

City

County

State

Riordan Expected to Allow Discipline of Williams

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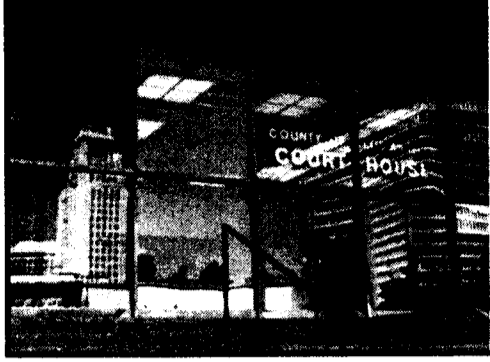
Board Sets Emergency Session on Budget Deficit

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Allen's First Session as Assembly Speaker Goes Smoothly

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YAROSLAVSKY, ZEV
California Biography File A



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YAROSLAVSKY

By ROBERT GREENE
Staff Writer

Two things, Zev Yaroslavsky says, make this budget year different.

The newest Los Angeles County supervisor contends two things that happened last Dec. 6 will put an end to the county's penchant for borrowing against a hope of unnamed future revenues.

Two things will move the Board of Supervisors to address the county's long-term fiscal crisis for the first time with what Yaroslavsky calls painful but necessary cutbacks in county services.

"One, I'm here," the supervisor declares, "and I tend to share a fiscally conservative view of the world."

And number two?

"Orange County," Yaroslavsky says. "The Orange County [bankruptcy] has changed everybody's perspective."

Shift in Balance

He may just be right. In his half a year on the Board of Supervisors of the nation's largest and, by all accounts, most financially strapped county, the freshman has shifted the board's balance on fiscal matters.

Yaroslavsky has repeatedly called upon his four colleagues to heed the example of the once-flush county to the south and repent of their spending habits.

The man an aide calls "a liberal who believes in paying his bills" has joined veteran conservative Republicans Deane Dana and Mike Antonovich in voting to ask the state Legislature to relieve the county of its general relief obligations to the indigent, and in threatening to slash other services—in order to keep the county solvent.

Dana and Antonovich at first seemed to welcome their new colleague only grudgingly. The two kept their applause to a polite minimum on the first Tuesday of last December when Yaroslavsky took his oath and criticized the board for isolating itself from the public.

Later that morning, the new member joined with fellow Democrats Gloria Molina and Yvonne Brathwaite Burke in overriding their conservative colleagues' objections to televising board meetings. The casual observer might have seen Yaroslavsky as an even more-liberal successor to the just-retired Ed Edelman, lining up with Molina and Burke on a host of social issues against Dana and Antonovich.

But by the time the supervisors returned that afternoon to their offices on the top floor of the Kenneth Hahn Hall of Administration, news was circulating about Orange County's Chapter Nine bankruptcy resolution. Veteran Zev-watchers from Yaroslavsky's nearly 20 years at City Hall a few doors east whispered that the new kid on the block could

not be counted on to keep services funded if it meant flirting with insolvency here.

And if Los Angeles County has invested in none of the risky derivative securities that got Orange County in trouble, it seems to make no difference to Yaroslavsky.

"There are 100 roads to bankruptcy," he says, explaining:

"Orange County did it one way. Many companies in America did it another way. We're doing it in our own way. Our own way is to roll over the debt, to spend more than we're taking in, borrow against future revenues, use one-time trust funds and tricks and pension funds. And eventually, you run out of those tricks."

Now, at the regular Tuesday and almost-every-Thursday board meetings, as Yaroslavsky warns against courting a bankruptcy resolution, Chief Administrative Officer Sally Reed—herself a fiscal conservative—often leans forward and nods gravely.

Burke shifts restlessly in her seat, while Molina typically cups her chin in one hand and looks straight ahead, sometimes tapping her fingers on the desk.

And Dana and Antonovich often sit comfortably silent while the freshman Third District supervisor spars with his two liberal colleagues over what to cut, and when.

Indeed, it is Yaroslavsky and board chairwoman Molina who have shaped the debate. When Molina speaks, often urg-

ing leadership and creativity in facing the crisis without abrogating the county's responsibility to its constituents, she draws applause.

"I think we have a duty to make sound public policy," Molina said during a recent colloquy. "Let's begin the process of being leaders instead of followers."

Bouncing Checks

Yaroslavsky responds with calls for honesty and reckoning. A G.R. check does no good, he says, if it bounces.

"This is not a popularity contest," Yaroslavsky asserts. "If and when the county declares Chapter Nine, we'll see who was prudent and who wasn't."

It has been 20 years since a 26-year-old Zev Yaroslavsky burst on the political scene.

He was known in his Fairfax community for his work on behalf of Soviet Jewry, trying to get the U.S.S.R. to allow Jews to emigrate. He served as George McGovern's California Jewish community organizer in 1972 but his best press came from demonstrations against Soviet ballet companies and orchestras visiting the city.

For years he told the story—and still tells it, with very little prodding, and with evident pride and affection—of a late-night escapade in Los Angeles Harbor, sneaking out in a rowboat to paint pro-Russian Jewry slogans on a Soviet ship.

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Spotlight on...

Zev Yaroslavsky

Los Angeles County Supervisor

*Former Boy Wonder on City Council
Now Warns of Impending Fiscal
Doom in County*

First of Two Parts

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YAROSLAVSKY

(Continued from page 1)

He succeeded. A cohort snapped pictures and dropped them off at the Los Angeles Times, which published them the next day.

His only real full-time job since earning his B.A. and his master's degree in history from UCLA was as executive director of the Southern California Council of Soviet Jewry. But when Ed Edelman left his Fifth District City Council post to become a county supervisor in 1975, Yaroslavsky entered the special election contest to fill the seat.

Among his competitors

Yaroslavsky repudiated the memos and dismissed the consultants, but later dropped out of the race after determining Bradley was unbeatable.

Meanwhile, he joined forces with fellow Councilman Marvin Braude in backing successful bids to control rampant development and prevent oil drilling off the Malibu coast.

And, as chairman of the council's budget committee, he became known as a tight-fisted fiscal conservative. The one-time boy wonder was also seen, with

his two decades as Third District supervisor by becoming a leader in the arts and children's services. His legacy is the spacious and child-friendly Ed Edelman Children's Court in Monterey Park.

Yaroslavsky calls Edelman the public servant on whom he would most like to model himself.

And indeed, he has declined to take a back seat on child protection issues. When news broke of a child's beating death and the actions of Children's Court judges and attorneys were called into question, Burke brought the issue to the board, but Yaroslavsky led the charge for

in need, they don't want not to help people in need. Most of us got into public service because we wanted to say 'yes' to people, not because we wanted to say 'no' to them. We wanted to help, not tell them why we can't help."

He, too, Yaroslavsky says, wants to "feed the hungry and clothe the naked." But, he adds, he has come to realize that he can't, at least not alone.

He says that unfunded mandates, the very thing Gov. Pete Wilson and a host of Republican lawmakers have complained about over the last year, are to blame. State law requires counties to provide health and general relief services, he says, but the state does not give counties the money to do it.

Threatened federal welfare reform laws, he warns, will add another \$500 million to the county's \$210 million relief burden.

He calls the budget-slashing parts of the Republican "Contract With America" the "biggest fraud perpetuated on the American public"—simply a matter of getting the poor off the federal books and putting them on the state books.

Then Wilson, he says, shifts them to the counties, which the governor knows cannot pay for them.

"Still, nobody believes we're going to go broke," he says, asserting:

"Sally Reed says, 'In the next six to 18 months, at this rate of spending, we will be in bankruptcy.' And let's say she's wrong by a factor of double, maybe it's 24 months, maybe it's 36 months. If this board knew that we were facing bankruptcy sometime in the next three years, wouldn't it want to change the way it does business? I think the answer is yes."

Budget at Printer's

Now, as Reed's proposed budget is being collated and bound at the printer's and with three weeks before the beginning of the 1995-96 fiscal year, Yaroslavsky gives speeches every Tuesday and Thursday morning about bouncing checks and Chapter Nine.

Molina appears ready for him.

"I don't just owe the taxpayers of L.A. County a balanced budget," she asserted at a recent board hearing on the Health Department budget. "We have a duty and responsibility to provide people the services they are entitled to."

Yaroslavsky responded:

"What happens in January if we can't pay the bills? Every county employee ought to know the risk to his own personal funds. This is not simply a matter of bean counting. It is a matter of closing shop."

Later, he adds:

"With due respect to one of my colleagues, it is not a matter of leadership. It is a matter of money."

His role, he explains, is to call it as he sees it, no matter who listens.

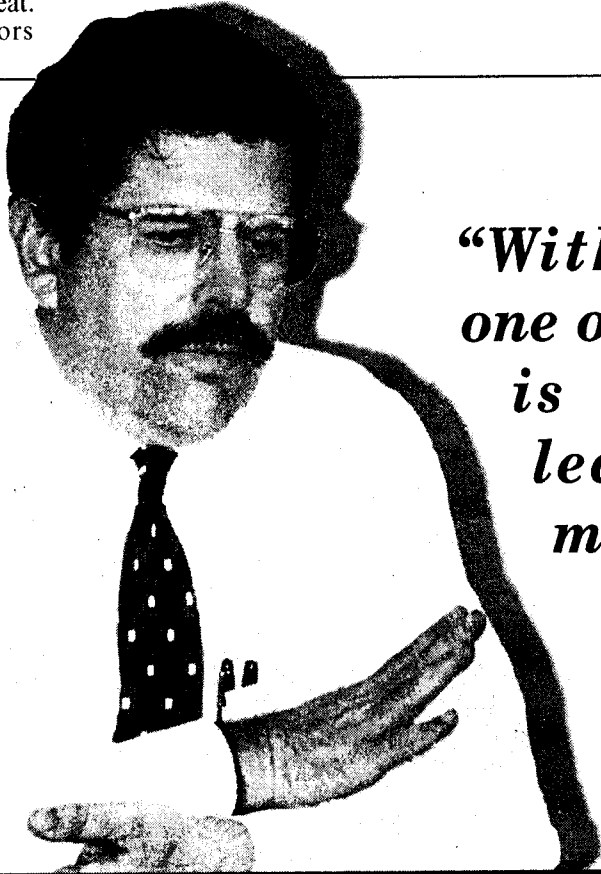
"I sleep well at night," he says. "I know we have a responsibility to live within our means, to balance our books."

The coming weeks will tell just how, or if, the county will do that. Antonovich has objected to closing High Desert Hospital in Antelope Valley—part of his district—but with his vote, Dana's and Yaroslavsky's, at least some county services are certain to be cut drastically.

And, Yaroslavsky insists, the county's budget mess will be corrected.

Whether the newest supervisor will be applauded or castigated by posterity for that remains to be seen.

Budgets, however, are never named for supervisors the way children's courts are.



"With due respect to one of my colleagues, it is not a matter of leadership. It is a matter of money."

—ZEV YAROSLAVSKY
Los Angeles County
Supervisor

were Roz Wyman, who had won that very seat in 1953 before losing it to Edelman 12 years later, and Fran Savitch, who had ties to a young Mayor Tom Bradley and the backing of the Los Angeles Times.

But the Fifth District voters rejected the seasoned veterans and opted for the brash, unkempt newcomer. Newspapers were filled with accounts of how the young radical had to buy a suit for his campaign and two more for his new job.

Bradley, at Yaroslavsky's swearing-in, said, "Congratulations. Now you're part of the establishment."

