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## CAPPS ATTACKS

Congressional Candidate Walter Capps  
Takes on Andrea Seastrand, Newt Gingrich,  
and Everything Right in America

by NICK WELSH



**W**alter Holden Capps could never have imagined it would come to this.

Three years ago, Capps, a religious studies professor at UCSB for 32 years, decided to run for Santa Barbara's open congressional seat as a Democrat. Campaigning with a style that blended Mr. Smith Goes to Washington with Mr. Magoo Trying to Go Anywhere, Capps portrayed himself as the quintessential citizen politician and managed to come within an eyelash width of beating his veteran Republican opponent, Andrea Seastrand. Two years later and Capps is running again. And again his opponent is Seastrand, though this time the contest conjures up images of *High Noon*.

Capps finds himself cast as an unlikely warrior selected to do battle not so much with Seastrand as with the immensely talented and equally unpopular House Majority Leader Newt Gingrich. The Democratic National Party has targeted Seastrand for defeat as part of a nationwide effort to regain the congressional majority it lost just two years ago. The stakes couldn't be higher, and neither side can afford to lose. That's why big money has been pouring into this race from all quarters like it hasn't since Michael Huffington ran for office.

In person, Capps's sweet charm is accented by more than a hint of mischief. On the campaign trail, however, he's very professorial, delivering lectures rather than speeches, riffing at length on "Jeffersonian democracy" and "the life of the spirit." Last time around, Capps found himself fighting almost as much with party hacks from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee as he was with Seastrand. This time around, however, the Democratic Party and its pro-choice, pro-environment, and pro-labor allies have been pouring their money and efforts into a slew of independent expenditure committees rather than the Capps campaign. These committees, in turn, have been bombarding the air waves of the 22nd Congressional District with anti-Seastrand television and radio commercials. At times, Capps himself has seemed lost in the din.

Capps grew up in Omaha, Nebraska. His father was a railroad accountant, his mother the daughter of Swedish immigrants. Capps, too young for World War II, shared a room with his Uncle Carl, who had been badly injured during that war. Capps's father frequently fretted whether his son would ever learn a practical trade.

Capps, however, was drawn irresistibly to matters contemplative, and by 1960, he was enrolled at Yale Divinity School. The product of a Republican household, Capps remembers voting for Richard

Nixon in the 1960 presidential election. John Kennedy won that race, and spoke frequently at the Yale campus. Capps was not immune to Kennedy's youthful charisma. He was positively bowled over, however, by the moral passion of Martin Luther King Jr., and his days as a Republican came to a swift end.

In 1964, Capps and his wife Lois moved to Santa Barbara where he took a position running UCSB's very fledgling Religious Studies Program. He opposed the war in Vietnam, but not actively. He emerged as a player at the Robert Hutchins Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, a nationally respected liberal think tank then on campus. It was with the Hutchins Center in 1979 that Capps got inspired to start his now famous class on the Vietnam War.

Capps's classroom became a place where veterans felt free to speak publicly about their wartime experiences, and in 1987, *60 Minutes* profiled his classroom as a symbolic healing post for the war's untended psychic wounds. It was also through this class that Capps made connections with such political notables as Nebraska Senator Bob Kerrey, who was wounded on duty in Vietnam and who spoke frequently to Capps's students. Capps worked briefly on Kerrey's abortive Presidential bid eight years ago, and today Capps ranks

He took a few hours to chat with reporter Nick Welsh. The following is an edited version of what they said.

#### **Say you win this election, what do you hope to accomplish once you get to Washington?**

I think the primary job is to maintain the vitality and life of the 22nd District. So I think a lot has to do with what people make you aware of while you're in office, the kinds of requests that we get from constituents. I think I'd be able to find the resources that are in Washington and deliver them to the people of the 22nd District. That would be my goal, to find whatever funding possible is out there, to work hard on Vandenberg. And when the Interior Department deals with environmental issues, my responsibility would be to make sure that they know how that would affect the 22nd District. And I'd be happy doing that.

