

the personality of a gold fish. He heard the remark and busied himself in the later days of the primary putting a smile on the face of the fish.

Watch both candidates on a plane. The Newer Brown boards, moves around, introduces himself, shakes hands and banters with the stewardesses and other passengers. They tell him they remember his father and will vote for him on that basis. "If my name weren't Brown I wouldn't be where I am," he says. They tell him he's leaning too much on daddy. He shrugs. "What's a family for?"

Flournoy boards a plane, sits down, opens a newspaper and keeps pretty much to himself. Period. "You run a low-key campaign," someone said to him, trying to be polite. The candidate bristled. "Baloney!" he snapped. "My idea of a low-key campaign is sitting on the front porch. Just because I'm not standing on a table beating my breast doesn't make me low key. My act is to be my own man."

"Flournoy," said a friend, "is a good guy to drink with — he's feisty, interesting, well-educated and understands politics. He's the kind of guy who will argue with you and want you to argue back. But then something happens to Hugh when he gets in front of a microphone: He turns into a bore."

But Flournoy, most agree, is more open than Brown — easier to know, easier to figure out, far more willing during the primary at least to let you into his life. "It occurred to me during the primary," a reporter said, "that after weeks of following Jerry I still didn't know him. I don't know who his friends are, what he reads and what he does in the evening. Even though he's warming up, he is still a private and self-contained man."

"I am what I am," said Brown, "a bundle of qualities from many sources. My style is my personality and that isn't strident. I'm not part of the Old Sacramento locker-room gang. Make the most of it."

Brown will deny that he is trying to mold himself in the Kennedy image, but the comparison with Bobby, at least, is inevitable: the elegant manner, the left hand in the jacket pocket, the slow and deliberate stroll through the crowd. "But look at the difference," a Brown-watcher said. "When Bobby walked into a room he dominated it. There was electricity in the air. When Jerry enters he's got to work to be noticed. He's no Kennedy, no matter how hard he tries."

But he does try, even to the extent of emulating the old Kennedy physical image. Recently he spent an hour and

a half in a swimming suit and borrowed jacket bouncing down the Stanislaus River in a flat-bottom rubberboat running the rapids endangered by a dam. Then he walked up to a group of hard-looking bikers, introduced himself and asked for their support. They said they weren't going to help anyone until they took care of their own cause. What their cause might have been was never quite clear. Brown, with characteristic cool, moved on.

Both candidates claim an identification with youth, but Brown — with a style that appeals — has the edge. Flournoy admits to a professorial fault, talking too much and over-complicating what otherwise might be a simple statement. "They tell me to simplify," he said, "but how can you? Everything is so damned complicated." Brown seems more at ease with the young than he does in most situations. An aide saw him bantering with some college students and nodded positively, "They're his."

On the night they won the primary election it became abundantly clear that "neither man is exactly hail-fellow-well-met," one reporter said. "There was a lot more partying around Brown than around Flournoy. You know how the Democrats are. But Brown, while thawing somewhat over his earlier image, wasn't in a party mood. Even when he won he just shook hands with his parents. Wouldn't you think he would at least hug them? Let's give him the benefit of the doubt. Maybe he hugged them later."

Flournoy spent most of the evening in front of the television set, and his visits to receptions down the hall seemed more chore than pleasure. Later he would try to explain it by saying that he was tired, very tired, that he had been running for two years and it was all catching up with him. "What do you expect from Hugh?" an acquaintance asked. "He's a stand-patter and prefers to move, if movement is necessary, with slow and deliberate caution."

A difference between them might be in the extent of their celebration on victory night. Flournoy's shut down early, with the candidate still not declaring victory, despite the obvious. His hesitation, it was said, was in deference to opponent Ed Reinecke's feelings. But even a close aide was grumbling, "It's nice to be a gentleman, but you can overdo it."

At Brown headquarters, triumph was taken up like a champagne bottle and drained through the night. Even at dawn, the last of the revelers still celebrated. It seemed the party would never end.

## THE CONTENDERS

# Getting lucky and staying lucky

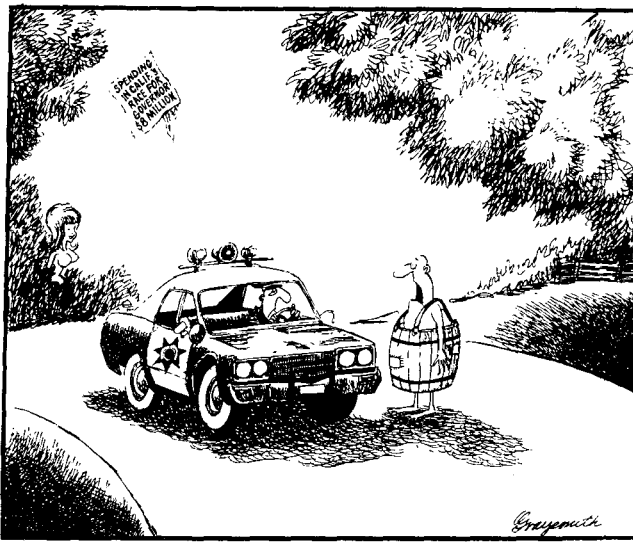
BY ED SALZMAN

If money is the mother's milk of politics, luck is an even more vital fluid to the successful politician. It is a rare politician who doesn't owe his ascent to one or more strategic strokes of luck.

