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My first speech - up to the day I was elected 250
"I can't begin to find the words to say thanks to all of you. Wish you could know all the thoughts and memories that are going through my mind. I sat here and thought of all the many benefits here in this place that Manny Harmon and I used to meet backstage, laugh, and look at each other and say, "We're doing another one together."

"And Duke, for you to stand here and say those things that you said and I remember the number of times in battles in the Guild when it only took getting on the phone, calling your number; you were there with the gang--the gang on the right side of things.

"It all stops right here. I want to tell you that as of tonight, I could quit and be richer than I've ever been in my life. The people here on this platform--those who've entertained--you know, I've had a feeling, with some of the campaign oratory from the other camp,--that they have, perhaps, been trying to push me into a position where I would try to avoid or deny my connection all these years with show business--and the people of show business. Well they've got a long wait coming. I have known great friends; they're here tonight-- a number of them. And as for the rest of you--all of you here--I couldn't begin to thank the people here at this head table who have done so much and so unselfishly--not for me, but for the cause in which we happen to believe together. You know--the people out there--there are just as many of them, working unselfishly and hard for this cause.

"You know, if my memory serves me correctly,--the Republicans have been picked on for a long time and back in an earlier day, I even used to do a little of the picking myself on the basis that Republicans were old fogies--never introduced anything or innovated anything new. But I think I also remember that the first man to give his entire salary to the government was Herbert Hoover.

A few days ago, on April 15th, everybody did!

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Incidentally, speaking of that, if we're still with that old foggy image that they say we are--take a look at the gentlemen up here--and lady--who are chairmen in this particular cause on our side. Look at these people gathered here and look at yourselves--and there's a new image to the Republican Party. And the other side better find it out--and pretty quickly--they're living in the past and we're way out in front moving into the 20th Century.

"Buddy, you worried me there for a minute, when you started talking about those phony coins--that imitation money. I remember when I was a small boy, we used to go out, if we could get our hands on a penny, and put it on the car track and ^{then} when the street car come by and you'd have a nice great big shiny blob of copper. Now the Great Society is doing it and selling it for a quarter.

"Nancy and I have found this political world a very exciting thing--a very exciting place--as you can ~~imaz~~ imagine. The other day I left the house in the station wagon; I got down as far as the first stop light and was sitting there, looking out the window, kind of daydreaming in the sun when a sonic boom, or something happened--I thought--anyway, me and the station wagon landed in the middle of the intersection. I put my head back on, getting it from the rear seat and I got out. There was a woman getting out of a Lincoln behind me, holding her jaw and we started toward the scene of the damage and suddenly she stopped and pointed and said: "I seen you on television--I'm gonna vote for you!"

"So I said: "No harm done."

We have a seven-year old at home--the Skipper--he thinks this is all a lot of foolishness. He ~~does~~ ^{doesn't} see why I have to be away from home all this time--or we have to come down and do things like this. He'd been watching Death Valley Days--he's got the whole thing simplified in his mind. He figures I just ~~am~~

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to go to Sacramento, stand in the middle of the street and say:

"Pat, one of us has got to be out of town by sunup!"

"Four years ago, on January 24th, ^{the} Governor reopened his election campaign at that time, and he said "the record is good and we have practiced economy."

"While, now, I don't challenge that statement. They probably have practiced economy, but in the business that I've been in, you don't sell tickets to a rehearsal. ~~xxxx~~ I'd like to see a performance. Come to think of it--a finished performance."

"But on that January day in '62, he told us that unemployment was a priority problem in California and it would be pushed below 5%; that fraud in welfare should be cut; ^{the} ~~that~~ crime problem attacked; and local property taxpayers helped; the farmers should be insured of an adequate labor force, "including braceros". And then he said there should be more efficiency in government; there is too much government in California.

Makes you wonder who's been Governor these last four years?

Unemployment is almost 40% higher than in the rest of the nation. We spend double on welfare what we were spending five years ago and the spending is increasing faster than the spending on education. Crime has increased until we have double our share. There is more crime in the United States than in any place in the world and there's more crime in California than in ⁱⁿ any place in the United States. Education is our biggest budget item and/our state, for every dollar we spend on education, the cost of crime is \$1.11.

And as for that help the local property taxpayer was going to get, property taxes have increased twice as fast as personal income and Californians carry the heaviest ~~xxxx~~ local property tax levy in the nation. This, combined with other local and state taxes means that, if you are the average family of four, your family's share of the state burden is \$400 higher than it is for

people in the other 49 states.

