

More than a year to go, but everyone's already running



By ED SALZMAN

Earl Warren and Pat Brown used to consider it uncouth for a California politician to announce his candidacy for office before "the snow flies in the Sierra" — in the year of the election. Nowadays, it is considered a political blunder for a candidate to give even a hint that he or she is *not* grasping for the next highest office — even before the ink is dry on the returns from the last election.

Mayor Pete Wilson bought \$45,000 worth of radio commercials in March — 16 months before the June 1982 primary. Even before that, he had been running around the state in an attempt to broaden his constituency beyond the borders of San Diego County. Leo McCarthy lost the speakership of the Assembly because he started campaigning for statewide office fully three years ahead of the election date. Mike Curb was running for governor even before he took office as lieutenant governor, and there are some cynics who say he's running to succeed Ronald Reagan as president even before he's been elected governor.

At this stage in the never-ending campaign process, money is being spent by candidates competing for lofty positions in Mervin Field's California Poll. The prime goals of some candidates like Pete Wilson are to improve their name recognition and to force potential primary opponents out of the race. Already, a fairly clear picture of the 1982 primary lineup is emerging. Almost all the major doubts of only a few months ago have been eliminated. An extraordinary year of opportunity is at hand, and there seems to be a large number of officeholders ready to plunge into deeper water.

The first major question of the 1982 elections was which event, if any, Governor Jerry Brown would enter. Now it appears clear that he will not seek a third term but will run for the United States Senate seat held by Republican S. I. Hayakawa, who has been doing poorly in the polls.

The second question mark was Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles. Bradley drew only old warrior Sam Yorty as a significant mayoralty opponent this spring, and it is taken for granted in political circles that Bradley has been looking beyond Yorty to the gubernatorial campaign next year.

The final key figure was Attorney General George Deukmejian. Much to Mayor Wilson's chagrin, Deukmejian has decided to go all out for the governorship. Among political insiders, Deukmejian is considered a bigger threat to Curb than Wilson, even though Field's first poll put "Duke" behind Pete. That poll was taken, however, before the attorney general even formed his so-called "advisory committee."

In addition to the exceptionally early start to the heavy campaigning and the unusual number of opportunities for advancement, the 1982 election season is extraordinary in several other respects:

- **The Peripheral Canal issue.** In a sense, the dynamics of the 1982 election are within the control of the governor. That's because he can decide when Californians will vote on the Peripheral Canal referendum. The best guessing has been that Brown will call a special election in November to get the thorny issue out of the way before 1982 arrives. Brown, who was instrumental in getting the Peripheral Canal bill passed by the Legislature, recognizes its political drawbacks and has been trying to minimize the

adverse effects of his stance on the issue. He says he will vote for the canal but will not campaign for it.

• **Development of GOP slates.** For the first time in recent history, it appears that the Republican primary will involve slates of candidates in tickets headed by Mike Curb and George Deukmejian. The Curb ticket would include Carol Hallett for lieutenant governor and Jack Ford, son of Jerry, for controller. Deukmejian's ticket might include state Senator Ken Maddy and Pete Wilson (if he bows out of the governor's race) for lieutenant governor and attorney general, not necessarily in that order.

• **Exceptional interest in the lieutenant governor's office.** Until recently, the so-called number two spot on the ticket did not involve competition between heavyweights. Now, it appears that ferocious fights are under way in both party primaries.

• **The weakness of Hayakawa.** When was the last time that an incumbent senator of either party was perceived to be so weak that he drew several major primary opponents? That's what appears in store for Hayakawa, and the proliferation of candidates might, ironically, make it possible for the semanticist to win the Republican primary.

• **Reapportionment.** It is far too early to know what impact reapportionment will have, but it cannot help but stimulate games of musical chairs, with holders of legislative seats attempting to move up the political ladder in large numbers.

Who will run for what? Aside from some of the lesser statewide offices, almost all the major contenders appear to have surfaced. That's partially because it requires a great deal of time to raise the millions of dollars needed for a statewide campaign and the desirability of a good showing in Field's early surveys. Here is a rundown, office by office:

Governor

Democrats. Only two major candidates have emerged thus far — Mayor Bradley and state Controller Ken Cory. Bradley starts with a big advantage, but Cory is a masterful media campaigner and cannot be sold short. There will undoubtedly be other candidates in the race. But Secretary of State March Fong Eu appears to be running either for reelection or for lieutenant governor. State Treasurer Jesse Unruh undoubtedly would like to try a second time (he lost to Reagan in 1972), but he and Cory are too close to be running against one another. Former United States Senator John Tunney has talked about running for governor, but he'd rather try to get his old Senate seat back.