But an incredible streak of good fortune made it possible for Republican Houston Irvine Flournoy and Democrat Edmund Gerald Brown Jr. to face each other in the California contest for governor this November. Brown,

born into almost any other family (perhaps excepting only the Kennedys), would just now at 36 be starting the climb to the political pinnacle. Flournoy, if he had taken one less drink on a certain evening back in 1966, probably would be living in relative obscurity today teaching government to graduate students at the Claremont Colleges.

"If my name weren't Brown, I wouldn't be here," ac-



Grayson, San Francisco Chronicle

*"Honest officer, I'm not a nude bather . . . I was a candidate for governor . . ."*

knowledgeable Secretary of State Jerry Brown. But the fact that he was one of the children born to the most successful Democratic politician in California in this generation, former Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, is far from the only lucky break that produced the Democratic nominee. In 1969, an unusual situation arose in the election of trustees for the Los Angeles Community College District, and it was ordained that all candidates for the board should run at large. What better opportunity for someone with the magic name of Edmund G. Brown Jr. to launch a political career? Brown was the only name on the ballot known to many voters, and he ran far ahead of the opposition. This race, incidentally, gave Brown an opportunity to develop a tightly knit campaign organization of bright young strategists, headed by Tom Quinn, that remains largely intact.

Another lucky break came in 1970, when Ronald Reagan was running for reelection and Republicans seemed to be riding high. Brown chose to run for secretary of state despite the prospect of a Republican sweep. As luck would have it, the Republicans nominated James L. Flournoy, an obscure Negro attorney who had been kicking around Republican circles for years. It was an ideal pairing for Brown, despite possible voter confusion between James L. and Houston I. Flournoy, the popular incumbent controller. Brown was the only Democratic winner — and then only by about 300,000 votes, or five percent. Brown then proceeded to make maximum use of his office, getting publicity out of his attempts to police the state's election-reporting laws. Then came Watergate, and Brown had the best issue of any gubernatorial candidate — reform — plus the magic name that was his by birth.

### Midnight candidate

The French Huguenot name of Flournoy was hardly a political household name in California or anyplace else in 1960 when Hugh Flournoy, now 43, decided to run for the state Assembly in a district that was solid Republican. He won and became a member of the moderate Young Turk group in the Republican caucus. By 1966, he had decided that there was no future for him in politics. Lawmakers were receiving only \$6,000 a year and the commute between Los Angeles and Sacramento was unpleasant. It was time for Flournoy to settle down to the life of a professor at Claremont. He had no faith that the people would enact a pending constitutional amendment raising the salary to \$16,000 and making lawmaking a possible full-time occupation. For some months, Assemblyman William Bagley of San Rafael, another Young Turk, was talking loudly about running

against the entrenched Democratic state controller, Alan Cranston. But if there was any Democrat who looked like a sure bet for reelection that year, it was Cranston. So Bagley chose to run for another term in the Assembly.

It was the night before the deadline for filing, and there still was no major GOP candidate for controller. The Young Turks and some of their friends, including Democrats with no love for Cranston, had a little social gathering. Drinks were available, and Flournoy — who requires little alcohol to get into the spirit of an occasion — consumed a couple and, before the night was over, had been talked into running for controller. Before sunrise, a collection had been made to pay the filing fee, Flournoy's wife Midge had been notified, and political reporters had been informed (at about 4 a.m.) of Flournoy's candidacy by the late Assemblyman Alan Pattee. The necessary nomination papers were quickly obtained, the required number of signatures added, and the filing took place in time for Flournoy to become the obvious GOP nominee.

With Pat Brown and Ronald Reagan slugging away at each other at the head of the ticket, little attention was paid to the controller's race. Flournoy used the traditional gambit against controllers — the spoils system then used for appointing inheritance-tax appraisers, a system that provided automatic campaign contributions for the incumbent. Flournoy defeated Cranston by 61,000 votes in the closest race for statewide office. Four years later, Flournoy was the Grand Old Party's top vote-getter, defeating Democrat Ronald Brooks Cameron by more than 1.4 million votes.

At this point, Flournoy started looking for a fitting encore. What would it be: governor or United States senator? Cranston looked unbeatable this time as senator, but the governor's race appeared to be up for grabs. So Flournoy started campaigning openly in 1973 to succeed Reagan. The trouble was that so were three other prominent Republicans — Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke, Attorney General Evelle Younger and former Lieutenant Governor Robert Finch — and Flournoy had the worst name identification and the lowest ratings on the early polls. Then luck stepped in to knock both Finch and Younger out of the race, for a variety of reasons, leaving Reinecke and Flournoy. Before long, Reinecke was indicted for perjury, leaving Flournoy.

