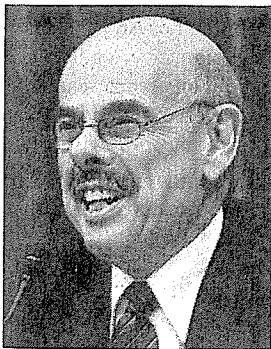


THIRTIETH DISTRICT



Rep. Henry Waxman (D)

Elected 1974, 16th term; b. Sept. 12, 1939, Los Angeles; home, Los Angeles; U.C.L.A., B.A. 1961, J.D. 1964; Jewish; married (Janet).

Elected Office: CA Assembly, 1968-74.

Professional Career: Practicing atty., 1965-68.

DC Office: 2204 RHOB, 20515, 202-225-3976; Fax: 202-225-4099; Web site: www.house.gov/waxman.

District Office: Los Angeles, 323-651-1040.

Committees: *Energy & Commerce* (2d of 26 D); *Energy & Air Quality*; *Health*; *Oversight & Investigations*. *Government Reform* (RMM of 17 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	AFS	LCV	ITIC	NTU	COC	ACU	NTLC	CHC
2004	100	95	100	100	40	8	20	0	0	15
2003	95	—	100	80	—	24	34	13	—	—

National Journal Ratings

	2003 LIB	—	2003 CONS	2004 LIB	—	2004 CONS
Economic	92%	—	0%	94%	—	6%
Social	92%	—	0%	83%	—	16%
Foreign	84%	—	14%	88%	—	11%

Key Votes of the 108th Congress

1. Drilling in ANWR	N	5. DC School Vouchers	N	9. Ban Same-Sex Marriage	N
2. Approve Bush Tax Cuts	N	6. Ban Human Cloning	N	10. Fund Iraq War	N
3. Medicare/Rx Bill	N	7. Restrict Gun Liability	N	11. Bar Cuba Embargo Funds	Y
4. Bar Overtime Pay Regs.	Y	8. Ban Partial-Birth Abortion	N	12. Intelligence Reorg.	N

Election Results

2004 general	Henry Waxman (D)	216,682	(71%)	(\$453,715)
	Victor Elizalde (R)	87,465	(29%)	(\$262,130)
2004 primary	Henry Waxman (D)	unopposed		
2002 general	Henry Waxman (D)	130,604	(70%)	(\$509,690)
	Tony Goss (R)	54,989	(30%)	

Prior Winning Percentages: 2000 (76%); 1998 (74%); 1996 (68%); 1994 (68%); 1992 (61%); 1990 (69%); 1988 (72%); 1986 (88%); 1984 (63%); 1982 (65%); 1980 (64%); 1978 (63%); 1976 (68%); 1974 (64%)

The People	Race/Ethnic Origin	Ancestry
Area size: 388 sq. mi.	76.4% White	German: 8.4% English: 6.8%
Urban population: 97.5%	2.6% Black	Irish: 6.8%
Rural population: 2.5%	8.8% Asian	2004 Presidential Vote
Pop. 2000: 639,088	0.2% Native Am.	Kerry (D) 220,181 (66%)
Median income: \$60,713	0.1% Hawaiian	Bush (R) 109,014 (33%)
Poverty status: 9.0%	3.3% Two+ races	Other 3,660 (1%)
Military veterans: 8.3%	0.3% Other	2000 Presidential Vote
	8.3% Hispanic Origin	Gore (D) 199,282 (68%)
		Bush (R) 81,336 (28%)
		Other 11,464 (4%)
		Cook Partisan Voting Index: D +20
Occupation	Blue collar: 6.9%	White collar: 84.4%
		Gray collar: 8.7%

The Westside: The term was not much used 20 years ago, but is now shorthand for what might be the biggest and flashiest concentration of affluence in the world. It is the heartland of one of America's most productive and creative industries and one of the nation's major exports, show business. The first moviemakers came here earlier in the century, looking for a place to shoot silent films where the sunlight was more dependable than in Astoria, Queens, or Englewood, New Jersey. They found it in Hollywood, a suburb just annexed by burgeoning Los Angeles when the first movie studio was built in 1911. In 1923 came the Hollywood sign, overlooking the soon-famous intersection of Hollywood and Vine. By the 1930s, big studio lots were scattered around town, over the mountains in Burbank or out toward the ocean in Westwood and Culver City. Miraculously, the studio bosses of that era—most of them Jewish immigrants with little ancestral experience of America—created a popular culture that was universally accessible and embodied the American spirit in a way that still captures the imagination.

