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1964

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A TIME FOR CHOOSING

An Address By

RONALD REAGAN

James Madison, one of our founding fathers, said, "We base all our experiments on the capacity of man for self-government." The practice of self-government entails free discussion between men of good will in an effort to solve differences of opinion.

Today it seems impossible to debate legitimately the means of solving our problems. There is a growing tendency to substitute name-calling. On the one hand, a small group of people see treason in any philosophical difference of opinion and apply the terms "pink" and "leftist" to those who are motivated only by humanitarian idealism in their support of the liberal welfare philosophy. On the other hand, an even greater number of people today, advocates of this liberal philosophy, lump all who oppose their viewpoint under the banner of right-wing lunacy, charging that these right-wing lunatics or extremists pose the only internal threat to our national security. One has to wonder how long we can afford the luxury of this family fight while we are at war with the most dangerous enemy mankind has ever known.

Savings and loan associations deal with investment risks, evaluating past records, future potential, company policy, management balance sheets. Well, I think it is high time that we all do some unemotional evaluating of our most important holding, including a check on the future plans and policies of its management.

Not long ago, two friends of mine were talking to a Cuban businessman who had escaped from Castro. He was telling pretty horrible tales of his experiences. One of my friends turned to the other and said, "We don't realize how lucky we are." The Cuban exclaimed, "How lucky you are! I had some place to escape to." It is just as simple as that.

If this way of life of ours is lost, where in the world do men who desire freedom find an escape? I think it is time to ask ourselves if we still know the freedoms intended for us by the creators of the only true revolution that has ever taken place in man's history. Here in this country our revolution was the only one that did not merely exchange one set of rulers for another set of rulers. We lighted a torch 200 years ago that said to the downtrodden of all the world,

not that we had decided on a more benevolent ruler, but rather that for the first time man had decided his rights were God-given, the people were sovereign and government could do only those things permitted by the people.

By unleashing the individual genius of every man, a mere 6% of the world's population occupying only 7% of the world's land surface has created and owns 50% of the world's wealth. We have distributed that wealth more widely among our people than has ever been done in any society heretofore created by man. We have proved man's capacity for self-government. Yet today, under the unrelenting pressure of the cold war, we have adopted contrary measures in the apparent belief that our proven system is unable to meet the challenge of the cold war.

THE LIBERAL PHILOSOPHY: PLANNED ECONOMY

A White House adviser, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., sees the cold war disappearing "through a peaceful transition into a not undemocratic socialism." Another government adviser, Ted Sorenson, in his book Decisions in the White House, says that public opinion is often erratic, inconsistent, arbitrary and unreasonable; that it is frequently hampered by myths and misinformation, by stereotypes and by innate resistance to innovations. For these reasons, he says, "the President must not be bound by public opinion; he must not only reign in Washington but he also must rule."

Howard K. Smith of television tells us that "the distribution of goods must be effected by a planned economy; that the profit motive must be replaced by the incentives of the liberal welfare state." Today there are millions and millions of people in our land who cannot see a fat man standing beside a thin one without automatically coming to the conclusion that the fat man got that way by taking advantage of the thin one. They seek an answer to all the problems of human need through government.

One of the articulate voices of the liberal philosophy, Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, defines liberalism as "the program of meeting the material needs of the masses through utilizing the full power of centralized government." It is disturbing when a representative of the people uses what heretofore has been a foreign term and describes you and me as "the masses." But, more important, the "power of centralized government" was the very thing the founding fathers sought to minimize. They knew that the government cannot control things.

The government cannot control the economy without controlling people. Plutarch warned that "the real destroyer of the liberties of the people is he who spreads among them bounties, donations and benefits."

Mankind has known only a few moments of freedom in all the long climb from the swamp to the stars, and most of those moments have been ours. Strangely enough, all of them have been under a system of private ownership and capitalism. But freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction. The late Judge Learned Hand said, "Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no court, no law can save it."

I think we have come to a time for choosing. Two contrary philosophies divide us in this land of ours. Either we believe in our traditional system of individual liberty, or we abandon the American Revolution and confess that an intellectual elite in a far distant capital can plan our lives for us better than we can plan them ourselves.