And that promise of adequate labor for the farmer--when the time came to keep that promise--when he could have done so by lifting his voice in protest against the Federal government~~ta~~ and their ridiculous decision to make ~~guinea~~ guinea pigs out of California farmers in a sociological experiment--he remained silent and a near-catastrophe came to our biggest single industry. The net income in the high labor crops dropped \$149 million but the gross remained higher than it's ever been and the housewives in the audience know why every time ~~xxxgx~~ they go to market. ~~xxxxxx~~ Stand in front of the asparagus counter today and you discover that it's cheaper to eat money.

And that brings us to the finale of his campaign song of four years ago: There's too much government in California. Well, there is and it's been increasing more than twice as fast, in both size and cost, as the increase in population.

And now we're hearing his new campaign ~~xxxgx~~ song. It sounds like a re-play of the old one, but he's got a few bars of "Everything's Coming Up Roses" thrown in.

Keeping up with the Governor's promises is like reading Playboy Magazine while your wife turns the pages.

Quoting from a speech just the other day, the Governor--and incidentally, ^{thing} the Governor said the only/~~he~~ ~~xxxx~~ feared is the facts--but he said the budget is much more than a mere exercise in bookkeeping; it reflects the policies and principles of this administration.

Now he said that; I didn't. But I agree--this budget reflects the policies and principles of this administration. On Page A-49, there's listed \$4 million in "Estimated Unidentifiable Savings" and no one will explain this away as swamp gas--but by the time that \$4 million figure crosses the page just a couple of inches to the Total Column--there's a typographical

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error occurs and it becomes \$6 million. Now if that error was in our favor, I'd keep my mouth shut. But somebody, before the year's out, is going to spend that \$2 million mistake.

There's another \$2 million blooper in the budget--^{when} they're asking and I understand I was challenged today to say where I could cut it--^{because} of the passage of Medicare, and the implementing of Medicare in our state, there are two state welfare programs that went out of existence as of March 1st--but there's still \$2 million in the budget for administrative salaries--the administrators of those two programs that no longer exist.

This budget was made up by an administration with eight years of political experience. If they don't know how now, we can hardly expect them to come up as financial geniuses in a ninth year, or tenth, or even eleventh or twelfth.

In his campaign oratory, he's claimed this will be the eighth balanced budget in a row and that we've had six consecutive years without a major revision of the state's tax system.

Now I don't know how many dollars it takes to be 'major' but I don't think \$22 million is small change and that was the one-time windfall, in 1963, when the insurance tax was revised and accelerated to hide the fact there would be a deficit in that budget. And there were three more such deceptive gimmicks between then and now--the installment privilege on personal income tax was eliminated, and that resulted in the one-time increase of \$45 million--bank and corporation tax was changed to eliminate installment privileges and require partial pre-payment, and that resulted in \$83 million in a single lump. And, last year, that bare bones budget, was balanced by accelerating the payment of sale tax revenue by the large retailers. And that was a one-time windfall of \$90 million.

Each time it was done to hide the fact that in contravention to our Constitution, there was a deficit in our budget and he was reluctant to ask for new revenue outright.

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Now maybe these aren't major sums that I've just read off. Or maybe they just don't seem so big if you've been spending someone else's money for a long time.

But now we come to the budget he calls "lean and hard". That's what he's doing--leanin' hard! on us.

And this is the end of the line. Each of the othergimmicks has meant collecting money in advance--collecting money ahead--and this deficit now-- which can be as much as \$300 million--brings up Gimmick #5: a change in the bookkeeping system.

Counting as money in the till tax revenues not yet collected on transactions that haven't taken place yet and could possible not take kplace. And it won't hurt a bit, until after the election. Sometimes when he keeps assuring us how everything is alright, I'm reminded of that old ~~kn~~ story-- I'm sure you all know it--about the prizefighter having a bad time in the ring and he was backpedaling away from his opponent and every time he passed his corner, his manager would yell in and say "Stay in there. He can't hurt us!" And about the fifth time around, the ~~fix~~ fighter said to the manager, "Keep your eye on the referee! Somebody in here's kicking my brains out."

The Governor's own Senate Fact-Finding Committee says that this new bookkeeping gimmick with "produce no revenue and it will show up on next years;s bill and it will make a gigantic tax increase next year a certainty."

It almost makes you think ~~hxx~~ he isn't planning on being around next year, doesn't it?

