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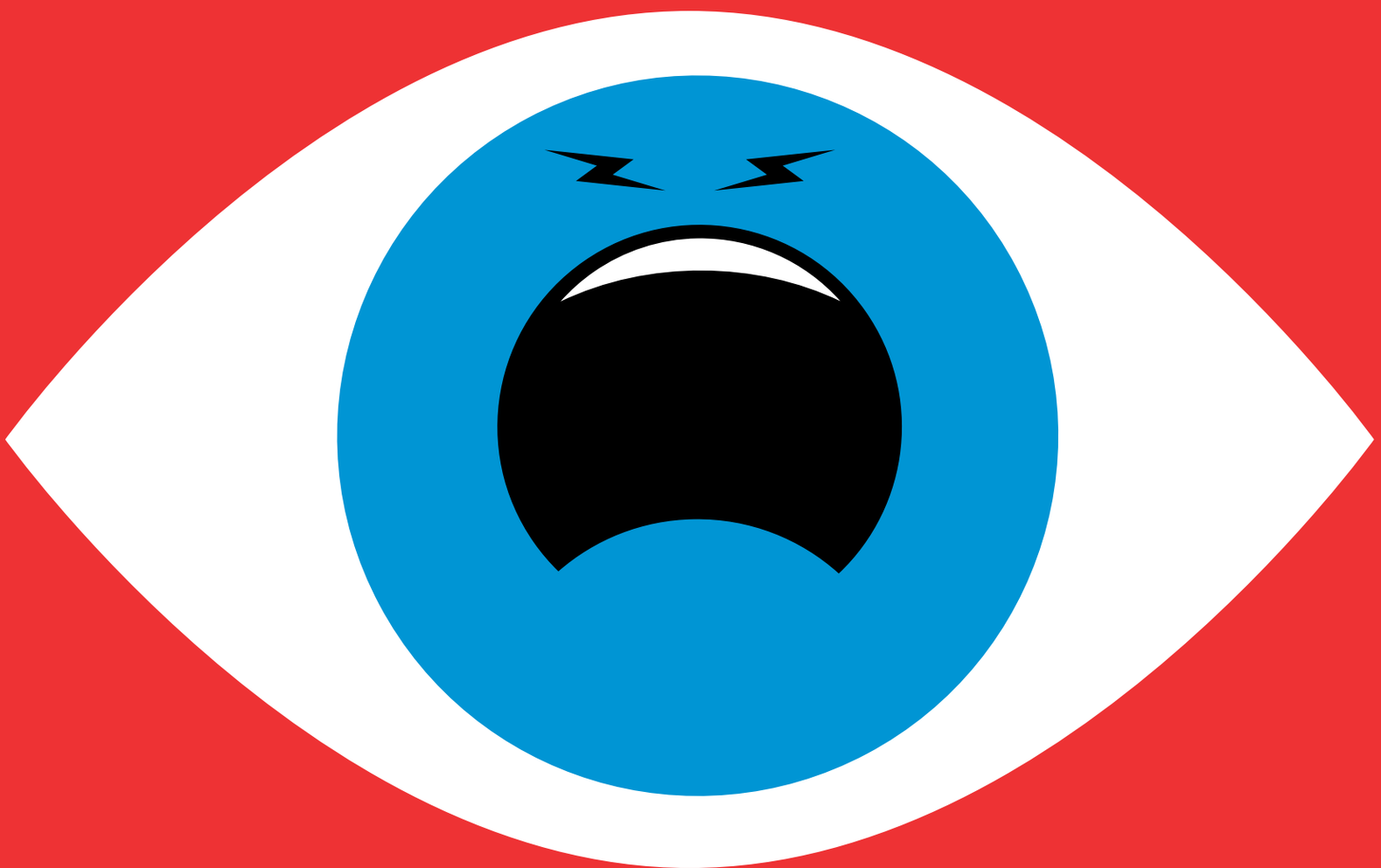

ON BEING AFRAID

HOW FEAR FOCUSES AND DISTORTS PUBLIC POLICY

ISSUE 16 / FALL 2022
DESIGNS FOR A NEW CALIFORNIA
A PUBLICATION OF THE
UCLA LUSKIN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

EDITOR'S NOTE

BLUEPRINT
A magazine of research, policy, Los Angeles and California

> "Men feared witches and burnt women."
>
> — Justice Louis Brandeis, concurring opinion, *Whitney v. California*, 1927

AMERICAN HISTORY — INDEED, WORLD history — is littered with the refuse of policies and actions born of fear that caused incalculable damage. Brandeis' observation referred, of course, to the Salem witch trials, one of countless tragic examples. In 1941, fear of Japanese American involvement in Pearl Harbor gave us the imprisonment of 110,000 innocent men, women and children in 1942. Fear of communism gave us blacklists and betrayals. In California, fear of immigrants gave us Prop. 187, promoted by an infamous advertisement that featured shadowy figures darting across a road as a narrator intoned: "They keep coming." More recently, fear of elites and economic dislocation gave us Donald Trump. And his cynical return to the fear of immigrants gave us the fictional benefits of a border wall and the reality of children held in cages.

When white supremacists marched in Charlottesville in 2017, they vented their fears in the flickering light of tiki torches, chanting: "Jews will not replace us!" Four years later, many of the same elements, goaded into believing that an election had been stolen from them, stormed the United States Capitol to prevent the U.S. Congress from seating the rightfully elected president.

Fear, even when it is understandable, can compound harm. Religious conservatives fear for the life of a fetus and for a society that tolerates what they view as murder — and then, when given license to act on those fears by the United States Supreme Court, legislate policies so draconian that they threaten the essence of personal and bodily autonomy. In the United States today, some states will prosecute a teenage girl for aborting a fetus conceived by forcible rape; other states will pay for the girl's safe passage to an abortion clinic. Not since the days of slavery has fear, in this case emanating from the Supreme Court's decision in June to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, led to starker policy contradictions than those unfolding today in abortion rights.

And yet, fear can have a constructive role as well. We avoid placing our hands on stovetops because we are properly afraid of being burned. We should welcome social policies that minimize harm — Social Security and Medicare are two programs that respond to fears of aging and illness. About climate change, we may not be fearful enough: Its incremental effects make it difficult for many people to appreciate just how alarming its consequences can be.

How, then, to assess the place of fear in public life? That is what this issue of *Blueprint* asks — and attempts, at least tentatively, to answer. We cannot expect an end to all fear; in fact, we often rely on it. But we also seek to recognize it and avoid policies that overreact to it, or that capitalize on it to demonize, to scapegoat, or to distract.

Fear will not be conquered by an issue of *Blueprint*. But as always, we hope that articles here will begin conversations and lead to considerations of how to recognize and manage fear in our public discourse. At *Blueprint*, we also hope that our examinations of fear and research exploring different aspects of it remind us that balance is required, as it so often is.

Thank you for reading *Blueprint* and for your support of those whose work is featured here.

JIM NEWTON
Editor-in-chief, Blueprint

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ISSUE 16 / FALL 2022

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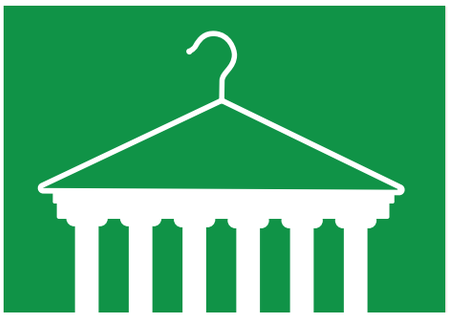

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LANDSCAPE

UPENDING AMERICA: CONSERVATIVES TAKE OVER AT THE SUPREME COURT

One of the nation's preeminent constitutional scholars examines the court at this pivotal political juncture.

ON MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, the justices returned to the bench for the beginning of the Supreme Court's 2022 term. It was Justice Ketanji Brown Jackson's first day of oral arguments, and the first time in 28 years that the court was without Justice Stephen Breyer. But it remains a court with six conservative justices and, like the term that ended on June 30, 2022, it is certain to be another year of blockbuster cases that will move the law significantly to the right.

Last year, the October Term 2021, was the first full term with Justice Amy Coney Barrett, and in many cases the court split 6-3, with the six conservative justices who had been appointed by Republican presidents comprising the majority, and the three liberal justices who had been appointed by Democratic presidents in dissent. The court decided 60 cases with signed opinions after briefing and oral argument. Nineteen, or almost a third, were decided by a 6-3 margin, with another nine decided 5-4.

But the numbers don't tell the story of how in a single momentous week the court changed the law, not incrementally but dramatically. The term will be most remembered for the decision on June 24, in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization,* that overruled *Roe v. Wade*, and held that no longer is there a constitutional right for women to choose whether to have an abortion. Predictably, *Dobbs* has opened the door to a plethora of states considering and adopting laws prohibiting abortions, including some that forbid abortions from the moment of conception and lack exceptions even

ILLUSTRATION BY **NOMA BAR**

in cases of rape or incest or where the woman's health is in danger. Perhaps the court thought it was returning the country to where it was before *Roe* in 1973. But then it was naive in not realizing that the conservatives who have been using abortion as a political issue for years would continue to do so by adopting ever more stringent laws and far more aggressive prosecutions than had occurred before.

The day before, in *New York Rifle and Pistol Association v. Bruen*, the court interpreted the Second Amendment to provide the most expansive protection of gun rights in American history. The court held that there is a right to have guns outside the home and that laws giving government officials discretion whether to issue concealed-weapons permits are unconstitutional. Justice Clarence Thomas, writing for the majority, said that a law regulating firearms is permissible only if it is a type of regulation that existed in 1791, when the Second Amendment was ratified, or perhaps 1868, when the 14th Amendment was adopted. This opens the door to challenges to almost every type of federal, state or local law regulating firearms.

On June 27, in *Kennedy v. Bremerton School District*, the court ruled that a high school football coach's First Amendment rights to freedom of speech and free exercise of religion were violated when he was disciplined for engaging in prayers on the field after games. For 60 years, the Supreme Court had repeatedly prohibited prayer in public schools. Now, the court not only allowed it but said that the government was constitutionally *required* to permit the prayers. Any restriction of prayer by teachers or students limits their free speech and free exercise of religion. Justice Neil Gorsuch's opinion for the court was explicit that the only limit is what the Framers in 1791 thought would have been an impermissible establishment of religion, and that's not much of a constraint on religion in public schools.

And on June 30, in *West Virginia v. Environmental Protection Agency*, the court held that the EPA lacked the authority to regulate greenhouse gas emissions from power plants. The court said that federal agencies cannot act on "major questions" of economic and political significance without clear direction from Congress. This will lead to the challenges to a myriad of agency actions — protecting the environment and health and safety — because the court did not define what is a "major question" or what is specific enough guidance to meet this requirement.

Each of these cases was a 6-3 decision and each significantly changed the law. October Term 2022 is likely to be more of the same. For example, the court will hear two cases on October 31 — *Students for Fair Admission v. University of North Carolina* and *Students for Fair Admission v. President and Fellows of Harvard College* — that pose the question of whether the court should overrule long-standing precedents and end affirmative action by colleges and universities. In a series of cases over more than four decades, the Supreme Court has held that colleges and universities have a compelling interest in having a diverse student body and may use race as one factor in admissions to benefit minorities and to enhance diversity. Now, with a much more conservative court, both liberals and conservatives expect the justices to end affirmative action in higher education. By taking both cases, the court will be ruling on the future of affirmative action in *both* public and private colleges and universities.

In *303 Creative LLC v. Elenis*, the court will consider a First Amendment challenge to a law that prohibits discrimination based on sexual orientation. Lorie Smith owns a graphic design firm and wants to expand her business to include wedding websites. She says that same-sex marriage violates her religious beliefs and she does not want to design websites for same-sex weddings. Colorado law prohibits such discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. The Supreme Court will decide whether she has a First Amendment right to discriminate in violation of state law.

One of the most important cases of the term involves the "independent state legislature" theory. This is the view that under the Constitution, state legislatures control the election of members to Congress and that courts cannot be involved even in enforcing state constitutional requirements.

The case before the court is *Moore v. Harper*. The North Carolina legislature, controlled by Republicans, drew maps for congressional districts from the state. Although North Carolina is almost evenly divided politically between Democrats and Republicans, the map would have given Republicans likely control of 10 of 14 congressional districts. The North Carolina Supreme Court found that the map violated the North Carolina Constitution and enjoined its use. A trial court adopted a new map.

The Supreme Court granted review on the question of whether the state's judicial branch can enforce the state constitution and invalidate the legislature's decisions with regard to election districts. The stakes in this case are enormous. There is another provision of the Constitution that concerns choosing electors for the Electoral College to select the president of the United States. If the court were to adopt the independent state legislature theory, then it could conceivably mean that courts would be disempowered to enforce the federal and state constitutions and state laws in presidential elections as well.

These, of course, are just a few of the cases to be decided in the next Supreme Court term. And while these terms are momentous in their conservative changes in the law, they are surely harbingers of what we will see for many years to come. Justice Clarence Thomas is the oldest justice at 74, while Samuel Alito is 72 and John Roberts is 67. The three Trump appointees — Neil Gorsuch, Brett Kavanaugh and Amy Coney Barrett — are in their 50s. It is easy to imagine this conservative majority being together another decade or two.

It is a time for conservatives to be jubilant, as this is the conservative Supreme Court they have wanted for decades, and for liberals to be angry and petrified. At a time when the country is deeply polarized, the court has come down emphatically on one side of that divide. The court's approval ratings are its lowest in history. There is no way to know what that will mean for the long term, but the implications for American government should frighten us all.

— Erwin Chemerinsky

FOR CONSERVATIVES, A MOMENT LONG-AWAITED. FOR LIBERALS, A TIME TO BE PETRIFIED.

CALIFORNIA VOTES

An uncertain state considers its future.

CALIFORNIANS ARE CONFLICTED. In the June primary, they overwhelmingly backed Gov. Gavin Newsom, who outpaced his closest opponent, Republican State Sen. Brian Dahle, by more than 2 million votes, a walloping margin of nearly 40%. That was Newsom's second straight win, after he fended off a recall attempt last year, and it would seem to suggest that Californians are happy with their leadership — or, at least, happier with Newsom than anyone who has stepped forward to challenge him.

At the same time, San Franciscans turned out school board members who seemed more intent on renaming schools than advancing forward-thinking education. And they ousted a district attorney who sought to infuse prosecutors with a more progressive vision of criminal justice. Closer to home, Angelenos have flirted with the alternative political vision of Rick Caruso, a hotel developer and newly minted Democrat (Caruso, a former Republican, switched from independent to Democrat just before announcing his candidacy for mayor). He has campaigned against a City Hall that he says has failed to respond to growing homelessness and is soft on crime. Caruso finished second in a crowded field in June and now faces Congresswoman Karen Bass in the runoff. Those results suggest a restive electorate in the state's largest cities.