Yaroslavsky recalls his own retort:

"Yes, but the establishment is not a part of me."

He makes the same claim two decades later, but it's somewhat harder to back up today. He grew up in the City Council, mastering the art of constituent services and easily winning re-election over and over again, once with more than 90 percent of the vote and once with no opposition at all.

Mayor's Office

He early on had his eye on the mayor's office and often clashed with potential opponents, including then-City Attorney Ira Reiner. He made headlines in key committee chairmanships, then was stripped of those posts when other rivals to succeed Bradley—first John Ferraro, then Joel Wachs—were elected council president.

And his quest to be mayor twice went further before fizzling out—once, after Bradley's bid for governor failed, and a second time when a direct challenge to Bradley was derailed, in part because two notorious memos from campaign consultants Michael Berman and Carl D'Agostino became public.

The memos insulted Bradley's intelligence and urged Yaroslavsky to spend less time on city government and more time canvassing the Jewish community for campaign funds. Observers called the irreverent comments racially divisive and potentially damaging to the Westside-Central City coalition Bradley had built.

Braude, Ferraro and Wachs, as a City Council senior statesman.

With term limits in place and mayoral aspirations dashed, however, Yaroslavsky's political options seemed limited.

Then Edelman's seat, once again, opened up.

"I never plotted to come here," Yaroslavsky insists in his eighth-floor Hall of Administration office. "I never thought I'd be here, frankly. Ed Edelman's in good shape, he could have gotten elected another three times. But when he announced his retirement last year, it took me about 30 seconds to make the decision."

With only token opposition, Yaroslavsky slipped quietly into the Board of Supervisors, and found himself with more political clout than he would have ever had as mayor, and—in the region's rough equivalent to the British House of Lords—in the only elective office around these days without term limits.

There was nothing anti-establishment about him this time. In fact when his wife, Barbara Yaroslavsky, won a spot in the runoff to succeed him on the City Council, he looked like the founder of a political dynasty.

But earlier this month Fifth District voters opted instead for newcomer Mike Feuer—who, after all, as former director of a Jewish legal services organization and a political newcomer running against an established name—looked very much like Zev Yaroslavsky did 20 years ago.

Wealthy District

Yaroslavsky presides over the Third Supervisorial District, an area made up mostly of West Los Angeles and a small collection of other, even wealthier, cities such as Beverly Hills and Malibu. Few of his constituents need general relief, compared to those of the other supervisors; fewer need county services such as recreation or sanitation, which are supplied by their cities.

Edelman made a place for himself in

a re-examination of the way dependency cases are handled by the County Counsel's Office and panel attorneys.

Yaroslavsky departs from Edelman on budget issues, however. He does not name Edelman when discussing the county's fiscal crisis, but he suggests that the county's untenable financial position is as much a legacy of past boards as is the Children's Court.

"Part of the reason we have the problem we have is because the county has been in a state of denial for many years," he says. "It was the same way at the city until 1990-91, when our committee put its foot down and started to insist on cut-backs. But none of that has happened here."

He likes to quote Winston Churchill, reminding himself of the statesman's lonely voice in Parliament in the 1930s, warning his unheeding colleagues of the growing Nazi menace. Then he catches himself.

"I'm not so vain as to compare myself to Churchill," he says. "I would never do that. But I am reminded as a historian of his warnings of the problems to come. He was listened to too late, and a terrible price had to be paid."

Matter of Time

The supervisors all know the county is on the financial brink, he says. It is just a matter of time before they come to grips with what they have to do.

And what they have to do, he declares, is cut \$1.2 billion from the county's almost-\$15 billion budget—and with those dollars may go 90,000 general relief recipients, at least 14 health clinics (and perhaps three times that many), a county hospital (or maybe all six county hospitals), and a large chunk of the 86,000 county employees.

He insists he does not want to do it any more than Molina or his other colleagues do.

"I think that we basically have people here who understand the mission of the county, who know what it's supposed to do," he says. "It's supposed to help people



ZEV YAROSLAVSKY
COUNCILMAN
FIFTH DISTRICT

City Council
of the
City of Los Angeles
City Hall
90012

CITY HALL OFFICE
485-5013
DISTRICT OFFICE
1140 S ROBERTSON BLVD.
LOS ANGELES 90035
278-0840

FACT SHEET

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JUL 23 1975

BIRTHDATE: December 21, 1948

BIRTHPLACE: Los Angeles, California

EDUCATION: Melrose Avenue Elementary
Bancroft Junior High
Fairfax High
UCLA - BA in history and economics, 1971
MA in history, 1972

FAMILY: Wife - Barbara (nee Edelston)
Currently employed in Registrar's Office at UCLA

Father - David Yaroslavsky (1902-1973)
Born in the Ukraine (Russia), emigrated to United States in 1920 and became citizen. Moved to Israel in 1970 where lived until his death.

Mother - Minna Yaroslavsky (1909-1959)
Born in Ukraine, lived in United States until her death in 1959.

Sister - Shimona Kushner
Now resides with her husband in Haifa, Israel.

CAREER: Became Executive Director of Council on Soviet Jewry in 1971. Helped make that organization a powerful force in opposing Soviet oppression of Jews in Russia. Was deeply involved in the campaign to burn Standard Oil credit cards after their pro-Arab letter.

ELECTION: On May 27, 1975, Zev Yaroslavsky was elected to the Office of the 5th Council District. Generally rated a distant third in the hotly-contested primary, he surprised political observers by edging into the run-off, and eventually defeating Frances Savitch, an aide to Mayor Tom Bradley, with some 54% of the vote.

In defeating an opponent who had received endorsements from nearly every Democratic elected official in California, Zev Yaroslavsky won the popular title of "political giant killer". He has also been nicknamed "the wolf of Westside" in reference to the translation from Hebrew of his first name.

510 CITY HALL EAST
LOS ANGELES, CALIF. 90012

COMMITTEES: Charter and Administrative Code, Chairman
Recreation and Parks, Member
Governmental Efficiency, Member
Public Works Priority, Member
Ad Hoc Committee on Rapid Transit, Member
Southern California Association of
Governments, Member
Special Committee on Equal Opportunities, Member
Housing and Community Development, Member

THE MAN WHO WOULDN'T BE MAYOR

CITY WITHOUT POLITICS



Zev Yaroslavsky: a campaign that suddenly collapsed . . .

by Harold Meyerson

When Tom Bradley's office realized it was just as easy to block the construction of an overpass as it was to authorize it, Zev Yaroslavsky's mayoral candidacy was doomed.

The sudden collapse of the Yaroslavsky bid, and with it the only serious challenge to the Bradley regime, illustrates more starkly than any event in recent years the erosion of political life in Los Angeles. Bradley's sudden de facto victory reveals a slow-growth movement that has yet to establish either an organization or a vision that transcends the neighborhood level. Moreover, the polls that absolve the mayor of accountability for the city's problems point to a pervasive political underdevelopment that helps explain the city's physical overdevelopment.

To be sure, the failure of the Yaroslavsky challenge reconfirms L.A.'s social liberalism even as it points up our inability to conceive an alternative economics. Tom Bradley is one of the last remaining personifications of a multiracial liberal grand alliance in American urban politics. It is an alliance that the largely Jewish Westside was unwilling to scuttle — at least over Bradley, the safest of black political leaders and one who had carefully kept his distance from such divisive causes as the Jackson presidential candidacy. Indeed, it was this very absence of modern urban tribalism that consultants Michael Berman and Carl D'Agostino lamented in their notorious memo to Yaroslavsky last year, when they noted his failure to galvanize the Jewish community around his campaign. To the Westside, Bradley offered the most

neighborhood merchant associations or from the groups formed to put the stop sign on the corner: their demands could be met by strictly neighborhood policy.

It was an easy game to play. If Yaroslavsky wanted to restrict the size of the expanded Westside Pavilion, the mayor could authorize an even smaller version. It was pork-barrel politics in reverse, and for Gage, who combined the passions of a professional river-rafter (his last job) with the deal-making skills of a California state legislator (his job before

that), it was the most natural politics of all.

The absence of a major citywide organization of slow-growth groups need not have been so critical in itself, except that parties, unions and other more naturally citywide organizations had long since become negligible forces in Los Angeles electoral politics. Yaroslavsky's withdrawal is further evidence, should any be needed, of the disappearance of mass-based organizations from the L.A.

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painless and symbolic opportunity for expressing crosstown solidarity.

What imperiled Bradley's support on the Westside and elsewhere, of course, was nothing so adventurous as a flirtation with Jesse Jackson, but rather his zealous adherence to that most American of creeds: when the money comes rolling in, you don't get in its way. Global capital, of all things, threatened to undo Bradley — a flood of money that went toward high-rises and shopping malls and the nouveau sweatshop economy, until the streets groaned with traffic and there was no more housing to be found. Bradley does not seem a man much given to introspection, but there may have days when he could not but brood over the irony of his being criticized for his administration's obeisance to what was, after all, the only constant in Los Angeles life: money.

But if rampaging growth was alienating the Westside and other areas, the damage could be controlled. That assignment fell to Bradley's new deputy mayor, Mike Gage, who saw his task as going straight to the heart of Yaroslavsky's core constituency, to the environmentalists and slow-growth groups, with appointments and policy shifts and the kinds of neighborhood abatements that Yaroslavsky was advocating. For Gage understood the fundamental weakness of the forces that Yaroslavsky was scrambling to lead: they were essentially organizations of neighborhoods only, and only a minority in their ranks had demands that went beyond the mini-mall on the corner or the high-rises on the next block. In this crucial regard, they were not all that different from

political map. In deciding the fate of his campaign, Yaroslavsky met with his funders and his consultants, which pretty much defines the world of the contemporary L.A. pol. It is a world that is all superstructure and no base — a world where a politician can instantly reinvent him- or herself, where no politician ever runs for office as a tribune for a cause or a community, and, correspondingly, where none but a handful care if a candidacy or career are halted in midstream. It is a world that reduces politics to a sparsely attended spectator sport.

In all this, of course, L.A. runs only slightly ahead of a nation that is becoming precipitously underorganized, but Yaroslavsky's withdrawal also serves to emphasize how thorough our depoliticization really is. What ended Zev's campaign, it turns out, was the data that his pollster unearthed on Bradley's popularity: in particular, that hardly anyone held Bradley accountable for the over- and underdevelopment of the city. Some of this is a testament to Bradley as the symbol of social liberalism, but just as surely some of it reflects a staggering unconsciousness of the potential for politics to shape the issues — development, crime, poverty, pollution — that vex us on a daily basis. In today's Los Angeles, underorganization means overdevelopment, and the absence of parties or their equivalent impedes our ability to see the policy behind the city's growth and to develop alternative policies.

In no other region of the country, moreover, is the role of the public sector in shaping daily life so underreported. No television station has a Sacramento news bureau, enabling the state government to disgrace itself daily in splendid invisibility; and the workings of the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency, arguably the city's most powerful governmental body, were until the last six months almost entirely unreported. Public policy is invisible at the point of production; we see only the consequences and fail to understand their source.

"Americans do not simply avoid politics," sociologist Richard Flacks writes in his fine new book, *Making History*, "their avoidance tends to be a feature of their political consciousness." Nowhere more so than here in Los Angeles, where activism is still largely confined to the neighborhoods; where public purposes and creative alternatives are shrouded in smog; where, in the absence of political organization, the imperative soft global finance and world labor markets shape the city, so that high-rises spring up and factories give way to sweatshops, and housing and health care are deemed an improvident use of resources. Nowhere more so than in Los Angeles, where Tom Bradley has eluded a referendum on the course of the city and where politics has been reduced to so many disaggregated discontents. ■

People's Choice, Yaroslavsky Says

BY DOUG SHUIT

Times Staff Writer

Zev Yaroslavsky, 26, began his first day as a city councilman-elect Wednesday much the same way he got his campaign rolling last January. He drove up to the Greater Los Angeles Press Club in his battered, nine-year-old Rambler and talked to reporters.