#### **Say you lose and Seastrand wins—so what?**

That would be unfortunate. That would be very unfortunate, because the people would have lost a great opportunity to have somebody who knows them a lot better than Seastrand does. We've lived here in the district. She's lived in Salinas for years [which she and her late husband, Eric Seastrand,

people and their representatives, I thought they were absolutely right. Had the Republicans restored that bond of trust, they would deserve to be reelected. The Republicans had the right to take Congress back because the Democrats had squandered it. But when the Republicans did instead was to get into the whole greed mentality trying to create tax breaks for wealthy people. What they did was to come up with an ideological agenda that gets very, very close to what the Christian Coalition was advocating, which is really not American. It's not democratic; it's too exclusive, and it actually dehumanizes people.

#### **How so?**

Because women no longer have choice. Because it does favor one religious viewpoint over others, and it does create a kind of coalition between God and Country. Even to have to quarrel over the separation of church and state is a very telling sign. I mean, separation of church and state has been in the American mentality from the very beginning. The Founders didn't want a state church. It wasn't just Jefferson talking about the wall of separation; it's the First Amendment. The Republicans didn't restore values for us; I think there's less respect for Congress than there was before. They had a great opportunity to do something noble there, and instead they just went partisan on us.

#### **The whole two-party system in politics in this country is intensely partisan. Isn't it naive to expect it to be otherwise?**

A better way is to try to rescue democracy from politicization, to try to get as many bipartisan transpartisan solutions as we can. For example, take Social Security. We know there's a big crisis coming, and the Democrats and the Republicans are going to fight about who's right and who's wrong. The way to handle that, I think, is to create a commission to recommend what ought to be done. And that should not just be politicians but citizens who have the public interest in mind and the common good. That's what Jefferson was all about.

#### **You talk a whole lot about Thomas Jefferson and Jeffersonian democracy. What are you talking about?**

Jeffersonian democracy is really representative democracy. My rule would be that I wouldn't make any decision about how to proceed until I'd talked very carefully with all the people involved. Let me give you one example. Willy Del Van runs one of the clinics in Santa Maria for minorities, and he talked to me about how the welfare reform bill is going to adversely affect the people.

WALTER CAPPS CONTINUED



**Capps shakes hands with opponent Andrea Seastrand at a recent debate (shown with Reform Party candidate Dick Porter): "I don't want to live in a country where she's comfortable," he says of her.**

Kerrey as both close friend and key political advisor.

For a political outsider, Capps enjoys close relations with many national figures. His daughter Laura works for Clinton advisor George Stephanopoulos, and shortly after Capps and his wife were seriously injured in a car crash this May, President Clinton himself called Capps at the hospital, wishing him a speedy recovery.

Since then, Capps has regained most of his mobility through a steady regimen of physical therapy, and he has hit the campaign trail.

represented for years in the State Assembly]. I would take the government down a more positive path; my environmental sensibilities are more in line with the people. I'd give education the kind of support that it ought to get, and I'd be more respectful of seniors and women's choice.

#### **Seastrand takes pride in the accomplishments of the 104th Congress and her support of the Contract With America...**

I could have written the preamble to the Contract, that the bond of trust had been broken between the



Can  
Walter  
Capps  
Save  
His Soul,  
Serve  
the People,  
and Beat  
Andrea  
Seastrand—  
Though Not  
Necessarily  
in That Order?

# CAPPS ATTACKS

BY NICK WELSH

PHOTOGRAPHS BY KIM REIERSON



## Walter Capps

◀ CONTINUED

ple. I promised him I wouldn't make any kind of decision having to do with health care, or welfare, or even immigration without being in close conversation with him. I'd like to bring all these folks together and say, now let's educate each other on this, and let's see if we can't all find some way to move ahead here. We're saying that democracy is born in conversation. When we go to the doors of people living in the district, we don't just tell them what we stand for, we ask them what's on their mind.

