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## T.V. Speech

Hilton Inn - San Diego

Ladies and gentlemen, I can't tell you and thank you, my good co-chairman for your kind introduction for making the long road ahead seem already so short and easy. But thank all of you also for coming out here. I want you to know that I am willing to repay it the best I can. I brought germs enough for everybody. Welcome to Death Valley Days.

You know there's one thing that's wrong with California though. I've been breathing in ever since I got here. But the thing is with the colors we can get out here, you know you could be dead three days and you'd still look well and healthy. But you know we've heard the State of the State Message in the last few weeks. "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. On that day in January 1962, we were told that there should be more efficiency in government. "There is too much government in California." But with ideas like that it's just too bad he hasn't been governor for the last four years. Now this is not the script for tonight's program. This is the subject of my remarks tonight. This is the California budget for the coming year.

Now I've been told that it's politically unwise to talk about that, but for the average citizens like us, four billion six hundred



as a figure is meaningless. Well it is. It's incomprehensible. So, 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 ant 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.

Now this budget has been explained to us in easy generalities - our increasing population. It means we have a need for more services, government facilities, state employees. Well there's no argument with that. I'm sure that we all recognize that as the state grows, we must have growth in government also and in government services. But there should be some proportionality. 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 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, four hundred dollars more than the national average. And what do we have to show for it - well, that

set of paperbacks, and I'd hardly recommend them though for the collection they're sending to the men in Viet Nam, although we might shorten the world <sup>war</sup> a little bit if we dropped it on Hanoi. I'd better stop talking about Viet Nam or you'll think I'm running for the Mayor of Los Angeles.

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. Now this would be the opinion I think of any competent book reviewer, economist or accountant. Of course, this would be denied. I've been publicly invited for some of my statements to come to Sacramento where very kindly they have said that I would be given a complete explanation of this budget. I'm not going. I'm not that inexperienced.

But just so you'll know I'm not above taking advice or because some might think I'm prejudiced, 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 166,000 state employees do their work by these figures. Scores of Californian businesses and industries are directly affected. Is it a typographical error, or just new arithmetic - who knows? One of the most important agencies of our state government is the office of planning. Now, this office is charged with the providing of accurate information concerning the problems likely to arise in our vast increase in population. Without effective planning the terms of economics and social differences, we could well take off helter skelter like a rudderless rocket only the fall out would be much more costly than the present incompetence. In the last ten years you and I have spent four million dollars on this 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 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 1 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.

The next item would be funny if it didn't represent so much real suffering. 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 them selves. But there's a growing unrest in our state, a strange suspicion that we're not only helping the needy, but we're making possible the segment of society that has made welfare a profession, a way of life and some of them are in their third generation at it. If we could solve this problem, we could do more for the truly deserving and we'd be better off ourselves. But this problem 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 next boo-boo is not quite so expensive - maybe it's even funny, that is if you enjoy spending a few hundred thousand dollars. I seem to me I heard a noted educator a short time ago suggest that the state should get out of the business of printing text books. Well, the state printing plant as you know in Sacramento purchases the rights to print the text books for our schools and in turn as those books are used and distributed it pays a royalty on each book, but it's evidently been a sellers market



lately. We bought too many of several kinds of text books and we're stuck with them. We've already spent \$180,000 printing them, and we can't get that back, but now if we try to use them or even give them away, we'll have to pay another \$150,000 in royalties. So to save \$150,000 we're now going to burn \$180,000 worth of books. I picture the budget and by curious coincidence I arrived at the governors door. Now let me quote Mr. Post just once more. He says, "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. This budget represents a sell out of our future. Not a future fifty or ten or even five years away. It's a future beginning now. We've been told according to our state requirements that this is a balanced budget, without any increase in taxes needed to make it a balanced budget. Well it's balanced on a pin point of time and headed for the edge of a cliff. Maybe it's alright for the Dodgers to say "wait till next year" because they have a way of making good every so often, but this administration when it says "wait until next year" it knows that we'll find the hole in the road next year, for this years deficit was moved up ahead and dumped. 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 "Leanin' Hard", on us.

Every budget in recent years has been faced with a deficit, now to avoid new taxes and the hard facts that probably should have come before consideration of new taxes of getting in and cutting and reducing the budget,, These deficits have been met by schemes, one time wind-falls and gimmicks. A few years ago they eliminated the deficit by advancing the collection of Sales Tax. They borrowed from the future and now we're spending next years Business Franchise Tax this year, again borrowing from the future. Then of course they tried to get that classic of all times gimmick, the withholding of personal tax at the state level. Well this is a one time gim-rick that gives the government a wind fall, but it's also a free ticket to futuze tax increases, because we have the evidence of every state or most that have a withholding of their state income taxes has seen the ease with which the tax can be increased once it's just a figure on the stub of a check and not cash in a man's hand. In the recent meeting in Palms 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 nua 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 reduction 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 \$248.00, and a good portion of this is dead-and-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. I've referred before to this, but one example, are the deaf children of our state, many of them on waiting lists for months and even years unable to get into the limited school facilities that we provide for the handicapped in that way. And they can't start their education because there is a shortage of trained teachers in that specialty. There's a shortage of facilities.

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 we're supposed to pick up an increasing 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 privilage and the only voice we had in regard to them was the priviledge 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



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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 progress. 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? Us in battle fuel. 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 year's budget even though they're vastly out numbered. 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. Would you join me in a dream for just a moment. Now I don't mean some fantasy or some idle day dream, but a dream of what California and our nation can be. We're willing to work to make the dream come true. Haven't we had enough of schemers. This is a time now for dreamers.

Picture if you will an administration in our state capital 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 and trust 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.

I'll even refer to their own party. How far we've strayed from the day when men suggested to Woodrow Wilson as president that he appoint his brother as Post Master and Woodrow Wilson said "The only way I could conceivably do this was if there was no other man in the United States capable of performing that job." But politics is not dirty, just some politicians are. We have come to a time when we need statesmen in our state government.



OAKLAND - SAN FRANCISCO

ADVERTISING GURUS SPEECH AT NOON

GOODMAN HALL - JACK LONDON SQUARE

March 1, 1966

You have welcomed me ~~me~~ very warmly, both when I came in and just now, and I am most grateful. I understand that I am no longer contagious but I can assure you that I discovered in the Airport in Los Angeles, before I got on the plane down there - I expected that on my first day out of bed that I'd probably get a little out of breath walking upstairs but when I found I got out of breath riding the escalator up the only thing that made me a little miserable is that the ham lingering in my heart from the occupation that has been mine these many years is such that here was my first chance to play Camille and I found out that it was a mob scene. Everybody else is doing it. I guess I'm just another victim of type-casting. You know what type-casting is. This is one of the occupational hazards in Hollywood. It means that <sup>if</sup> you play a sailor in a picture and the picture makes money, buy seasick pills - you won't see land again for years. Well now, I must question - although I appreciate being hailed as an expert in this field, but I must question that particular classification, although I certainly am no stranger to advertising. My participation, as you well know, has been one of morosor less executing some of the advertising plans rather than creating them and I won't deny that sometimes it seemed execution was too good for some of them. You know, always the problem on such an occasion as this is to determine what is an acceptable theme. Now, I know it has been supposed that I'd direct my words to a tie-in with your profession and my present status which is priority target - seek and destroy. Now, I have always been a little gun-shy about meeting a people in their backyards. I'd rather take them on in my own backyard where I know where the rocks are, but

somehow, talking to you about your business reminds me of an essay that was written by a small girl. It was a very brief essay - only three sentences - but it was filled with that irrefutable logic that can be so infuriating in a family quarrel, that feminine logic. Her essay read "Socrates was a Greek Teacher. He went around giving people free advice. They poisoned him."