So which is it? Are Californians satisfied with their leaders or fed up with them? Do they relish this state as a bulwark against national trends on abortion rights and anti-immigrant anger, or do they pine for tougher cops and traditional schools? Are we happy with our lot or troubled by unease?

"We're both things," said Bill Carrick, a veteran political consultant based in Los Angeles. Some Californians, he added, are unhappy over what might be called national trends — inflation, threats to democracy, abortion, guns — while others are unhappy over more localized problems, notably homelessness and crime. But both Angelenos and Californians more generally also appreciate the values of this part of the world and remain committed to Democratic leadership.

IS THIS 1993 ALL OVER AGAIN?

A poll in May by the respected Public Policy Institute of California captured some of these views. For starters, it found Californians split down the middle over whether the state is headed in the right direction. Forty-five percent of respondents said yes; 50% said no. Californians were similarly

PHOTO BY MANNY BACERRA/UNSPLASH

divided over President Joe Biden's performance; they were feeling the pinch of inflation and all over the map on what California's leaders should do with the state's windfall budget surplus. Notably in contrast, however, they were unambiguous in their support for abortion rights and, by a 20-point margin, were inclined to favor Democrats over Republicans in Congressional races.

Some of this bipolarity can be seen in the Los Angeles mayoral race. Caruso had dabbled with running for mayor for at least a decade, so his entry into the race early this year was greeted with high expectation. His political consultant, Ace Smith, who also works with Newsom, is among California's most respected campaign advisers, and he and Caruso have smartly staked out a lane for Caruso to run in. In the June election, he ran to the right of Bass, City Attorney Mike Feuer and Councilman Kevin de León, among others. That set Caruso apart from the crowd and propelled him into the runoff, prompting a spate of stories that imagined Los Angeles experiencing a reprise of its early-1990s politics, when fear of crime (the 1992 riots left a deep scar) put Republican Richard Riordan into the mayor's office. Riordan won with the slogan "Tough Enough to Turn L.A. Around."

But is this 1993 all over again? Unease over crime and homelessness is real, as is anger at City Hall. However, it is hard to think that those issues have the same deep political resonance as a riot that left dozens of people dead, buildings smoldering and $1 billion in property damage. Moreover, Los Angeles has changed since it elected Riordan. A political map highlights those changes: In this June's election, precincts in the San Fernando Valley that Riordan carried in 1993 went to Bass, not Caruso. "Those precincts have more young people, more Latinos," Carrick said. And, more broadly: "When Dick got elected, the city was 32% Republican; now it's 14%."

These shifting political demographics influence the way voters approach problems. Take homelessness. Some see homeless people as a threat, a source of crime and disorder, to be addressed principally as a law enforcement challenge. This is a view that would tend to bolster Caruso's candidacy. Others see homeless encampments through a lens of suffering, best approached as a humanitarian concern, calling for solutions such as mental health services and anti-addiction programs. This would incline those voters to favor Bass.

Carrick recalled his work for a candidate years ago in which the campaign polled on these questions. The solutions most popular with voters, he said, almost always borrowed from both sides. The most popular was a pilot program that put mental health workers in the field in place of police, while acknowledging that police had a role as well.

Homelessness makes us both angry and sad, and our responses to it reflect those reactions.

Are we happy or uneasy? Both.

— Jim Newton

"A LIGHTER LOOK" — LETTER TO THE EX-PRESIDENT

Rick Meyer's regularly appearing column takes a lighter look at politics and public affairs around the world. This month: "Free Advice."

The Honorable Donald Trump
Mar-a-Lago Club
1100 S. Ocean Blvd.
Palm Beach, FL 33480

Dear Mr. Trump:

May I offer some advice?

I know it has been hard losing the presidency. It must be very difficult especially now, when voters are choosing winners in midterm elections and casting aside more losers.

But take heart. Here are some things you can do to stay busy, especially if you don't run in 2024 — or, St. Chad forbid, you run again for the White House and lose again.

BECOME A CONSULTANT.

Take advantage of your unique political experience. You are the only presidential candidate who has angered not only the fans of Tic Tacs but also the lovers of Skittles.

Back in 2005, during a conversation with TV host Billy Bush of *Access Hollywood*, you noticed an attractive woman.

"I better use some Tic Tacs," you said. "Just in case I start kissing her. You know, I'm automatically attracted to beautiful [women]. I just start kissing them. It's like a magnet. Just kiss. I don't even wait. And when you're a star, they let you do anything. You can do anything."

You might not have noticed, but cameras and recorders were on. In 2016, during your presidential campaign, *The Washington Post* released audio and video of what you said.

The makers of Tic Tac shot back: "Tic Tac respects all women. We find recent statements and behavior inappropriate and unacceptable."

Declared one commenter: "It's a problem when you lose the moral high ground to a mint company."

Only a month earlier, also during the 2016 campaign, your son Donald Jr. had likened Skittles to refugees.

"If I had a bowl of Skittles, and I told you just three would kill you, would you take a handful?" he tweeted in a graphic. "That's our Syrian refugee problem."

The company that makes Skittles snapped back: "Skittles are candy. Refugees are people."

Melissa Fleming, spokeswoman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, told *The New York Times*, "Syrian refugees are fellow human beings who have left their country to escape war and terrorism. Depictions like these are dehumanizing, demeaning and dangerous."

Some commenters detected white supremacy.

"This is disgusting," one said.

But you and your people stood behind the tweet. Then you doubled down. In a statement, your campaign said Donald Jr., one of your top advisers, was "a tremendous asset."

If you become a consultant, you can offer advice to politicians who antagonize candy makers.

BECOME A PLUMBER.

You are the only president who has gotten caught flushing documents down toilets.

Repairmen had to unclog White House toilets stuffed with your presidential papers. Maggie Haberman, a *New York Times* reporter, has a picture of one of the toilets in her new book. She also has a photo of a toilet you clogged during an overseas trip.

You said she was making things up. You called her a "maggot."

But your handwriting is on some of the papers, committed to history with your favorite pen, a black Sharpie.

If you become a plumber, you can unplug your own toilets.

YOU ARE THE ONLY PRESIDENT WHO HAS GOTTEN CAUGHT FLUSHING DOCUMENTS DOWN TOILETS.

OPEN A HOME FOR LOSERS.

You are the only president in modern memory who was a winner in your first campaign — and such a hard loser in your second (and it's worth noting, by the way, that you lost the popular vote both times). There should be a special place for politicians like you.

The Losers Home should be white. It should have tall columns, a West Wing and an East Wing. It should have a State Dining Room, a Green Room, a Blue Room and a Red Room.

It should have a tantrum room with bare walls for throwing ketchup, and it should have a gym for getting into shape to wrestle steering wheels out of the hands of Secret Service agents.

You and other losers can move in and pretend.

Glad to be of help.

— Richard E. Meyer

THE WOMAN WHO WOULD

PHOTO BY **DAVID SPRAGUE**

DIFFERENT BACKGROUNDS, PARALLEL AMBITIONS

WRITTEN BY
JON REGARDIE

AND MAN BE MAYOR

PHOTO BY **IRIS SCHNEIDER**

WHEN THE FILING PERIOD TO run for mayor of Los Angeles opened in March 2020, not even Nostradamus could have predicted that, two years later, the runoff would pit U.S. Rep. Karen Bass against developer Rick Caruso. The reason was simple: Neither at the time seemed outwardly interested in succeeding a termed-out Eric Garcetti.

Bass' profile was soaring after she chaired the Congressional Black Caucus and then made the shortlist to be Joe Biden's running mate. She was a shoo-in for her seat as long as she wanted it, and some speculated she could succeed Speaker Nancy Pelosi. Caruso, meanwhile, was a billionaire with a real estate empire highlighted by the Grove and the Americana at Brand, places that transformed how Angelenos gather. His eponymous company was planning projects across Southern California.

Why would either give up such success for the havoc of a bitter campaign, one where losing was a possibility, and winning might be worse? The next mayor will lead a city of 4 million people struggling to emerge from the pandemic, while facing worsening crime and a stubbornly persistent homelessness crisis.

So why risk it all? Start with a thirst for power and a commitment to this city's civic health, though the blend of ambition and generosity is different in the two candidates. Whatever their differences, Caruso and Bass both think that he or she alone is the best person to lead this city, with all its glories and troubles.

> **"I feel like we're facing a life-and-death crisis again."**
>
> ***— Karen Bass***

Much has been made of the pair's personal and professional dissimilarities: Bass is an African American woman, a lifelong Democrat who came from a modest background and climbed the political ladder; her path is one of growth from the ground up. Caruso is a white, devoutly Catholic male, born into privilege and the owner of a $100 million yacht, a former Republican who registered as a Democrat only in January. Relationships with the civic elite, from City Hall to USC, where he chaired the board of trustees, helped set the stage for his candidacy. In a city where voters often complain about a lack of choice, the differences are stark. Not since businessman Richard Riordan beat Councilman Mike Woo 29 years ago has Los Angeles seen such a chasm between mayoral finalists.

At the same time, the fact that both Bass and Caruso chucked an easy future, and vanquished a field of City Hall politicians in the June election, suggests some similarities as well.

To understand these two contenders, it makes sense to look not just two years back but rather 30 or 40. For it's with the time machine view that one realizes both Bass and Caruso have spent decades in the grinding business of Los Angeles civic life.

Bass grew up in the Venice-Fairfax neighborhood, the child of a mailman and a hair salon owner who became a stay-at-home mom. Bass protested the Vietnam War while in high school, and she began her career as a physician's assistant. A job in the L.A. County+USC Medical Center emergency room exposed her to the ravages of crack cocaine in South Los Angeles, and in 1990 she launched the Community Coalition for Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment. Running a social justice nonprofit that worked to help Black and Latino communities generated few headlines, but it was the epitome of street-level work, one with clear lines to the homelessness crisis of today. When I spoke with Bass for *Los Angeles* magazine after she announced her candidacy last October, she said running for mayor was a chance to bring her career back to where it started. "Full circle is the absolute theme," she told me. "Because I feel like we're facing a life-and-death crisis again."

Caruso grew up a few miles and a whole world away, in the Trousdale Estates section of Beverly Hills, the son of Dollar Rent A Car founder Hank Caruso. He attended Harvard Prep (now Harvard Westlake), matriculated to USC and earned a law degree from Pepperdine. He began working in real estate full-time in 1987.

As his fortune grew, Caruso, too, displayed a civic side; Mayor Tom Bradley appointed him to the board overseeing the Department of Water and Power when he was just 25, and within two years he was the panel's president. Another mayor, James Hahn, named him to the Los Angeles Police Commission, where he served two years as president. Neither position paid a dime, and both required countless hours every week, not to mention often tangling with lobbyists and politicians, and taking flack from angry members of the public.

For Caruso and many other civic-minded Angelenos, Los Angeles' system of commission leadership offers a different entry point into politics than the route followed by Bass. The system, a product of the city's Progressive-era charter, is intended to tap public-minded citizens and bring them to the work of leadership. It was created as a counterweight to populism, and it works to infuse government with private expertise while also reinforcing the role of elites in fashioning and overseeing policy. It is, in short, a system for people like Caruso, who thrived under it.

The avalanche of political ads on which Caruso has spent tens of millions of dollars of his fortune is the most obvious difference in their mayoral campaigns, but there are others. Bass, particularly since finishing first in the June election, has appeared at a steady stream of events where she glad-hands and works to curry favor with key voter blocs. Likable and warm, Bass appreciates the appreciation given her at these events. She builds from an ability to connect and charm.

Caruso also seeks these blocs, though he approaches them more as a businessman. He tends to keep a tight leash on proceedings, and projects himself less as affable neighbor than as a cool-eyed CEO. He favors one-on-one interviews with TV reporters and holds campaign events at places such as the Grove, where his team has a better chance of keeping out expletive-spewing disrupters.

It's cliché to say that family is key to both, but that doesn't mean it's not true. And the two have endured challenges. Caruso's daughter was born with hearing loss, leading to hearing aids and extensive speech therapy. Decades before, his father was indicted by federal authorities on charges related to his auto empire. Hank Caruso pleaded guilty to multiple counts, though the plea was later set aside and the charges dismissed. Caruso rarely mentions his father, and that history has not been widely discussed during the campaign.

In 2006, two years after Bass won a seat in the California Assembly, she suffered a life-altering family tragedy: Her 23-year-old daughter, Emilia, and Emilia's husband, Michael Wright, were killed in a car crash on the 405 freeway. "It changes you forever, that's for sure," Bass said in a 2020 interview with OZY Media founder Carlos Watson. "My daughter and son-in-law were the center of my life."

Bass added that the memory of her daughter also pushed her forward. "She would have been very upset with me if I didn't carry on," Bass told Watson. Indeed, her career arc continued; in 2008 she became assembly speaker, the first Black woman to hold the post. Two years later she was elected to Congress.

Caruso has three sons and a daughter; Bass four stepchildren and two grandchildren. Their families are occasionally glimpsed on the campaign trail. Toward the end of a debate at USC in March, when the moderator surprised Caruso by asking about TV habits, he called to his wife in the crowd. "Tina, what was the last thing we binged?" he asked. "Help me here."

Bass' 7-year-old grandson, Henry, appeared with his mother, Yvette Lechuga, at a Latinos con Karen Bass event in Boyle Heights in April.

BUSINESSMAN RICK CARUSO AND CONGRESSWOMAN KAREN BASS

PHOTO BY GENARO MOLINA/LOS ANGELES TIMES VIA GETTY IMAGES

"She's an amazing mother, an amazing grandmother," Lechuga said from the Mariachi Plaza stage. Bass beamed lovingly at the boy wearing a gray suit and a wide-brimmed hat. When Bass referred to Henry and another grandchild, she intoned, "They know I'm the grandmom who spoils them."

Bass was shaky in some early campaign appearances, perhaps the result of not having had a contested election in more than a decade. At a December forum hosted by the Stonewall Democratic Club, and a press conference to unveil her homelessness plan the next month, she spoke at warp speed, and seemed unable to connect with the audience. She has since found her footing, and now uniformly appears comfortable, informed and experienced. At campaign happenings she builds on the enthusiasm of adoring crowds. She dresses impeccably.

Caruso also displays sartorial splendor. At campaign events he speaks confidently and persuasively, skills honed over decades of community meetings for his mega-developments. A 2007 *Los Angeles* magazine article referred to him "attending hundreds of get-togethers and coffee klatches" as he pushed a project in Arcadia.

Yet Caruso relishes combat, too. I saw him throw darts at the political establishment during a 2011 speech downtown when he was previously considering running for mayor. "I strongly believe that City Hall is a roadblock that's keeping Los Angeles from reaching its potential," he said. When the topic of trying to land an NFL team in the city came up, he sniffed that some councilmembers "have a tough time spelling the word football."

That tendency was on display again at the USC debate. When City Attorney Mike Feuer challenged Caruso on building affordable housing, Caruso started to answer, then veered with a barbed, "Mike, I'm sorry that you opened this door," and mentioned a federal raid on Feuer's office. The raid had nothing to do with affordable housing, and while attacking an opponent is part of any debate, Caruso's aside showed his combative side — a gratuitous swipe at an opponent to take him down a notch.

