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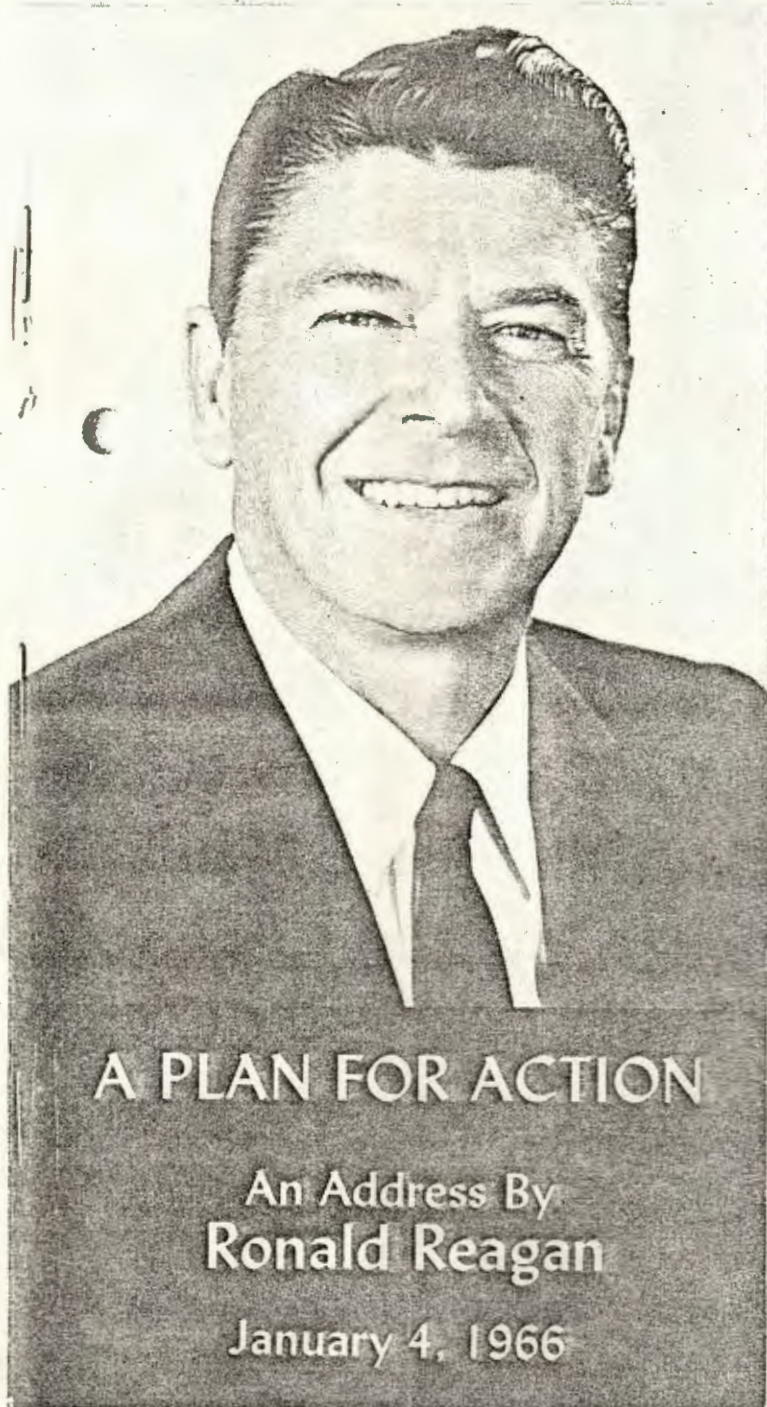
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RR Campaign 1966
P1-13A

*Announcement of
Candidacy*



A PLAN FOR ACTION

An Address By
Ronald Reagan

January 4, 1966

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS CONFERENCE
CONFERENCE
CONFERENCE

A Plan for Action

By Ronald Reagan

Ladies and gentlemen, for the last six months I've been traveling up and down the state, meeting as many of you as I could, answering questions and asking a few. There isn't any secret as to why I've been doing this; I have said I'll be a candidate for Governor once I've found the answers to a few questions myself—mainly about my acceptability to you. Who'd like to be Governor isn't important; who the people would like to have as Governor is very important.

This is a big state—it's been described as more like a nation than a state. I've used plane, train and automobile in these last six months. I've been on a California street 8,000 feet above sea level, and one a couple of hundred feet below sea level. I've thrown a snowball and watched water skiers all on the same day, and I haven't begun to cover the state. Actually, I think you could spend a lifetime just seeing and getting to know California.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS CONFERENCE
California State Capitol
Sacramento, California
1957-1958

Someone has said California isn't a place—it's a way of life. Well, that's true, and it's a good way. People have been coming to this place and to this way of life for 100 years. They've come from every part of America and from a lot of other countries. Today some of us are native-born Californians descended from the earliest immigrants, and some of us have only been Californians since this morning. Then a lot of us fall somewhere in between and even when we've been here 30 years, as I have, we still refer to ourselves as being *from* someplace. We're from Illinois or Iowa, Kansas or New Jersey. But, we're here to stay and our children are native-born and California's problems are our problems. Some of those problems have grown faster than the population, and in that we're number one in the nation. All of us are concerned that in our growth we don't destroy the very things that brought us here in the first place. It won't matter if the sky is bigger and bluer out here if you can't see it for smog and all our elbow-room and open space won't mean much if the unsolved problems are higher than the hills.

Cracks have appeared in our economy. The unemployment rate is almost 40% higher than the rest of the nation. And we lead the nation in bankruptcies and business failures. We've dropped from 6th to 13th among the states with regard to new industries locating here. There is no way to

count the jobs that don't exist because they didn't come here, but we can count very easily the 800 jobs that disappeared in Palo Alto when an aircraft plant moved to the East Coast. I'm holding a catsup bottle—a pretty commonplace item. But, when the Secretary of Labor and our own state government finished their experiments in reform among farm workers and cancelled out the Bracero program, there were 28 million fewer of these manufactured in one plant in Oakland, and that meant lay-offs for 200 employees. And because there is no assurance they will quit their well-meant social tinkering before next harvest season—canning and packing companies are making plans to move South across the border, and with them go jobs that will no longer be held by Californians.

From the Capitol in Sacramento one answer is proposed. Schools, public buildings and parks are canvassed to see how many additional workers could be used doing chores if money could be made available. The total is set at 50,000 and our Chief Executive goes to Washington, hand-extended, asking for \$250 million to solve our unemployment with this "make work" project. Well, I don't think that's good enough for Californians. Jobs are wanted. Jobs are needed—productive jobs—jobs a man can be proud to do, knowing he's contributing to growth and prosperity and that *he* has a chance to grow and

advance in his work. Such jobs come from private industry and can be made possible by an administration in Sacramento that has faith in our free economy and will take steps to improve the business climate so that California is once again attractive to industry.

Let me make one thing plain. I do not challenge the sincerity of that Administration, nor do I charge it with a lack of concern. I'm sure there is an earnest desire on the part of those in office to provide for the people's welfare. But their approach to the solution of our problems reveals a basic disagreement in philosophy. They are dedicated to a belief in rule by administrative edict with more and more control and regulation of the economy and of our lives.

Just recently a report of the Commission on California State Government Organization & Economics admitted there is no way to count the Boards, Commissions and Bureaus in the Executive Branch. The legislative analyst made a partial count and listed 276—53 appointed in the last few years. We are told every increase in government is because of the increase in population. But, government has increased four times as fast as population and total state expenditures are up ten times as much.

Budget deficits are not met by sound fiscal changes, but by one-time windfalls—sweeping the problem under the rug with gimmicks—advancing

the collection of corporation income tax one year and sales tax the next. Now they ask for the worst gimmick of all—"Withholding" of personal income tax. This is actually a one-time bundle of money for government at the time the program is started, but from then on the experience of those states where it is in force reveals it is a free ticket for future tax increases. In the meantime, in violation of a promise to the people, tens of millions of dollars of tideland oil revenues supposedly earmarked for building our water project have been siphoned off to balance the ever-growing budget deficits. This is extremely short sighted because this oil money is not a permanent source of income, but only results from the sale of an exhaustible natural resource. At the same time this is a betrayal particularly of Californians in the Northern part of our state who were told these oil revenues would offset dollar for dollar bonds which would be used to create power and recreational facilities to give their area—the area furnishing the water for the rest of us—a chance to grow and prosper.

Now with a budget higher than any in the history of our 50 states, we are told we need an additional \$200 million in taxes. There is uncertainty and unease in financial circles over the way we've stretched our credit and bonding capacity, but we are told we must borrow another \$260 million for school construction. If you are

an average family of four—husband, wife, two children—your share of the state and local tax burden is \$1,396 this year and your family's share of state debt is \$1,320. The portion of that which goes for public welfare has doubled in these eight years, and in spite of so-called prosperity, the number of people receiving welfare has increased since the end of World War II from two out of every 100 citizens to more than 15 out of 100.

Don't get me wrong—no responsible person would suggest we abandon our concern for those fellow human beings who, unable to make provision for themselves, must depend on us. Nor do any of us think we can fulfill our responsibility by grudgingly offering bare subsistence. Human compassion and simple brotherhood demand that where there is need we should do our utmost to provide some of the comforts that make life worthwhile. But this should be in response to need, and where the need is temporary, the help should be temporary, aimed at restoring self-sufficiency. Working men and women should not be asked to carry the additional burden of providing for a segment of society capable of caring for itself, but which prefers making welfare a way of life, free-loading at the expense of more conscientious citizens. There is so much real need, so many things still to be done, we cannot afford extravagance. For example, right now there

is much more we can do for children with hearing problems. Facilities in special schools for the deaf are so limited that many children are on waiting lists, unable to begin their education. In addition to facilities, we need specially trained teachers.

