

# The promise of 1982: dream year for political junkies

By ED SALZMAN



Let's face it, fellow political freaks. This has been a dreadful election year in California. The presidential nominations were in the bag before the primary trail ended in California. Only the Carter White House has challenged the notion that Ronald Reagan would capture the state's electoral votes with relative ease. The Republicans failed to come up with a charismatic opponent for United States Senator Alan Cranston. About the only fun races were in the hotly contested congressional districts and those Assembly constituencies involved in the internecine warfare between Leo McCarthy and Howard Berman for the speakership.

But those who get their jollies out of political campaigns won't have to wait long for excitement. The current outlook makes 1982 look like the most fascinating political year in California since 1966. It is entirely possible that not a single statewide officeholder will run for re-election two years from now, giving both major parties wide-open primaries from governor through treasurer. Senator S. I. Hayakawa will be under attack within his own Republican Party if he seeks a second six-year term. There may even be some members of the State Board of Equalization who will abandon relatively safe jobs to seek higher office. For the first time in 12 years, there should be a wild scramble for the non-partisan post of superintendent of public instruction. In addition to all this, the state will have additional seats in the House of Representatives. That, combined with the reapportionment of the existing 43 congressional and 120 legislative districts, should provide enough action for political animals of all species and from all corners of the state.

## The parties' malaise

As the two-year election season begins, neither of the two

political parties is in especially good shape. The Democrats hold a majority of the offices, but Governor Jerry Brown has tended more to his personal presidential aspirations than to the construction of a strong party. Likewise, the Republican Party has not been helped by the concentration of effort on the Ronald Reagan presidential campaign. Both parties have been hurt by the Berman-McCarthy conflict — the Democrats because of the division it has caused and the Republicans because they have faced more ferocious Democratic campaigners for Assembly seats. The Libertarians have become increasingly vocal in the state, and they may try to establish a beachhead by concentrating their efforts in a single district election. In the past, the Libertarians have spread themselves thin by running candidates for president, governor, United States senator and a variety of other offices. The other minor parties have faded into insignificance on the California political landscape.

Who will run for what offices in 1982? Before that pivotal question can be answered, the intentions of three main figures must be determined:

- **Jerry Brown.** Will the governor run for a third term or for the Hayakawa Senate seat? Brown has indicated that the door to a third term is "fairly closed." But he also has conceded it was open "a little sliver." Brown's advisers have indicated that the governor would prefer to spend all his energy in running for president, and that would seem to preclude the holding of a state office. But can Brown raise enough money to conduct an effective nationwide campaign as a private citizen without an issue-oriented constituency?
- **George Deukmejian.** Some potent Republicans are urging the first-term attorney general to seek the Republican nomination for governor in 1982. Should "Duke" make

that move, he would face a bruising battle with Lieutenant Governor Milke Curb and others who would undoubtedly enter the GOP primary. Deukmejian could run for re-election and probably win without a great deal of difficulty. Incumbents holding his office have been re-elected regularly in recent years.

• **Tom Bradley.** The mayor of Los Angeles is running for a third term next year despite his pledge that he would only serve eight years. Bradley, 63, probably will win with ease. He has specifically left open the door to a statewide race for either governor or U.S. senator — targets that are much more elusive.

Only when these three figures have made their intentions known will the ducks fall into line for the 1982 extravaganza. Another key question for the Democrats: How many key associates of Governor Brown will run for office if their leader closes the door that little sliver? Gray Davis, Brown's chief of staff, ran for state treasurer in 1974 (losing to Jesse Unruh in the Democratic primary). Will Davis run for treasurer or some loftier office in 1982? How about media-master Tom Quinn, who has a Los Angeles base of operations and has long been rumored as a potential candidate for office? And Bill Press, former head of the Office of Planning and Research, has never been especially coy about his aspirations. (Press suffered a political setback last June when the voters rejected his initiative imposing a surtax on major oil companies.)

The 1982 election could have quite a few women and minorities seeking statewide office, but that has become the trend in recent California elections. A woman governor? A female United States senator? A black governor? A black United States senator? The possibilities are almost infinite, given the large number of candidates who already populate the battlefield. Here is an early look at some of the offices and the possible entrants:

### GOVERNOR

**Democratic.** Most advance planning is based on the assumption that Jerry Brown will not seek a third term. State Controller Ken Cory has been working behind the scenes to line up financial and political support. State Treasurer Jesse Unruh has acted at times as though he might like to try again. (He lost to Reagan in 1970.) Cory and Unruh are political partners, and it seems improbable that both would run for the same office. How about Cory for governor and Unruh for the Senate? Tom Bradley might prove difficult to beat in a Democratic primary. Secretary of State March Fong Eu is looking at the gubernatorial situation. Should Bradley and Cory both run, they might split the southern vote and she might be able to walk away with the nomination — as she did six years ago under similar circumstances for secretary of state. Leo McCarthy was considered another possible candidate until he became involved in the struggle with Berman for political survival. McCarthy would prefer to run for the Senate.

