

## Pay or play or nothing

As the 2003-04 session started in January, there were five bills in the Legislature that aimed to take California closer to universal health care. Three were based on the pay or play model, in which employers could choose to either pay-for-employees' health insurance or pay into a statewide health care system. The other two took different approaches — Sen. Sheila Kuehl's (D-Santa Monica) SB 921 would create a single-payer system, and Assem. Keith Richman's (R-Northridge) AB 30 would provide insurance to poor Californians using the federal Healthy Families program. Of all the bills, only Kuehl's won't be resolved this year — it was made into a two-year bill and will be taken up in January. Richman's was heard in the Senate in late August. The three pay-or-play bills (written by Democrats, Sen. John Burton, Assem. Dario Frommer and Assem. Rebecca Cohn) were thrown into a conference committee where lawmakers will try to come up with something they can send to Gov. Gray Davis' desk. Below is a look at bills that have found their way there already.



### Senate

**AB 196 (Leno) Transgender rights:** Prohibits discrimination against transgender persons. Passed 23-11. *Approved by governor.*

**AB 709 (Correa) Chemical regulation:** Creates a fine process for businesses that violate regulations concerning chemicals that could be used in the manufacture of controlled substances. Passed 35-0. *Approved by governor.*

**AB 187 (Runner) Armed forces:** Makes the penalty for either assault or battery of a member of the U.S. Armed Forces a fine of \$2,000 and/or imprisonment in county jail for not more than

one year. Passed 35-0. *Approved by governor.*

**AB 718 (Pacheco) Elections:** Formalizes municipal election dates for conventional and mailed ballot elections and makes other technical changes to state law governing local elections. Passed 35-0. *Vetoed by governor.*

**AB 566 (Yee) Fish transactions:** Requires that fish sale accounting records be in the English language. Passed 29-5. *Approved by governor.*

**AB 1083 (Cogdill) Life insurance:** Prohibits an insurer from issuing a life insurance policy to an applicant that insures the life of the applicant's spouse unless the spouse has signed the policy

SENATE (25 D, 15R)	AB 196 AB 709 AB 187 AB 718	AB 566 AB 1083 AB 647 AB 1168		AB 196 AB 709 AB 187 AB 718	AB 566 AB 1083 AB 647 AB 1168
Aanestad (R)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>N Y N N</b>	Knight (R)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>* Y N N</b>
Ackerman (R)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>N Y N N</b>	Kuehl (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>
Alarcon (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	Machado (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>
Alpert (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	Margett (R)	<b>* Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y N *</b>
Ashburn (R)	<b>N Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y N N</b>	McClintock (R)	<b>N Y Y Y</b>	<b>N Y N N</b>
Battin (R)	<b>N Y Y Y</b>	<b>* Y * N</b>	McPherson (R)	<b>* Y Y Y</b>	<b>* Y * Y</b>
Bowen (D)	<b>Y * * *</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	Morrow (R)	<b>* Y Y Y</b>	<b>* Y N N</b>
Brulte (R)	<b>N Y Y Y</b>	<b>N Y N *</b>	Murray (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>
Burton (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	Oller (R)	<b>N Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y N N</b>
Cedillo (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	Ortiz (D)	<b>Y * * *</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>
Chesbro (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	Perata (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>
Denham (R)	<b>N Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y N N</b>	Poochigian (R)	<b>N Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y N N</b>
Ducheny (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	Romero (D)	<b>Y * * *</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>
Dunn (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	Scott (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>
Escutia (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	Sher (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>
Figueroa (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	Soto (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>
Florez (D)	<b>* Y Y Y</b>	<b>* Y * Y</b>	Speier (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>
Hollingsworth (R)	<b>N Y Y Y</b>	<b>N Y N N</b>	Torlakson (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>
Johnson (R)	<b>* Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y N *</b>	Vasconcellos (D)	<b>* * * *</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>
Karnette (D)	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	<b>Y Y Y Y</b>	Vincent (D)	<b>Y * * *</b>	<b>* Y * Y</b>

### VOTER RECORDS

Listed here are the votes of legislators on recent major roll calls through mid-July. Votes selected involve issues of major importance and issues on which there was a major division of opinion, or both.

Y - Yes N - No

\* - Absent or not voting

A 2/3 vote is required for urgency measures, constitutional amendments, and appropriations.

**Assembly:** 41 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple majority. (2/3 = 54 votes)

**Senate:** 21 votes required for passage of bills needing a simple vote majority. (2/3 = 27 votes)

application or has otherwise been notified. Passed 40-0. *Approved by governor.*

**AB 647 (Nunez) Code violations:** Provides tenants increased legal recourse against landlords who don't make unit repairs after being notified by a housing official of the defects. Passed 23-13. *Approved by governor.*

**AB 1168 (Berg) Rivers:** Adds segments of the lower reaches of the Albion River and the Gualala River to the California Wild and Scenic River System. Passed 26-12. *Approved by governor.*

## Assembly

**SB 841 (Perata) Auto insurance:** Allows insurance companies to lure business from other auto insurance companies by offering discounts to drivers who are already insured. Passed 56-13. *Approved by governor.*

**SB 399 (Kuehl) Stalking:** Adds anti-stalking orders to the list of out-of-state protection orders that must be enforced in California. Passed 75-0. *Approved by governor.*