### So what do they tell you?

The thing they talk most about is Andrea Seastrand and whether she ought to be reelected. And there's a whole thing about the spirit of the country—whether people feel good about what's happening or whether they feel bad. They don't know if we're going through a dark time now or if things are more optimistic. But I go out and say, "You know, we do have major challenges here, but we're doing pretty well as a country. We're doing a lot better. Unemployment is down. We still have some major problems with crime, but crime is not as bad. There are drug problems, but we are making some advances." People say, "Yeah, is that

really true?" I say, "Yeah, I think it is true."

### Tell me why we should be optimistic, why we should have hope.

If you're going to talk about the nation, or America, or big concepts, then I think it's hard to make the case for hope. But if you talk about it in specific terms, like what schools are doing or what certain businesses are doing to hire people as an alternative to welfare, then you find signs of hope everywhere in the 22nd District. You have to look for them, but they're there.

### Seastrand would credit the Congress; I suspect you'd credit Clinton.

Clinton has changed. He's not talking that big cosmic stuff anymore. He's talking about helping children learn to read by third grade, providing two years of college—making that as universal as four years of high school. He wants to be sure seniors have hope and confidence. And that's matching up with what I'm learning from talking with people. They don't have the big cosmic notion about whether this country is going in the right direction or not, they want to talk about specific things; they want to talk about pollution; they want to talk about dump sites, wastes, nuclear waste. They are concerned about clean air and clean water. That's where Seastrand and I differ.

### Seastrand has done just what she said she'd do when she ran for office. That makes her unusual, if not exceptional. If it ain't broke, why fix it?

Seastrand believes the country has moved ahead too far, too fast, with disastrous results. And she's trying to pull it back. She has only one idea—the idea that the government is the enemy and that it would be much better if we kept our money ourselves because we know how to spend it better than the government. I think that's an impossible point of view. There's always too much bureaucracy, I guess, but to target the government as being the enemy, as being evil, is not very sensible. We're going to have government; it's part of the social contract. The only question is how are we going to be effective.

I see Seastrand as somebody who's fearful of diversity, who is untrusting of authority, who sees that we are constantly surrounded by darkness, by evil, by bullies. She sees herself as a lonely crusader on behalf of truth, representing a segment of the population who are generally angry, usually hostile, and almost always suspicious of other people. I don't think that's the kind of spirit in the country that advances democracy.

I don't want to make a campaign speech, but I don't want to live in a country where she's comfortable.

### What kind of country do you feel comfortable in?

This country needs to move in the direction where diversity is regarded as a strength, where we have vital relationships with countries around the world, where we lose life if we're not sensitive to environmental relations. Women need to be assured of choice; choice cannot be restricted. Education needs to be supported. The institutions of the land need to be upheld, they need to be strengthened. They're not all functioning, but it's a cheap shot to say because they're not working right we eliminate some. We need to find a way to make the country work.

### Name three Seastrand voters who really object to.

She's voted with Gingrich 97 percent of the time. She voted against back environmental legislation that has been developed over 25 years. She's voted 35 times against reproductive choice. Andrea Seastrand's primary objective is to move toward a constitutional amendment on abortion. I think it's hard to stand up and tell the people of this district that is what you've done.

### You have the White House, National Democratic Party, special interest and lobby groups, all pouring money into the campaign to beat Seastrand at all costs. It feels like an Amy Poehler Seastrand campaign, and you've been almost invisible. You can complain that you're conspicuous by your absence.

If I got lost in the equation, because I was slow to get myself. A lot of people were missing it during the time I was