As election day approaches, Bass and Caruso have claimed their turf; Bass boasts of her experience, relationships and knowledge of communities too often overlooked, as well as her ties to the White House and the dividends her Washington connections may pay for Los Angeles. Caruso describes a city that is, if not yet in collapse, at least headed that way. He doles out a prescription of confronting homelessness, crime and City Hall corruption, and charges that "career politicians" have failed L.A.

But even as they lean on their differences, hints of their shared experience surface. When he hit the "career politicians" theme at the USC debate, Bass bristled. She said, "You know, Rick, you're my friend."

Caruso agreed. "We are friends," he said.

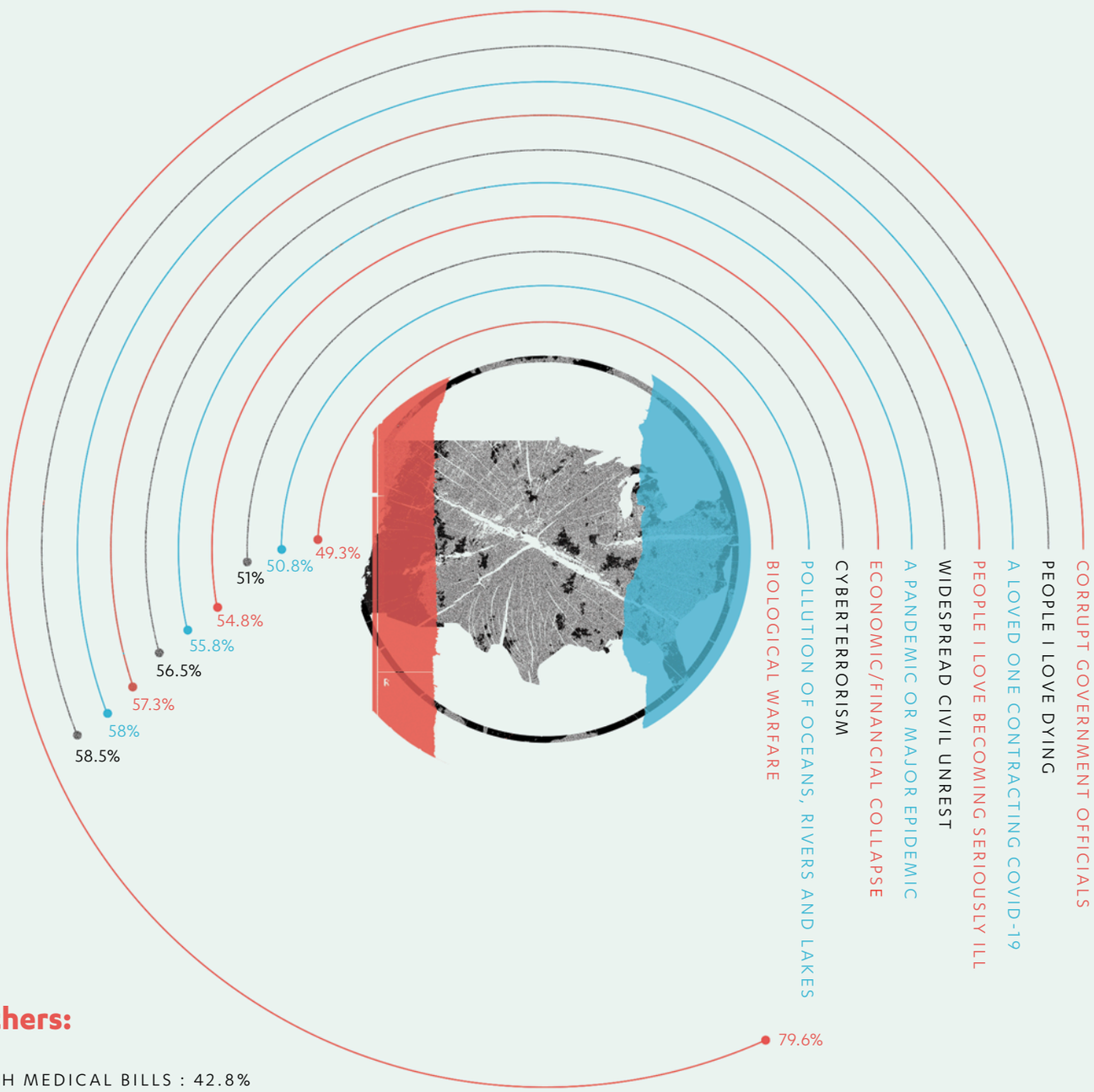
> **"I strongly believe that City Hall is a roadblock that's keeping Los Angeles from reaching its potential."**
>
> ***— Rick Caruso***

Bass made the point as a roundabout way of chiding Caruso for denigrating public service and those who give their lives to it. But the acknowledgment of friendship hung in the air.

The connection between Bass and Caruso is hardly close or personal. They have come to this election from vastly different experiences and values. And yet, the mention of friendship was a recognition of their common ambition and work — the painstaking labor of leadership, whether by election or appointment, to improve communities or hold agencies accountable; and the shared sense that each is the right person to guide this city forward. There is much that separates Caruso and Bass, but they have that in common. ◤

What Are We Afraid of?

Chapman University annually surveys Americans to determine what makes them afraid. Some of the answers are perennials — being murdered, bugs and zombies usually make the list — while others rise and fall with the times. Below, a sampling of American fears from 2020-21:



Others:

HIGH MEDICAL BILLS : 42.8%
RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS : 37.2%
HEIGHTS : 31.2%
PUBLIC SPEAKING : 29%
INSECTS : 22.8%
FLYING : 11.5%
CLOWNS : 5.6%

Source: America's Top Fears, 2020/21, Chapman University Survey of American Fears, Wave 7. Results reflect a survey of 1,035 Americans asked about 95 different fears in January 2021.

Optimism vs. Pessimism

At the end of 2020 and again at the end of 2021, Americans were asked whether they were afraid about the upcoming year. The percentage who answered yes:

2020

19% DEMOCRATS

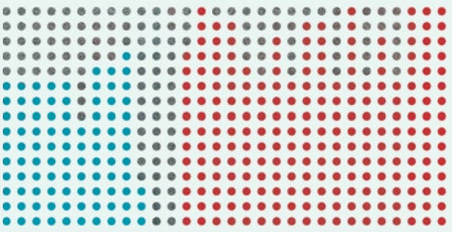
58% REPUBLICANS

ALL RESPONDENTS 36%

2021

45% DEMOCRATS

69% REPUBLICANS



ALL RESPONDENTS 54%

Source: Axios. The poll surveyed 2,602 U.S. adults Dec. 14-16, 2021, and 3,561 U.S. adults Dec. 14-20, 2020.

INCARCERATED JAPANESE AMERICANS AT TULE LAKE CONCENTRATION CAMP, NEWELL, CALIFORNIA, 1945

PHOTO COURTESTY OF **JANM (GIFT OF JACK AND PEGGY IWATA, 93.102.8)**

Fear and Its Tragic Results

Fear of immigrants is a staple of American politics. Irish, Chinese, German, Italian and Japanese immigrants all have been accused of disloyalty and subversion; in the case of Japanese Americans, Pearl Harbor touched off a national wave of fear that propelled leaders of both parties to support incarcerating 110,000 Americans, none of whom were ever accused, much less convicted, of crimes. The internment stands as a monument to fear and its warping effect on policy.

HOW THE 'CHINESE VIRUS' BECAME A WEAPON

Trump deflected, Asian Americans suffered

WRITTEN BY
LISA FUNG

"GO BACK WHERE YOU CAME FROM, you fucking Chinese!," the White woman yelled, before crossing the street and punching a Chinese man in the face three times. A Vietnamese woman discovered her vehicle severely vandalized, along with "Fuck Chinese C19" scratched into the hood. A Chinese man sitting in his car saw two Latino men pointing at him and saying he was "a dirty Asian and has coronavirus." When the Chinese man began recording the pair on his cellphone, they got into a tussle, and one Latino yelled and pushed the Chinese victim before fleeing.

These encounters, documented by the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations for its latest Hate Crime Report, offer snapshots of nearly four dozen anti-Asian hate crimes reported in 2020 to more than 40 law enforcement agencies across the county. Recorded anti-Asian hate crimes rose 76% in 2020, and nearly a quarter of them explicitly blamed the victims for COVID-19.

The commission's statistics come on the heels of a state Department of Justice report on hate crime, which found a triple-digit percentage rise in crimes against Asian Americans, from 89 in 2020 to 247 in 2021 — a 177.5% increase. Overall, California recorded a 32.6% rise in hate crimes.

Crimes against Asian Americans have never received as much attention as those targeting Blacks and Latino/as, in large part because the total number of crimes against Asian Americans is smaller. But viral videos and media attention on violence toward Asian Americans because of COVID-19's origin in China shifted the spotlight to a long-simmering problem.

"The epidemic of hate we saw spurred on during the pandemic remains a clear and present threat," California Atty. Gen. Rob Bonta said at a July news conference announcing the Justice Department report and the creation of a position for a statewide hate crime coordinator. "We saw the bigoted words of our former president turn a trickle of hate into a flood that remains with us."

When he was president, Donald Trump repeatedly called COVID-19 "the Chinese virus." His words created fear — not just one alarm but two: fear of the Chinese, and fear of Asian Americans generally. That fear subjected Asian Americans to violence and distracted policymakers in the early stages of COVID-19's spread: At a time when a shortage of testing and masks fueled a public health crisis, supporters of President Trump were instead focused on blaming China and insisting that it was complicit in the outbreak and spread of the virus.

In response to a dramatic increase in violence against Asian Americans nationwide, Congress passed the Covid-19 Hate Crimes Act, which President Joe Biden signed into law in May 2021. It called for reporting in multiple languages, designated a national point person to review hate crimes related to COVID-19 and authorized grants to state and local governments to respond to and prevent hate crimes.

ILLUSTRATION BY NOMA BAR

COVID-19 FORCED MANY BUSINESSES TO CLOSE TO PROTECT PUBLIC HEALTH AND LIMIT TRANSMISSION OF THE VIRUS. THE BURDEN WAS PARTICULARLY INTENSE ON CHINESE AMERICANS, FUELED BY THEN-PRESIDENT TRUMP'S CHARACTERIZATION OF COVID-19 AS THE "CHINA VIRUS."

PHOTO BY KELVIN CHENG/ISTOCK

FEAR RELATED TO DISEASE ISN'T new, said Karen Umemoto, director of the Asian American Studies Center at UCLA. "The association between Asian immigrants and disease is a long-repeated pattern," Umemoto said in an interview. "You can see in the lead-up to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 that the imagery of Chinese as disease-ridden, rat-infested 'mongrels' was prevalent in popular media."

What is unique now, and what sparked recent anti-Asian violence, she said, was the use of the virus as a political trope. "Trump tapped fear and an existing sense of White supremacy — covert, overt, conscious, unconscious — that people who do not fit the norm of the Anglo-Protestant are not good for the country."

Umemoto, a professor of Asian American studies and a member of the urban planning faculty at UCLA's Luskin School of Public Affairs, added: "There is empirical evidence for this."

While the hateful language may be aimed at Chinese, she said, "We know any time one Asian group is called out, people can't distinguish between who is Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Thai, etc.; so many people come under fire by those who think the Chinese are responsible for the spread of the virus."

A study published in the American Journal of Public Health, co-authored by UCLA Community Health Sciences Professor Gilbert Gee, examined the relationship between the #ChineseVirus and #Covid19 hashtags and negative or anti-Asian sentiment. The study also examined whether Trump's use of #ChineseVirus made a difference in online discourse.

In an analysis of more than 1.2 million tweets during the weeks before and after Trump's tweet on March 16, 2020, containing the phrase "Chinese virus," the study's six authors found that more than half of 777,852 tweets containing #chinesevirus showed anti-Asian bias, while about 20% of nearly 500,000 tweets containing #covid19 showed anti-Asian sentiment.

"The recent uptick in anti-Asian hatred is a reminder of the dominant narrative when it comes to how people perceive Asian Americans: perpetual foreigners," said Marshall Wong, who coordinates the county Human Relations Commission's anti-hate crime programs. "It doesn't matter how many generations your family has been here, you're largely perceived as someone who falls somewhere between lucky to be here and an unwanted foreign presence."

This stereotype of the perpetual foreigner, combined with a stereotype of Asians as the "model minority," creates a toxic mix, Umemoto said. "You have people feeling that Asians are responsible for the pandemic but they don't suffer in the same way because they're in positions of privilege."

THE NATIONWIDE RISE IN CRIMES against Asian Americans arrived amid a confluence of conditions that created what Umemoto refers to as "the perfect firestorm of hate." The fire, fueled by a virus that originated in China — a country seen as a rising global economic power — was further stoked by political rhetoric from Trump and others, who spewed racial animosity toward all Asians, not just people of Chinese ancestry. That fire gained oxygen from social media, which further spread the hate.

Early in the pandemic, Asian American business owners and employees were on the front lines of violence and hate amid false beliefs that Chinese American businesses and Chinatowns were sources of the spread of the disease. Paul Ong, research professor and director of UCLA's Center for Neighborhood Knowledge, co-authored a study with the Asian Business Association on the impact of the pandemic upon Asian American businesses. It found a majority of Asian American businesspeople believed they were unjustly made scapegoats for COVID-19.

"We were surprised by the high proportion that reported some incident in terms of racial confrontation at the work site," Ong said. "One of the big findings is that it leaves a pervasive fear among the owners and their workers."

In addition to the pandemic, growing trade tensions between the United States and China or other Asian countries heightened the view that Asian Americans are "the enemy," Ong said. "Our findings were consistent with the fact that during these tense moments of a public health crisis, Asian Americans became a convenient target for the blame."

Throughout history, Asian Americans have been victimized by the United States with racist policies and "yellow peril" laws. In 1875, the Page Act effectively prevented Chinese women from immigrating to this country. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act halted immigration by Chinese laborers. During World War II, President Franklin Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 resulted in the incarceration of about 110,000 Japanese Americans at prison camps in California and six other states. Interracial marriage between Whites and Asians was illegal in many states. In California, Ong said, school segregation policies impacted Asian Americans along with other minority groups.

"The roots of simple things like zoning actually came out of efforts here to restrict Chinese from moving into certain neighborhoods," he said. "And historically, freeways have destroyed Asian neighborhoods in Sacramento, in Stockton, and here in Los Angeles. Freeways have damaged minority neighborhoods, but Asian Americans, in large part, have not been part of that discussion."

HATE CRIMES DIFFER FROM HATE INCIDENTS. In California, a hate crime is a crime against a person, group or property that is motivated by the victim's real or perceived protected social group, such as disability, gender, nationality, race or ethnicity or sexual orientation. A hate incident is an action or behavior motivated by hate that does not rise to the level of a crime — for example, name calling, insults or distributing materials with hate messages in public places. Hate speech is protected by the U.S. Constitution, provided it does not interfere with the civil rights of others.

