

CHIP OFF THE OLD BLOCK, AFTER ALL

THE LATEST JERRY BROWN— WOOLING HIS POLITICAL ENEMIES

By ED SALLMAN

As a candidate for governor in 1974, Jerry Brown campaigned as the New Spirit. Today, preparing for another appeal to the voters next year, he is acting far more like the Old Man.

During eight years as governor, Edmund G. Brown Senior often operated under the theory that some friends could be taken for granted and that elections could be won through a wooing of previous political enemies. Pat Brown was a compassionate and forgiving governor, and he genuinely wanted everyone to love him. He also thought it was darned good politics to occupy as large a section of the political spectrum as possible, even at times if it meant abandoning the Democratic left.

Jerry Brown has generally been pictured as the opposite of his father in every major respect — as an individual, as chief executive and as a politician. The gap between father and son has not closed in personality and governing style, but there is now hardly any difference between the Browns as politicians. Jerry Brown has attempted to convey the notion that he frowns on the traditional brand of politics and was offering something cleaner and more appealing in the New Spirit. But that image has been shattered by Brown's actions since he launched his campaign for President last year. By a two-to-one margin, Californians agreed with the following statement in a recent poll by Mervin Field's organization: "Jerry Brown is just as political as most office-holders. Everything he does is calculated to give him a strong position to run for president in 1980."

If that survey is accurate, Brown has failed in an effort to maintain an image as a non-practitioner of politics as usual. Consider that this poll was taken only a few months after Brown announced that he would veto a death-penalty bill, a revelation that was hardly calculated to help him get elected to anything. Consider also the extreme odds against Jimmy Carter being vulnerable to a Brown challenge in 1980 and the necessity for Brown to win reelection before he can even consider such a campaign.

It is the run for reelection, not the presidential possibility, that has caused Brown to adopt the tactics of his father

and woo previous political enemies. Brown has been weakened by the loss of the farm-labor proposition on last year's ballot, by the labor-business outcry following the death of the proposed Dow Chemical Company plant and by the notion that he might be soft on crime because of his capital-punishment stand.

Of rivers and whales

The New Spirit Governor opposed the construction of the New Melones Dam on the Stanislaus River, sponsored a save-the-whale festival in Sacramento, supported Cesar Chavez' Proposition 13 to the hilt, established an Office of Appropriate Technology to help bring the state into the "era of limits" and instituted the Diamond Lanes on a Los Angeles Freeway. But that was before California was afflicted with the drought, before the farmers whipped Chavez and, above all, before his Administration came under attack from business and labor for creating an "adverse business climate" in the state.

Temporarily, at least, that Governor has been put into mothballs. As Pat Brown would have done, Jerry Brown is attempting to convince Californians that he favors business expansion in the state, that he is working hard to create new jobs, that his policies are not balanced toward the environmentalist views and that his previous support of Chavez should not be interpreted as opposition to the growers of California.

Ironically, Brown is reacting to imagery and not substance with his "California Means Business" campaign. Labor and industry have done a marvelous job of creating the myth that California's business climate is poor and the Brown Administration is primarily to blame. The Governor helped build this image with his era-of-limits and lower-your-expectations rhetoric, which was interpreted as anti-growth and therefore anti-business. Look at the supposed evidence that Brown is anti-business and the facts in each case:

The Fantus Company, a subsidiary of Dun and Bradstreet, reported that California ranks 47th of the 48 contiguous states as a favorable place to locate a new plant.



But that report was based on statistics gathered while Ronald Reagan was governor.

The State did lose the \$500 million Dow Chemical Company plant on the Sacramento River because the permit process was too difficult. But the fact is that Brown, if anything, helped speed consideration of the applications, as was sought by Dow. It would have been naive of Dow to expect the Governor to fight for a waiver of all the environmental considerations. In any event, the Dow project would have been tied up in the courts for years if the firm had proceeded. The Governor may have caused some of his own problems in the Dow controversy by helping to create the impression that the project might well have been approved. He then became a victim of the doctrine of unfulfilled expectations.

