

California

Emperor Willie

John H. Fund

“Don’t mess with Willie. Don’t you ever mess with Willie,” crooned Wendy Lanka, in a tune composed for a swank 50th birthday party held this spring in honor of Willie Brown, the flamboyant speaker of California’s state assembly and the most powerful Democrat in the state. Miss Lanka, described in press reports as Mr. Brown’s “number one companion,” was performing her mock tough-guy routine for a distinguished audience crowded with many of Brown’s fans from the Hollywood glitterati set, among them actress Joan Collins and singer Sammy Davis, Jr. A good number of them had flown to San Francisco just for the occasion.

Mr. Davis’s song “The Candy Man” would aptly describe Mr. Brown’s knack for convincing the powerful to sweeten his campaign pot. The birthday bash doubled as a giant fund-raiser to perpetuate Mr. Brown’s artful rule of the California assembly: More than 1,100 notables paid \$500 each for the privilege of attending. The cool \$500,000 in net profit, however, only represented a sixth of Mr. Brown’s minimum goal of \$3 million that he wants to divvy up among Democratic colleagues.

Mr. Brown may need a lot more. On the ballot this November is a Republican-sponsored initiative that would overturn an overtly partisan Democratic redistricting plan and empower a commission to redraw new legislative and congressional district boundaries. “If the Republicans get a new redistricting map, they could conceivably seize control of the assembly in the 1986 election and make Willie Brown the minority leader,” says *Sacramento Bee* political editor Ed Saltzman.

But Mr. Brown faces an even more immediate problem: In June voters passed Proposition 24, an initiative that strips him of most of his cherished powers as speaker, including the power to appoint committee chairmen and members. The measure, passed by 53 percent to 47 percent, requires a two-thirds majority for most procedural decisions in the legislature, giving the GOP a virtual veto. It also cuts by 30 percent the legislature’s budget of \$130 million, up from \$73 million in fiscal 1979–80. Some budget cuts have already been announced, and the first layoff notices to legislative employees have been issued. “Emperor” Brown, however, has defied the electorate and simply refused to implement the rules changes. “It’s a curious stalemate,” says GOP Assemblyman Dennis Brown, who is no relation. “Prop

JOHN H. FUND is deputy editorial features editor for the *Wall Street Journal*.


public funds, and so the Rhode Island legislature properly insisted on participation by legislators—i.e., politicians. And of course union, banking, and business leaders insisted on their own participation. A commission of saints might have been endorsed by Rhode Island voters, but this industrial-policy program required a commission of human beings.

The voters rebelled against placing all that money and all that power in the hands of an elite group of wealthy and politically connected people. Small businessmen (of whom there are at least 20,000 in the state) felt that the program benefits would go to the big firms like Textron, firms that have the accounting and legal staffs to prepare the applications and do the monitoring the commission would require, firms that have the political connections and the clout that gets the attention of the governor or the director of economic development. The owners of the little businesses saw nothing in it for them. They saw no reform of business climate problems, like high taxes, high energy costs, high worker’s and unemployment compensation costs, and the striker’s-benefits law. Rhode Island voters felt that economic development is fine, but profits shouldn’t be doled out of the public purse, by politicians, to their friends and cronies.

Third was populism. The vote against the Greenhouse Compact was a vote against the establishment. The voters not only saw that this industrial policy program was a power grab, they also viewed it as a power grab by the ins. The compact had been endorsed by virtually all the political leaders of the state. It was pushed by the university presidents. It was pushed by the heads of the Chamber of Commerce, by the big banks. It was pushed by the Rhode Island Commodores, a group of self-described “business, professional, and community leaders, who serve as ambassadors for the state.” It was vigorously pushed by the *Providence Journal*. The compact was endorsed by practically everybody who is anybody in Rhode Island.

But when all those Very Important People endorsed the compact, the average voters got suspicious. Then they got resentful. And the more important people endorsed the compact, the more resentful the voters got. The voters knew the Greenhouse Compact wouldn’t lift the tax and regulatory burdens on those struggling to rise; it would provide grants to those already at the top. It wouldn’t shrink the state bureaucracy; it would expand it. It wouldn’t improve business for the struggling jewelry manufacturer; it would boost Fleet National Bank’s venture-capital subsidiary. It wouldn’t cut the average voter’s taxes, but it would slash Narragansett Capital Corporation’s taxes. It wouldn’t improve schooling for the son or daughter of the average worker in Providence, but it would support Brown and URI research faculty.