Bonta and others note that reported hate crimes may represent only a fraction of actual hate crimes committed. Individuals may be reluctant to report crimes for a number of reasons, including fear of retaliation, language barriers, past negative experiences with law enforcement, cultural stigmas, or a lack of understanding of the criminal justice system. In addition, law enforcement agencies might underreport crime.

"Every year, the U.S. Department of Justice asks every police department to report hate crime data and, on average, 85% of them either fail to respond to the request or they report zero hate crimes,"

"The epidemic of hate we saw spurred on during the pandemic remains a clear and present threat."

— California Atty. Gen. Rob Bonta

Wong said. "Either they feel that they don't have the capacity to do so; they don't think it's a serious problem; they don't have proper training to be able to detect and investigate hate crimes; or, possibly, they don't want the negative publicity."

Umemoto is working with the county Human Relations Commission to create a data dashboard containing 17 years of crime data. The interactive mapping database breaks down crimes by location, race and type of racially motivated crime, such as assault or vandalism, and it will allow users to see multiyear trends. Wong said the county also is launching a site to allow the public to view data and learn about the history of crime in their specific city or neighborhood

Such tools will help the public become more informed, as well as dispel long-held false notions about crimes. For example, "There's a misperception among Asians that it's mostly Black people who are attacking them, and that's not true," Umemoto said. "The perpetrators are pretty proportional to the population."

State and local governments document hate crimes but not hate incidents. Russell Jeung, a professor of Asian American studies at San Francisco State University, wants that to change.

Jeung is a co-founder of the nonprofit organization Stop AAPI Hate, which tracks incidents of hate and discrimination against Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders nationwide. The website allows victims to self-report incidents, such as verbal harassment, physical assault, being coughed or spat upon, online misconduct or avoidance/shunning. Respondents can input information in any of 16 languages.

Stop AAPI Hate launched in March 2020, coinciding with the Centers for Disease Control's declaration of COVID-19 as a pandemic. During the past two years, Stop AAPI Hate has received reports of 11,500 hate and discrimination incidents nationwide. One in five of the victims said they had three or more long-term symptoms of continuing trauma, Jeung said, such as anxiety, depression, anger, hypervigilance and avoidance.

"We had a sense that racism would occur because of past historical experiences with diseases coming from Asia," Jeung said of the launch, which had been in the works before the pandemic. "We launched Stop AAPI Hate because we knew we needed to document the racism we already saw occurring in order for the government to take any action."

Jeung and his colleagues have worked with California lawmakers to create a "No Place for Hate Agenda" — three bills dealing with anti-Asian hate that focus on public health rather than criminal laws.

- Assemblyman Phil Ting's (D-San Francisco) AB 2448 expands civil rights protections for individuals who face discrimination at businesses.

- Sen. Dave Min's (D-Irvine) SB 1161 requires the state's 10 largest transit agencies to gather data and design solutions to address street harassment and harassment on public transit. The bill passed the Senate in May and is under consideration in the Assembly.

- Assemblywoman Mia Bonta (D-Oakland), Al Muratsuchi (D-Torrance) and Akilah Weber's (D-San Diego) AB 2549 would declare street harassment to be a public health issue.

"The bills take a public health approach that doesn't penalize perpetrators," Jeung said. "We can't arrest every person who catcalls a woman because ... [of] free speech, but we can educate them; we can name the problem. By defining harassment and acknowledging the harm it perpetuates, we can fix it."

IN 2020, L.A. COUNTY LAUNCHED LA vs Hate, an initiative dedicated to helping communities unite to report, track and resist hate. Led by the Human Relations Commission, the program partners with local groups to provide free outreach services, educational material and other resources to victims of hate and discrimination.

Rick Eng, a coordinator for the rapid response provider network at LA vs Hate, has noticed an increase in students responding to AAPI hate.

"When I talk to these groups, I talk about Chinese exclusion; I talk about Japanese American incarceration; I talk about the alien land laws in this country," Eng said. "Kids are very well attuned to wanting to learn about this history — this history of discrimination and injustices in general — and generally wanting to do something."

Umemoto is leading an effort to create the first Asian American and Pacific Islander open-access multimedia textbook that schools could adopt as part of their curricula. Top experts, she said, are working to translate 50 years of scholarship into accessible prose for high school and college students.

Last year, California became the first state to require all high school students to complete one semester of ethnic studies in order to graduate. UC and Cal State students, as well as California's community college students, also have an ethnic studies graduation requirement. These schools are not asked to include any particular ethnic groups, but Umemoto hopes resources from the textbook will help teachers feel comfortable incorporating AAPI materials into their courses.

"For Asian Americans, learning about our history, learning about the history of anti-Asian hate, why it's risen over time and how people have fought against it, is something very empowering," she said. "For those who are not Asian Americans and who know little about Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, learning the history creates historical empathy through which people can come to have an appreciation of our diversity and the richness of Asian and Pacific Islander communities." ◤

FIRE & RAIN

When Fear Is Needed

WRITTEN BY
JON REGARDIE

ILLUSTRATION BY **NOMA BAR**

ON DEC. 4, 2017, A FIRE broke out in the mountains near the city of Santa Paula, in Ventura County. Propelled by heavy winds and thick brush that had not burned in decades, the blaze spread quickly. Called the Thomas fire, it displaced tens of thousands of people and charred 280,000 acres. At the time, it was the worst wildfire in California history.

Then, in early January, rains fell — hard and fast. Mountainsides, newly devoid of vegetation, produced devastating mudslides. Montecito was slammed by a river of debris. The storm's suddenness and ferocity meant some evacuation alerts came too late. Twenty-three people died. They ranged in age from 3 to 89.

Much of the world interpreted the fire-then-rain disaster as a tragic but unfortunate coincidence. Yet for Daniel Swain, a climate scientist working out of the UCLA Institute of Environment & Sustainability (IoES), the double-barreled devastation was something else: a harbinger of what is to come — indeed, what already is here — in the western United States.

Be afraid.

Fear can be harmful: It can propel policymakers to overreact and can lead to individuals or groups being blamed or demonized for events over which they have no control. Fear of immigrants has led to internment and the construction of a "border wall." Fear of infection distracted from sound responses to COVID-19, especially in the early stages of the virus.

But sometimes fear is valuable — and necessary. And in the case of Swain's research, the role of anxiety is as helpful as it is clear: Shrugging off long-standing shifts in temperature and weather patterns is foolish. But concern, created by an awareness of his findings, might motivate preparation.

When it comes to climate change, it is all too easy to look at incremental increases in temperatures and think that the risk is remote or minuscule: In fact, it is real and upon us now. People should be afraid, and they should be afraid not just for the future but for the present.

"THESE ARE EVENTS THAT PROBABLY WON'T HAPPEN IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, BUT IF THEY DID, THEY COULD BE CATASTROPHIC, WITHOUT ANY EXAGGERATION. PEOPLE DON'T LIKE TO THINK ABOUT THAT."

— Daniel Swain, UCLA climate scientist

CLIMATE CHANGE IS PRODUCING increasingly long and more destructive wildfire seasons, as California has experienced. A paper Swain and five other researchers published in April in the journal *Science Advances* warns of a related effect: As the Earth warms, there also will be more instances of extreme rainfall, leading to major flooding. The paper finds that by the end of the century, 90% of extreme wildfires in California, Colorado and the Pacific Northwest will be followed within five years by at least three nearby extreme rainfall events — the precise conditions that ravaged Montecito.

There is an even more dramatic threat, according to Swain, who in addition to his duties at UCLA is a research fellow with the National Center for Atmosphere Research (NCAR), and the California Climate Fellow with the Nature Conservancy. In August, again in *Science Advances*, he and Xingying Huang published a paper with a harrowing title: "Climate Change Is Increasing the Risk of a California Megaflood."

The paper springboards off a largely forgotten event: the "Great Flood of 1862," in which a weeks-long series of winter storms inundated parts of (now heavily populated) Los Angeles and Orange counties. The report details how the flood created a temporary, nearly 300-mile-long lake in the interior Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys.

The researchers used supercomputers and high-tech weather modeling and found that, due to climate change, the likelihood of such an event, known as an ArkStorm, has doubled, and that it could displace millions of Californians and create more than $1 trillion in economic losses. Even if this does not happen, the paper states that by the end of the century, storms will generate 200% to 400% more runoff in the Sierra Nevada Mountains, partly because warming temperatures will cause more precipitation to fall as rain instead of snow.

The growing potential of cataclysmic fires to be followed by torrential downpours — storms that create biblical flooding — is for most people a new and unsettling facet of the climate crisis. When I asked Swain in a telephone interview if this makes climate change something we should be even more fearful of, he gave a thoughtful, layered response. He noted that climate scientists can be dismissed as "alarmists" for describing unlikely scenarios, but he also posited that some scientists seek to avoid exaggeration to the point that they might understate risks. He described how people can have difficulty differentiating between events with low probability and those with low consequences.

"As someone who deals with extreme weather and climate change, in my headspace is this realm of relatively low-likelihood but extremely high-consequence events," Swain said. "These are events that probably won't happen in the immediate future, but if they did, they could be catastrophic, without any exaggeration. People don't like to think about that."

SWAIN HAS CARVED A NICHE in the academic and atmospheric realms, one where what he terms "public-facing science communication" is nearly as important as research. This manifests in multiple forms: Swain has 72,000 Twitter followers and runs a blog called Weather West. He does hundreds of media interviews a year, including about 60 in the 10 days after the "Megafloods" paper hit. He's quick to credit UCLA and the IoES for allowing him this pursuit.

Others in the field know how important such communication is.

AN ORANGE FOG BLANKETED SAN FRANCISCO AFTER LABOR DAY FIRES IN 2020.

PHOTO BY **PATRICK PERKINS/UNSPLASH**

"He extends his impact far beyond the realm of scientific research," said James Done, director of the Capacity Center for Climate and Weather Extremes at NCAR. "He's completely comfortable and very effective at communicating science to non-scientists. This is a very rare skill."

Done, who specializes in researching tropical cyclones, has known Swain for about four years (they also have worked together). Done regularly meets with managers of water districts across the Western United States. He said he hears them mention things they picked up from Swain's work.

Swain, he added, also is willing to cut against the grain.

"I like the way he challenges scientific consensus that has been based on the climate that we have experienced to date and may no longer be true going forward," Done said. "He doesn't just accept things. He thinks with great clarity and is a very fast thinker, and brings concepts together in ways I haven't seen other people do."

These are all important accomplishments for Swain, who grew up in San Rafael, Calif. He was fascinated with weather from a young age, and for a time wanted to be a forecaster. He describes a 1995 storm when "trees snapped in half" as a formative event. "In high school, I jumped through hoops to put a weather station up on my parents' roof," he said. "It's still there."

He earned a degree in atmospheric science from the University of California at Davis and attained his Ph.D. at Stanford. He started postdoc studies at UCLA in 2016 and has been employed there since 2018. He works "permanently remotely," based in Boulder, Colo., where NCAR is headquartered.

"There's a lot of extreme weather here," he said, with what sounded like glee. "Every once in a while, if I have a slow afternoon, I go out and go storm chasing, and see if I can see a tornado from a safe distance."

The "Megafloods" paper earned global attention. *USA Today* and CNN covered it, as did the *Guardian* and *The Washington Post*. *The New York Times* turned it into an extended, interactive graphic visualization tracking a California megastorm over 30 days.

"Megafloods" was just a start. Swain has a three-phase project underway: ArkStorm 2.0, involving NCAR, University of California campuses, the Desert Research Institute and other partners. The second phase, Swain said, will include hydrology and examine what areas would get flooded and how deeply if an ArkStorm hits. A variety of state water agencies are participating.

"The third phase is to tie it all together, which is tabletop exercises, disaster-response scenarios, working with federal, state and local partners," he said. "Where are the weaknesses today? If this happened next year, what would fall apart? What would be OK?"

The goal, he said, is to make people recognize the potential impact of a megaflood — yes, even during a drought — and start taking preventative steps, such as shoring up flood defenses and restoring floodplains.

Swain understands how the low likelihood of a megaflood in any specific year can make people less prone to focus resources on it. But he notes the dire potential, and points out that the Great Flood of 1862 occurred long before people started discussing climate change. Many parts of California were barely populated then. But now, 160 years later, the dangers are evident.

"There needs to be a significant amount of political and financial buy-in if we want to mitigate these risks," Swain said. "I'm confident we can mitigate them to a certain degree, but it isn't going to happen on its own. That's why studies talking about potentially scary events can be important — not to overwhelm people or exaggerate anything, but to be honest about what the risks actually are, in hopes that we can improve our societal resilience to them.

"Our goal is not to scare people for the sake of scaring people," he said. "Our goal is to be honest with people about potentially bad outcomes so we can make them less bad." ◤

Growth and Its Discontents

A UCLA scholar considers the challenges of development

WRITTEN BY
JEAN MERL

MUCH OF UCLA POLITICAL SCIENTIST Darin Christensen's work revolves around helping people in developing countries reap the rewards of economic prosperity. And it looks for ways to do so without the environmental damage and violent conflict that too often accompany efforts to improve life in many parts of the Global South.

The problems he confronts are as basic as life itself: How to overcome a farmer's fear that preserving a forest would cost him the ability to support his family? Or a miner's concern that abandoning the use of deadly mercury to obtain gold from ore would cost him his livelihood? Or concerns that attempts to extract the so-called "conflict minerals" would result in injury or death? Or that negotiating a bad development deal would shortchange an entire village?

Christiansen arrived at UCLA in 2016 fresh from graduate school at Stanford. He recently received tenure as a professor of public policy and political science in the Luskin School of Public Affairs. His interest is mitigating problems related to international development. He studies the causes and consequences of conflict and looks for ways to promote stability and goods and services that improve the quality of life while also reducing risks to health, safety and the environment.

He co-founded and is co-executive director of the UCLA-based Project on Resources and Governance (PRG), a research initiative focused on the Global South — socially and economically less-developed communities in the southern hemisphere. PRG helps people in these communities receive a fair shake during bargaining over development rights. It works through sub-society organizations, locally active alliances with national or international reach.

"I'm not an advocate, I'm not a mobilizer; I'm a researcher," Christensen said during a recent interview on campus, near the Public Affairs Building that houses his sixth-floor office.

"I feel the value I can add is to help organizations understand whether the work they are doing is having the impact they hoped for," Christensen said. That entails working with the organizations to understand what types of problems they are facing, how they can address them, and whether the steps they take to address them are effective.

A YOUNG MAN CARRIES WET COBALT AT THE SHINKOLOBWE MINE NEAR LIKASI, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO.

PHOTO BY **SCHALK VAN ZUYDAM/ASSOCIATED PRESS**

CHRISTENSEN GREW UP IN NORTHERN IDAHO and went to high school in a small town where few students went on to college. Almost none traveled to schools outside of Idaho. Christensen was the exception. He enrolled at Duke University and graduated summa cum laude in 2008 with a bachelor's degree in political science and German.

