce than you do to people who live along the side of the road here. But they are the movers and shakers of the community. They make it go. If we do what we're doing and I see between 500 and 1000 people a day, I consider it a good day."

Then I asked if he did shopping centers. "That's an effective way to campaign. But I tell you that I'm not campaigning harder than I have to. If I thought I had to, I would take my coat off, go to the shopping centers and press the flesh. While that is good politically, it's not good public service. When you accost some woman and she jumps back a bit and you tell her who you are and put something into her hand, you haven't talked to her about her problems. It's just PR. If I have the time--as I do now--I would much rather have a conversation with someone like Fred--who introduced me today and who barely concedes that roads are a government function. He doesn't concede schools. He's a real right winger and I'd a lot more spend some time talking some sense into him than just handshaking."

After CW had answered questions, this Fred jumped to podium to read a story that he'd just received saying USA was going to send wheat to India. As the C of C guys groaned and said "Knock that one off" CW got up and told them that we as members of the world community have responsibility to send wheat to India when people are starving--that we couldn't turn our back on them. He was teaching them. o

He returned to the theme of his kind of campaigning later--as we were between plant tours. "We are doing now just about the same thing--I'll say the very same thing I do when I come home on weekends. It isn't all political--some of it is a matter of self education for me. I like to go to plants, find out what their problems are and see what makes

he likes  
intellectual  
pursuits

this country tick. But we've seen a lot of people too. We started out this morning with a group of 300. When I first ran, I had a man keep a count of how many people I met and you'd be surprised how many you meet in a day--even going like we have. If I see only 500 people a day for ten days, that's 5000 people. And if they vote and vote for me, that number can change an election."

I noted that I had not seen many party functions on his schedule and wondered what his relations with the party were. He spoke at some length--and I can only capture excerpts. "I don't do much with the party. It's probably one of my failures. But it is the most painful, unpleasant part of my job. Orange County retains the old method of a central county committee rather than having the party organized on an Assembly district basis. So the members of the committee meet from all over the county, and it just hasn't worked. It hasn't worked because most of the members of the committee are more interested in power grabbing and infighting and killing each other than they are in performing the functions a party is supposed to perform. They are supposed to do the precinct work, get out the vote, identify likely candidates, help the candidates. But they are only interested in playing the game of politics inside the party. It takes a special breed of cat to be able to endure that kind of infighting. And those people tend to hold extreme ideological positions--in the Republican party they are far to the right of their troops. They don't like congressmen--especially winning congressmen--because congressmen have to reach the much broader and less extreme electorate. I think the job of the

*9 wk on  
non party  
relation*

Congressmen is to identify with a large majority of his constituents. The party organization is not interested in that. So I tend to work through individuals and not the party apparatus. Maybe I should plunge in and try to take some responsibility for the party, but frankly, it is just too unpleasant for me. And I'm not going to do it. Andy Hinshaw says he's going to try to reform the party organization. He'll come out in 17 pieces. I wish him well--silently--and go on my way. The guy who is in there now is a nice guy, but nearly half the committee detests him. And they are spending all their time plotting against him to bring him down. They aren't spending any time doing what a party should do--help elect candidates."

Pat told me that the real Birchers are not in CW's district--but in Hinshaws. But Hinshaw has such a big Republican majority, they would be lost in his district--20% of it. Whereas if Wiggins had them, they would have to pay attention to them. He is (1) not right wing, because he distinguishes himself from them and (2) he is not very rich or particularly comfortable with the very rich. Not like Mailliard. He is, I think, at home with the country club crowd. But he is essentially a suburban businessman-oriented lawyer. But it's the middle-sized businessman he really identifies with--not the really rich. For example, he regards \$500, as an excessive campaign contribution. (He got one from a gambler and didn't know what to do. I would have returned it. But he's a friend of the gambler's son. "It's an embarrassment to me.")

The other indicator of his rapport with businessmen was the plant tour. He liked to talk to the presidents of these various companies about their problems, their products, their corporate structures, etc. Actually, I've never seen anything in my campaigning quite like the plant tours. I thought idea was to meet numbers of employees in some way (John says he told each company that the idea was to meet 50 people in a half hour). But most of the time, he spent in the President's office or the Conference room talking about the company and then walking through the plant and shaking hands with a few people in a desultory manner. But nothing energetic or systematic about hitting everyone. John noted, as he was walking around in the Task Corp plant that CW was not much for quick handshakes and that he figured on a much longer political payoff from the more extended contact.

