

Politics

**HEAVY LIFTING:**  
At his Santa Monica  
office late last week

RECALL MADNESS

# ONLY IN CALIFORNIA

As Schwarzenegger tries out for governor, America's largest state is hosting a he lluva show. But politics isn't just a circus. Behind the recall—and what's at stake.

PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID HUME KENNERLY FOR NEWS WEEK



BY JONATHAN ALTER  
AND KAREN BRE SLAU

IT TURNS OUT REALITY TV was a little tame—the stunts too predictable, the stakes too low. So someone had to conjure up a whole new genre of complexity and absurdity, where the contestant who “wins” doesn’t necessarily win and the cool if scary grand prize is not a Land Cruiser or a million dollars but leadership of the sixth largest economy on the planet, just behind France, a state of anarchy called California.

That someone was a fiery Progressive Era reformer named Hiram Johnson, who could never have imagined that his well-intentioned but poorly reasoned recall process would be reincarnated 92 years later as High Chaotic Concept: “Survivor” on steroids, “American Idol” with consequences just a tad more serious than whether Ruben will outsell Clay. You can feel Johnson’s spirit now, confused by the flow of half-remembered cultural flotsam below, from Hustler Magazine (Larry Flynt) to “Diff’rent Strokes” (Gary Coleman) to “Politically Incorrect” (Arianna Huffington) to the 1984 L.A. Olympics (Peter Ueberroth). They were all in the big pool last week, candidates for governor in a special recall election Oct. 7, plus this well-built guy from Austria who makes movies.

Before explaining Arnold Schwarzenegger’s scene-stealing, a few of the bizarre ground rules: The “Greatest Political Show on Earth” will climax in two parts, with voters first deciding whether to boot Gov. Gray Davis less than a year after he was re-elected, then—whether they vote yes or no on the recall—choosing from a randomly ordered list of scores of entrants to replace him. If the recall succeeds by a simple majority (more than half of those who vote), then the new governor, effective immediately, is whichever replacement candidate wins a plurality. In other words, Davis could win 49 percent of the vote on ques-



**WHEEL OF FORTUNE:** Facing reporters in Sacramento, Davis girds for battle (right), Schwarzenegger leaps in with bikini-wax jokes on ‘The Tonight Show With Jay Leno’ (above), Rep. Darrell Issa breaks down in San Diego as he withdraws from the race



**CIRCUS TIME:** In a race that includes Larry Flynt and Gary Coleman, ‘it’s going to look like the clown car with 427 clowns falling off one car,’ says a Davis aide. The governor’s real hope: voters will get tired of the show.

tion 1, but be replaced by someone who receives only 15 or 20 percent of the vote on question 2. Very democratic. Oh, and if Davis resigns, it doesn’t matter legally. His lieutenant governor, Cruz Bustamante, now a candidate to replace him, would become acting governor only until Oct. 7, when a new governor would be elected.

Arnold’s entry was a masterly piece of political theater. By sending mixed signals and keeping the news from even his closest aides, who were shocked, he turned a splashy but hardly original movie-star candidacy—see Reagan, R.—into a tidal wave of free publicity. “The Tonight Show” venue and jokes struck some as crude but worked to ease the transition from the actor’s natural show-business habitat to the political

realm. And it sent the Democrats reeling, at least for now, torn between the old hard line against the recall and the obvious need for a new, confused stutter-step message: no on the recall, yes on Bustamante as insurance against losing the statehouse. Schwarzenegger’s entry makes it hard to portray the whole thing as a right-wing plot. “He did to the Democratic Party what Rumsfeld wanted to do to the Baath Party—‘shock and awe,’” says longtime party activist Tom Hayden from the sidelines. Only someone unfamiliar with Schwarzenegger’s cunning and competitiveness would underestimate him.

Team Arnold is banking on a repeat of what happened in Minnesota in 1998, when Jesse Ventura brought thousands of young people to the polls who had never

voted before (new registration closes Sept. 22). “Movie stars have constituencies like politicians. Arnold’s is 19-year-old Hispanic males. They’re the first in line to see his movies. If he gets them to the polls, watch out,” says Bill Whalen, a onetime adviser to former GOP governor Pete Wilson, whose team is helping pump up Schwarzenegger.


For years, “The Running Man” couldn’t seem to get *himself* to the polls. According to available voting records, Schwarzenegger voted in only six of the last 13 statewide elections, missing controversial ballot initiatives on the minimum-wage increase in 1996 and bilingual education in 1998. During the 1996, 1998 and 2000 primary and general elections, he appar-

ently voted only once (in the 1998 general). So there is no record available of his voting in the 2000 election between Al Gore and George W. Bush. Arnold’s team produced evidence that he was issued an absentee ballot that year, but it is unclear whether he cast it.