But there are so many approaches that someone could use in talking to people of the Advertising and Public Relations Fields and I'm sure that all of them are known to you. For example: "Truth in Advertising" and I have no doubt but that we have come a long way in/modern advertising to accepting our responsibility and matching our glowing phrases somewhat with the mundane realities of the product we are out to sell. Still there is hardly a day that the question doesn't arise "How much proof in advertising?" or we can ask ourselves - "Is Silence maybe a falsehood?" or do we only have to tell the truth if we are asked. There was a salesman in a small town, in a dreary hotel, and on a dreary morning who awoke feeling just the same as the morning and the hotel. He sat there in the dining room and said to the waitress "Ham and Eggs and a kind word." In about five minutes, poker faced, she set the ham and eggs in front of him and he said "Where is the kind word?" And she said: "Don't eat the eggs."

Now many people today have expressed the concern, particularly in recent campaigns, about the part that modern advertising and public relations is playing in determining the outcome of political campaigns and people have expressed the fear that venal forces, checkbook heavy and principal life would package a candidate like soap and sell him to the voters, complete with a theme song and a slogan. Some people have even gone so far as to suggest that the constans of Madison Avenue could turn their magic leeches and persuade the people to vote just for some public figure, like say - an actor, and such talk, of course, is sheer Communist nonsense. None of us in this room will underestimate the power of advertising.



But I think at the same time practically we all realize more than anyone else that the soap we sell had better look like soap when the wrapper comes off and smell like soap, and it had better lather when wet as there isn't very much we can do about keeping up the sales. Actually, there has been a traditional relationship in our country between politics and advertising and public relations. It is just possible that a man named John Beckley of Virginia was the first of a long line of lily gilders who made the two party system work in all these many decades. He was a devoted aid to Thomas Jefferson, if you question who he might have been, and he was his aid in building what was known first as the Republican Party, then it changed its name to the Democrat Party and that name change was a kind of a portent to the things to come. That party has undergone more than a name change since then. Jefferson stood for local rule, individual rights, States Rights, and great limitations on the power of the central government, and his opponent, his adversary, was Alexander Hamilton who, of course, was strong for the Central Government Theme, the idea of centralizing all authority possible in the Nation's Capital. Jefferson won. Today, however, I think it would be more appropriate if the Democrats would hold an annual Hamilton-Jackson Day Dinner instead of the traditional Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner because certainly centralized authority has become a definite and admitted part of their philosophy, indeed the goal of that party. Well, anyway, Beckley was Jefferson's propogandist. It was in the last two decades of the last Century, around the turn of the Century, that advertising and public relations really firmed up the merger with politics. The campaign of 1830 saw the real introduction of campaign literature on a wide scale. This was due in part to the growth of the press, a more abundant supply of cheap paper. I have often wondered if paper wasn't cheap before then, how they managed to have wars before then because the war that I fought was one in which I became a national authority on paper clips and paper. But listen to the modern sound of this. Men who were

learned as regards to issues, the Issues of State, and who possess what might be termed "the Knowledge of Applied Psychology" hold the blue pencil. Paragraphs, sentences and words are weighed with reference to their effect in the mind of the readers. What will be of advantage to one part of the country may be useless, or possibly harmful in other parts. It sounds pretty modern but that was the description of the part being played by advertising and public relations in the campaign of 1900 and of course radio in the mid 20's. T.V really coming into full flower in the '52 and '56 campaign, served as the approved printing pad in its time, to further cement this relationship. Well, now, I have no real fear of advertising in modern politics in the sense of the part it plays in presenting candidates. In fact, if we really analyze that electronics may have brought us as close as possible in this age of bigness to the old eyeball to eyeball personal type of campaigning. The stump is gone but a TV closeup in the family living room is pretty personal and you know, I think as the same time <sup>it</sup> is harder to hide the inner sincerity that might exist in a candidate from that camera than it was to hide it under the flickering torchlights <sup>from</sup> of the people on the other side of the square. I'll admit sometimes we wonder if there isn't a kind of a dual standard that has come into being. Does the agency involved in a campaign pay as strict code with regard to the quality and the purity of the products when the product being \_\_\_\_\_ is a politician, as the same agency does if the quality of the product is soap. But even here - I don't think the public is so easily and completely fooled as some would like to think. I am concerned, however, about another outgrowth of this merger with politics. Jefferson said "The people can't make a mistake if they have the facts," and Woodrow Wilson, Jr., said "The press can inform, slow can play a vital part in the cause of good administration by exploring the impact of any social forces, illustrating abuses and questions before they become



acute and encouraging a positive sense of unity in national direction," and I assume Mr. Chaffey meant that the people would then decide what is the National Direction. I have a hunch that sounded strange to some of you when I said that. I know it sounded strange to me when I put it down here as a note because haven't all of us come to a point today when just for a moment we find ourselves questioning whether the people have the capacity to make such a decision. Well now this other outgrowth I mentioned - Governments becoming probably the biggest sponsors of tens of thousands of PR men and advertisers and professionals grinding out what the government has decided <sup>In</sup> the people should know. This sheer volume and wordage, backed by unlimited economic powers, they outweigh any of the private competitors or sponsors today. Now it is true that Government has a responsibility to tell the people about the conduct of the people's affairs, but this means in detail and completely. This, we have true self-government as the people make their wishes known to their elective representatives. Now you realize that when I speak of the government grinding out this volume of wordage, I speak of this no longer in the sense of talking about those we choose by ballot. Actually, this vast propaganda mill is financed by our money but is managed by bureaus and agencies. Now this isn't a quarrel with the idea of public service. Bureaucrats has become a kind of epithet and is yet actually Bureaucrat is something pretty necessary in a Government of our kind. But these people determine our policy all too often in National Affairs and State Affairs and it is determined by people who are employed frozen into permanency by Civil Service Regulations rather than those who are elected by the people and this, I believe, is reason for concern. It is not a idle \_\_\_\_\_. Some of our agencies in Washington become the biggest lobbyists from the point of money spent and effort expended. I remember a few months ago, in putting a speech together, I was trying to get the list of who were the biggest spenders