Showbiz still sets the tone for the Westside. It remains tremendously profitable, and not just for the big studios which are owned by large conglomerates; there are thousands of entrepreneurs, actors, writers and craftsmen who are the best in the world at what they do and who tend to cluster on the Westside because so many of the others they do business with are here. Many people on the Westside like to portray themselves as artists in a garret, willing to risk starving to make art and speak truth to bourgeois society. But their yen for fashionable new moral standards often make them disdainful of the ordinary people who are the market of mass entertainment.

Showbiz rejoiced in the election of Bill Clinton and in his frequent forays into California and obvious fascination with entertainers; it rejected with fury the notion that there was something wrong about his affair with a White House intern (from the Westside, it turns out) or with lying under oath in a sexual harassment case in a federal court. It responded with rage to George W. Bush and the war in Iraq; but its shrill endorsements of his opponent probably inspired more votes for Bush than against him.

Not everyone on the Westside is in show business, of course. Los Angeles ranks first in the nation in percentage of people who work at home and this is a place where thousands of small entrepreneurs, manufacturers, and inventors and marketers of everything imaginable helped spark the huge growth of the Los Angeles Basin, and there are even traces of pre-show business Los Angeles money, which is also plentiful. There are large numbers of singles and gays here. The Fairfax neighborhood remains solidly middle-class Jewish—though many of its Jews today are recent Russian immigrants. The Westside was the home of a former president who does not at all exemplify its politics, Ronald Reagan; before his Alzheimer's disease worsened, he kept his office on the former Fox lot that is now Century City. It is the center of the second-largest Jewish community in the United States, as well as the focus of the 1980s immigration of Iranians to the United States (6% of the district population is of Iranian ancestry). It is also the locus of some of America's most expensive residential real estate, where people buy houses for multiples of \$1 million, knock down the structure and build something new for more millions, and of one of the world's premier high-priced shopping areas—Rodeo Drive, once a quite ordinary shopping street.

The 30th Congressional District of California contains most of Westside Los Angeles plus territory to the west. It includes the Fairfax neighborhood east to La Brea Avenue, heavily gay West Hollywood, Beverly Hills and the heavily Jewish Los Angeles neighborhoods to the south, Westwood and UCLA, Bel Air and Brentwood, Santa Monica and the whole 27 miles of Malibu on the ocean; most of the workload of the California Coastal Commission comes from Malibu. The district also includes the western end of the San Fernando Valley, the high-income neighborhoods of Woodland Hills and Chatsworth up against the mountains that rim the Valley. And it includes the high-income suburbs of Hidden Hills, Calabasas, Agoura Hills and Westlake Village, nestled amid mountains along the Ventura Freeway west of the San Fernando Valley. This is a mostly high-income district, with a large number of Jews and immigrants from Russia and Iran, but by today's definitions it is the least diverse district in metro Los Angeles. Only 3% of its residents in 2000 were black; no L.A. County district has a lower percentage. Only 8% of its residents are Hispanic, by a considerable margin the lowest percentage in southern California. Many Latinos work in the district, but few are interested in paying the prices for housing that has been bid up by rich people who can't imagine living anywhere else. Politically, the 30th District is heavily Democratic, but perhaps not quite as heavily as is generally believed. In 2000 it cast only 28% of its votes for George W. Bush, but in 2004 he got 33% here, even as his percentages declined in the San Francisco Bay area. One reason is the response of many Jewish voters to his support for Israel and policy of overthrowing or undermining tyranny in the Middle East. Bush's share of the vote rose from 20% to 42% in Beverly Hills, where the showbiz celebrities living in the rolling hills north of Sunset Boulevard are outnumbered by the Iranian Jews in the flatlands south of Wilshire.