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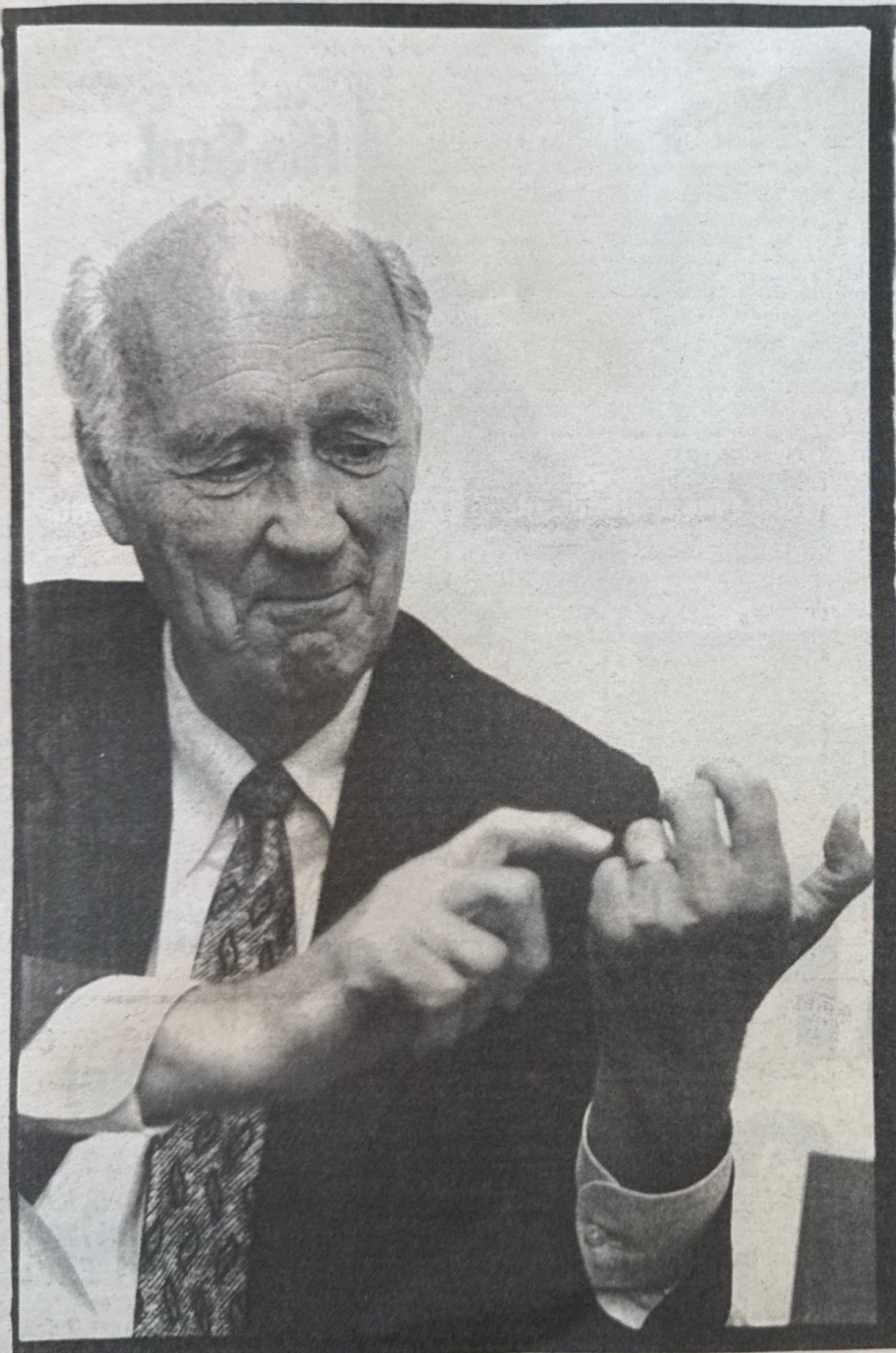
Republicans come

through. This

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tough.'

perating. But when I go one thing that's different from last is that I have stump speech. I talk about the environment, the economy, and equality. It makes me to remember—my four "E's" education is my top priority. More money ought to be going to Head Start, why education is a satisfying life, that it makes people citizens of their global environment. I go through environmental things—global warming, rain forests, the ozone layer. I talk about the partnership between business, education, and government—not government providing all the jobs, government being there assisting. Then I talk about equal



When Capps was asked his position on marriage at a recent endorsement interview, he held up his wedding ring. "Thirty-six years I've been wearing it, married to the same woman." That wasn't the point, he was pointedly told; they wanted to know what his position on homosexual marriage was.



about how discrimination and prejudice have ruined the way we relate to one another. Then I say this is a different spirit, a different orientation than the one we're getting out of her.