at the end of the first six months of the year, the most powerful lobbyists in Washington, and the first two were government agencies. I spoke once on the subject of the growth of government, some of the agencies, and how they didn't go out of existence/<sup>became</sup> to-gain permanent fixtures regardless of whether the need that caused their creation still existed. When I had finished talking (a Congressman who was in the audience (and I didn't even know he was there) took me aside and I thought he was going to challenge me on some of the points but he didn't. He said "You know, I wonder if you realize what has happened in Washington and the problems of some Congressmen?" He said: "Do you realize that some of the agencies have become so entrenched and so powerful that a congressman today has to move with caution if he wants to stand on the floor of congress and suggest cutting the appropriation or the budget for some of these agencies, because -(he said)- these agencies have the power to come into our districts and destroy us and keep us from being re-elected." And, he said: "What's really needed in this Country is to get back to a place in which the Congressman can feel more beholden to his constituents, more fearful of the opinion of his constituents, than he does of the agencies and the bureaus of the Federal Government - but, he said, that isn't the case." And he told me one of the devices. He said, for example, "if I speak out and question too much something that an agency is doing, the next time I need the service of that agency for my constituent, to find some information in answer to a query, when the secretary gives my name as making the phone call, the voice at the other ~~xxxx~~ end of the phone, at the agency, says "Tell the Congressman we don't have the manpower to supply that information." Now these are the people we elect. The great communications medium has an economic base in advertising and without economic freedom there is no other freedom possible to it and whether you like it or not, you have a special responsibility because of this, for the maintenance of the free



exchange of ideas. We all know that the Government in Washington has openly defended the right to lie to the people. This was done in testimony before a Senate Committee. Sarah McClendon, North American Newspaper Alliance, , the Library of Congress had been ordered not to answer inquiries about the President's voting record when he was a Representative and a Senator; nor to give out any information about statements he might have made on the floor of Congress during debates. Congress is being denied access to two studies being conducted by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, studies for a blueprint of the future policy of that agency with regard to education . This at a time when that agency is telling the public it has no thought or idea of ever exerting any control of the National School System.

At a recent UPI Convention, Calvin Title, acting director of the Community Relations Services, told the assembled editors there that newspapers should withhold stories of civil disorders until passed upon by police and a professional of the Human Relations Committee. He further said that Civil Rights stories should not be assigned to a Reporter but that the paper should be enforced to employ a person grounded in Social Science to cover such stories. Now, he said, the paper shouldn't be too hard on extremists or people who agitate or seem to be extremists, and his whole plea was to turn the news media into a trumpet for Government Propaganda, as their patriotic duty. Needless to say, the Nation's Press has not rushed to put his suggestions into practice. But we don't have to go that far from California's golden shore - the pattern spreads. Indeed Sacramento has become an Artesian well in recent weeks, a veritable fount of knowledge about the doings of the 276 agencies that make up the executive branch of our State Government. I don't understand the timing of this increased flow unless it has to do with the Season's unusually heavy rains. There must

be some reason why there is so much more of it today than has been known in the past. But the point is - Do these multitudinous messages tell the people all the facts that aid them in making decisions, or do they just make a case of what the administration has decided it wants to do in the people's behalf? Woodrow Wilson, on March 15, 1913, said "Please do not tell the Country what Washington is thinking for that doesn't make any difference. Tell Washington what the Country is thinking." For example, recent pronouncements anent the Bracero cancellation - We were told by Sacramento that there was an adequate labor force without the Braceros and it was a domestic labor force - no hardship resulted, and the farm economy set a new record for prosperity - three billion, seven hundred million dollars, and that any retail prices that occurred in vegetables and farm products was the result of the weather. Now, the domestic labor force of 70,000 that they hailed included 35,000 green card holders, who are only technically termed "domestics", who actually are from across another border. It also included in that 70,000 all of the people who showed up for half a day and went home with a backache. The hardship began before the harvest, when farmers, anticipating the labor shortage, cancelled the plans to plant tens of thousands of acres, reduced their planting in large blocks, and crops did not in the fields, and some farmers were totally wiped out, and the 3.7 billion dollars income was gross, and if you don't talk "net" these days you are bankrupt. Actually, the net income to California farmers this year, and this we were not told, was the lowest since 1961 and incidentally the 3.7 billion, they didn't tell us, also included all of these crops like cattle that weren't affected by the Bracero cancellation. And every housewife knows, when she goes to the market, that the prices are up on fresh vegetables and when we bought on the canned vegetables, it was 20 to 30%. One woman went into a market to buy a head of lettuce and when she heard the price she said "Gift instead."



A plethora of great State Bulletins tells us of the great growth and prosperity in our State. Well, growth we've had, an increase in our population, but economic growth lagged behind the national average by more than 50%. We trail the national average in retail sales in even a greater percentage, and almost in the increase in personal income.

✓ I think it would be of value for the people to know the facts - all the facts, about the effect of the present spending policies on the deteriorating business climate of our State. But it could be then that the people, knowing all the facts, would have some opinions on whether everything in that 4.6 billion dollar budget is absolutely essential. Today the people here in the Bay Area that had, as they picked up their morning papers, the savage reminder that "Crime in the Streets is not just a cliché." You may say "What political administration would employ public relations professionals, or advertising people, just to confess its own shortcomings?" Now we connect the point... That would be asking a great deal of human nature, wouldn't it? Also, it's too much to ask of human nature that a political administration/<sup>have</sup> at its disposal public relations professionals and advertising facilities and not use them to sell the people on their particular ability of character of that administration. California Government must improve its position and recognize advertising and public relations because, in my view, a sound administration, an effective administration in Sacramento, will have to grow out of the lives/<sup>and</sup> the problems of the people rather than be imposed on those lives and problems from above. I guess that sounds familiar to some of you - it should. That was a quote from the third edition of "Effective Public Relations" by Scott H. Cutler, of the University of Wisconsin and Allen H. Sant- Vice President and Public Relations of the Motorola, Inc., in lecturing on Public Relations at Northwestern.

Well I've talked and shortly will explain in some detail my philosophy which I have chosen to call "The Creative Society". In truth it is nothing more than the implementing of Self-Government by calling on the limitless potential of the people to solve the problems confronting us. Since I can see no way of placing in Government hands the great power potential of your craft and your profession and your business without subverting that craft to the possibilities of propaganda. It would be my intention, if elected to office, to turn to the communications needs and to advertising and public relations and to ask the best brains among you to form a council, to suggest a plan whereby there could be established two-way communication to keep the Government informed of the thinkings of people and the people informed as to all the workings of government. This would have to include, of course, safeguards to insure that government could not restrict or restrain the dissemination of honest information and news. There is no way that I can see that Government can have as an agency of its own public relations and advertising, without having that public relations and advertising be used in behalf of the particular partisan viewpoint of that administration. No administration, regardless of party should have that power. The Government's only function is to lay before the communications medium all of the information concerning the workings of the people and then trust, in that great communications media, to make that information available to the people so that the people can make their wishes and their wants, their opinions known to their elective representatives. Transition is the factor upon which Government can feed and grow beyond the consent of the Government. To allow the term "Stabilizing" and "Control and Planning" in Business for Government is to allow Business to assume the privileges of a monopoly and to assume any of the responsibilities and to in any way restrict your right to tell the people all the truth all the time is to rob the people from the people the only weapon the people possess in the fight against the Government threat of oppression. Thank you.