Next came Stanford University, where, between 2011 and 2015, he earned a master's degree in economics and a Ph.D. in political science. He said his research interest in developing countries came early in graduate school, after a summer working on a project in Sierra Leone. It was during a global food crisis. Creating development for jobs and tax revenue was important, but there was concern that communities were being asked to bargain away their land and other resources, and were not always well-informed about their choices.

> **"The value I can add is to help organizations understand whether the work they are doing is having the impact they hoped for."**
>
> — Darin Christensen, professor of public policy and political science in the Luskin School of Public Affairs

Christensen's work has taken him into such places as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Niger, Tanzania and Liberia, among others. Before COVID-19 struck, and before his two daughters were born (today, one is a preschooler and the other an infant), Christensen joked that he was probably Delta's top accumulator of frequent flier miles. He hopes to get back to traveling more again soon.

"I try to spend time in the places where we have work," Christensen said. "Travel is highly motivating to me."

The work Christensen has participated in includes an evaluation of the effectiveness of due diligence programs for conflict minerals — tin, titanium and tungsten — in eastern Congo. It was undertaken by PRG, International Peace Information Service and Sub-Saharan Field Research and Consulting Services, with survey instruments designed and results review provided by Ulula, a company that helps oil, gas and mining industries assess potential environmental, social and governmental risks.

DARIN CHRISTENSEN, ALONG WITH FACULTY MEMBERS MICHAEL ROSS AND GRAEME BLAIR, CREATED THE PROJECT ON RESOURCES, DEVELOPMENT, AND GOVERNANCE. THE GROUP'S FIRST CONFERENCE, PICTURED HERE, TOOK PLACE IN 2017.

PHOTOS BY **LES DUNSEITH/UCLA**

The researchers found mixed results. Areas with due diligence programs saw less interference by government armed forces, for example, and some evidence of greater economic well-being of the relevant communities. But researchers did not find significantly lower rates of child labor.

In a study of a forest governance project in Liberia, Christensen and two other researchers evaluated a program that recruits, trains and deploys citizens to monitor communal forest lands in 60 communities. They found that including households in forest-management decisions did not reduce forest use. It was difficult to persuade farmers to stop destroying forests by converting them to farmland without compensating them.

The study highlights the practical and ethical problems of asking people to give up their livelihood for the greater cause of environmental protection.

"One of the things we are starting to work on more is the tension between wanting to use economic development to try to address poverty" while easing some of the environmental harms that can come with it, Christensen said.

"An approach that's both unethical and unfeasible is to tell farmers, 'You can't cut down this forest' to create new farms. ... It's asking already poor people to give up their livelihoods in service of some global goal, and there is no reason why those people should be bearing the cost.

"It's not feasible because they are not going to do it," he said. "The choice between feeding your family and conserving the forest isn't a choice."

CHRISTENSEN ALSO IS AMONG RESEARCHERS working on ways that small-scale miners in Tanzania can abandon the practice of using mercury to extract gold from their ore. Using highly toxic mercury is a cheap process but brings longtime, deadly harm to the environment. Christensen says there is another method that is more efficient and not harmful, but it's more expensive. One possible solution is to find ways to enable miners to trust each other enough to collaborate by pooling their ore for extraction, thus bringing costs down.

Another project that tries to find ways to balance the competing needs of economic well-being and environmental mitigation is one in Liberia that aims to help people negotiate better deals for the resources they are giving up to developers. Researchers found that interest-based negotiation instruction made trainees 27% more likely to reach a beneficial agreement while payoffs from the deals were 37% bigger. Researchers found that while community leaders negotiated better deals, the deals led to a reduction in deforestation as well.

What he would like to see emphasized in a future phase of study of interest-based negotiation, Christensen said, is the notion that no deal can be better than a poor one, that it's OK to walk away from something that isn't truly beneficial.

"I want the research that we do to be useful and applicable," he said. "For me, it's never been about finding gaps in the literature and trying to fill them.

"I'm much more motivated by talking with people, talking to organizations, trying to understand what is a problem they face right now, and is there some way of thinking about the problem, of measuring that problem, that might be useful." ◤

A PARENT'S PRIMAL FEAR

Children – and guns – in school

WRITTEN BY
MOLLY SELVIN

RON AVI ASTOR IS AN optimistic man.

For 30 years, first as a social worker and now as a scholar, Astor, a professor of social welfare at UCLA's Luskin School of Public Affairs, has focused on helping children grow into ethical and empathic adults.

Astor insists that we know a lot about how schools can encourage children to thrive emotionally and educationally. Indeed, school leaders in Southern California and nationally have applied lessons from research Astor and his colleagues have conducted, including in other countries. Those U.S. schools have reported significant and sustained declines in campus bullying and violence.

Even shooting massacres during recent years — at schools in Sandy Hook, Connecticut; Parkland, Florida; and Uvalde, Texas — have not dimmed Astor's optimism, but they have caused him to widen his aperture beyond the school gates.

Driven by the shock and anguish that those and countless other shootings have evoked, policymakers and school officials have concentrated largely on preventing a would-be killer from coming onto campus — or on stopping one already roaming the halls. That focus produces bills to, for instance, harden campuses or arm teachers. But confining the debate to campus measures ignores larger contributors to the problem, and Astor has come to believe that a broader approach to stopping this gun violence is needed.

He advocates for tighter restrictions on gun ownership and use. Astor knows he is treading on a political minefield. But he believes the trauma and gnawing fear these events breed will not lift until schools become communities where every student feels valued and safe.

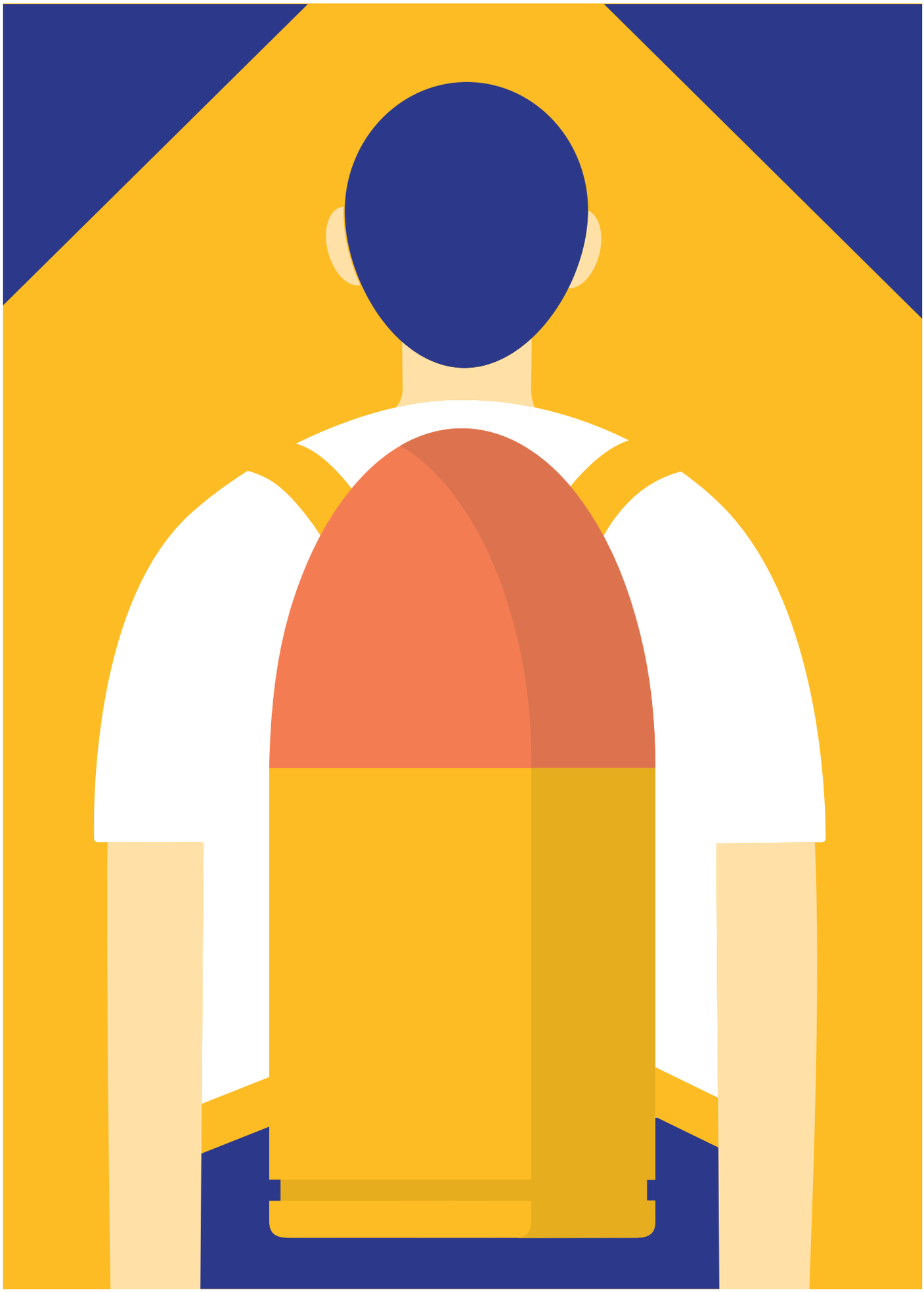


ILLUSTRATION BY **NOMA BAR**

ASTOR, 61, DIDN'T INITIALLY INTEND to be an academic. After earning an MSW degree at USC, he worked with severely disturbed children at Stanford. "I had great success mainstreaming these kids and had some data," he said, "so I wrote some articles about it."

The response to his findings buoyed him and led him to UC Berkeley, where he earned a Ph.D. in human development and school psychology. He taught at the University of Michigan and USC, then joined the UCLA faculty in 2019, where he holds a joint appointment in the School of Education and Information Sciences.

Now, with nine books, more than 200 academic articles and numerous international awards for his scholarship, Astor has become one of the most widely quoted researchers on bullying, school violence and, in recent years, mass shootings.

"We've lost our way in terms of the purpose of the school," he said. Many people define it narrowly, as academic learning. But to Astor, that's "foolish." He is an evangelist for a view of schools as caring, welcoming places that educate citizens of a democratic nation dedicated to equality and justice. He has done research in Asia, Israel and South America, and found that schools in countries that do more to uplift every student log higher academic scores.

"I cite his work and his colleagues' work in everything I write," said Sonali Rajan, a professor at Teachers College, Columbia University, who studies childhood trauma and violence prevention.

Like Astor, Rajan believes that "school is not just a place that is free from gun violence." Her goal is "to foster greater agency in kids" so school becomes a place where "they can thrive."

"We've lost our way in terms of the purpose of the school."

—Ron Avi Astor, professor of social welfare at UCLA's Luskin School of Public Affairs

DURING ASTOR'S EARLY YEARS, there was no field of study called "school safety" and no category called "school shootings." So his research fell under the heading of "the moral development of children."

His work was innovative. In one study, for example, Astor and his colleagues gave high school students and teachers maps of their school and asked them to tag the most dangerous areas in and around campus. They found that violent events occurred primarily in what they called "unowned spaces," such as hallways, dining areas and parking lots, and at times when adults were absent. Their research suggested ways to curb violence in part by encouraging school staff to be present in these spaces.

Another of their studies compared violent or menacing behavior among Jewish and Arab boys in Israel with boys in California. It documented how violence can be strongly influenced by culture. They also found that teachers who physically or verbally victimize their students constitute a significant and overlooked form of violence.

Trauma begets trauma. Intense news coverage of school shootings, along with coverage of the pandemic, has amplified anxiety, Astor said, contributing to what the American Academy of Pediatrics last October called a "worsening crisis" in child and adolescent mental health.

Moreover, there is a ripple effect. If someone brings a gun to school and shoots it, "That's really traumatic," Astor said. "The fear that causes to all of the kids in school and all of the teachers goes far beyond the people who were hit."

These concerns led Astor and his colleagues to launch a groundbreaking study in 2010. Parents, teachers and administrators in 145 California public schools worked together to create welcoming communities.

Each school could take its own approach, but the process had to be collaborative. Peer-to-peer tutoring programs in one school, for example, encouraged students to forge bonds by learning math and reading together. An antibullying initiative in another school recognized and applauded "kind" behavior, encouraging students to wear purple and black as a reminder that bullying can cause physical and psychological damage.

The results, after eight years, were powerful: Students reported significant and sustained declines in the number of weapons brought onto campus, as well as declines in fighting, belittling behavior and alcohol and drug abuse. Astor said the positive effects continue, though project funding has ended.

The takeaway for Astor is that a healthy community emerges when parents and school leaders work together to address the needs of their individual schools, stay involved over time, and proceed with understanding and acceptance rather than discipline and punishment.

Rajan at Columbia agrees and argues that violence prevention extends beyond the school campus. Cleaned and greened vacant lots, street lighting, access to a public library and affordable housing all specifically reduce gun violence "by disrupting cycles of disenfranchisement," making every child feel cared for.

She dismisses arguments that these measures would be too expensive, citing a recent report finding that gun violence costs the country $557 billion every year. The study was conducted by Everytown Support Fund, part of Everytown for Gun Safety. Researchers calculated such costs as long-term physical and mental health care, lost earnings and criminal justice costs; they estimated the dollar value of pain, suffering and lost well-being to victims and their families.

ASTOR REGARDS THE 1999 MASSACRE of 12 students and a teacher at Columbine High School in Colorado as a "watershed event." School shootings had occurred before. But Columbine drew "massive, massive, massive international attention," he said, which has intensified with each new attack at other schools.

RAND economist Rosanna Smart agrees. Although the number of murders and suicides with guns continues to rise, the rate of gun deaths overall is actually down relative to the 1990s, according to data from the Centers for Disease Control. "But that's not the benchmarking that people are doing," Smart said. The question for many parents is, "Do they feel safer relative to five years ago or 10 years ago, not 30." She says increased media coverage has created a perception that they are not.

Columbine also set in motion two pernicious cycles.

Shooters now know their acts will draw vast media attention, Astor said. As a result, many of them seek notoriety by trying to top the most recent fatality count, even if they die doing it.

They target innocent victims to terrorize, making people feel as if no one is safe, he said, and many young shooters hope their actions will draw attention to their ideologies or grievances they are nursing.

Each shooting also escalates campus "hardening." Schools add metal detectors; armed officers and dogs search backpacks; students participate in shooter drills; and some districts now permit teachers to carry firearms. Yet data from multiple studies, Astor and Smart say, do not find evidence that these measures are effective at preventing or stopping a shooter.

Indeed, turning schools into little prisons has unintended negative effects. Astor cites studies from several states finding that Black and Latino/a students perceive these measures as surveillance directed at them, potentially alienating them from school instead of making them feel connected and safer.

Astor uses a neighborhood analogy: "If I want to buy a house and a real estate agent comes to me and says, 'We got some tanks at the entrance and guys walking around with bazookas, and you're going to feel super safe there,' I probably would say, 'Don't even take me to this place, because I do not feel safe.'"

