

TARGETS OF OPPORTUNITY

The elections women can win in '76

By ED SALZMAN

Janet Gray Hayes explained why she decided to launch her successful campaign for mayor of San Jose last year: "I figured I was in the right place at the right time." In 1974, women ran in unprecedented numbers in California for election to the Legislature and Congress. More women's organizations spent more money and expended more effort than ever before in attempting to break the all-male tradition of the state Senate and add at least a few more females to the congressional delegation and the Assembly.

The results were disastrous. Too often the women were running in the wrong places at the wrong time.

The number of women holding elective state office after the 1974 election held precisely firm. Secretary of State March Fong Eu in effect replaced state Treasurer Ivy Baker Priest. Leona Egeland succeeded Fong in the Assembly. And Yvonne Brathwaite Burke remained the only female member of the congressional delegation. Since that time, there have been two additions. Republican Shirley Pettis was elected to Congress following the death of her husband, Jerry Pettis. And Democrat Teresa Hughes was elected to the Assembly in a special election. These were cases of women of the right political parties running in the right districts at the right time. Pettis ran an extraordinary campaign, aided by the sympathy factor that has often helped widows win elections. A key to the Hughes victory was the support of the potent Watts political organization headed by Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally.

Different story?

Leaders of women's political organizations claim that 1976 will be a different story, that the mistakes of 1974 will not be repeated next year. If that is the case, women will not automatically support any female candidate who

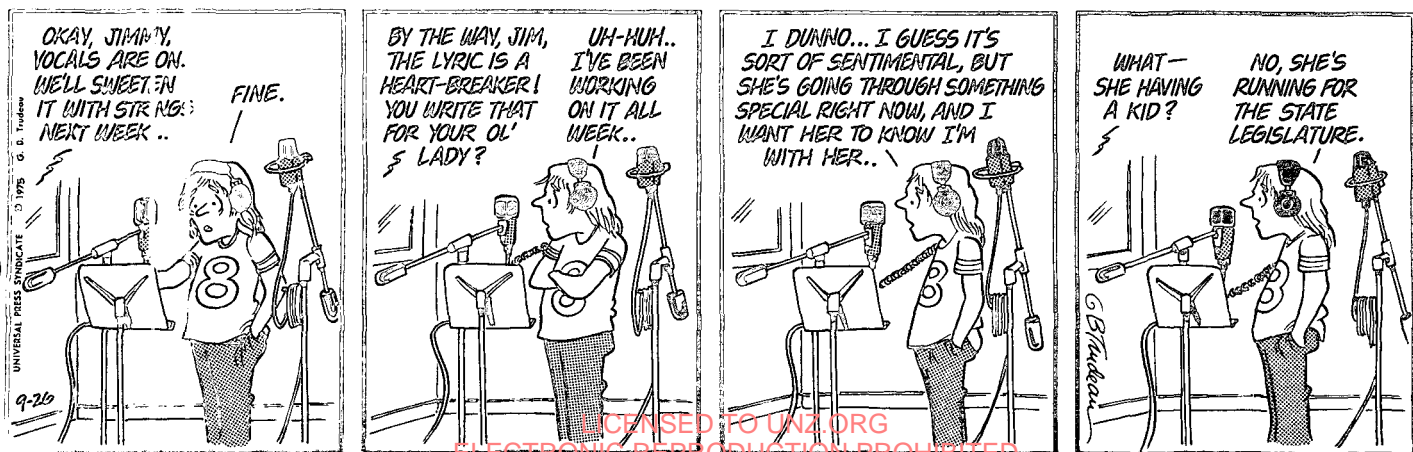
looks promising but will concentrate on campaigns in those districts in which the timing and partisan chemistry offers the best opportunities for victory. And there are plenty of those opportunities.

There are still several months before commitments must be made for the 1976 elections, but it is already clear that there will be about 30 districts in which it will be possible for women to win. These are generally districts in which incumbents will not be seeking reelection or the partisan balance is such that an incumbent could be vulnerable.