Mikemar Hotel

Santa Monica

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I'm afraid that I must digress a little from the program which you have laid down here because I don't believe that I am going to present exactly a campaign speech in my own behalf. I believe that perhaps in the question and answer period we will deal more in the specifics that you want, but I have long shared an idea. It's why I appreciate very much being here. A great many problems in the world will disappear if we talk a little more to each other and a little less about each other. So I would rather talk on just a more broad base for just a few moments than any specifics about myself.

Since the beginning of time man has been plagued by those things that divide him. Others may feel geography or a manner of worship, how we would be governed or variations in pigmentation and physical makeup. A great deal of man's inhumanity to man has been caused by some kind of flaw in human nature that's conquered each one of us. As a little wary of anything we think differs from what we consider the norm. But having been created in God's image, we have a (?). Bridging all the differences real or imaginary there's an urge so deep in each one of us that it more than any other human trait has made possible our climb from the swamp to the stars, <sup>climb</sup> ~~with~~ that desire of every human being to be recognized as an individual, and have the dignity and freedom to shape <sup>his</sup> its own destiny, and to share in God's bounty for as long as he doesn't deny others the right to do the same thing. With this great inherent dream of man that caused the creation of this century 200 years ago. Other revolutions in other fields

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from time to time have reduced tyranny or removed it by overthrowing an oppressive government, replacing it with one a little more tolerant at least for a time, but here for the first time, a revolution took place that established once and for all that freedom was man's God given right and that government only existed through the permission of the people and it existed only to insure and guarantee man's permanent possession of that right to be free.

Today America and American's bear an almost total responsibility in the world for the preservation of that dream. Even in a more enlightened so called <sup>time</sup> ~~preparation~~, those other three nations of the world, we've seen compromise brought about by their inability to match the power of the collectivist nations who would take all of us back to a rule of the many by the few. Here in America I believe that the ultimate responsibility for carrying on this fight for freedom rests with the Republican Party. I don't <sup>mean to</sup> ~~need to~~ charge that only Republicans have a love of freedom, but there is a philosophy, <sup>held</sup> a-guy named Leaders of the opposition party that freedom from the age old problems, physical distress etc. is more important than freedom to chart our own lives. Freedom from hunger and want and noble humanitarian goals, but there is no validity in our opponents assumption that it can only be obtained by giving up freedom to choose, freedom to try, yes, freedom to fail and to try again. And no matter how generous the handout, there's no real security, if the recipients of that handout are beholden to a force that can by its own decision take as well as give.

A man serving a life sentence in San Quentin has complete physical and material security. A hundred years ago, every one of the slave holding



states had a clause in its constitution that said they had to guarantee adequate food, shelter, clothing, medical care, and even a provision for old age, but it wasn't good enough then and it isn't good enough now even though it's been modified into a kind of benevolent federal fraternalism. True security is the product of individual freedom. Now there are two ways of achieving equal opportunity. One is to remove the restrictions that place a ceiling over some of our citizens; or the other way is to extend that ceiling so that all people are equally restricted and restrained. One way is morally right and consistent with the American dream. The other way is the Marxian concept that was described by Winston Churchill as the philosophy of failure. It created ignorance, the gospel of envy, its inherent virtue, the equal sharing of misery. The overwhelming majority of those Americans who are at the same time Negro, I believe have been led astray by the leadership of the other political parties that has in truth done little to free them from an unwanted fraternalism beyond promise, and when they believe in those promises, as so many have in joining with that other party, they find that when they try to walk free that they've been locked in a political ghetto, behind a kind of Jerico wall. You ladies and gentlemen have chosen a different course as evidenced by your presence here, and you have assumed a great responsibility, because in truth, you, and you alone, can trumpet down those walls of Jerico. Because the Republican philosophy is a belief that each citizen bearing responsibility in his private life and his community life and the government must be restrained by the constitution. The Republican Party has done the most to advance the cause of the individual. But isn't the Republican party that has had to temper justice for a hundred years because its base of power was an area in our country

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that was under one party rule and must not because of that be offended. The Republican party offers redress of grievance and equality of opportunity neither because of, nor in spite of race or religion or any difference between us, but because Americans are entitled to nothing less.

Those who love freedom cross party lines, and if every religion, every national origin and every race will fight to preserve freedom, <sup>it</sup> can not be <sup>come</sup> one without. I know that, in suggesting that this is mainly your responsibility, I ask a great deal of you. You're greatly outnumbered. You'll be subjected to pressures which I have some knowledge and understanding of. But you have a great deal to offer, a story to tell and your party has much needed as does your country and the whole of mankind. As a poet wrote in a book called (?) "Upon the road there is no reward offered. Who goes, goes free for the great love that is in him. The work is his reward."

George Christopher:

Thank you very much Miss Stokes and the chairman Wallace Brown etc.

Perhaps I have some slight advantage over the previous speakers

that I will try to take advantage of that slight advantage, and that is

this that I have served in public office for ten years as member and president on the board of supervisors (?) as the mayor for eight years.

And so, when you look at George Christopher you might be able to ask these specific questions, and say now, you've been in the realm of political service and perhaps.....(?) But ladies and gentlemen, I just want to be specific here this afternoon. I want to be specific because all of us have these great views about liberty, freedom, equal opportunity. The only thing that's wrong is that different people have different concepts of what constitutes



George Christopher

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equality of educational opportunities, equality of job opportunities, and I think we've got to get down to the basics in this coming election and day to ourselves here is what we think about these momentous issues that confront not only the people of California, the momentous issues that confront the people of America. Here in California we have a high unemployment rate some 40% higher than the national average. This concerns everybody of course but you and I must know that it concerns the minorities more than it concerns others because when there is unemployment, the minorities suffer first. Therefore when we say that. Therefore when we say that we need 200,000 new jobs at least each year, we say this - We've got to find solutions. We've got to have answers, and you just cannot sit about hoping for militiamen to strike us and thus create these jobs. Therefore as a free enterpriser I say to you that we can create these 200,00 new jobs or more to create a constructive economic climate for all the nations to behold. Too many people in the east are not coming to California to invest their capital because (?)... I am a salesman yes, and I believe that we can get these big industries to establish themselves in our city, and the minorities, not only the Negro minorities, but the Mexican - American minorities, the Chinese and the Japanese are all interested in seeing what we have in good sound healthy fine economic climate in California, so I have just to say to you today, I repeat what I have said time and time again. The next governor of California must be concerned with what transpires here, but he must also be concerned with the educational attitude and apply it all over the United States, because much of our difficulties today by virtue of the fact that these yesteryears find in the states some people, some governors (?) who are not concerned about equal educational opportunities, so many of our minorities have come