**Republican.** Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb will probably run for governor regardless of the prospective Democratic opposition. He has been working hard to lock up as many sources of GOP money as possible, and he has the backing of the key members of the Reagan "kitchen cabinet." Some Republicans consider Curb too inexperienced to become governor and would prefer Attorney General Deukmejian, who has been playing his cards close to the vest. Mayor Pete Wilson of San Diego is an all-but-announced candidate, as is Senate minority leader Bill Campbell. Wilson must develop a following elsewhere in the state to make a good run, and Campbell must raise funds and develop a positive statewide image. Campbell's Senate ally, Ken Maddy, is being urged to make the run. He would have to sacrifice his Senate seat in 1982; Campbell would not. Maddy is considered the

most mediagenic of all candidates on the horizon, but he must overcome the problem of hailing from the political outback of Fresno. If Campbell or Maddy can raise enough money, either one might run.

### UNITED STATES SENATE

**Republican.** The polls show that S. I. Hayakawa is in deep trouble should he seek a second term. He has the jinx seat in the Senate, following in the footsteps of one-termers George Murphy and John Tunney. In recent years, Republicans have had their best luck with non-politician candidates like Hayakawa, Murphy, Reagan and Curb. Will Reagan's 39-year-old daughter, Maureen, be the next in the line of successful show-biz candidates? She has expressed a definite inclination to run, especially if her father is in the White House. Maddy could run for senator, as could any of several Republicans in the House of Representatives, among them Pete McCloskey, John Rousselot, Robert Dornan and Barry Goldwater Jr.

**Democratic.** The number of Democrats who might run for the Hayakawa seat is almost endless. It starts with the current governor, Jerry Brown, and the man Hayakawa defeated, John Tunney. Also on the list is the man Tunney defeated in the Democratic primary, Tom Hayden. Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles is being urged to make the race. Other possibilities include McCarthy, Cory or Unruh, and Congressman Pete Stark of Oakland.

### OTHER STATEWIDE OFFICES

**Lieutenant Governor.** Thus far, there is only one all-but-announced candidate in the field: Republican state chairman Truman Campbell of Fresno. Winning candidates for this office often come from the Legislature, and chances are good that each party primary ballot will contain the name of at least one state senator with a free ride (does not face re-election in 1982).

**Attorney General.** If Deukmejian runs for re-election, the field will probably be slim. If he doesn't, the opposite will be the case. Among the Democratic possibilities: District Attorney Arlo Smith of San Francisco, City Attorney Burt Pines of Los Angeles, District Attorney John Van de Kamp of Los Angeles, member Bill Bennett of the state Board of Equalization, and Leo McCarthy.

**Controller.** With Cory looking toward the race for governor, speculation is already afloat about his possible successor. Ernie Dronenburg, a member of the state Board of Equalization, is encouraging the floating of trial balloons on his behalf. Sacramento is abuzz about the possibility that Kirk West, head of the California Taxpayers Association and former deputy state controller, might seek the GOP nomination. Within political circles, West is viewed as a possible political heavyweight. Until he took over at Cal-Tax, West was affiliated with the moderate wing of the party and that could be a handicap. One Democrat who has been mentioned for the job is Art Torres, possibly the best and the brightest of the state's Chicano officeholders. He is being urged by elements in the Hispanic community to try for statewide office, and he would choose whichever slot appears most promising. Torres is aware, however, that the chances of any Hispanic winning a statewide race are not especially good.

**Superintendent of Public Instruction.** Two Assembly Democrats, Gary Hart and Dennis Mangers, are considered good bets to seek this non-partisan office. There will also be the usual candidates from school districts, the state Department of Education and the public at large.

**Secretary of State and Treasurer.** No specific candidates have emerged for these offices yet, but the fields should be large if Unruh and Eu go after larger quarry.

**Board of Equalization.** Not often do any of the four incum-



bents on the tax-administration panel choose not to seek reelection. Two, Bennett and Dronenburg, might run for statewide office in 1982.