Nowadays, “Ahnold” is reluctant to have “Dubya” campaign for him in California, where the president is not popular. Bush, for his part, said last week that Schwarzenegger would be a “good governor.” If winning California in 2004 is still a long shot for Karl Rove, campaigning there with a popular Governor Schwarzenegger could at least divert precious resources the Democratic nominee would prefer to use elsewhere. Meanwhile the

Clintons say they support Davis, but Hillary last week found time in California for Jay Leno and book buyers but not the governor. One message the Democrats will push: You wanna talk deficits? Look at Washington, not just Sacramento.

Beyond his peculiar charm, Schwarzenegger’s biggest asset is that he’s not “Conan the Barbarian” politically but a moderate Republican whose views are in sync with those of most Californians. He’s pro abortion rights, pro gay adoption, pro environment (despite the Hummer) and a confessed “liberal” on other social issues. In fact, his most relevant political experience came last year, when he championed Proposition 49, which will in some solvent (probably distant)

 **Join Jerry Adler for a Live Talk on Arnold Schwarzenegger on Friday, Aug. 15, at noon, ET**



day devote more than half a billion dollars to ensure after-school programs for every elementary- and middle-school student in California. Last week Rush Limbaugh reminded conservatives that the body-builder turned actor is no Reaganite. One of the scores of unanswered questions is whether pro-recall conservatives will swallow their qualms and vote for him or go with their 2002 gubernatorial nominee, Bill Simon, which could fracture the GOP vote and make Bustamante governor.

That's assuming the recall succeeds. The carnival quality of the process is Davis's best bet for survival. He's unpopular with almost everyone outside his immediate family and would lose a regular election in a landslide. But there's nothing regular about this. "It's going to look like the clown car at the circus with 427 clowns falling off one car," says Garry South, Davis's former strategist in a line that tested well with focus groups. The Davis game plan is to leave the personal dirt on Schwarzenegger to the tabloids (most of it won't stick unless something new and devastating surfaces) and portray himself as the victim of an "unfair" recall process that began almost immediately after he was re-elected. One informal adviser even suggested that the governor run a "Charles Atlas campaign," with Davis as the 97-pound weakling who is picked on by the muscle-bound bully.

But Schwarzenegger himself may look puny on policy by the time the media are through with him. Right away last week, the coverage toughened, with reporters quizzing him on substantive specifics he hasn't figured out yet. If the impression solidifies that he is strong on clichés and short on detailed knowledge, that could become the "master narrative" of the campaign. More likely, his seasoned team will churn out position papers and the candidate, a famously quick study, will bone up to defend himself.

Schwarzenegger cannot be president; the Constitution bars the foreign-born from the White House. But he's doing for California politics what he did for body-building and action films—making it fun to watch again, at least in the short run. As for Hiram Johnson's handiwork, petition passers will soon begin collecting signatures for a ballot initiative that would reform ... initiatives. In the "Total Recall" future, will anyone recall the recall of recalls? Only in California, where everything is psychedelic again.

With JENNIFER ORDOÑEZ in Los Angeles

## RECALL MADNESS

# BUILDING ARNOLD

BY JERRY ADLER, KAREN BRE SLAU  
AND JENNIFER ORDOÑEZ

**F**ROM THE MOMENT HE set foot here in 1968, Arnold Schwarzenegger understood that there is no higher tribute in American public life than "self-made man," and he pursued it with a determi-

nation that suggests he first encountered the phrase in a too-literal German translation. He didn't just amass a vast personal fortune, he created a bankable public persona that uniquely blends affability with menace, and he built, most conspicuously, himself. Stand next to him and you are acutely aware that every bulge and hollow of his limbs, every plane and angle of his torso was sculpted, cell upon cell, by his own effort. All great athletes train hard, of course, but there is a grace about the gifts of someone like Ted Williams that makes his triumphs seem almost inevitable. A body like Schwarzenegger's, though, can be gained only hour by hour at the gym, pitting one's muscles against the gravity of the whole Earth. That—plus the anabolic steroids he took at the start of his career, because, as he said in the remarkably candid 1977 documentary "Pumping Iron": "You have to do everything possible to win no matter what."

Even as he eagerly laps up the perquisites of his success—the legendary \$25 cigars, the \$100,000 Hummers (at least five of them at last count), the famous wife and the company of presidents—he has

Body sculpting.  
Real estate.  
Movies. Politics.  
It really doesn't  
matter what  
the terrain:  
Arnold's fierce  
will to win has  
propelled him  
to the top. How  
he does it.

never lost sight of the fact that history will judge him by what he does for humanity. He said as much in "Pumping Iron," confiding that "I was always dreaming about very powerful people, dictators and things like that. I was always impressed by people who could be remembered for hundreds of years or like Jesus for thousands of years." He kept this vision alive through a film career whose greatest triumph was as a robot sent from the future to save the human race. And he said it again just last week, when he explained to reporters that he would undertake