**Okay, I see how you don't think Seastrand is doing a good job in Washington. But why do you want to go there, and why should we think you'll do better?**  
I'll be good at it.

**Why?**  
I'll be great. The hardest thing for me is to get elected, to campaign, but once I get there I'll be really good at bringing people together. For example, last week in San Luis we were supposed to have a press conference with John Garamendi on tourism and the environment. Well, he couldn't show. But we were there, and we had all these people there representing tourism, environmental people, and cattlemen and women. What happened was somebody said since we're all here, can't we have the discussion anyway? I thought, why not? I ended up moderating that discussion, and afterward they all said they learned more about one another than they'd known before. The tourism woman said she'd never talked with cattlewomen before.

That kind of talk is great, but sometimes people just have very conflicting interests that can't be cleared away through conversation. For example, the strawberry industry is huge, and it claims it can't survive without the fumigant methyl bromide. But the environmentalists say that methyl bromide is helping to destroy the world's ozone layer.

On that one, I'm against methyl bromide. I'd vote against that. I think you have to live with the decisions that you've made, but that's okay if you've really thought the thing through and you're informed.

**So many people are behind bars because of drugs and alcohol. Prisons are phenomenally expensive to run; people there just get worse, not better, and the war on drugs is not working. Isn't it time to consider legalizing drugs?**

I don't want politicians talking about this. Let's bring the medical people, the therapists, people who have been drug users, who have experimented, let's bring them all together. Let's talk about it. Let's make this something that becomes a national concern, but not just say, "We've got a war on drugs." The way the 104th Congress does everything is to declare war. They've put people in prison, built bigger walls; everything undesirable gets excluded, but that doesn't solve anything.

**You ever smoke pot?**

No.

**No?**

I never have, but I've been accused of it by a paper in Paso Robles. I was described in the paper there: "He is a self-confessed habitual drug user." [The paper later issued a retraction.]

**Are you kidding?**

No, I'm not kidding. Seastrand has got me as this evil, 1960s, liberal anti-war protestor who takes people in psychedelic painted buses down to the train depot to protest whenever Republicans come through. It's hard. This campaign business is tough.

**What's your feeling on the statewide proposition that would allow people to use pot for medicinal purposes?**

I'm opposed to that.

**Why?**

I talked to all these doctors. And I talked to the pharmacists and I came to the conclusion that there are better ways to deal with the kinds of things people are smoking marijuana for. In Prop. 215, there are no limits placed on the amount of marijuana you can grow in your front yard, and it could be given on the basis of prescriptions either written or verbal. I thought it was a bad law. I've got the medical community behind me.

**What role do you think the government should play in regulating tobacco?**

Oh, I don't know, I haven't thought the matter through. I would think the kind of talk we are getting from the president and vice-president is probably positive. But I see it primarily as a health matter, and not as a criminal matter to be dealt with by laws and things like that. It's back to the old idea where you wish you had a government you didn't have to think about all the time. I don't want to live in a police state.

**Do you think the government should require TV makers to install V-chips so that parents can screen for violent or sexual programming?**

I would appeal to people in the industry to do what they can. I'm not for creating a whole bunch of laws like that, you know?

**President Clinton signed the Defense of Marriage Act, which gives states the right to withhold legal recognition of gay marriages. How would you have voted?**

In terms of the technicality of the Defense of Marriage Act, I would vote against that because the national government should not be

WALTER CAPPS CONTINUED▶

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For being such a political beginner, Capps has many friends in high places, like Hillary Clinton speaking on Capps's behalf at a recent rally at Santa Barbara City College.

## Walter Capps

◀ CONTINUED

telling states what their rules about marriage should be. On the other hand, you can't just leave marriage in a limbo state.

Gay and lesbian friends of mine are saying, "I'm not putting Capps bumper stickers on my car. He's as wimpy as Jack O'Connell." [State Senator O'Connell voted for a bill that said only a marriage between a man and a woman would be considered legal in California.] At the same time, Seastrand is claiming you want to subsidize gay marriage.