After he left Task Corp., CW said of its owner. "He would be generator of crank letters or a valuable source of ideas and support." He seemed undecided as to whether he'd made a good contact or not. Guy had turned a 1500 dollar loan on his car into a 14 million dollar a year business!

Taking an accounting after this, the second day, I think this has been one of my poorest experiences--not because CW is unwilling, but because his staff blankets him. Especially John Foote, who talks incessantly, is trying to impress his boss and has no sense that I want to talk to CW. I don't think he's trying to protect him. I think he's just looking out for himself--he's a very ambitious young man.

He talked of how Ruckelshaus ~~canned~~ him into going to San Francisco to talk to some Veteran's Administration group. "If I had been in a close

race I probably wouldn't have done it. It kills a whole day."

He described his district "Orange County as one of the fastest growing counties in the United States. It is part of one big suburban ring around Los Angeles--a megalopolis. There is no open space till you get to the southern part of the county. You can't tell the difference between Los Angeles County and Orange County in the northern part. One county runs into the other, one town or city runs into the other. But the further out from the center of the city, the more Republican it gets."

We have a great deal of light manufacturing in the district, but no real heavy industry. There is a political ramification of that. There is no one single dominant union in the district."

He talked about how he decided to invite Secretary Lynn to help him with his fund raiser--or rather, treat people who had already given. "We selected Lynn with malice aforethought. This is the fastest growing area in the county. And no industry is more important to Orange County than the housing industry. The housing slowdown has impacted the area substantially--the builders, the real estate, banks, insurance, savings and loan institutions, on and on. These people come to me and say 'can't you go to Secretary Lynn about this.' So we thought we'd bring Jim Lynn here so they can beat on him directly. It will be part political and part non-political. He will explain the new Community Development Bill to our city officials. And he will come to my fund raising cocktail party."

He said their campaign budget was \$34,500. And that they had it all in hand. (In fact, they were having trouble deciding what to do with the excess. "Once you prod people, you can't turn it off. It's still coming in."



He asked the 5 Republicans with hard races in California and they said they didn't need it. So he thought maybe he'd use for office equipment.) Anyhow, he said they were doing quite a bit with radio, 3500 or so and 2500 in billboards. Re Billboards, there was much joshing, because it wasn't till near end of second day that we saw any. He had 11. "I don't know whether they are cost effective or not." Then he said he'd like to have one in front of his office ala Frenzel. If they do nothing else, in my experience, billboards lighten the campaign tension.

He said his opponent, Bill Farris was the first person who had ever run much of a campaign against hi. He said "he was wrong politically for the district--he is on the liberal wing of the party. In 4-6 years, a middle of the road Democrat would stand a good chance."

Young people are moving in and registering Democratic and the migration seems to be coming from city in this direction.

"My opponent says I am from L. A. County and that I haven't lived in the district. That's a phony issue because nobody has lived in Orange County for more than 5 years. They all come from L.A. County--including my opponent."

"He's got the credentials to be a congressman. He's an attorney, and has been interested in community service. He's been on the Orange County planning board. He's getting around to and shaking a lot of hands. But he's too liberal for the Democrats in this area."

He talked about his original district in demographic towns. Called upper NE corner of it "heavily Democratic and pretty tough sledding." Said

it had "no affluent areas, except a little one in Whittier." Said that it had growing no. of Mexican Americans and blacks--who tended to settle in a kind of northern ring out to Pomona.

Of his current district he said "It is a county of home owners, one of the highest percentages of home ownership anywhere. That breeds economic conservation, aif not political conservation. They are hit hard with theproperty tax."

Of the Democrats in his older area he said, "They are conservative Democrats, from the middle west and south."

"The rich people live in the hills and they look down on the poor people. The hills up here (north of old district) are good Republicans."

"The more east and south you go, the more Republican it gets."

