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Questions & Answers - pages 1-28

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Question: Do you have any specific approach to the fact that many believe the Government is too big and the State straddles (?) the Federal Government. Do you have any specific ideas about fighting off partisanship in the State?
How would you eliminate some of the cost of our State Government?

REAGAN: Well, first of all - this is a hard question to answer - harder to answer from the outside than it would be from the inside, although I have approached the present budget for some things.

Governments don't tax to get the money they need - the government just always need the money they get and the _____ beyond these points, the Governor can weild (sic) a blue pencil, he cannot eliminate a program without legislation, but he can weild (sic) a blue pencil and reduce the appropriation. He can recomment, with this blue pencil, the cuts coming down, and I believe that very simple cuts could be made before you explore the area, of what you would do without, by simply using the business practice that any corporation uses. Every once in awhile

they realize that bad accumulation has to be cut away and very rarely does the head of a corporation ever / ^{figure} ~~that~~ he knows where the pencils are being wasted, and issues specific orders, but suddenly an order comes down to every department head and says "Your budget is ? ? % for the coming year - and he knows that those departments know, in order to keep their department functioning, what they can do without and they will effect the cut. Now, here and there, I saw it happen at General Electric, in the Theatre-----, here and there you will find a department/^{head} ~~that~~ has no ? , he has been pretty efficient and there is no trimming and before any damage is done you can restore to him what you have already cut because it becomes apparent that he can make a case that there is no cut possible, but I would think this would be the first approach to the budget and then it is going to require study as to the agencies and bureaus, or commissions, which I think are duplicating in many instances and which I think in some cases are completely useless.....

Now, I think experience comes in a lot of ways and the idea is traditional in this country because people running for office and getting elected without holding previous office is quite - well, a great deal more commonplace, thank heavens, than we have been led to believe. Governor Romney in Michigan had never held office, Governor Love of Colorado, Governor (now Senator) Dennis, there in Arizona, Dwight Eisenhower, as a President, and probably this State has been marked more than any other State in the Union by the terms in office of one Governor. We still are bound, in many of our political practices, by the principles laid down by Hiram Johnson, who was a Trial Lawyer, and his first public office was that of Governor of California. Now, this isn't to say that I don't place a value on experience but I remind you that Dwight Eisenhower, in his book, said: 'We question whether political experience automatically resulted in a backlog of statesmen, or did it just result in' the number of people who were adept at political maneuvering and I think experience comes - obviously Mr. Romney must have learned the principles of being an executive and administrator in running an automobile company. I'm sure that Dwight Eisenhower's experience in the Military and NATO - Supreme Command over there - were the things that guided him. In my own case, if I did not feel that I had experience that would qualify me for this job, I just wouldn't undertake this stand but mine started, first of all, with an education that wasn't in dramatic school - my degree was in economics and sociology, but from there I had more than 20 years experience and six times President, Board Member and Officer of the Bureau Laborer's Guild, which is a working Union. In that capacity I had to represent the Guild and was in charge of contract negotiations representing some 15,000 people and their livelihood and working conditions. We sit across the table and shake our fists at the fellows that we were for on the other side and come up with what is every day political and probably the finest labor contract. I believe in experience.

We had to deal directly with the upper echelons of labor because we were an AF of L Union, with the Government, and in addition to this I was on the Motion Picture Industry Council Board for ten years, president twice, and this is a very unique thing that is composed of representatives of more than 30 Unions and all the management ownership groups to deal, as a unit, with those problems that affected the industry as a whole. I've represented the Industry before Congressional Committees, including White House meetings, and in business, I'm on the Board of Insurance Company, a Holding Company, a Hospital, was on the Board of Trustees at my College, and I think this is experience, while not directly in Politics, I think it is experience of the same kind and I'm satisfied that the principles of being an executive and an administrator still applies. I know also that I would be one of a number of Constitutional Officers elected, with prescribed duties, with a Legislature elected by the People, and I would think that the person's basic principal, is to surround himself with the finest talent and ability he can find and I would beat over the head the private sector of our State and bludgeon them into providing, wherever possible, the finest brains that I could see, even if they only give them a limited period of time to hold appointments that a Governor can make on the basis that it was a civic duty of the people of the State and of the business concerns to make available this talent to hold these administrative posts until we can put into effect modern business practices to bring our State Government up to the type of practice that we know today in the private sector of the economy.

Question: Do you have any specific approach to the fact that many believe the Government is too big and the State overrules the Federal Government. Do you have any specific ideas about fighting off participation in the State?

Answer: Yes, the State is one of the worst of our State is overruled.

Wagon: Well, first of all - this is a hard question to answer - harder to answer from the outside than it would be from the inside, although I have approached the present budget for some things. Now, I can save you four million dollars right now in the present budget - and I don't even have to blue-pencil very much. First of all, in the present budget that they are debating up there, there was two million dollars for administrative salaries, for two welfare programs that no longer fit, two programs went out of existence due to the implementation of Medicare as of March 1st, but this budget still provides two million dollars for administrative salaries for those two programs for the coming year. Now, I think that two million dollars you can get rid of like that. Now, there is another two million dollars that I think it would be a lot of fun to get rid of - unfortunately. This happens to be a typographical error. This thing has gotten so big and unwieldy that there is a 2 million dollar mistake on one page of the budget - they start with 4 million dollars here and when they get to the total it is 6 million dollars - Now, if that 4 had struck the other way and gotten to 2 million, I'd keep my mouth shut, but I figure that typographical error is going to get spent. They will wind up with two million dollars and they will find a way to spend it. Governments don't seem to get the money they need - the governments just always need the money they get and the beyond these points, the Governor can wield a blue pencil, he cannot eliminate a program without legislation, but he can wield a blue pencil and reduce the appropriation. He can tinker with this blue pencil, the cuts coming down, and I believe that very sizable cuts could be made before you explore the area, of what you would do without, by simply using the business practices for any corporation now. They can in fact

they realize that bad administration has to be cut away and very rarely does the
 Figure
 head of a corporation or an agent: he knows where the pencils are being wasted,
 and issues specific orders, but suddenly an order comes down to every depart-
 ment head and says "Your budget is cut _____% for the coming year - and
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 there, I say it happen at General Electric, in the Theatre - - - -, here and
 there you will find a department head that has no _____, he has been pretty
 efficient and there is no trimming and before any damage is done you can restore
 to him what you have already cut because it becomes apparent he can make a
 case that there is no cut possible, but I would think this would be the first
 approach to the budget and then it is going to require study as to the agencies
 and bureaus, or commissions, which I think are duplicating in many instances
 and which I think in some cases are completely useless. This administration
 has added some 57 new agencies or bureaus. There are 276 under the Executive
 Branch, but our Commission on the Structure of Government up there says that
 actually there is no way to count that - there is no one who knows officially
 how many bureaus and agencies there are in the Executive Branch of the State
 Government. That's just a lousy way to run a railroad and I think what is needed -
 precisely
 again, this is why I say I'm not a politician and that is/summarily way I had
 the courage to ask for this job, because I think sometimes it takes the kind
 of clean, fresh air thinking from someone who is not guided by precedence
 and the political structure as it is, who gets in and who gets the kind of a
 little Hoover Commission going and says "Prove to me that we need this - and
 see if we can do without it."

Question: Is this going to be one of your campaign approaches, that you are Irish, and not a politician, and that you don't believe all the stuff we've heard all these years about "You've got to do it this way."

Reagan: That is exactly right; You know - if experience was the sole criteria for the job, then I don't know why we'd bother having an election because there is nobody in the State with more experience than the guy we have up there, and I happen to think that is just what is wrong! (Applause)

Question: Now, do you feel that the idea that you are an Actor - they identify you as Ronald Reagan, the Actor, is running for office - is this going to be used as a weapon against your campaign?