I do think Jack is right. When you bring up gay marriages, there is some ambiguity there about the meaning of the word "marriage" because the churches haven't defined it for sure, and the states are still struggling with it. So I don't have perfect clarity on that one, but I think I can get it.

Isn't this country about life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? If two people want to get married, whatever their sexual orientation, where does the state get off having any say at all over this?

Oh, man. Oh, boy. I know how I feel and you know how I feel about this.

No, I don't. I think I do, but I really don't.

Well, I'll tell you. Recently I went to a meeting of some labor folks, and one woman there asked, "What think ye of Jesus Christ?" I wanted to humor her through it, but then she said, "What are your views on marriage?" I said I came down here to talk about labor and unions, but I showed her my wedding ring—36 years I've been

wearing it, married to the same woman. "That's not what I mean," she said. "What do you think about homosexuals getting married?" And I said, "I think you want to make a statement on that." I was waiting for people in the room to help me. But, no. So I told her what I thought.

**What did you tell her?**

I told her that I believe in civil rights. I believe that when people take vows to one another and keep those vows, that is a good thing for society. I believe in the stability of those kinds of relationships. I knew I had lost her, because she wouldn't let me finish, and she said, "What about abortion?" I said, "I am a believer in choice. I don't want the government interfering in a woman's right to make that choice." I said, "Absolutely." Absolutely, like that. This other guy said, "You're not a Christian." And I said, "We're not contesting my Christianity; we're contesting being a congressman." In the following week, I got one of the most eloquent letters I've ever received from the guy who had told me I was not a Christian, apologizing. And I got the endorsement. The story in Washington is don't mess around with a theologian. Capps is better on those questions than he is on labor questions.

**What do you think about Prop. 209, the initiative that, depending on your position, would outlaw affirmative action or preferences in state institutions?**

I am in favor of retaining affirmative action but bringing it up to date.

**How so?**

Something created in the 1960s can't still be valid in all respects by the '90s. But in the main, affirma-

tive action has been a good thing. I think it has forced the University of California to hire minorities and women, and that probably wouldn't have happened otherwise. I don't think we're done with it. I don't think there's fairness yet.

**How far do you think we've got to go?**

I think there's more racism in our society today than there was a decade ago. And Prop. 209 is an example of it. It plays on the fears and suspicions of people. I don't think there's any big problem with affirmative action, we just haven't carried out its goals yet.

**Okay, going on to another diversity issue, you're all but accused of**

**inviting the immigrants over.**

That's scare tactics again.

**Seastrand's ads say you would give welfare benefits to illegal immigrants. Not true?**

First of all, it's against the law to give welfare money to illegal immigrants. They can't get welfare money, and they don't get welfare money. All that's based on my opposition to Prop. 187 two years ago. I thought it was a bad initiative, unenforceable, and probably unconstitutional. As an educator, I didn't want principals and teachers having to police the law. When our son was teaching third grade that year, he asked a little girl in his class why she was wearing her backpack in class. She said, "Mr. Capps, are you going to take me to jail today? Are you going to take me to jail?" I don't want to penalize the children of illegal immigrants.

**So would you have voted for the immigration bill just passed by Congress?**

Yes, I would have voted for it. But I would not have voted for it had the amendment not been defeated that prevented children of illegal immigrants from going to school. There's no way to support illegal immigration; the cost is getting way beyond our means. I think we ought to have stronger border controls and fraud-resistant identification certificates. But had I been in Congress, I would have said, "Okay, this bill goes the right way, but it has to include penalties against employers, and it can't be discriminatory against legal immigrants."

**But the bill does cut off all kinds of welfare benefits to legal immigrants.**

I would have worked hard to strike all that kind of language from the bill. I think to bring national policy up to date on immigration is probably the right thing and there had to be a crackdown. I think it is out of control. But I don't think it is a good bill.