Even before the February filing rolls around, there is a possibility that a woman will pick up an Assembly seat — the one vacated through the death of veteran Democrat Edwin L. Z'berg of Sacramento. The district covers much of Solano County, all of Yolo County and a part of Sacramento County that includes many of the political activists who work in the Capitol. It was thought that a high-powered field of candidates would emerge. As the November 4th special election neared, it appeared that the leading candidates were Victor H. Fazio, former chief of the Democratic consultant staff in the Assembly; Ida Casillas, a former member of the legislative staff; and Republican Mike Abernathy, a broadcaster narrowly defeated by Z'berg in 1974. Fazio moved out of the starting gate rapidly with an efficient organization, but Casillas was running hard with the backing of female activists, Chicano leaders and a natural base of support at the University of California at Davis. Both Fazio and Casillas were helped by the withdrawal of Solano County Supervisor Tom Hannigan from the contest. Three potentially powerful female candidates (Z'berg's widow, Merle; Anne Rudin, a Sacramento City Council member; and Betsy Marchant, a Yolo County supervisor) were pressured to run but decided against it. ➡

by Garry Trudeau

DOONESBURY



In terms of the overall political picture, 1976 will be an ideal year for women to mobilize a campaign for electing females to Congress and the Legislature. This is because there is as yet no major campaign to nominate a woman for president or vice president, and there is only one statewide office up for grabs, the United States Senate seat held by Democrat John Tunney. And all the potential opponents for Tunney thus far are male. (In 1974, it should be recalled, there was a hot Democratic primary race for Secretary of State involving Fong and another woman with strong backing, Cathy O'Neill.)

One of the problems women may have in 1976 is matching the pool of potential candidates with the availability of seats on a partisan basis. Most of the women who have expressed interest in running have been Democrats, and more than half the opportunities for election are in districts where only a Republican woman can win.

In attempting to pinpoint those districts in which

CONGRESS. The situation is muddled because it won't be known for sure until February whether Republicans Barry Goldwater Jr., Alphonzo Bell or Pete McCloskey will run for the GOP senatorial nomination. If Bell or Goldwater make the plunge — or both of them — their seats could be won by Republican women. McCloskey's situation is more complex because he might lose to a conservative in the GOP primary even if he runs for reelection; in that case a Democratic woman with conservationist ties might capture the seat. Should McCloskey not seek reelection, a woman of either party might have a good shot at the seat.

Another complicating factor is the possibility that two veteran Democrats, Harold Johnson of Roseville and B.F. Sisk of Fresno, might retire. Although their districts have heavy Democratic registrations, the loyalty factor is low and women of either party could win either seat. There are five other districts in which women have opportunities; but the only chance for a Democrat is against Republican incumbent Burt Talcott of Salinas, who has not won reelection convincingly in recent years.

Republican Andrew J. Hinshaw of Orange County has been indicted on bribery charges, and his seat is up for grabs. The district can only be won by a Republican. There are also three seats in marginal districts that were won in the Democratic sweep of 1974, and Republican women might take a shot at these incumbents — Mark Hannaford of the Long Beach area, Jim Lloyd of San Bernardino and Jerry Patterson of Orange County.

STATE SENATE. No woman has ever sat in the state Senate, a posture female political leaders hope to alter in

1976. Only half the 40 Senate seats are on the ballot this year, but there is at least some hope for women candidates in eight of the 20 races. As a result of reapportionment, there will be two districts in which there will be no incumbent. Both of these districts (in Los Angeles and Orange counties) have marginal registration so that they can be carried by either party.

In addition there are two veteran Republican senators, Howard Way of Tulare County and Donald Grunsky of Watsonville, who have announced that they will not seek reelection next year. Way's district has a 58 percent Democratic registration, but party loyalty is extremely low in the San Joaquin Valley. Republican Assemblyman Ernest Mobley of Fresno County has indicated that he wants to succeed Way, but his election can hardly be considered a cinch. Grunsky's district has marginal registration — 54 percent Democratic — and another GOP assemblyman, Robert Nimmo of San Luis Obispo County, has announced his intention to run for the seat. This means that the best female candidate would come from the Democratic ranks. Suzanne Paizis of Aptos ran against Grunsky three years ago, and she may try for the seat again in 1976.

Four possibilities

Four other Senate districts are worth examining by women's organizations.

- Republican Milton Marks has managed to win consistently in Democratic San Francisco, despite a 2-1 registration handicap. Will 1976 be the year that he becomes vulnerable?