Only this time, there were more reporters. And they seemed to be listening more attentively. Zev, by win-

**Final unofficial election returns.
Part 1, Pages 26, 32, 34.**

ning the 5th District seat in Tuesday's municipal election, was now "Mr. Yaroslavsky."

In defeating Frances M. Savitch, the "Establishment's choice," he had won a major political victory, and, in addition, was stepping from a \$150-a-week job to a powerful, \$30,000-a-year job.

The job also will carry with it a new car issued by the city.

But the talk Wednesday at the post-election news conference did not center on Yaroslavsky's new stan-



WINNER—Councilman-elect Zev Yaroslavsky with battered Rambler. Times photo by Rick Meyer

dard of living. It centered on politics and Yaroslavsky's surprisingly easy 9-percentage-point victory over Sa-

vitch, a former aide to Mayor Tom Bradley who ran with some of the
Please Turn to Page 25, Col. 1

Now That Zev Is 'Mr. Yaroslavsky,' People's Choice, He'll Take a Vacation

Continued from First Page

strongest political muscle ever assembled in a City Council race.

Yaroslavsky, only three years off the UCLA campus, said grass roots appeal and a strong rejection of Establishment politics by West Side voters won him the election.

"The people of the 5th District rejected the advice of all of the politicians. We," he said, speaking collectively for the 5th District, "want to elect our own person and send him to City Hall and not have City Hall pick a person and send them into the community."

He described the political power behind Savitch, which included endorsements by California's two U.S. senators, members of Congress and a number of state assemblymen and state senators as well as members of the Bradley administration, as "awesome."

After the news conference he went off to display his new-found political power, lunching with U.S. Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), state Democratic Party Chairman Charles T. Manatt and other members of a party finance committee.

Then he went back to the press club parking lot, picked up his car with the caved in front fender, and was on his way. Off—first of all—for a brief vacation, probably in Las Vegas, where he said he would play blackjack, swim and try a little golf. And then back to Los Angeles and his newly won constituency.

There were other victors in Tuesday's election.

City Councilman Robert M. Wilkinson was returned for his third consecutive term.

Peggy Stevenson moved without much difficulty into the seat previously held by her husband, Councilman Robert J. Stevenson, who died in March.

And a host of liberal candidates won seats on the Board of Education and the Community College Board of Trustees.

But Yaroslavsky, because of his work because he took on City Hall use of where he

has come from, held much of the spotlight in the election's aftermath.

As recently as 1972 Yaroslavsky was studying successfully for a master's degree in history at UCLA. He is married, with no children. One of his favorite pastimes is, or was, playing poker in Gardena.

He taught Hebrew at the Pasadena Jewish Temple and the Stephen S. Wise Temple in Bel-Air. He speaks Russian fluently.

With the \$30,000 a year he will receive as a city councilman, he is not one of those who will claim he had to take a cut in pay to become a city councilman. His wardrobe was such that when he began running he had to go out and buy two suits, which was a major investment. He lives in a modest apartment.

Yaroslavsky is best known for his highly visible work as executive director of the Southern California Council on Soviet Jewry, a \$150-a-week job he held from March, 1973, until he resigned last December to run for the City Council.

As head of the council, he battled with Standard Oil Co. when it issued its so-called pro-Arab letter during the Arab oil embargo in 1973, organizing an effort that led to the destruction of an estimated 3,000 Standard credit cards.

His first job in politics was as a Jewish community organizer in California for the 1972 presidential campaign of Sen. George S. McGovern (D-S.D.). He is a member of the county Democratic Central Committee.

In the election Tuesday he took 54% of the vote. He said Savitch, who won the April 1 primary election with 33% of the vote, compared to his 19%, gave him a congratulatory telephone call Wednesday morning.

"Fran and I both agreed the election was over on April 1," he said.

This is in line with a statement Savitch made election night. She said "the Establishment character" of her candidacy was the major factor in her defeat. But that was a character she gave her own campaign, continually stressing her experience in

government and her endorsements by top officeholders.

"We were able to assert ourselves positively in the community as a community-based candidate, which I was," Yaroslavsky said. "She couldn't do that because she was getting her support from Washington and Sacramento and City Hall, and that was the turning point. When (Rosalind) Wyman was defeated (she ran third in the April primary) Fran Savitch became the Establishment candidate."

Wyman, who represented the 5th District from 1953 until 1965, mailed out a letter endorsing Yaroslavsky in the runoff election. The letter, deeply critical of Savitch, was targeted to areas where Wyman ran strongest in the primary, and it was part of an effective mail campaign strategy mounted by Yaroslavsky's campaign manager, Jack McGrath.

Because Savitch was able to raise what may end up as more than \$120,000 in the primary and general elections, compared to about \$60,000 for Yaroslavsky, McGrath was more selective in his mailings.

Some were targeted to Republicans, others to Democrats, others to the Wyman strength, and still others to Jewish-surname voters. McGrath claims to have analyzed primary voting precinct by precinct and said he knew exactly who voted in the primary. The mail went to the voters.

The letter that proved the most controversial was one sent out by Terence J. Matthews, finance chairman of the state Democratic Party, using the party letterhead. The mailing was denounced by party chairman Manatt, but Yaroslavsky said it proved to be highly effective.

Savitch was never able to combat the campaign thrown at her by Yaroslavsky.

But in the minds of many, Savitch's financial contributions were an issue, as were her endorsements and followup letters to voters by such officeholders as Rep. Henry Waxman (D-Calif.), Dep. Mayor Maurice Weiner, Sen. Cranston and Assemblyman Alan Sieroty (D-Beverly Hills).

LAT 6/13/75

GOING TO SKOKIE

Anti-Nazi Group in L.A. Joined by Yaroslavsky

BY ROBERT KISTLER
Times Staff Writer

Los Angeles City Councilman Zev Yaroslavsky said Monday he would join a group of local demonstrators when they protest a rally by American Nazis in the predominantly Jewish community of Skokie, Ill., June 25.

"I plan to go to Skokie as an expression of solidarity," Yaroslavsky said in a letter read at a press conference by Phil Blazer, publisher of Israel Today, who announced plans to fly a protest group of 1,000 persons to the Illinois town.

Yaroslavsky, a former executive director of the Southern California Council on Soviet Jewry, called the planned demonstration by members of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party of America "an insidious provocation

which should shock the conscience of every American.

"There is a limit to what humanity can take and there is a limit to what a concentration camp survivor must absorb in his or her lifetime," the councilman wrote, referring to the 7,000 survivors of Nazi death camps who live in Skokie, a Chicago suburb of about 70,000.

Yaroslavsky said he would join others traveling to Skokie so residents of the town "need not stand alone when the Nazis begin their abominable expression of hate, genocide, racism and anti-Semitism . . ."

Skokie's Jewish population is estimated at 40,000.

After more than a year of legal controversy, the U.S. Supreme Court Monday, by a vote of 7 to 2, cleared the way for the march by turning down a request by Skokie officials to postpone the Nazi demonstration, pending consideration of the town's

formal appeal of a lower federal court ruling.

Lower courts, both state and federal, previously had struck down as unconstitutional Skokie ordinances which barred demonstrations in paramilitary uniforms, the distribution of "hate literature" and which required that a \$350,000 insurance bond be posted by rally members.

Speaking at the Greater Los Angeles Press Club, Blazer said the purpose of the California delegation's presence in Skokie would be "to thwart this obscene plan (the rally)."

The goal, Blazer said, will be to prevent the rally's occurrence "sheerly through the intimidation of the physical presence of our large group."

Hal Sloane, a spokesman for the local protest group, said "several hundred" persons had already pledged to make the trip at a cost of about \$240 per person.

Irv Rubin, West Coast coordinator of the militant Jewish Defense League, said his organization was planning to take "more than 200 people, including Chicanos and other minorities," to Skokie.

"We're going for the purpose of having a physical confrontation with the Nazis," Rubin told The Times. "We don't give a damn what the courts say."

Meanwhile, Sol Goldstein, head of the Jewish Federation of Greater Chicago and a former prisoner of a Nazi concentration camp, has predicted that 50,000 persons will be on hand to greet the Nazi party members—whose ranks are expected to be between 50 and 100.

In their unsuccessful plea to the Supreme Court, Skokie lawyers argued that "the intensity of passion which it (the march) has aroused . . . (makes) it certain that a massive confrontation will occur June 25."

Vigilantism

by Computer'

THE TIMES

JUN 7 1983

I am writing to applaud your editorial (May 26), "Vigilantism by Computer." Revelations of past months and years show that the private lives of public officials and citizens have been the object of the Police Department's personal curiosity.

Now we learn that the same detective under investigation for carting off thousands of files to his home garage to circumvent city policy also ran a computer operation for Western Goals, a "clearing-house" for certain police departments that have been barred from keeping political information on law-abiding citizens.

So, while city policy-makers have been cracking down on the Los Angeles Police Department's political snooping, one detective—with the apparent approval of his superiors—has been funneling information into the computer of a private foundation that doesn't have to answer to the public the way a city agency must. Isn't this a convenient arrangement for those who would prefer to circumvent scrutiny and established codes of behavior?

The police chief's monotonous tune that there have been no abuses in his surveillance unit at best is a broken record. At worst it is a slap in the face to the Board of Police Commissioners, which has abolished the Public Disorder Intelligence Division in the wake of these scandals, and to the mayor and those City Council members who want to see a local freedom-of-information law on the books.

The news of a computer tie-in with Western Goals broadens the scope of this scandal further than ever. Will the public ever know the full truth? Or will we continue to go from week to week waiting for yet another shoe to drop?

ZEV YAROSLAVSKY

Councilman

Fifth District

Los Angeles

Police Kept File on Him, Official Says

Keeper of Intelligence Records Told Him of Dossier, Yaroslavsky Claims

By JOEL SAPPPELL, *Times Staff Writer*

Los Angeles City Councilman Zev Yaroslavsky said Monday that the keeper of Los Angeles police intelligence records informed him in fall of 1979 that the department had compiled a dossier on him.

"He put his arm on my shoulder," Yaroslavsky recalled, "and said something to the effect: 'Councilman, I've seen your file. There's nothing in it to worry about.'"

According to Yaroslavsky, Lt. Charles Kilgo, former custodian of records for the Public Disorder Intelligence Division, disclosed the file's existence after a police retirement dinner in September, 1979, at the Sportsmen's Lodge.

Position to Know

"It troubled me," Yaroslavsky said, "because Kilgo was in a position to know . . . was intimately familiar with the operations of PDID."

He said Kilgo was "lucid" and was "very clear about what he was saying."

Yaroslavsky said he was told the file contained, among other things, information on his participation in political demonstrations and on a trip he was to have made to Pennsylvania to address a conference on civil liberties.

Yaroslavsky said he never made the trip and that the department apparently obtained a program that had been printed before he canceled the appearance.

Vocal Critic of Unit

The councilman, who has been a vocal critic of the Public Disorder Intelligence Division, said he reported the conversation several weeks later in a meeting with Chief Daryl F. Gates and then-Police Commission President Stephen Reinhardt. Yaroslavsky said the two men responded with "amazement."