"I've been warned it's politically unwise to talk about the budget-- that people like ourselves are unable to comprehend figures like \$4.6 billion and maybe that's so, but I think Californians can understand the family budget that has to be trimmed and reduced of some of the good things they'd like to have and that make life worthwhile because when they reach ~~for the money that they need~~ in their pocket to buy them, they find that the government's hand has been in there first.

"Now, we've seen our embattled few--the Republican caucus--the Republican minority--those few legislators we have in Sacramento--standing against the dishonest efforts of ~~the~~ this administration to portray this as a balanced budget. Unfortunately, they're limited in what they can accomplish simply because of their lack of numbers and because they are provided with an inadequate research staff, and because, actually, the Governor's office is the important focal point in making such a reduction ~~such~~ as we demand and is as required. The Legislature works within the confines of statutory and policy limitations. If the Governor, on the other hand, has a desire, he can call for major program revisions and the reductions of fiscal operations and spending. And I have that desire.

"The budget is extremely difficult to analyze. Actually, I believe it's more complex--more complicated--than the Federal budget. Many of the departmental expenditures are hidden in a variety of ways. There's one thing they can't hide--that deficit of \$300 million that must be faced next year. Now, it's possible that that budget deficit can be reduced in the coming year with an increase in revenue that results from inflation and the fact that there's going to be a jump--there is a jump--in defense spending in California brought on by the Viet Nam conflict. This increase in revenues could run between \$50 and \$75 million. Very shortly the Governor will come forth with a speech in which he will announce this and he will announce it as an accomplishment of his administration.

It's just the nature of the thing.

"But, this leaves some \$240 million deficit to be concealed by book-keeping tricks that would jail a private citizen if he tried them.

"Let's look at what could be done if our Republican minority was not so outnumbered and if there was a Republican Governor willing to make the cuts in the fat.

"In the first place, each budget of these last several has been based on a preceding one and automatically assumes that that budget represented the ultimate in economy and efficiency, and then, just as automatically, increases are added and explained as necessary by ~~xxx~~ reason of inflation and the increase in population. Well, even if we accept that questionable premise regarding that first budget that started the spiral, the annual increases have been greater by far than the growth in population or inflation.

"Now, I've eliminated no programs, although I am sure there are some we ~~can~~ could do without. I haven't touched on the payments required by law, the expenditures for education except some capital outlays that were recommended as being disapproved by our Legislative Analyst Alan Post. My reductions are in the nature of holding the line and they're based on projecting back against this disproportionate growth of government with relation to the increase in population and the size of our state.

"The Health and Welfare budget stands at \$795.5 million--that's an increase of 12.5% over last year. Without taking anyone off welfare, that budget can be ~~cut~~ cut by almost \$90 million. County superintendents, including our own, regularly suggest administrative reforms to save millions of dollars on overhead; and their suggestions are ignored. In public hearings, the counties reported having to submit, every month, to sacramento more than 180 reports; and county case workers are guided by, and have to keep up with, 22 manuals and handbooks which, when stacked up and crammed together, fill a five-foot shelf. But, they can't even keep ahead of them because in the Capitol the rule changers have made 1,655 revisions in this books in 18 months.

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there could be a great increase in efficiency and a better utilization of trained personnel if they could be free of this paperwork blizzard. And it goes without saying that eliminating this excessive paperwork would permit employees to do work for which they are trained, and it could undoubtedly have an added advantage with reducing welfare fraud as they went out into the field instead of being chained to their desks and kept closer in contact with the actual recipients.

"Now, let me make it plain if I haven't. This reduction would in no way eliminate ~~the~~ deserving recipients, nor does it cancel out our obligation to those people who depend on our compassion for their livelihood.

"Using this same system, the \$470 million budget for transportation, which represents a 7.8% increase since last year, can be cut \$43 million and still permit some increase over last year's budget.

"Following the same formula, in Resources Development, Corrections, Fiscal Affairs, Business and Commerce, Public Safety, and that great catch-all, Shared Revenue and Others, we can have a savings of \$175.5 million.

"Now, you ~~must~~ add in the Legislative Analysts's recommended reductions in capital outlays ~~ex~~ of almost \$38 million, plus \$32 million of capital construction which, if not cancelled, could at least be delayed--such \$162,000 for remodeling the toilets in the State House--and you've got a grand total of \$245 million and a more than balanced budget.

"And I challenge them to prove that these cuts can't be made or that essential ~~services~~ services have to be reduced.

"And I claim that in arriving at these figures, I also contemplated keeping in the budget the pay raises for the state employees in the coming year.