The unemployment statistics show California consistently behind the rest of the nation. But almost 360,000 new jobs were created in the state last year, reducing unemployment significantly. California lags somewhat behind the rest of the nation because the state has an exceptionally large number of young people entering the job market from colleges, and the state has a large number of women coming out of the home looking for work.

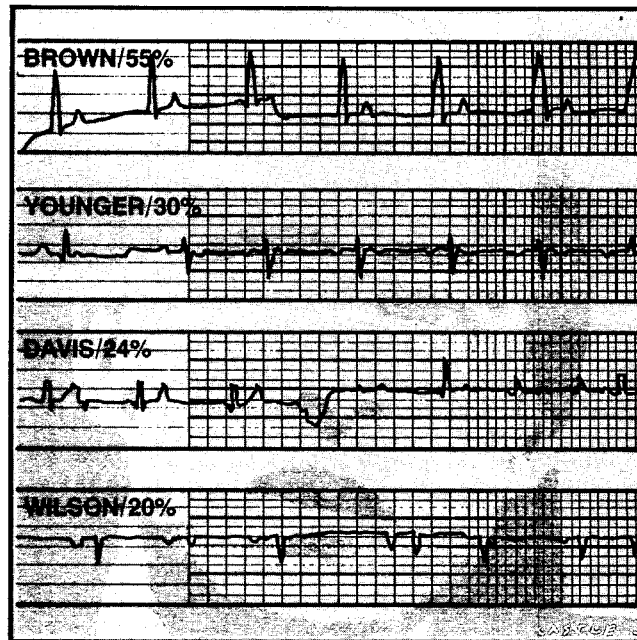
Image now political reality

Despite these facts, the political realities dictate that the Governor respond to the image that his Administration was unbalanced toward the environmentalists. He appointed a Bank of America vice president, Alan Rothenberg, as interim secretary of business and transportation. Then Rothenberg was succeeded by another profit-oriented businessman, San Diego investor-banker-entrepreneur Richard Silberman, who also happened to be the treasurer of Brown's presidential campaign. The Governor supported legislation designed to ease the plant-construction permit process. His environmental aide, Tom Quinn, let it be known that ARCO may be able to get the permits for a petrochemical plant that Dow was unable to obtain.

In the most dramatic move of all, Brown went to Japan on a mission to bring a Honda, Datsun or Toyota assembly plant back to California. This was only a short time after he had sponsored a save-the-whale day in Sacramento, and the message at that festival was for Californians to boycott Russian and Japanese goods. It is significant that he was accompanied by Silberman, who could open doors wide for Brown in the Orient. (Silberman sold his Southern California First National Bank to the Bank of Tokyo of California two years ago.) It would be a major political coup for Brown if he could announce the location of an auto plant in California during the height of next year's campaign.

All it would take is a few new plants to shut off the complaints that Brown is responsible for the state's reputation as a bad place to do business. It will be much more difficult for the Governor to establish decent credentials with the state's agribusiness community. If there is one issue that has marked the Brown Administration thus far, it has been the establishment of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board and all the accompanying controversy. After all, Brown personally negotiated the compromise that led to enactment of the ALRB legislation, with a big assist from Chief Justice Rose Elizabeth Bird, then secretary of agriculture and services. Then he appointed a board that was considered by farmers to be heavily weighted in favor of Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers. And finally, he supported the Chavez initiative on the ballot last November.

But Brown is giving it the old college try. Upon Bird's confirmation as chief justice, he broke her job into three parts and gave the directorship of the department of food and agriculture cabinet status. He appointed an honest-to-



goodness dirt farmer, Richard Rominger of Winters, as director. Then Brown went campaigning for farm-belt votes by conducting Rominger's swearing-in ceremony in the hinterlands and making a speech describing how much his Administration wants to help the agribusiness community. Cesar Chavez no longer plays a visible role in the active political world of Jerry Brown.