The congressman from the 30th District is Henry Waxman, a Democrat first elected in 1974, one of the ablest members of the House, a shrewd political operator who is a skilled and idealistic policy entrepreneur. There is no Westside glitz about him: He grew up over his family's store in Watts, his personal demeanor is quiet, and he has never attended the Oscars ceremony. He graduated from UCLA and its law school, where he met Howard Berman, his longtime political ally and colleague. He moved up rapidly in politics by spying openings before others did and taking advantage of them. He ran against Assemblyman Lester McMillan in the mostly Jewish Fairfax area in 1968, at 28, and won 64% in the primary. From 1971–72 he chaired the redistricting committee, a good place to make friends, but he went to Congress in 1974 in a district designed, he points out, not by his committee but by a court. Waxman's biggest break in Congress came after the 1978 election, when he was elected chairman of the Commerce Committee's Health and Environment Subcommittee. This was one of the first times House Democrats decided to ignore seniority in handing out subcommittee chairs. Nevertheless, Waxman argued his case on the issues and—in a move quite unprecedented at the time, though common in Sacramento then and soon in Washington—made campaign contributions to other Democrats on the full committee, and won the post, 15–12, over the widely respected Richardson Preyer of North Carolina.

The campaign contributions were no accident. In the 1970s and 1980s Waxman and Berman built their own political machine in Los Angeles. Its power came not from patronage but from fundraising and savvy. They raised huge sums on the Westside for favored candidates. For them they put out carefully targeted direct mail, with hundreds of customized letters and endorsement slates sent out to different lists of people. In the apolitical commonwealth of California, where television advertising is exceedingly expensive and people seem to avoid politics, this made them critical though not always successful players. But in 1992 their machine foundered; since then, Waxman has rarely taken an active role in Los Angeles area politics, though he did endorse former Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa in his successful race against Los Angeles Mayor James Hahn in 2005.

As part of the Democratic majority and chairman of a key subcommittee from 1978 to 1994, Waxman was a major national policymaker, usually from behind the scenes. In 1981 and 1982 he prevented the Reagan administration and Commerce Committee Chairman John Dingell from revising the Clean Air Act; biding his time, he worked to strengthen the law in its 1990 revision. Another great Waxman project was expanding Medicaid for the poor. Between 1984 and 1990, he got coverage for all poor children up to 18, all children under seven and pregnant women in families under 133% of poverty income. This helped raise Medicaid from 9% to 14% of state spending in the 1980s, and helps to explain why Waxman was so disliked by many governors because many of these mandates were unfunded. Waxman had less success on reforming national health care. He wanted to move to something like a single-payer program and supported the Clinton plan but to no avail. He has secured more funding for AIDS research, important in the 30th District with its large gay population. In early 1994, in widely publicized hearings, he lined up the chief executive officers of leading tobacco companies and accused them of adding nicotine and other substances to cigarettes and of lying in their testimony. All this had no immediate legislative result, and when Thomas Bliley of Virginia became Commerce Committee chair, the hearings stopped. But Waxman brought the tobacco issue into public view, and he helped to inspire the lawsuits against tobacco companies which have resulted in the biggest redistribution of corporate assets—from the tobacco companies to state governments and trial lawyers—in history.

Waxman reacted with dismay to the Republican takeover of Congress, but with no slackening of effort. He gave up the ranking position on the Health Subcommittee to become ranking Democrat on the Government Reform Committee. There he sharply attacked Chairman Dan Burton's investigation of Clinton campaign misdeeds, arguing that Burton had given himself unprecedented subpoena power and was misusing it, and he emerged as perhaps the House's most articulate defender of Bill Clinton against scandal charges. In 2001, Waxman switched from being a defender of the White House to being a critic, frequently writing letters to Burton calling for investigations. There is an apologetic note in his comment about this course. "I'm doing what I think I ought to be doing. It's not what I'd like to be doing." In May 2001 he and John Dingell asked the GAO for the names of company executives who had been consulted by Vice President Dick Cheney's energy task force. In June he asked Burton to seek the names. In July the GAO sent a letter to Cheney asking for the names, the first such demand letter the GAO had ever sent; Cheney declined. In February 2002 the GAO brought a lawsuit against Cheney. In December 2002 a federal judge ruled against the GAO, and the agency declined to appeal. In response to the collapse of Enron in 2001, he wrote to Burton in February 2002 demanding an investigation of Enron's political activities; it turned out that there were connections with both to the Clinton administration (the company's support of the Kyoto Protocol, the administration's actions to help Enron's Dabhol electricity plant in India) and the Bush administration (the energy task force, FERC appointments, the company's position on the corporate Alternative Minimum Tax).