- Reapportionment made the district of maverick Republican John Nejedly of Contra Costa County theoretically Democratic. But Nejedly, a former district attorney, has a non-

women have the best chances of victory in 1976, it is necessary to make a series of assumptions:

- *Few incumbents will be defeated in the June primary.*
- *Electable women of both parties are available in every district.*
- *Incumbents will seek reelection, unless there have been indications to the contrary.*
- *There will be no major shifts in the partisan composition of the districts.*
- *There is no difference in the ability of women to be elected in various sections of the state.*

If these assumptions hold true, there should be opportunities for women to break the sex barrier in the Senate and add to their seats in Congress. The current female representation in the latter amounts to Pettis and Burke in Congress and Democrats Hughes, Pauline Davis and Leona Egeland in the Assembly. What follows is an analysis of the targets of opportunity:

partisan image with the home folks and will be tough to topple.

- Redistricting had an even more drastic effect on Senator Lou Cusanovich of Los Angeles County. But the partisan make-up of the new district will make it difficult for a Democrat. However, there are signs that Cusanovich may face a rough primary battle, and actress-environmentalist Sabrina Schiller may take a shot at the Democratic nomination.

- Two incumbents, Republican Robert Stevens and Democrat James Wedworth, were thrown into the same coastal Los Angeles district as a result of reapportionment. Both may face significant primary opposition and there is no telling what might happen. The Democratic registration is 51 percent, and this area has traditionally voted Republican. Stevens may get a shot at a congressional seat, depending on what Goldwater decides to do.

Two other senators could face powerful opposition next year, but neither race appears to offer a solid opportunity for a female candidate. This is because the problems of Democrat Randolph Collier of Siskiyou County and Republican Clare Berryhill of Stanislaus County are based more on the caliber of the anticipated opposition than anything else. Former GOP Assemblyman Ray Johnson has been campaigning hard against Collier for many months, and Berryhill faces the prospect of a challenge from freshman Assemblyman John Garamendi.

ASSEMBLY. At this stage, it is difficult to determine precisely where all the opportunities will develop because it won't be known for a few months yet which lower-house members will retire or seek other offices. Nonetheless, in about 20 districts

there will be at least a fair chance for a woman to win. They come in three categories — those in which only a Republican can win, those in which only a Democrat can win, and those in which either party can win.

Republicans only

Veteran Frank Lanterman of La Canada has indicated that he will probably retire. The district is rock-hard Republican.

Republican Robert Badham of Orange County is expected to run for the Hinshaw seat in Congress; John Briggs of Orange County is aiming at Senator James Whetmore in the GOP primary; Bill Campbell of Hacienda Heights will probably run for one of the two open state Senate seats.

Republican floor leader Robert Beverly will have a good shot at a congressional seat if Alphonzo Bell runs for the Senate, but Beverly seems to like the Sacramento scene and he could go for the Stevens Senate seat should Stevens run for Congress. Another Los Angeles County Republican, Robert Cline, is itching to make an upward move, either to the Senate or to Congress.

Eight districts now represented by freshman Democrats elected in 1974 will probably be hotly contested by the GOP in 1976. The incumbents and the partisan breakdown of their districts: Paul Carpenter of Orange County (56-39); Fred Chel of Long Beach (56-39); Larry Chimbole of Palmdale (54-42); Gary Hart of Santa Barbara (51-42); Bill McVittie of Upland (54-43); Richard Robinson of Santa Ana (52-42); Tom Suitt of Indian Wells (48-48); Michael Wornum of Marin County (52-31).

Democratic only

Because there are only 25 Republican incumbents, there are few districts in which Democrats — male or female — have much of a chance of winning. Still, there are a few opportunities, based on registration and not the entrenchment of the candidates. Two of these — Republicans Gene Chappie of Roseville and Ken Maddy of Fresno — might run for higher office if Congressmen Johnson and Sisk retire as rumored. Chappie won a squeaker last year, and he could face another tough race if he runs for reelection. Maddy will always be in trouble in his present district, which is 68 percent Democratic. Three other districts to watch:

• Republican Paul Bannai of Gardena is a cinch Democratic target. His district is 69 percent Democratic,