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here in California and they have not been and they have not been prepared to ....(?) Face the fact, those people, let us be frank about it, therefore I say to you that the governor of California must show compassionate understanding for all the minorities not just in this state but throughout the entire United States. I think the Republican party must change its aspects in some areas and say why are we not getting at least twenty three percent of the Democrats to vote for us, and we might as well face the fact that unless we have a candidate that can get 23% of the Democrats to vote for our Republican candidate, once again we shall not win. We must prove by action rather than by mere words ladies and gentlemen that we are indeed the party of Lincoln, and the only way that we can prove that we are the party of Lincoln is for us to act in the Lincolnian way, remembering his name with reverence on February 12th each and every year. I think that we have to prove that we are the party of opportunity and the only way we can prove that we are the party of opportunity is by concrete action and show that compassionate hand of understanding for those who have been suppressed in past years. We have been catching up to you in so far as minorities are concerned. We can't say today that .....(?) So I will say to the party leaders, Republicans I've said to them privately again and again, if we are to become... in this great nation of ours, we must take concrete action, whether it be in California or in New Jersey, we must take action to withdraw from the Republican party the label they seem to have of going about singing anti-Negro songs, anti-Jewish songs. We can in many ways condone this kind of action and still proclaim ourselves to the people of America that we are the father of Lincoln that they say at the outset that I have observed by virtue of my experience I can point



to some definite action that I have taken. Ladies and gentlemen, the actions I have taken did not spring from my mind the day I (?) the office of governor. Please let me do this, let me go back some years, even prior to the time I became supervisor to the town of San Francisco ....(?) Let's go back to the time long before I had any concept that I would be running for the office of governor to the great state of California. My city back in the year of 1945 did have segregation and discrimination and the first order of business as a supervisor on my part was to fight for and enact non-segregation and non-discrimination causes in the public housing act.

.....(?) Well ladies and gentlemen just let me refresh your memory because it needs to be refreshed from time to time. .... Over ten years ago our first order of business was to go to the board of supervisors and ask for ... for the state of California. Now when I go back all these many years let me assure you that fighting for equal opportunity, for jobs, fighting for equal opportunity in housing was not as popular as it is today. Don't forget ladies and gentlemen, I'm going back 20 years but the record is there.....and I ask you to look at it. .... and every body told me then that it was politically suicidal to do so, but San Francisco survived and progressed and had the greatest..... since history in my administration because my administration were working together. And then I went into commissions over which I had appointive power and let me tell you that I was able to put for the first time, Negroes on the Housing Commission for San Francisco, and on the welfare commission for San Francisco. They were even on the board of Education for the first time in San Francisco. They were on the Library Commission. Did I do this because I was looking for votes? No, its because I knew that..... we knew the ordeals we had to endure. We knew the obstacles we had to overcome for this great world that comes out to us today, equal opportunity..... I suffered with it a long time ago. And so I say to you, If I do become your governor,

Christopher

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I'm not going to come down here and simply say I'm going to appoint Negroes or Mexican-Americans..., that's beside the point, what I want to say to you is that I want the minorities involved, I want them directly involved so they can feel part of the solution and I want them to be part of decisions. I want them to help me make these great decisions that will have to be made to make California the great state it is aspiring to be. It will be a difficult job at that, but I'm running out of patience ladies and gentlemen but I know how to.....(?) And I only say to you that if you were hiring somebody to do this job in Sacramento to do this job for you and for all the people of California, with all respect to my contemporary candidates I say to you who would you hire to run this big four and a half million dollar budget up there in Sacramento. This is the crux of the whole thing. This is the great problem confronting the people of California today. And on the basis of that experience proved in every way, I submit my candidacy. Thank you very much.

Patrick:

(inaudible)



Q/A

Q. The Negro has been left out of the main stream in politics and business and in social life. Now you've mentioned something about hiring people for jobs. We have a Negro manufacturer's here that are not in the mainstream and they need the help of their brother Republicans and we also have many fine highly educated young Negroes that are working at the things that they can do least. What would you do to upgrade these businessmen and these young qualified Negroes?

Patrick:

One of the the things that I think that we can do for businessmen, and this is really the question I think you're asking is, this again the state has to step into the situation by guaranteeing loans. This is something I said earlier, but I'd like to elaborate a little. They, businessmen cannot get loans to run their businesses..... and this is something that I believe that we are not going to be able to do it any other way in the State of California to guarantee business loans.

Christopher:

I believe that the matter of simplifying the course of conduct that I try to adhere to in years the matter pertaining to the minorities is not only economic, but also social. The question that confronts the governor or the mayor or the public official is to relate the entire citizenry to their responsibilities towards their fellow human beings. I'm not prepared to.....to say on state guarantee loans, because your guarantee loans

ladies and gentlemen, for the minority, because if you guarantee loans you have to guarantee these loans for everybody. I think this would be a serious discussion to enter into, but I believe that I would like to see very much this equal opportunity all the way through by the..... detail after detail as to what transpired in the past years in San Francisco.

I think that the real reason that minorities have been oppressed in the past is because they've not had equal opportunity from the very day that they were born, and we've got to start right now making up this lost time and also guarantee every young person who goes to school, whether it's California or Mississippi or any place else with equal stock in the race of life. In the mean time I think that the only way that we can guarantee some happiness to those who have been oppressed in the past is to do what..... that when contracts are left for the construction of new .... let there be discrimination. I believe that the state government as well as the local government should institute proceedings whereby there shall segregation or discrimination in letting of the contract.

I think that Mr. Patrick said something that is very very informative here today. We've got to lend a hand but we've also got to pour out our hearts. This is a combination that is going to be very difficult I presume until we educate not so much the oppressed minorities, but educate the majorities who don't quite understand the problems today. So there no necessity, there is no will, that's why I say my statement. I just want you to be involved. I want you to become involved to the point where these decisions will be made. actual(?)

Reagan:

I hate to do this and give away a secret here, but I feel that Mr. Patrick



is so disturbed about the fact that I was on the right and Mr. Christopher was on the left of the picture. He ought to know that there is an old trick in show business that if you get over on your right the caption will always read, reading from left to right and the first name will be the person standing over on the right and most people don't read the entire caption, but they'll at least get that first person's name.

This is a very strange thing, the Republican is supposed to be torn apart and all of us are supposed to be representing such different factions. How much alike we all sounded in our approach tonight. I was trying to express in my own introductory remarks which I thought were only supposed to be introductory. My belief that one of the great things wrong with this country is the hyphenating of Americans, whether it be Mexican-Americans, and I don't like the term or Negro-Americans, and I don't like the term, or Polish-Americans, or Irish-Americans or anything else, but Americans. And the people who have loved in the custom of hyphenating... I think have done so for selfish purposes. They've done so so that they can line up a block and try to throw out promises to try to get support of that block. In this particular problem I've been talking up and down the state....