San Diego's Wilson and Los Angeles' Bradley are not the only mayors who might become part of the 1982 political potpourri. Dianne Feinstein of San Francisco has displayed political ambition, and Janet Gray Hayes of San Jose might take a shot at one of the statewide offices. If name identification is valuable, Wilson Riles Jr., an Oakland city councilman, might try to move up during the 1980s.

Bradley's decision to run for mayor had a ripple effect on the candidate list. Among others, City Councilmen Zev Yaroslavsky and Joel Wachs, City Controller Ira Reiner and state Senator Alan Robbins had hoped they could run for mayor without challenging the incumbent. Reiner still may test Bradley. Some of the other potential mayoralty candidates may ease their frustrations by running statewide.

But the biggest pool of potential candidates will be located in the state Senate, where half of the 40 members will be able to run without jeopardizing their seats. Among the Democratic possibilities: Paul Carpenter of Orange County, who knows how to raise big money; Democratic floor leader David Roberti, and northerner John Garamendi, who could be a killer on television. The Republicans include Bill Richardson, who ran against Alan Cranston six years ago; John Briggs, a one-time gubernatorial candidate; minority leader Campbell, who has been talking about a gubernatorial campaign for years, and Bob Beverly, who has declined opportunities to seek higher office in the past but might yield to temptation one of these years. If former Los Angeles Police Chief Ed Davis makes it to the Senate, he might start trolling immediately for larger fish.

The Senate also contains some senators who wish they had free rides because they would like the opportunity to try their luck without heavy risk. These include Democrats Barry Keene, Jim Mills, Omer Rains, Alan Sieroty and Robbins. The Republicans include Marz Garcia, John Schmitz

and Maddy. Not too often does a member of the Senate run for statewide office without a free ride.

### Reapportionment's role

On the other hand, reapportionment might force some members of the Legislature to seek higher office. Every time the lines are redrawn, at least a couple of legislators find themselves without districts they can win. Rather than quit, they shoot higher. Assemblyman Mike Roos is an example. If McCarthy wins the speakership, Roos will probably be assigned to the task of drawing the lines for the 80 Assembly districts. If Berman wins, Roos will probably see his district chopped into many pieces. Roos knows how to raise big money, and he could turn around and run for a major office.

The first task of the Legislature will be to decide where to place the two or three new congressional seats awarded to the state. Undoubtedly, one will be in the San Diego-Orange area, and state Senator Bill Craven might be the beneficiary of that augmentation. There are several options for where the other seat (or seats) might be placed. In general, core city districts will get larger, and suburban and rural districts will get smaller — and that's good for the Republicans.

In 1982, there will be more than the usual number of legislators trying to win seats in Congress and Assembly members seeking the comfort of a four-year term in the Senate. Who gets helped and who gets hurt will depend on the workings of the internal politics of the Legislature. There is also the possibility that the Legislature will fail to agree on a redistricting plan or that the court will reject the lines adopted by the Legislature. In the end, the reapportionment plan might be drafted by special masters assigned by the Supreme Court. Should that happen, a different set of politicians could emerge as winners and losers.

But it should make little difference who draws the lines next year in terms of political upheaval. The outlook is for heavy turnover in 1982 — the year of political opportunity.

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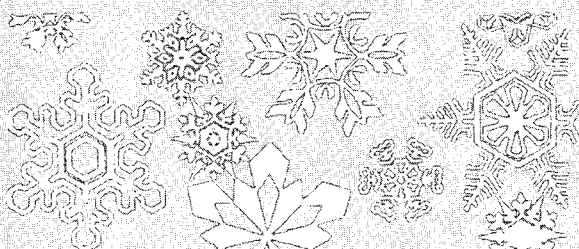
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The basic reference book: **Almanac of State Politics and Government**, compiled by Ed Salzman, 1979-80 edition, 192 pages, **\$4.19.**

The whole Brown catalog: **Jerry Brown: High Priest and Low Politician**, by Ed Salzman, with cartoons and photos. Price **\$3.13.**



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# IS JERRY BROWN going straight... growing up... or just up to new tricks?

By MICHELE WILLENS

There they stood: Jimmy Carter, Ted Kennedy and Jerry Brown, oozing warmth and unity. Most surprising was how comfortable the California governor appeared amid the alien Democratic Party surroundings. He looked as if he was actually enjoying himself, and he sounded sincere when he introduced Carter as "a man who in domestic and foreign policy is taking us in the directions we must go."

From that scene in Beverly Hills, Brown moved on to the airport where he hopped the "red eye" to Washington to attend meetings of the National Governors Association, a group in which he has been a member in name only for the past six years. Now he is one of its more active participants, even chairing a committee on technology.