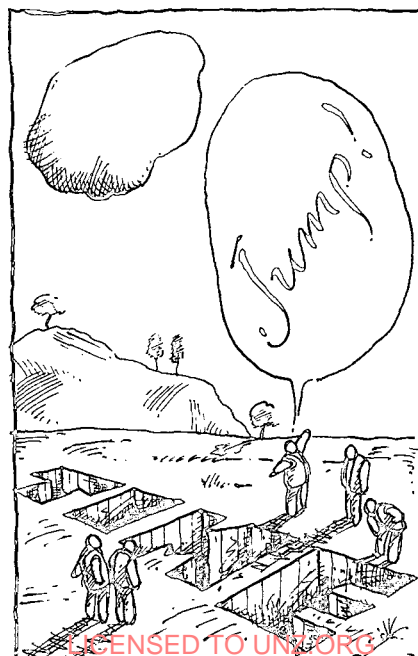


and a female Democrat of Japanese descent might be just what is needed to beat him.

• Robert McLennan of Downey won a tough match with Democratic incumbent Joe Gonsalves last year, but the district is 60 percent Democratic and McLennan cannot be considered entrenched.

• Bill Thomas of Bakersfield defeated a Democratic incumbent, Ray Gonzales, last year in an area that was once represented by a woman, Democrat Dorothy Donahoe.

Assemblyman Ken Meade of Berkeley will not run for reelection, but at this stage it appears that Supervisor Tom Bates, a Democrat, has the inside track. There are recurring rumors, however, that Bates may be challenged by Councilwoman Sue Hone of Berkeley in the Democratic primary.



Both parties

Seven districts have marginal registration with no indication that the incumbents will not be seeking reelection. In all probability, some of these incumbents will decide to hold their seats rather than risk political oblivion in an attempt to higher office. Nevertheless, all of these districts bear watching because they could provide some of the most wide-open campaigns in the state:

• Democrats hold a 57-39 registration advantage in the Garamendi district, but loyalty is not very high and either party could take the seat should Garamendi go for the Senate.

• Republican Nimmo is definitely going for the Senate, and his district is 54 percent Democratic (but with a Republican tradition).

• Democrats have been trying for years to defeat Mobley, because his Fresno-area district is 58 percent Democratic. With Mobley going for Way's Senate seat, Democrats might finally succeed in 1976.

• Democrat Ken MacDonald of Ventura County has been talking about retiring. If he does, either party will have a chance to take the seat because the district breakdown is 54-41.

• Republican Paul Priolo of Santa Monica may go for a Senate seat (if Barry Goldwater Jr. runs for the Senate). But even if he doesn't he's not home free. Democrat Betty Mann gave him a good run in 1974, and she's gearing up for another shot.

• Democrat Bob Wilson of San Diego represents a district that statistically belongs to the Republicans, and he is talking about running for the Senate against veteran Republican Jack Schrade.

• Another San Diego Democrat representing a previously GOP district, Larry Kapiloff, has been mentioned as a possible candidate for Congress against Republican Bob Wilson. Should Kapiloff jump, there could be a scramble for his seat.

Those are the targets of opportunity. Undoubtedly, others will arise as office-holders decide not to retire or to seek another office. But from the standpoint of the women's political movement, the most important factor to be considered is not how many candidates are offered or even mustering the best caliber of candidates. What wins an election is having a good candidate with the right support from the right party in the right place at the right time. ♀

Hail to the Chief,

"Edward M. Davis is the best police chief in the nation." • "I don't think the chief is playing with a full deck." • "The people of Los Angeles can thank Ed Davis for keeping the crime rate down." • "Chief Davis' comments are utterly outrageous and they are getting worse." • "Davis oughta get a medal." • "Davis should be sacked."

or to Hell with him?

By DAN BLACKBURN

You could fill several pages with differing comments about Los Angeles Police Chief Edward M. Davis. He is a man who stirs strong feelings. Some of the people of Los Angeles admire and respect him. Others fear him. And some despise him. As a reflection of the disparity of views about Davis, all of the above quotations were collected on one recent afternoon at Los Angeles City Hall.

The Los Angeles police chief presides over one of the largest and best-paid police departments in the nation. Davis' own salary is \$57,712 and going up. Unlike many other large departments, the LAPD boasts very high morale. No one really believes that a police strike such as

occurred in San Francisco could happen in Los Angeles. This includes the officers themselves.