California also leads in some things that fortunately give us no sense of pride. The only thing that's gone up more than spending is crime. Our city streets are jungle paths after dark with more crimes of violence than New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts combined. Narcotics arrests among youngsters under 18 are up 40% over last year. These aren't delinquents—these are our children, inquisitive as puppies and filled with the spirit of adventure. They are no match for that character leaning against a lamp post down the block from the school. They need more help than just our love and lectures, and they can have such help if we'll untie the hands of our local law enforcement officers. Legislation is needed to permit local ordinances that will restore to the police the flexibility and power in making arrests they once had so they can take on that character by the lamp post. Such legislation has been proposed time after time by our hard-working and dedicated legislators in Sacramento. A 12-point program was introduced in the last session. It was buried in committee, pigeon-holed, or vetoed in the executive office.

Back at the turn of the century, we embarked on a master plan of education. It was truly a bi-partisan effort above political rivalry and differences. Its principal architects were a Democrat Assemblywoman and a Republican Assemblyman. Believing in that plan, Californians taxed themselves at a rate higher than any other American to build a great University. But it takes more than dollars and stately buildings, or do we no longer think it necessary to teach self-respect, self-discipline and respect for law and order. Will we allow a great university to be brought to its knees by a noisy, dissident minority? Will we meet their neurotic vulgarities with vacillation and weakness, or will we tell those entrusted with administering the University we expect them to enforce a code based on decency, common sense and dedication to the high and noble purpose of the University? That they will have the full support of all of us as long as they do this, but we'll settle for nothing less.

Our great water project, given impetus in the administration of Earl Warren, and further refined and perfected during the administration of Governor Knight, must be carried on more efficiently and economically than at present. The people are entitled to explanations of the 14 month delay in building power facilities at Oroville, as well as other delays, and work supposedly finished, but then redone repeatedly until original

cost estimates have had to be revised upward again and again.

Now I know that in presenting these problems I've probably sounded overly critical, but Abraham Lincoln said, "A man may be loyal to his government and still be opposed to the peculiar principles and practices of the administration in power."

A big brother or paternalistic government can solve many problems for the people, but I don't think we'll like the price it charges—ever-increasing power over us and ever-decreasing individual freedom. A *great society* must be a free society, and to be truly *great* and *really* free, it must be a creative society calling on the genius and power of its people. Legislation alone can't solve our problems, nor will they disappear under a shower of tax dollars. The Gold of the Golden State is to be found in its people—the greatest pool of technical skill, talent and ability in all the world. Look at us, can we possibly believe that anyone can manage our lives better than we can manage them ourselves? We have the ability to prove we are first in more than sheer numbers of people. There is more at stake than just good government in California. We can demonstrate to our sister states—to an entire nation—that government should be *of* and *by*, as well as *for* the people. That this way of ours is still the greatest adventure, the newest experiment in man's relation to

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man, and those who call it outmoded and old-fashioned—who offer what they say is something new—are in reality taking us back to the age-old concept of rule over the many by the few.

There are those who'd give up state sovereignty and make the state an administrative district of the federal government. Over and over they tell us our problems are too big—that only federal aid can provide an answer, but with federal aid goes federal control, and as the administration in Sacramento relinquishes state sovereignty to Washington, at the same time it takes more power from those who have been elected to run our towns and cities. Control over local school districts is tightened until we can see looming ever larger on the horizon the specter of state-controlled education, and eventually a national school system. Welfare becomes needlessly expensive as red tape regulations prevent administration at the county level from putting sensible procedures into practice.

Certainly we have a rightful claim on federal funds. It's our money in the first place. California is one of the so-called rich states which not only pays into the kitty everything it takes out, but puts in a share for other states. It's time we made a greater protest about the strings attached to our money before we are allowed to use it. How many of us realize that in order to get federal welfare funds, our state had to cancel all residence

requirements for establishing welfare eligibility? Today a newcomer to the state is automatically eligible for our many aid programs the moment he crosses the border.

The time has come for us to strengthen both representative government and self-government. The two are not the same, but they go hand in hand. The executive branch of our state government has grown dangerously top heavy, and it seeks more and more to bypass the legislature to give more and more power to bureaus and agencies who are not elected by the people, but are beholden to the man who appointed them. We have a great many talented and knowledgeable men representing us in the Assembly and Senate—some of them have become outstanding specialists in particular phases of state problems. They are handicapped, though, by an old-fashioned concept harking back to an earlier day when representatives only served part-time. Well, it's a full-time job now at part-time prices, and some of these men make unbelievable sacrifices simply because they are dedicated to public service. They deserve better and California deserves and needs a full-time legislature with compensation as nearly commensurate to the service rendered as we can make it.

As for self-government, I am not proposing an aimless hit or miss approach with government sitting back hopefully waiting for a volunteer to

recognize a problem and think of a solution. I am suggesting setting up a statewide program on a systematic basis with government providing leadership and mobilizing the full creative abilities of the people which, in my opinion, is the meaning of the phrase "government of and by the people." With the state government working to secure the maximum return of our tax money to the state for local administration as a workable alternative to a massive federal bureaucracy imposing more and more restrictions on local and state rule. Then a truly creative society stamps as acceptable only those programs which help California, but which do not increase our own bureaucracy, result in more centralization or power, or greatly unbalance the budget.

We can ask business, labor, the financial world and the campus for the best brains available to modernize our government structure, eliminate waste and duplication. In the same way an approach can be made to "in depth" study of the tax structure. It's time we recognize that only people pay taxes. There is no way to pass them on to some impersonal organization—eventually, every dollar government spends must come from the pockets of each one of us, and we must have a clearer understanding and a greater voice in what we buy. It's just possible that we can't afford everything that is presented to us as another *free* government service.

The time has come also to review our thinking on the matter of property tax to see if we might not be clinging to an archaic and outmoded idea that never envisioned millions and millions of homemakers saving to build or buy and then finding themselves paying an increasingly high rent to live in their own home.

Years ago, the original concept of property tax was in reality a form of income tax because land was the source of wealth. I'm sure no one could have anticipated a credit structure in which most of these homes are mortgaged, and the owner in reality only owns a limited equity in his home—but he's taxed on the basis of actually owning real estate to the full value of the property. And what happens when we reach our non-earning years? When we retire on our pension, social security or savings—that fixed income that can't keep pace with inflation? Do we just ignore the tragedy of elderly citizens discovering they can no longer afford to live in the homes in which they've grown old? Study and tax reform will take time and this problem requires an answer now. Tax forgiveness would unfairly burden other home owners, but isn't it possible we could declare a moratorium? Assess, but not collect the tax until such time as the home was no longer needed and then collect the accumulated tax from sale of the estate.

A creative society mobilizing the business and

industrial community to pinpoint who is unemployed, where and why, and then how to make a place for them in our productive free economy can fight a war on poverty 1000 times more effectively than government. We can call upon the best minds in our legal profession to work out a plan to remove, once and for all, the appointment of judges from the influence of partisan politics.

There is no problem we cannot solve by a cooperative effort using government and the full creative talent of our people. This is true above all in the problem which is, or certainly should be, of greatest concern to every one of us. There must be no lack of equal opportunity, no inequality before the law, no differing standards with regards to constitutional rights for any American, and we are all Americans. It's high time we stopped hyphenating ourselves into blocs, Irish-Americans, Negro-Americans, Italian-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Oriental-Americans, and on and on. Those blocs were set up for political expediency so cynical men could make cynical promises in a hunt for votes. If taxes are too high, they are too high for all of us. If streets are unsafe after dark, everyone's family is menaced. If prices go up, all our pockets are a little emptier.

Certainly, there are problems in our differences and government must take the lead in their solu-

tion, but there is a limit to what can be accomplished by laws and regulations, and I seriously question whether anything additional is needed in that line. What is needed is for government to mobilize the decent people of goodwill from every group to come together in a search for common understanding to establish channels of communication and to make it plainly evident that those few who choose to walk with prejudice will walk alone. Never again should any parent know the heartbreak of explaining to a child that he must be denied some of the good our country has to offer because in some way he is different.

Our problems are many, but our capacity for solving them is limitless and the task of government is to discover, and harness those latent solutions by calling upon the people to participate actively in government.

Now I'd like to mention one problem that goes beyond the scope of purely state issues and one which, without doubt, crosses party lines. Our two-party system is endangered more today than at any time in our history, and it cannot survive a long-time continuation of the present imbalance of power. Party competition keeps both parties honest and respectful of the people's wishes. Without that competition one-party rule becomes one-man rule, and the subsequent loss of freedom will apply to Democrats and Republicans alike.

I was a Democrat most of my life until I found I could no longer follow the leadership of that party as it turned from the traditional precepts of Jefferson, Jackson and Cleveland. I believed then, and still believe, that anything, whether it be management, labor or government, which imposes unfairly on the freedom of the individual, is tyranny and must be opposed. The choice is not between left or right, but rather between up or down. The founding fathers knew this and they set our course upward toward the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with law and order. They had known the other choice and turned from it because, whether we call it empire, kingdom, dictatorship, or the folly of Marxism, it leads only downward to the ant heap of totalitarianism, and even those earnest humanitarians who'd trade some measure of man's independence for security or material welfare are embarked on that downward course.

I believe there are millions of Democrats today devoted to the cause of freedom, and torn between loyalty to party and concern for their own deeply held beliefs and principles. Well, Winston Churchill, who made a change in his own political affiliation said, "Some men change principle for party and some men change party for principle."

To those of you who are Democrats, may I suggest you take the 1932 platform upon which

F.D.R. was elected. Look again at its promises which were so overwhelmingly approved by Americans of both parties. The promise to reduce the cost of government by 25%—to restore those rights and powers which even then it was claimed had been unjustly seized from the state and the individual by the federal government and its promise of restoration of constitutional limits on the power of that government. Ask yourselves which party would be most at home with those promises today.