ASSEMBLY (48D, 32R)	SB 841 SB 399 SB 873 SB 10	SB 316 SB 968 SB 660		SB 841 SB 399 SB 873 SB 10	SB 316 SB 968 SB 660
Aghazarian (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Leslie (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Bates (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Levine (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Benoit (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Lieber (D)	N Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Berg (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Liu (D)	* Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Bermudez (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Longville (D)	* Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Bogh (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Lowenthal (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Calderon (D)	Y * * *	* * *	Maddox (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Campbell (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Maldonado (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Canciamilla (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Matthews (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Chan (D)	N * * *	* * *	Maze (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Chavez (D)	Y * * *	* * *	McCarthy (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Chu (D)	N Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Montanez (D)	N Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Cogdill (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Mountjoy (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Cohn (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Mullin (D)	* Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Corbett (D)	* Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Nakanishi (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Correa (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Nakano (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Cox (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Nation (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Daucher (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Negrete McLeod (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Diaz (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Nunez (D)	N Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Dutra (D)	Y * * *	* * *	Oropeza (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Dutton (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Pacheco (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Dymally (D)	* Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Parra (D)	N Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Firebaugh (D)	* * * *	* * *	Pavley (D)	* Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Frommer (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Plescia (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Garcia (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Reyes (D)	N Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Goldberg (D)	N Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Richman (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Hancock (D)	N Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Ridley-Thomas (D)	N Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Harman (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Runner (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Haynes (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Salinas (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Horton J (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Samuelian (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Horton S (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Simitian (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Houston (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Spitzer (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Jackson (D)	N Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Steinberg (D)	* Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Keene (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Strickland (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Kehoe (D)	* Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Vargas (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Koretz (D)	N Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Wesson (D)	* Y Y Y	Y Y Y
La Malfa (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Wiggins (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
La Suer (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Wolk (D)	* Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Laird (D)	N Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Wyland (R)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y
Leno (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y	Yee (D)	Y Y Y Y	Y Y Y

## SB 873 (McPherson) Background check:

Allows the Department of Justice to disclose criminal history information to employers who hire people or use volunteers to work with minors and other vulnerable individuals. Passed 75-0. *Approved by governor.*

## SB 10 (Poochigian) Assessment sales:

Makes it harder for irrigation districts to sell tax-delinquent properties to third parties on the cheap. Passed 75-0. *Approved by governor.*

## SB 316 (McPherson) Child abuse:

Adds to the list of mandated child abuse reporters under the Child Abuse and Neglect Reporting Act. Passed 75-0. *Approved by governor.*

## SB 968 (Bowen) Recycling fraud:

Adds fraud involving the California beverage recycling program to the list of crimes for which the state may pursue criminal asset forfeiture from a convicted defendant. Passed 75-0. *Approved by governor.*

## SB 660 (Speier) Social Security numbers:

Requires an individual's social security number that is part of a divorce court file to be kept confidential. Passed 75-0. *Approved by governor.*

# legislation

# GOVERNOR REAGAN:

## His Rise to Power

*Editor's note: "Governor Reagan: His Rise to Power" is Lou Cannon's fifth book on the career of Ronald Reagan, and the first volume that gives a comprehensive account of Reagan's career as governor of California. The book traces Reagan's maturation from novice governor to a polished politician who after two unsuccessful campaigns wins the presidency. This excerpt focuses on Reagan's efforts at welfare reform at the beginning of his second term, and on the constructive working relationship he forged with the Democratic speaker of the Assembly, Bob Moretti. It is an alliance that contrasts vividly with the kind of partisan brinkmanship that characterizes modern political relationships. The 592-page book is available from PublicAffairs of New York, which will publish it on September 16, 2003.*

**G**overnor Ronald Reagan began his first term as a novice who promised to "squeeze, cut, and trim" the costs of government without having the foggiest notion of how to do it and with a chief of staff and state finance director who knew as little as he did. Reagan nonetheless muddled through with middling success.

But by the beginning of his second term in 1971, he was an experienced politician with an able finance director in the person of Verne Orr and a competent chief of staff, Edwin Meese, who understood the governor's needs. Orr and Meese knew, as did Reagan, that the last two years of the first term had been longer on promise than accomplishment. They meant to change that in 1971.

Reagan's State of the State Address, delivered to a joint session of the Legislature on January 12, 1971, reflected his maturation. He gave a sober assessment of the state's fiscal problems, which were aggravated by a national economic recession, and urged legislators to help him solve them.

Reagan's emphasis in the speech was on welfare reform, which was crucial to a balanced budget. At the time, there were many local government officials calling for welfare reform strictly on fiscal grounds. Reagan made a broader appeal, questioning the underlying premise of welfare as President Bill Clinton would do a generation later. In Reagan's view, welfare was as harmful to those who received it as it was to the taxpayer. "Our goal must be to reform and restructure the entire welfare system," Reagan said.

By  
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Reagan had promised welfare reform in his re-election campaign, and Meese had gone to work on it even earlier. On August 4, 1970, a confidential memo drafted by Meese was sent under Reagan's name to members of the governor's cabinet and senior staff. Announcing a study of the state's public assistance and education programs, the memo said: "This study will place heavy emphasis on the taxpayer as opposed to the tax-taker; on the truly needy as opposed to the lazy unemployable; on the student as opposed to educational frills; on basic needs as opposed to unmanageable enrichment programs; on measurable results as opposed to blind faith that an educator can do no wrong." The memo sought recommendations for administrative action and legislation and for pinpointing problems with federal and local governments. "I am determined to reduce these programs to essential services at a cost the tax-payers can afford to pay," the memo concluded. "This is our NUMBER ONE priority."

Reagan was determined to reform welfare, not just deplore it. The August memo was the first step in what became a focused effort. The second step was appointment of a task force of state officials and private citizens headed by Ned Hutchinson, the governor's appointments secretary. It reviewed welfare issues, concentrating on the costly and much-maligned program known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Unless AFDC was curbed, the task force and Verne Orr agreed, a huge tax increase would be necessary in fiscal 1972.