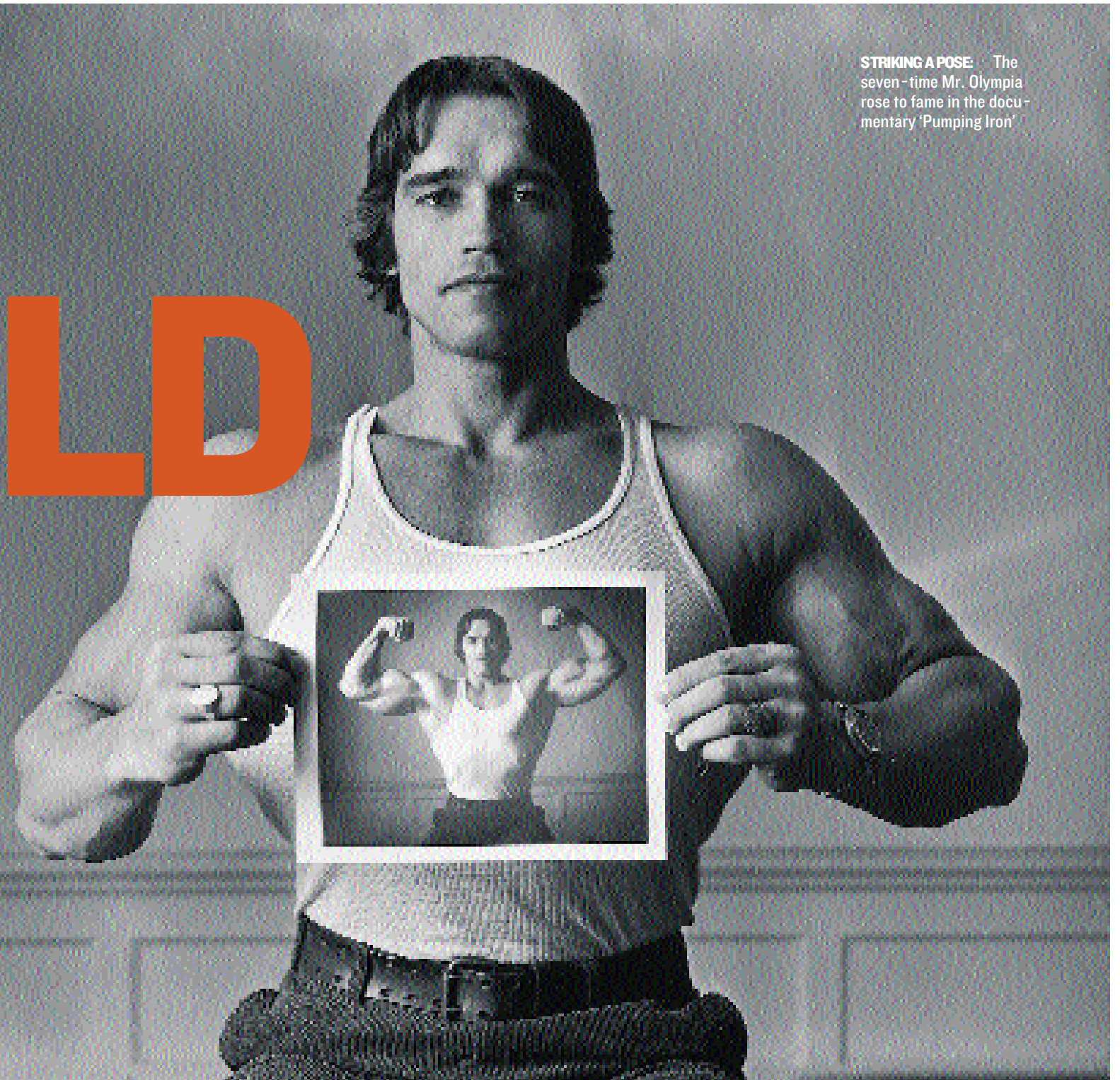
the "sacrifices" of being governor of California because "I felt it was my duty to jump into the race and bring hope to the people."

Schwarzenegger's sense of a special destiny may have been forged in his childhood, perhaps by his father, a strict disciplinarian who made his sons write 10-page essays every week, and long after Arnold had left home was still marking up grammar mistakes in his letters. "I think what made me so driven," he told NEWSWEEK in an interview before the release of his most recent movie, "Terminator 3," "was that I always

felt I wasn't good enough, smart enough, strong enough, that I hadn't accomplished enough. There's nothing I do that I couldn't improve on."

Part of the Arnold mythology is that he grew up in poverty. The postwar Austria into which he was born in 1947 was not a wealthy country, but Arnold's father, a small-town police chief, enjoyed a secure place in it. Sometime after Germany's 1938 annexation of Austria, Gustav Schwarzenegger joined the Nazi Party, an embarrassing biographical detail that might have

**STRIKING A POSE:** The seven-time Mr. Olympia rose to fame in the documentary "Pumping Iron"







**MUSCLING IN:** (Clockwise from top left) Baby Arnold; with his mother at the 'Pumping Iron' premiere; flexing his acting muscles in 'Conan the Destroyer'; becoming a U.S. citizen in '83; pulling his weight; getting some intellectual exercise (center)

**BODY POLITIC:** (Clockwise from top left) At the 'Superman' premiere with Caroline Kennedy; with Bush Sr., who named Arnold head of the President's Council on Physical Fitness; schmoozing with Clinton, Giuliani and Ventura; with fellow Planet Hollywood investors Willis and Stallone