Reagan: Oh sure, they used it against ^{much} ~~him~~ - they'd have a hard time making "Song and Dance Man" stick on me though because I can't even carry a tune or dance. Sure - they'll use it - you know sometimes at home with Nancy I kinda complain a little bit because in recent years, due to my ^{much} ~~solid~~ experience, and all the experience in those other things, you know Hollywood has a way of high-casting you, I had a feeling that my career theatrically was suffering because Hollywood wasn't looking at me as an actor - I wanted to get home to Nancy because the only part I can get is a committee member. Now, to turn around and find that suddenly - all of a sudden now that I want to be something else besides an actor, everybody is saying that I'm an actor. I'll tell you, I'll probably be the only fellow who will get posthumously an oscar. (Much laughter)

Question: Speaking of that, have you been approached for a part in movies and things of that sort? (More laughter)

Reagan: Oh, Heavens no! - - - - -

Question: About the time you made a statement that - an instance that Governor Brown had made a deal - or was speaking with the President about a deal for a Federal appointment. . . Then, several days later you issued a statement, saying that you felt that the last voice of Illinois had as Lt. Governor . . .

for Washington and Hand is taking his job and - - - - - from Washington.

Did I read it right?

Reagan: Well, you're right in using the word "got" - What I really was doing was asking questions and I'm still asking them. I've just never seen so much activity around the second plot as there is in the Democratic Party, and it just almost makes you think that these fellows all think they are running for something else besides Lt. Governor and the rumors just won't stop - the rumors persist and in many of our national columns they persist - so I kept asking "Is it possible that the rumor is - win or lose - there will be a change of address for the Governor" which would explain the sudden activity around the second plot. Now, Mr. Broden is an instance of the Kennedys, Mr. Hand is certainly an instance of Johnson and we all know that there is a feud going on back east there between the Johnson and the Kennedy forces. And California is No. 1 in the Nation - we're first prize - and I don't think it is farfetched to assume that these fellows back there may re-discover California.

Question: What would Brown give up, though?

Reagan: Well, if he gave up pay as a judicial appointment - a lifetime job. California doesn't have anyone in the Cabinet and that's strange for a State that is almost 10% of the population. I'm not saying, I'm just asking, and I think they are pretty good questions to keep on asking, especially since it seems to make them so uncomfortable trying to answer them. (Laughter)

There was a hand over here some place.

Question: This has come up as a challenge and I want to get your opinion of it. Its the Bureaucracy thing - because this is actually a spot to cook up the unemployable and put them into some sort of job like to old WPA series - they can build bridges and tear them down - they can work blacks and whites that were here so close. If we cut Bureaucracy, are we throwing a big lead at the liberals again?

Truman: Oh, no - because I don't think that's the reason for the
 Democratic increase. You see - now this goes back to the story of
 Federal Grant - and most of us, unless we really stop to think about
 it, we see Federal money available and we think Oh Boy, they're helping
 us pay our bills. In most Federal grants, this is not true at all. You'll
 find in most Federal grants there is a listing attached in which you have
 to keep on doing everything you are doing and all an additional program
 in order to get this Federal money. It is particularly true in education.
 They don't give it to you just to pay your bills. You keep on spending but
 you can have this money if you'll put in a new program to use it and you
 usually wind up spending a little more of your own money. Now, if the
 Federal Employees reach \$2 billion and they are a little better than that
 now - the Federal Government got a little bit embarrassed about the growth
 of the Federal Government and its Bureau, so they've worked out a plan
 now in most of these programs in which, when you join with the Federal Govern-
 ment on one of these Federal Programs, they put up the money but you put the
 employees on your payroll, so you wind up with your local government and your
 state government growing in size so where - a year ago I was making a speech
 in which I said "One out of seven of the Nation's employees is working for
 Government, and today - one year later - one out of six." Now, we have to
 ask "Where is the breaking point?" If five of us are supporting one full
 employee, 75 of us in this room, earning a living, and not only taking care
 of our own but also we're employing one person - but where do we reach the
 point that we can't afford any longer, what - it's four of us, or three of us,
 some place along the line you get so too big a burden. Now, where I think
 the breaking point is - it's not as high as you think it is - no, I don't
 think that anybody - No. 1 - it would be impossible for anyone to take office
 and just suddenly check off the heads of employees - and I also don't think

that is even necessary. No one of us, I believe, in any kind of economy move, ever is so to the human problem of people that we just want to create an additional problem. I think, even in private industry today there is a great recognition of trying to see that they get some land at first, find another job, but in public employment the best manner that can be done without dislocation is a freeze on rehiring. There is a certain percentage of turnover every year in public employees. In the Federal Government level, it is better than, I think, about 300,000 a year, who either retire, take other jobs, die, quit for some reason - all you have to do is put a freeze on and say "Until we get down to _____ number of employees we don't rehire replacements. You have to make some allowances for some specialist who retires and there is no one else employed by the State who can do his job - you have to make those exceptions - but you do this - and there is no dislocation."

Now, where they're wrong on the make-work type of thing is Governor Brown's it's right out in the open, plan after the Watts riot where they conducted a survey of tax supported institutions, hospitals, schools, parks, public buildings, in the State - and they said to the people in charge: "If we had the money to hire them, do you have work that is not being done that could be done? How many employees could you handle, if we could afford to hire them?" The answer came back "Roughly 50,000 in the State of California - and off to Washington went the Governor, asking for \$250,000,000 which he didn't get to hire these 50,000 people and put them to work in public buildings. Now, it was pointed out happily that some of these people could even be illiterate and perform the work that needed to be done. Some could be mentally retarded and could do the work as rehabilitation work. The ridiculous thing about this is to say if there is that much work waiting to be done in our public buildings, useful work, why in the devil has this not been a part of public welfare for these many years and been a part of rehabilitation and give these

people self-respect of earning while they were maintained by welfare and the feeling that they were earning their way instead of being handed it. But the answer to unemployment cannot be to continue to put the people on the public payroll because we reach that breaking point. The answer has to come from private enterprise, business, industry, is the only thing that can solve your problem of unemployment and solve it right. It is the only one that can provide productive jobs - jobs that increase the National wealth and jobs that have a future where a person can advance and to do that Government has to quit being an enemy of business and turn to business and find out what can Government do to freeze this business at hand. I've said, and I believe, that these people who point to Government management of the Economy and they say "Look at our Great Prosperity - isn't this proof that Government interference hasn't hurt us." This isn't true at all - all they are proving - and all they have proven to us is that business under our system has such a great verility that it has been able to withstand the mis-picking and the harassment with the regressive taxes all these years and still stay able to do the job - but it can't do it forever - there must come one day when the one added restriction, or regulation, or harassment, or tax is the screw that breaks the back and the system goes but we must turn to the private system in the end unemployment. It's the only sound basis for it because the rest is just coming out of one pocket of ours which is just adding to our dependence. Somebody is on his feet back there - I thought maybe he wanted to - you've been very patient here - now maybe one or two more questions here.

Question: Why do you want to be Governor? - - - - -

Answer: Well, for a long time I've been thinking about it and as every opportunity all over this country on TV concerns with what I thought was a change in the constitutional structure and a change that would not be for the better and I thought that that was my contribution and that I could

continue doing it. I think a lot of us did some soul searching and changing of mind after the last election. I believe very deeply that we cannot continue the present imbalance in the two party system without destroying the two party system and I think that one party rules just means one man rules and I believe, as I expressed earlier, very deeply in the necessity for people from the ranks of the judiciary to take ^{a turn in} some public capacity in Government. And damn it, feeling this way, I just happened to believe that because I'm not a politician, with no political aspirations, so that I don't have to be weighing political expediency, or what is the wise political thing to do, that that just makes me brave enough that maybe this is the thing that I can get in to do some of the things that have to be done because I won't be worrying about whether I'm

and I just - I'm kinda itchy to try it. (Much applause)

This has been very pleasant and I hope we can do it again. I remember the last time was up on the top of a building some place here, wasn't it? Many of you were there - I was just a victim of the national theatre system then. As I say, I hope we can do this often and want to thank you all again for being so very patient.

Thank you, your Honor. Thank you Gentlemen - - (Much applause)

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SPEECH AT CPA CONVENTION - SAN JOSE

San Jose City Auditorium

April 2, 1966

Thank you very much for your heart warming reception and yet I must say at the risk of taking advantage of your hospitality that I can't help but have a kind of nostalgic feeling of being back here among old friends in old times. It seems as if I have been addressing you and the members of CPA as recently as your last convention just a year ago ^{and} on so many occasions. I would like, for that reason, perhaps to depart from what might be the prescribed format for the day.