A true community, he believes, includes "people in their gardens talking to one another" and caring for each other over years. Those are social bonds and networks that make us feel safe and connected.

"People … [understand] that for real estate, but somehow they don't … for schools."

ASTOR ARGUES FOR CREATING neighborhoods around students, along with educating them about guns and restricting gun usage. "It's not an either/or. We need to do both."

This means reaching out to students who are obsessed with guns, who talk about suicide or killing other people, and who may live in homes with multiple firearms. "They almost always talk about it," he said, "or post about it."

Astor, like Rajan and a growing number of school violence prevention experts, openly advocates for tighter laws around gun storage, raising the age for gun purchases, and limiting the sale of high-capacity magazines.

"There is wide, wide public agreement on these measures, and they will save many lives," he said.

Astor also supports a ban on assault weapons, which a majority of Americans also support.

He is not naive about the prospects for these changes happening soon.

But he also is patient.

PHOTOS BY **GAYATRI MALHOTRA/UNSPLASH**

The New Politics of

REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM

THE CONSTITUTION DOES NOT CONFER A RIGHT TO ABORTION; ROE AND CASEY ARE OVERRULED; AND THE AUTHORITY TO REGULATE ABORTION IS RETURNED TO THE PEOPLE AND THEIR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES.

As the nation strips away a right, California offers sanctuary.

WRITTEN BY
JIM NEWTON

ILLUSTRATION BY
RICARDO SANTOS

BLUEPRINT SPECIAL REPORT
A Closer Look

AS THE NATION ABSORBS WHAT IT MEANS to lose a constitutionally protected right — the right of a woman to have an abortion — California's place in America's federalist system is taking on new importance. While some states impose restrictions that even abortion opponents worry may go too far, California is consciously and deliberately styling itself as a place of sanctuary, where those seeking abortions will be protected rather than prosecuted.

State Sen. Toni Atkins, president pro tem of the California Senate, noted that this state is choosing an alternate path. Abortion rights are strongly protected here. "The same," she said, "does not hold true in other states."

Sue Dunlap, president of Planned Parenthood Los Angeles, echoed Atkins' observation, along with the role it suggests for California. "In California," she noted, "we are overwhelmingly supportive of reproductive and sexual health care." With that, she said, comes "an obligation to be almost a think-tank" for exploring ways to protect that care, even as other states aggressively move to curtail it.

"In California, we are overwhelmingly supportive of reproductive and sexual health care."

— Sue Dunlap, president of Planned Parenthood Los Angeles

Events this summer proved the truth of that. On June 25, the United States Supreme Court handed down *Dobbs v. Jackson*, reversing a half-century of its own jurisprudence and precedents by overturning *Roe v. Wade* and *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*. Dismissing those precedents as "egregiously wrong," *Dobbs* held that the right to an abortion is not protected by the Constitution, a decision that upended American politics, not to mention the lives of countless young women who grew up with the expectation that abortion was available to them regardless of where they live in the United States.

Within days, 13 states had imposed restrictions that *Roe* and *Casey* would have prohibited. More states have followed in the weeks since. Some have abolished abortion rights outright and are seeking to go even further, including restricting travel by women who might seek legal abortions elsewhere, interfering with delivery of medicine via the mail and allowing private civil actions against women and doctors suspected of conspiring to violate state laws. Some states

Opinion of the Court

NOTICE: This opinion is subject to formal revision before publication in the preliminary print of the United States Reports. Readers are requested to notify the Reporter of Decisions, Supreme Court of the United States, Washington, D. C. 20543, of any typographical or other formal errors, in order that corrections may be made before the preliminary print goes to press.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

No. 19–1392

90% / 60%

Statutory Right to Choose: California's
the State of California from denying
choose or obtain an abortion prior to

Constitutional Right to Privacy: Article 1, Sect
Constitution guarantees that privacy is an inalien
Californians. This right of privacy includes a woma

All agencies and departments subject
employees, appointees, officers, or oth
capacity, are prohibited from providing

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GAVIN NEWSOM, Governor
cordance with the authority vested in me by the
es of the State of California do hereby issue the

are threatening action against businesses that aid employees who travel for abortions; some are considering abortion bans that would command a woman to deliver a baby conceived when she was raped.

To Atkins and others, those are horrifying scenarios that provide an opportunity for California to lead. Gov. Gavin Newsom and the Legislature are enacting abortion protections, and voters here will soon decide whether to safeguard abortion rights in the California constitution. (The state constitution already protects the right of privacy, upon which Roe and much abortion law is based, but the proposed amendment would make it clear that the right to abortion is guaranteed even without reliance upon privacy.)

Politicians are emboldened to take those actions in part because public sentiment in California strongly favors reproductive freedom. A 2021 poll by the Public Policy Institute of California, conducted as the nation braced for the possibility that the U.S. Supreme Court would overturn *Roe v. Wade*, found overwhelming support for *Roe's* protections. In California, support for abortion rights crosses all lines. The poll found that both men and women supported *Roe* by wide margins, as did Whites, Latino/as, Blacks and Asians. Perhaps unsurprisingly, nearly 90% of California Democrats wanted *Roe* preserved; more interestingly, so did nearly 60% of California Republicans.

Newsom, with the enthusiastic support of the Legislature, has backed a host of bills to protect and extend abortion rights. Among other actions, Newsom approved a $5 million grant to the UCLA Law School to create the Center on Reproductive Health, Law and Policy, which opened this summer and is under the leadership of Professor Cary Franklin. The center will train students in reproductive rights, produce scholarship in that field and educate decision makers on the implications of America's changing abortion laws.

Although the center intends to host scholarship on all sides of the abortion debate, the university is not a neutral arbiter. Commenting on the court's ruling in *Dobbs*, UC President Michael Drake said that the decision "is antithetical to the University of California's mission and values. We strongly support allowing individuals to access evidence-based health care services and to make decisions about their own care in consultation with their medical team."

CALIFORNIA'S EMBRACE OF REPRODUCTIVE CHOICE predates the events of this summer. Indeed, it predates *Roe* itself, and it once united the political parties here. It was none other than Ronald Reagan, then California's governor, who signed one of the nation's most

PARTLY CLOUDY
Morning and night low clouds. Partly cloudy this afternoon. Expected temperature range, 58 to 69 degrees. Detailed report on Page a-16.

The San Diego Union
HOME EDITION
ESTABLISHED 1868 TELEPHONE 234-7111 SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA a Copley Newspaper FRIDAY MORNING, JUNE 16, 1967 58 PAGES DAILY 10 CENTS

House Rejects Johnson Rail Peace Proposal
Compulsory Settlement Opposed; 90-Day No-Strike Extension OKd

WASHINGTON (AP)—The House yesterday rejected President Johnson's proposal for a compulsory settlement of the rail shopcraft dispute and voted instead for another 90-day extension of the no-strike period.

Strenuous lobbying efforts by the administration over a two-day period collapsed as the House voted 189 to 105 in favor of an amendment by Rep. Claude D. Pepper, D-Fla., eliminating the compulsory settlement feature of the bill.

Then it passed the bill by a voice vote and sent it back to the Senate. If accepted there, the measure would block the national rail strike scheduled Monday and put off any crisis for at least 90 days.

Floor leaders of both parties warned that the action might precipitate a new crisis in 90 days and that the Congress might again be called to act in the lingering dispute.

PUT ON SPOT

House members who have complained both publicly and privately that they were being put on the spot by the President's proposal seized on the Pepper amendment as a way to avoid both a rail strike and any compulsory settlement.

Efforts to get roll call votes on the Pepper amendment and on passage of the bill failed when an insufficient number of members supported the requests.

CONFLICT POSSIBLE

The Pepper amendment was approved after House Democratic leaders, southern Democrats and Republicans had succeeded in beating back a number of amendments to the administration proposal.

The action could lead to a conflict with the Senate, which last week approved the President's bill.

Pepper's amendment leaves the administration proposals for a five-member board to mediate the dispute and hold

AMATEUR'S 67 LEADS OPEN

SPRINGFIELD, N.J. (UPI)—Amateur Marty Fleckman of Fort Arthur, Tex., fired a 3-under-par 67 to lead the first round of the U.S. Open golf tourney yesterday.

He holds a two-shot lead over six players who are tied with 69s, among them defending champion Billy Casper of Bonita and Arnold Palmer. The 23-year-old Fleckman, son of a lumberman, carded three consecutive birdies starting with the second hole. He wavered with a bogey on the 623-yard 17th, but finished with a birdie on 18.

Jack Murphy's column and other Open details, Page c-1.

Angry Dodd Hits Stennis Censure Plea
Shouts His Reply To Allegation Of 'Grievous Wrong'

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Chairman John C. Stennis, of the Senate Ethics Committee yesterday charged that Sen. Thomas J. Dodd, D-Conn., had committed a "grievous wrong" and should be censured. Dodd shouted back that there was not a shred of evidence to support charges against him.

Stennis said:

"I don't see how anyone could go through this morass of money and mismanagement and come out with the conclusion that a grievous wrong has not been done to the Senate."

Dodd, flushed and seemingly unaware that he was shouting, waved his hand at the Mississippi Democrat and replied: "There is not one shred of evidence to support the charge that testimonial contributions were intended for political campaigns."

IN THIRD DAY

The Senate moved into its third day of debate on an Ethics Committee's recommendation that Dodd be censured for allegedly diverting campaign contributions for personal uses and double-billing for travel expenses.

Stennis told the Senate that he was convinced Dodd should be censured, just as he was convinced in 1954 that the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, R-Wis., should have been censured.

"His (McCarthy's) conduct reflected on the Senate and something had to be done," Stennis said. "I am firmly convinced that there was wrong done to this institution (in Dodd's case.)."

Stennis assured Dodd there was nothing personal in the committee's charges. "I understand that," Dodd replied, "but it doesn't make the pain in the back any lighter."

Kosygin's Visit Hints U.S.-Russian Summit

American soldier sights over his rifle as he protects wounded buddy crouched behind a log in Vietnam's War Zone D near Phuoc Vinh. —AP Photophoto

Soviet Premier Flying To N.Y. For U.N. Session
Editorials — Page b-2

NEW YORK (AP)—Soviet Premier Alexei N. Kosygin will leave Moscow for the United States today to plead the Arab cause before the United Nations and possibly meet President Johnson in summit talks that could include Vietnam.

En route, the Soviet leader will stop in Paris to confer with President Charles de Gaulle.

Soviet and U.S. spokesmen in Moscow yesterday said Kosygin is heading a delegation to an expected special United Nations General Assembly session tomorrow morning on the six-day Israeli conquest of the armies of Egypt, Jordan and Syria.

In Paris, official sources at the presidential Elysee Palace said Kosygin is expected to talk with De Gaulle this afternoon on the Mideast crisis before flying on to New York.

DUE LATE TODAY

U.S. sources in Moscow said Kosygin was departing aboard a Soviet Ilyushin-18 airliner from Moscow at 10:45 a.m. (12:45 p.m. PDT) and would arrive in New York late this afternoon.

U.S. officials said Kosygin would be traveling with a 50-man delegation, including Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and Deputy Minister Alexander Alexeyevich Soldatov.

Kosygin's plans were made known in Moscow before a necessary poll of U.N. delegations was completed. Sixty-one affirmative votes out of 122 are needed to call a special session.

ALEXEI N. KOSYGIN . . . to back Arabs

61 VOTES IN

The United Nations announced late last night it has received 61 of the 62 votes needed to call an emergency session of the General Assembly and it expects to get the clinching vote today. At closing time, the secretary general's office said it would remain open at 9 a.m. and if the 62nd vote is on hand then, the 122-nation session would be called for 9 a.m. (PDT) tomorrow.

While the Kosygin trip would seem to set the scene for the possible summit contacts on Vietnam and other issues besides the Mideast, there were no known plans last night for bigpower talks.

OLD INVITATION

At the White House, Press Secretary George Christian said an old invitation still stands for Kosygin to visit Mr. Johnson and that the President would be glad to see him.

Whether De Gaulle attended the U.N. meeting might depend on his talks with Kosygin. That the Russians were giving urgen-

(Continued on a-7, Col. 2)

Marines Rip Reds In Fierce Battles

SAIGON (UPI) — U.S. Marine infantry and armor punched into a Viet Cong stronghold south of the Leatherneck base at Da Nang yesterday and killed 50 guerrillas in two fierce battles. Thirteen Marines were killed and 21 wounded.

The heaviest combat, a four-hour battle, erupted when shortly after noon a force of more than 3,000 Marines supported by artillery barrages and air strikes thrust into a coastal area between the Thu Bon and Cai rivers 20 miles south of Da Nang.

Fighting raged until 4 p.m. as Marine tanks and amphibious vehicles ringed the area, choking off Viet Cong escape routes. Marine commanders reported 35 guerrillas killed. Five Marines were killed and two others wounded.

8 MARINES KILLED

Just to the south, other Marines battled a large force of more than 300 guerrillas, killing 15. Eight Marines were killed and 19 wounded in that fighting.

In the air war, U.S. Air Force B-52 jets rained tons of bombs on North Vietnamese troop buildups near the U.S. Marine base camp south in South Vietnam's northwestern corner.

American pilots swept into North Vietnam again yesterday, raiding railroad bridges, ammunition dumps and coastal defense positions in the southern part of the country.

Returning pilots reported intercepting and destroying several trucks loaded with men and supplies bound for North Vietnamese bases inside the Demilitarized Zone.

As total U.S. war deaths neared near the 11,000 mark, Premier Nguyen Cao Ky said 140,000 more American troops will be needed to deal with growing Communist forces.

WANTS 600,000

Taking note of the growing Communist manpower, Ky told newsmen in Saigon he thought the United States should increase its troop strength in Vietnam to a total of 600,000 men.

American forces in Vietnam now number 452,000. Ky said this increase was necessary to respond to Communist buildups in the country.

Ky also disclosed that his government has had talks with both Laos and Cambodia about extending a fortified barrier across Vietnam and into those countries to help hold back infiltration from the North.

Johnson Plans For Meeting Are Indefinite

By JAMES CARY
Copley News Service

WASHINGTON — The White House yesterday said President Johnson would be happy to see Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin when he comes to the United States to attend a special session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Press Secretary George Christian said a previous invitation to Kosygin to visit Washington still stands.

Christian said the "natural place" for such a meeting would be in Washington, but left the site indefinite. He also dropped a large question mark over the possibility of the meeting actually taking place.

"If he (Kosygin) wants to see the President, the President will of course want to see him," Christian said.

CAN'T ANSWER

He said "it is not possible to answer" at this time whether the President would invite Kosygin to Washington or wait for Kosygin to indicate a desire to see Mr. Johnson.

Christian also left open the possibility that Mr. Johnson might go to New York for such a meeting.

His comments to newsmen took place as a Soviet call for the special session was winning overwhelming approval. The 122-nation meeting is expected to get under way sometime this weekend.