Brown can take the farm workers for granted. They know he is fundamentally on their side, and Chavez understands the political strategy being employed by the Governor. In fact, all of organized labor will probably be on Brown's side next year because chances are slim that the Republicans will offer a more attractive alternative (although Attorney General Evelle J. Younger has attracted some labor support in the past). In the first year of Brown's Administration, the AFL-CIO said more of its bills were passed by the Legislature than in any previous year. But now labor has lost its enthusiasm for Brown, especially those unions that would have benefited from the Dow project. John F. Henning, the California AFL-CIO chief executive, told a Sacramento audience recently that "Dow wasn't an accident. Dow came inexorably from the logic of the no-growth policies." Organized labor is most valued by politicians, not for the votes produced by unions, but for the money contributed by various organizations. It is doubtful that Brown will have money problems next year, with or without organized labor.

Labor isn't the only former ally of the Governor's that is upset. Ironically, while Brown has been trying to make peace with labor, he has lost friends in the environmental movement through such actions as his endorsement of the Auburn Dam construction and his support of moves making it easier for manufacturing plants to be built in the state. Brown told Gale Cook of the *San Francisco Examiner* that "The environmental movement is being weakened Their lobbyists are not doing a very good job and the constituency for clean air, clean water and quality of life is not getting the kind of representation it deserves." Carl Pope, executive director of the League of Conservation Voters, claims Brown has overreacted to the Dow backlash. Said Pope: "He appears to be typical of most politicians. He doesn't like to have anybody organized and powerful mad at him."

It remains to be seen whether the environmental organizations will have another alternative next year. In the 1976 presidential campaign, the conservationists gave Jimmy Carter the highest grades. Brown was rated C-plus, and the Governor now quotes that mark as evidence that he has always had a balanced outlook toward business and the environment. Younger and Mayor Pete Wilson of San Diego

both can appeal to environmentalists on their records as attorney general and mayor. Their problem is that they will both have to cope with the growth issue during the Republican primary campaign, and it is doubtful that either of them would risk a pro-ecologist stance. Brown could be damaged severely with conservationists if he goes to the mat with President Carter over the Auburn Dam in the next few months, but he must weigh the views of those adversely affected by the drought against the views of those who want wild rivers preserved.

Specter of capital punishment

Younger and Police Chief Ed Davis of Los Angeles will make a great deal out of the capital-punishment issue if either of them gets the nomination. The death penalty in itself would probably not be very damaging, but it can be used as a way of accusing Brown of being soft on crime generally. They will have a great deal of difficulty making that stick because Brown, if anything, has been quite tough on crime.

Brown has emphasized from his first days in office that he does not like a laundry-list solution to problems — the presentation of an umpteen-point program on something (as the previous Brown Administration used to do). But a few weeks ago, he appeared at a "Forgotten Victims" conference held by the District Attorneys Association to present his eight-point program to get tough on criminals. The Governor called for cutbacks in the probation-subsidy program and for strengthening amendments to the Determinate Sentencing Act (SB 42) enacted last year. Later he even said he was willing to reduce the Governor's right to commute sentences, if the Legislature would enact life imprisonment without possibility of parole as a substitute for the death penalty.

Brown has upset the civil libertarians more than the law-and-order folks with his program, especially with the amendments to SB 42. Some civil-liberties lawyers claim Brown promised not to meddle with SB 42 for three years to give it a chance to work, but that the pressure from Chief Davis and others has been so heavy, he has elected to accept some revisions.

The civil libertarians and others at the liberal end of the political spectrum are now expendable. They will have no place to go next year, although some of them might sit on their hands to protest some of Brown's more conservative actions. Any Republican is bound to be more conservative overall than Brown, and the Republican task will be to paint Brown as a liberal in order to break away those voters in the center. In fact, Mervin Field's California Poll shows that Brown would muster a substantial number of Republican votes (29 percent against Younger and 35 percent against Wilson) regardless of who the GOP nominee is.


Brown's 'Old Man' strategy

It is impossible to tell if Brown's "Old Man" strategy is working. That's because the stands he takes on issues may have relatively little effect on the electorate. His popularity is probably based more upon the little things he does — like drive the small car, eat in neighborhood restaurants, sleep in a simple apartment, refuse all gifts however small, pay his own way to Japan — than on what he's doing to woo labor and business. But Brown is undoubtedly one of the best politicians the state has ever seen, and he has a knack for knowing before most others what the mood of the people will be in an election year.