National imagery

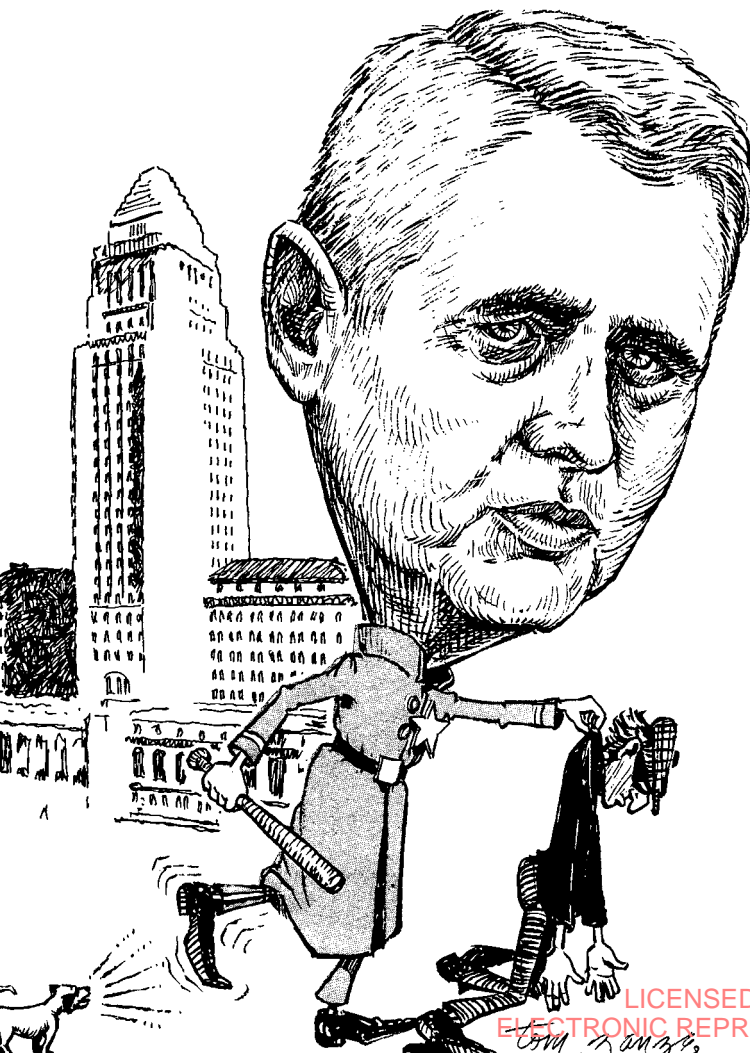
The Los Angeles police benefit from the most favorable publicity in the nation, Los Angeles being the center of the motion-picture and television industries. The heroic cops you watch on television are often fictitious members of the LAPD. And no one is more aware of this positive image than Chief Davis. As a result, the 57-year-old Davis is better known nationally than any other big-city police chief, though also because of reports that his hard-line attitude was responsible for New York defeating Los Angeles in the quest for next year's Democratic National Convention.

Lately, some of his critics believe the chief has let image turn his head. Others think that he plans to seek a major elective office — speculation boosted in September when Davis quit the Democratic Party and re-registered as a Republican. Davis, however, denies having plans to seek elective office. He does not rule out the possibility of campaigning for candidates sharing his views, but being a candidate himself, he says, is not his current thinking.

Despite the wide range of views about Davis, there is general agreement in two areas. First, he is generally perceived to be the nation's most outspoken and controversial cop. Second, friend and foe alike consider him an excellent police administrator. Even Los Angeles City Attorney Burt Pines, with whom Davis battled publicly in August, is quick to praise the chief as an excellent leader of the police department.

Chief's attack

It was the so-called six-days war with Pines that really focused attention on Davis' views. Pines was known to have been disturbed by the chief's vigorous denunciation of proposals for gun control — a position that put Davis at odds with many officials, including Los Angeles County Sheriff Peter Pitchess. But Pines, feeling that he and the chief had agreed to avoid personal attacks on one another, remained silent. Then Davis made a well-publicized speech at the Los Angeles Breakfast Club, in which he restated his opposition to gun-control measures and appeared to some to blame women's liberation for a rising crime rate. (He did not actually say that, but a listener



The author is a free-lance writer based in Los Angeles.