A statue of the Independent Man stands above the Rhode Island statehouse. As the state’s leaders marched under the banners of industrial policy, the state’s voters looked toward the Independent Man, and made up their own minds, in spirited opposition to the establishment.

In short, let’s keep taxes down, let’s not put more public money and power in the hands of the politically connected, and long live free enterprise. 

24 is the law of the land, but Willie has just decided we should sue him in Rose Bird's packed court (the liberal-dominated California Supreme Court) if we don't like it."

Loud Speaker

In a state known for its unconventional and even eccentric politicians, Mr. Brown is a political original. He grew up in grinding East Texas poverty in what would today be called a "single-parent family." During his summers he picked cotton and corn. On the day he graduated from high school in 1951, the already ambitious Mr. Brown left his hometown to join an uncle living in San Francisco.

Only seven years later, he had worked his way through school to become the president of the graduating class of Hastings College of Law. In 1964 Mr. Brown was elected to the first of 10 terms in the California State Assembly from a district that included the intersection of Haight and Ashbury.

Mr. Brown soon gained a reputation as the Peck's bad boy of the legislature. His seat was barely warm when he launched a kamikaze challenge to the authority of then Speaker Jesse "Big Daddy" Unruh. He was banished to an office cubbyhole so small that visitors had to sit on chairs in the hall.

By 1974, with Mr. Unruh gone, Mr. Brown had worked his way up to chairmanship of the powerful Ways and Means tax-writing committee. That year he was the odds-on favorite for speaker. But his abrasive style worried many of his colleagues. (Mr. Brown had called one portly legislator a "500-pound tub of Jello" and publicly acknowledged, "My ego is like a cancer. It just keeps on growing.") He was ignominiously defeated; even his fellow black legislators deserted him. Two years later he failed in a comeback attempt and was exiled to a slightly larger office than before—one that could accommodate Mr. Brown and two thin secretaries.

Mr. Brown curbed his arrogance and bided his time. His moment came in late 1980 after a yearlong pitched battle for the speakership between two Democrats, Assemblyman Howard Berman (now a congressman) and then Speaker Leo McCarthy (now California's lieutenant governor), that had ended in an apparent Berman victory. But a last-minute "stop Berman" plot developed between Democratic members who backed Mr. McCarthy and the Republican minority. Both were concerned over Mr. Berman's reputation for ruthlessness against his

foes, regardless of their party. The plotters looked to Willie Brown as a compromise candidate. In a summit meeting with the GOP leadership he struck an uncommon deal for their support by giving up some of the enormous powers held by the speaker and granting the minority a short-term promise that they would be treated fairly. The majority of votes cast for Mr. Brown came from Republican conservatives. The new speaker could

not contain his glee at the triumph. Messrs. Berman and McCarthy had sunk \$2.3 million into currying support from Democratic members, while Mr. Brown had spent only \$40,000. "And most of it on clothes," he chortled.

"I don't know anything I couldn't do," the expansive Mr. Brown told reporters. "I don't know any profession I couldn't excel at. . . . I don't know any subject matter I couldn't master." What is unusual about such bombast is that it may be true. "Willie is unquestionably the brightest guy in the legislature," says Dennis Brown, perhaps the most conservative member of the assembly.



"My ego is like a cancer. It just keeps on growing."

Hand-Stitched Suits

Since his elevation to speaker, Mr. Brown's extravagant and fast-paced lifestyle has been a guaranteed story assignment for California feature writers. Although he has lately shifted into the slow lane, stories about Mr. Brown's penchant for fine clothes, fast cars, and high-wire living are legion. One Sacramento insider recalls the day that "we got a call from the Highway Patrol that its troopers had clocked Brown doing 95 on [the interstate to San Francisco]. But that wasn't the real problem. They said he was reading a newspaper at the time."

At least once a week, Mr. Brown swings through the doors of San Francisco's exclusive Wilkes Bashford men's store. His shopping list includes \$110 Schogen shirts, \$250 red lizard boots, \$50 Pancaldi ties, and \$1,500 hand-stitched Brioni suits from Italy. His annual clothes budget was already at least \$20,000 by 1981. He explains his tastes by saying, "It is my effort to be, for you the observer, a nonoffensive, interesting, and pleasing piece of art. Period. No more need be said." Certainly Mr. Brown has changed haberdashers from his 1960s days when as a young legislator he sported a Nehru jacket complete with love beads. Now he brags that his private office is bigger than his hometown.