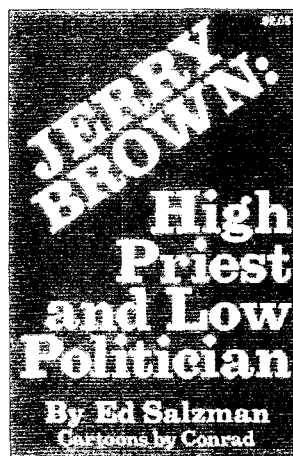
Brown will head into the 1978 election as the clear favorite to defeat any Republican. The Field Poll showed him running far ahead of any of four possible opponents, even Ronald Reagan (who was placed in the survey to match

Brown with someone equally well known). The results: Brown 55, Younger 30; Brown 57, Davis 24; Brown 57, Wilson 20; Brown 53, Reagan 36. Looking toward the Republican primary, Younger has a big early lead with 42 percent, compared to 17 for Davis and only 11 for Wilson. The fourth potential candidate is Assemblyman Ken Maddy, a little-known farmer-backed candidate with a moderate-to-liberal voting record.

If all four seek the nomination, Davis will be the only genuine conservative in the field. Younger and Wilson supported Gerald Ford last year and have been trying hard to make inroads into the Reagan camp. Maddy was a Reagan supporter and can be expected to move to the right once his Democratic Assembly constituency is off his back. Maddy will need a great deal of money to make himself known, and there are those who believe he will opt to run for attorney general because the gubernatorial odds are too long.

But it seems to make no difference what the Republicans do. They appear to be stymied following the trail of the clever, inconsistent Governor. As the New Spirit or the Old Man, Jerry Brown will be a mighty tough target for any GOP nominee. 

The Whole Brown Catalog



Do you understand why Governor Brown isn't talking so much these days about the "era of limits" and instead is trying to lure manufacturing plants to California? Do you understand why Brown opposed the construction of the New

Melones Dam in 1974, but now supports the erection of the Auburn Dam? Do you understand the apparent conflict between Brown's leadership in the anti-Japanese campaign to save the whale and his efforts to become friendly with Japanese business leaders?

The two sides of the Governor are explored in **JERRY BROWN: HIGH PRIEST AND LOW POLITICIAN**, by Journal editor Ed Salzman. This Whole Brown Catalog contains cartoons by Paul Conrad of the Los Angeles Times, some of Brown's most quotable quotes, his first two state-of-the-state addresses, a sampling of his pithy veto messages and photos of Brown in action. Anyone with an interest in California politics and government will want a copy of this attractive paperbound book.

Copies are available for \$3.13 each, including tax, from Journal Books, 1617 10th St., Sacramento, CA 95814. Postage and handling are free on prepaid orders.

I WAS ELECTED
BECAUSE I
PROMISED TO
TIGHTEN SPENDING.



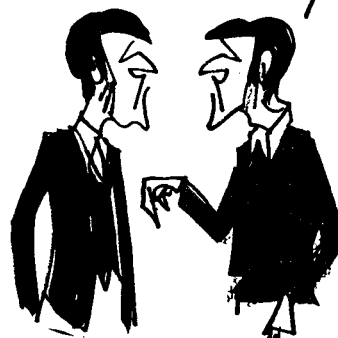
DEMOS VOTED
FOR ME BECAUSE
THEY KNEW I'D
HELP THE
FARM WORKERS!



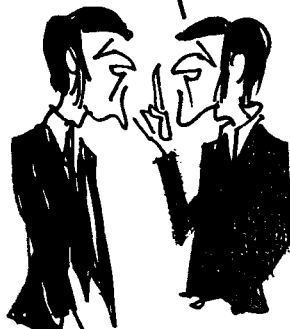
CONSERVATIVES
BACKED ME FOR
MY HARD LINE
ON CRIME.



I INSPIRED THE
LIBERALS BECAUSE
OF MY SUPPORT OF
ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES.



CALIFORNIA
MAY BE THE
ONLY STATE IN
THE UNION...



...THAT HAS ELECTED
TWO
GOVERNORS!



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