First, just let me say a few words - I doubt if there is anything that I could say now after the number of times that we have campaigned together that would tell you anything additional about where I stand and what I believe. There is one thing different, of course. Never before have I stood before you in exactly this capacity. Indeed, on the other occasions I am sure that I would have denied that I was contemplating doing anything of this kind but the world changes and moves on and so does peoples minds, including mine. You have heard and are going to be hearing not only from candidates but from a number of other speakers about the State of the Union and the State of the States and I'm sure that there will be a great similarity in everything that all of us say to you because I am convinced that there is far more uniting Republicans than dividing them. If there seems to be a redundancy, a repetitiveness of the things we are saying it is because Republicanism itself is basically polarized around a belief in constitutional limits in the power of government and on the rights and the dignity and the ability of mankind to control his own destiny. (Long applause)

Just the other night the Governor of this State addressed an audience and he spoke of the many things that we could look forward to in California, including a number of promises which sounded vaguely familiar because we had heard them

four years ago. I don't know what happened in the intervening four years or who usurped the office and prevented him keeping those promises but at least we are now having a re-run. We heard that there is going to be an economic boom in California. We can look forward to that because there will be increased spending by the Government and prices will be higher. Now somehow it doesn't make me feel exceedingly prosperous to know that the government is going to be spending more of our money and we're going to have to pay more for the things we buy and which we really want to buy for ourselves but at the same time figures and statistics have been given to us about the state of our State and about the Economy and the good things that have come from this administration. I don't challenge any of the figures that were given. I do suggest that there were some figures omitted. I think it is time that California states the fact that we are in something of a depressed area with regard to the national average. We are below the National Average in the increase in personal incomes, in the increase in retail sales, and when this last year the building trade industry went downhill throughout the nation, it went five times as far down the hill in California as it did any place else. At the same time, the only thing in which we lead are those things which we'd rather not talk about like crime - and we have double our share, and like the growth in population, but while it has been increasing 27%, the cost of Government has been increasing 37%, and finally - we see other things we would like to see corrected. We see something that has been a great source of great pride to Californians in a master plan of education for many years - a great University brought to its knees and humiliated by a socialist element, a small minority of beachheads and mal-contented, who have humbled that university and

not

at the present point had there not been a morality gap, a decency gap, and a leadership gap in Sacramento, California. (Demands Applause)

There is no responsible person among us who does not stand firmly behind the principle of maintaining academic freedom, free of unnecessary political control or harassment and maintaining certainly the sanctity of free speech but I think there are a few things that with the common sense that seems to be within the man and woman, the rank and file citizen of this state. We realize that academic freedom means, at the same time, that the faculty, from professors to teaching assistants, must realize that they have a greater responsibility than just teaching a subject in a classroom. They must at all times stand as examples of decency, courtesy and good citizenship to the young men and young women in their charge. (Applause)

And certainly, freedom of speech stops short of vulgarity and obscenity spread upon those that don't want to hear it and certainly freedom of speech, when some Americans are fighting and dying for their Country must stop short of lending comfort and aid to the enemy. (Applause)

The University has a prime function - to provide an education for the young men and women who go there seeking an education, and the University therefore must have the courage to lay down the Rules and the Regulations and the Code of Conduct that says "Nothing will be allowed on this Campus, whether it supposedly interferes with free speech or not, nothing will be allowed to interfere with the prime purpose of this University." (Applause) But - I have been talking up and down the State on the issues - I have been doing my utmost to preserve the Eleventh Commandment. I've even worked kind of hard at obeying the fifth one. And I think I feel as deeply as anyone the great responsibility that faces everyone of us, that certainly no Republican today can be true not only to his Party or his Calief, but can even be true to his Country in what I think is a day of great peril - and all our judges, my party, every of my kind or conflict within his party to become paramount to his obligations to this party because in the two-party system which we seek to preserve, with all of our feeling

about Independence and the right to shoot a man, based on his own quality.
 We have to recognize the reality ^{and} the practicality. We have to recognize that only through the vehicle of a political party, one of the major parties, can we take a stand and positive action to enforce the principles in which we believe to see that men get into high place in government, who will follow the principles of constitutional limitation in the power of government, the principles of integrity and morality and decency in government.

I have been talking throughout the State and will continue in the weeks ahead to speak more specifically on a subject that I believe should be a Republican goal. I think if I had to characterize the present administration, I would say that it is one that is willing to trade State Sovereignty and reduce this State to an administrative Division of the Federal Government in its eagerness to find the answer to every problem by turning to big brother in Washington. (Applause)

It is this - harassment of the individual by the State. It is the unnecessary regimentation and regulation of industries, the harassing paper work, the regressive taxes, that has brought about the bad business climate. It is the fact that the State has interfered at the State level with the right of local communities and law enforcement officers and local governing bodies to have the ordinances we need to permit the police to protect society that has led to the great increase in crime. The time has come, I believe, for what I have chosen to call a Conservative Society, not a right society, but it will be a right society because it will be a Free Society. (Much applause) A Society in which the Government isn't substitute for the people - but the Government serves to the great good and file of the security of California and I think we have more talent and ability and skill and brains and sense among Californians than any State in the Union has ever had -

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Then let us turn to the people for the solution to our problems. Let us turn to the industry out in industrial communities and to labor and ask them 'What is needed at the State level? What roadblock can be removed? What can we offer as an incentive in cooperation with the State level, that will help you to improve the business. Let us to make possible the jobs we need. Let us turn to every area - let us turn to the Bar Association, as I have advocated a program in which, through the Bar Association and a Committee of Citizens, we could have a Committee that would appoint a panel of men picked for their legal ability and for their character and from which panel the Governor would have to select his Judge to take an appointment and take care and for all the appointment of - - - - -

- - - (interrupted by applause)

Now I'm going to stop in just a moment, without going into detail on all of this, but I just want you to know that I don't believe what I have been proposing is a day dream. I think, in effect, it is probably the re-implimenting of an original dream that we once had in this country, but it isn't any going back into the past - it's advancing out of the past - a past that is still basing its ideas on the thought of 'Rule of the Many by a Few'. It is moving up into the twentieth century in which we recognize that no matter how devoted to duty, or how great they might be as individuals, Government cannot possibly gather unto itself a collection of individuals which can make the multitudinous decisions we must make in our everyday living as well as the people themselves can make these decisions. (Applause)

I am not a politician - but I believe the time has come for an ordinary citizen to take a hand in government and bring the government the fresh, clean blood of the people. I believe that I can do this. And now I suggest I'll prove I'm not a politician when I tell you I would like to do with the balance of the time. I believe this to not the practical format but I believe

talked to you so many times that I say it would be hard for me to try to find something that I have not said already. But now, I'm asking something very important of you regarding the use of your vote and you, therefore, have a right to ask anything you'd like of me and in the balance of the time remaining, if you would, you ask the questions and I shall do my best to answer them. I think perhaps there are some to go ahead. . (Applause)

You sing out if you have a question as I can't see beyond these lights here but just speak out and I'll do my best - There must be some - I can answer one that hasn't been asked. The Newsmag, notwithstanding, I am not wearing makeup - - - (Much laughter and applause) I had to laugh myself when I read that because I don't wear any makeup when I make 'Death Valley Days'. I just use Barbasol. . . It isn't that I don't need it but I have just found out that I'm at an age where it won't be of any help. . There - someone has a question. I hear a question over here first - and then over here -

Question: Mr. Reagan - What is the exact date that you joined the United World Federation? -

Reagan: Oh boy! wouldn't you ask that question - when is the exact date I joined the United World Federation - - -

I would like to answer it but I'll tell you what I did in those days - Immediately after the war, when it first came into being, I was out traveling the washed potato circuit, preaching against (and what I'm sure we all agree with) or speaking for the idea that there would never again be such a thing as we went through in World War II and I joined the United World Federation and then as a very brief time went by and it became apparent that we were in a Cold War - a colder war than we are presently in - - - - - . I realize that this was a wrong approach. In my mind, you have had got to be talking Peace - you can't just do it with me - and I did that for sure as long as we were here - I just became rather depressed and just drifted away - It wasn't the kind of an organization that has a regular meetings and you have a membership card or anything - so I just drifted away.

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Now several years went by when I was told that my name was still appearing on the letterhead and I wrote four letters, the fourth of which was a threat of legal action, demanding that my name be removed from the letterhead because I certainly was not in sympathy now with the program of the organization - that wasn't recently - it was several years ago - but I can't honestly recall how many years went by before when I was dis-associated/unc: it was brought to my attention that they were using my name. I wasn't a member of the organization for a long time, going back to 1938 or so, some place back there because I just walked away. (Applause)

Question: Mr. Rangan - Would you give us your observations about the Budget and what could be done to reduce our taxes?