But there is far more to Willie Brown than perfectly

creased imported trousers. His skill with the gavel has enabled him to roll over the Republican minority countless times. With an impassioned speech he single-handedly stopped an attempt to impose fees on California community college students. He has kept a chokehold on conservative crime and welfare legislation. In 1975 he authored a bill legalizing all private sex acts between consenting adults. He also cosponsored and successfully shepherded into law a bill reducing to a simple fine the penalty for possession of less than one ounce of marijuana.

Gann's Gauntlet

Frustrated by the speaker's control, the Republicans counterattacked with Proposition 24, the latest skirmish in a political guerrilla war against California's liberal political establishment. Their hit man was septuagenarian Paul Gann, cosponsor of tax-slashing Proposition 13 in 1978 and head of successful initiative campaigns to place a cap on state spending and to enact an anti-crime measure known as the "Victim's Bill of Rights."

Prop 24 is a direct threat to Willie Brown's well-oiled patronage machine. Robert Fairbanks, editor of the monthly *California Journal* and former Sacramento bureau chief of the *Los Angeles Times*, has written, "The Democrats have been using their control of the legislature to build a powerful political apparatus, one that selects candidates, elects them, and keeps them in office with a supply of lobbyist-contributed campaign funds." Realizing that the rules changes in Prop 24 would derail his gravy train, Mr. Brown has simply avoided putting them into effect.

Mr. Gann has responded to Mr. Brown's maneuverings in the only way he knows how: by filing another initiative. The latest Gann idea makes Proposition 24 look like a Christmas present to the legislature. It would establish a part-time legislature, just as existed in California prior to 1966, reduce legislative salaries from \$32,000 to \$24,000 a year, limit each legislator to eight years in office, and, in a not-so-subtle slap at Willie Brown, make it a felony for an elected official to refuse to implement an initiative passed by the voters. If it qualifies for the ballot, Mr. Gann's measure would likely go before the voters in June 1986.

Whatever the outcome of the Gann-Brown duel, Proposition 24 has already inspired efforts to curb legislative power in other states, including Michigan, Oregon, Alas-

ka, Florida, and Idaho, according to Cindy Simon of the National Conference of State Legislatures.


Party Politics

The 1984 Democratic presidential convention, appropriately enough, came to Willie. San Francisco extended its famous hospitality to the party faithful, but even San Francisco couldn't hold a golden gate to Willie Brown's July welcoming bash for "15,000 friends." Brown hired an army of caterers to occupy two entire waterfront piers at Fisherman's Wharf for an all-night extravaganza. The tab for feeding and watering the delegates, journalists, and assorted street people ran into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. Guests reached the food and drink only after wending their way past replicas of 20 San Francisco landmarks, 4,000 potted plants, and live performances by Jefferson Starship and comic Robin Williams.

But as Mr. Brown danced under the stars, he might have reflected on how soon all this grandeur could come to an end.

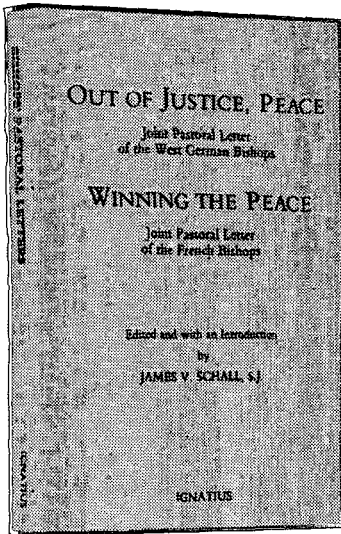
While the Republicans have declined to file suit against Mr. Brown's refusal to fully implement Proposition 24, they are planning to use it as a campaign issue in the November elections. "We're going to seek a change of venue," says GOP Assemblyman John Lewis of Orange County. "We will go to the court of public opinion rather than the court of Jerry Brown." If Republican charges of Speaker Brown's arrogance in refusing to implement the measure pay off and they defeat Democrats by running against "the imperial speaker," Mr. Brown's tenure as the legislature's "main man" could be in jeopardy. "Willie Brown's star has lost some of its luster among assembly Democrats," says political consultant Henry Olson. "If Democrats hold on to only a narrow majority in the assembly, look for a caucus attempt to oust Brown which might succeed."

Even the speaker's admirers worry that his political trapeze act may not stay in the air. "You simply can't be a politician and go around bragging about the \$1,500 suits you wear and calling yourself the Ayatollah of California and expect to get away with it," one says.

