

## Will California Stand Pat?

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CALIFORNIANS are tired of Pat Brown, and nearly eight years of power squabbles have sapped the state's Democratic Party of much of its strength. These are the principal reasons why Republican Ronald Reagan had a sizable lead over Brown in early public-opinion polls on the race for governor and why Brown, always a slow starter, has had to come from much further behind than in his two previous campaigns. By Labor Day, the polls showed that Brown had reduced Reagan's lead to three per cent. At that point in the 1962 campaign, when he was being challenged by Richard M. Nixon, Brown was ahead by the same margin. In September, 1958, Brown led William F. Knowland by nearly two to one. Both years, Brown won easily. At a time and place and in a campaign where "image" counts so heavily, Edmund G. Brown has a face that blends with the crowd, an unremarkable manner, and a dull speaking voice. Reagan has none of these drawbacks—though he has no record and no clear program, either. But Brown's principal weakness stems from his party, not from his personality.

There are still three registered Democrats in California for every two Republicans, but the figures are deceptive. The California Democratic Party is in reality four

parties—the liberals of the California Democratic Council (cdc), the Brown loyalists, the Unruh "power brokers," and the Yorty insurgents. Yapping at the liberals is the New Left, which has shown it can turn out enough voters to be troublesome to the Democrats. Out beyond the Yorty insurgents is the radical Right, which attracts both Democratic and Republican voters.

If Reagan defeats Brown, the Republicans will owe their victory as much to the Democratic split as to a new surface unity in their own party and the neo-conservatism that helped them elect George Murphy to the Senate in 1964. The Democrats have become so used to power that they have fallen to bickering among themselves rather than uniting behind the sixty-one-year-old Brown in his bid for a third term. Only Earl Warren, a Republican, has been elected governor three times in California.

### War and the Left

The Democratic Council members, the uncompromising left wing of the party, seem to be more interested this year in protesting the war in Vietnam than in lining up support for Brown. Moreover, many have not forgiven Brown for his role last winter in ousting their president, Si Casady, because of his outspoken op-

position to the war. The cdc, therefore, cannot be counted on to work up the enthusiasm for Brown this fall that it did in 1958 and 1962.

Brown's problems with the cdc are compounded by the strength of the New Left. Opposition to the Vietnam war appears to be more widespread in California than in other states, and Brown's firm support of the President's Vietnam policy has alienated him from many in his own party. In the June Democratic primary, Robert Scheer, an editor of *Ramparts* magazine, frightened the liberals by polling forty-five per cent of the vote against one of their own, Representative Jeffrey Cohelan, whose district includes the university community of Berkeley and the city of Oakland. Scheer was running on a New Left platform that included opposition to the war and demands for more anti-poverty funds.

Cohelan found it expedient to shy away from close identification with the administration, but he sought and used extensively a televised endorsement from Robert Kennedy. Less than a month after the primary, the Los Angeles *Times's* State Poll showed that California Democrats would vote for Kennedy over Johnson by a margin of two to one in a Presidential primary. Some of Brown's aides were relieved to learn in July that the President had decided to pass up the chance to address the National Governors' Conference this summer in Los Angeles, where he had been expected to endorse Brown in person.

The New Left will hold a statewide conference from September 30 to October 2 in Los Angeles to determine its strategy in the November elections. Its leaders have urged a boycott of the governor's race.

BROWN LOYALISTS are an amalgam of moderates, businessmen for whom politics is a practical matter, and Californians who simply feel comfortable with the earnest, hard-working Brown. There is much evidence, however, that they have lost their touch. During the Republican primary, for example, Brown strategists Don Bradley and Hale Champion saw to it that Reagan's opponent, former Mayor George Christopher of San Francisco, was

hit so hard with old charges involving violations of milk-price regulations by his dairy that Reagan picked up considerable strength. The Democratic strategy was to make certain that Reagan won the primary, but the dimensions of his two-to-one victory helped to unite the Republican Party and hurt Brown's chances.

The Democrats led by Speaker of the Assembly Jesse M. Unruh would not have made such a mistake. The Unruh faction, nicknamed the "power brokers," understands power better than the other groups in the party; and except for Brown, Unruh is the most important Democrat in the state. His allies are state legislators who depend on him for political favors, lobbyists who need him on their side to get legislation through the Assembly, and representatives of a broad range of interests who know that Unruh is one of the few power centers in a state where political influence has been notoriously diffused over the years.