FROM EAST EUROPE

Christian included Kosygin's invitation in a somewhat tentative blanket invitation to any heads of government who might attend the U.N. meeting and want to see Mr. Johnson.

He said he had no information on which might come, but there was: wide speculation in Washington that many would attend from Communist East Europe.

British Prime Minister Harold Wilson also was considered a possibility.

Christian said he was reason-

(Continued on a-4, Col. 4)

Libyans Ask U.S., British To Close Bases

TRIPOLI, Libya (Reuters) — Libya has asked the United States and Britain to liquidate their bases here and withdraw their troops as soon as possible, Prime Minister Hussein Maziqh announced last night.

In the latest Arab re[illegible] for what they alleged was [illegible]-lo-American support for Israel in last week's Middle East war, Libyan Foreign Minister Ahmed Shibta summoned the American and British ambassadors and told them officialy of the cabinet decision.

The main base concerned is the giant American Wheelus Air Base. Britain also has 1,000 troops in Libya.

There normally are about 3,000 U.S. Air Force personnel and about 3,000 dependents at Wheelus Air Base.

A U.S. State Department spokesman in Washington said an eviction notice was served and that the United States was preparing a response. He said the Libyans had asked for withdrawal of U.S. troops and liquidation of the base.

Abortion Measure Signed By Reagan

By PETER KAYE
The San Diego Union's Politics Writer

SACRAMENTO — Gov. Reagan yesterday signed a landmark bill liberalizing California's 96-year-old abortion law.

The relaxed ceremony in Reagan's office contrasted with emotional hearings in the Legislature and the governor's own last-minute reservations about the bill.

3RD STATE

Titled the Therapeutic Abortion Law, it becomes effective in about three months and legalizes abortions:

1. In cases of rape or incest.

2. If the physical or mental health of the expectant mother is jeopardized.

California becomes the third state to have such a law. North Carolina and Colorado approved somewhat stronger legislation earlier this year. Abortions are legal in California now only if the mother's life is endangered.

"I've changed my mind," Reagan smilingly told State Sen. Anthony C. Beilenson, D-Los Angeles, just before he signed the bill.

"I'm glad you can smile," replied the senator. "I'm glad it's all over."

"If you think I'm smiling now," said Reagan, "wait until the right tax bill comes' down."

Although he voiced specific objections to the bill on the day it was approved by the Assembly, Reagn later said he would sign it.

WON'T ADD IT

The governor was instrumental in making Beilenson eliminate a provision that would have legalized abortions if there was a substantial risk that the child would be deformed.

He, however, that he would make no attempt to add it at a future date and emphasized this decision was made without pressure from the gov-

"Hopefully," said Beilenson, "a major cause of deformities,

(Continued on a-4, Col. 1)

Court Rejects Plan To Tax At Full Valu

SAN FRANCISCO (AP) — The State Supreme Court yesterday ordered Sacramento County's controversial assessor, Dr. Irene Hickman, to give her plan to tax property at 25 per cent market value.

In a unanimous opinion written by Justice Stanley Mosk, the court threw out Mrs. Hickman's claim that the state constitution requires 100 per cent assessment.

Mosk said that for nearly a century a fractional value assessment plan has been recognized by all branches of government. The rates are 20 to 25 per cent of market value and go to 25 per cent in 1976.

It is too late to return to the literal sense of words used in 1872, said Mosk. He said the fractional value had been established by the executive and legislative branches and recognized by numerous court decisions.

A group seeking to recall Mrs. Hickman said it would continue its recall efforts.

"The need for removing Dr. Hickman from office is greater now than it ever was," said Bob Wirsing, executive secretary of the Assessor Recall Committee.

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ONKIN COLLISION COURSE

S.D. Tug Skipper Tells Of Calling Russians' Bluff

ABOARD USS MATACO — Officers aboard the Diego-based fleet tug, ich recently called the bluff two Soviet spy trawlers in onkin Gulf, say the incidents apparently created incients as a test of the Ameri-Navy.

Lt. Downey M. Ware of 8781 en Haven St., San Diego, id the Soviet trawlers, the rograph and the Deflekton, t themselves on collision urses with the Mataco when e 16,675-ton Navy tug tried shoulder them away from carrier forces operating North Vietnam.

EY BACKED DOWN

But they backed down hen we crossed their T," id the red-haired young ioper of the Mataco. "Both e Barograph and the Deflekton made passes at the rriers when they relieved ch other on station, but we d the right of way and they th knew it."

Warrant Officer B. B. Mitchell of Altoona, Kan., said the Russians lacked the aggressiveness they had showed before one of their destroyers brushed the U.S. destroyer Walker in the northern Pacific last month.

Ware said neither spy ship came closer than a hundred yards before coming to a dead stop.

KEEP OFF BOW

"We always tried to keep off their starboard bow," Ware explained, "so that when they tried something tricky we'd be in a favorable position."

Ware described the Soviet skippers as "very good" captains, but said the slightly higher speed of the Mataco enabled the Americans to keep the Russians away from the carriers.

"Both trawlers tested us once," Ware said, "and then they behaved themselves. I'm certain they wanted to see what we'd do."

Both incidents occurred off the North Vietnamese coast at Yankee Station where the U.S. Navy launches its carrier planes against North Vietnam.

"You just had to be alert that they didn't get the drop on you," McDonald explained . . . "We always followed the rules of the sea, and gave them the required two blasts of the whistle to let them know we were crossing their bow. By the time we had forced them to stop, the carriers had passed and they couldn't do any harm."

SMALL TALK

The skipper of the tug said the Russians made several attempts at friendly conversation with the Mataco using international code transmitted by visual blinker signal.

"One time when we were shadowing them," Ware said, "they asked us, 'Where are you going?' we gave them a two-word reply, 'With you.'"

SIERRA FLOOR ALERT

Mere Whisper May Save Lives

By BRYANT EVANS
The San Diego Union's Science Editor

A mere whisper from a radioactive substance gives promise of providing the warning that can save lives from the savage floods that follow the melting of the Sierra snow pack.

Two scientists yesterday reported to members of the American Nuclear Society here how this little whisper — weak gamma ray radiation — is being used to measure the water in snow banks and to measure the chemicals that keep snow from evaporating.

OTHER USES

Dr. James L. Smith of the Pacific Southwest Ranges Experiment Station and Edward H. Ensington of the Hazelton Nuclear Science Corp. reported on the snow experiments at a closing meetiwe of the society's convention at El Cortez Hotel.

Previously others had told how radiation has been used to make possible diagnoses of cystic fibrosis, to study what happens to moisture in clouds and to kill bacteria in industrial oils and women's cosmetics.

All of these developments depend on the emanations from what is known as radioactive isotopes. These are ordinary elements which have been bombarded by heavy particles and as a result give off radiation of their own.

An instrument made with radioactive cesium is the secret of finding how much water there is on the snows of the Sierra, Smith said.

PUT IN PIPE

The cesium package is put in a pipe that is pushed through the snow to solid ground. Another pipe, two or three feet away, carries a crystal detector which senses the gamma rays from the cesium.

As the cesium and crystal are moved up and down in their tubes, a recorder shows

(Continued on a-14, Col. 1)

"ABORTION MEASURE SIGNED BY REAGAN," FROM THE SAN DIEGO UNION, FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 1967.

liberal abortion laws in 1967. Until then, California permitted abortions only in cases where the mother's life was at risk, but the Legislature approved a bill by Democrat Tony Beilenson to extend the protection when pregnancy resulted from rape — either forcible or statutory — or when carrying the fetus to term might "gravely impair" the mother's physical or mental health. Reagan equivocated until the final day — he worried about the vagueness of a grave impairment of mental health — but he then affixed his signature, making the conservative icon an unlikely pioneer in abortion rights.

In recent years, California has staked out abortion rights as a matter of state policy and self-image. On May 31, 2019, Newsom signed the California Proclamation on Reproductive Freedom, emphasizing the right of privacy in California's constitution and pledging the state to defend the right to choose an abortion for women of all ages — with or without parental consent or the consent of the biological father — as well as a right of access to abortion regardless of ability to pay and a right to choose a provider.

So strongly are abortion rights protected here that the issue has altered California politics: It is virtually impossible today to be elected to statewide office in California unless one supports reproductive choice.

Since the U.S. Supreme Court announced its *Dobbs* decision, California's efforts to protect abortion rights have only accelerated. In addition to the UCLA grant, the state has approved a host of bills, including ones to protect women seeking abortions from being subjected to legal actions emanating from other states; to eliminate insurance co-pays for abortions; to let nurse-practitioners perform first-trimester abortions; and to help poor women afford abortions.

Those bills, and others almost certain to come, will be intended to provide real protections and to reinforce the fact that California is a place where pregnant women in need of help can safely receive it. Given that so many states are moving in the opposite direction, California is braced to receive a wave of visitors — so-called "abortion tourists."

A June 2022 report by UCLA's new Center on Reproductive Health, Law and Policy describes the expectation: "Between 8,000 and 16,100 more people will travel to California each year for abortion care. Of those, we estimate that between 4,700 and 9,400 will come to Los Angeles County." The report predicts the influx will cross demographic lines and be concentrated among those who lack insurance and live in states without Medicaid expansion, making them especially vulnerable to new restrictions. Women 17 and younger also are likely to be disproportionately represented.

Many who come to California seeking abortions are expected to be from Arizona, Utah and Texas, which have moved to restrict abortion rights since the *Dobbs* decision. Smaller numbers are predicted to come from Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Arkansas, Louisiana and Oklahoma.

Since the U.S. Supreme Court announced its Dobbs *decision, California's efforts to protect abortion rights have only accelerated.*

WHILE CALIFORNIA WORKS TO HELP THOSE fleeing restrictive states, scholars here are examining the new legal landscape created by the end of *Roe*.

In one sense, that was neither unexpected nor entirely negative for supporters of abortion rights. Even many devoted advocates of those rights worried that *Roe* was built on shaky legal foundations: The right of privacy, though implied by the Constitution, is not specifically enumerated, and *Roe* itself represented a compromise, balancing a woman's right to seek an abortion against the state's interest in protecting a fetus as it attained viability. The result of that balancing effort was an awkward trimester structure in *Roe*, one that was shallowly rooted to the Constitution and that invited challenges based on evolving views of fetal viability.

Now, stripped of *Roe*, legal scholars are free to pursue other, potentially more vigorous, bases for establishing the protection of abortion rights. "The need for scholars, policymakers and advocates who are focused on advancing reproductive health, law and policy could not be more pressing," said Brad Sears, associate dean of public interest law at UCLA's law school and one of the authors of the report on travel impacts.

This work already has begun. "For the next 50 years, what are the arguments?" asked Franklin, faculty director of the Center on Reproductive Health, Law and Policy. Could abortion rights be rooted, for instance, in the principle of equity or equal protection? "I am most involved," Franklin said, "in imagining and rethinking the legal strategy."

Much has been written about the U.S. Supreme Court's work in *Dobbs* — its strange attempts to reinterpret American cultural history; its aggrieved tone; the logical failings of its discussion of "quickening" (first movements) and the relationship of "quickening" to viability; its arrogance in dismissing as "egregiously wrong" the reasoning of predecessors (as if Samuel Alito, author of *Dobbs*, were inarguably a better thinker than Harry Blackmun, the author of *Roe*).

One premise of *Dobbs* already seems demonstrably wrong: In overturning *Roe*, the majority in *Dobbs* declared that their predecessors had arrogated authority that properly belonged to legislatures, and that reversing that history would allow the court to dispense with abortion litigation by turning the matter back over to elected leaders. "It is time," the majority concluded, "to heed the Constitution and return the issue of abortion to the people's representatives."

That might sound simple, but divisions among the states makes it anything but. What happens when Texas tries to prosecute a woman for coming to California and obtaining a legal abortion here? The "people's representatives" in Texas may call for her incarceration, while those in California might offer her airfare and shelter. What happens when Alabama orders a teenager to carry to term a fetus conceived when she was raped by a relative, and she finds relief by coming to Los Angeles to have the fetus aborted? Alabama may see her as a vessel commanded to complete a pregnancy, while California views her as a young woman deserving of help and sympathy. Alabama might charge her with a crime, while California offers her safe harbor. Which of the "people's representatives" would prevail? Almost certainly, the court will need to decide.

Is the court done with abortion? Not if California has anything to say about it.

And it does. ◤

THE CANDIDATES DEBATE

RICK CARUSO AND KAREN BASS TAKE QUESTIONS FROM *BLUEPRINT*

PHOTOS BY JASON ARMOND/LOS ANGELES TIMES AND ALEX GALLARDO/AP PHOTO


KAREN BASS
FOR MAYOR
BASS


Rick
CARUSO

AFTER THE CITY ELECTION IN JUNE, once the field of candidates had narrowed to two, Blueprint reached out to the remaining contenders for their thoughts on some pressing issues. What follows is what we are calling a "virtual debate," in which Congresswoman Karen Bass and businessman Rick Caruso were given six questions and asked to answer them in writing. Both candidates had until the end of August to respond (both, incidentally, missed their deadlines but requested and received extensions, and both met those deadlines). The candidates were directed to keep their answers to 200 words or less, and both did so.

Neither candidate was allowed to see the answers supplied by the other, and they were not given an opportunity to respond. Their answers are published here in full, with only minor copy editing.

Blueprint: Please identify a past mayor, of Los Angeles or elsewhere, whom you admire and whose work would help guide your decision-making.

Karen Bass: I remember wearing my Tom Bradley for Mayor pin in high school — and being questioned by my teachers as to whether I actually knew what he stood for. I did, and I continue to draw inspiration from the strong coalition he built to win and to lead the city. Antonio Villaraigosa also built a broad, citywide coalition, and at the same time I was making tough decisions to protect California's economy in the face of the greatest economic decline since the Great Depression, he was making tough decisions to keep the city of Los Angeles afloat — and tough decisions are needed once again at City Hall. The best way to bring about change is involving as many people as possible in your efforts. For the three of us, coalition building isn't about getting together to sing kumbaya — it's about marshaling power, marshaling resources and marshaling the energy of residents committed to getting big things done.

Rick Caruso: Mayor Tom Bradley taught me so much about leadership and management. It was an honor to serve under his administration. He showed us how to bring people together and get things done for Angelenos. Unfortunately, he is no longer with us so I won't be able to seek his guidance as mayor.