Republicans. Lieutenant Governor Curb is the early leader in both the polls and accumulated cash. But there is a feeling among the political *cognoscenti* that Curb would be beaten by either Deukmejian or Wilson in a head-to-head confrontation. With both men in the race, the anti-Curb forces would be divided and the lieutenant governor would probably win. Deukmejian has advantages over Wilson — a statewide office and the ideal platform issue, crime. The attorney general's people, headed by campaign strategist Bill Roberts of the Dolphin Group, are trying to get Wilson to run for lieutenant governor on the Deukmejian slate. But Wilson is tough, and he just might stick with the race all the way, especially if the next couple of polls show him ahead of Deukmejian or even with him.

United States Senate

Republicans. Three members of the GOP House delegation — Barry Goldwater Jr., Pete McCloskey and Bob Dornan — are trying to test Republican support for a possible race against Hayakawa. If any or all of them can raise enough money, they'll run. Goldwater and Dornan both carry ultra-conservative images, and McCloskey is known

as a maverick. Other possible candidates are former state Senator Dennis Carpenter, who would be backed by the direct-mail organization of state Senator H. L. (Bill) Richardson, and Maureen Reagan, who would obviously be trying to take advantage of a family connection. The polls have shown Hayakawa as beatable, and Goldwater has always done well in soundings of Republicans. McCloskey is an intriguing candidate. He is anathema to the conservative elements that have traditionally run the party, but he is loved by moderate and liberal Republicans, by independents and by Northern California Democrats. If McCloskey should win the primary, he would be virtually unbeatable in the November runoff.

Democrats. Jerry Brown has apparently decided that his presidential aspirations call for a run for the Senate. That job would give him a national platform and a chance to show the rest of the nation that there is more substance than moonbeam to his candidacy for the White House. But Californians may be fed up with Brown. The polls show that he doesn't run any better than John Tunney, and that says a lot. As governor, Brown can raise a great deal of money, and he has displayed an uncanny ability to find the very issues that turn voters back on his track — with crime the vehicle in 1982. Nevertheless, the suspicion is growing in Sacramento that Brown can be defeated by former Speaker Leo McCarthy — if the San Franciscan can raise enough money to run a Southern California media campaign. McCarthy won't have the Peripheral Canal albatross — one that could provide a big swing in the north. And above all, McCarthy can promise Californians that he will be a full-time senator and will never campaign for the presidency. That will be a promise that will be easy to keep. McCarthy was born in New Zealand and is ineligible to be president. Tunney is the other possible major factor in the race, and the field could include writer Gore Vidal and Congressman George Brown, who ran for the Senate once before with little success.

Lieutenant Governor

Republicans. With Mike Curb definitely not seeking reelection, it would seem that the woods should be full of prospective GOP candidates. But it hasn't worked out that

California Journal Internship Fund

The *California Journal* internship fund, established in 1979 as an endowment, provides revenues that are used to support student internships on the *Journal* editorial staff.

The internship fund was named in memory of Frank Mesplé, who served as a government professor, legislative advocate and gubernatorial aide. The fund carries on Mesplé's commitment to the youth of California and the democratic process.

Contributions to the Mesplé Fund are tax-deductible and help three ways: 1) provide work experience to students; 2) contribute to the research and writing resources of the *Journal*; 3) help the *Journal* balance its budget.

Recent contributors to the fund, whose support the *Journal* gratefully acknowledges, include:

Joseph Cislowski

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way. Assembly minority leader Carol Hallett wants to be Curb's running mate, but she doesn't dare be open about it for fear she will create a vacuum and lose her legislative leadership post. Former GOP state chairman Truman Campbell has indicated that he will run, but he is considered a lightweight by party insiders. Hallett's main competition probably will come from the candidate allied with George Deukmejian. That should be either Maddy or Wilson.

Democrats. This could be a crowded field, although state Senator Dan Boatwright of Concord is using hardball tactics in an effort to restrict competition. The candidate he has selected as first target is Gray Davis, Governor Brown's chief of staff. Davis is well connected in Los Angeles, especially with Mayor Tom Bradley. If Davis decides to run, he should leave the governor's employ within a matter of weeks or months. Other possibilities: state Senator John Garamendi, Secretary of State Eu, Treasurer Unruh, state Senator James Mills, Assemblyman Tom Bates and outgoing California Democratic Council President Wallace Albertson.

Attorney General

Republicans. Assemblyman David Stirling, apparently thwarted in his attempt to assume a legislative leadership position, is talking about running for Deukmejian's job. But the going could get rough for him if Duke gives the seal of approval to Maddy or Wilson for the job.