"The further we go along the Santa Anna Freeway the better it gets--the most Democratic part of the district is the closest to Los Angeles."

He said that when the masters (appointed by the court) did the California redistricting, they used his district as a population pool and divided his district into 5 parts. (John says that easiestt district for CW would have been one Veysey got. He implied CW gave it up so Veysey could have something.)

He said that many "instant communities" have grown up in Orange County. Said that town of Orange was "just an orange grove and became an instant community."

"A few of the communities have a personality of their own but most of them don't."

He said Fullerton was older and more stable; that Anaheim "just exploded" and had a very "aggressive annexation policy" in taking in surrounding territory. (Disneyland is in Anaheim and we spend Monday afternoon at the Convention Center next to Disneyland.)

He said that growth patterns were not so much everyone moving in waves from the center of LA as it was several concentric circles burgeoning out from various centers. He didn't go much further--except to say that people often settled in an area on the water and things grew from there.

He said Mexican Americans were traditionally conservative. He said they got more Democratic because of JFK being a Catholic. He said leaders are very Democratic now, but he thinks ordinary families are conservative.

He had to go to gas station to find Lear Sigler plant--some problems in new area finding places, especially the plants.

I asked CW re age of district and he didn't know. Pat says average age is lower than that of state generally. 1st

1st Election. "I ran in a heavily Democratic district; nobody thought I was going to win." Spent 55,000--\$45000 of which was from individuals. Average contribution in 1972 = \$27.

Villa Park. "I was born 25 miles from where we now are. My family lived in Southern California for 125 years. My whole business, social, political life has been spent in Southern California. I have represented hundreds of thousands of people in this district for many years. I think

I have a better perception of the problems of this area than my opponent. It's a phony issue." No one has lived here very long.

Villa Park talk on why he is a Republican. Most suspicious of a distant government. "You pay a price for federal solutions." Idea of resisting federalization--sometimes, it's OK.

He often says--as he did in saying that Democrats spend more than Republicans--"That's a fact, ladies and gentlemen, and there's not an ounce of politics in it."

"Every decision I make is one in the national interest. I wouldn't stand still for a minute for a demand by my constituents for a parochial function of congressmen.

Description of Villa Park -- upper middle business and professional --not very rich median housing value = 70,000.

LaHabra chamber - very *conserv.* but solid *citizens, will* moderate if they think about it. p. 69

Talked re cocktail party. "I can take outrageous positions and be accepted. Very conservative man asked question implying family assistance was bad. CW likes family assistance. "A minimal education effort" but he didn't throw creamed chicken at me. I can take *positions* that are outrageous to them and get away with it because they've *read* that I'm a conservative right winger or something and they identify with me and accept that.

"On balance, my participation in Watergate will be a political minus. Watergate a polarizing issue. I have traditionally had Democratic support in addition to Republican support. There will be little <sup>p. 71</sup> crossover which one might have expected historically. I do not think that my participation will affect the election, but it will affect the margin."

I asked him about the effect of Watergate and impeachment on his relations with his constituents. "It's just a guesstimate, but I think people gained unusual identification with me as their congressman. I was doing something other than writing letters and making speeches. So more people probably know me as their congressman than did before. I think it will be a political minus, however. We'll have to see whether it is or not."

I then suggested that what people know about him, not just that he is my congressman but that 'my congressman is a national figure.' He said: "The way you put it, it could be a political plus. But I could say, Al Capone is a national figure. My association with Watergate may make me infamous. I'm notorious. But I can't undo my association with Watergate so I have to try to take the good things from it, like the favorable quotations from the magazines and newspapers."

He thinks the net of it will be a minus. But, he said, "This district will not be as good a test as we might have. The district is changing, but it won't change overnight. This district should elect a non-incumbent Republican. But it should elect a Republican very comfortable." "If there were no incumbent and given this Watergate year--it could be a horse race." (CW is predicting 57% for himself.)

"More affluent part of my district is Villa Park and hills back of it." He has said a couple of times that Republicans live in the hills.

Pat says CW stopped reading his mail on impeachment in March so as not to be influenced. He told one student that "I didn't give a damn what my constituents thought on that subject. It was a constitutional matter."