I am not a politician in the sense of ever having held public office, but I think I can lay claim to being a "citizen politician." I have always had an interest in politics and been an active participant. As a Democrat, I worked and campaigned for that party, and now, believing as I do that the Republican party is the party of limited government, individual freedom and adherence to the constitution, I have worked for that party as actively as I could in the campaigns of 1960, 1962 and 1964. In those campaigns, I supported all the party nominees because the choice today is not one of men, but of basic and widely differing philosophies.

Now I have come to a decision that even a short time ago I would have thought impossible for me to make, and yet I make it with no lingering doubts or hesitation. As of now, I am a

candidate seeking the Republican nomination for Governor.

In the months ahead, I will present a number of specific proposals for solution to the problems I've discussed here tonight, and for others that weren't mentioned because of limited time. I'll do my best to meet as many of you as possible and to explain clearly and completely my philosophy and beliefs. On those occasions I'll welcome your questions and do my best to answer them so you'll have no doubt of where I stand on the issues important to you.

I've discovered already there is more gossip in this business than the one I've been in. Modern political dialogue isn't based on legitimate debate anymore, or disagreement on views. There's a great deal of false image-making and an effort made not to dispute the views you really hold, but to invent some and hang them on you with the hope the false image will appear real.

In my opinion, the issues are too important for that kind of gameplaying. You are entitled to a discussion of those issues and to know where any candidate stands, to have a direct confrontation of the differing philosophies without name-calling or personalities. If in the coming primary, you choose someone else to be the party nominee, he will have my wholehearted support.

In the meantime, you are entitled to some

background statistics on me. My education was in Economics and Sociology. I never attended dramatic school, but most of you have found that out. During World War II, I was called to active duty as a Lieutenant in the Cavalry Reserve and ended up a Captain and Adjutant of an Air Force Callation. As many of you know, that was an administrative post. I believe I've had administrative and executive experience possibly to a greater extent than many businessmen, and perhaps of a type more akin to politics. For some 20 years, I served on the Board, and was six times President of a working union, the Screen Actors Guild. This involved negotiating the basic contracts covering minimum wages and working conditions for some 15,000 performers, dealing with the upper echelon of organized labor because of our affiliation with the A.F.L. and with governmental agencies and legislative committees. During the same period, I was on the Board 10 years and twice President of the Motion Picture Industry Council—a body made up of some 30 odd unions and the management and ownership groups in our industry. In this capacity, I had occasion to represent the entire industry before legislative committees in Washington, and on one occasion at a White House Presidential meeting.

In addition, I have served on charitable boards and been a director of a business company and a trustee of Eureka College.

Calvin Hotel
1000 Broadway, California
SAN FRANCISCO

Now I don't in any way suggest this experience is comparable to the enormity of California's \$4 billion dollar government, but on the other hand, a California election is not like a banana republic revolution. We don't start building a government from scratch—it is a going concern with a legislature, constitutional officers in addition to Governor and prescribed duties for each. No one man runs the State of California, and no one man should try—but one thing a Governor must do is use the power and prestige of his office to see that men and women receive administrative appointments on the basis of integrity and ability, not as political favors.

I have no commitments to anyone but you and to my belief that the safety of our state and our nation should be entrusted to the care of the people. To all of you who have worked in my behalf to make these past few months possible—

You have done me great honor and made me very proud—yet even as I thank you, I must ask for your continued help, and I do so with a promise to do my utmost to deserve it.

QUESTION: Do you consider the movie industry, or I should say, the moving picture industry, adequate training for a governor of the State of California?

ANSWER: Gee, and I never played a governor. (Applause)

Well, now, seriously, I can understand the reason for asking that question. (Applause) I know, as I have told some of you perhaps, only a generation ago the people of my profession couldn't be buried in the church yard. The world has improved since then. I think what really seriously, what the answer to this question is: this government was created to be "of, by, and for the people." I subscribe to a belief that we haven't been taking advantage enough of the "of" part.

In recent years, and I don't think it was ever intended that any group of citizens or any profession or industry should be automatically outlawed or relegated to second class citizenship, by reason of their occupation. (Applause) But if there's any course in such things (Laughter) I'm sure a lot of people would be happy to take it. (Laughter)

I just figure that it's high time that a lot of people who have been making their living out there under those rules and regulations, maybe should take a voice, at least for awhile, in government, to let some of those fellows understand what it's like on the cold outside. (Applause)

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ANNOUNCEMENT DAY PRESS CONFERENCE...STATLER HILTON, PACIFIC BALLROOM. Jan. 4, 1966.

Q. Mr. Reagan you mention in the film that a group of Californians asked you to run. Can you identify that group and also the source of your campaign financing?

Ron: Well now it would be pretty hard to do the second. The first ah..many of the names of the people who approached me and talked to me about running in the beginning are to be found on the letterhead that has been used throughout this pre-campaign period under the title of the Friends of Ronald Reagan.

As to the financing which has only been to the extent of some mailings and to make possible my getting around the State as I have..that has been a rather ~~widespread~~ widespread. based not only including those people but other people who have contributed as work has come into this this a group, Friends of Ronald Reagan.

Q. Are members of the John Birch Society among the group?

Ron: Well not to my knowledge. I don't know that.

Q. Mr. Reagan. You stated that the United States should declare war on N. Viet Nam.. for the purpose of defining the anti vietnamese war demonstrators as traitors. Would you care to elaborate on that statement?

Ron: Well I'd like not only to elaborate on it. I'd like to correct it. There are certain omissions there and that's probably the way it appeared. I don't mean to correct you. I know that that's the way it appeared in a question and answer period where I was speaking in the northern part of the State..ah, central part of the State. I was discussing and answering a question with regard to the more recent custom in the country of the President committing troops to a large scale of military activities without the constitutional formalities of going to congress for a declaration. In connection with that I ~~defended~~ defended the right of the President to do that in this fast moving world but at the same time I will say that once it has reached the scale of large scale war fare such as in Viet Nam today and Korea ah..I questioned whether we were not embarking on a dangerous precedent or have not embarked on one in not going before Congress in laying all the facts...but I had a qualification...I

that I could see advantages to a declaration of war providing there were factors that would make that, ah that there weren't factors that would make that inadvisable and about which we had not been informed and I myself said at the time that I could think of such factors that could make it inadvisable in the danger of escalation but I cited some of the advantages in a formal declaration would be the making of ah supplies being shipped into N. Viet Nam would then become, under the laws of war, would become counterband and many of the more violent demonstrations here such as attempted to stop troop trains and so forth would then constitute lending aid and comfort to the enemy.

Q. Mr. Reagan would you tell us..do you expect support of the Los Angeles Times?

Ron: You'd have to ask the Los Angeles Times.

Q. Mr. Reagan do you think your nomination will bring unity to the Republican party? Do you feel that all wings of the party would support you?

Ron: Well if I did not feel that was a probable/ possibility or even a probability I wouldn't have made the statement that I've just made. I've done my best to get around the State to Republicans who have in the past have had records of supporting... or lets say being members of varying factions and I have not found any strong factional idea or group that would find me unacceptable. I certainly have done my best to suggest unity when I have gone throughout the State.

Q. You say in your statement that you have never sought Birch Society support nor do you have any intention of doing so. Should you become a candidate for office now will you actively reject this society if they do support you? Will you oppose their support?

Ron: Well, I think you're talking about a hypothetical question ah, it is my understanding and incidentally there are available my complete statements on the Birch Society. It is my understanding that the B.S. does not support either candidate or political parties and has stated that its membership is roughly evenly divided between the two parties.

ANSWER: Well, I think you're talking about a hypothetical question. It is my understanding --and incidentally there are available my complete statements on the Birch Society--that the Birch Society does not support either candidates or political parties stated that its membership is roughly evenly divided between the two parties.

QUESTION: Do you believe this to be so?

ANSWER: I would have no way of knowing one way or the other, but I've also made my position clear in this regard; that I don't believe in soliciting groups or block support because I think a campaign is between individuals and the candidate and that you should state as clearly as you can your philosophy and your beliefs. And those individuals who elect to go with you must have bought your philosophy and you haven't bought theirs.

QUESTION: How would you describe your relations with Mr. John Rousello, the local head of the Birch Society--friendly or unfriendly?

ANSWER: Well, I haven't seen him for quite some time. The last time really that I was him was when he was a Republican congressman and it was friendly.

QUESTION: Have you ever had a discussion with John Birch Society officials as to whether the Birch Society would or should support your candidacy? ANSWER: Never.

QUESTION: Do you know whether you are receiving any financial contributions from members of the Birch Society? ANSWER: I would have no way of knowing that.

QUESTION: Yesterday, George Christopher challenged you to a television debate. Now that you are a candidate, do you accept that challenge?

ANSWER: I'm not in favor and I don't believe in Republican debating Republican in public. I think we have had too much of that already. My contest is with the present administration in Sacramento and I intend to keep it that way.

QUESTION: Would you debate Governor Brown?

ANSWER: Well, I'll tell you there is a long way until you get to that. There's a primary contest in between. Then I have a hunch that I'll be debating him quite actively in the months ahead. But I don't know. Maybe Mr. Salinger would advise him not to.

QUESTION: There is an old saying in politics that incumbents aren't defeated--they defeat themselves. Taking into account your lack of experience in politics, how do you propose to beat Governor Brown?

ANSWER: As I said before, I'm going to meet as many of the people as I can and tell them what I believe and suggest specific proposals and solutions to some of the things I think are problems in the months ahead. Then hope that enough of the people will agree with me.

QUESTION: You said that you would campaign by auto and train. Since the Second World War, I don't think you have done any flying. Do you intend to do any flying during this campaign?