## GRANDIOSE DESIGNS: 'I was always dreaming about very powerful people,' he recalled, 'dictators and things like that'

discouraged a lesser man than Arnold from pursuing a political career in America. But in 1990, around the time he took on his first high-profile political post as President George H.W. Bush's fitness czar, Arnold commissioned no less an authority than the Simon Wiesenthal Center to investigate his father's wartime activities. He has donated close to \$1 million to the center over the years and appeared at many of its fundraisers. That was a stroke of political genius that paid off handsomely last week when the center's founder and dean, Rabbi Marvin Hier, went on television to announce that Gustav had been thoroughly investigated and cleared of war crimes. (*And your point, Ms. Streisand, was what exactly?*)

It would, of course, be unfair to impute the old Nazi's views to his son, although Arnold's opponents will no doubt find a way to mention that Arnold publicly de-

fended former Austrian president and U.N. secretary-general Kurt Waldheim, who has been accused of concealing his knowledge of war crimes committed by his German Army unit. (Waldheim was invited to Schwarzenegger's 1986 wedding to Maria Shriver, but did not attend.) Moreover, Arnold seems to have had a testy relationship with his own father. He missed Gustav's funeral in 1972, although his explanation has varied over the years. In "Pumping Iron," he described it as a matter of self-discipline, an effort to harden himself emotionally for a competition two months off. "I didn't bother with it," he said coolly. By his *Playboy* interview in 1988, though, he had changed his recollection, claiming that he was hospitalized with a leg injury. "I couldn't go to the funeral ... and I took it badly, because I knew how much he had done for me."

One of the things Gustav did was to introduce his son to weight training, as a way of strengthening himself for soccer. The teenage Arnold took to the barbells so enthusiastically that his parents eventually tried to limit his hours in the gym, but to no avail; in lifting weights he had found his passion, an outlet for his ferociously competitive nature and a sensuous experience he once compared to a continual daylong orgasm. Within a few years, he moved to Munich and began entering competitions, where he was discovered by the bodybuilding impresario Joe Weider. Weider saw in Arnold the makings of his long-sought "hero" who could bring his sport from a fringe pastime into the lucrative American mainstream. He brought his protégé to the States for the 1968 Mr. Olympia contest (Arnold placed second) and then helped him establish himself in California,

## TOUGH GUY: 'He's very good at mind games,' former Hulk Lou Ferrigno says of Arnold. 'He would do anything he could to win.'

where he trained at the legendary Gold's Gym in Venice.

Anyone who knew Schwarzenegger in those years pays awestruck tribute to his will to succeed. "He was a great competitor," Weider recalls. "He used every trick psychologically, emotionally, everything. He just can't stand taking second place." "Pumping Iron" depicts the 28-year-old Schwarzenegger, in quest of his seventh Mr. Olympia title, bullying and manipulating his less experienced rival, the American Lou Ferrigno. Some of that byplay was staged for the cameras, Ferrigno told *NEWSWEEK*, but it was true to Schwarzenegger's nature: "He was an arrogant man, a shrewd manipulator. He's very good at mind games. [Other] people do that with women, or for drugs. It came down to: he would do anything he could to win." Doing anything to win, Ferrigno says, included

steroids, which Schwarzenegger has admitted taking under a doctor's supervision. In those years, though, there was much less stigma attached to the practice—and despite rumors to the contrary, Schwarzenegger insists that the heart-valve defect that was surgically repaired in 1997 was congenital and unrelated to his drug use.

**S**CHWARZENEGGER'S relationship to "Pumping Iron" is instructive about his methods. A less sure-footed politician might have tried to suppress it—among other potential embarrassments, it contains a brief scene of Arnold taking a celebratory toke on what is unmistakably a joint. In the early '90s, Schwarzenegger bought up the rights to the film, including more than 80 hours of outtakes. "We

all thought he'd bury it," says producer-director George Butler. But that, of course, would have only whetted reporters' curiosity—especially about the outtakes, which are rumored to contain even less savory material, including racist jokes and a Nazi salute. (Butler, who would know, says there's "no smoking gun, no Nazi salute" in the footage.) Schwarzenegger, however, confounded expectations by releasing the film for a 25th-anniversary airing last year. "Clearly, he thinks he's charming in the film," says Butler. Of his onetime star, Butler, whose latest subject is Democratic presidential hopeful John Kerry, says guardedly: "I admire him. Arnold's not someone you like. You either admire him—or you hate him."

Meanwhile Schwarzenegger was launching another career dear to his heart, that of a real-estate mogul. His first business venture



in the States was a two-man construction company with Franco Columbu, a Sardinian body-building chum he had met in Munich. (They still get together over a game of chess; Schwarzenegger, known for his loyalty to old friends, is “notorious in Hollywood for being seen in public with people who aren’t famous and don’t work for him,” one director says.) In short order Schwarzenegger perceived that the people who were paying them to build patios and fireplaces were making more money sleeping in their houses at night than he and Columbu were for their days of backbreaking labor. He bought a small apartment building in Santa Monica, sold it for a profit and bought more, concentrating on run-down properties in the rapidly gentrifying blocks just off the ocean in Santa Monica and Venice Beach. This was the beginning of a real-estate empire that now stretches from the Los Angeles Basin to Denver and Columbus, Ohio, valued in the tens of millions—not counting his own family’s ocean-view home on six acres in Brentwood.