"Now before the Governor starts denying the practicality of these proposals I think he should know that his own staff is in that pot for something like ~~\$400,000~~ \$400,000. This budget provides him with a staff of 85½--now that half bothers me--unless perhaps ~~that's~~ that's a cousin twice removed. The last Republican Governor, Godwin Knight, was allowed, in the budget ~~189~~ 58 staff

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members at a cost of less than half of the present staff that the present Governor has; and Goodwin Kinn Knight never found it necessary ~~to fill~~ to fill even all those positions which he was allowed; and this Governor has never managed to get through the year with those that were allowed him in the budget.

"In the days ahead, I intend to take a program, not included in the budget, and show where millions of dollars can be cut there also—to put our system of unemployment insurance on a sound fiscal basis and take a step, if we could do this, toward re-instituting our fine business climate that is now so deteriorating.

"The working men and women of our state have a right to know that this program exists for their protection and not as a pre-paid vacation plan for freeloaders. This administration has re-interpreted that program--what was ~~xxxx~~ intended to be insurance ~~xxxx~~ is defined now as a part of welfare. And the benefit payments have increased 350% in the last eight years. Now, if we could only have the same efficiency in our behalf that's displayed in Sacramento right now with regard to their own solicitation of campaign funds things would ~~xxxxxx~~ be very fine indeed.

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Now if we could only have the same efficiency on our behalf that's displayed in Sacramento right now with regard to their own solicitation of campaign funds, things would be very fine indeed.

I have a copy of a memorandum on my desk, explaining to the governmental ~~employeessssss~~ appointees the need for funds to re-elect the present administration and there's a chart with the salaries of the appointees and the ~~x~~ maximum contribution that would be desirable and the minimum contribution that would be acceptable. And the ~~xxxxx~~ return address is a hotel room in Sacramento registered in the name of Roger Kent--the campaign manager for the Governor.

Well I think it's time we asked ourselves if we want to go on playing the same old game or if we aren't ready to call for new cards.

I, for one, don't believe we should go on standing ~~pass~~ pat!

That's an old card-playing expression I learned at the Friars Club.

All of us share a great responsibility. Only through a Republican victory can we move ahead...away from those who retreat into the past and rule of the many by the few. Dinners and rallies--occasions like this--are really only the starting point. There's a long, hard road ahead and people like yourselves will be doing the hard ~~xxxx~~ tasks--ringing doorbells, and all the other serious things that must be done as a part of a campaign. And at the same time, you, doing those things, must ~~x~~ match your efforts against the full power of government--financed, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ironically enough, by our own money.

Today one party controls the White House and the Executive Branch--a 2/3 majority in both Houses of Congress--has appointed a majority of the Supreme Court Justices--controls 60% of the nation's ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ governors and legislatures. One party rules the nation. And one man rules that party.

Well, the fight back can begin here in this state if you and I are willing to accept it.

But as Republicans, let's play it smart for once. We don't win by destroying our opponents; we convert them. We have to be salesmen; we don't

the indifference and the lack of leadership.

There is also a morality and a decency gap in Sacramento--with little men building big government and then treating it as a hunting preserve for their own pleasure.

Well, if you and I are willing to accept this double standard of morality--a strict code in our private lives, but political expediency and an easy virtue by those entrusted with public power--then we share their guilt.

But I believe we want something better. I believe the people will follow our party if we have the courage to stand on principle and make no compromise with basic truth.

Can any of you deny that down in your own hearts you have a desire and, at the same time, a ~~belief~~ belief--whether you've ever expressed it or not--that government can be something deserving of our respect and worthy of our pride?

Ø I want that for our children; I think you want the same thing... government, of and by, ^{and} well as, for the people--government reflecting our faith in God as the Author of our freedom--and this can be ours.

It's just as near as the ballot ~~box~~ box.

If we fail in this challenge, can anyone here assure us--or even predict-- that we'll every have another chance?

Between us, we can wage a moral crusade--a crusade that we must wage, not for political victory, but because freedom itself is at stake, and the torch is in our hands. And I assure you that while I am in this all the way, I can go no place or do none of the things that I have suggested without your help and I earnestly beg for that help.

But I tell you also, we have a pledge to make to each other--deep in our hearts we must make this pledge--and it must not be dulled ~~for~~ or dimmed by the enthusiasm that carries us through a primary,--once the primary votes are over, you and I have a greater responsibility than anyone's personal desire and that is to ensure there will be a Republican victory and that we will

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support whoever are the nominees of our party.