Well, I coined a phrase for it, the Creative Society and I couldn't think of any other name that I thought fitted it better. I believe what's wrong is too much of the government from Sacramento leading on the people and not enough participation by the people, so I'll sound as if I'm echoing what has already been said, but that's natural, we're all in the same party, and I think we all basically share the same philosophy. My idea of the Creative Society is one in which we exist by way of government in a partnership with the people of this state and utilize the resources of the state for the benefit of the people.

of the town. What Mr. Patrick is doing in his own business is admirable and it should be added to. I would think that the prestige of the governors office should be used to approach the people of the state on that same basis, but I think it should also be used to mobilize the industrial and business minds of this state for more projects, similar to and perhaps even improved upon where ever it can be of the thing going on now in the responsible Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce. The operation down there has enlisted the aid of hundreds of industrialist to put people to work, to find and provide on the job training, and in turn they have found out that roughly 50% of the unemployed in one particular area of the operation have a social problem, a responsibility of all of us because at the moment they are unemployable or not qualified for on the job training for various reasons - disability, complete lack of training, illiteracy or whatever. Now this is what I say is a social problem, but in this sense it seems to me impossible to think that we can find anyone, appoint anyone to governor, or elect anyone to governor who on their own is simply going to have the genius and ability to settle all of the problems that involve 13 million human beings in California. I believe that in every one of these problems if the state makes it its business to turn to the people and seek out and say here you are chairman. I want a committee of the best brains involved with this problem. I want you to come back to us to tell what we can do as a state government to help you, whether it is in the area of removing regressive taxation, or using the device of incentive taxation to stimulate business, whether it is in the area of cooperation in training and education, I will give just one example of how this can work. A couple of years ago to stimulate one of the recessions, to stimulate business, the congress of the United States gave a 7% tax credit to businessmen or industrialists who..... and its incredible to me that a couple of years later we now have a bill



in Congress to extend that same 7% tax credit for human beings. It takes a new piece of legislation and you don't know yet whether get a tax ... They might think it's a.... But the idea of saying to a business man, you'll get that same 7% tax credit if you'll put in on on the job training program and rebuild human beings as well as rebuild plants and factories, and this is the type of thing that I believe the Creative Society can solve. I believe that it would be particularly effective in the area of human relations because as has been said very eloquently by Mr. Patrick this is basically a problem of people and people and a problem of hearts. Where ever there is any discrimination, where ever there is any violation of anyone's constitutional rights, that is the function and responsibility of government to enforce those constitutional rights regardless of what power is required or what force is required, but then to go beyond that into such things as the recent home to home program, family to family program put into effect by many of our fine Negro and white clergymen here in town of getting families to volunteer from our various churches to meet and get acquainted with families and eat at their home and learn the problems of human beings at first hand. Now this is what I meant in the phrase talking to each other instead of about each other. I believe that the business genius and talent is here to provide the answers to the questions you've asked and the unemployed, these people who want to work must be provided work and the only one I believe really provided is the private sector of the economy.

/ Q. Did you feel that your question was answered adequately with the candidates?

A. Well, no, because my question was specifically on the Republican

candidates because Republicans are leaders in the business world, and the most successful dealers in the business world are Republicans but they're little businessmen you see, and they need the help of these big Republicans./

The question has been asked by the gentlemen of the press to all the candidates whether or not they feel that Proposition 14 is constitutional or unconstitutional. Gentlemen, the question has been directed to all three of you.

Christopher:

Well as you know this is the kind of a question that politicians always dodge, and this is the kind of a situation where.....say I won't respond, and is supposed to be politically naive and maybe it is but I believe in dealing with truth and what's real and fair and right and if I'm condemned for that condemn away. I believe, and I want this understood, I believe the way it was designed was misleading and very few people fully understood what was going on. When you get in a situation where yes means no and no means yes, I would have a difficult time figuring it out cause I wouldn't know what is going on. Suddenly I do know what is going on ..... If at any time that you sir, black, white, green or any other color are told that you've got to sell your property because you either like or dislike somebody, I think that is wrong and I think it is unconstitutional. Second, if at any time that a man refuses to sell his property to a Negro, to a Mexican, to a Chinese, or to anyone else, I say that is un-American. I say that is un-American. So, I don't think that we can look at it with one eye. We've got to use our brains, our minds, and be honest and look at both sides of the situation, and quit using it as a political football, and as long as people allow it to go on being a football, then I think that you are not going to get anywhere and I am not going to get anywhere and no one is going to get anywhere.



I think that we've got to be honest with ourselves and look at the total situation.

Reagan:

I don't believe that these questions should be answered directly as to constitutionality because it is now before the State Supreme Court. I think it would be improper to handle it in a manner of that kind. But again and along the same line as I showed you. I think the great tragedy of the whole situation and it is now so emotionally involved that we've ignored what is the basic problem. I think number 1 the .... was a bad piece of legislation. I think that Proposition 14 was a bad attempt to remedy what was wrong, so there we are faced with two choices. What I think is the problem that without emotionalism and that's why I wish we could forget the number, because that now has become a red flag to so many of us on both sides. I think we have to get down to what is the basic problem. Number 1, morally it is a problem that must be solved and that must be solved between the people. I myself would find it and have all my life, and I have worked all my life and because of equality of opportunity actively before it ever became the popular issue that it is, but I therefore could not consciously use prejudice, nor would I consciously patronize any business that discriminated against any human being on the basis of prejudice. But at the same time I do not believe that you can offer the cure that would give the government high precedent a right that could then some day be invoked against all human beings, a very basic right that would be invaded. You can't always guarantee that the government you have is not going to carry over and use that right once it's been given to a

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way that you didn't intend it to be used. In other the end does not justify the means, and therefore, I am not whole heartedly for what the Runfort(?) Act was trying to solve. I am equally opposed to the wrong habit of trying to solve. Now I would think again that the prestige of this state government should be used not as it's been pointed out, it uses human emotions as a political football, but should be used to find a common sense solution that we should have to these problems that are dividing us so in the country today.

Patrick:

Well I don't think I have to elaborate on this matter because again we know the constitutionality of official ordinances of laws with regard to public housing the matter now being before the State Supreme Court is one that will be a judge and I say to you that perhaps this decision will be made not by unanimous decision either, because it's going to puzzle even some of our ..... supreme court justices. I feel there fore, that while I sympathize with the purposes of the Runfort(?) Act, and while I have campaigned up and down the state for..... I believe that this decision is not for these three candidates, I believe that it is a very, very, serious decision that's going to be decided by the eminent justices of the State Supreme Court.

Q. to Christopher:

The question as I understand it asked by the.....(?) to help the Negro businessman. Mr. Patrick answered the question so point that the state should stand behind him. Mr. Christopher implied that if the state stood behind for minority it would have to do so for all minorities....Does Mr. Carlson just say that some ideas can now get to the loan banks, savings and loan institutions and others?