In January 2003 the House Republicans' term limits removed Burton as chairman and the Republican leadership installed Tom Davis, who promised a more constructive chairmanship and on occasion worked together with Waxman on issues. Nevertheless Waxman indefatigably wrote letters, called for GAO investigations and invoked the 1920s seven-member rule, which entitles any seven members of the committee to seek information from the executive branch. He noted that the 2003 Medicare prescription drug bill "will set up a dynamic in the future that requires us to add more revenue," and, when the cost proved to be higher than the \$400 billion claimed when the bill was passed, sought internal administration estimates by March 2004. When those were denied he and 18 other committee Democrats filed suit in May. In July 2004 he and Louise Slaughter pointed out that HHS's list of pharmacies accepting Medicare discount cards contained many inaccuracies. With Davis, he sponsored a bill to block Internet prescriptions from doctors who had never seen the patients. With Carolyn Maloney, he proposed an amendment to restore non-prescription sale of morning after contraceptive drugs. When 150 NIH scientists were told they were under scrutiny by conservatives for research projects involving Asian prostitutes in San Francisco and women's responses to pornography, he called the notifications "intimidation" and "scientific McCarthyism." In February 2004 he and Sherrod Brown asked 10 pharmaceutical companies to reveal how much they paid in consulting fees and stock options to NIH scientists; this and other inquiries resulted in a stricter NIH policy on ethics and disclosure in February 2005, of which Waxman said he approved.

Since mid-2003 Waxman has issued continual criticisms of Halliburton and other government contractors in Iraq, pointing out relentlessly that Vice President Dick Cheney was once Halliburton's CEO. In September 2003 he accused the administration of "putting the interests of companies like Halliburton and Bechtel over the interests of the American taxpayer and the Iraqi people." In December he set up an Internet line for tips on Halliburton misdeeds. In June 2004 he questioned a fall 2002 decision to award a \$1.8 million contract to Halliburton, which he said Cheney influenced. In October 2004 he said an investigation of U.S. management of Iraqi oil revenue should come before any investigation of the UN Oil for Food program. In November 2004 he said State Department documents showed that Halliburton employees tried to extract bribes for fuel contracts.

"If I were chairman, it would be a lot different. The biggest things that we're not taking up are oversight issues, in a lot of areas where I think we should be very, very active," Waxman said in 2004. He mentioned the flawed intelligence about yellowcake uranium in Niger, the Valerie Plame incident and Halliburton contracts. The committee did hold hearings on contracting in Iraq in March 2004, for which Waxman commended Davis. They worked together on investigations on mad cow disease and D.C. drinking water, and on the bipartisan project of changing the Postal Service. But Waxman blistered Davis in a seven-page letter for investigating former National Security Adviser Sandy Berger in July 2004; Berger said then that he only inadvertently took classified documents out of the National Archives, but in 2005 he admitted that he took them on purpose. Waxman oversees minor as well as major issues. He and other Democrats demanded an investigation of EPA's rules on industrial laundries and regulations on hydraulic fracturing oil drilling, arguing in both cases that there was political influence. In January 2005 he called for a GAO investigation of how a flawed HHS report on obesity was allowed to be released. When flu vaccine turned out to be widely unavailable because of the disqualification of the British firm Chiron, Waxman and Davis demanded records of Chiron's contacts with the FDA and British regulators; Waxman later said the FDA ignored "repeated opportunities" to fix Chiron's problems. When Davis called for restoring the executive branch's reorganization powers and for reducing the number of appointments requiring congressional confirmation, Waxman strongly disagreed.

Waxman has always won re-election easily, and has contributed generously to other Democrats' campaigns. Redistricting added Malibu and the San Fernando Valley to his district but it is still very heavily Democratic; the lines were drawn by Howard Berman's brother, Michael Berman.