Rangan: Well, I'm getting down close to the finish line but my thoughts about the budget and what could be done are the same. Well, I believe this budget is

I think the evidence of this is the fact that the combined local and state tax burden in California for each citizen is \$100 higher than the national average. I think the first thing that could be done with the budget, before you start with the necessary study that would have to take place with regard to actual programs that you might be able to consolidate or eliminate, would be to follow a common sense business practice that is used in a great many corporations - and as you operate on the assumption that the fact is present that the government

is not operating at the peak of efficiency and economy and with a blue pencil you could check what you thought was a profitable percentage and simply blue pencil down the appropriation and put the burden on the various department heads to run their departments and their programs with ___% less than they were heretofore. (Applause)

In my own defense I've got to say something here. I can cut the budget by four million dollars right now. I told you people last night when I talked about this - on page 80 there is a two million dollar typographical error and it is not in our favor - and knowing this administration, they will spend that two million dollar typographical error if we don't correct it. (Applause)

Now, the other two million dollars has to do with two Welfare Programs which went out of existence March 1st when we implemented Medicare and yet in this budget there are two million dollars in administrative salaries for those two programs for the coming year and the program don't exist and I don't believe in submitting those _____.

Questions:

Roegen: Oh, I have been advocating for some time a complete study, in fact, of the entire tax structure, including even a policy and approach to it. I have, myself, written such a study, would you mind I am wrong - but I lean very definitely toward the idea that the property tax, as it is administered, is archaic and old-fashioned and in the long run it never anticipated a system where millions of home owners would own plots of ground that were not productive of wealth and that would continue to increase in value to factors beyond their control to such an extent that the average home owner would have to realize that he could not live out his life in his own home - simply because of the tax burden - nor did they. In a credit system in which millions of people would be taxed on the basis of owning a home as they only owned a small equity in it and the rest was a mortgage held by someone else. I believe the tax system would reveal their tax study - would reveal it to be a representative tax and a combination of income and sales tax, where the only credit in all the money goes out - plus the third great efficient tax system in the world, the gift tax, which is the only tax for the public service to this country, such as our gas tax, our highway tax - and I definitely will be willing to consider a total tax system which would include, from the Government

four years ago, said when he announced his campaign for re-election, that something had to be done to help the property tax payers in California. Now, who would disagree with the Governor on that? (applaud)

Question: The American Civil Liberties Union seems to be in direct opposition to anything you have said - what is your feeling toward the American Civil Liberties Union?

Ranger: Well, the American Civil Liberties Union, every once in awhile, takes on a face that seems to be at an opposite extreme of their own evidence of loyalty - and I have sometimes wondered - or there has been some question in my mind always as to whether they're doing it really because they have a complete objective viewpoint or whether they are doing it just to sorta keep the record a little bit balanced - but I strongly suspect that if we discussed many issues and where we stood, I'd find myself at odds with them on a number of issues. (applaud)

Question: - - - - -

Ranger: Yes, going back at some of the things we were talking about earlier - when I came out of the Army I was pretty naive about things - I was a Democrat (applause) and I - - Oh! I thought there was a blackpaper and there is - he just clipped on a notice here - just let me finish this and then I will leave - I see I have used up my time.

My first experience was President of the Guild really, when in the Motion Picture Industry the Communists made an all-out effort to take over that industry and I led the Guild and I think we can establish a credit in Screen Actor's Guild for being the biggest single force, in a battle that took almost a year, in preserving the industry from that takeover - and my nativity vanished fast. I discovered that you could go even Democrat and not even become a candidate in some people's eyes - like that - and I felt - how my class is up and I'm sorry - I was thinking somebody would ring a bell at his name with a hammer or something - I have to thank all of you for this opportunity and I want to tell you in a moment that I - - - - -

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and I believe very much in the things I am saying and I have a very strong
desire to see and put into effect in Sawaranto the things in which I believe
and I would be very proud and happy for any of you who decided to go my way.
Thank you very much.

(Much applause)

PACIFIC JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
ANNUAL MEETING
Nick's Roasting Restaurant
April 2, 1948 - 2 P.M.

You know, I've always felt that a rule for a Congressman was that in introducing the Speech that followed he was to be so dull that they would appear brilliant by contrast and you can say this.

Mr. President in and Mr. President out, Mr. Mayor, Reverend Clergy and Ladies and Gentlemen - you have done me a very great honor in having me here. I want you to know there is one thing that is wonderful, of course, and a change that seems to be taking place, there is at least a change of direction that I'm undergoing. You realize that I had been in a profession in which the manager was the most important and now I am at least dabbling my feet in a profession, I am now in a profession where you are of much greater importance than the manager and I hope, he knows that I don't have the experience with you that I had one night. I was riding in a Santa Claus parade in Hollywood and sitting in the car with Nancy and my name was on /insert-over the side of the car and two teenage girls were coming down the line and they read the name so one of them asked for an autograph. Well, knowing the importance of managers in theoretical business, I was very happy about this and I signed with a flourish but when she asked if Nancy was my mother I was ready to die.

I'm starting a little slow because I have a mixed feeling here tonight.

It is true that there is a campaign - and it is true that I am a candidate and I have spoken so many times where I've needed the word that this is a non-partisan gathering - although for a minute there I was a little bit of I'm happy to see. and I have always observed that even though I have spoken on controversial

subjects, I have for a number of years been protesting what I believe is the excessive growth of government and a threat to our freedom, regardless of which party is in power, the growth of the permanent structure of government, particularly at the national level. Now, this is controversial, but I have always consoled myself with the fact that if you are going to stop talking because things are controversial, you'll have to stop talking all together.

There was a man who knocked on a door one day and a small boy answered and the man said "Is your father home?" and the kid said "No" and he said "Is your mother home?" and the kid said "No" and non-plussed, the man said: "Well son, I'm your Uncle on your Father's side." The kid said "Well, you can come in but I'll tell you right now you're on the wrong side." (Applause)

What I have heard here tonight, and I have heard your speaker speaking very sincerely about the achievements and what you have done in service to the Community, and now tonight you have honored an individual, several individuals because I believe that all of you feel that all those men nominated, of course, are men of distinction, and you have honored this individual achievement in an era and at a time when there is a great deal of emphasis going the other way, turning away from individual achievement and talking about mass movements, and the idea of the greatest good for the greatest number, and the movements of that kind. I am fearful of this when I hear of it because I think if you look back in history as far as the recorded history of man you will find that in all our cities from the colony to the stars never has a mass movement ever lifted mankind one inch. We have been lifted by those individuals in our midst who have dared and who have walked a little ways from the mass and have put the rest of us up a little higher with them and I hope that we all (laughter and applause)

Now, in my own private way, of course, I came here with the understanding that I was a candidate and that probably I was going to be off as I have been doing at such more partisan gatherings in recent months and weeks - you know, for example - I was out again with a little/ ^{incident} when I was a kid, that used to take place every once in while - We got our hands on a penny and we'd go out and put it on the railroad track, or the streetcar track, and the streetcar or train would go by and flatten that out into a nice big, round, flat piece of copper for us - For the Great Society has flattened them a mile and a mile that for a purpose - - (laughter and applause)

This political world that I have begun to dabble in is a very unusual and exciting thing. The other day I got in a station wagon and started out from the house - I got in a to the first one, lights - I was I stand there kinda depressing in the morning, sun when I thought I heard a noise been 'til me and the station wagon landed in the middle of the intersection and I reached in the back seat and got my head back and put it on. As I got out and started back to the scene of the damage a woman was getting out of a big Lincoln behind me, holding her jaw. She must have had her teeth clenched off when she was putting on the brakes that didn't work and suddenly, as she got closer to me, holding her jaw, she pained and she said "I saw you on television - I'm going to vote for you". So I said "We have done". You see, it's interesting.