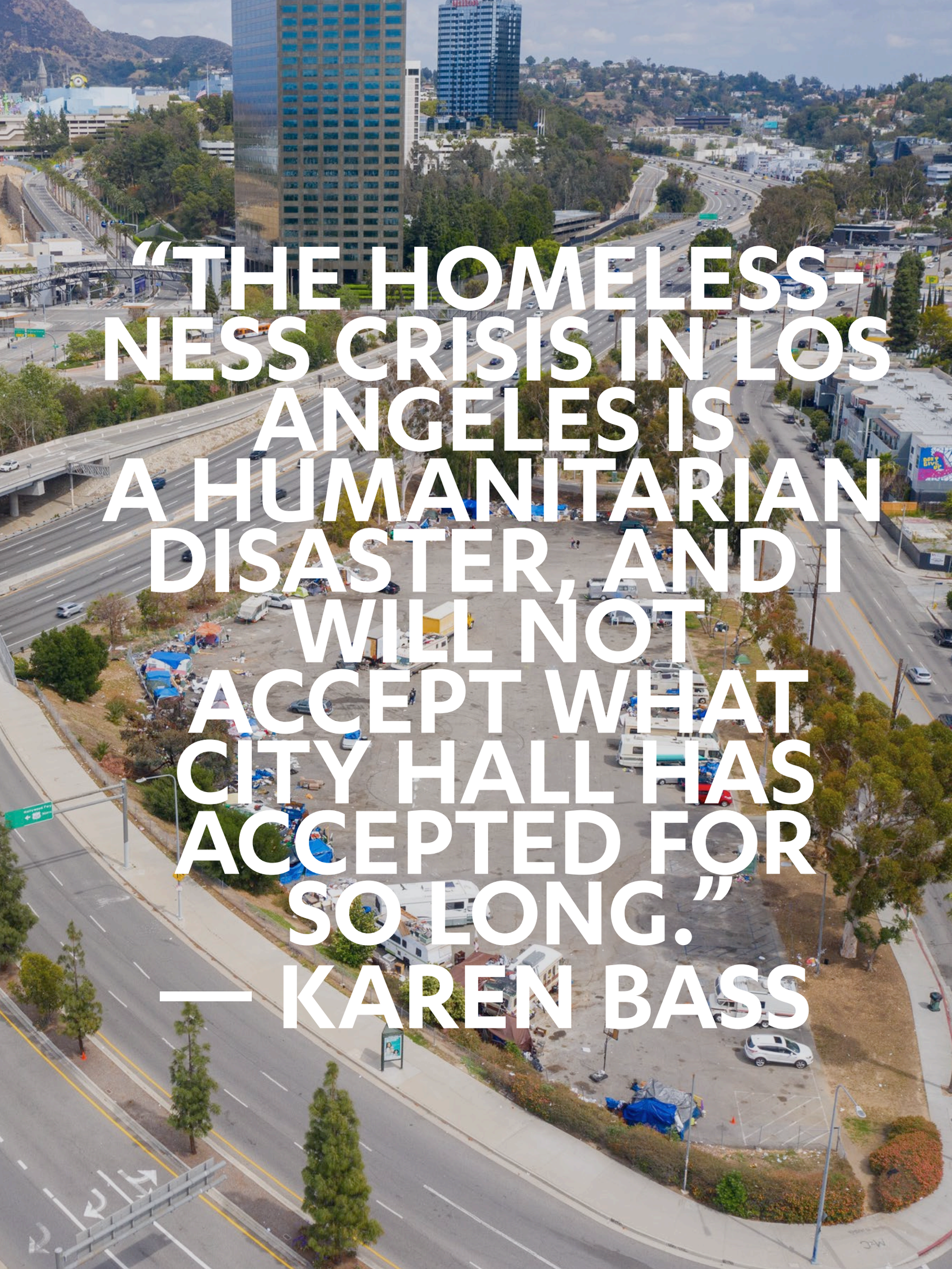
Another leader I admire is Jerry Brown. As mayor of Oakland and as governor, I admired his work and would look to him for guidance and inspiration. Gov. Brown governed with pragmatism, moral principle and, most importantly, empathy and compassion for those in need the most. Whether it was his revitalization of downtown Oakland with over $1 billion in investments or his focus on improving the port, Jerry put the people first and always acted with clear goals and accountability. I admire what he accomplished as mayor and as governor. I consider him a friend and someone I could turn to for advice and guidance.

Blueprint: Two-part question: Do you see homelessness principally as a law enforcement matter or as a human crisis? And how will you pay for your solutions?

Caruso: Homelessness is a human crisis, period. We need to bring people inside, off the streets, where we can get them the care and attention they deserve and need. Some homeless people just need a helping hand, while others may need

A HOMELESS ENCAMPMENT HAS TAKEN OVER THIS PARKING LOT NEAR THE HOLLYWOOD FREEWAY IN LOS ANGELES. THIS PARTICULAR ENCAMPMENT HAS BEEN HERE FOR OVER A YEAR.

PHOTO BY DUTCHER AERIALS / ISTOCK



"THE HOMELESSNESS CRISIS IN LOS ANGELES IS A HUMANITARIAN DISASTER, AND I WILL NOT ACCEPT WHAT CITY HALL HAS ACCEPTED FOR SO LONG."
— KAREN BASS

“HOMELESSNESS IS A HUMAN CRISIS, PERIOD. WE NEED TO BRING PEOPLE INSIDE, OFF THE STREETS, WHERE WE CAN GET THEM THE CARE AND ATTENTION THEY DESERVE AND NEED.”

— RICK CARUSO

mental health or addiction treatment to get them back into the social fabric of L.A. Regardless, enforcement is not the answer and it will NOT solve the problem. As for how to pay for my initiatives on sheltering the unhoused, I believe there is more than enough General Fund money in addition to state and federal dollars that are available for emergency housing, shelter and treatment/wraparound services.

Bass: The homelessness crisis in Los Angeles is a humanitarian disaster, and I will not accept what City Hall has accepted for so long. Instead, my administration will provide 15,000 people in the first year with immediate housing. The bottom line is that we will stop "addressing" homelessness and will focus on solving homelessness. This is an all-hands-on-deck crisis that requires comprehensive and creative policies to both lift people from homelessness and keep Angelenos from losing their homes by building and protecting affordable housing and by confronting the full range of challenges that lead to homelessness, including low wages and job loss, substance abuse, illness, disability, mental health challenges, domestic violence and a lack of reentry services.

I will build on my experience and relationships with federal, state and county decisionmakers to secure additional resources for housing and services, and I will make sure that the city and county work in lockstep.

Blueprint: How should Angelenos judge the performance of the Los Angeles Police Department? In your view, how well is the department doing its job today?

Bass: Angelenos should judge our city government based on how safe our city is. Public safety depends on more than the LAPD, and it's unfair to our officers that they are left to pick up the pieces from a shredded social safety net. The department has come a long way since I first started working on community-police partnerships in the 1990s, but we still have a long way to go.

Reducing uses of force and improving policing and community relations will be key metrics during my administration. In addition to leading the department to lower our crime rate, I will make sure we invest in proven initiatives to reduce crime.

Caruso: While president of the Police Commission, I helped oversee a 30% drop in crime, in addition to making the department a "minority-majority" department with more Latinos, African Americans and API police officers than ever before. We also brought in [Chief] Bill Bratton and focused on community policing, ensuring that the communities the police served felt heard, safe and connected to their police officers.

That is how the LAPD should be judged, by how safe and connected people feel to the men and women who serve in uniform.

Blueprint: It has been 20 years since the Los Angeles City Charter was overhauled. Would you support efforts to revamp the charter again? Specifically, would you support a significant expansion of the Los Angeles City Council?

Caruso: I would absolutely support an overhaul of the charter and I would consider adding more councilmembers. However, I do not believe that more elected officials will solve the problems we face. We need leadership and accountability, not more elected officials with large staffs who focus on their next elected job. I'm running for mayor because I believe I can contribute to fixing the problems that Los Angeles faces because I don't need to rely on campaign contributions or political endorsements to get my next job. We need more accountability, not more politicians.

Bass: The next mayor must roll up [his or her] sleeves and get big things done on homelessness, public safety and affordability before we start evaluating charter amendments.

Blueprint: What role, if any, should the mayor play in the primary and secondary education system for young Angelenos?

Bass: I am a proud product of Los Angeles' public schools, and as mayor I will be a strong supporter of public education. My focus will be on unhoused children, securing resources for mental health services for students and providing safe and enriching after-school programming. I will also advance "community schools," which are open to the local surrounding neighborhood with programming and services.

Caruso: Without state legislation and charter reform locally, the mayor can only play the role of booster and to some extent use the bully pulpit to improve and influence the school system. While I think there could be merit in concentrating accountability of the school system in the mayor's office, I also firmly believe we need to focus first on solving the problems of homelessness, crime and corruption to ensure our children can walk to school safely and without fear, that our parents and teachers can focus on their child's education and not on school lockdown drills.

Blueprint: Based on your viewing of the hearings of the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, and any other sources you may have, do you believe Donald Trump should be criminally prosecuted for his role in the effort to disrupt the peaceful transition of power from himself to Joe Biden?

Caruso: I spoke about the horrible events of January 6 immediately after it became clear what had actually occurred, and it's in large part why I registered as a Democrat after being an independent. The insurrection that occurred that day, and the coverup and continued lies around that day, are a stain on our democracy and a day that we should never forget.

The authorities investigating the events have the tools and evidence to determine if charges are warranted. We should trust and respect their process. Regardless, I remain a firm believer that our democracy is stronger than ever. We have stood against those actions and rejected them in the past, and we will continue to do so.

Bass: Donald Trump must be prosecuted for the damage he has done to our nation, our institutions and our standing in the world, to hold him accountable and to prevent another president from following in his footsteps. There was ample evidence of crimes in the Mueller report, but his unprecedented efforts to thwart the will of the voters and prevent the peaceful transfer of power for the first time in this nation's history indisputably demand justice.

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I can assure that were he a foreign president, our government would have regarded his actions as a coup, and if he was successful, sanctions would be imposed. It is important for the United States of America to remain a beacon of democracy for the world — that requires accountability for Donald Trump.

PHOTO BY JOE BELANGER / ISTOCK

AN ENCAMPMENT OF UNHOUSED PEOPLE IN DOWNTOWN LOS ANGELES

CLOSING NOTE:

THE POWER AND MISDIRECTION OF FEAR

THE LANDSCAPE OF FEAR ANALYZED in this issue of *Blueprint* is broad. It stretches from American schools to Liberian farms, from victims of hate to the crushing impact of climate change. The result of that fear is most often negative — destruction of rainforests, distractions in a public health crisis, ineffective solutions to gun violence. Cool reasoning would, in all those instances, produce better policy than reaction and overreaction to fear.

And yet, not all fear is bad: If anything, Americans are not afraid enough of climate change, and UCLA researcher Daniel Swain is taking on the mission of alerting the public to its dangers. Sometimes that requires a nuanced comprehension of fear, communicating the complicated question of how to regard potential catastrophes that are of relatively low probability but would be of immensely high consequence. Swain's analysis of possible "megafloods" in California's future, for instance, requires considering two variants of fear at the same time: How to respond to something unlikely to happen anytime soon, but if and when it does, how to be prepared with effective protection.

Fear also is present in more routine parts of our personal and public lives, perhaps most obviously in the context of elections. This issue of *Blueprint* is being published as voters in California are preparing to choose their leaders. Elections often plumb deep emotions — hope and anger are commonly in play — and fear is among them.

With that in mind, several of our articles address these elections, which offer sometimes contradictory impressions of the electorate. Gov. Gavin Newsom appears headed to an easy re-election, which suggests a contented California, while two candidates, Rick Caruso and Karen Bass, are furiously vying to become the next mayor of Los Angeles and offering divergent views of the city's soundness and future. In a *Blueprint* exclusive, this issue's Table Talk features a virtual debate between them. It presents their answers to questions about issues such as homelessness, public safety and insurrection — all of which go to the core of fear and politics.

If there is a transcendent takeaway from this issue, it is that fear is inescapable and sometimes necessary — and yet its influence on politics and policy must be monitored. Although fear helps to sound a warning of danger ahead, it can exaggerate the response, or misguide the energy created by that warning, leading to dire results.

We opened this issue with a reminder by Louis Brandeis that fearing witches led to burning women. This observation was included in one of his most memorable writings as a justice of the United States Supreme Court — a forceful defense of speech in a free society. Our nation's founders rightly recognized, Brandeis wrote, "that order cannot be secured merely through fear of punishment for its infraction; that it is hazardous to discourage thought, hope and imagination; that fear breeds repression; that repression breeds hate; that hate menaces stable government; that the path of safety lies in the opportunity to discuss freely supposed grievances and proposed remedies; and that the fitting remedy for evil counsels is good ones." Rarely has speech been better summoned against fear.

Nonetheless, it is important to remember, as we consider the effect of fear on policy, that Brandeis' eloquence was of limited worth to Charlotte Anita Whitney, whose case Brandeis and his colleagues were considering. She had been convicted of helping establish the Communist Labor Party of America, a group charged with supporting violence against the government. The same justice who so trumpeted speech as a reply to hatred, and debate as an alternative to punishment, concurred with his colleagues in affirming Whitney's conviction. She was sentenced to prison; only poor health and a gubernatorial pardon allowed her to serve just 11 days.

Fear is a stubborn enemy. ***— Jim Newton***

ILLUSTRATION BY **NOMA BAR**

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CONTRIBUTORS

ERWIN CHEMERINSKY is Dean and Jesse H. Choper Distinguished Professor of Law, University of California, Berkeley School of Law. His most recent book is *Worse Than Nothing: The Dangerous Fallacy of Originalism* published in 2022.
echemerinsky@berkeley.edu

LISA FUNG is a Los Angeles-based writer and editor who has held senior editorial positions at the Los Angeles Times and The Wrap.
lisa.fung5@gmail.com

JEAN MERL worked as an editor and reporter for 37 years at the Los Angeles Times, specializing in local and state government and politics and K-12 education. She is a freelance writer and proud Bruin.
jeanie.merl@gmail.com

JON REGARDIE spent 15 years as editor of the Los Angeles Downtown News. He is now a freelance writer contributing to Los Angeles Magazine and other publications.
jregardie@gmail.com

MOLLY SELVIN is a legal historian and former staff writer for the Los Angeles Times. She is now a freelance writer based in Los Angeles.
molly.selvin@gmail.com

FEATURED RESEARCHERS

RON AVI ASTOR
astor@luskin.ucla.edu

DARIN CHRISTENSEN
darinc@luskin.ucla.edu

JAMES DONE
done@ucar.edu

RICK ENG
reng@ssg.org

GILBERT GEE
gilgee@ucla.edu

RUSSELL JEUNG
rjeung@sfsu.edu

DANIEL SWAIN
dlswain@ucla.edu

KAREN UMEMOTO
kumemoto@ucla.edu

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Special thanks to Lisa Horowitz, the chief copy editor for Blueprint, whose sharp eye makes this magazine what it is. ***— Jim Newton***

DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY?

Blueprint's mission — to stimulate conversation about problems confronting Los Angeles and the rest of California — doesn't stop on publication day. We urge you to continue these conversations by contacting us or our contributors or by reaching out directly to the researchers whose work is featured here. We also hope you'll follow us on the web, where we showcase exclusives and link to ongoing debates in these fields. You can find us online at **blueprint.ucla.edu**

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ON BEING AFRAID: HOW FEAR FOCUSES AND DISTORTS PUBLIC POLICY

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