At the same time, Schwarzenegger, understanding that gravity imposed certain natural limits on a body-builder’s vocation, was looking ahead to Hollywood. The career that may have had its climax last month

with the \$200 million “Terminator 3” had its modest start in the 1969 “Hercules in New York,” a production so spartan that it was catered with peanut-butter-and-jelly sandwiches from the Automat. (He was billed as “Arnold Strong,” appearing opposite the cinema’s *ur*-nerd Arnold Stang, and another actor’s voice was dubbed in after the editor gave up trying to decipher the Schwarzeneggerian accent.) Even then, though, he was characterized by “fierce determination and a clear focus on where he wanted to go,” recalls the director Arthur Allan Seidelman. “Steve Reeves [a muscleman star of the 1950s] never got that big, and Steve Reeves could talk English.” Schwarzenegger shrewdly took as his role model Clint Eastwood, another action-movie hero whose qualities—a strong jaw, a steely glare and a gift for pithy deadpan catchphrases—Arnold had in abundance.

But his real gift was in handling his career, which he managed with as much cold-eyed detachment as any other property in his portfolio. Schwarzenegger, Seidelman observes, somewhat unnecessarily, “never looked on acting as an art form. He became a brand that redefined itself over and over.” He broke through as a star in 1982, in the skulls-and-bearskins epic “Co-



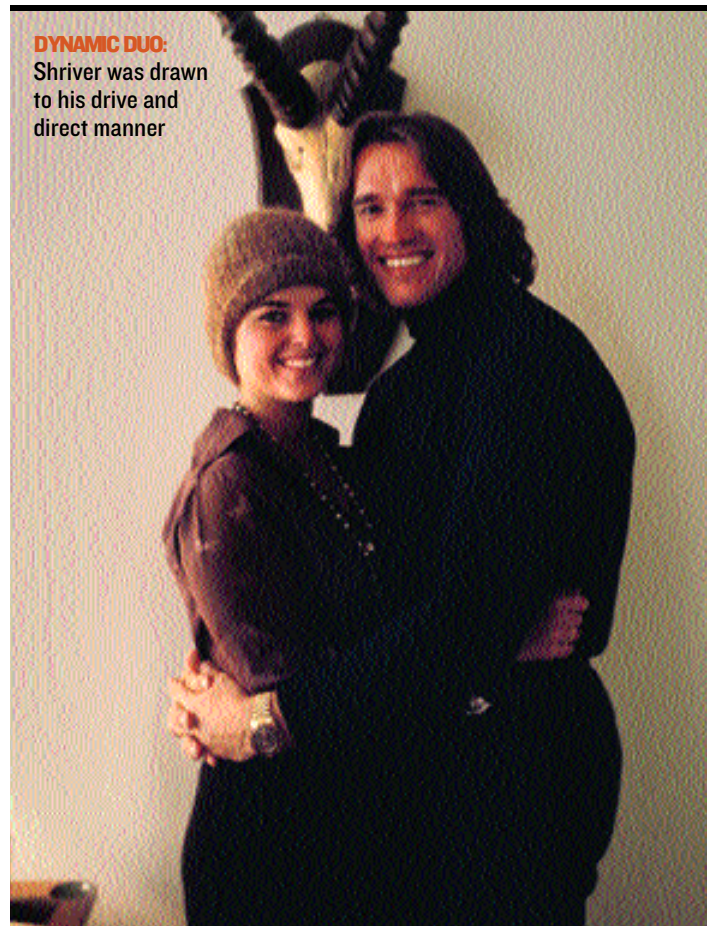
PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID HUME KENNEDY—GETTY IMAGES FOR NEWSWEEK

**THINK TANK** : Arnold plots course with his senior staff in his office, which is adorned with monuments to himself

nan the Barbarian,” and as a superstar two years later with the first of three “Terminator” movies. And from that point on he mostly just cultivated his franchise, occasionally deploying his accent for comic effect in harmless PG fare like “Twins” (1988). He chose his own scripts, cut his own deals with producers, occasionally passing up a big fee in exchange for back-end points—and then working his buns of steel off to make the movie a success. Few stars of his magnitude are willing to travel the world selling a movie the way Schwarzenegger does, or to spend days in business meetings, personally approving every hat and lunchbox that goes on the market in connection with one of his movies.