Unruh, who wants to be governor some day, is not only Brown's chief Democratic rival but also his nominal campaign manager. "Big Daddy" Unruh has access to large campaign funds, and he has become adroit at killing off potential rivals to his gubernatorial ambitions. Two years ago he lured former White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger into the senatorial primary against State Controller Alan Cranston, founder of the Democratic Council. Salinger beat Cranston, but then Unruh deserted Salinger and George Murphy defeated the unlucky Pierre that November. This year Unruh encouraged Lloyd Hand, the former State Department protocol chief, to come into the primary to make certain that Tom Braden, a newspaper publisher, would not take the nomination for lieutenant governor away from the incumbent, Glenn Anderson. It was Anderson who, as acting governor when the 1965 Watts riots started, delayed calling out the National Guard. Braden and Hand split the anti-Anderson vote, and Anderson won renomination.

Brown's defeat would remove the principal obstacle to Unruh's political ambitions, but Unruh would not be able to escape his share of the blame. Most Democrats seem to feel that Unruh cannot afford to sit this

one out, even though another term for Brown would hardly enhance the chances for Unruh—or any other Democrat—four years from now. Any party that holds a governorship for twelve years is pushing its luck. On the other hand, Unruh's chances to become governor in 1970 might improve considerably if in the meantime Californians had savored four years of Reagan Republicanism.

### The Yorty Challenge

The Yorty insurgents face many of the problems that confront Unruh and his friends. Mayor Samuel W. Yorty of Los Angeles challenged Brown in the primary and got al-



most a million votes. This impressive showing was attributed to Yorty's independence and aggressiveness, to dissatisfaction with Brown, to a growing conservatism in the state, and—most important of all—to the white backlash from the Watts riots. Yorty's support of the Los Angeles police force during and since the rioting has made him a hero to many whites, and Robert Kennedy's caustic criticism of Yorty's stewardship as mayor at Senate hearings last month unquestionably bolstered his standing with conservatives.

To divine Yorty's future course is difficult. Despite the bitter things he said about Brown in the June primary campaign, he could very well change his late-summer coyness to lukewarm support for the gov-

ernor. In 1968 he may take on moderate Republican Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, who defeated him twice in senatorial races during the 1950's.

In his efforts to unite Democrats behind his candidacy, Brown has tried to placate two of the dissident factions. For the Yorty insurgents, the governor signed an anti-riot bill that was put through the legislature under pressure from Yorty and Los Angeles Police Chief William H. Parker, who died soon before the bill became law. The law makes it a misdemeanor for anyone to act intentionally to incite a riot under circumstances of clear and present danger and provides for penalties of up to six months in jail and a \$500 fine.

To appease the Unruh faction, Brown agreed not to oppose the election as state Democratic chairman of Carmen Warschaw, an Unruh supporter who is called the Dragon Lady by her enemies. But Brown could not control liberals and others in the party who bitterly oppose Mrs. Warschaw. At a stormy meeting of the Democratic State Central Committee in Sacramento last month, Mrs. Warschaw was defeated by Charles Warren, a member of the Assembly from Los Angeles. The vote was 448 to 443, and, as Unruh said, the winner was really Reagan. Not only was Brown defeated in this effort to bring harmony to the party; he also had to step in to referee a convention shouting match between two of his campaign managers, Frederick G. Dutton and Don Bradley.

To plan his fall strategy, Brown brought Dutton, who managed his 1958 gubernatorial campaign, back to California from Washington. Dutton has been practicing law in the capital since serving as a White House aide during the Kennedy years. But even an acknowledged professional like Dutton must face up to the harsh fact that two four-year terms tend to weary the voters as well as the incumbent, no matter how good his record—and Brown's is certainly creditable.

During Brown's years in Sacramento, the state has expanded its university system, provided money for other schools, met its water needs with the Feather River project, and absorbed with a minimum of strife

more than half a million new residents each year. But to accomplish this Brown has had to increase taxes and take many other unpopular steps.

**T**HE DAY AFTER the primary last June, Brown told a news conference that it was his job to convince California voters that Reagan was a right-wing extremist, and that is still the theme of the Democratic campaign. But it may be too late to fasten this label on Reagan. Nearly half of the Republicans and almost a third of the Democrats questioned this summer by the Los Angeles *Times* State Poll said that they considered Reagan a conservative. The State Poll, conducted by a savings-and-loan executive, Don Muchmore, is to California what the Harris and Gallup Polls are to the nation. Muchmore, a skilled political analyst as well as a competent pollster, is respected by Republicans and Democrats alike.