So questions inevitably arise: Is the governor who yearns to be president finally going straight, abandoning his "who-needs-organizations" approach in favor of legitimate party politics? Is he, at 42, growing up politically? Or is this just the latest Brown ploy to make it to the White House? And if so, can he sustain it for four more years and simultaneously overcome his more deep-rooted personality problems?

Brown insists that the answers to the first two questions are "yes." Some expert Brown-watchers are skeptical, but they are willing to give him the benefit of the doubt — even if they don't think he will ever be president.

When his last presidential escapade ended, Brown was personally depressed. Besides losing the campaign, he also lost his girlfriend, Linda Ronstadt, who moved first to New York and then into the life of writer Pete Hamill. Brown put on lots of weight and admitted privately that he didn't feel good about himself. His speech to the Democrats at the New York convention underwhelmed delegates and television anchormen alike, although a few newspaper columnists later said it was the only speech that recognized there was a future beyond November.

## A 'second wind'

Many observers expected Brown simply to go through the motions during his last two years as governor. But he says

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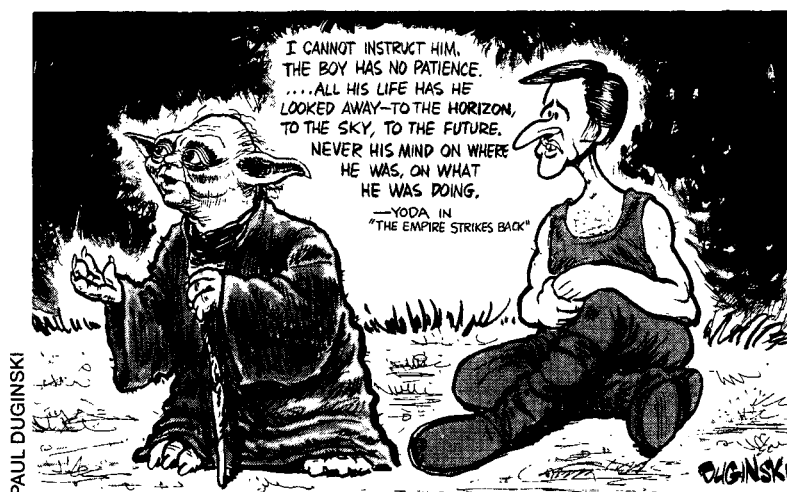
that the opposite has started to happen: "I've gotten a second wind. The process of running for president actually gives me better ideas about being governor. I got a good look at what Americans are thinking about, and it gives me a discipline which I can take back and apply to California."

The Brown Plan seems clear: Carry out the next two years in a determined, newsworthy way and at the same time build a national base that could support a future bid for president. This means courting the party regulars whom he once ignored and insulted, working patiently with members of the Legislature who have felt about as kindly toward him as toward radioactive waste, and meeting with national figures and political movers-and-shakers across the country.

He already has people building the base. Well-connected Wally Maguire is Brown's new man in Washington, D.C., where he is lobbying for California programs and spreading Brown's personal messages to people who might like them if they could understand them.

David Mixner and Peter Scott, two political consultants in Los Angeles with excellent contacts among left-leaning activists, are also on the lookout for the governor's interests. "We are advising him," says Scott, "and introducing him to our contacts in other states — building a base of people who should respond to Jerry's ideas but just haven't gotten to know the man.

"Let's face it," Scott adds, "he should know those folks by now — but I don't think it's too late. I think he now understands the necessity of building a political organization. Maybe he could get away with not doing so in California, but



not on a national basis. If he sticks with it, I think he can be a major contender in 1984."

One of those closest to Brown through many years and in every campaign, Richard Maullin, says he feels Brown learned a painful lesson this year. "I think he was really shocked at facing such great rejection," Maullin says. "I was impressed by how impressed he was by the message that he could not carry off that campaign — by the realization that people were just not comfortable with him, and his messages were not getting across. Jerry's been around too long now to simply be a new shiny meteor.

"If there is going to be any real repair," Maullin adds, "it will be in finishing up this term with some very good achievements while rebuilding relationships with people he alienated, whether they are legislators or past supporters whom he forgot to thank."

Brown seems to be making progress on both fronts. Dick Murphy, national political director for the Service Employees Union — the only major union to endorse Brown during the primaries — says he has already seen growth in Brown.

"I couldn't believe it," Murphy says. "Right after the campaign ended in Wisconsin, I received a note of thanks for all