ANSWER: I already have done some and you left out a word--I said that I have covered the State of California by train, plane, and auto. I have, as well, had a few trips which I've found necessary to take away from the State of California. I love traveling on the ground. I love driving best of all. I enjoy trains but I have found it necessary for several months past to take to the air.

QUESTION: With reference to cracks which you have said appeared in California economy less than an hour ago Governor Brown said every index of economic activity in California is on the up-swing and 230,000 new jobs are predicted for the coming year. Where did you get your figure?

ANSWER: Well, it seems to me that Governor Brown and some of his departments have used the old business of juggling a few statistics. The truth of the matter is, it takes roughly 200,000 jobs or some plus a year just to keep pace with the increase in population in California, without improving our economy. And every year in California is a record breaking year simply on the basis of our growth. But one of my figures with regard to unemployment was obtained from the A.F. of L.-C.I.O. weekly newsletter which states that with 9 per cent of the population, we have 12 per cent of the unemployed--1 out of 8 of all the people looking for jobs in the United States are looking for them here in Calif.

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QUESTION: In reference to your catsup bottle incident in the film, it says here from the Democratic Coordinating Committee that to reduce the carry-over inventory from the record tomato growers of 1964, the tomato industry cut back production in 1965. Was this taken into account on what you said on the film?

ANSWER: Not only wasn't it taken into account, but again I think I have statistics and documentation that can answer that in the days ahead, because there has been a great reduction in the canning and packing not only of tomatoes, but of other vegetables. And there is already beginning to be signs of an increase in importation from other countries of tomato paste.

QUESTION: Could you tell us what specifically to do with the Watts situation?

ANSWER: Well, I think one idea, pattern to be extended and followed is the very fine example that has been set by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce which has already enlisted the aid of more than 100 industries and expects to expand that as has already found jobs for more than a thousand. I don't know the latest figure on it. And they have some people also on the job training program in private industry and they hope to expand it.

They probably have better figures and have a better knowledge than most public agencies on the exact state of unemployment in that area, roughly about 25,000. According to their figures, about 12,500 are employable or trainable in on the job programs. Another 12,500 don't meet that qualification and are a social problem that must be met by society. All of us. But I think an expansion of this is what I referred to in my statement, an expansion of that idea of improving the business climate and seeking out what inducements you could think of, or incentives, to improve the business climate, including the possibilities of tax incentives. Everything should be done. Because I think basically/a great many of these problems, their solution lies in more jobs for people. —with

QUESTION: Where do you place the blame for what happened?

ANSWER: Well, actually, I think we again must come back to the McCone Report with the idea that there were about two per cent and no more actually involved in this riot. I think there were a number of factors but I think one which cannot be overlooked was that in this two per cent, you have a number of people who were recently immigrants here from states in the Deep South, and they came here like the immigrants of a hundred years ago came from some of the European countries with an idea that the streets were paved with gold, and I think also there were promises made in connection with some of the poverty programs--promises that couldn't materialize for a long time just because of the nature of bureaucracy and the period of time it takes to get such programs under way. I think that there was frustration that was built up. You cannot discount that there were certain elements who had their own axe to grind who moved in, and added to, and kept the riot going.

QUESTION: Are you blaming Governor Brown for part of that?

ANSWER: Oh, I wouldn't like to specify an exact blame now as to who made promises. I would say that an entire philosophy of government is certainly shared in, by the Governor, state and national, with regard to turning only to these government programs as an answer, must take some of the blame.

QUESTION: In efforts to (Inaudible) certain Negro communities.

ANSWER: I certainly do. I am opposed to, as I said, hyphenated Americans and I believe the problems that have to be solved are of interest to every American, regardless if some people hyphenate them by putting a qualifying adjective in front of their name. I am opposed to that, and I'm going to appeal to them because I think that the overwhelming majority of all of our so-called minority and ethnic groups are as concerned with the problems that need to be solved as any of us. And I am going to try to state my case because I don't believe in riding anybody.

QUESTION: Could you give you one more solution for unemployment besides aiding business and tax _____?

ANSWER: Well, I think you have to get into the area of education. And I think there, very definitely, we should look to vocational training throughout the state and see if we have not been lacking in many respects there.

QUESTION: Mr. Reagan, would you be in favor of lowering the amount and the length of unemployment compensation in this state?

ANSWER: Well now, I think you're dealing in something that is a specific, along the lines of those I suggested that I would rather-- (QUESTION: There have been abuses to this--). There are abuses in anything-- (QUESTION: --and that the length of time that the money is paid to a non-working citizen has well been criticized. I was wondering how you would approach this problem--). Let me answer from this standpoint, as I have stated. I think anything in that line, and I mean in the area of welfare, must keep in mind the answering of a need, and yet must stop short of creating a way of life that can actually induce people to accept that rather than to pull their share of the load and to work for a living. But, to get any more specific, I think is something that I'll deal with and have specific proposals about in the next few days.

QUESTION: About a year ago or last February at a banquet here in Inglewood, Barry Goldwater said, "I am urging you to be a candidate." He said that he would be glad to come in and campaign for you in California. Have you been in touch with him and do you expect to ask him to campaign?

ANSWER: No, I haven't been in touch and I don't expect him to, and I don't think he would. I think what he was trying to say at that particular time was that he was very kindly expressing some thanks for whatever I might have been doing in that campaign. But, I think this is between the people of California and the suggested candidates, and outsiders from outside our state would be carpet-bagging in a sense.

QUESTION: Pursuant to that point, may I ask you one question. In your television address, you told us why you travel in (Inaudible). Critics have labeled you a right-wing Republican. Is this true and do you intend to act for California's---

ANSWER: No, and I don't believe any more in hyphenating Republicans than I do in hyphenating Americans. I don't think the labels mean anything anymore, and I think if people will listen to my specific views in the months ahead on issues and where I stand, there won't be any need for such labels.

QUESTION: Because of the registration in California, it is necessary for a substantial number of Democrats to vote for the Republican nominee, for him to be elected. How will your campaign appeal to the Democrats who may vote Republican?

ANSWER: Well, again, I think the problems that face California cross party line. I think that the solutions must cross party lines and I don't know of anyone who knows any better about the Republican side of how Democrats think than I do. I was one for most of my life, and I believe that there are millions of fine, patriotic, and sincere Democrats who are as concerned as anyone about fiscal irresponsibilities, excessive taxation, the growth of government--and I expect to appeal to them.

QUESTION: (Inaudible)--what governmental or political background.

ANSWER: As I have stated, I am not a politician in the sense of ever having held public office. My administrative and executive experience has been what I outlined briefly in my statement--business experience. But I just happened to have a deep-seated belief that it is high time that some of the rank-and-file citizenry should involve themselves in government so that it will be a government of and by, as well as for, the people. And feeling that way, I think I can qualify as a citizen-politician and I don't believe that the country was created by men who were politicians.

QUESTION: Did you agree with the recent statements of Senator Dirkson, Congressman Morse, and Senator Goldwater that there is no place with the Republican Party for members of the Birch Society?

ANSWER: well, I don't know that anyone made that statement. I think there were statements with regard to the Birch Society as a society, but I don't recall anyone saying ~~anything~~ as individuals. As such, they would be perfectly correct in saying there is no place for the Organization because it isn't a political organization. We have plenty of volunteer Republican groups who are formed within the Party to further Republican programs and aims.

QUESTION: Do you believe there are members of the John Birch Society within the Republican Party?

ANSWER: I have issued a statement. It is available here as to how I feel. I am not going to submit to a loyalty oath or test to anybody who decided he wants to vote for me. I don't know how I could do it. If anybody decides he wants to vote for me, he has bought my philosophy; I haven't bought his.

QUESTION: Do you believe there is a place in the Republican Party for John Birch members?

ANSWER: I think there is a place in any political party for anyone who feels he can conscientiously support the aims and the goals of that party.

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QUESTION: What will the main theme of your campaign be? Will it be the break-down or coming breakdown of the poverty of California? That was your lead-off statement and I was wondering if this would be your main theme in your campaign.

QUESTION: Well, I think, generally, it was in the statement there. Some of those things were the results of what I think is wrong: the growth of government; the bureaus that have grown in such numbers and in such size; the declining business climate; and, I think, all of these will be issues. I think there will be other specific issues as the days go on.

QUESTION: What was the precise calendar date that you decided to announce for the candidacy? ANSWER: Today QUESTION: When did you make up your mind? ANSWER: I think it has been within a matter of recent weeks. QUESTION: When did you complete the film? ANSWER: Well, to get it through the lab, we had to do that about a week ago.

QUESTION: It was said that if you were in the Senate at that time, you would have followed the views of Goldwater and voted against the "bill of rights" Bill. Is this still your decision?

ANSWER: At the end of a quite lengthy discussion on the entire issue of civil rights, I did, to a group, make the statement to the answer to a question, after stating at quite some length and discussing at quite some length my agreements with the aims of the civil rights legislation and the fact that I spend a life time on that side, because I believe in it and I believe anything less than complete equality for everyone in America is morally wrong. I then said that I, like others, was critical of some parts of the bill which I thought were badly written, ran the risk of being unconstitutional. Since then, both proponents and opponents of the Bill have bared this out. And I did say that on that basis I would have maybe voted against the Bill.

I tell you the truth. I don't think really that that was a proper thing for me to say because I don't think anyone really know how you would have really voted unless he was really there and a part of the debate, because certainly people of similar views in the legislature, both in the Senate and the House, basically on issues, still voted in opposite ways on that bill.

QUESTION: Who is your principal campaign contributor?

ANSWER: Actually, there hasn't been any large-scale, principal fund-raising. I've written a lot of "Thank You" letters to people who have told me that they would like to help in these months, making it possible for me to get around. But, I don't know of anyone that is any more "principal" than anyone else. QUESTION: You've only started today, and you've already spent about \$50,000. Where did the money come from?