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Christopher:

I do not deny that concessions or Negroes can get loans from savings and loan associations provided that they have ... adequate collateral. I say to you ... then by all means you might question the constitutionality of the state setting up an ordinance or a law or a provision that says that we will hand you money or guarantee you loans only to Negroes. I guarantee you that you are going to want it, and I just want to guarantee you this afternoon that this would be challenging the courts and would be struck down as being unconstitutional, so .... in my opinion it's hardly worth while wasting the time of these other two candidates discussing about it.

Patrick:

I think that Mr. Christopher was misled in this situation. I did not say only to Mexican-Americans, Negroes... but I'll say this, it seems only that only the Negro, Mexican-American and other minorities can't seem to get along. We talk about for the last number of years we've tried to do a job that hasn't been done and I think it's time now that we take whatever steps that are necessary to create a fair and equitable situation and I think that the state has to stand up and take some leadership and initiative. This is a lot better in my opinion than the state taking tax dollars and throwing it away. This isn't helping. I think we want a positive program where the businessman..... He said he went down to the bank, all banks and he couldn't get any money. Now this is fairly common. He couldn't get any insurance. All these problems. I say that this is a good solid program to help the people of this state. Now I think this, that any time, whether its Negro, Mexican, or any color, economic related people are put in the position where they can't

function. I think it's high time we stopped and do something positive. The last hundred years at least we've done very little, and today we're trying dodge the issue, at least most of the politicians are, and I'll say this, that I'm not for discriminating against white people. I'm one.

Q. Mr. Eagan, we've had a lot of discussions here this afternoon about different minorities and all that sort of thing, I'd like to know what kind of a people that you think these American people are. Do you think that they belong to a white race, a black race, yellow race or any other particular type of religion or whatever. Can you describe these people, the American people. (Question ruled out)

Q. Mr. Christopher stated earlier that while he was mayor of San Francisco that he did make certain appointments to Negroes in the city of San Francisco. I would like to ask Mr. Christopher if he has carried out the same policy in hiring Negroes to his executive or management staff in his own business.

A. Well I might say with regard to the gentleman's question that my company in San Francisco for a long time, many, many years fought to "break the barrier that had always, always existed in unions particularly," and ladies and gentlemen this may astound you that whenever I try to hire a person though from some of the unions that it's fairly difficult to hire of the Negro..... But my company was the first to break down that barrier and today I have a growing percentage of Negroes in my various staffs, than any other similar company in San Francisco. And of course if the gentleman will cease to profit by the press agent of my opponents, I'll be able to answer the question.

Q. It has to do of course with this matter of equal opportunity as he projected several times.....(?) It says that we want equal



success or happiness and in equal opportunity we have what would be called equal opportunity or equal participation and equal achievement. Now opportunity alone is not enough, there must equal conditions and my question is this.....(?) do you propose that we ought to have preferential treatment in order to bring up those who of course are behind in parts of the cultured life?

Reason:

Now if you're speaking in the area of training and education in which it is evident from figures that have been brought out in educational circles that there are areas and there are groups of people and not always necessarily confined to one racial group that are behind in the start for the race for life even though granted even though granted equal educational opportunity at a certain point in their life. They start behind. That something should be done in a remedial program such as the head start program to give them their equal start. I am all for that. Yes, I do believe in that. Beyond that point, however, once someone is given an equal start in life, there is no way in this system of ours, nor do I believe there should be in a free enterprise system, where you can ever guarantee that everyone is going to come down the home stretch and finish equally at the finishing line, because the only way you can do that is to limit those with the greatest ability and say that they cannot go as fast and as far as their ability will take them, and this would not be right. The only society like that right now we find in Russia, and they don't even practice it. It's only alright for everybody except those who are running the government and they've got a little different scale worked out than those..... I don't know how to answer your question beyond that point, but yes, ..... to limit or was not that. I'll go way beyond the subject that seems to be concerning us here today,

I'll take the people in this state right now who are troubled and have to a great problem of handicapped children by reason of being deaf, children who have to have a special kind of education if they're to have a chance with the rest of us, and this why especially trained teachers and special schools, and we are way behind in the state. We've only got two such schools. We don't have enough teachers and there are children knowing heartbreak and parents knowing the heartbreak of looking up their children in homes are on waiting lists for years before they can even start their education. And I think this is a responsibility of the public, of the state and something should be done about that. Equal opportunity and equal start in life for everyone.

Q. I'd like to direct this question to Mr. Reagan. We saw the large effects of the Negroes from the Republican party due to the fact that Mr. Goldwater had voted against the Civil Rights Bill. Now Mr. Reagan has stated publicly that he would have voted against the Civil Rights Bill had he been in Congress at that time. Now what I want Mr. Reagan to help all of us with is how do we go to our people and explain your position if we expect to support the Republican Party in the light of that statement.

A. The quote that is attributed to me, it is true I made. After a lengthy question and answer session at the Press Club about the entire issue of Civil Rights and for quite a long period of time in their discussion I have been going on at great length about my life long position in this fight and on this side as well as in the Screen Actors Guild and while I haven't had the opportunity to employ or hold public office and in case anyone was concerned about the man supposed to be the politician, it is practically



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because I am not a politician that I'm running for office. I think that its time that some people from the rank and file citizens were getting together. I did have an experience in the Screen Actor's Guild in which there are many fine members who found themselves being discriminated against, and we did a pretty successful job in that guild when I was president of taking care of that situation. That was one union where there was no discrimination, but I will second Mr. Christopher's remarks about many other unions. Now, this was part of the whole discussion and I have discussed at great length my belief in and support of the goals and aims of the Civil Rights Bill, but my concern .....(?) again would be troubling us like the present legislation by way of being unconstitutional. I made the statement and finally someone said after all the discussion, "Well, if you had been there, what do you think? How would you have voted?" And summing up all of this, I said I guess on the basis of the constitutional doubt I would vote no, but again I reiterated, although I'm in favor of what the bill was trying to accomplish. I had a talk one day with Congressman Finley from Illinois and I told him, I said, you know I said I shouldn't have said that, because I don't think that anyone really knows how he would vote unless he was party to all the debate that went on and I said that there are men that certainly I respect who voted both ways on the bill. Congressman Finley said "You're right....." and the other day a package arrived from Congressman Finley with the entire transcript of the debate on the bill, but I've been a little busy for the last few days as you can imagine, so I haven't been able to do what I'd like to do. I'm looking forward to getting into this and reading it. Now, I still challenge, it was a bad piece of legislation and we have had the bill in effect and I think even the people

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who were the most active promoters, agree now that the bill did not accomplish what it set out to accomplish. It was a bad bill and I'm still in favor of legislation that will achieve what the bill set out to do. And I'll go one step beyond that. I would say that the party that is taking blows today for having supposedly done so much in this field, that party has been in power a number of years and I refer to this in my opening remarks, if that party had wanted to, any time it wanted to it had all the law it needed in the constitution to go into the south and correct the evils that were going on and it didn't do it because the basis of this power is the solid democratic south. Why the Republicans should stand out and be self-conscious about supposedly not doing something when this has been the prevailing philosophy of the Republican Party is beyond me. Now the other thing that I feel I'm going to take advantage of and answer. I realize in many of your minds, that the question you would have with me as a candidate is the fact that I actively supported the Goldwater ticket. I was a Democrat all my life and I supported the Republican ticket top to bottom in 60. I did everything then and everything in 62 that I did in 64. I happen to personally know Barry Goldwater. I've known him for a number of years and it's not my point here to defend him and I don't think he needs any defending from me, but I will tell you this. If I did not know to my personal knowledge that Barry Goldwater was the very opposite of a racist and indeed he has a personal record in his life and in his business and in his political career of actively, aggressively working for equal opportunity in foreign and minority groups, I would not have supported him.