And he guarded his personal image as well, not an easy thing to do when you’re Arnold Schwarzenegger and, as one sympathetic Hollywood observer put it, “you go back to your hotel room and you put your key in the door and three girls you’ve never seen before pop out of the linen closet.” A magazine story in 2001—denounced by Schwarzenegger as a tissue of

**DYNAMIC DUO:** Shriver was drawn to his drive and direct manner



GEORGE BUTLER—CONTACT PRESS IMAGES

## THE SPOUSE

Armed with a Kennedy’s political savvy, Maria Shriver may be Arnold’s best asset

# Beauty and The Barbarian

BY ELEANOR CLIFT

**T**he buzz in Hollywood had Maria Shriver opposed to her husband’s running for governor. As the daughter of Eunice Kennedy Shriver, she worried about the inevitable invasion of privacy. Even more troublesome was the memory of the assassinations of her uncles John and Bobby. But she didn’t want to be the one to stand in her husband’s way. That’s not the role of a Kennedy woman.

This summer has been hard on her Kennedy kin. Cousin Patrick

Kennedy launched into a drunken outburst at a political fund-raiser. Cousin Kerry Kennedy Cuomo is divorcing after her husband outed her in the tabloids for infidelity. A new book with allegations about cousin John F. Kennedy Jr.’s rocky personal life stung the family. And now this: a picture of a youthful Schwarzenegger with a naked woman has already appeared on the Internet. “She didn’t want to be the next person to go through the wringer,” says a family friend.

But politics and public service are the Kennedy credo. A recent

visitor to the couple’s palatial compound reports a series of Andy Warhol paintings of Shriver on one wall offset by two framed photos at opposite ends of the living room. One is “To Maria from Uncle Jack,” the other “To Maria from her boyfriend Lyndon.” It’s a way to keep history around her—history that’s both political and personal.

Shriver was born in Chicago in 1955 and raised, along with four brothers, on the family estate in Maryland. In 1977, NBC anchor Tom Brokaw introduced Shriver to Schwarzenegger at a charity tennis tournament at Ethel Kennedy’s home. Shriver liked Arnold’s blunt way of speaking, his drive—“I was fascinated by his ability to say, ‘I don’t care what they say, I know where I’m going,’” she once told *Us Weekly*—and the way he could get away with saying things nobody else could. He told her mother soon after they met, “Your daughter has a great butt.” The couple wed in 1986 in the same white clapboard church in Hyannis, Mass., where her uncles were once altar boys. Caroline Kennedy was maid of honor. She

and Maria are the closest of friends.

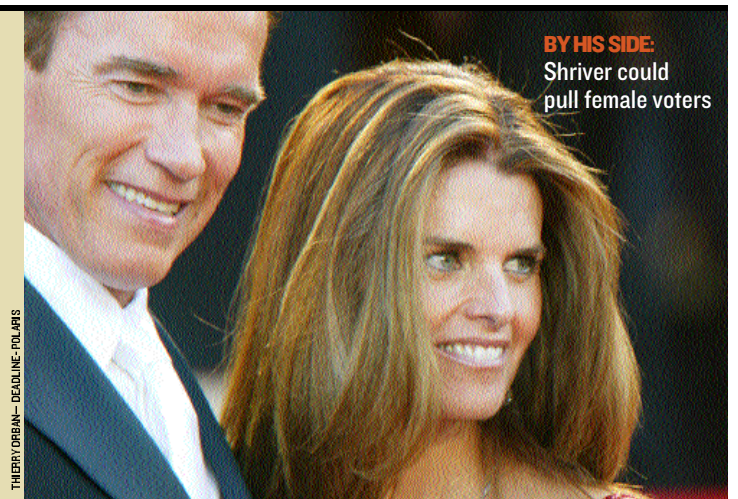
Maria’s father, Sargent Shriver, the founding director of the Peace Corps, gets credit for helping shape his son-in-law’s political views. Schwarzenegger is bright, with a lot of street smarts, but he doesn’t have an advanced education. “There were a lot of discussions over cigars,” says a friend.

The Shrivvers are Kennedys without the tawdriness—“all that great taste and less scandal,” says an adviser. Maria has taken her kids to Rose Kennedy’s house, where Maria spent time as a child, but the

**‘If she says, “Vote for my husband, he’s a good man and he understands your life,” that would be huge.’**

—A TEAM ARNOLD ADVISER

Kennedys are Boston and she’s L.A. She’s Georgetown (class of 1977), not Harvard. She went into journalism, tackling it with gusto. Neal Shapiro, her boss at “Dateline NBC,” recalls Shriver’s climbing a ladder outside O. J. Simpson’s estate to make sure she didn’t get lost to the cameras amid the media mob.



THERRY ORBAN—DEADLINE POLARIS

**BY HIS SIDE:** Shriver could pull female voters

was her eldest daughter’s first day of preschool. Charmed by her commitment, Castro rescheduled.

The question now is whether Shriver, a staunch Democrat, will help Republicans close the gender gap in the one state critical to the Democrats’ chances of winning the White House. “If she says, ‘Vote for my husband, he’s a good man and he understands your life,’ that would be huge,” says a Team Arnold adviser. Politics, after all, is in her blood.