Democrats. The odds-on favorite to win the Democratic primary is District Attorney John Van de Kamp of Los Angeles. But Assemblyman Alister McAlister of Santa Clara County, probably as conservative as Democrats come (especially on crime issues), would make an interesting candidate. McAlister presumably would tap Mormon sources for campaign funds.

Controller

Democrats. If Ken Cory abandons the race for governor and seeks re-election, the picture will change dramatically. But if he keeps reaching for the brass ring, the field could be crowded. Among those trying to make themselves interesting: Supervisor Quentin Kopp of San Francisco, Richard Nevins of the State Board of Equalization, Assessor Alexander Pope of Los Angeles County, former Brown aide Bill Press, Assemblyman Rick Lehman of Fresno and several of those also looking over Curb's job.

Republicans. The controller's office will probably be subjected to slate politics in the GOP primary. The speculation is that Curb will put San Diego's Jack Ford, son of the former president, on his slate. There are two possibilities being mentioned for the Deukmejian ticket — Member Ernie Dronenburg of the state Board of Equalization and Kirk West, chief executive of the California Taxpayers Association and former deputy state controller.

Treasurer

Democrats. If Unruh runs for re-election, as is probable, he should have no serious problems in the primary.

Republicans. A sacrificial GOP lamb, Don French of Richmond, opposed the former speaker in 1978. Unruh will probably face the same caliber of opponent in 1982.

Secretary of State

Democrats. Incumbent March Fong Eu has toyed with running for higher office, but she will probably seek re-election. In that case, the opposition should be minimal. Liberal activist Tom Hayden has talked about running for secretary of state — and almost any other office in sight.

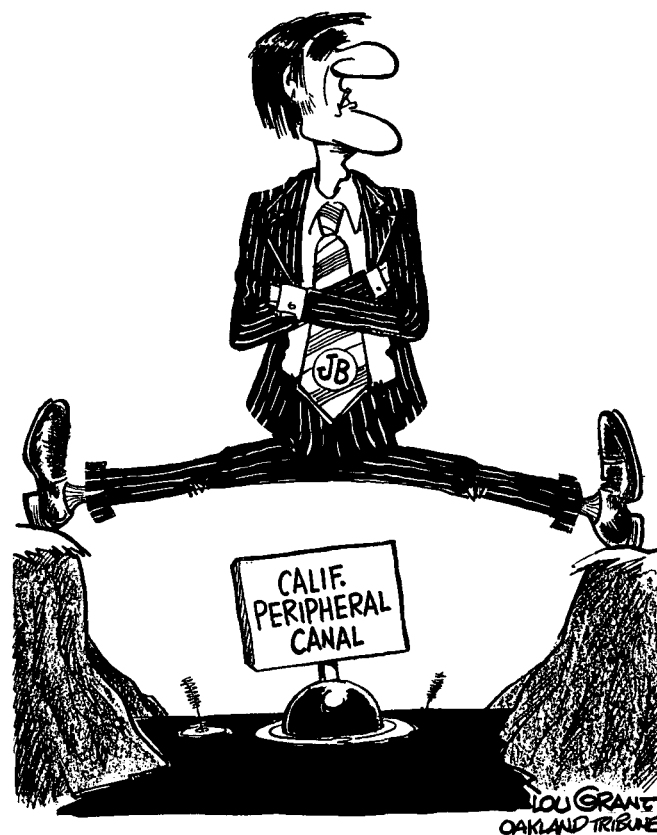
Republicans. There is no potential GOP candidate in

sight. Friends are trying to convince Jerry Brown's house conservative Republican, the charismatic B.T. Collins, head of the California Conservation Corps, to give some office a shot. This could be it.

Superintendent of Public Instruction

Non-partisan. The incumbent, Wilson Riles, pulled a mild surprise by announcing that he would seek a fourth term. It had been assumed that he would retire after his current term, and some potent operators were getting ready to compete for the job. Riles will have to fight for his political life, even if all the pros decide to wait four more years. A member of the state Board of Education, Louis Honig Jr., is running around the state lining up support.

"WHAT? ME STRADDLE AN ISSUE?!"



Another potential opponent is Steve Horn, president of Long Beach State and a friend of Deukmejian. Riles' biggest problem is the public perception that the schools are not doing a decent job of educating California's youngsters. Will they blame the man who has theoretically been in charge of the school system for 12 years?