Within two months, Kilgo was transferred out of the division where he had been assigned for more than two years.

Kilgo, however, denied Monday that any such conversation took

place and said the chief never even asked him about the matter. Kilgo said he asked to be transferred to the department's Robbery and Homicide Division, where he is now assigned. Gates was out of town Monday and could not be reached for comment. His press aide, Cmdr. William Booth, said, "We don't discuss who may or may not be in our files."

Dossiers on Others

"Yaroslavsky's remarks follow recent disclosures that dossiers were kept on Police Commission members Reva Tooley, Stephen Yslas and former commissioner Reinhardt, now a federal judge in Los Angeles. Those files, compiled during Gates' administration, were discovered last week by police and district attorney officials in an intelligence officer's home."

The officer, Detective Jay S. Paul, subsequently led investigators to more than 50 cartons of documents that had been removed from the department before they could be destroyed as ordered by the Police Commission. He has also implicated at least one other officer in the potentially unlawful removal of documents.

Yaroslavsky said that police officials had repeatedly assured him that there was no file on him, and if there was, it would have been destroyed pursuant to Police Commission guidelines issued in 1976-- "just like they would have said to Reva Tooley, to Steve Yslas and to Steve Reinhardt."

Yaroslavsky said he has asked the committee's current chairwoman, Councilwoman Peggy Stevenson, to schedule debate on his longstanding proposal for a local freedom-of-information ordinance, giving residents access to their police intelligence files. He said such an ordinance would serve as a deterrent to future abuses. The proposed ordinance has been languishing in the council since 1978. He said the prospects of its passage have vastly improved over the last week.

DOUG

972-7780

Zev Yaroslavsky

1948 Dec 21

Birthdate

VF-BIGG YAROSLAVSKY, ZEV

POLLS APART

LA WEEKLY 1/13 - 1/19 1989

by Ron Curran

At the heart of Councilman Zev Yaroslavsky's decision not to run against Tom Bradley in the April mayoral election was a survey done for him by pollster Arnold Steinberg. In a Dec. 23 memo, Steinberg told Yaroslavsky that his campaign would "in all likelihood fail."

This conclusion came after Steinberg had outlined Yaroslavsky's essential problem: although the electorate agreed with him on the issues, they remained overwhelmingly loyal to Tom Bradley. According to Steinberg's figures, 63 percent of those surveyed sided with Yaroslavsky's opposition to oil drilling in Pacific Palisades. Poll respondents also expressed a 58-to-21 percent preference for Yaroslavsky's position on limited growth, 61-to-15 percent on a property-tax hike, and 66-to-18 percent on Yaroslavsky's call for increased police funding.

"The police issue has considerable

positions or for problems within his administration.

"Also, you will not be a viable alternative without a substantial increase in your citywide identification. Thus, you have the challenge of funding a massive television campaign in the second costliest media market in the nation. Second, you have to try to penetrate Bradley's teflon coat. His nice-guy image makes him difficult to attack, although he is vulnerable . . .

"A thorough analysis of all the numbers," Steinberg concluded, "indicates that Bradley is likely to survive attacks on the issues among enough voters who, when added to his base, would give him enough votes to win. This race will take all your energy. You should make the very personal decision on whether to make that kind of sacrifice for an uphill campaign which has a potential for victory, but will in all likelihood fail."

Exactly what "all the numbers" were is unclear. City Hall scuttlebutt claims that Steinberg found that Bradley held a four-to-one lead — 60-to-15 percent — in a head-to-head matchup against Yaroslavsky. Steinberg insists that this estimate is "way off base." He offered to provide his own statistics if Yaroslavsky's office gave him their approval; Yaroslavsky aides failed to return *Weekly* calls.

Whatever the precise numbers, they were sufficiently grim that Yaroslavsky decided the "sacrifice" (Steinberg's word) wasn't worth it. "An uphill fight is not something I shrink from," he said at the Jan. 6 press conference confirming his withdrawal from the race. "But this was more than an uphill fight. It was, from my point of view, virtually impossible."

But Yaroslavsky, who'd already raised \$2 million for his campaign, *did* shrink from a challenge for which he's been positioning himself for most of the 13 years he's served on the council. Drawing from Steinberg's conclusion, Yaroslavsky explained his decision not to run by describing Bradley as "a very popular and entrenched incumbent," a description Yaroslavsky would not have made a year ago. And while many observers have correctly credited Deputy Mayor Michael Gage's political savvy for Bradley's recent resurgence, Yaroslavsky

continued on page 33



Los Angeles Times photo

And the man who outmaneuvered him: Deputy Mayor Michael Gage.

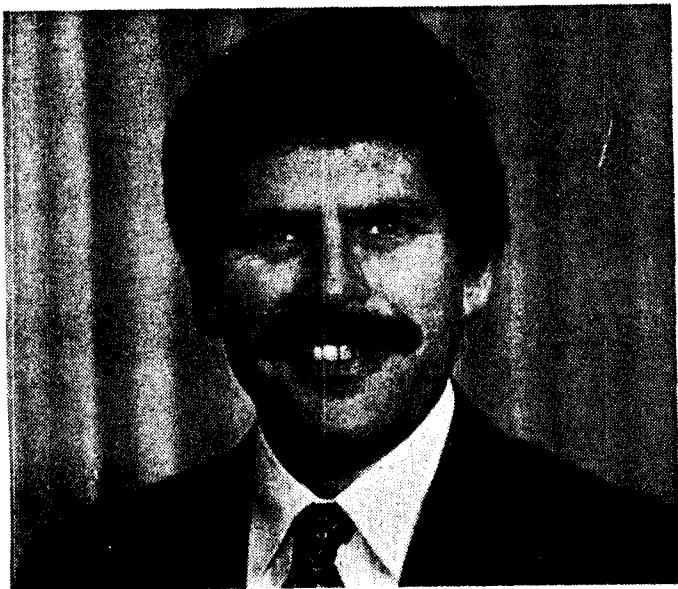
potential," wrote Steinberg. "Voters react favorably to the argument that Bradley over the years should have cut other spending, not police, and that his proposed increase in police [funding] is too little, too late."

Yaroslavsky certainly couldn't have asked for more encouraging information. But then came Steinberg's discouraging assessment: "On the minus side, although many voters are open to voting for someone other than Bradley, he still retains his personal popularity and is not being held accountable for his issue

himself was a shockingly complacent and reactive candidate. He did little to expand his political base and name recognition beyond his home Westside district, offering nothing to Latino voters (whose allegiance to Bradley is lukewarm) or South Central voters dissatisfied with Bradley anti-poverty and anti-gang policies. Although identified with slow-growth, Yaroslavsky was never able to yoke the movement into a citywide political organization.

Meanwhile, Mike Gage revived Bradley's candidacy. In no incident were Gage's streetfighting smarts more evident — or more successful — in than his power play over the Westside Pavilion expansion. Thanks to Gage, Bradley beat Yaroslavsky at his own slow-growth game, and two days after the mayor's resounding display of political muscle, Yaroslavsky phoned Bradley and told him he was pulling out of the race. (What has gone unsaid is that Gage also outfoxed political consultants Michael Berman and Carl D'Agostino, handing them their first major municipal defeat in ages.)

The Westside Pavilion blunder may have done more than squelch Yaroslavsky's mayoral aspirations. It may also cost him his Fifth District council seat, which he must defend against three strong challengers — urban planner Laura Lake, transportation planner Ryan Snyder and former Yaroslavsky aide Steve Saltzman — in April. But more important, it leaves city residents without a mayoral race. It's now too late for anyone to challenge Bradley, a situation that by default lends approval to policies that, if Steinberg's survey is accurate, the electorate doesn't support. ■



Will Zev's BAD advice force him out of the mayoral race?

BAD Boys

Nothing livens up a somnambulant mayoral race like a good scandal, especially one with charges of racism and anti-Semitism, theft and sabotage involving the city's two ruling political machines. But when confidential strategy memos from campaign gurus Michael Berman and Carl D'Agostino — the brash "BAD" boys — to mayoral wannabe Zev Yaroslavsky mysteriously found their way into the media last week, the resulting brouhaha may have done more than bring life to the race (and joy to BAD's legions of critics). It may have killed off the 5th District councilman as a challenger.

The "Has Zev pissed off so many people that he won't risk a loss this time around?" question is only one of many sparked by the BAD memos, which encouraged Yaroslavsky to stop "wasting" time by attending council meetings so he can "con" more Westside Jews out of their "endless wealth" and then more easily defeat incumbent Tom Bradley, whose "disadvantage of 50 IQ points" is made up for by his "skin color" in the eyes of "liberals" who support him to "feel less guilty about how little they used to pay their household help."

Yaroslavsky is obviously hoping citywide voters will forget his BAD ties. Bradley supporters will work to make sure that doesn't happen. Until the dust settles, these are the questions, speculations and scenarios circulating through City Hall.

• Will Yaroslavsky decide not to officially enter the mayoral race?

The last thing Los Angeles needs at this pivotal point in its history is a one-candidate mayoral race, although it's to the detriment of L.A. that the strongest opponent would be Yaroslavsky. One of the few good things about the BAD memo was that it accurately nails Bradley as a conservative, which he is no matter how many peace marches he kicks off, and it smartly advises Yaroslavsky to run to Bradley's left. A better "left" candidate who could truly bring a progressive vision to the city — not a campaign vision crafted by political consultants — would be assemblywoman Maxine Waters. Unfortunately, she won't challenge Bradley. So, absent a true progressive candidate, Yaroslavsky will play the "liberal" challenger role to the hilt. Better than no challenger at all.

Yaroslavsky was going to officially announce his candidacy shortly after the presidential election (perhaps waiting to see if a victorious Mike Dukakis might woo Bradley out of City Hall with the offer of a high-ranking position in his administration). But now insiders are openly questioning whether Zev, who's been positioning himself for the mayor's office since joining the council at age 26, will risk a loss in light of the BAD revelations.

Bradley is certainly vulnerable, facing a profound backlash generated by his betrayal of inner-city communities and his giving

the city to corporations for overdevelopment. Before last week, Zev had a good shot at unseating the 15-year mayor and beginning his own multiterm dynasty. But Yaroslavsky's BAD ties have now alienated his Westside Jewish power base and undermined his chance of tapping into Bradley's disgruntled South-Central constituency. Adding to Yaroslavsky's chances of defeat has been the emergence of deputy mayor Mike Gage as Bradley campaign savant, with his savvy and vitality helping revivify and rehabilitate Bradley since he joined the mayor's team a year ago.

But if Yaroslavsky decides not to run until the post-Bradley race in 1993 (Bradley says he only wants one more term), there is a chance he might never become mayor. Yaroslavsky would probably face a tough race against Richard Alatorre, the Eastside councilman who — with the backing of L.A.'s growing and increasingly politicized Latino community (to whom Yaroslavsky offers little) and Bradley's downtown power base (which Alatorre is working to inherit) — could himself be mayor for years.

• What does Yaroslavsky's appointment of aide Ann Hollister to run his campaign mean to his chances of success if he ultimately doesn't drop out?

"If Yaroslavsky's going to have Ann Hollister direct his campaign, he may as well not run," says one City Hall insider. The consensus is that Hollister — from whose desk Yaroslavsky says the BAD memos were "stolen" (although he has filed no police report) — doesn't have the aggressiveness or combativeness needed to battle Bradley's entrenched and newly energized incumbent juggernaut. "Putting Ann up against Mike Gage," concludes one wag, "is like putting Mickey Mouse up against Mike Tyson."