... Now I've saved 'til the last that final promise that he made/ four
year ago...that he was going to promise the farmers of California an
adequate labor force including braceros. He could have kept that promise
just by raising his voice in protest when the Secretary of Labor Wirtz
conducted that ridiculous experiment that made farmers in California
sociological guinea pigs for the planners in Washington. Here, they
brought near disaster on California farming, and I would like to point
out because this problem crosses party lines, that when this was put
to ^{the} a vote of Congress last year every Republican California Congressman
voted against cancelling the bracero program and 15 Democratic California
Congressmen voted to cancel and the bill carried by only 12 votes. It
would only have taken a few of them to stop being a rubber stamp for a
moment and represent the people they were chosen to represent...

Californians...and we wouldn't have had that catastrophe that took place
in last harvest season. Now the Governor tries to pretend the experiment
was a success. He says that the total tonnage was up and that we had
a gross income of \$3.7 billion. Well, we did. A gross income. But
he never talks net. Actually, vegetables, melons, strawberries, other
kinds of fruit...the tonnage was the lowest level in five years. Some
of the acreage was reduced and not planted, and other farmers who did
plant had the tragedy of standing and watching the crops ripen and rot
in the field and be plowed back into the ground because there wasn't any
one to pick them. The government...the total loss...a decline to the
high labor crops and associated industries was more than \$200 million
and I suppose everyone here knows better without my telling them about
that tomato picking school...~~When~~ the pressure came on for tomatoes, a
\$125,000 to teach 500 young people in how to pick tomatoes. Only 234 of
the 500 showed up. They got \$32 a week for two weeks and room and board
and at the end of two weeks ~~they~~ they put the \$125 in their pocket/ and

went home and nobody picked tomatoes. I don't know whether you know
about the peach crop or not but this one is always...well, it's a tragedy.
I don't know why I'm smiling. But you know that we had an unusual summer
last year and the harvest season stretched out and the crops didn't overlap
in the harvesting and so we were able to move the limited work force from
one harvest to the other. Until the peaches ripened at the same time the
tomatoes ripened. And it looked like we were really going to be in trouble.
And we were in trouble. There was an unseasonal rain. And 1/3 of our
total peach crop was wiped out in one 24 hour period by a fungus disease
that attacks the peaches when they get moist around them at that stage of
ripening. And in the peach trade that disease is known as 'brown rot.'
Never has there been such an arrogant disregard by government for the
people's welfare or for reality. They promised the farmers of California
an adequate domestic labor force. They said that the power of the State
Department of Labor and the United States Labor Department through its
employment placement service could furnish all the employees we needed for our
harvest and our peak season. So California farmers asked for 50,000
workers and the United States Department of Labor was able to deliver
3,272. And many of them only used this as an excuse to get to California.
Because when they arrived here they spent such a short time in the fields
that the bill for their transportation assessed against the farmer averaged
out to 97¢ an hour for every hour they put in our fields and our groves.
Down in the San Diego area one packing company was asked to furnish
transportation from a pocket of great unemployment...to bring the unemployed
who had been recruited by the State Department of Labor to the orange
groves/ where unskilled workers were earning more than \$2 an hour for
picking oranges. And for four months they provided free transportation
for more than 100 of these unemployed who never by the way were that busy
in the orange groves before they went back on one of our many welfare

programs. California's net farm income is the lowest that it has been in five years. The California farmer is receiving the lowest percentage of the food basket dollar he has ever received. But the housewife, as every one of you present knows, ...well, when you husbands, if you wonder why the household allowance isn't going as far as it did last year, why don't you go to the market the next time with your wife, stand in front of the vegetable counter, look at the price...you'll decide it's cheaper to eat

money. In _____, California last year there were 7,000 acres of winter fresh tomatoes planted. This year there were 40 acres. The rest are planted across the border in Mexico. 200 canning companies that have given jobs and handled our crops here in this state have moved, are moving and making plans to move across the border. And what were the sins of the California farmers that brought down such havoc from the planners in Washington? _____ greatest single industry of our state, responsible directly or indirectly for 1/3 of all our employment, 60% of all of our cash business transactions. Well, probably the most unforgivable sin is the fact that 99% of California's farming is out on the free market, not subsidized by the federal agricultural program, and we've been paying 40¢ an hour higher than the national average to our employees. And what indicates that the Secretary of Labor could turn out to be such a Jolly Green Giant? The Secretary of Labor on March 22 sent a letter to 10 California Congressmen and he told them that down in Florida in the citrus groves they had worked out a new kind of piece work pay scale. And he said it was so successful that it raised their incomes or their salaries 30% above the minimum which, incidentally, he had set in Florida at \$1.15 an hour...he set the minimum in California at \$1.40 an hour. But, he couldn't understand why California couldn't learn from Florida. Well, the 10 Congressmen were very happy to get that letter. They were even happier when they learned that the system had been invented in