ANSWER: Your know more about it than I do. I don't sit in on those meetings.

QUESTION: What is your present position on social security?

ANSWER: First of all, that's hardly a state issue. It's been what it's always has been. I think social security is a fact of life, and it's here to stay, and it's a good fact. I think it not only is of great benefit to the recipients, but I think at the same time it serves all of us to the extent that it probably tends to level off economic ups-and-downs by keeping a purchasing power among the people.

However, I have reserved the right and have on many occasions criticized flaws and faults which I think endanger this program; and flaws which I think can only be termed as fiscal responsibility in the administering of the running of this program. And I still stand with that.



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* unclear in the original MST 1/11/83

QUESTION: What would you say is the one central issue of the campaign above all others?

ANSWER: To retire Pat Brown (Laughter)

QUESTION: (Inaudible)

ANSWER: Well, let me answer you there. Yes, I think there is a difference between the Republican approach and the Democratic approach in the "Great Society." I again think I voiced it in my statement that I don't believe the pattern that has been laid down by the present "Great Society" can at the same time include a free society. And I think what we must have in America is the opportunity for all, and all who are willing to accept opportunity; and, at the same time, compassion and care for all those who, through no fault of their own, are unable to accept it. But, I think--you know the Jewish book, the Talmud, has several steps for helping people: (1) the least desirable, the last resort, is the handout, the dole; the most desirable and the most effective is to help people to help themselves and that, I think, probably typifies the Republican approach.

QUESTION: Medicare for the elderly is (Inaudible). If you were Governor, would you implement the carrying out of this program or would you seek to take California out of the _____.

ANSWER: Well, I think Medicare has already been passed by the legislature, although I understand it is being presented as one of the matters in the forth-coming special session because now that they have to go back and find out just what they have created here in the State of California because nobody here seems to know just what is going to cost or whether we can handle it in its present form. And I have a hunch that that will be a matter of weeks.

QUESTION: If you were elected Governor, would you support or oppose the principles of Medicare?

ANSWER: Well, I support the principle of "medical care" for the aged. Not only that, I have always supported the principle of medical care, regardless of age, for anyone in this land who cannot provide medical care for themselves. But this, as differentiated from a particular piece of legislation called Medicare which, I think, has a great many faults, both in the national and state levels.

QUESTION: Well, will you oppose it as presently stated?

ANSWER: Well, it's a little late to oppose it. It is a fact of life. It's passed. It's here. You are talking about a national program, headquartered 3,000 miles away from Sacramento.

QUESTION: What happens in Washington so far as Medicare matters are concerned, has a direct bearing in California; therefore, your attitude as Governor would be important. What would be your attitude?

ANSWER: My attitude would be to wait to see what legislation is going to do with the program right now.

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QUESTION: Do you think candidates for constitutional offices should make known their financial holdings or their financial standings?

ANSWER: I certainly would have no quarrel with doing it. I haven't given it an awful lot of thought. I THINK THAT this is a philosophical question also; that there could be certainly two sides as to how far an individual must go in invading his privacy. But, he certainly must go up to the point of allowing the voters to know whether there is possibly any conflict between his personal and private life and position, and his duties as a constitutional officer. Now, how far beyond that we are entitled to go will take an awful lot of thought.

QUESTION: (Inaudible)

ANSWER: Well, did one drop out? I thought there were three declared before me. Yes, I wouldn't think that there would be any basic differences. A few weeks ago here in Los Angeles at a volunteer group convention, some of us who have been suggested as candidates made a presentation, each one of us, to an audience and answered questions. I made the remark at the time that where there were people who probably would have classified us with hyphens and labels, ranging the whole spectrum, there was very little difference in the views we expressed, and I thought we were all pretty much in the main stream of Republican thinking.

QUESTION: Would you expect any support from Senator Kuchel?

ANSWER: Well, I don't know whether I would expect any support from anyone but I would hope for all Republicans because I believe that it is high time that the Republicans did unite and act as one party. I have been making this speech throughout the state, urging that upon Republicans; and, I might say, I have been gratified at the response at the grass-roots level. If there is anyone higher than that that the people of the Party want to get together, they better find it out.

QUESTION: You indicated that you were not happy with the recent administration of the University of California. What would you do to improve it?

ANSWER: Well now, a Governor couldn't replace the Board of Regents. The Board of Regents are appointed for 16-year terms, staggered terms, so that the Governor would appoint those to come along only during his term. The Governor is also a member of the Board of Regents, so all you can answer is what would you as a member of the Board of Regents suggest. And I would suggest: (1) that the Board of Regents make plain what a code of conduct should be; what should be the code governing the University. I think that the Faculty Senate Committee should have no voice in administration, but should be limited to academic questions and issues; and then I think those who are entrusted with the administration of the University should be told to administer it, and if they didn't, get someone who would.

QUESTION: Will you please explain your separation from the Democratic Party, dealing specifically with whether or not Roosevelt and Truman were just (assuming?) Democrats and when you were disenchanted?

ANSWER: Well, my disenchantment was a growing thing. I wasn't as smart as Al Smith; I didn't do it that early. I have often said that I think that there was as much the Democratic Party leaving me, or the leadership of that party leaving me, as my leaving the Party. And I, as I cited in here some statements from the Democratic Platform of 1932 to illustrate the difference. I think the party leadership had made changes before I recognized them, and I have stated many times that I was amazed to discover how deeply ingrained is party loyalty, how long you hang on hoping to, perhaps, be of help in, let's say, reshaping or remolding the party or having some effect on it before you actually leave. But finally, I had to conclude that all of the things which I believed in and had once believed were the views of the Democratic Party, no longer fit the leadership of that party and that actually the Republican Party was more at home with those principles of individual freedom, of Constitutional limits of the power of the government, fiscal responsibilities and so forth.

QUESTION: You have been traveling around the state for about eight months now. I wonder if you have been running into any hostility by the press, and if there are any efforts by the press to distort the news in your campaign.

ANSWER: Why no, I've enjoyed meeting all of you that I have met so far and I'm overwhelmed and I'm very happy to see so many of you here today. I hope that you will all join with us in the little social get-together and reception that will follow this press conference.

QUESTION: What is your position on the death penalty or its repeal?

ANSWER: Well, I think this is hard of anyone raised in our Judio-Christian religion, our ingrained belief of the sacredness of human life and the right only of God to have a voice in it. But, at the same time, I think we all accept that we are entitled to defend our life. We are granted life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and take life if necessary in defense.

Now, I have answered the question for myself on this ground. If I could ever have it proven to my satisfaction that the death penalty is not a deterrent; that, in other words, it is only punishment, then I would be opposed. But, to date, the most knowledgeable men in law enforcement, the most knowledgeable penologists, insist that it is a deterrent. In other words, the death penalty does prevent the taking of life. It does hold down a number of murders and as long as that is so, I say that we must keep the death penalty. And I could add one thing that those people that uphold to it admit, that it must have a deterrent factor because even they say that you must have a death penalty with regard to a man already in prison for murder, committing another murder, because if you didn't then anybody in prison would have a license to knock-off anybody he wanted to any day in the week because there wasn't anything further you could do to him.

QUESTION: (Inaudible)

ANSWER: I think the end of the two-party system can come as we saw it come in countries like Russia and Nazi Germany through one party simply outlawing all others and taking over; but I think it can also come by the simple withering away by a party that simply gets to a minority status, that while it goes through the motions, it represents no threats whatsoever, similar to the one-party system for many years that hopefully we are correcting, that we have had in the South. From that standpoint, I would think that it would be of concern to both Democrats and Republicans to redress the imbalance and to get us back to where--I think the only thing that keeps boty parties on us, is the fear of getting licked so you've got to get it up to where each party goes into election with the fear that it can be defeated.

QUESTION: Do you think that California needs a better housing law?

ANSWER: Well, I think this is a question right now that we're awaiting a verdict of the Supreme Court and I just don't think it will be seemly to make an observation on this while it is pending.

QUESTION: (Inaudible)--would you vote yes or no on Proposition 14?

ANSWER: Well, to tell the truth, you have me in a position in which I took no position on Proposition 14, and I took it because of my participation for a candidate who had stressed very much that he did not want to, because of his belief in states' rights, get involved in anything that had to do with a local or state issue. And so, I didn't participate in any way.

QUESTION: (Inaudible)

ANSWER: I hope in the new legislature that will be elected--I hope that there certainly will be a sense of responsibility on the part of any individuals there with regard to this sudden giving over of power of the state to this limited area; but, of course, heavy population in the South. I did not favor reapportionment. I believe that there are differences; there are areas of sparse population out of necessity--agricultural areas that have their own particular problems. I believed in the bicameral system with one house designated on something other than population basis. So, I'm very fearful because I don't think it is right for any one section of a state to be able to run it. I very much fear that reapportionment throughout the nation is going to gradually drift unless we have something similar to the Dickson amendment and I would favor that. I have a fear that we are going to see more and more rule by big city machines.

QUESTION: In the area of law enforcement and local issues, how do you, or where do you, stand in the area of police review boards--civilian police review boards?

ANSWER: I'm opposed. I think this is an unnecessary interference. I think that where those communities that have tried it have found that it has interfered with law enforcement and has unnecessarily restricted the police. I believe that we have a fine police department here, one of the best in the whole United States. And I think that whenever evidence is presented, you have a civil control through your police commission, whenever evidence is revealed that they are not living up to their duty and their sworn obligation. Then, I think as a community you do something about it.

QUESTION: Do you feel that until the four-year term you could actually reduce--(inaudible)

ANSWER: Well, let me say that anyone would be naive as far as this is, to think that suddenly you could wave a wand and make a great change. I think what has to happen is you first dig in your heels and slow down the toboggan and hope you can bring it to a stop and then you start trying to push it back up hill. I would think your aim would be, and mine certainly would be, to start pushing it back up hill as fast as I could. But, in the meantime, I'd first be trying to slow it down.