But if Mr. Brown is worried, it doesn't show. He has been down for the count before and always bounced back. "I have no intention of going back to a small office ever again," he recently said. His eyes flashed and his smile widened, as he drove off into the night in his black 12-cylinder Jaguar. 

“Essential Reading on War and Peace”

— from the French and German Bishops



This important volume, *Out of Justice, Peace* and *Winning the Peace*, contains the complete text of both the Joint Pastoral Letters of the West German Bishops and of the French Bishops on war and peace. Edited and with an introduction by Fr. James Schall, S.J., and an appendix by Basil Cardinal Hume of England, these texts are essential for a thorough discussion on this vital issue.

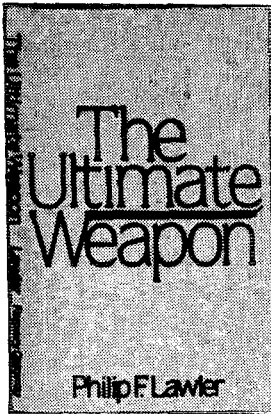
“Extraordinarily lucid and persuasive pastoral letters on war and peace. The bishops have given us remarkably sane statements on nuclear deterrence and its positive relation to keeping peace.”

— James V. Schall, S.J.

“These documents are distinguished by their wisdom and judgement in regard to the morality of defending national and individual rights. Those interested in the continuing dialogue on justice and peace should consider these documents as absolutely essential reading.” — Archbishop Philip Hannan, New Orleans, La.

Permanent soft-cover \$3.95 (10 or more copies \$2.95 100 or more \$1.95)

— new from Phil Lawler



The American Catholic Bishops stirred much controversy when they released their pastoral letter on nuclear arms. In this book, *The Ultimate Weapon*, a noted reporter of the American Catholic scene gives a penetrating analysis of the Bishops’ pastoral letter and the issues that surround it. Written for a general audience of Catholics and non-Catholics alike, this book is a very important contribution to the study of the moral questions involved in nuclear defense strategy and modern warfare.

Quality soft-cover \$8.95

OTHER IMPORTANT BOOKS ON SOCIAL ISSUES:

- **The Social Teaching of Vatican II**, by Rodger Charles, S.J.
England’s foremost Catholic scholar on the Church’s social teachings gives us the most comprehensive and definitive work on this topic to date. This masterpiece is the fruit of twenty years of study and research. **Hardcover, 600 pages \$30.00**
- **Liberation Theology**, by James V. Schall, S.J.
Drawing on important ecclesiastical documents, as well as contemporary articles from experts in the U.S. and abroad, Fr. Schall, an authority on the social issues, gives a thorough and concise treatment of this controversial subject.
Permanent soft-cover \$12.95



ignatius press

P.O. Box 18990 San Francisco, California 94118

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

[PR]

COPIES	TITLE (PRICE)	AMOUNT
_____	The Bishops Pastoral Letters (\$3.95)	_____ \$ _____
_____	10 or more copies (\$2.95 ea.)	_____
_____	100 or more copies (\$1.95 ea.)	_____
_____	The Ultimate Weapon (\$8.95)	_____
_____	The Social Teaching of Vatican II (\$30.00)	_____
_____	Liberation Theology (\$12.95)	_____
_____	Postage (\$1 first book, \$.50 additional books)	_____
_____	Sales Tax (Calif. residents please add 6½%)	_____
_____	TOTAL	_____

國際關係研究

THE KOREAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

The Korean Institute of International Studies is a non-profit independent academic body, founded in 1965, aimed at promoting multinational and interdisciplinary research in the fields of peace and development. KIIS endeavors, through publications, meetings, seminars, conferences, joint research projects and exchange programs with institutes abroad, to encourage discussion and cooperation among researchers both within and outside of the country, and to effectively contribute to the study of peace and development.

The Korean Journal of International Studies

Publisher & Editor: Chong-Ki Choi

An English-language quarterly founded in 1970, the *Journal* includes articles by both Korean and overseas specialists, review articles and source materials.

- **Submission of Manuscripts:** The *Journal* welcomes the submission of manuscripts on all aspects of contemporary international affairs. Manuscripts typed in double space should be submitted to the Editorial Board.
- **Exchange Program:** The *Journal* welcomes regular exchange with academic periodicals on international relations and related fields.
- **Subscription:** Institutes and libraries U.S. \$35 a year; individuals U.S. \$32 a year. Foreign currency at the official rate will be accepted.
- **Back Issues:** Back issues are available at U.S. \$9.00 a copy.