With HOLLY PETERSON



lies—depicted him as a serial groper of attractive women who cross his path, and he does possess, as one friend delicately puts it, “a ribald sense of humor 20 years out of date.” If there are any more serious transgressions out there, presumably they will emerge in the next two months, but it won’t change the fact that he’s stayed married to his first wife—a record of marital success the last Hollywood actor to be elected governor of California could not have claimed to match.

**Y**ET IN THE LAST FEW years Schwarzenegger’s touch seems to have faltered, or perhaps age has finally caught up with him. “Terminator 3” followed a string of mediocre-or-worse projects, and whether he wins or loses at the polls, it will almost certainly be his last \$30 million paycheck. Actually he got a little less than the widely reported \$30 million up front, after voluntarily surrendering a fraction of his salary, along with the other principals’, in exchange for the producers’ agreement to keep the production in Los Angeles. But his share of the back end and merchandise deal will probably be worth tens of millions more—although not as much as they might have been if the movie had been a smash hit, rather than a merely respectable one. (It took in \$144 million at the domestic box office, \$50 million less than “Terminator 2”—in 1991.) So it made sense for him to look for another world to conquer.

In fact, his long-range plan to succeed in every sphere of human endeavor has always included politics. He was a Republican before he was a citizen, having watched a 1968 presidential debate for which a friend provided the translation. “[Hubert] Humphrey stood for the government [that] will solve all your problems,” Schwarzenegger recalled. “[Richard] Nixon said no, free to choose, let the people decide. So I said to my friend, which party is Nixon? He said, Republican. OK, I said, I’m a Republican.”

A charming story, at least to Republicans—although perhaps a little too pat; the 1968 election was mostly fought over foreign policy, crime and race. But Schwarzenegger stayed true to his party, even after his marriage into Democratic royalty. In 1988 he campaigned extensively for George H.W. Bush, and was rewarded the following year with an appointment as chairman of the President’s Council on Physical Fitness. He took what had been a ceremonial position and over the next four years traveled to all 50 states, at his own expense, preaching

# OH YEAH, THE ISSUES: A Guide to Who Stands Where

Behind the spectacle lies a series of serious problems for the governor—whoever that turns out to be—to solve, from finance to education to the environment. A snapshot of the electorate, the hopefuls, their strategies and their views.

## THE DEMOCRATS



**GRAY DAVIS**  
GOVERNOR  
■ **Résumé:** A career politician, Davis has held most major statewide offices. He is such a master fund-raiser and

opponent warrior that he won a second term last November despite lingering bitterness over the energy crisis. But he has few friends in Sacramento, even in his own party. Combined with the budget mess, it could be his political undoing.

■ **Line of Attack:** Davis had desperately hoped to keep the Democratic Party united behind him. But worries about Arnold led his lieutenant governor into the race. Davis’s new tack seems to be to act like the governor while everyone else acts like a candidate; as others were filing their papers, he was signing legislation. When Davis needs crisis counseling, he calls ex-president Clinton. Davis’s rap on Arnold: Sacramento ain’t Hollywood. Here, a technocrat can kick a Terminator’s butt.



**CRUZ BUSTAMANTE**  
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR  
■ **Résumé:** The first Hispanic to hold statewide office in modern California history, he’s had a rocky relationship with his boss—and that was before he jumped into the race.

■ **Line of Attack:** Vote against the recall—but vote for me, too. Will draw well among the state’s sizable Latino bloc.



**Democratic registration**  
■ 0-36%  
■ 36-39%  
■ 39-42%  
■ 42-49%  
■ 49-100%

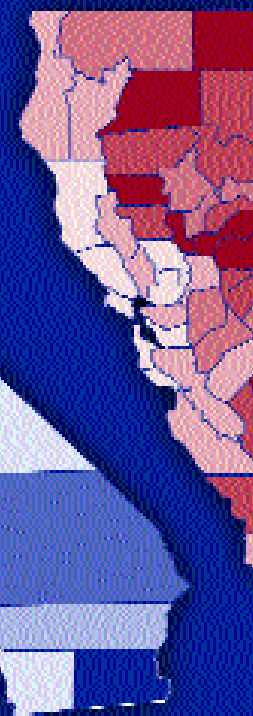
## THE INDEPENDENTS



**ARIANNA HUFFINGTON**  
COLUMNIST  
■ **Résumé:** The ex-wife of multimillionaire Michael, she’s making the leap from punditry to politics.

■ **Line of Attack:** To immigrant voters: Arnold’s not the only one with an accent. A conservative turned lefty populist, she’ll preach government reform.

## THE REPUBLICANS



**Republican registration**  
■ 0-30%  
■ 30-40%  
■ 40-43%  
■ 43-46%  
■ 46-100%



**ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER**  
BODY-BUILDER/ACTOR  
■ **Résumé:** Champion body-builder muscles his way into Hollywood. After marrying a

Kennedy, he dreams of greater things than “Terminator 10.”

■ **Line of Attack:** He’ll tout his immigrant’s story, tack to the center on social issues and cheerlead for big business.