QUESTION: (Inaudible)--concerning state lottery and gambling.

ANSWER: No, I think it is proper and I have always been opposed to a state lottery. I think if a state like California, the number one in the nation, cannot legitimately solve its financial problems without a lottery, there is something very wrong with all of us. QUESTION: (Inaudible) ANSWER: Oh, certainly, that's his state and that's his problem I foresee a very necessary area of cooperation between Nevada and California; for example, with regard to cleaning up Lake Tahoe.

SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ADMIN. ASSN. LUNCHEON

CASA LOMA HALL - REDLANDS UNIVERSITY
February 15, 1966

Sometimes, I wonder if we ever pause to contemplate a strange paradox that this nation, founded on individual freedom, should depart from this principle to establish as we have a system of compulsory education. Now, if and when we do, I think we recognize, as the founding fathers did before us, we can only be free and in control of our own destiny if we are a literate people. Nevertheless, there's a strange dichotomy in our system of freedom, and in this departure from that, which, even now, disturbs some tourists. But we've made this compromise work by controlling it, the school system, at the local level.

Cumbersome as it is, this imperfect compromise has made the system work, work precisely because all of us can meet face to face and argue and come to some kind of a decision.

From literally the first moment that federal aid to education was proposed, and it goes back at least a decade, a concern has been expressed by educators and administrators that federal control will go hand in hand with federal aid, and this has been vehemently denied by those who are the loudest in their advocacy of the federal government being the financial helping hand to local legislation.

To go back to 1957 when the first comprehensive aid to education program was proposed and congressman Bardon, Chairman of the house legislation and labor committee, frankly stated that "the purpose of the Federal aid bill of 1957 is to centralize power over our school system here in Washington where it's easier to apply concentrated pressure."

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And most recently Congress has uncovered a book - and they uncovered it by accident. It's being circulated, printed first by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and circulated among the personnel of that office, and it outlines the plan for a National Educational Agency, and yet in spite of all this - and in spite of their words to each other, continually we are assured that we can turn to the federal helping hand and it will not involve federal control of education.

When a congressman proposed that parents be granted tax deductions for expenses of education, this was denied. When it was proposed that a college student working his way through school should be allowed to earn up to \$1200.00 a year as long as he was going to school, using it for that purpose, without having to file an income tax return, no, the federal government denied that.

University presidents concerned with the threat to academic freedom went to Washington with a well thought out plan for how we could meet the problem of colleges privately endowed or supported, the independent type college, and get away from the possibility of another new government bureau or agency with federal control, get away from the controversies about state separation of church and state. Very simply their plan was to allow each citizen to complete his income tax and then take a sum which they suggested as possibly a hundred dollars, but the federal government could have the right to declare what the amount should be, and then they would, instead of giving it to the government, present a certificate or a receipt showing that they had contributed that money to a school or college of their choice. They went to Washington and they argued for some time.

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It was kind of significant, but before they went, they asked the president of a large Eastern university if he wouldn't go with them, because he had expressed his concern over the threat to academic freedom inherent in the many programs, and this man told them that he believed with them. He would like to go with them, but he said, "My own university is receiving so much money from the Federal government that I do not dare exercise my right as a citizen and make my feelings known, and endanger this source of revenue for the college." Well, this man has already lost academic freedom. And then after they asked the government official with whom they met over a period of days why their system wouldn't work, a kind of Freudian slip occurred and Francis Keppel, United States director of education blurted out "You don't understand, under the program you suggested the federal government couldn't achieve its social objective." I think there's some area, some right, in us questioning whether the Federal Government has shown any talent for doing this job better than it's been done at the local level. In one city for example, the poverty program has issued a grant and they have a budget there for training or retraining some three thousand drop outs or potential drop outs to keep them in school. And the budget for those three thousand in the federal government amounts to half the entire school budget of that city system for educating 25,000 legitimate students. The dropouts will be paid because they've discovered the part of cause of dropouts is that they need to earn money, to have funds. A dropout in this system will be paid double what the legitimate student can earn who has a part time job. Now, it doesn't take a genius to figure out that this is an inducement for a student to become a drop out so he can get a raise in pay and continue with education at the same time.

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The N.Y. Journal American has just published a story that in the poverty program in N.Y. City, that needy students have been given jobs in the school system at a dollar and a quarter an hour. The news, however, revealed that the federal government has ordered the file held of the students now holding those jobs, because none of them, while they're needy, as any records of juvenile delinquency -- and the jobs are to be given to juvenile delinquents. Any parent could tell them that they're just asking for somebody to go out and break a window in order to hang on to the dollar and a quarter job.

The state of California seems bent on eliminating local control, so that the federal government perhaps will only have to assume proprietorship over a single state-wide system, and I think this is where the fight must begin and the fight must be won in the field of education.

Unification studies were made over a ten year period between 1948 and 1958. I don't know what houses the findings that were made during this ten year period up there, but under the direction of Dr. Nutsall they found for example the best, the most efficient and the most economic school district in size was one of about ten and twelve thousand students. They found that very little efficiency and economy was lost if you moved up the next bracket to say a maximum of 22,000 students. But from there on, the law of diminishing returns set in, and from there on the cost per student went up and so did the class load per teacher.

215,000 new teachers will be needed in the next ten years in the state of California just to keep pace with the growth and to make replacements, and this doesn't provide at all for reducing for the approved size in the ratio of classroom to teacher. You know that Einstein, in the later years of his life, told a friend that all of his life he placed little

faith in religion. He said his entire life had been spent in the academic atmosphere and he placed his faith in the scholar, in the teacher -- and he said when Hitler's evil rose in Germany, he stood there confidently waiting for the great universities, for the scholars of Germany, for the teachers to stand up and thunder back in rage against this evil demagoguery. And then he said to his heartbreak he saw the schools in that nationalized school system of Germany accept the school books presented by Hitler, burn the old school books, and make no protest about teaching Hitler's new order. And the only thunder against the evil came from those humble men he had ignored all his life, the clergy, who stood in the pulpits answering back until they were led off to the gas chambers and concentration camps.

In his sunset years Herbert Hoover said the greatest strides of human progress have come from uncommon men and women. When we're sick we want an uncommon doctor - when we're at war we want an uncommon general or admiral - when we choose a president for a university we want an uncommon educator. The imperative need of this nation at all times is the leadership of the uncommon men and women. We need men who cannot be intimidated, who are not concerned with the applause meters, who will not sell tomorrow for cheers today. And I think that we should not shirk our responsibilities for training and educating every possible person to the limit of his ability, and at the same time we should recognize we have an equally great responsibility in the educational system to see that those leaders of tomorrow, those that are exceptional and who will lift mankind a little closer to the stars, get every possible advantage that we in our school system can bring them.

San Bernadino Co. Elementary School
Admin. Assn. Luncheon
Casa Loma Hall - Redlands Univ.

Well we've been brought together in this room because of an interest we share in common as participants in the greatest public school system in all the world. Sometimes I wonder if we ever pause to contemplate a strange paradox that this nation founded on individual freedom should depart from this principle to establish as we have a system of compulsory education. Now if and when we do, I think we recognize, as the founding fathers did before us, we can only be free and in control of our own destiny if we are a literate people. Nevertheless, there's a strange dichotomy in our system of freedom and in this departure from that which even now disturbs some tourists. But we've made this compromise work by controlling it, the school system at the local level. Teachers with an understandable claim to academic freedom spread at the close proximity of little Willie's mother and her challenge to the teacher's right to teach as the teacher wants to teach, and there's an equally valid right demanded by the parent forced to send their children to school and who claim a voice in how and what those children will be taught. And I think its understandable that both do have a just claim. Sometimes when you think about this it reminds me of when I was a boy there used to be a tongue twister we used to like to say. And that was, "If the doctor gets sick and calls the doctor, does the doctor doctor the doctor the way the doctor wants the doctor to be doctor or does the doctor doctor the doctor the way the doctor wants the doctor to be doctor?" But little Willie's mother and little Willie's teacher meet

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eyeball to eyeball and of course right here today I find myself facing the people who in those confrontations are most often in the middle. But cumbersome as it is, this imperfect compromise has made the system work, work precisely because all of us can meet face to face and argue and come to some kind of a decision. Today however the threat of this cumbersome but time tested system, as an increasingly powerful federal government has dried up the sources of local and state taxation financing education has become a problem at the local level, and now the government has created a problem to begin with offers as a solution federal grants and aids. And from literally the first moment the federal aid to education was proposed and it goes back at least a decade, a concern has been expressed by educators and administrators like yourselves that federal control will go hand in hand with federal aid, and this has been vehemently denied by those who are the loudest in their advocacy of the federal government being the financial helping hand to local legislation.

To go back to 1957 when the first comprehensive aid to legislation program was proposed and congressman Bardon, Chairman of the house legislation and labor committee frankly stated that "the purpose of the Federal aid bill of 1957 is to centralize power over our school system here in Washington where it's easier to apply concentrated pressure."

There's been an equally bold and frank statement made by an educator who I believe advocates not only federal aid, but sees no harm in this federal control, and he has stated that "As the state has denied first to the family and then to the local community the right to make decisions on education contrary to state defined policy, so the nation may be expected to deny the state the right to make decisions on educational policy not in accord with the emerging national policy for education."