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California. We had it in effect for a long time and it had raised the average wage in our orange groves to \$2.06 an hour and we'd written the Secretary of Labor a letter about it explaining it to him more than a year ago and we'd never received an answer. The next time a Senate committee decides to hold a hearing to investigate the problems of farm labor, I suggest they hold it in some other state besides California. And that also goes for those professional bleeding hearts who conducted that 300 mile Easter egg roll from Delano to Sacramento. And now what do the planners have in mind as they've that the government failed miserably last year to provide the needed labor? Well, two weeks ago, not too far from here, I saw the asparagus fields, the growers there discing and plowing out ripe crops of asparagus because there was no one to pick them. And last week they asked for 2,500 supplemental laborers, braceros to be admitted to save some of these crops...and they were denied the right to do this. Last year ^{was} white asparagus in California...the crop with only 1/2 of what it was the year before and next year or this year it will probably only be 1/4 of what it was two years ago unless there is some relief obtained. But the Department of Labor...and the growers are making every effort they can possibly make with advertisements on the radio and in the newspapers in the areas of high unemployment, trying to get people to come into the fields where workers are able to make from \$2 to \$3.50 an hour, and they can't get them. And the estimated loss now, with the government's refusal to give bracero labor, is estimated at 15,000 acres and \$10 million. But suddenly the State Labor Department, within the last 24 hours, has ridden over the hill like the Cavalry to the rescue. Not to the asparagus growers... it's too late to help them...no, Mr. T _____ of our State Department of _____, has said on the government, "to cancel the laborers to pick the strawberries in the Salinas area." And so the government is going to allow for six weeks 1,000 braceros. Why, you'd almost think this was an election

year, wouldn't you? If it was morally wrong to have braceros pick the strawberries last year, what makes it suddenly morally right for them to pick the strawberries this year? A cynical administration in both Sacramento and Washington has, as I said before, made California farmers guinea pigs for a social experiment. And now they're making them guinea pigs in a vote-buying experiment. The government has shown a complete disregard for the farmers welfare. And a few grandstand stunts, I don't think are going to assure us that any change they may evidence now is going to be evidenced after the election and the votes are counted. If this was true, why didn't they come to the defense of the farmers down in the Imperial Valley? Most of you know that the farmers down there have had a contract with the federal government exempting them from the 160 acre limitation...had this contract for more than 30 years...but now the federal government, Mr. Udall, has told them, "reduce your farms to 160 acres or no more water." Well, this is a problem that if we had a Governor in California who was interested in the welfare of the people in this largest of our single industries, would right now be mobilizing the Governors in the Council of Governors from the other states and would be storming into Washington now pointing out that the 160 acre limitation on farms is utterly ridiculous, old-fashioned and should be done away with all over our country, not just down in one particular area. We should all have a contract that recognizes that farming today has become so expensive that it is unrealistic to consider holding farmers down to this particular limitation in size. There are additional things that he should be urging, and that is a realistic approach to the property tax with regard to farmers. And if there's to be a minimum wage in agriculture that minimum wage should be uniform throughout the United States and not higher for Californians and lower for the people in the other and the southern states. Certainly there should be an exploration made of the idea of a practical piece rate optional plan in

add... to a minimum rate. All this is possible if we had a creative
 society, if we had a government that would replace the tired cliches
 of the great society, that had faith in the people and their ability
 to run their own affairs. All this could be possible if the Governor
 would have a State Board of Agriculture and a Director of Agriculture
 who knew something about farming problems, was sympathetic to the
 farmers problems, and that when the farmer had a problem and voiced it
 there would be someone in Sacramento who would listen. There's more
 than this at stake in the coming election. What is at stake this year
 is a need for a moral crusade, not just a political victory. There is
 a morality and a decency gap in our State Capital. There is a leadership
 gap and there is no more tragic evidence of this than what has taken place
 in the last few months on the campus of a great university

The principal issue before the people of California today is the issue which confronts this country and the entire world. It is the dominant question which overrides all other considerations. It is the issue of our age--and of the ages. The entire question can be summed up in one word: Freedom.