Our Mrs. Strawmaster tonight was asking me something about the family and how they're taking to all of this. Well, all of them are taking it pretty well. Nancy makes speeches to a select group of people in the club. She speaks well there and she can get things off her chest that followed the illustration, but she's quiet, and she's still, but she's very intelligent. It's in the club thing. The doctor's presence and why I have to be very, very honest or why I have to be afraid of making speeches, or anything. We've been looking at Deane Valley Park,

to figure I just ought to go to Sacramento - stand in the middle of the street and say "Pat, one of us has gotta be out of town by sunset." (Applause)
 Listen, if you'll be a witness, and incidentally, before I go any farther, I'm going to put these out. If you don't mind, I'm just going to sit here for a while here and then do something else that I would like to do with you very nice and gracious people and you're nice very nice and gracious in your opinions. Everybody has finished eating and could I pause for a second - I just have a vision of an awful lot of critics in the neck by tomorrow morning. Why don't all of you please use the other way around your chairs around here so we can get comfortable. . . Would you like to do that? . . . Is everybody straightened around now? I'm going to have to be a questioner about while. Now, you see the real secret is, now you can't go to sleep without me watching you.

Listen, just for a moment I would like to talk to you of - this one will probably be controversial - about what I think of some of the issues and also what I think about the things of today that we are confronting as in this country. I think that many of the issues and the problems were party lines. I make no secret of the fact that I am extremely critical of a philosophy widespread in our land today, and reflective of the thinking of the leadership of the opposition party. I think that it is safe to say that this country of ours is pretty philosophically divided and on one hand we have people who believe that our complex society and the great numbers of people in our country now has led us to a point in which we must have planning and control of the economy, that no longer can we depend on the free market place or on just the will of the people in running their individual affairs, that an individual - - - in the Nation's Capital will be used in a planning for us. In contrast to that, I think we have a group of people who believe that we should be free to do as we please. I spent all my life as a Democrat - but I believe that this party is still preferable to the belief in economic planning in the great of

Government and on the Rights and the Dignity of the Individual to control to the fullest extent his own Destiny, so long as he does not impose on the Freedoms and the Rights of someone else. (applause)

Now, I would like, even though rather foolish, to touch upon what has happened in this kind of case, back in the National and the State level under this other philosophy, because really possibly the biggest issue (and many politicians won't talk about it) that'll center on other completely partisan issues, but the greatest issue that crosses party lines is (and I would say this regardless of which party is in power) - We cannot long continue the present imbalance without seeing an end to the two-party system and one-party rule must inevitably become one-party rule. Today, the Executive Branch of Government, that's all of the Executive and hundreds of Agencies and Bureaus, spending more than a hundred billion dollars a year in that one agency alone, or that one department, is controlled by one party, which also has a two-thirds majority in both Houses, which has appointed a majority of the Supreme Court Justices, and which controls 50% of the Governors and the State Legislatures. Now, under these many years of this party rule we have seen our public debt climb to where it is incomprehensible to any of us. Three hundred billion dollars - more can picture it. I tried to picture it once - maybe some of you have heard me explain it this way - that I finally figured out one day that if you had a hundred/one hundred thousand dollar bills you'd be a millionaire. That's all it takes - that's a million dollars, and if we had that National Debt piled up in front of us in thousand dollar bills the pile would be more than fifteen miles high. Now, we have seen in the last eight months the public debt pile more than it has when in eight years. The dollar and the public debt are not worth anything compared to what it was worth just one or three months ago.

We erode the value of the dollar 1-1/2 to 2% each year under a theory of Economics that says that unless we devalue the dollar that crash - unless we have that much inflation each year our prosperity cannot be maintained. But - they reassure us and they say "We had nothing to worry about" because, they say "As long as your income keeps pace with the Inflation, there is no cause for worry." There is no cause for worry unless you are stupid enough to think "What happens when I have to retire?" "What happens when I run Social Security, or a Pension, or Insurance - that income that is fixed and cannot increase with inflation?"

We have just given, this year, a 7% increase to the recipients of Social Security, but due to inflation alone, they are receiving less in purchasing power than they were receiving ten years ago, before they had that additional labor. In doing this, in the process of coupling this power, and with the best of intentions under our Great Policy, we have now placed on the drawing boards in so many of the Insurance plant, and has now reached the stage of 'pending legislation before Congress'. Are you Insurance Man?

Well, there is a bill before Congress now that would provide Disaster Insurance - \$22,500.00 damage on a residence, \$75,000.00 damage on a business, and the insured will not have to pay a cent of premium. There was a bill before Congress (this is already a program in effect, if you are a lawyer) that has in some of our major cities already opened up with the Poverty Program offices in which staffs of Government Lawyers will provide free legal services to people with a maximum take-home pay up to a hundred dollars a week. In the Employment business, an Employment Agency - well, the Chief of the Federal Employment Service, Louis Levine, has explained that now his agency has as a goal to employ 200,000 people in the next few years, and they can do reasonably there should be a thing anyone could do. A Congressman recently introduced a bill last year, which is still in a limbo some place

would have
in the Committee, which will legally confirmed the existence of private
Employment Services or Agencies in our land.

There is legislation before the House and Senate Committee to national-
alize unemployment insurance on the principle that the State could fail.
Well, now that could hardly refer to a State of California. I might
refer you to a booklet that is put out by the California State Welfare
Department. This booklet explains the new philosophy of Welfare and it
says "The Governing Philosophy must be the redistribution of the income",
and on Page 117 in this book, it says that unemployment insurance should
be so substantially increased that, for a time at least, a man thrown
out of a job would receive more than he is able to be working to com-
pensate for the pain of having to look for a job. (much laughter)

Now, if you blow your top over that one, don't worry, because the booklet
also explains that dependency is your social right and the State will
provide for psychiatric care.

You were mentioning a moment ago, and with some pride here, the achieve-
ment that can be held at the door of the Junior Chamber of your Art Center,
your Theatre Art Center that has been opened. This kind of care has
been described as barren of culture, by our own Government, and we now have
a multi-million dollar Federal Program, in which two Federal Courts at the
National level, will dispense millions of dollars throughout the land and
to committees on the basis of what they think is meaningful in Art and
Literature and the Theatre and to Humanity, and yet this is a land that
maintains at the community level more than 100 Symphony Orchestras, which
is more than are maintained in the rest of the World put together. We have
more than 5000 schools of music and drama and theatre and dance, maintained
at community level, non-profit, with the students paying for both the theatre
and the entertainment.

We today have 29 agencies buying up land, under a variety of programs, for a Federal Government that already owns a third of the total land surface and in California a little more than a half is Government owned. At the same time, they are so concerned with our ability to enjoy ourselves in the great out of doors that the Federal Government has, in addition to buying up this land for outdoor recreation, has issued a booklet telling how to enjoy ourselves outdoors - 18 pages of profundities - you wonder how we got along without it up until now. There is one section in this book that says that if your drinking water is from a fountain, the drinking level should be at such a height that is convenient for the persons using the fountain, and then there is another page on wildlife that says "Insects crawling into the ears of outdoorers sometimes create painful conditions." I have heard for them - "Little do you know it happens indoors." There is another page on wildlife that is very interesting - The other page on Wildlife says "If your Recreation Area has a bathroom intended for both the use of Men and Women, it should be divided by a light partition - Now, you know we would never have thought of that by ourselves. But let me now converse with the State and to the State level and what is taking place. As the Bureau has worked in the administering of so many projects, and make no mistake about it, I do not quarrel with the goals of the Great Society. I believe that these goals were clearly intended as Humanitarian in purpose. I believe they were intended by people who honestly want to help and want to alleviate the ills that have beset mankind from the beginning of time and I also will say this - make no mistake about it, the Great Society can fulfill these goals and will, but if the Great Society, in doing so, should be so expensive that the price is too high and this is where I challenge that some debate is needed, legislative action -