Later, before another student group he said Nixon, like everyone else deserved a fair hearing and that he tried his best to give it to him. "I don't apologize for a single thing I did in the impeachment proceeding." He also said he thought resignation was an efficient way to remove president and avoid divisiveness.

He thinks 18 year old vote, amnesty and pardon are most likely questions to come from students.

Pat says he "detests" shopping center campaigning and likes to go into plants and find out what their problems are.

"I don't know that we have any self-conscious formula for assimilating a new area. But here's what we do. First we make contact with the party apparatus, because they are likely to be the most hostile--the members of the central committee, the elected party officials. Then we reach out to the government officials--the city councilmen, the mayors. Then the school districts, the chambers of commerce until we enfolded the leadership of the community--the civic, social and political leadership. Then we just start chiseling away from there. An incumbent's ability to frank mail for non-political purposes, into new areas gives him an advantage in gaining identification."

After redistricting there were 5 possible districts he could have run in "but only three real options." One was the district formed out of NW

corner of old district and going out to San Bernadino. CW had 25% of his old district in that new one. But if he'd taken that one, Veysey would have had no seat to run in. The second option was the one "over the hill" which included about 35% of his old district, but all of it was the Republican part of the district. So he said it would be harder to work from a Republican base into Democratic territory (even if the base of old territory was bigger) than it would be to work from a small old base into more Republican territory. He represented only 15% of 39th district at the time, but had represented 40% of it previously. "The 39th was the best district--the most Republican district--and that's a fact!" That was probably the determining factor. But there were other considerations. (1) Veysey would have no district if he'd taken San Bernadino over. (2) Clawsen would run best in the 33rd because he comes from the Democratic part of it and will win the Republican part. Easier move from a mixed base into Republican territory.

The real uncertainty was between Clawsen and Wiggins since larger part of new 39th had been Clawsen than had been Wiggins. But "We moved very aggressively into the new district to line up support, thus narrowing Del Clawsen's options. When he would call someone to ask for support, the chances are I would already have talked to him and lined up his support." Groups from both the other districts (Pomona) (Whittier) lobbied Chuck to run in the other districts. He said he never had any doubt.

I asked him if he thought of the old 40% area as his base from which he moved out and he said yes. "We had a piece of Anaheim several years

ago and that gave us a foot in the door. So we have a connection with the institutions of Anaheim, the city officials, the chamber of commerce, the service clubs. But we are feeling our way in Orange and Villa Park. There's a good Republican registration in Orange. My opponent lives in Orange but he w-ll not carry it, in my opinion."

As we went into the Bank of America, he talked about the little playing-card sized calendar-picture he hands out. "We learned through history that pieces of paper and brochures would end up on the floor. These cards are useful and are likely to be kept. And they give you something to talk about. You can't talk issues in this kind oftour. About all you can say is I'm your congressman and call on me if you need help."

On Wednesday, we kept track of number of people he saw and he kept asking "how many did we see that trip," "how may have we seen so far?" "We'll make our 500 before we're through."

No paper covers whole area - best coverage is not LA Times but the New Tribune - next is Anaheim paper. (not Register)

In debate, CW called the residence issue Farris raised "a frivolous non-issue." And he went through his spiel--born 10 miles from here, represented La Habra for 6 years, big chunk of Orange for 4, knows the area, etc.

In the car afterward, CW said "I think Bill is making a mistake using that Abraham Lincoln 'of the people' speech. It may play with his neighbors who probably do think he knows more about them than I do. But it won't play



La Habra and Placentia and places furthr away from his home. He should throw that speech away and just cut me up. There are a lot of ways he could do that."

The debate was not a great confrontation. The AIP candidate diffused the contest between Wiggins, and Farris. The only thing they disagreed on was mass transit and that was a disagreement only on the extent of Federal commitment. Chuck's opening speech was to effect that you wan a man trusted and respected by his colleagues who can, therefore, be effective in Congress and get things done. He told them to be careful and make sure what they want in a representative before they vote. It was the experience, effectiveness line. And it was borne out by fact that he got most of the questions from the audience.