Patrick: I would like to challenge Mr. Fagan and Mr. Christopher to a I.V. debate and if necessary, we pay for it. I think it would be a good



opportunity to get our views before the people and to follow it. Again, back to the question that you asked. I think that if you try to defend an indefensible position, it is very difficult to do that and I think with the kind of position here, if you go out and try to spend Barry Goldwater as has been done before, it would be difficult for us to do that. I believe our problem here is to go out and sell Republican ideas, the kind of ideas that Lincoln had. This is the kind of Republican ideas that we have to sell and let's start doing it today. Let the dead be dead and buried by the dead. We are living so let's leave the dead and let's live and let's sell living ideas. I suppose I should add my two cents worth also, due to the fact that the other candidates have their feuding in the matter. I am one of those who believes that the position taken by Mr. Goldwater at the Presidential Election does more to defect any of the Republican views as wise practical negro minority than any other situation. I am forced to recall that when we speak of Civil Rights, many candidates do not adhere to the official plank in the Platform that we try to put into that platform in San Francisco during the convention. Also, I am forced to recall, Ladies and Gentlemen, that through that defeat we have also found that four of the State Senators in the Summer would go out of the country, we well as 39 Congressmen. Therefore, today we are still paying the bill for that major defeat that we endured in 1962. I'm also forced to recall that such Senators as Senator Dirksen, who was to install me as a liberal, was for the Civil Rights Bill of 1964, and also Mr. Thurston Warren was for that Civil Rights Bill at that time. This was practically unanimous consent of all major Republicans in the Senate and yet we find that this situation still plagues the Republican Party. I say to you in all sincerity that unless we cast out this unfortunate image that has enveloped the Republican as being a party that is adverse to minority interests we are going to suffer defeats in the future as we have suffered defeats in the past and we must declare now and forever any type of situation that smacks of bigotry or prejudice of any kind.

You know, Doctor, I taught school for three years, and my wife taught school for ten years so this gives us some knowledge about education. I think one of the biggest problems of education today, without elaborating into the many, many varied details of it, is that a great deal of money is being mismanaged and wasted. I think we have enough money here to provide the finest educational system in the world but we don't have that in the State of California. I think the Brown Administration has mismanaged our funds, not only by buying his road maps with his picture on them and this type of thing, but also in the campaign literature, etc.

I think that a lot of the Democratic money today that is being spent, which is your money and my money, is mismanagement of public funds and I think this is something that if we took a business approach to running our education we would have better pay for our teachers, better teachers, and a more effective educational system.

Certainly there would be no disagreement about this being the most important function we have and I am in complete agreement and believe that one of the principal things is to do a great deal of study in Sacramento to find out if we are getting our entire dollars worth in the educational system. At the same time, I think we can point out what is going on right now with the cutting in half of the funds from the Federal Government on the Impact Aid Program.<sup>2</sup> This is the Aid Program that everyone should believe in, I think, where the Federal Government, because of Defense Projects, or something, comes into an area and suddenly forces thousands of Government employee's children onto a school system, with no tax base to support them and to expect the local citizens to pick up that burden, that this is obviously unfair and the Federal Government should have a program of bringing money in, so much per student, to offset this but



they have just cut it in half and no doubt they have cut it in half as punishment of Legislators in Washington who have not done the President's bidding and this shows the kind of vengeance that a Government can exact on people when the Government has the full power. And now I am going to say a word of personal privilege before I sit down. I think I suffered silence for a long time in this campaign but I have one thing to say to all of you. I have tried my utmost and as sincerely and honestly as I can to tell you what is in my heart and how I feel. In all my life it would be impossible for me to feel prejudice of any kind. I was raised that way by a sainted mother and father, both now dead. I have said in public that I believe that Government, when someone's constitutional rights are being imposed upon by reason of race or religion, that it is the Government's responsibility to enforce those rights at the point of bayonet, if necessary. I have further said that I do not believe there is any town in this country ever, that every parent should have to know the tragedy of trying to explain to a child that that child in some way is different. I would like to have the information by anyone here that there is anything in the nature of bigotry here in my personality. I resent it and as far as I am concerned, out in public I will keep the unity place of the Republican Party but from here on out, don't anyone ever imply that I lack either integrity or that I am imbued with any kind of bigotry or prejudice because I am not and I will not stand by and let anyone imply that to this group or any other group.

Gentlemen, may I have your attention please. There is one more question that we will present, after which we will have the conclusion of the afternoon's meeting.

Mr. Thayer: I do not like to direct a question to Mr. French. Now, Mr. French,

you stated awhile ago that you didn't have a program for the negro. It has been accused in the past that everyone has a program for the negro. Now the negro himself, in the majority of times, by candidates haven't anything to do with the program that they have. Now, if you would avail yourself to us, maybe we could offer a full interview by a negro for negroes. Question: If he, Mr. Patrick, has any further program for the negro at the present time?

Patrick: I think there were two questions involved. I would like to talk with the negroes and find out what you have and what you want. I have some programs to offer, which I have talked about, but I think there are things that maybe I don't know about and I want to find out whether you have anything that I can learn, to find out more about what I want to know.

I want to thank you for your patience and please remember the dinner for 7:30 and thank these candidates for a spell-in and for being here. Thank you very much. Secure your tickets for the dinner and this is where I want to make one statement. Everybody be real quiet. I want to give the remaining two candidates some advice. (Advice is something that you don't use yourself but who knows when somebody else can use it.) Don't ever tell a mother, even if the child is bad, that the child is bad. Don't do that ever, I don't care how bad the child is. I don't care how bad this deal is on Civil Rights, I love it and I don't want you to fight it. I want you to make it now. I don't want you to miss a point.



Special Privilege

He has talked as a teacher. I am a mother. If my child has done something wrong, I don't want him to continue the rest of his life doing that thing wrong. I want to tell him what was wrong, where he made his mistake and how he can make himself a better person in this world. This is a must! Anything else is ruining that child to adjust to all the problems that people think they have later on because she has been teaching/to get off the ground.  
 this boy