**If you get elected, what committees would you like to serve on?**

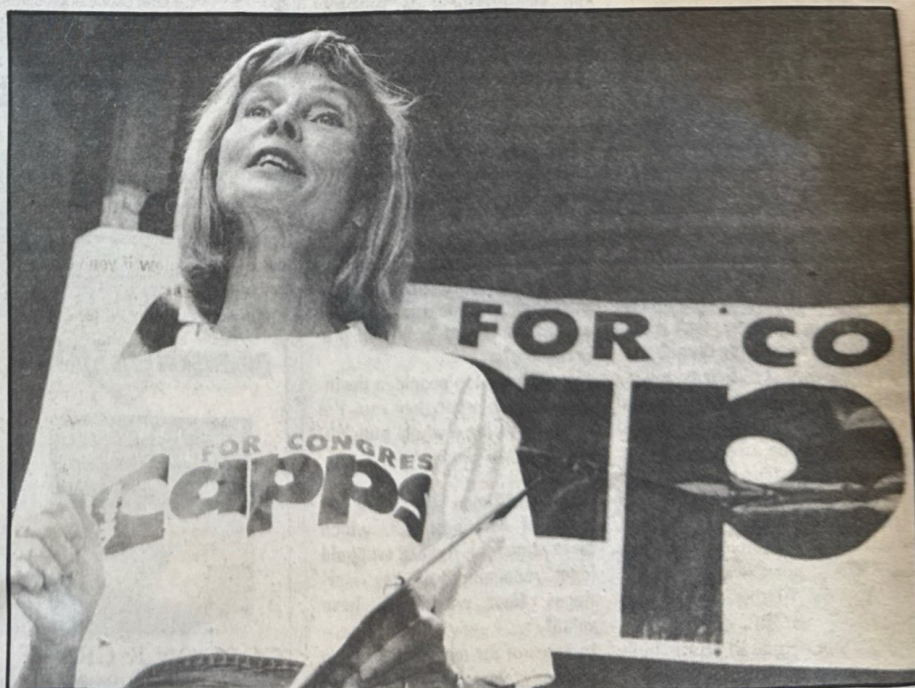
My own personal preferences would be to sit on whatever committees work with education. That goes across the board. I'd also like to be on the Veterans' Affairs Committee. Apparently nobody wants that, but I like that stuff because I've been working with veterans. I would also hope to work on the International Relations Committee because I've been thinking more and more about global things, especially the environment—ozone depletion, global warming, and the rain forests. I don't think many people running for Congress think about international affairs very much, but I do.

**So what do you think of our recent bombing of Iraq? Had you been there, what would your advice have been?**

I don't know. What I did on that was talk to Bob Kerrey about it, and he said he's looking into it. He thought the president was moving in the right direction. That's about as far as I could go, because I don't know.

**What about Israel—what role do you think the United States should be playing?**

Doing what it's doing. And that is to try to support the peace process that was started way back with Jimmy Carter. Just keep after it.



When Walter Capps was recuperating in the hospital from the car crash, his wife, Lois, filled in for him, as in this get-out-the-vote rally.



And do exactly what Clinton did. I think if the United States hadn't been the primary promoter of peace in the Middle East, it wouldn't be as far along as it is. I think that's the way to go with that one.

**Do you think the United States should threaten to withhold aid if Israel continues to expand its settlements?**

Well, it might go that far. I think sometimes the leaders of Israel ought to be scolded for violating the dictates of the peace policy. I think the United States is doing what it should in that.

**What do you think about the use of assassination and covert operations as a tool of U.S. foreign policy?**

I don't care for that.

**You don't think it would have been useful to assassinate Khomeini or Saddam Hussein?**

No. No, I wouldn't do that.

**What do you think about Bob Dole's proposed 15-percent tax cut?**

Oh, I don't know. That's just election-year stuff.

**What difference does it make to you if we don't have a balanced budget?**

We're spending way too much for interest on the debt. Congress has discretionary ability over less than 30 percent of the budget. Everything else is already gone to pay for increased costs of Medicare, to Social Security, and to service the national debt.