But it may be more likely that Hollister, who used to work for Berman-D'Agostino, will be a mere figurehead, serving as conduit for campaign advice from her former bosses. Zev can — and will — continue to disavow BAD's leaked memos as "insulting and contemptuous," but the fact is he still respects Berman-D'Agostino's advice and feels he needs it to win.

• If Yaroslavsky doesn't run, will anyone else challenge Bradley?

A Yaroslavsky drop-out would likely ensure a one-candidate mayoral race. Although there's no shortage of mayoral aspirants at the city level, not even the blindly ambitious Alatorre would have the ego — and bad sense — to risk a probable loss (and definite alienation of Bradley's downtown machine) if Yaroslavsky bows out. A state legislator, however, might step in, much like former assemblyman Art Agnos did in succeeding outgoing San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein. Maxine

Waters, as mentioned above, is not likely to step on Bradley's turf. Hollywood assemblyman Mike Roos or Valley senator Alan Robbins might be tempted, but their perceived sleaze factors would seem too great an obstacle. Richard Katz, the progressive Valley assemblyman whose reputation has remained remarkably unsullied despite eight years in the Sacramento snakepit, would be another possibility. Despite a lack of citywide name recognition, the hard-working Katz would certainly benefit from the support of a Valley constituency that rightly feels it gets short shrift from Spring Street. But he's in line for certain re-election to his assembly seat in November, so the timing would work against a mayoral run.

• If Yaroslavsky doesn't run for mayor this time, will he be able to retain his council seat next year?

Although voters citywide may forget his BAD alliance, Yaroslavsky's 5th District constituency of Jews with "endless wealth," "crazed [slow-growth] homeowners" and "tree-hugging" environmentalists won't forget as easily. That backlash will be compounded by a growing grassroots dissatisfaction with Westside machine politics and Yaroslavsky's hypocritical stance on development, which has seen him paint himself as a slow-growth champion while letting big-buck developers run amuck in his Westwood-based district. (Yaroslavsky, in fact, has faced more criticism at home so far during his campaign than from other parts of the city.) Opponents like Laura Lake and newcomer Ryan Snyder offer strong alternative visions for the district and would give a weakened Yaroslavsky a strong run. If Yaroslavsky does give up the seat (as he must if he challenges Bradley), they would have an even better chance of success against Lisa Specht, the opportunistic inner-circle attorney who would inherit from Yaroslavsky the support of the Waxman-Berman political machine and the stigma of BAD's counsel, which Specht says she will retain to guide her campaign.

• How does BAD's work for the initiative against oil drilling by Occidental Petroleum in Pacific Palisades affect its chances for approval?

It's disappointing that the potential devastation of Santa Monica Bay may now be decided not by the credibility of the anti-drilling initiative and the hard work of its backers, but by Yaroslavsky's stubborn insistence that BAD continue to strategize on behalf of the initiative. Wily Armand Hammer and his lock-step lieutenants will surely play up the BAD connection, especially to obscure the frightening ramifications that a fire like the recent one aboard an Occidental derrick in Brisbane would have on the area. ■

What's With Zev?

Yaroslavsky on Daryl Gates and police politics

BY JOE DOMANICK

"ARE YOU GOING TO LET ME FINISH?" asks City Councilman Zev Yaroslavsky. "I mean, if you're not going to let me finish, we'll cut this right now. Okay?"

Over the past 10 minutes, while sitting in his City Hall office, I've been challenging Yaroslavsky about his decision last April to join with Police Chief Daryl Gates' allies on the City Council and overturn the chief's suspension by the Police Commission. It was a moment in history, I tell him,

DROUGHT CITY

the first time that the commission had really tried to assert civilian control over a police department that had contemptuously dismissed that notion for more than 40 years. And when the time came to stand up, I say, you sat down.

Obviously, Yaroslavsky, a 16-year veteran of the council whose style is on-the-run impatient, is not happy with my characterization. But I press it anyway, violating one of journalism's most obvious precepts: make your subject comfortable, don't come on like Mike Wallace in a parking lot accusing some poor sap of insurance fraud. But I'd been an admirer of Yaroslavsky in the early '80s and been disappointed since, in the same way that I've been disappointed in the Democratic Party.

Like others, I'd written Yaroslavsky off since that April vote. Then, in early May, I saw him on a KCET TV special about the LAPD. On the show, Yaroslavsky showed himself to be a far different breed than the Gates supplicants on the council — the Picuses, Wachses and Milke-Floreses. Face-to-face with Daryl Gates, Yaroslavsky was impressive, in command of his facts and willing to talk substantively and critically, as he had in the past, about the LAPD's problems.

Yaroslavsky, after all, had come to prominence as the quintessential outsider, a brash, populist troublemaker out of Fairfax High and UCLA. In 1972, at the age of 23, Yaroslavsky, 50 pounds overweight, wearing Zachary All polyester and Medusa hair, had been led away in handcuffs by the LAPD after protesting the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union during a performance of the Moscow's Os-

ipov Balalaika Orchestra. That same year, he was fired from his \$125-a-week job as executive director of the Southern California Council on Soviet Jewry. A council official later told the *L.A. Times*, "He was fat, unkempt, a radical. He was persona non grata around here."

Just three years later, after walking almost every block in the 5th Council District passing out plastic bottle caps with his name on them, he scored a monumental upset, defeating both Bradley aide Fran Savitch and ex-Councilwoman Rosalind Wyman.

Then, in the early '80s, Yaroslavsky, on whom the LAPD had kept a dossier, successfully took on the department over the issues of police spying — then stunningly pervasive — and on the use of chokeholds by LAPD officers when arresting suspects, at least 15 of whom died during a seven-year period. Yaroslavsky challenged the most powerful big-city police department in the nation — something no other local politician, including Tom



"Suspending Gates without a hearing was foolish. Now he's ahead of the game."

Bradley, was willing to do at the time. Later, he was also instrumental in reforming the department's promotional procedures, making it easier for African-Americans, women and Latinos to rise

through the ranks. Then came the Bloods and the Crips. And by the time Karen Toshima got a gang bullet in her head while strolling through Westwood Village — in the heart of Yaroslavsky's district — in 1988, Yaroslavsky's concerns had changed. With one eye on his constituents' fear of crime and the other on the mayor's office, Yaroslavsky began playing "Can You Top This?" with Bradley and other City Council members, approving increases in LAPD staff and technology, and declining to go after such department outrages as the Dalton Avenue Raid, the brutality visited on the Operation Rescue demonstrators, or repressive gang sweeps, as he once had the police spying case. Instead, he spent 1988 gearing up to run for mayor, then dropped out of a race that many thought he could have won had he still been in the field when the Bradley scandals broke.

Then, this spring's extraordinary City Council vote to reinstate Gates caused liberals all over town to ask: "What's with Zev?"

Resisting Rust

Pro-choice activists hatch plans to elude the Supreme Court's anti-abortion decision

BY KATERI BUTLER

MOST LIKELY SHE'S IN HER 20s, didn't graduate from high school, and has an income below the federal poverty level (\$13,100 for a family of four). She's one of the more than 150,000 low-income women who annually rely on 72 L.A. County family-planning clinics for pelvic and breast examinations; Pap smears; screening and treatment of sexually transmitted diseases; contraceptive services; and pregnancy testing, counseling and referrals. And she's the woman who will be most profoundly affected by the May 23 Supreme Court *Rust vs. Sullivan* ruling — which states that clinics that receive federal Title X funding under the 1970 Public Health Services Act can no longer provide counseling or referrals for abortion — even if she's gone to a clinic only to get her blood pressure taken.

According to the National Abortion Rights Action League, many clinics cannot afford to "separate their Title X programs physically as well as financially from any program that provides abortion services, counseling or referral," as the decision requires. Consequently, clinics that want to continue to provide abortion services and referrals may have to spend more money to establish and maintain separate facilities — or give up Title X funds altogether. And clinics that refuse Title X funds risk decreasing their range of services and the number of low-income patients seen unless private monies can



Marie Paris: "Planned Parenthood will decide in the next few weeks whether to comply with the new law."

be raised to close the gap. Five million women nationwide are currently served by Title X funding at more than 1,000 clinics.

"It's our understanding that the vast majority of clinics will not be able to comply," says Katherine Spillar, national coordinator of the Fund for the Feminist Majority. Although lawyers for a number of organizations are reviewing the ruling, Spillar doubts that the decision offers "wiggle room. There's no option — either clinics will take the money or not." She also points out that in some communities, family-planning clinics that receive Title X funds are the only sources of services and information. Prior to the *Rust* decision, pregnant women were offered non-directive counseling by family-planning counselors who gave three choices — give birth and keep the baby, give the baby up for adoption, or an abortion referral. "Under the new law, if a patient asks for an abortion referral at a clinic that receives Title X funds, she is only allowed to say that 'abortion is not an appropriate method of family planning.'"

Both state and federal family-planning funds — which are used for abortions — help support the 72 sites in L.A. County, ranging from community clinics to nonprofit hospitals and Planned Parenthood affiliates. According to Gary Wallace, executive director of the Los Angeles Family Planning Council, which receives approximately \$3 million in Title X funds to the county sites, lawyers from the National Reproductive Health and Family Planning Association as well as the

DURING OUR INTERVIEW, Yaroslavsky expands on the criticism of the department that he'd given on KCET. "I was very displeased with [Gates'] attitude on that KCET show," Yaroslavsky tells me. "I mean, here was a guy who didn't seem to understand, didn't have an iota of an inkling that there might be something wrong in the department. Obviously, there's a problem with the message being sent through the disciplinary system. And when police shoot people and make them quadruple pay or kill them, and they get no investigation at all, and a guy gets 33 days' suspension for being caught reading a magazine while on duty, there seems to be a greater importance placed on disciplining people who engage in bureaucratic infractions rather than excessive use of force."

"The problem," continues Yaroslavsky, "is leadership. It's leadership at the top. Not Daryl Gates, particularly, although he's a part of the leadership. But the mayor, the Police Commission and the City Council. That is where the tone has been set for as long as I've been here. There's been absolutely no interest in investigating police-abuse cases until they become public embarrassments to the political leadership."

I press Yaroslavsky again about the City Council vote. "Look, I've fought against fascist behavior all of my life. Daryl Gates is entitled to his civil liberties even if he may be an s.o.b. I don't want to see

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"[But] when you politicize an issue with the police chief, you're doing the cause of reform, and even the cause of his removal, harm. If the commission's intent was to remove him, and to make a change of leadership, they should have laid the groundwork pursuant to the civil service laws for his removal. They should have started citing him for his deficiencies. To nail him when he made an absurd statement. And that's exactly what I told [Mayor Bradley's chief of staff Mark] Fabiani and [then Police Commission President Dan] Garcia before the suspension. That would have made sense.

"Suspending Gates without a hearing was absolutely foolish. And to make Gates a cause célèbre and the measure of success or failure in reforming the department — then you have really ignored the opportunity that exists and the obligation that we have to do the other things. Now you have a situation where Gates is ahead of the game. And it makes it that much more difficult to make the reforms the department is crying out for.

"My hope is that people will let the Christopher Commission run its course. I think it's going to make, it has to make, some very serious findings."

Yaroslavsky has a lot more to say, particularly about Police Commissioner Melanie Lomax, who, throughout the interview, is a focus of his anger. Outrage at a woman whose major sin is a passion for her people seems oddly misplaced for a man so closely linked to righting the horrors visited upon his own.