Contributors to the *Journal* include

C.F. Alger, W.J. Barnds, A.D. Barnett, Z. Brzezinski, J.W. Burton, J. Galtung, M. Haas, D. Hellmann, K.J. Holsti, G.K. Kindermann, L.W. Pye, E.O. Reischauer, R.A. Scalapino, D. Senghaas, J.D. Singer, G.C. Smith, N. White, A.S. Whiting, J.A. Yager, D.S. Zagoria.

The Korean Institute of International Studies
K. P. O. Box 426, Seoul, Korea

Cable Address: 1234 Seoul, Korea; Tel. 752-7727, 7728, 28-7726

Department of Disinformation

Sofia's Choice

"Police are convinced, according to government sources, that Mr. Agca acted alone."

—*New York Times*,
May 15, 1981

"I am deeply upset by the criminal attack carried out against you. I wish you a rapid and complete recovery."

—Leonid Brezhnev's message of condolence,
Pravda,
May 15, 1981

"At the root of this terrorist attempt against the Pope is a turbulent Islamic society, pregnant with nasty surprises."

—columnist Joseph Kraft,
May 19, 1981

"Trail of Mehmet Ali Agca: 6 years of Neo-Fascist Ties"

—*New York Times* headline,
May 25, 1981

"There can be no serious suggestion that the deed was motivated from Moscow or the man trained by Moscow or its agents."

—*Christian Science Monitor*,
June 2, 1981

Judge Ilario Martella, who was presiding over the Italian government's investigation of the assassination, "asked to be relieved of his job."

—*Le Monde*,
December 26, 1982

"The Italian legal authorities now admit there is no decisive proof involving Sergei Antonov . . . and his release is believed imminent."

—*London Sunday Times*,
April 24, 1983

On May 8, 1984, the Italian State Prosecutor filed in court a 78-page document asking for the indictment and trial of three Bulgarians, including Sergei Antonov, and six Turks for conspiring to assassinate Pope John Paul II on May 13, 1981. The report is based on over 25,000 pages of documentation gathered by Judge Martella, who did not leave his post. It concludes that the Bulgarian secret services recruited the man who shot the Pope in a plot to weaken the Solidarity movement in Poland. The report declines to mention Soviet intelligence by name, but, referring to the turmoil in Poland, says that "some political figure of great power took note of this most grave situation and, mindful of the vital needs of the Eastern bloc, decided it was necessary to kill Pope Wojtyla."

John Carson

Railpolitik

"President Reagan . . . believes the wild and woolly West was settled without any food stamps, without Social Security or a federal government. . . . Of course, President Reagan's history is wrong. . . . It was the federal government that opened the West and settled the frontier with the Land Ordinance in 1785 . . . that laid out the transcontinental railroad; that changed the Midwest desert into the breadbasket of the world with water and reclamation projects."

—Senator Ernest Hollings,
Washington Post, July 8, 1984

It is Senator Hollings's history—like his geography and political science—that is wrong, or misleading, or just plain mixed up.

Actually, federal government

land laws before the Civil War were designed to raise revenues rather than to settle the frontier. The Land Ordinance of 1785 set a relatively high price of one dollar an acre for land, with a minimum purchase of 640 acres. This hindered rather than helped settlers.

Western discontent with revenue-enhancing policies eventually impelled a Republican-dominated Congress to adopt the Homestead Act in 1862. The Homestead Act was much closer to the laissez-faire principles Senator Hollings accuses President Reagan of, since it essentially provided free land to settlers.

The Civil War Congresses also began subsidizing "transcontinental" railroads (railroads that originated west of the Mississippi River and ran to the Pacific Ocean) with grants of unsettled lands along their projected right-of-way, cash, or both. Ultimately, about 130 million acres of such land served as the tangible security the railroads used to raise private investment capital both in this country and abroad.

The land grants helped build the transcontinental railroads faster than would otherwise have been the case, and thus helped settle the West. But the political "sleaze factor" accompanying this episode was the worst the country had ever seen, and it eventually forced Congress out of the land-grant business in 1871. And during the depression of the 1890s, all the transcontinental land-grant railroads wound up in bankruptcy courts. The only transcontinental railroad that remained solvent was the Great Northern, which was also the only one built in the 19th century without a land grant.

The federal government's reclamation projects did not make the "Midwest desert" into the world's