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And if we come up more to the present time, a memorandum was uncovered a little less than a year ago in the office of Community Relations Service. It was a part of the poverty program and there's a sentence in that memorandum very disturbing. It says we should conduct a systematic effort to contact all publishers and school boards to encourage their publication and adoption of text books conforming to established standards. And most recently Congress has uncovered a book and they uncovered by accident. It's being circulated, printed verse by the Department of Health, Education & Welfare and circulated among the personal of that office, and it outlines the plan for a national educational agency, and yet in spite of all this and in spite of their words to each other, continually we are assured that we can turn to the federal helping hand and it will not involve federal control of education, and yet at the same time every time proposals are made leading toward the solving of our financial problems at the local level, but with guarantees against such control, the suggestions die aboat. For examples the first proposals made, that the federal government should earmark tax funds and leave them at the state and local levels for this position as local authorities would see fit even when we get into the area of the needy student and lending programs. When a congressman proposed that parents be granted tax deductions for expenses of education, this was denied. When it was proposed that a college student working his way through school should be allowed to earn up to \$1200.00 a year as long as he was going to school, using it for that purpose, without having to file an income tax return, no, the federal government denied that. It made more sense to them to tax them and then turn around and give it back in some kind of a grant or a scholarship. When university presidents concerned with the threat to academic freedom went to Washington with a well thought out plan for how we could meet the problem

of colleges such as this one, privately endowed or supported, the independent type college, and get away from the possibility of another new government bureau or agency with federal control, get away from the controversies about state separation of church and state. Very simply their plan was to allow each citizen to complete his income tax and then take a sum which they suggested as possibly a hundred dollars, but the federal government could have the right to declare what the amount should be, and then they would in lieu of that amount of money, instead of giving it to the government, they would present a certificate or a receipt showing that they had contributed that money to a school or college of their choice. They went to Washington and they argued for some time. It was kind of significant, but before they went, they asked the president of a large eastern university if he wouldn't go with them, because he had expressed his concern over the threat to academic freedom inherent in the many programs, and this man told him that he believed with them. He would like to go with them, but he said "My own university is receiving so much money from the federal government that I do not dare exercise my right as a citizen and make my feelings known, and endanger this source of revenue for the college." Well this man has already lost academic freedom. And then after they asked the government official with whom they met over a period of days why their system wouldn't work. A kind of Freudian slip occurred and Francis Keffel(?) United States director of education blurted out you don't understand. "Under the program you suggested the federal government couldn't achieve its social objective."

We were unable to get the original proposals for total federal participation. The government took advantage of such logical areas as scientific research, scholarships and student loans as I've mentioned at the college level, and now there are 135 separate offices and agencies in the federal government issuing grants of millions of dollars in higher education from an 824 page

catalogue of goodies. It moves into the area of high school aid with regard to the dropout retraining program and now as you well know the whole bowl of glass is up for grabs from kindergarten on.

Now even if we have no concern with the threat of a nationalized school system, I think there's some area, some right in us questioning whether the federal government has shown any talent for doing this job better than it's been done at the local level. In one city for example, the poverty program has issued a grant and they have a budget there for training or retraining some three thousand drop outs or potential drop outs to keep them in school. And the budget for those three thousand in the federal government amounts to half the entire school budget of that city system for educating 25,000 legitimate students. The dropouts will be paid because they've discovered the part of cause of dropouts is that they need to earn money, to have funds. A dropout in this system will be paid double what the legitimate student can earn who has a part time job. Now, it doesn't take a genius to figure out that this is an inducement for a student to become a drop out so they can get a raise in pay and continue with education at the same time. There is some strange perversion taken place in the classic philosophy of the carrot and stick.

The N.Y. Journal American has just published a story that in the poverty program in N.Y. city, the needy students have been given jobs in the school system at a dollar and a quarter an hour. The news however revealed that the federal government has ordered that the file of the students now holding those jobs, because none of them, while they're needy, has any records of juvenile delinquency and the jobs are to be given to juvenile delinquents.

Any parent could tell them that they're just asking for somebody to go out and break a window in order to hang on to the dollar and a quarter job. Selective service director of the State of Arizona is protesting to the federal government because the draft which is now reclassifying college students refuses to take dropouts. Again we have to ask if this isn't a pretty good reason for somebody becoming a dropout as he draws closer to military service. You are administrators in a county that's bigger than a number of our states and even of many nations in the world, and I think that you should be able to count on the power of the State of California and the government to stand between you and the threatened loss of local autonomy. Alas, as you could tell me probably better than I can tell you, you're in kind of a position that's like that last reel of the chiller mystery that appears on the Late Late Show when the heroine sits back relaxed, safe at last in the company of her uncle, and you know what happens. She turns and looks at his face and discovers he's the murderer all the time. The state of California seems bent on eliminating local control, so that the federal government perhaps will only have to assume proprietorship over a single state-wide system, and I think this is where the fight must begin and the fight must be won in the field of education. Already elementary education is bound in by red tape and regulations mandated legislation requiring programs and educational approaches usually without provisions for funding such programs and even when funding does follow here and there, the money comes with new restrictions requiring further compliance on the part of the local educational system, and pity the poor administrator that can't get a ruling or a decision or interpretation from his county council in time on the hundreds of pages of new legislation coming out of Sacramento's legislative horn of plenty. Perhaps

we need a moratorium for about a year after each new bill is adopted, so that you've got time to find out what it says particularly in the fine print, and incidentally perhaps to find out and make an assessment or evaluation as to whether the idea will work that's put into practice. Two years ago the people of this state successfully lobbied against assembly bill 46 and then went home from triumphant, and they'd hardly seen the gold dome fade below the horizon before AB46 became assembly bill 45 and it was hastily passed. And now you can vote on unification and if you vote wrong, your allowance is cut. The Cascade Union school district voted itself into a 22% penalty on the tax rate. Of course, if you vote the right way, there's a promise of lower costs, but to date there's no indication of any school district ever lowering their tax rate after unification in the elections that have been held under AB Bill 145.

The goal as we well know is to reduce the 1500 odd districts in the state of California to 300, but would you be terribly surprised, if once having achieved that, if the 300 became 58? And would you be surprised if the 58 wound up as just one gigantic state wide educational system? Strangely enough the men who would bring this about know better. There have been a number of studies made. Unification studies were made over a ten year period between 1948 and 58. I don't know what houses the findings that were made during this ten year period up there, but under the direction of Dr. Nutall they found for example the best, the most efficient and the most economic school district in size was one of about ten and twelve thousand students. They found that very little efficiency and economy was lost if you moved up the next bracket to say a maximum of 22,000 students. But from there on, the law of diminishing returns set in, and from there on the cost per student went

up and so did the class load per teacher. New York City, and we don't very often turn to New York City for any suggestions as to how to improve our situation, but at least they learned and they're already heading in the opposite direction with independent school districts, 21 of them with independent school boards, under the direction of 21 assistant school superintendents, and with pretty much free autonomy with regard to construction of school policy in those districts.

Unification is good when it is voluntarily determined by local districts, but not forced on the districts in the state level. It just doesn't make sense to have blanket rules - blanket rules that apply generally with no regard to the variations and the differences in the neighborhoods in the communities. And this isn't to be critical of the purpose or the goal. I'm sure no one could quarrel with the goal that set a standard of 60% of the schools budget must be used for teachers salaries, but it penalizes many districts where there's rapid growth and you know very well that it forces a certain amount of dishonest bookkeeping on your part when you try to run your school system and yet stay within the limits of that particular rule. They are incentives for reduced class size and penalties for non-compliance. The Los Angeles school system has chosen voluntarily to accept the penalty because they just can't locate the sufficient number of new teachers or build the required class rooms they'd have to build to stay within the requirements that have been forced upon them.

One wonders about the state-wide application of the second language program. Again you can't quarrel with the motive or the purpose, but there are districts participating, particularly districts with large Spanish speaking neighborhoods where the bulk of the students start in school in their

second language, and what they really need is augmented teaching and training in English. And some day perhaps we should ask out loud really what the state of California is doing in the text book business. But before that happens, maybe we should have a review of the Fisher Bill, or there won't be enough teachers to use all of the text books that are being published in the State of California and we're pretty close to the point of pushing the panic button on that one right now. 215,000 new teachers will be needed in the next ten years in the state of California just to keep pace with the growth and to make replacements, and this doesn't provide at all for reducing for the approved size in the ratio of classroom to teacher. Education is the bulk work of freedom, but there's an inescapable truth, if you move it too far from the parents and from local control it becomes a tool of tyranny, or shall we forget about Hitler's book burning, and Stalin's rewriting of history. You know that Einstein in the later years of his life, Einstein told a friend that all of his life he placed little faith in religion. He said his entire life had been spent in the academic atmosphere and he placed his faith in the scholar, in the teacher, and he said when Hitler's evil rose in Germany, he stood there confidently waiting for the great universities, for the scholars of Germany, for the teachers to stand up and thunder back in rage against this evil demagoguery. And then he said to his heartbreak he saw the schools in that nationalized school system of Germany accept the school books presented by Hitler, burn the old school books, and make no protest about teaching Hitler's new order. And the only thunder against the evil came from those humble men he had ignored all his life, the clergy, who stood in the pulpits answering back

until they were led off to the gas chambers and concentration camps.

No one quarrels with the humanitarian purpose here in our own state of the special education programs for the handicapped, the mentally retarded, provides \$900 per pupil for schools that will voluntarily accept and participate in such programs. Perhaps it's not even enough. I have a feeling that in some areas of the handicapped perhaps we should do more. But at the same time, isn't there something of an imbalance that shows there's something wrong with the general philosophy that can arrange for \$900 for this kind of teaching for pupils but only provides \$40.00 extra for the teaching for the exceptionally gifted when it costs \$40.00 just to determine whether a youngster is exceptionally gifted and has the I.Q. that would justify such advanced training. Every move so far away from the theory of individualism, and so close to the anti, have we forgotten our history that we know that no progress of any kind for man has ever resulted from mass movements. Always it's the individual who dire and pioneers, thrusting above the crowd and lifting the rest of us a little closer to the stars. In his sunset years Herbert Hoover said the greatest strides of human progress have come from uncommon men and women. When we're sick we want an uncommon doctor, when we're at war we want an uncommon general or admiral, when we choose a president for a university we want an uncommon educator. The imperative need of this nation at all times is the leadership of the uncommon men and women. We need men who cannot be intimidated, who are not concerned with the applause meters, who will not sell tomorrow for cheers today. And I would think that this at the same time that we do not

shirk our responsibilities for training and education every possible person to the limit of their ability, that at the same time we would recognize we have an equally great responsibility in the educational system to see that those leaders of tomorrow, those that are exceptional and who will lift mankind a little closer to the stars, get every possible advantage that we in our school system can bring them.