**BILL SIMON**  
BUSINESSMAN  
■ **Résumé:** Heir to an S&L fortune, the millionaire investment banker lost to Davis in 2002.

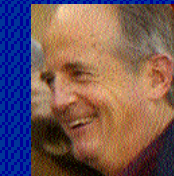
■ **Line of Attack:** As one of the more conservative members of the GOP, expect him to weigh in on issues like gay marriage and immigration policy—as well as urging fiscal prudence.



**TOM MCCLINTOCK**  
STATE SENATOR  
■ **Résumé:** A conservative legislator from southern California, McClintock prides himself on being

tightfisted with a buck.

■ **Line of Attack:** Rescinding the car tax enacted by Davis is No. 1 on his to-do list. He also pledges to downsize and eliminate redundant state agencies on his first day as governor.



**PETER UEBERROTH**  
FORMER BASEBALL COMMISSIONER  
■ **Résumé:** A registered Republican, he honchoed L.A.’s Olympics and helped repair 1992 riot damage.

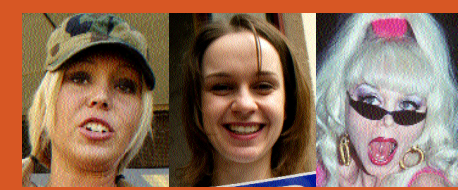
■ **Line of Attack:** He’s pledged not to run for re-election to a full term if he wins. Banking on backing from cautious capitalists.

## DIFF’RENT STROKES



**GARY COLEMAN** The child star has fallen on hard times, hitting the headlines mainly for financial losses in recent years. “God forbid that I actually might win,” Coleman says.

**LARRY FLYNT** The legendary purveyor of porn has billed himself as the “smut peddler who cares.” **GAIL AGHER** He smashes melons with



a sledgehammer. Vote for that. **MARY CAREY**

A porn star with a fiscal policy: tax breast implants, and make lap dances tax-deductible.

**GEORGE Y RUSSELL** A computer programmer who’s hawking her candidacy on thongs.

**ANGELYN** L.A.’s favorite billboard bimbo is a self-made mythological figure.

## THE ISSUES

In a poll conducted by the Los Angeles Times, 1,412 California adults were asked:

What do you think is the most important problem facing California today?

	DEM.	IND.	REP.
Budget shortfall	31%	24%	33%
Education	30	19	16
Economy	19	10	6
Unemployment	15	17	10
Taxes	4	13	9

\*POLL CONDUCTED JUNE 28-JULY 2, 2003. UP TO TWO REPLIES WERE ACCEPTED. THE TOP FIVE RESPONSES ARE SHOWN. SOURCES: INSTITUTE FOR GOVERNMENTAL STUDIES, UC BERKELEY (MAPS); THE CAMPAIGN; NEWSWEEK REPORTING; WIRES.

the virtues of exercise to American schoolchildren. After Bush’s defeat in 1992, Schwarzenegger filled a similar role for California Gov. Pete Wilson. It was Wilson who first detected electoral possibilities in Schwarzenegger, an hour and a half into a fund-raising reception one evening in 1993. “I leaned over to see how he was doing,” Wilson told NEWSWEEK. “By that point, most people are gritting their teeth. But Arnold seemed actually to be enjoying it. Afterwards, it occurred to me, hey, maybe this is what he wants to do.”

It occurred to a lot of other people, too, after Arnold masterminded and helped pay for the successful campaign for Prop 49 last year. He has many of the qualities needed to run for office—most importantly, access to money, including his own. He has a generally positive if slightly edgy public image, and he has a record of public service as a tireless advocate of the Special Olympics and the Inner City Games. And he has the requisite drive and deviousness, which were amply on display in the way he orchestrated the announcement of his candi-

dacy on “The Tonight Show” last week. Not only did he keep the public and reporters guessing up until the moment the words were out of his mouth, but he also seems to have misled his friend and political mentor, former Los Angeles mayor Richard Riordan. An authoritative source told NEWSWEEK that Riordan and Schwarzenegger agreed in late July that Riordan, not Schwarzenegger, would run. Schwarzenegger would endorse Riordan—as he had in last year’s Republican primary, which Riordan lost to Bill Simon. Arnold’s advis-

ers deny there was such a deal, but Riordan believed he had a clear field as late as the weekend before last, when Schwarzenegger and his family visited the Riordans at their Malibu estate. So Riordan, along with his aides, was shocked when he learned from CNN that Schwarzenegger was in the race. After Schwarzenegger left his backstage press conference, he put in a call to Riordan.

“I just want to make sure you knew I was running,” said Schwarzenegger.

“I heard,” Riordan replied tersely. But

any resentment he may have felt had dissipated by the next day, when he pledged his support for Schwarzenegger’s campaign.

He was far from the first to be seduced by Schwarzenegger’s charm, to fall under the spell of his warm grin and his faintly comical accent, and to end up singed by the heat of his ambition. And he surely won’t be the last.

With SUSANNAH MEADOWS in New York, BRAD STONE in San Francisco and SEAN SMITH and DAVID J. JEFFERSON in Los Angeles