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across these philosophical differences, these things that divide us today, because I do not believe that the American people basically are divided at all on these goals. I believe there is no responsible person in this land who does not believe firmly that we should continue to care for those people who are handicapped or disabled, or otherwise, are completely dependent upon us. I believe that we're proud of the fact that we can, in addition to caring for their necessities, provide some of the comforts and luxuries that make life worth living. But I do believe that we have a right to challenge that the Great Society is not the best path, or the only way, of solving the problems of the disadvantaged is not to simply ^{say well} increase income, let them eat cake - well to nothing. We'll just wait for people to voluntarily do good deeds around the World and that will solve the problem. I think there is a third alternative, which I will come to, but at the State level now, as I have been criticized at the Federal level, I would like to point out to you now what has taken place under this philosophy in an era of supposed Great Cooperation in our State. Our State today has 40% more unemployment than the rest of the Nation. Our State today is increasing in population twice as fast as the rest of the Nation but at the same time we are increasing 12 times less in personal income, in retail sales, last year when housing started to fall off in the Nation, they fall off 5 times as fast in California as they did for the rest of the Nation. We have here a per capita tax that is \$100 for each one of us, every man, woman, child and baby higher than the national average. We have crime in our State that is double the national average - 34% of the people of the Nation live in California but we have 40% of the crime. In fact, there is more crime in the country in California than I do not believe I can recall in any other state to the politics of government. I have come to a confidential poll

taken by - a survey taken by the Chamber of Commerce in this State, of the Industrial Community, asking, with no names having to be signed, "What are the things that you have contributed to the deteriorating business climate?" "Why today are industries avoiding California?" "Why are some industries cancelling plans to expand?" "Why are some leaving?" But more importantly "Why have we fallen down in the increase of the number of plants closing California and running like a thread through this survey are the opinions about the excessive cost in this State of Welfare. Well, it has doubled its cost in the last five years - it is increasing in cost faster than the cost of education. The harassment on the part of what they term "An unfriendly Administration or Government with regard to regulations and unnecessary paper work and many of you could answer that to me, and tell me, The National average, it has been said, that 50% of the Business Man's working time is spent filling out Government paper work. The cost of Government paper work, to Corporations in this Country, is greater than the total amount of money paid to all the stockholders by all the Corporations in the Country and then after that we get taxed for about seven billion dollars for the Government's end of having to take care of the paper when they get hold of it. Now, I believe that part of this thing in the State, and right now our attention could be focused on the budget, The Budget, we are told, represents the policies and principles of this administration. Now, with that I have no quarrel. I think this budget does reflect the policies and principals of this administration. On page 849 you will find a two million dollar typographical error, four million dollars becomes six million dollars in two inches of paper as it copies across to the total column - now I'd keep in mind that it was done the other way - that the typographical error is the other way and I know that somebody in this administration is going to spend that two million typographical error before the year is over.

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As long as I am being economical, I'll have you another two million dollars. There are two welfare agencies in this State that went out of existence on March 1st. They went out of existence because we implemented the national Medicare Program in our State, but in this present budget there are two million dollars earmarked there for administrator's salaries in those two programs that no longer exist. Now I don't believe in underwriting ghost-towns, and this seems to be what we are doing - but I believe there is a great of fact in a budget that is sloppy, a budget that is incompetent and a budget that is far in excess of what it should cost because it has increased many times more. While our population increased 27%, the budget has gone up 87%. We have been told that we have had this as the eighth straight balanced budget and we are told that we have gone six straight years without the necessity of changing or revising in any major form our tax system. Well, in the first place, the budget has not been balanced. In the last seven years, every budget has had a deficit but that deficit has been concealed and hidden from the people by a one-time tax gimmick and it was a major revision. Now, I don't know - the first revision - this was one of the changing, or advancing, and essentially creating a system of collecting taxes that amounted to 22 million dollars to the State Government in an just one time windfall and the next time around it was a change and an acceleration of a tax program that added forty-five million dollars and the third time around it changed and accelerated a collection from the large retailers a sales tax and this accounted for 83 million dollars - and the fourth one around was one that resulted in 90 million dollars coming to the Government. In short, we have been stepping, advancing and collecting ahead of money that is due us in the coming year, but we're spending it in advance. And now, Gimmick No. 5 comes to light. First, down in that meeting at Palm Springs they actually were experimenting with and admitted the idea that they were contemplating on June 30th, ^{the end of the fiscal year} post-dating the State Employees checks to July 1st, to pay 70 million dollars of this year's payroll on next year's bill.

in an effort to hide the deficit in this budget, but the deficit has now come to the point where it is going to be in the neighborhood of 3 hundred million dollars if this budget is passed. And so, they have changed the system of book-keeping to the accrual system, at the same time they leave out one of the basic principles of the accrual bookkeeping system, which is a large cash reserve against contingencies, and this will postpone again, as has been described by our own Senate Fact Finding Committee, that if the administration the same party affiliation has said this is a one-time gimmick, it is not a continuing source of revenue and next year we will have to face the deficit by this change in book-keeping. It almost makes you think he isn't counting on being around next year. But these are some of the things that have been taking place under an administration that believes in turning to the Federal Government for the answer to our problems. It believes that the people do not have the capacity to solve their ~~problems~~ that has gathered more and more power and control from the local communities, from local law enforcement officers, from local school boards and concentrated it at the State level so that in turn, if State ~~sovereignty~~ ^{sovereignty} is averted we can see our State becoming merely an administrative district in which the State administration will pass on to the people the administrative ~~mandate~~ edict to the higher authority. Now, bitter as this may seem and as much as many of you may disagree with this particular ~~philosophy~~ philosophy, I would like to ask you to envision government as it now is, or even as it could be. Think of the wisest and best, the ~~most~~ capable and unselfish men that you could envision serving in the administrative appointments in government, elected to the constitutional offices in the legislature, and then ask yourself if still that body of select men is capable of making the multitudinous decisions in the right place all of the decisions that must be made that will grow in

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members here in our communities and the problems that increase in size and
 complexity and the problems of human relations. Can we ~~imagination~~ envision
 such a band of men, such a handful, that are capable of making all these decisions
 in our behalf? Can we possibly believe that they have the ability and the talent
 and the brainpower and capacity for decision that is itself contained in the
 whole rank and file of the mass of our citizenry and you know what the answer
 must be. In contrast to those who say that government grows more complex or
 our civilization does as we increase in numbers, we must turn to someone of great
 wisdom to make the decisions, the process is here. As we increase in numbers
 and society grows more complex it is more and more imperative that we give more
 and more authority as near to the local level as we can, where the people can make
 the decisions close at hand that affects their daily lives. I am not a poli-
 tician and I happen to believe that this country was created by men who were
 ordinary citizens and who created a system to be run by ordinary citizens/ ~~that~~
~~men's hands~~ who did not believe that you could maintain
 freedom by having a society based on a professional creed because that was the
 history of man's mankind and the history against which they were rebelling in the
 American Revolution, and in this country a government that was based on a
 principle diametrically opposed to the idea of one-man, one-vote for the greatest
 good for the greatest number because if you hold even with those high-sounding
 phrases, ~~man's~~ ^{people} ~~man's~~ phrases, ~~man's~~ ^{people} phrases, you are holding with the theory that 50
 per cent of the people plus one can do anything they want to do simply because
 they outnumber them, and that is nothing more than lynch law or mob rule. The
 principal that sets our country apart is that we created a constitution so
 fundamentally different from every other constitution in the world that it is
 a system of government that is based on the principle of one-man, one-vote for the
 greatest good for the greatest number.

...and heard students quote back to us clauses from the Soviet constitution similar to our own. They said what's the difference? They said they guarantee the same thing. Well, this is the difference. The Soviet constitution and all the rest say, "We, the government, grant you these rights."

Our Constitution says your rights are God-given, you are born with them and the Constitution guarantees that the government cannot take these rights away from you. The meaning of the Bill of Rights is that you and I cannot submit

our fundamental freedom and our rights to a vote of the majority. Even if we finally come to the point there is only one individual outvoted by a hundred and ninety million, they cannot vote by majority rule to impose on those basic God-given rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and freedom of choice.

Well, as I started to say, I happen to think that the time has come, perhaps for some ordinary citizens so busy to be wanting the unexcused thinking, the reasoning, the heart and the morality that I believe has become so lacking in high places today, not through any intent of anyone to be bad but simply because as we turn to politics we begin to think of political expediency. We begin to turn to those things that are done not because they are morally right but because they happen to be at the moment the right method of achieving something, and so, I am certain to describe what I believe we should have is not a

Great Society but a Creative Society and I would ask you to join with me for a moment in a dream, not a fantasy or day dream but a practical dream. It actually the reimplementation of a dream that started 40 years ago in this Country. Envision, if you will, a government, a government at state level, that once sent out printed cards to the state appointees with ^{their} salary on the card. I believe that the administration hoped for, but instead of an administration

that will say - there will be no solicitation of campaign contributions from appointees or state employees. An administration in which we will seek men that match our mountains; in which we will seek appointees and the professions and the businesses in our state. To lead us even for a time, the best of their talent and ability to administer the various agencies and bureaus and they will be chosen on ability and not because they are political axes to grind or relatives, and that is, incidentally, the greatest recommendation I have to offer for myself in running for this office. I have only one brother who is a Vice President of an Advertising Agency.