Board of Equalization

There could be more than the usual amount of turnover on the Board of Equalization following the 1982 elections. The board consists of four members elected by district and the state controller. Cory probably will run for governor, and one member, the veteran George Reilly of San Francisco, will retire. All three remaining members have toyed with candidacy for statewide office — Richard Nevins and Ernie Dronenburg for controller, and Bill Bennett for attorney general. If form holds true, all three will run for re-election. Yet this is anything but a typical political season. 🏠

STRICTLY OPINION

With this column, the Journal provides a forum for those wishing to express opinions on California political issues. Inquiries about future columns are encouraged.



Too many doctors

By DR. SANFORD A. MARCUS

A recent lead article in the *Wall Street Journal* points out that one out of every 216 San Franciscans is now a doctor of medicine. While the statewide doctor-patient ratio is not quite that high, the much-heralded "doctor shortage" of a few years back has now turned into a serious surplus.

Meanwhile, the University of California Schools of Medicine have increased from a pre-war total of two to five large schools, each of them turning out more than twice its former number of young medical graduates. In addition, each of these schools is expanding greatly its training of physicians' assistants, nurse practitioners and others who will further overload the market with doctor-substitutes.

The impetus to alleviate a presumed doctor shortage and to provide for the medical needs of Californians was indeed laudable and well-intentioned 15 years ago. But the hundreds of millions of dollars it takes to establish and maintain each of these schools has now become a needless burden on the taxpayers of the state. With fiscal retrenchment the order of the day, it is time we took a hard look at what has become, quite inadvertently, a case of government featherbedding.

Now that the birth rate and immigration to California is slackening, a reappraisal of the state's need for doctors until the year 2000 should allow us to close two of these schools of medicine, after making provision for completing the training of those students who are presently enrolled.

Remember, there are also four private medical schools turning out doctors in this state; foreign medical graduates are arriving at an unprecedented rate; and the lure of California has always attracted great numbers of out-of-state doctors.

The Congressional Manpower Commission has stated that, far from providing additional medical services, the surplus of doctors will result in an inflation of costs to the public, as all of these new doctors expect not to have to lower their personal economic sights. The "competition" that was supposed to result from expanding the number of physicians will, the commission claims, threaten to bring lowered standards rather than lowered costs. Meanwhile, the taxpayers will continue to be saddled with the costs of running these schools, in which some faculty incomes far exceed the salary of the governor of California.

It is always difficult and painful to dismantle a government fiefdom, as Proposition 13 has taught us so well. Forcing all those deans and comptrollers, professors and clerks to find other positions will necessarily result in some hardship cases. A medical school — especially with a couple of Nobel laureates on its staff — is a source of pride to all. But this kind of pride costs a lot of money, and the fact that we have more or bigger or more famous schools than other states is no longer germane.

The suggestion to close a couple of medical schools may appear to be self-serving, in behalf of doctors who want to reduce an over-supply of competitors. But the people of California should know that their tax-supported medical schools are now establishing "satellite clinics" throughout the state, not to provide care for the needy but to furnish training for their thousands of students. In reality, these clinics — even in San Francisco which is overloaded with practicing doctors — will be competing with private doctors and ultimately driving them out of practice. Lest anyone believe that the "reduced" fees the clinics will charge the public will make health care more affordable, we have documentation that the hidden subsidies they receive from tax and foundation

sources actually make the cost of a visit to one of these clinics over 25 percent greater than that charged by a private physician.

The contending forces that influence the establishment or maintenance of a medical school are many and complex. That part of the American Dream that makes parents aspire to a medical career for their sons and daughters lags behind, by about a decade, the realization that doctors are on the brink of being converted into public utilities. When this has been accomplished, the prestige and many of the rewards of being a doctor will be stripped away from the profession, and the sad fate of today's school teachers will befall physicians as well. Part of the tragedy of the teaching profession lies in the unrestrained production of new teachers in the post-Sputnik era, and now qualified school teachers are driving taxicabs in some urban areas.

This same failure to respect the laws of supply and demand has impelled government to repeat its mistake by also expanding the production of new doctors, to the point where disillusionment and bitterness, rather than the traditional commitment to excellence, may become the hallmarks of tomorrow's doctors. The "brain drain" of doctors emigrating from Britain and elsewhere attests to the fact that being treated by a cadre of disgruntled doctors may not be good for your health.

The purpose of a medical school is to train young doctors. It has been established that this need can easily be met in California until the year 2000, even after the closing of two of the present tax-supported schools of medicine. Armies are demobilized, obsolete facilities are abandoned and a rash of "sunset" laws have been proposed to eliminate unneeded government expenditures. When the savings to California taxpayers amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars, the time has arrived to close two schools of medicine without further delay.

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