On way home Betty asked him how he thought it went. "The League did its thing, But there were more personalities in the audience than I thought there would be. About 25% looked like students there on assignment; then there were about 9 of us and probably no less with Farris. That's it. Then there were some members of the League and then husbands and a few members of AAUW who support the program. Just how many who were left, whohadn't made up their minds beforehand I'm not sure. A few, but not many." He had thought of it at dinner as a place where he'd have a hostile audience of LWV liberal Democrats. But we agreed it was 50-50 in allegiance--from the clapping.

CW, Betty and I went to dinner before the debate--a very nice French restaurant called The Cellar.

He asked me what Corman did and I mentioned the pens. He said he had done more of that earlier and would do it again if he had to. Then he said the most interesting thing he said the whole trip. "I don't like politicking. I'd rather be off somewhere reading a book about our problems."

He then went on to say that if I compared campaigns without controlling for the intensiveness of the campaign I'd be comparing apples and oranges. He was trying to say that Corman had intense campaigns. But point is that he doesn't. He just campaigns harder in a safe district than Wiggins does in a safe district. Wiggins also said--talking about Mailliard--that he didn't think he'd have stomach for that kind of a race either, though he thought Mailliard could have held the seat and that Republicans can hold seats like that if they work.

So, although CW is right to say closeness of campaign does distinguish types of campaigning, there are also differences in intensiveness within same categories of closeness.

Secondly, CW said I should take into account role orientation of Congressmen. "All some congressmen are interested in is "the folks." They think "the folks" are the second coming. They would no longer do anything to displease "the folks" than they would fly. They spend all their time trying to find out what "the folks" want. I imagine if they get 5 letters on one side of the issue and 25 letters on the other side, they die. And they don't think they are doing a poor job when they tend to "the folks." In fact they think that is their job." He obviously

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thinks the opposite. He's a real trustee and he does some educating. If Zion is the prototypical delegate, Wiggins is the prototypical trustee. "I didn't give a damn what my constituents thought about impeachment. It was a matter of intellectual judgment."

I asked him how Richard Hanna did so well in the Anaheim area. "He was on the right committee--Banking and Currency. That tied him into the housing industry, whose importance in this area I have explained to you, and the bankers. He became identified with business and he was a businessman himself. He was identified around here as a conservative. We poured a lot of money down that rat hole trying to defeat him--and with good candidates. Now he's retired and we don't have a good candidate." Pat, in discussing same question, stressed Hann's case work, his campaign skill and the Mormon and Catholic strength in the district. But it was interesting that CW saw the housing-business-banking tie as crucial. That is (CW's) tie.

In going through the Thursday schedule, when he came to the "tour of Orange business district" he said, "That's important to me." He made no other comment about any event that day. It ties in perfectly with his description of how he moved into a new area.

"There's no such thing as a free cup of coffee or free pair of shoes and you know it" --in Shoe Department at Sears.

Description of appropriations process--increase appropriation HEW--special interest groups--not commercial interest groups, social interest groups.. "Do you want the kind of guy with guts to stand up and say no. I hope so because that's the kind of guy you're going to get if you vote for me."

"Is this what you want your congressman to do to carry favor with this group and that group and yield to their nearly insatiable demands?" at Sears Roebuck.

On the way to Orange on Thursday I asked why he hadn't mentioned the name of the gubernatorial candidate Houston Flourney. He replied very seriously. "I should have. I'm glad you reminded me of that. I just hadn't thought of it." In 3 1/2 days, he never mentioned the name of anyone else running for public office in California! John spoke up and said he had called all the candidates and offered any help they could give. But Chuck said "The people you call--the party people--don't know how we can help. They don't control their statewide candidates. The candidates make their own decisions." I think it is a measure, maybe a very good measure of just how unpolitical Chuck is. It just wouldn't occur to him to use his platforms to boost "the ticket." And when I look around to find an appropriate spot on his schedule for him to have done so, it's hard to find one.

He said he'd figured out that his opponent's signs had been put up by his daughter's friends "She's a cheerleader, and cheerleader types can round up two dozen football players on an afternoon and plaster the place with signs. It takes a lot of manpower to do what he's done. But they weren't put up by people who register and vote."