The famous creative society that I mentioned, a creative society in which the State administration turns to the great capacity and ability of the people in California to solve California's problems, with the biggest kind of problem that turns to the industrial community for the best brains and says - you form a committee, you tell us what we can do to remove road blocks, repressive taxes, ~~harrassing paper work and regulations, those things that are slowing down the~~ economy. You tell us what we can do in cooperation with you to improve the business climate, including ~~many~~ taxes and ~~study~~ study, inducements that will perhaps help you and make it possible for you, of industry, the only ones who can cure the problem of unemployment, to cure that problem, but you will tell us and we will cooperate and you can then bring us the prosperity and jobs that we need to keep our people at work in a productive economy. We will turn ~~us~~ our problems of human misunderstanding and we will put to work the great talent and genius of our professional people and ~~use~~ the clergy of our churches to see if we cannot solve those problems that cannot be solved through legislation but have got to be solved with people from heart to heart and we will ~~find~~ find a creative society that we would turn to the Bar Association and we would appeal or ask for legislation that would appoint a committee from the

for association in keeping with a committee of citizens to recommend a panel of
and on their legal ability and their personal qualifications _____

and qualified to be judges, then the Governor must appoint his judges from that
panel and keep the appointment of judges out of politics once and for all.

I dream of the day - I remember a day, if you think to haven't slid a little bit,
all of us in our double standards, we walked back these blocks to give a fellow
a few pennies when he gave us ten worth of eggs and yet we are willing to take
things that go on in high places and say, well, that's politics, that's all right
you have to expect it. We don't have to expect that sort of thing. Politics
doesn't have to be dirty, it's only a few politicians that are dirty. You re-
member it was not too many years ago there was a president named Woodrow Wilson
and they want a group of people came to Woodrow Wilson and they said, "We want
you to appoint your brother as a postmaster in our town." Woodrow Wilson said,
"The only possible way I could make that appointment is if you can convince me
that there is no other man in the United States capable of filling the job."

I dream of a day, a day once again when parents will be able to point to the
Capitals of our States and Our Nation with pride and the people who hold offices/
and say - yes, we expect not less but a higher standard from them. We will not
tolerate - except from them even some of the weaknesses that the
folks that we will tolerate among ourselves because that is the very Temple
of Freedom as far as this Nation is concerned. And you and I probably are on
island surrounded by a sea which is the last island of Freedom in the world and
if you and I if the Flood threatens to engulf it, there is no higher ground for
us to repair to. This is where the last stand of Freedom must be made. The
last island that remains in the entire world. But this is my idea just in
brief and without going into too much detail I _____ a structure
society can be. Now, what I threaten to do and for a few that remains that:

I feel that if I am going to go around and ask the people of California to make
_____ great decision or do something in my behalf, possibly give a
vote, that you have a right at the same time to ask me any questions that may be on
your mind that that is the manner in which I am going to campaign, so for the
few minutes remaining here I would be very honored if you would feel free to fire
away and don't think I am being the guest, if your questions seem a little
hostile, go ahead anyway. That's the only way we will get things out in the open.

Q. _____

A. If I get the nomination will the official party endorse me? Yes. Under our
statutes in the State of California, thanks to Hiram Johnson, the State
organization cannot in California, pre-primary endorse the state organiza-
- tion - in the campaign but the state organization then of course does take
over and become ~~the~~ engaged in the campaign of the nominee once the
open primary is over.

Q. _____

A. Well, I'll tell you, I feel that in that first demonstration when they
backed up a policeman and humiliated him, stopped their police car, a
symbol of law and order, and authority, that was the moment in which the
administrators of that University should have taken the ring leaders by
the scruff of the neck and expelled them. First of all, I believe that
the University should be decentralized and the fact that there should be
more authority on each individual campus than presently had. I think
it is ridiculous for a University of 27,000 people in another part of the
state or that ~~man~~ at the head of that University should not be as the
President of any privately owned or church owned school, or
President in Charge, but to the best of Berkeley again, all of us believe

in academic freedom in maintaining it free of political control and all of us believe in free speech, but in academic freedom I think we have to recognize that if a person or faculty member from professor to teaching assistant is more than just responsible for teaching a class in a classroom. He is an example and must constantly be an example of courtesy, of good citizenship and respect to the young men and women who are going to the University, and I believe that the University is not intruding on either free speech or academic freedom if it keeps ever uppermost the ideals, the true purpose of the University is to educate the young men and women who come there and anything, demonstration or anything else that interferes with that purpose, that fine purpose, must be outlawed by the University.

My last ^{accord} on free speech and I will affirm it to my quest, the right of free speech.

My last point is that when some young men of our country are fighting and dying for their country, free speech must stop short of landing comfort ponds.

Q. Inaudible.

A. Well, _____
the water situation. This, and I don't know how much of a political issue it would be on water. We are now into scientific and engineering problem but the water situation as it stands here with our Feather River Project is in three phases _____

_____ the water will come first.
_____ and will be distributed throughout the State. The next phase or the next step to come off the map moves on up to some of the northern rivers which will mean a big _____ mountains and the reversing of some of these streams and the third phase _____ goes on up all the way to

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Klamath. With each phase the water is going to cost more because of the difficulty of getting it, the pumping problem etc. It is true and yet even then, if we envision the continued growth of California we reach a point in which that is not enough. There is no program as we see it now that makes the ultimate and says - this solves our water problem forever. Each one of them has _____ that brings us to the end of the line. On the other hand, the Colorado River is a natural canal or waterway and it is cheaper to bring in water from the Colorado across into California than it is in this Great Central Valley Project down from the north. Now, looking toward _____ as a continuing source of water, here is where we need statesmanship, and I think the _____ statement _____ in California with our fellow Western States, there is a possibility of bringing water from the north and simply channeling it into the Colorado River and then bringing it down just as a natural flow and then bringing it across, but the other States are understandably suspicious. They say, would we be giving something away that would forever foreclose us having the ability to increase in size and become prosperous and big like California - and I think the statesmanship that is needed is without the Federal Government intervening with the State Government's views, with this State to take the lead in mobilizing these Western States and working out a plan to guarantee assurance to them that they will be protected and that they will not lose their potential for growth and _____ ---- in turn to us, anyone then in the south of California should if we take so much water from the north of California that we foreclose any future plans for expansion of prosperity to industrialization of the rest of the state. always There is/always over us the possibility that it is still only a possibility. Someone more familiar with it say we are not to the breakthrough point on the desalination. Desalination, of course if it could come about

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even now since we could take care of our Coastal cities but it would be just as expensive to pump water over the mountains into the central valleys so they would still be better off ~~keeping~~ keeping the present plans, so we are not building a plan that some day we will throw away, but problem is this: Let me reassure you of one thing, there is no shortage of water we are not going to run out of water. The only shortage is we may run out of water at the price we want to pay. If we were willing to pay the price there is always water.

Q. Inadvisable.

A. A ceiling on the ~~unwarranted~~ continuing rise of property taxes? I am way out, I want to go farther than that. I am going to advance something that is a leaning - and let me say a leaning and a tendency of belief of mine that I think can be changed if the study that I would like to see take place//is made. I would be bound by that study. I believe that in this whole country that

long overdue for a complete review of the
entire policy of taxation. Now, we have been kidding ourselves for a lot of years that we've got a of robbing Peter to pay Paul and all of
sudden it is

that makes us say, well, you know with all these ~~unpleasant~~ complicated taxes they raise the tax on cigarettes and that doesn't give me either the smoke or somebody else is paying my share, and I have made the statement in the past, we had better look around, we are robbing Paul to pay Paul, Peter went bankrupt. We must come back down to the recognition that only people pay taxes. Organized labor, for example, advocates the increasing of corporate profit tax. Who are they kidding? They are kidding themselves and they are kidding me. You can't tax a thing. A corporation doesn't pay tax.