Although Reagan refuses to denounce the John Birch Society, a factor of some consequence in California Republican politics, he gives a middle-of-the-road impression by talking in generalities and by avoiding the extreme, off-the-cuff statements with which Barry Goldwater overwhelmed himself in 1964. Like the good actor he was, Reagan has learned his lines well after attending brainstorming sessions where ideas on such problems as taxes, water, and education were fed into him by academic experts. He rehearses carefully, then delivers his speeches and television spiels smoothly, without notes.

But despite the difference in manner, Reagan is playing on emotional issues similar to those Goldwater sought to use. The Watts issue and continued rioting in Northern slums this summer have unquestionably helped his chances. Reagan has made no direct appeal for the strong backlash vote flushed out by Yorty, but he has said he dislikes the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which stressed public accommodations, the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and this year's Federal fair housing legislation.

The political potency of opposition to fair housing laws was felt in California two years ago, and leaders in both parties have not forgotten

what happened. By a margin of nearly two to one, the voters approved a constitutional amendment invalidating the state's Rumford Act, which provided for the sale and rental of housing without discrimination. The amendment has since been declared unconstitutional by the state Supreme Court, and the decision is being appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Reagan and the Republican nominee for lieutenant governor, former Nixon aide Robert H. Finch, issued a joint statement calling for the outright repeal of the Rumford Act. Finch's decision to join Reagan in such a move surprised nearly everyone because Finch is considered a moderate. But he too hopes to be governor some day.

At their convention the Republicans adopted a platform plank calling for the act's "repeal or amendment." A week later the Democratic convention endorsed the act, overriding suggestions from Brown, who strongly supported the act in 1964, that it should be referred to a bipartisan study commission and taken "out of politics." A majority of delegates felt that Brown had hurt himself by talking about unspecified amendments and had left himself in the position of trying to straddle the explosive open-housing issue.

### **Academic Emotions**

Another highly emotional issue working for Reagan is the sustained concern over the demonstrations that began with the free-speech issue nearly two years ago at the University of California's Berkeley campus. Californians are proud of their university system, which is probably the best in the nation, and they were understandably upset when the state appeared to lose control of some aspects of life on the Berkeley campus. Reagan's position on the demonstrations is simple and appealing. All he claims to want is a public hearing so that there can be a full airing of the charges and countercharges. His opponents fear, however, that as governor he would play politics with the university and drive off many excellent students and faculty members.

Some Democrats are already saying that Reagan's right-wing supporters, and not the liberals, would be the most dismayed persons after

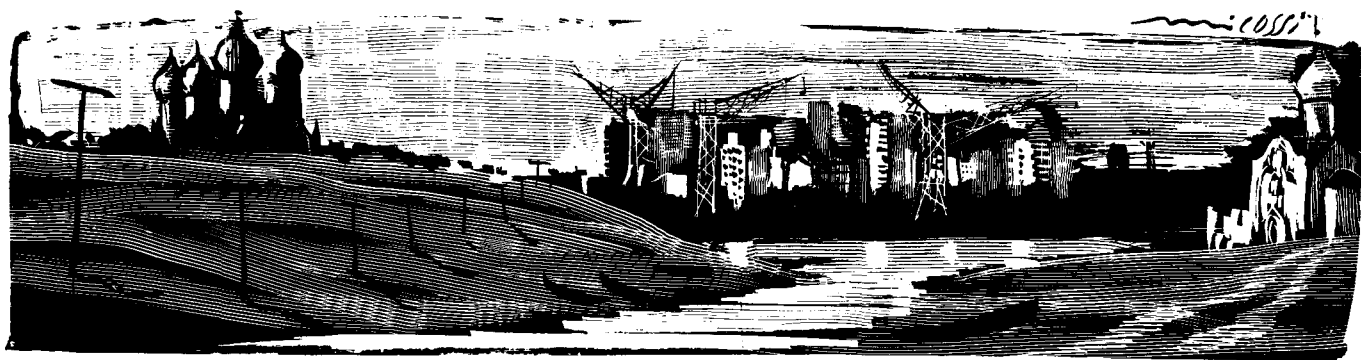
Reagan took the oath of office in January, if he should win the election. This view assumes that Reagan, like most men elected to public office, would be a prisoner of events and could never make good on his promises to reduce Sacramento's involvement in the state's affairs.