**Seastrand and Gingrich have been attacked for cutting Medicare. They say they're just reducing the rate of growth. Clinton also says he wants to reduce the rate of growth, but just not by so much.**

Our estimates are that the cost of the program is up about 12 to 14 percent a year, not because of waste and fraud, but because people live longer. There are more people on it.

**So how would you fix it?**  
I'd go with Clinton.

**Let's talk guns and gun control for a second.**

I want to get assault weapons off the streets. I'm in favor of the Brady Bill. I want to get violence out of the schools. I think this society has become far too violent. So, I'm on the side of pushing the Brady Bill even further. There's not too much more to say about it. I just want to get assault weapons out of here—things that are here to kill people.

**The Second Amendment argument is that we need weapons not so people can go duck hunting, but so that we can defend ourselves**

**against government tyranny. And if the government has all the assault weapons and we don't, how are we going to do that?**

That's so we can create a militia, and I don't think we need that. I would think a higher priority would be to protect the police. And the police are not protected if the people have assault weapons.

There are now three times as many private security police as there are police paid out of tax money in this country. People are taking defense into their own hands. I think they want to replace all kinds of collective activity with private—even police forces. I think that's a big issue. We don't have collectivity, and I don't think this is a good way to get through the world.

**You refer to Jefferson all over the place, but didn't Jefferson say that the tree of liberty needs to be regularly nourished with the blood of revolution?**

I don't believe that one. I think we already had the revolution. I think what's wrong is that government

**'Andrea Seastrand's primary objective is to move toward a constitutional ban on abortion. I think it's pretty hard to stand up and tell the people of this district that is what you've done.'**

has been so much at odds with the will of the people that we're all nervous about it. Gingrich said let's give government back to the states and get rid of Washington and we'll be better off. But does Sacramento work better than Washington? It doesn't look like it.

I would think you could create a system where government would be so efficient—the word I like to use is smart—that everybody would not be nervous about it all the time because they would trust the people who are doing it. That would be the goal.

**This is where I wonder, here's this guy who wants to serve and represent his community—that's very nice—but he's going to Washington, D.C., where everything is intensely political and partisan, and he's going to want**

**to talk the issues. It's kind of like going into a gang fight and saying, "Have any of you read a good book lately?" How are you going to survive?**

The people in this country know that the way Congress operates does not produce the kinds of results that are good politically. There's got to be a better way to do this. I know you can't remain virginal in politics. There is contamination, and you're being pulled in all directions. You have to be sure you're true to what you know to be true. The big test will be when [Democratic minority leader] Dick Gephardt says this is the way we want you to vote. I've asked people—other congressmen—what do you do in that case? They say if you can't do it, you can't do it. I don't think I'm going to agonize about it. I think I'll truly be independent. I think I'll do the right thing.

**When Hillary Clinton was in town you introduced her with a speech in which you talked about "the life of the spirit," something you talk a lot about. What does that mean?**

I think one of the reasons young people don't get into politics is because in some ways they've seen through it, and they're cynical about it. Maybe not cynical; maybe they just don't think very much is going to come from politics. If you compare listening to music that really moves you to what you get from hanging around politics, music wins out every time. That's what I mean by life of the spirit. You can identify the things that nurture you pretty quickly, and politics is usually not that. Politics is, well, real ramshackle. It's contentious. And you have to fight. Truly, you have to fight for your soul every day in politics, every day you go out there.

**Given that, why do you want to be in politics?**

I want to change that.

**How will you know if you've succeeded or not?**

It sounds corny, but I'd like to be able to come back to the students I've taught over the last 32 years and say: "I tried to convince you that you can be idealists, but you can't simply be idealists in a sort of hypothetical way. You have to find the ways to put your ideals into action. I've tested that and found that you can do it. And now that I've found that's the case, I'd like to see you folks go out and do it because I'd like to go back and teach some more." If I can't pull that off, I'll just have to tell people I tried, I did my best, but I couldn't do it. But I'm not going to go and become somebody else. ■



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