EXCERPTS FROM RONALD REAGAN T.V. SPEECH FEB. 25, '66.

HILTON INN - SAN DIEGO

"The state is good, and the state has practiced economy." Now, if that sounds familiar, that's because you heard it four years ago when he opened his re-election campaign. The snow fell on the Sierras that year January 24th. Now I don't challenge that they have practiced economy, but you can't sell tickets to a rehearsal. I'd like to see a performance. As a matter of fact, a finished performance.

I've been trying to get it down to pocket size, because that's where it is going to come from. I've used this before, but I'm going to do it again. If I have here a four inch stack of thousand dollar bills in my hand, I would be a millionaire. That's a million dollars - that little handful. But if we had that budget piled up in front of us in thousand dollar bills, the pile would be more than one thousand five hundred feet high. Now let's try again. If you're an average family in California of four, your share of the anti in that budget is a little over a thousand dollars this year. Now I'm just foolish enough to think that the average Californian has some interest in what someone in Sacramento is going to do with his thousand dollars.

In the last eight years state employees have increased twice as fast as the increase in population. But the budget has increased four times as fast as the increase in population, and that average family of four owes as its share in the California state debt some thirteen hundred dollars and even with that the budget has increased more than the debt. Your local property taxes increase twice as fast as your personal

Page. 2. Budget speech excerpts.

income in the last eight years. Mr. and Mrs. average Californian, this tax combined with the rest of the local and state taxes gives you a tax burden as a family if you're that family of four, one hundred dollars more than the national average.

This budget was made up by administrators with eight years of political experience. If they don't know how now, we can hardly expect them to become financial geniuses all at once in a ninth year, even in a tenth, eleventh, or twelfth year. The budget is more than twice as costly as it was eight years ago, and it's characterized by sloppiness, incompetency, and a tendency to sell out the future - our future.

I've turned to the most competent authority I could find on this budget, a man employed by the state to analyze the budget. He's been doing it for fifteen years. His duty to be fair and objective is spelled out by law. I refer to Mr. Alan A. Post, a legislative analyst.

I've taken a long hard look at this budget, but I couldn't possibly match his comprehensive findings. I used the terms, harsh terms, a moment ago, describing his budget as sloppy and incompetent. Well, on page A-49, listed under estimated unidentifiable savings, there is a figure of four million dollars. But just as you move across the page, by the time it reaches the total column by some magic the four million has become six million. Now 165,000 state employees do their work by these figures.

In the last ten years you and I have spent four million dollars on the Office of Planning, and for that we're supposed to have had stage 1 of the comprehensive plan in 1963, stage 2 in '64, and the completed plan in this coming September. Well, Mr. Post says, "no plan has yet

Page 3. Budget speech excerpts.

been produced, no recommendations, long range policy alternatives have yet been made." They brought out a booklet this time with an impressive title, "California Development Plan Program Progress Report Summary Interpretation of Phase I Studies." Well, Mr. Post wasn't impressed. He said of the booklet, "it represented little more than an apparently hurried and demonstrably unsuccessful effort to meet a deadline already passed." Now the reason I bring this up is because this present budget provides for another \$500,000 this year for that particular office to follow the four million down the same rat hole.

I think that every working man and woman in this state is proud to be able to help the less fortunate, the aged and the disabled, and those who through no fault of their own haven't been able to take care of themselves.

But this program won't be solved by a budget providing for 2 million dollars for welfare programs that don't even exist. That's the figure for administrative salaries for the Public Assistance Medical Care program and Medical Assistance for the Aged program. Now before someone screams that I'm against medical care for the needy and the aged, hear me out.

Because of the new Medicare bill, these two agencies that I've just mentioned go out of business next week, but Mr. Post says the budget contains all the administrative costs for these programs for the year 1966 and 1967. They should not be budgeted since they will not exist. But two million dollars would help a lot of people for a long time.

"The governor's office has consistently added positions administratively to its staff. In each case the office ended up with more positions than were originally proposed by the governor and subsequently approved by the legislature." Now Mr. Post recognizes the difference in always being able to judge the need in advance, but he does say, "It is reasonable to expect the office to plan and budget its needs in a way which is more consistent with the usual standards." Now here for the first time I depart from Mr. Post. I think the governor has truly budgeted in line with the usual standards and those usual standards should be changed.

Now budgets have more than doubled as I told you in the last eight years, and each time as they increase they were given a name. One of them was "Stringent" and this followed by "Stern" and then came "Frugal" and last year they broke the four billion dollar limit with "Bare Bones" and we know who's bones are bare and now I didn't think they could find another name but this one has been named "Lean and Hard",. That's what they are doing...Leaning hard ...on us.

In the recent meeting in Palm Spring to discuss this budget, the presses reported, and to date no one has refuted this, that they discussed perhaps passing on to the future some 70 million dollars of this years deficit by coming to the end of the fiscal year June 30th and post dating the last employees check for this check to July first to put 70 million dollars of this years payroll on next years bill. And now they come up with a better one they're going to switch the bookkeeping system to an accrual system and this will move a hundred million dollars

of this deficit to next year. Now strangely enough we shouldn't have much of a quarrel with the advantages of the accrual bookkeeping system. Many states have it and it's, I believe in the minds of most accountants and economists, a good bookkeeping system. But our complaint this time is the timing, because this switch is being made to deceive the people, postpone the day of reckoning to move that deficit up ahead again. And even after they've done that, it will leave us with a hundred and forty million dollars to make up if we're to have a balanced budget and this they tell us we'll pick up without raising taxes, now that's a neat trick if you can do it, and they can do it. They won't raise the taxes until after the election. The gimmick here is they're going to cancel out your personal deductions in computing your state income tax. They won't have to raise the rate any, you just don't get any personal deductions, and that won't come due until next year. Well that's a familiar song too. It seems that we had a federal income tax deduction two years ago before that election. Suddenly the pay checks were fatter for the several months before the election and then came that cold morning after and we discovered that we had cut the withholding more than we had cut the tax and everyone had to anti-up and sit down and write a check once the votes were counted. Well, I think there's a better answer than this.

Let me return for a minute to the subject of welfare. The cost has doubled in California in the last five years. It's increased faster than our spending on education. The average family of four again, its share of the cost of welfare is now \$243.00, and a good portion of this is dead-end money. Yes, it supports some one if you pay the bills for

a day and then the money is gone. Well this makes welfare addicts out of millions of Californians. I think we should begin investigating how we can direct a greater proportion of that money into educational channels, provide training for the handicapped and the presently untrained so they can take their place in a productive society, making money that returns to us as an investment.

The ancient Hebrew book of philosophy, the Talmud, says for a father to fail to teach his son to earn a living is the same as teaching him to steal, because that might be the eventual result. Instead of harrasing business and industry with regressive taxes, let's adopt a creative approach and ask how can we use government to further free the people to allow us to reach our fullest potential. We have a leadership gap in Sacramento. It abdicated their responsibility and they continue to seek the answer to every California problem in Washington. The free Federal War on Poverty Funds pay 90% of the bill for a while and then you read the fine print and you discover very shortly now were supposed to pick up an increading share of the task, but isn't that what I'm advocating: Californians taking care of California's problems: Yes, except under this system, we're going to be paying for programs we didn't plan. They were pre-fabricated in Washington and the only privilege and the only voice we had in regard to them was the privilege of paying for them. But what can we do about this budget: Not an awful lot. I can almost predict what will be said about my remarks. I'll be challenged as to which government program I would be willing to forsake in order to get economy with the connotation being that the people would thus lose out and starve and die

on the street. Well maybe we don't cancel any necessary programs. Maybe we just get people more for their dollar.

The governor said he was going to make some gains by getting increased efficiency out of the state employees. Does he mean that they haven't been performing efficiently these last eight years?

Our assemblymen and senators in the Republican caucus in Sacramento last year stood united and firm and they managed to get some millions of dollars cut from last years budget even though they're vastly outnumbered. Well you and I must be united in offering support, in giving them the help they need if they're to be able to hold out against the twist this year. But then let's remain united even through the exciting primaries so that next fall more ranks can be augmented and we can make meaningful cuts in the next budget. Let's make the blue pencil a symbol of our Republicanism. Walk the precincts get out the votes so that next year a responsible hand can slash that blue pencil through the layers of budgetary fat.

Picture if you will an administration in our state capitol with out any printed charts listing the minimum campaign contributions that will be acceptable from the state employees. Picture instead, an administration that proclaims there will be no solicitation of campaign funds from state employees in any campaign, an administration not characterized by political hacks or hangers on, but one that will seek men to match our mountains. For the challenge the men and the women of this state to give their time and talents in service to their state and to their fellow citizens and be proud to do so - out of this great pool of technical skill and talents that is the body politic of California, there

isn't any problem that we can't solve if we will refer it to the people to find the answer. President Eisenhower said "Does political experience automatically result in the creation of a statesman or does it just provide a backlog men skilled in political give and take?" Well, politically experienced men drew up this budget with very little give and a great deal of take. Now I'm not a politician and that's precisely why I ask your support, precisely why I'm doing what I'm doing in this point of time. I believe very deeply that the time has come for ordinary citizens to bring honor and morality and the clean fresh air of common sense to government.