### Political animals

Neither Brown nor Flournoy has ever lost an election for public office. Both are political animals, Flournoy by training and experience, Brown by birth and experience. Both start the run for the general election — in which luck must run out for one of them — with fairly united parties. The conservative Reagan Republicans embraced Flournoy when it became apparent that Reinecke, considered a loser in November, was the only alternative. Brown is gradually uniting the diverse elements in his party, although he may lose a few traditionally Democratic detachments to Flournoy. Money will not be a problem for either, especially since they agreed to limit their expenditures to a modest \$1.3 million each. Flournoy starts the campaign only light percentage points behind Brown in the polls — an unusual position for Flournoy.

Brown is proud of his credentials as a liberal — a "freedom" worker in Mississippi in 1962, Southern California vice chairman of McCarthy for President in 1968, a Cesar Chavez "Viva la Huelga" marcher in 1969. Unlike his father, he is not part of the political estab-

lishment and would bring plenty of new blood into state government — young campaign leaders like Quinn, Richard Maullin and Doug Faigin; Los Angeles attorney Warren Christopher; Mary Jean Pew, a professor at Immaculate Heart College in Los Angeles; and Sam Williams, a member of the Los Angeles Police Commission. A Brown administration would also act fast and boldly, especially in three fields the candidate has selected for special emphasis: transportation, land-use and education.

### Pat and Jerry

Pat Brown is on duty as a sort of senior statesman, helping his son raise money and spreading the good word within the Democratic establishment. How many of Pat's old friends would find their way into a Jerry Brown administration is hard to estimate, possibly very few. Pat Brown was an extrovert who let his views on almost everything be known to the public. Jerry Brown, like his father, is an attorney, but any similarity ends there. Pat Brown you can picture sitting around of an evening swapping stories with his cronies and making political plans. You can envision bachelor Jerry, on the other hand, listening to classical music and reading a philosophical tome or entertaining a girlfriend.

Jerry Brown was a Jesuit seminarian in 1958 when his father was elected governor, but two years later he came home to the old mansion in Sacramento and learned about the governor's job at his father's side. He went to law school, moved to Los Angeles (perhaps the best place in California to start a political career), and jumped at the first political opportunity, which turned out to be the community college board. He's been running hard ever since.

### The complete candidate

Hugh Flournoy came to politics via academia. His campaign literature asserts that Flournoy has the perfect training to be a governor — a bachelor's degree in government from Cornell, a doctorate in political science from Princeton, a stint as assistant to a United States

senator (H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, 1955-1957), several years as a professor of government at Claremont, three terms in the Assembly and two terms as controller. As governor, he would probably have excellent rapport with the Legislature because he has so many friends there. (By contrast, Brown has few pals in the Legislature, although the election of Leo McCarthy as Assembly speaker was helpful to a potential Governor Brown.) Flournoy knows how to deal with the egos of legislators, and he would be at pains to feed them carefully. He would have a more accessible office than has Reagan, and he has talked about conducting public hearings before deciding whether to sign or veto controversial bills. His key aides would probably include Kirk West, now deputy controller, and such erstwhile Young Turks as Jack Veneman, a defeated Republican candidate for lieutenant governor; Bob Monagan, former Assembly speaker; Bill Bagley, GOP candidate for controller; Doug Kranwinkle, his campaign manager, and John Trethaway, a Long Beach attorney.

### Getting lucky

If Brown wins, almost the entire Reagan staff will be put on the streets without delay. The Reagan programs will be dismantled as soon as practical. The Brown brand would be placed on state government almost overnight. But if Flournoy wins, there will be no drastic or immediate change. Although Flournoy is more of a philosophical moderate than Reagan, he has agreed not to demolish Reagan's "Creative Society" or to fire key administration officials wholesale. The governor has announced that he intends to campaign hard for Flournoy, but then Reagan has always been adamant about maintaining party unity.

During the next three months, Brown and Flournoy will be telling the voters about their programs, their experience and their abilities. They will be trying to look like Mr. Integrity in the Watergate era and will be attempting to create charismatic television personalities. But if the history of either man is any indicator, none of these factors might be as decisive as just plain luck.

## THE CONTENDERS

# How they stand on the issues

- Consumerism
- Women and Minorities
- Farm Labor
- Public Employees
- Medical and Welfare
- Education

*What are the real differences between Democrat Edmund G. Brown and Republican Houston I. Flournoy on the issues that concern Californians today? In an effort to obtain their views, the Journal submitted identical questions to the major-party candidates. Their verbatim replies follow:*

*Why are you running for governor?*

**Brown:** After seven years of passivity in the face of pressing state problems, I believe it's time for an activist Democratic governor. I brought independence and innovation to the secretary of state's office and I intend to

take the same approach as governor because I believe people are looking for courage and imagination and a willingness to provide leadership even when it's unpopular.

**Flournoy:** The reason I'm running for governor can