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in reality, I don't care how many checks they sign. When they compute their business costs, and they can't stay in business without having a certain return over and above cost of the dollar invested, their cost must be figured into the price, whether it's their property tax, their inventory tax or their corporate income tax. We, the people, in the last analysis it must come out of the person's pocket and it is time that we reviewed the whole tax structure to see how they are taking it out of our pockets and if in some cases the method of taking it is so costly and cumbersome that it hardly pays the cost of collection. In property tax I think that we at last come to one that is outdated. The original property tax, many, many centuries ago, started as a kind of income tax. Property represented the source of wealth and it was _____ but they never envisioned the day when millions of people would own their own homes and they never envisioned the day when millions of people would own their homes with a mortgage. Now here is a fellow with \$1,500, and he puts a down payment on a \$20,000 house. Now, he isn't worth a darn more than before he put the down payment down. He only owns \$1,500 of real estate instead of in cash, but the minute he puts that payment down he is taxed on the basis of owning \$20,000 worth of real estate, which he doesn't own and it is not producing land. _____ thing is _____ and the terrifying thing that as this continuing inflation takes place we now all of face the possibility that we cannot unless we become wealthy, we cannot inhabit our days living in the homes we built or bought because on retirement income we cannot afford to pay the continually increasing property taxes. There are three principals of taxation there must be a third _____

hcc

Incredible

I am one who looks with great disfavor on the Secretary of Labor's sociologi-
 cal experiment. We have about 300,000 permanent plant employees in
 California, and we have to augment this in harvest season by about another
 100,000, and about 70,000 of these here in the past have been traditionally
 been braceros. The percentage of braceros in '57 was 15%. To show that we
 were curing the problem through mechanization, technological improvements, in
 the last year we were allowed to have them it was down to 9%. We were re-
 leasing that outside force but as no one was labor in this country able to
 provide enough people for the peak harvest season and we have great distress
 and great calamity in the farm communities of California and the only thing
 that saw it in free or plus disaster was an unusual event. We had a summer
 that stretched out ^{the} our harvesting or the ripening where we didn't have an
 overlap of several harvests at once. A limited supply of labor was able to
 move from one crop to the other. They might have ~~been~~ been caught once
 except the peach growers took it on the chin in this instance. On the day
 of the moment of ripening of our peach crop, an unreasonable rain hit the peach
 crop and in 24 hours destroyed a third of the total peach crop, releasing these
 harvesters to move on to other crops. There was a fungus spore that if the
 peaches get wet at that point of ripening/^{it} ~~destroyed~~ them and rather appropriately
 that disease is known ~~as~~ technically as Brown Rot. Now we come to the

Council

I, as Governor, I would seek to mobilize in the Committee of
 Governors those Governors of other States that require this outside labor and
 use the power and the prestige which in the political world I am sure these
 several states would have, to demand of the Federal Government that they make
 available outside labor time to us ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~amount~~ ~~of~~ ~~100,000~~ ~~men~~ ~~and~~ ~~women~~ ~~and~~ ~~children~~ ~~and~~ ~~that~~
 the domestic labor force cannot fill the need. Now with the striking help of
 _____ United Fruit

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six years and on the basis of additional thirteen, I am in favor of collective bargaining. I believe in it, but I do not believe that this outside force at Delano represents the last of the people, who have proven it doesn't because they stayed in the field in the days of working, that would not join more than 5,00 of them that consist of the work, and they themselves have formed an independent group which may well turn out to be a bargaining agent. They, as an independent group, may not want to sit down and bargain with the growers and I am in favor of that, that is the way unions should start, but this force, Mr. Chavez, particularly, is seeking to impose industrial type unionization on the farm economy and its work. There can be no fair bargaining if you've got at the bargaining table a fellow that just sits back until the growers start to get ripe and then they - or are not picking. ^{at the} ~~the~~ power does the employer have in bargaining table on this basis, and how can you apply the terms of hourly requirements and conditions, etc., to an occupation where a lot of days you only work part of the day and go fishing, but there are a lot of days when you work until the sun is well up because the crops are ripe and they must be picked at that particular moment. I do not believe in what is going on at Delano and I don't think it represents the thinking of the workers - the people in the fields.

Q. ~~Irrespective~~ question is, if you are ~~the~~ Governor of California what are your plans?

A. Well, I have been talking against the Laventary tax for years and years - long before I ever thought I would do what I am doing now. I was talking when I first started along the National Circuit because I was speaking representative of Motion Picture Industry as often and we have known the harmfulness of this particular tax for years. From the time that tax was imposed they made, the Motion Picture Industry made in a seasonal industry. To this day even to I recall, I can't recall. Our people have even to a certain

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at home waiting for the phone to ring. When it rings it means a job and when the picture is over you sit and wait until it rings again. We have known for years that as you get a few months away from that our deadline the studios would grind to a halt and no new pictures could be started while they rushed to get all of the prints out of the banks and across the State line to avoid the inventory tax and no new pictures started until after that tax date, and it meant great hardship in our industry. No tax should be regressive; no tax should militate against the expansion of business or the continuation of business or even the desire of someone to earn an extra dollar or go to work and no justification can be handed down just because it brings in revenue and is a fair tax. You can put on a tank and a gun and raise revenue also but it isn't what it looks like of a right. I know it is very

Incredible

A

You got a little more complicated than there. I do not pose or profess to be an engineer or a scientist who knows the answers to this but I would say that this is something that must, of course, the solution must be found to this because here is a natural asset that it would be a sin against God as well as man to let destroy this asset with continued pollution. Not only of that but of Lake Tahoe and our streams and the West. An answer must be found and the only way it can be found is to turn to the best scientific minds who are able to propose a cure and then do whatever it is necessary to do to put that cure into effect.

Q.

Incredible

A.

Yes. I am sure you all heard the question, this, of course, is the problem with democracy. Parkinson was right. Government does continue to grow, and a government that is

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ever find on this earth. Do you know that the Spruce Products Corporation formed by the Federal Government in World War I to buy spruce wood for airplane fuselages never went out of existence till in World War II after Pearl Harbor? They were still out up in business. Yes, there were many. This is one of the greatest problems that faces the elected official, is that the power because of our very honest efforts through Civil Service to take the spoils system out, we have now created the problem of time to eliminate these Bureaus and Agencies and once again I still believe it starts with the philosophy of the people in government who get in and are not going to be bound by political expediency but who are going to do what they believe the people want done, and I know how they ended the Spruce Products Corporation. They never were able to vote it out of existence but just cut off the appropriation and that - shut off the money and they will win it on the line.

Intelligible.

A. Well, first of all it took all the soul searching that Nancy and I could do for me to ever consider the rarified atmosphere of Sacramento and having made that decision, and believing that there is so much that can be done and believing as I do in the creative society, now this is as far as I have chosen to think, but I'll tell you something else, I know that certainly between now and '63 there is no chance of me getting a Federal appointment.

Q. What is your opinion on the present _____

A. Oh, now, you are asking me about capital punishment and my opinion of capital punishment. Well, again, it is apparent that the Governor being opposed as he is to capital punishment has bypassed the will of the Court in that a number of death sentences have been imposed but no one has been executed because there has been a kind of a moratorium on this. Now, it comes down to what do I believe in. Well, I think any of us raised in our Christian tradition have a certain

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of our hearts an unconfutable feeling - question as to our right to impose a death sentence that other human life. At the same time I could point out, (I present as being a great danger here with the clergy,) but it is my understanding that the ancient Hebrew translation was not Thou Shalt Not Kill, but Thou Shalt Not Murder and there are provisions in the Bible that point out the penalty and it is a penalty of life for taking a life. Now, I tried to satisfy in my own mind my feeling about capital punishment and I, believe me, have gone this way and that because of this response for the idea that I think all of us feel, and I've finally come to this conclusion, that we do have the right to take life ourselves in our own defense; therefore the question boils down to this: Is capital punishment a deterrent for or just vengeance. If it is just vengeance I have to question that we can contain but all of the violence, not all but the preponderance of violence of which we know punishment and that certainly indicates that it is a deterrent. There are people alive today because of capital punishment and as long as that is true and unless they can prove conclusively the other way, I am in favor of maintaining capital punishment.

It is a pleasure to thank you for the opportunity

to do

I want to thank you for the opportunity. I realize that and I have been a lawyer before and I realize that this was far afield from the normal type of address and I realize also that if you had not graciously invited a candidate here and invited me with the understanding that you expected me to kind of speak on my political views and that I was doing. I am very grateful to you. You have done me a great favor and I am sure that you will continue to invite me as I will depend on you for my views and I am especially grateful to you and the other members of the committee.

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to the problems that face us and if you believe that the creative society
is something that you would like to see happen I would be very proud to
have your support. Thank you very much.