A former radio sports announcer who became a competent actor, Reagan is a graduate of Eureka College in his native Illinois, where he majored in economics. He has been active in the Screen Actors Guild, was its president for a time, and helped negotiate its contracts with the film industry. But image, not substance, made him the gubernatorial nominee. Late in the 1964 Goldwater campaign Reagan appeared on a nationwide television program to deliver a speech that he had perfected during a decade of propagandizing for his television sponsor, General Electric. The television address ended with an appeal for campaign funds that brought in thousands of contributions. Encouraged by the surprise victory of George Murphy and casting about last year for a gubernatorial candidate, the strong Goldwater forces in California kept coming back to Reagan, who was receptive to the idea from the outset.

Under the tutelage of the California political public-relations firm of Spencer-Roberts & Associates, Reagan changed the emphasis of his speech from anti-Federal government to anti-state government and has been delivering it in person up and down the state and in recorded excerpts on radio and television. His voice is so well known, largely because of his long years on television, that his handlers decided it was not even necessary to identify him when he spoke on radio commercials. On television and in the flesh, the fifty-five-year-old Reagan looks great. Not a fleck of gray mars his carefully combed black hair.

Image, that potent ingredient in today's politics, has sidelined Nixon as a man from whom no one would buy a used car and exalted John F. Kennedy as a man of youthful vigor. With a Reagan victory in November, it could have its penultimate triumph. The ultimate would be Reagan's nomination as the 1968 Republican Presidential candidate.





## Moscow: The Defense Does Not Rest

DEMING BROWN

SEVEN MONTHS have passed since the Soviet writers Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel began serving their sentences of seven and five years, respectively, at hard labor. They are now in separate sections—about thirty miles apart—of the large concentration-camp area in the Mordovian Autonomous Republic in central Russia. Sinyavsky is said to be suffering from malnutrition; Daniel recently spent two weeks in solitary confinement on short rations, reportedly for objecting to his work as a lathe operator in a furniture factory, a job that aggravates the pain in his right arm, severely wounded during his front-line service in the Second World War.

As the two writers go about their prison labors and try to subsist on a fare of wheat porridge and potato soup, the intellectual community from which they have been banished has by no means forgotten them. The international outcry that accompanied their arrest last September, their long confinement incommunicado, and their trial and sentencing last February has died down somewhat. Yet the case of Sinyavsky and Daniel is just as alive today among Soviet intellectuals as it was on the day they were sentenced. They were convicted after a four-day trial for slandering the Soviet political and social system with the intention of subverting it through the works they had secretly sent abroad for publication under their respective pseudonyms, Abram Tertz and Nikolai Arzhak.

What is most striking about their

trial, as reported in a partial transcript sent to the West by undisclosed means, is the obtuseness of the court as it went about its task of reducing works of literature to political pamphlets, and the dignity, courage, and intelligence with which the authors, having taken the virtually unprecedented step of pleading innocent at a show trial, defended themselves. A further example of the courage of Daniel, which convinced Soviet intellectuals even more of his stubborn sense of responsibility and honor, became known in April. In his final plea at the trial, Daniel had expressed a degree of remorse when he said that "We deeply regret that our works have been determinedly exploited by reactionary forces [abroad] and that thereby we have caused harm to our country." On April 9, he wrote a letter from the concentration camp to *Izvestia*, protesting that the six months' "persuasion campaign" directed at himself and Sinyavsky by police officials while they were in prison before the trial had purposely misinformed the two about the use that had been made of their works by foreign publishers and commentators. Daniel wrote that only after the trial had they been allowed to "read our newspapers and to obtain information about the foreign press," and that now, on the basis of this new information, "I have come to the conclusion that our writings should not under any circumstances have been the subject of a criminal prosecution. The verdict is unjust and illegal. I reject the regret

I expressed regarding the damage which our writings are supposed to have caused. The only damage which can in any way be attached to the names of Sinyavsky and Daniel was provoked by their arrest, their trial, and their sentencing." *Izvestia* did not print or acknowledge Daniel's letter, but its contents have become well known to the Soviet intellectual community. And the spirited conduct of the two writers appears to have done much to set the tone of fearless indignation that has marked the utterances of their numerous sympathizers ever since the trial.

WHEN Sinyavsky and Daniel were arrested last September, very few Russians had ever heard of "Tertz" and "Arzhak," and only a tiny fraction of these had read their works. But after the arrests, despite an official blackout, word of the writers' plight traveled rapidly within the Soviet intellectual community. As word spread abroad, Soviet citizens derived their information on the case from a combination of foreign shortwave broadcasts and their own domestic grapevine. Through these means it became known that the outside world shared their concern and that the government was receiving protests from prominent foreign individuals and organizations, together with uneasy inquiries from foreign Communist Parties. In the first few months after the arrests a community of sympathy for the imprisoned writers began to build up, together with a crystallization of opinion as to what their