Here, in this country, 200 years ago, a revolution took place that established once and for all that freedom was man's God-given right, and that government existed only through the permission of the people. Government's sole function was to insure and guarantee man's permanent possession of the right to be free.

Today, we Americans bear an almost total responsibility for the entire world to preserve freedom. And I believe that the ultimate responsibility for carrying on the fight for freedom rests with the Republican Party.

This is the unique heritage which has come to those of us who call ourselves Republicans. The Bill of Rights is still a radical document to many, and it must be protected by those of us who treasure it and the freedoms it guarantees.

These freedoms have become so familiar to us that they are dog-eared from thumbing: The right to life and liberty, freedom of worship, freedom of assembly, freedom to speak out as I am doing in this space. Yet, when we stop and think how much we would miss any one of the freedoms guaranteed by our Constitution and Bill of Rights, then we realize anew how very precious they are, and we appreciate the importance of protecting those rights.

The very purpose of the Bill of Rights was to place these freedoms beyond the reach of majority rule. This was done by placing these rights in a very special category: Unalienable God-given rights. According to the American concept, these rights are not conferred by government, for if that were the case, government would also have the legitimate power to take away those rights.

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Basically, today's conservative is actually the radical of the revolutionary period. On the other hand, those who advocate the liberal philosophy could best be described--if they had lived during that period--as the Tories.

The revolutionists of that era were conservative in the Edmund Burke concept of Conservatism. They were revolutionists in their determination to revise the age-old status quo. They were radical in their devotion to the idea that rule should be only by the consent of the governed.

However, the Tories were content with the king; they supported rule of the many by the few. That's the equivalent of today's superstate--an all-powerful, centralized government.

The conservative today is characterized by advocating less control of the people by government, less centralization of authority. And the liberal of today supports the idea that all our problems can be solved by government, preferably the Federal government.

I think the danger lies in the so-called liberal's willingness to sacrifice individual freedom because of a feeling that the material needs of the people are more important and thus the end justifies the means.

Liberalism as we know it today, carried to its logical extreme, would pass successively through the planning and controls of the Great Society to a modified Marxism as we find it in the Scandinavian countries and in England, to the totalitarianism of the Soviet Union.

Since the conservative believes in individual freedom and the limited power of government, conservatism, carried to its logical extreme, would become increasingly laissez-faire until ultimately no law and order would exist and we would have anarchy.

Somewhere between these two extremes of left and right, there is the

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ideal: The ultimate in individual freedom consistent with law and order.

Let me make it plain. I believe that the government has a legitimate place in our lives. The government must provide a framework for our daily competition with each other to make sure that in our individual pursuit of happiness, we do not trample on the rights of others.

And it would be extremism to deny our responsibility as a nation for the less fortunate among us. But government must never become a substitute for the people. Only the people have the capacity to manage their own affairs.

I strongly support welfare programs designed to provide the permanently disabled, the aged and the infirm with, not only the necessities of life, but also some of the comforts which can make life worth living.

Another area of welfare has to do with those who are in need of temporary help until they can regain their rightful places in our productive economy. It is here that we have, too often, strayed from welfare's original purpose. We frequently perpetuate poverty by making welfare a way of life rather than by using it to help people back to productive jobs.

As Governor, I will propose a commission to redefine welfare's goals and recommend appropriate legislation.

I will explore every avenue whereby, through state, business, and labor cooperation, the business climate can be improved and thousands of new jobs provided.

I will seek to provide useful employment in our public institutions, or training, for as many welfare recipients as possible in order to give them the self-respect which comes from useful service and to hasten the day when they can take their rightful places in California's productive economy.

There are no shortcuts to achieving equal opportunity for all our citizens.

One way is to remove the restrictions that place a ceiling over some of our citizens. The other way is to extend that ceiling so that all people are equally restricted and restrained.

The first way is morally right and it is consistent with the American dream. The second way is the Marxian concept which was described by Winston Churchill as the philosophy of failure. It operates according to the gospel of envy. Its greatest virtue is the sharing of misery.

I believe that many Americans who are Negro have been led astray by the leadership of the other political parties. Those who have been misled find that they have been consigned to a political ghetto. They are treated contemptuously as a bloc vote.

The Republican Party has done the most to advance the cause of the individual, and that includes, of course, the individual Negro. The Republican Party offers redress of grievances and equality of opportunity neither because of, nor in spite of, race or religion or any other difference between us, but because all Americans are entitled to nothing less.