But on the hard question of whether Gates should resign, well, says Yaroslavsky, "I said he should retire — but I did not call for his resignation. That would just be it less likely that he would go on his own volition."

Anybody who's just as Yaroslavsky knows that's right as Yaroslavsky turned out to be right on just how bad a procedural disaster suspending Gates turned out to be. But the problem is more than just one of procedure. It's a question of an institution so powerful that a local political player like Yaroslavsky still feels constrained not to call for the resignation of the civil servant who heads it. So powerful that it took Tom Bradley 17 years to do so, and when he did, got his ass kicked for his trouble. So powerful that a guy with decent instincts like Yaroslavsky, not known to shy away from a battle, seems willing merely to nip around the edges of the department's power.

Or perhaps Yaroslavsky, now middle-aged and middle-class, has forgotten — or has chosen to forget — that he can both deplore the recent window-breaking by African-American teenagers in Westwood Village and still champion a young man's concepts of social justice. Perhaps Yaroslavsky, who's been around the block, wants action that's going to be effective, and not what he considers to be the futile, counterproductive gestures of a Melanie Lomax. Or perhaps he's just lowering his profile, aware that he doesn't need a campaign against him by the Police Protective League, whom he's already alienated, if he decides again to run for mayor.

Late that evening, as I walk out of his office, Yaroslavsky shouts to me: "Be fair, now. Don't make me look like a weasel!"

I don't say anything. I just laugh aloud. I don't know why. **LA**

director of public affairs, emphasizes that L.A. Planned Parenthood clinics will continue to offer pregnant women abortion services and referrals until the DHS letter arrives. "Planned Parenthood will decide in the next few weeks whether to comply with the new law," says Paris, who also notes that attorneys for Planned Parenthood are looking at the ruling to see if it's possible to still accept Title X funds while maintaining the current standards of care. She criticizes the court's ruling as "a terrible blow to free speech, to the women of America, and to the medical profession." Paris goes on to say that "under these new rules, if we're faced with a pregnant 15-year-old who says she was raped by her uncle six weeks ago, is scared and has nowhere to turn, our counselors could only say: 'We do not consider abortion an acceptable method of family planning.'" With the new regulations, even if a woman's life is endangered by the pregnancy, family-services counselors cannot mention abortion as an alternative.

L.A. Planned Parenthood's board of directors has called for an emergency meeting within the next month to vote on whether the L.A. affiliate will accept Title X funds with the restrictions, but, says Paris, there are no plans to change the organization's policies. This vote will affect 101 L.A. Planned Parenthood clinics — not all perform abortions (there are other Planned Parenthood affiliates in L.A. County, such as Pasadena Planned Parenthood). L.A. Planned Parenthood has also placed ads blasting the decision in the *L.A. Times* and *The Hollywood Reporter* as part of a drive to raise funds privately that could help offset the \$300,000. Planned Parenthood stands to lose annually if Title X funds are rejected.

"We are going to ask the public," says Paris, "as we've never asked before, for private donations to keep our clinics open. We will fight back."

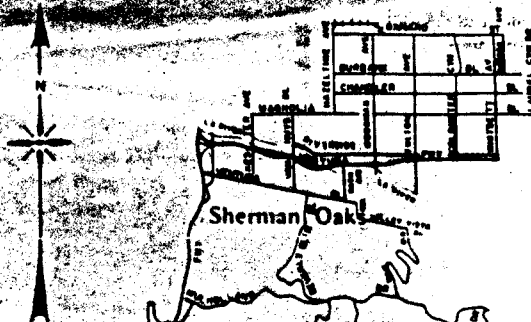
THE FIGHT IS NOW MOVING INTO THE political arena. In California, state Senator Diane Watson and Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy have co-sponsored a senate joint resolution urging Congress to pass legislation overturning *Rust*.

In Congress, House bill H.R. 392 and Senate bill S. 323 call for measures that would preserve the rights of clinics receiving Title X funds to continue offering non-directive counseling and abortion referrals upon request. In addition, the Freedom of Choice Act (H.R. 25 and S. 25) would apply the principles of *Roe vs. Wade* to federal law, prohibiting individual states from passing more restrictive legislation.

Robin Schneider, associate director of the California Abortion Rights Action League (CARAL), sees the solution as electing pro-choice candidates to Congress and the state Legislature who will "reverse bad Supreme Court decisions." CARAL, Planned Parenthood, the Fund for the Feminist Majority and other groups have formed the Emergency Campaign To Overturn the Gag Rule, which has already started letter-writing campaigns to legislators to support the upcoming congressional bills, the California joint senate resolution and budget legislation that would replace lost federal funds with state funds, as well as starting private fund-raising drives. Or, as Planned Parenthood's motto says, "Fight to keep freedom of speech part of freedom of choice." **LA**

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5TH DISTRICT
PHOTOGRAPHS
BY TED SOQUI



THE 5TH DISTRICT UP FOR

HAS THE WESTSIDE OUTGROWN ZEV YAROSLAVSKY? BY RON CURRAN

ON AN UNSEASONABLY BALMY February evening, 150 Beverly-Fairfax neighbors gather in the Etz Jacob Synagogue to meet the four candidates running for the 5th District City Council seat. Politically astute, predominantly elderly and Jewish, these voters have long been a power base for incumbent Zev Yaroslavsky, who's seeking a fifth term in the April 11 primary. This is a race that Yaroslavsky hoped he would never have to go through again. But, having prepared for years to run for mayor, the councilman unexpectedly decided in January that Tom Bradley could not be defeated. Now Yaroslavsky finds himself battling for his political life, and it's for the seat he's held for 14 years.

As his challengers — neighborhood activist and UCLA professor Laura Lake, transportation planner Ryan Snyder, and political consultant (and early Yaroslavsky mentor) Jack McGrath — mingle with the crowd in the brightly lit auditorium, it becomes apparent that the "10,000 old Jews out there," who Yaroslavsky says want him in office because they "see me as their grandson," now have serious doubts about him.

"How can he tell everyone he's slow-growth when he's selling our neighborhood to developers?" asks a longtime Yaroslavsky supporter as she examines his opponents' campaign brochures. "Why is it that I pay higher parking-meter fees and permit parking fees, but I still can't find a place to park?" asks an older man with a cane as he signs up to join one of the three neighborhood associations sponsoring the evening's forum. "When we first elected Zev, it used to take me 15 minutes to drive to Westwood to shop with my granddaughter," says another woman. "Now it can take an hour. What happened?"

These are questions, it turns out, Yaroslavsky won't be around to answer this evening. Minutes before the start of the forum, one of the sponsors announces that a Yaroslavsky aide has called to say the councilman won't be attending. "We invited Zev, both verbally and in writing, a month and a half ago, but he tells us now that he has a 'prior commitment,'" Harold Hahn, president of the South of Burton Way Neighborhood Association, informs the capacity crowd, sparking a chorus of boos. "Apparently, he doesn't think it's important to be here with his neighbors and constituents."

Yaroslavsky's prior commitment is a gala concert, led by Doc Severinsen and hosted by Larry King, dedicating the Norman J. Pattiz Concert Hall at nearby Hamilton High School. While his challengers debate how many parking spaces should be required per square foot of any new commercial development, Yaroslavsky appears before the black-tie audience to present the city's resolu-

tions on behalf of the hall. He spends the rest of the evening moving through the room, reminding members of the audience that he needs their support.

Yaroslavsky's campaign strategy is simple: avoid his challengers and count on incumbency. He has only participated in one of five campaign forums conducted so far. He has not given a major interview since he pulled out of the mayor's race. (He's declined to talk with the *Weekly* about his campaign despite three months of inquiries.) A recent mass mailing asking for contributions is about the closest voters have come to Yaroslavsky all year.

This is the strategy of an entrenched but worried politician, and it has recently worked for Pete Wilson and Tom Bradley, among others. Of course, these aren't politicians with whom Yaroslavsky likes to be compared, and he insists he's not playing it safe. "The councilman has got a busy schedule and many obligations," says press deputy Karin Caves. "His not being able to attend as many forums as he'd like is a matter of scheduling, not a matter of fear."

Still, the 40-year-old Yaroslavsky is facing his first serious re-election challenge (he ran unopposed in 1981 and 1985), and the man whose first name means "wolf" in Hebrew is running scared. His campaign strategy is a far cry from his first council race, when he out-hustled former Bradley aide Fran Savitch and former Councilwoman Rosalind Wyman to become the youngest person

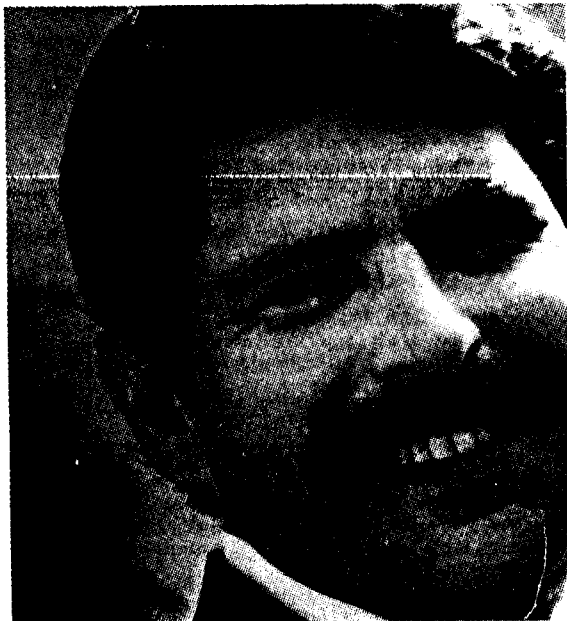
ever elected to the council. "I won because they were hard-looking women who really didn't want the job," Yaroslavsky has said, "and here I was, a fat, hungry-looking kid who wanted to do some things." Now, Yaroslavsky is forced to seek re-election to a seat that he really doesn't want — even his wife says he has "kind of grown bored" in a job he has described as "the pits in many ways" — against a determined set of challengers.

Chief among them is Laura Lake. Although Ryan Snyder and Jack McGrath have generated a surprising amount of attention (see accompanying story), it is the 42-year-old Lake — co-founder of slow-growth/environmental organizations Friends of Westwood and Not Yet New York — who has gained the support of many of the district's powerful homeowner and neighborhood associations.

"This area is a good place to live despite our councilman, not because of him," begins the Brooklyn native at the Etz Jacob event, glancing at Yaroslavsky's empty seat on the dais. Lake is a no-nonsense but relaxed speaker, smoothly sprinkling jibes and facts into her talk. "Most of the positive things Zev takes credit for were actually the result of our hard work. We forced his hand, and he took the credit trying to build a citywide reputation for his mayoral run. But people here at home know that if it wasn't for pressure from us, he never would have gotten involved in these issues at all."

THIS HAS BEEN THE MOST TUMULTUOUS YEAR OF ZEV YAROSLAVSKY'S POLITICAL LIFE. HE HAD NO INTENTION — OR DESIRE — TO BE RUNNING FOR CITY COUNCIL AGAIN. NOW HE FINDS HIMSELF IN A POSITION HE'S NEVER BEEN IN BEFORE — FIGHTING FOR RE-ELECTION.

Indeed, Yaroslavsky's challengers accuse him of selling the district to real-estate interests in a trade-off for financial support to keep his mayoral ambitions alive. With as much as half his campaign funds coming from developers, he has lost the endorsements of such influential early supporters as the League of Conservation Voters, the Westside Civic Federation and the Westside Homeowners Organization. "Zev joined the council as an anti-establishment crusader, but now he bases all his decisions on the effect they'll have on his own future instead of on the rank-and-file residents of this district," says former Yaroslavsky backer Bob



Breall, of the North Westwood Village Residents Association. "He is serving some constituents very well — developers, big-buck business interests and anyone else who can help him get where he wants to be politically. But he's undermining the quality of life for the rest of us."