At Sears, a Farris supporter handed out Farris literature, and some of the questions came from that. "A cheap demagogic piece of literature, which doesn't say anything except something about the man who put it out. Whether it's good politically, I couldn't say."

At Varco, the plant that makes tools and jacks for oil drilling rigs, we only met with the board of directors and had 5 minutes to walk through

the plant. When we got out, I commented "Not many voters there." CW said "Maybe this won't be my day to see many voters." Then John wondered about the process of just talking to management and how they took the time to bug the congressman and didn't take him to see their employees. CW said "It's not time effective. But if one wanted to meet masses of voters, we would have set up the schedule in an entirely different way." And that's true--he doesn't try to meet lots of people. He was, however, genuinely intrigued by the company, it's prospects when it goes public and engaged--as he did everywhere--in a very intelligent discussion of their business situation. He knows how to move in and analyze business, and he likes to do it. It's intellectually stimulating to him and what I observed in the conference rooms and board rooms of the banks and industries of his district was something I have not observed elsewhere.

A sketch of the couple of hours in downtown Orange (which he said was "important to me") gives some idea of the milieu in which he moves and the way in which he assimilates new territory.

We were met by Bob Holt a Republican Councilman at City Hall. Bob said three things. (1) He was going to introduce Chuck at the Rotary Club luncheon (2) The only thing you had to know about who would be at the Rotary luncheon was that they would be Republicans (3) He had run against Chuck's opponent for the City Council in Orange. "We cleaned <sup>him</sup> him up. We doubled his vote. He's not that popular in his home town."

Then we walked into the conference room of the City Hall where the Councilmen, the city manager, the fire and police chiefs and a couple of

other department heads. He shook hands all around, recognizing some and not others. He called the city manager by name as they sat down and said that we had just visited a progressive business which was a credit to the community. Then the City Manager said that he had been city manager of Monrovia, CW had represented that city and that now he was city manager of Orange and Chuck was a Congressman in Orange County. "I don't know who is chasing who" said Griff Miller. CW responded by identifying selves with the group. "As you know I was the mayor of El Monte. It was one of the most difficult, vexing, exciting, enjoyable and productive experiences of my adult life. Because, as you well know, the city is on the delivery end of governmental services, and you can see what you accomplish." Then, with ID established he asked what their problems were--and they discussed funding problems at local level, performance <sup>criteria</sup> ~~and~~ of revenue sharing programs, standard for police and fire labor policy, EPA standards, etc.

Then the meeting broke up, two of the councilmen and CW walked down the street to the Savings and Loan Bank; the president came out, met Chuck and joined us as we walked to the First National Bank. There, we went up into the Board Room, the President came in and a wide ranging discussion ensued concerning interest rates, the flow of money in and out of savings, bank deposits and debt structure, government paper, tax exemptions for interest on savings, bankruptcy, defaulting in loans, international banking and difficulty of auditing it. Really pretty dazzling for a congressman I thought.

Then we moved over to the Rotary Club where, after all the fun and games, Bob Holt did introduce Chuck and said he supported Chuck completely

and hoped everyone there would vote for him on election day.

(Then I left and went back to pick up my car and joined him to say goodbye at Cal. St., Coml., Fullerton.)

But I watched him--as he put it "fold in" the Civic, political, business structure of Orange in one brief sweep through. It was nicely done and quite effortless.

Orange has grown from 25,000 15 years ago to 86,000 now. Growth has slowed down, they said but they can annex territory (20 square miles) that will support another 100,000.

A couple of CW's speech mannerisms of some interest are: "I'll tell ya" when he wants to make a point. And "Conceptually," when he wants to tackle an idea at its roots--which he does. And "unflavored class" or "favored class"--1st = oil men, 2nd = education.

As I sat there at the end with Vince Buck at Fullerton and listened to CW answer questions with long analytical non-political, teacher-like answers. I think I came to believe that the essential Wiggins is issue-oriented, non-demagogic, not very overtly political, very serious, with an economic way of analyzing problems--costs, benefits, options--and he loves to talk about substantive problems. Loves to turn them around. He has a very orderly mind and fine command of the language of argumentation. He seems very sincere. Just how flexible he is in his positions, I'm not sure. But it is clear that he has many people in his party who are substantially to the right of him.

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