Sometimes I wonder if we ever pause to contemplate the strange paradox that this nation, founded on individual freedom, should depart from this principle to establish a system of compulsory education. This is a strange dichotomy, but I think the explanation rests with the fact that we can remain a free people only if we are a literate people.

Education is the bulwark of freedom, but if it is removed too far from parental influence, it can become the tool of tyranny. Local control of education is basic to the traditions of America. Only with local control can Americans be assured that their children will receive the finest educa-

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tion possible with safeguards against ideological or political indoctrination.

Our time-tested system of local control over our school systems is threatened by an increasingly powerful Federal government which has dried up the sources of local and state taxation. Financial support of education at the local level has become difficult. So, the Federal government steps in and offers to solve the problem it created in the first place!

With the offer of Federal grants and aids has come concern among educators and administrators that Federal control will go hand in hand with Federal aid.

As an example, a memorandum was uncovered about a year ago in the office of Community Relations Service. There is a sentence in that memorandum which is very disturbing. It says we should conduct a systematic effort to contact all publishers and school boards to encourage their publication and adoption of text books conforming to established standards.

Congress recently uncovered a book which is being circulated by the Department of Health, Education & Welfare. The book outlines a plan for a national education agency.

As Governor, I will introduce legislation to put unification of local school districts on a voluntary--not compulsory--basis.

I will do all in my power to decentralize the State University system and State Colleges to make them responsive to the needs of the local communities they serve.

I will explore every innovation in education that could lead to giving the taxpayers more for their educational dollar.

I firmly believe that with such a program and plan of action, we can

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work towards the creative educational system that Californians need and deserve.

The crime problem in this state presents a distressing picture. With nine percent of the nation's population, California accounts for 17% of the nation's crime.

Our skyrocketing crime rate dates from certain judicial rulings that took much of the law enforcement authority away from local police and left them handicapped in their efforts to protect the law-abiding citizen from the increasingly insolent criminal element.

As Governor, I will take positive action to restore to the cities and counties their rights to enact local ordinances designed to meet local law enforcement problems.

I will call on the legislature to re-enact those key crime prevention bills passed overwhelmingly by the legislature at its last session but vetoed by the Governor. When re-enacted, I will sign these measures into law.

I will ask legislative support in an effort to end the growing flood of snuff and pornography aimed primarily at degrading our young people.

I will sponsor legislation aimed at curbing the growing use of narcotics, hallucinatory drugs and pep pills, especially in schools and on campuses.

It will be my purpose, as Governor of California, to see to it that California's streets and neighborhoods become safe again.

I think from years back we've been plagued by the prostitution of our judicial process by the political appointment of judges. There is a plan at work in the state of Missouri which I think bears close watching. Something similar is needed in California--a plan under which a committee of lawyers

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from the bar association and a committee of laymen come up with a panel of qualified legal minds from which the Governor must make his appointments to the bench. We need to take the political partisanship out of the appointment of judges once and for all.

As Governor, I will support and work for a plan to take the appointment of judges out of politics.

California's pro rata share of state and local government today costs each individual \$100 more than the national average. We have just been presented with a budget of four billion, six million dollars.

You and I have a right to expect that as the budget gets this high--the highest in the nation--it would represent sophisticated and impeccable computing and accounting. But this budget has been characterized by incompetence and sloppiness, and I submit that this is typical of something inherent in government as it begins to grow beyond the consent of the governed.

As an example, there is a two million dollar typographical error in the budget--and it's not in our favor, it's in their favor. You can rest assured that they will find a use for that two million dollar typographical error, because government does not tax to get the money they need--they always find a need for the money they get.

Just think, governmental function has become so amplified that a government typist's little slip can cost the taxpayers \$2,000,000!

This example underscores the fallacy of a 19th Century concept which holds that there is some intellectual elite that should run the people's affairs and make their decisions for them.

I suggest that we move into the 20th Century with a Creative Society,

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mobilizing the full resources of the people. This country has been fighting the most successful war on poverty the world has ever seen. I think we have the energy and the ability on the part of the people to solve every problem that confronts us.

I envision a state government mobilizing these energies of the people, turning to the people in the various walks of life where problems exist and helping them organize their own solutions to those problems.

The founding fathers of this country were not professional politicians. They were citizen politicians, earnestly concerned with the tremendous problems our brave new country faced, and wholeheartedly dedicated to the task of finding solutions to those problems.

Today, as our great state--number one in the nation--faces the complex problems of this age, I hope to continue, as a citizen politician, in the tradition of the founding fathers.

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