To defeat Yaroslavsky, Laura Lake must either win a majority victory in the April 11 primary or (more likely) deprive Yaroslavsky of one, which would force a June runoff that she must win outright. By any standard, Lake faces a formidable task. Yaroslavsky has raised considerably more money than the \$100,000 Lake has collected. The district is populous (136,422 registered voters) and vast, cutting a swath from the central San Fernando Valley down to Culver City. Yaroslavsky has a well-tooled campaign apparatus, run by Chris Lopez, a former top aide to Westside political consultants Michael Berman and Carl D'Agostino. He still has a core of supporters, including many of the district's power brokers, like

GRABS

the Jewish Federation Council, community organizers like Stan Tritell of United Community Housing, and Richard Close's Sherman Oaks Homeowners Association. Above all, he is a well-known, longstanding incumbent in a field of relative unknowns.

Defeating Yaroslavsky isn't impossible, though. One wild card is the voters who live in the sprawling Valley portion of the 5th, who only became constituents after the 1986 redistricting: they are considering Yaroslavsky's merits for the first time. And Yaroslavsky opponents are buoyed by the memory of the 1987 Pat Russell upset, when political novice Ruth Galanter ousted the then-council president under similar circumstances — an upstart community activist mobilizing slow-growth votes to defeat a well-funded, politically connected council veteran. (Galanter is now endorsing Lake.) An early poll — which showed that only 50.6 percent of voters said they would vote for Yaroslavsky — has also provided encouragement.

"A lot of people are unhappy with Yaroslavsky, and he's definitely vulnerable," says Lake campaign manager (and former Galanter manager) Marcella Howell, noting that Lake has received endorsements from the Sherman Oaks Democratic Club and Women For, as well as national groups The Women's Campaign Fund and the National Women's Political Caucus. "Our job is to reach those people and convince them that Laura is better for them, and to make the others aware that Zev has changed so much since they originally voted for him. To do that, we're going door-to-door to have personal contact with people."

Lake's primary support lies with homeowners, who make up a pivotal segment of 5th District voters and are exactly the ones dissatisfied with Yaroslavsky's handling of such issues as pollution, traffic and parking. "These are the people she needs to attract to win," says political



PHOTO BY DEBRA DIPOALO

consultant Mark Ryavec. "She's going to have a very hard time reaching enough of them unless she gets more money for mass mailings. But they can be sympathetic to her message."

LAURA LAKE'S POLITICAL ROOTS GO back two generations. Her paternal grandfather helped found the typesetters' union and her maternal grandfather was an early member of the bakers' union. Her father started a non-profit housing cooperative of more than 300 Brooklyn families. Lake left New York to study international relations at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, where she met her future husband, molecular biologist Jim Lake. In 1967, they moved to Boston, where Lake earned a Ph.D. in political science at Tufts. Her dissertation, "Massachusetts: A Case Study of the Politics of the Environment," examined the political impact of the state's environmental movement. Soon after,

Lake was hired as an environmental policy analyst for New York congressman Herman Badillo. She went on to chair the New York Sierra Club's urban land-use task force and later served as an assistant program officer for the Ford Foundation Office of Resources and the Environment.

In 1976, UCLA asked her to become an adjunct professor of environmental science and engineering. "When we first got here, the city seemed so beautiful and green, with wonderful vegetation everywhere," recalls Lake. "It was great to be away from the overdevelopment of New York. Then one day I was given a neighborhood newsletter that told how Yaroslavsky

was supporting a 27-story hotel. Some friends and I battled to get that project scaled down, then we found out that several more high-rises were planned. We decided we had to formally band together to have a rapid, effective response to these land-use and environmental problems."

Lake's research led to work on environmental issues with numerous groups, including the League of Conservation Voters. In 1984, Lake, along with community leader Sandy Brown and urban planner Jackie Freedman, founded Friends of Westwood, a non-profit land-use organization that now has 1,000 members. Early the next year they formed Not Yet New York, a citywide coalition of homeowner and environmental groups that successfully lobbied against the LANCER plan to build mass-burn incinerators in West, South-Central and East L.A.

Although Lake and Not Yet New York supported

LAKE'S PRIMARY SUPPORT LIES WITH HOMEOWNERS, WHO MAKE UP A PIVOTAL SEGMENT OF 5TH DISTRICT VOTERS AND ARE EXACTLY THE ONES DISSATISFIED WITH YAROSLAVSKY'S HANDLING OF SUCH ISSUES AS POLLUTION, TRAFFIC AND PARKING.

MAXI-MALL

THE PROJECT THAT YAROSLAVSKY critics consider most symbolic of his misplaced development priorities has been the proposed expansion of the Westside Pavilion. Yaroslavsky's support of the 1984 construction of the 675,000-square-foot, three-story mall had generated much animosity, with local neighborhood associations forecasting dramatically increased traffic congestion and parking problems around the site at Pico and Westwood boulevards.

Their projections were largely ignored. They also proved true, with the two main adjoining intersections pushed far above capacity. Lessons learned from the Pavilion generated tighter city restrictions on development along some of the Westside's major thoroughfares, theoretically allowing new projects only if they "will not be materially detrimental to the character of the de-

velopment in the immediate neighborhood."

Yaroslavsky, who had been an enthusiastic supporter of the Pavilion, conceded that he had underestimated the impact the mall would have on the area. "I misread this whole situation from the beginning," he said in January 1986. "Traffic there is a horror story."

But in late 1985, developer Richard Green and Westfield Inc. sought to expand the Pavilion by 160,000 square feet, with a retail/vehicular bridge built over Westwood Boulevard connecting a new entertainment and shopping annex to the main mall. The proposed square-footage was 50 percent more than Prop. U limits allow; the bridge was not allowed at all. More than 2,500 car-trips would be added to the area during the three busiest hours of the day.

Despite his assessment of the community's traffic problems six months earlier, Yaroslavsky supported an expansion of 105,000 square feet — the maximum allowable under Prop. U — and

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When he started out in politics, Yaroslavsky promised to be a populist hero: he'd worked for McGovern, against the Vietnam War and on behalf of Soviet Jewry. In office, he made a point of turning down such routine perks as free Dodger baseball tickets. Reform of campaign and contribution laws became an early crusade, and he also championed limiting billboards, implementing gun control, codifying gay rights and sponsoring a local freedom-of-information act, sparked by his discovery that the LAPD's domestic spying unit had kept a file on him. Yaroslavsky's refusal to play by backroom rules, aggravated by his surly, sometimes arrogant

demeanor, alienated his council colleagues, who routinely trounced his early reform efforts. But his popularity in the 5th District soared; he received 91 percent of the vote in his first re-election.

Yaroslavsky's political ambition soon became apparent, and he began talking openly about his desire to run for everything from mayor to congressman to senator. "I'd love to be chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee," he confided to a reporter in 1981. He then added, "There's no way I can see myself in this [5th District] job beyond this term [that ended in 1985]." Yaroslavsky put himself through a startling grooming process. He exercised, gave up

cigarettes and lost 30 pounds. He acquired a taste for expensive suits; began to have his hair styled and to remove his glasses when in the presence of a photographer. Gone were the trappings of his first campaign: the beat-up car, the mismatched clothes, the tousled hair.

His transformation was not merely physical. Once an outspoken political maverick, Yaroslavsky became guarded and cautious. "He went from being knee-jerk liberal on most issues," recalls one council colleague, "to being impossible to pin down because he always wanted to see how the political wind was blowing. You can't tell whether he believes in what he's supporting, or sup-

porting what he thinks he should believe in so he can use it later."

Yaroslavsky has even conceded a change in political style. "No doubt about it, I'm more conservative than I was," he said in 1981. "Hell, I've got a wife and a kid and a mortgage . . . [But] I think my basic instincts are still the same."

Not many people who have followed his political career agree. Some of Yaroslavsky's most contradictory positions came on the very issues — most notably development and the environment — that he hoped would bring him citywide political success.

Although Yaroslavsky portrays himself as an environmental candidate and backed last year's Proposition O effort to stop Occidental Petroleum from drilling in Pacific Palisades, he has made numerous decisions that undermine that reputation. He asked the federal government to ease mandated restrictions on sludge dumping in Santa Monica Bay. He voted against expanding the Hyperion Waste Treatment facility, even though federal subsidies would have paid for much of the expense. He also was slow on denouncing the LANCER incinera-

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**"PEOPLE ARE FINALLY
REALIZING THAT
[YAROSLAVSKY'S] A WELL-
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tion project, not opposing it until it was evident that the plan would be defeated. He scaled back the Diamond Lane freeway program. He approved a luxury housing project for which developer Jonah Goldrich bulldozed a geologically sensitive Santa Monica Mountains ridge. He endorsed city council president Pat Russell over slow-growth environmentalist challenger Ruth Galanter.

But it is a related issue — Yaroslavsky's close ties to developers — that has become the central focus of the campaign. Yaroslavsky's campaign-contribution documents show that, while representing what he has called "some of the most desirable real estate in the world," nearly half of his campaign contributions (which totaled near-

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by \$2 million as he prepared for the mayoral race) have come from developers, including major 5th District real estate interests like Tishman Management, Watt Industries, Weinstock Construction, Barclay-Hollander Corp., Beverly Park Estates, Charles Chastain/Headland Properties, as well as pro-developer lobbyist Phil Krakover.

Yaroslavsky denies that contributions influence his decision on a project, and developers who give to Yaroslavsky say they don't expect anything more than an open ear to their proposals. "It's not an effort to buy a vote," offers one developer, who has sought and received approval for several of-

fice buildings in the 5th District. "You pay the money to go to fund-raising dinners to develop a relationship with Zev, to get some time with him that you might not otherwise get."

That development may prove to be Yaroslavsky's undoing is more than a little ironic, since he's gambled his political future on presenting himself as a slow-growth champion. In 1986, after spending four years as chair of the council's planning committee (during which he has said developers often tried to "bribe" him), Yaroslavsky and councilman Marvin Braude co-authored Proposition U, an extensive plan designed to limit heights and densities of commercial

developments throughout the city.

The so-called Initiative for Reasonable Limits on Commercial Building and Traffic Growth was a landmark effort, and it came at a time when many citizens had concluded that the city had reached a point of critical mass. But a closer look showed that Prop. U, unlike similar legislation in cities like San Francisco, was riddled by loopholes. The most glaring was the exemption of the lucrative Wilshire Corridor, in the heart of the 5th District, which was targeted as one of three commercial centers (along with downtown and Hollywood). Yaroslavsky said the Corridor could absorb the growth and would take the pressure off communities that

couldn't. But many of his constituents said the exemption showed Prop. U for what it actually was: a move by Yaroslavsky to capitalize on citywide slow-growth sentiment while retaining an influx of campaign money from local high-density developers.

"Yaroslavsky denies that he's serving developers, but his actions speak louder than words," says Sandy Brown of Friends of Westwood, one of Laura Lake's closest advisors. "Drive down Wilshire Boulevard and tell me about height and density limitations. You can barely see the sky what with all the high-rises, and they're still going up. Who's being served by those projects?"

High-rise/high-density development has boomed in the district. Fifteen new high-rise projects have been approved on Wilshire alone during Yaroslavsky's 14 years in office, with seven condo high-rises currently under construction in just one three-quarter-mile stretch. Contribution records, in turn, show that he has accepted thousands of dollars from developers connected to those projects, including Westwood Gateway, Bren Investment, Tishman Construction and DWCB Partners. Subse-

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YAROSLAVSKY INSISTS THAT REGULATIONS APPROVED BEFORE HE TOOK OFFICE ARE LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR OVERDEVELOPMENT IN THE DISTRICT. WHEN GIVEN THE CHANCE TO IMPLEMENT FIRM LIMITS, THOUGH, YAROSLAVSKY HAS OFTEN CHOSEN NOT TO.

quently, traffic congestion has increased dramatically along the Corridor, with eight intersections in the area now rated by the city as "F," "E" or "D" in traffic congestion (on a scale where "A" is least congested).

In areas of the district not categorically exempted from Prop. U, Yaroslavsky has been weak on height and/or density restrictions for projects involving commercial kingpins. He backed the \$50-million Ma Maison Sofitel hotel-restaurant complex at the already congested intersection of La Cienega and Beverly boulevards, which was proposed by influential developer Shelley Gordon. The proposed expansion of the Westside Pavilion also followed the same pattern in which a powerful developer received special treatment. (See accompanying article.)

In 1983 Yaroslavsky authorized a temporary lease with 20th Century Fox allowing

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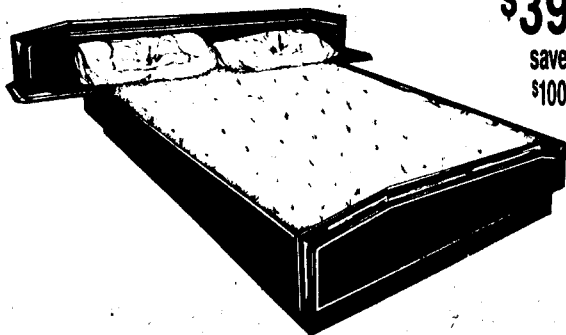
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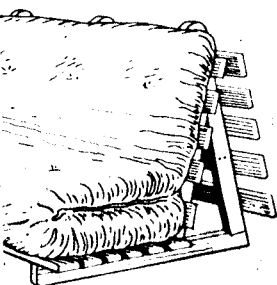
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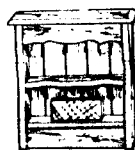
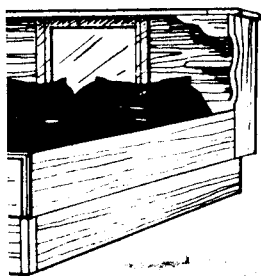
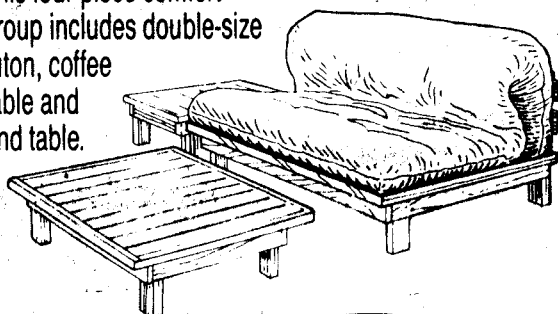
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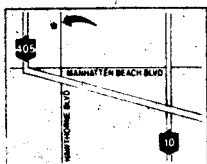
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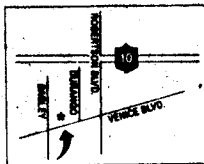
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the Pico Boulevard studio to lease 212 parking places at the city's adjacent Cheviot Hills Recreation Center while it built an employee parking structure. While monthly parking in nearby lots average \$80 per month, the \$9,500 a month Fox pays averages under \$45 a month per space, a figure that increased last August from \$24 a space following pressure from homeowners. Fox, which more than five years later has still not begun planning construction for the structure, has saved more than \$7 million thanks to Yaroslavsky's deal. The company's chief executive, Barry Diller, has become a supporter and personally contributed \$500 to Yaroslavsky.

Yaroslavsky insists that regulations approved before he took office are largely responsible for overdevelopment in the district. When given the chance to implement firm limits, though, Yaroslavsky has often chosen not to. He has supported rent control and the closing of loopholes on condo



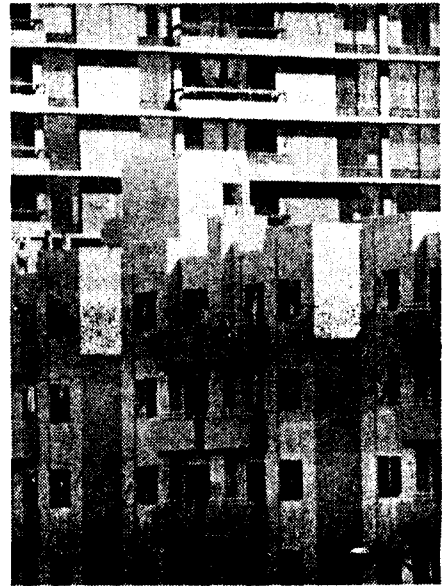
"CAN I VOTE FOR YOU TWICE?" AN ELDERLY MAN OFFERS AS SOON AS LAKE INTRODUCES HERSELF. "YAROSLAVSKY IS LETTING ME DOWN MORE AND MORE EVERY DAY." THE NEXT NEIGHBOR EXPRESSES DOUBTS THAT ANYTHING CAN BE DONE TO REVERSE THE OVERDEVELOPMENT SPIRAL: "THANKS TO [YAROSLAVSKY], IT'S TOO LATE FOR SLOW GROWTH."

conversions. But he's refused to support new regulations that would prevent landlords from demolishing their buildings — a common way landlords circumvent rent control and conversion regulations, especially in the 5th District, where rents have spiraled and the number of affordable housing units has plummeted during Yaroslavsky's tenure. Yaroslavsky opposed a plan that would give community boards binding authority over development projects in their neighborhoods. And his initial Westwood Specific Plan called for doubling the allowable density and allowing construction of a 750-room hotel that would rise as high as 70 feet.

In 1984, under intense pressure from community groups fed up with the traffic congestion and parking woes in Westwood, Yaroslavsky agreed to a moratorium on new projects in the village until the Westwood

Specific Plan could be revised. "We must have vision in determining what we want Westwood to become," he said at the time. "We don't need another fast-food joint or T-shirt shop."

Yaroslavsky met several times with community leaders, including Laura Lake, to help decide exactly what was needed. But Lake recalls that sometime after the meeting — during which Yaroslavsky agreed that there should be no development until the Westwood Plan was completed — and before council approval of the moratorium, Yaroslavsky went back and deleted a clause prohibiting new enterprises that would increase traffic, especially fast-food and alcohol outlets.



YAROSLAVSKY'S CHALLENGERS ACCUSE HIM OF SELLING THE DISTRICT TO REAL-ESTATE INTERESTS IN A TRADE-OFF FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO KEEP HIS MAYORAL AMBITIONS ALIVE.

"We didn't find out about the change in wording until Zev had approved a new Burger King for the Village," Lake recalls. "When we tried to question him about the wording change, we couldn't get past his deputy, who just smiled and said, 'At least it's not a Wendy's.' I can't tell you the sense of betrayal we felt."

It is perhaps that sense of betrayal, more than anything, that fuels Lake's campaign. Like any candidate, she insists she is running on her record. But nobody in the 5th District misconstrues what this election is about, least of all Lake herself. It is a referendum on the 14-year political odyssey of Zev Yaroslavsky. **LA**

Amiel Morris contributed research to this story.

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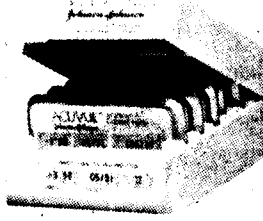
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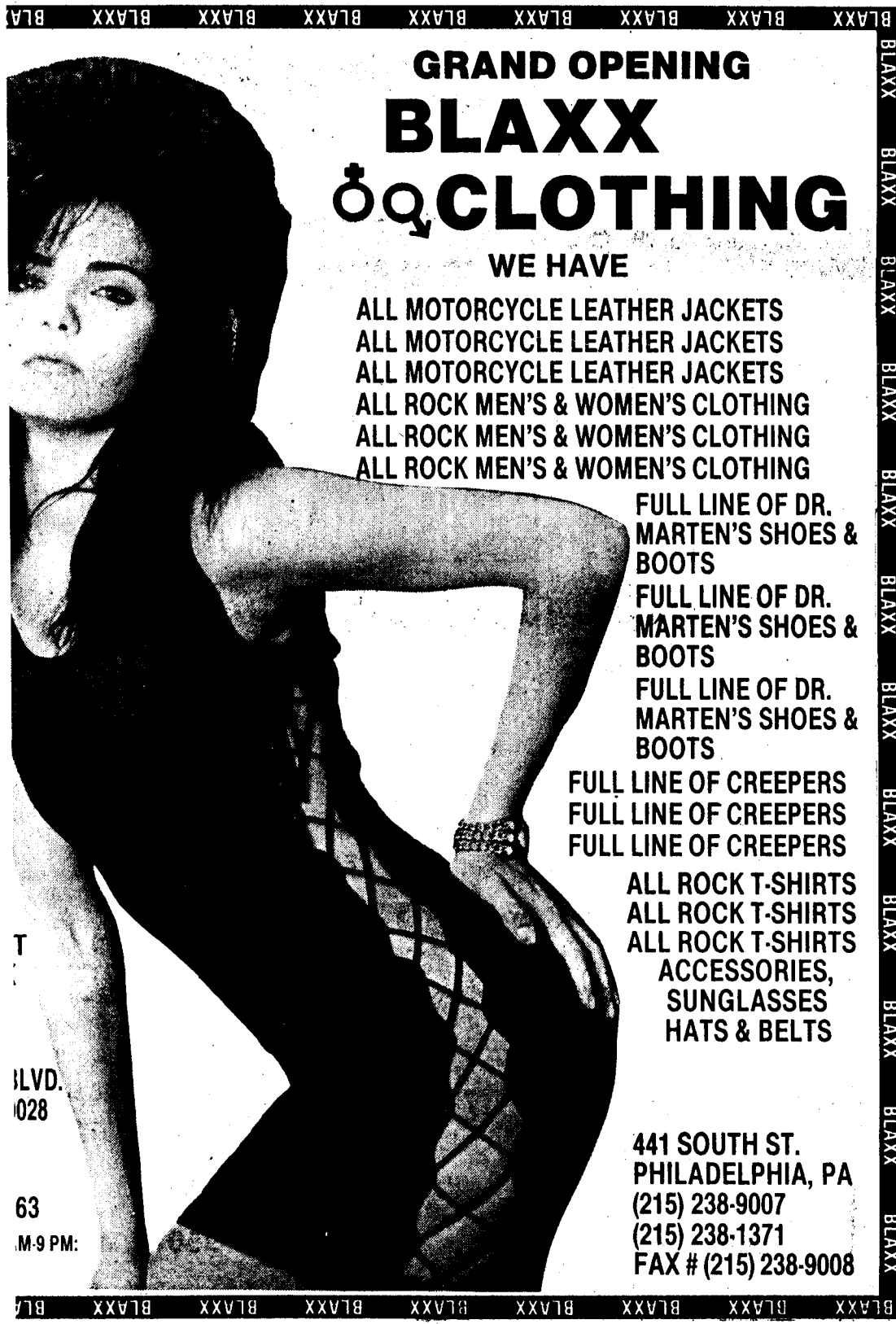
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