In our adult lifetime we have seen the government lay its hand on health, housing, farming, industry, commerce, education and communications. In so doing, regardless of good intentions, it has created a permanent structure of government which has become so big and so complex that it virtually entraps the President and the Congress, regardless of which party is elected to power.

There are today $2\frac{1}{2}$ million federal employees, and the present budget calls for an increase of 40,000 this year. In 1942 there was one top-salaried government executive for every 89 employees; by 1961 there was one for every 17. Federal, state and local governments employ one out of every six people earning a living in this country; five of us are paying the full salary of a sixth employee. If the present rate of increase continues, in six short years one-fourth of the total work force of the nation will be employed by the government.

Today 48 million Americans receive some form of direct cash payment from government; 38 million of them receive it from the federal government.

Secretary of Commerce Hodges recently said, "The sad thing about government is that you really don't know what is going on most of the time." He probably said it right after he announced that he could run his department with 10% fewer employees and then discovered that in one month 1,600 new ones had been hired.

Probably no one in government knows exactly what everyone does do, but one congressman found an indication. He uncovered a man whose job in Washington is to sit and scan documents that come over his desk. He reads them, initials them and sends them on to the proper agency. One day a document came his way that he was not supposed to read. Nevertheless he read it, initialed it and passed it on. Twenty-four hours later it came back to his desk with a memo: "You were not supposed to read this. Erase your initials and initial the erasure."

GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS SELF-PERPETUATING

Government programs take on a weight and momentum of their own. Federal welfare spending today is ten times greater than it was in the dark depths of the depression, when there was so much real need. Federal welfare spending in the last ten years has multiplied eight times as fast as the increase in population. In my home region of Los Angeles County, 44% of the total budget is for welfare. This is more than all the money collected from real estate taxes in our county.

All of us probably are familiar with the practice of government agencies in hurrying to spend all their money before the end of the fiscal year so they can go to Congress with clean hands and empty pockets. But is it not going a little overboard for one of the United States travel agencies to spend 87% of its budget in the last two days of the fiscal year?

There is a seeming indestructibility to government agencies. A government bureau is the nearest thing to eternal life that we shall ever see on this earth.

The Farm Home Mortgage Bureau was created in the depths of the depression. Today it is bigger than ever. It is not lending money as it was originally set up to do, that is, to enable tenant farmers to own their own cabins. It is now in the business of lending money for recreational agencies, golf courses and--you name it.

The REA, or Rural Electrification Administration, was created in 1936 to aid in bringing electricity to rural homes. It did just that, and today more than 98% of the farm homes in the country have electric power. In 1936 the sponsors of this legislation declared it was not their intent to let government-subsidized, tax-exempt utility groups compete with private industry, but today the REA is bigger than ever, with a budget of nearly half a billion dollars a year. Four out of

five of all its new customers are nonfarm users. It borrows money from the Treasury at 2% for such nonfarm uses as a ski lift, complete with artificial snow machinery, in northern Illinois; and that money must be borrowed by the Treasury at 4 to 4½%.

The Tennessee Valley Authority was started as a flood control project. Periodically the Tennessee Valley had been ravaged by flood. The TVA cured that; it flooded the whole area permanently. Then it was suggested that with the electricity generated by the waters impounded behind the dams, the TVA go into the power business. But today three-fourths of all the electricity produced by the TVA is generated in steam plants.

Some people say government spending is necessary to stimulate the economy. There has been no greater spending anywhere in the country than in the Tennessee Valley, yet the Labor Department today officially lists over 50% of the 169 counties in that region as permanent areas of poverty, distress and unemployment.

This brings us to the most serious threat to freedom: the extent to which policy is determined by these permanent bureaus rather than by those we elect to office with our ballots. Last year, while Congress was debating whether to lend the United Nations \$100 million to bail it out of its financial difficulties, the State Department, without asking anyone's permission, handed the UN \$217 million, part of which was used to pay the delinquent dues of Castro's Cuba.

Last year Congress passed a law prohibiting our foreign aid bureaus and agencies from giving aid to any nation selling oil to Cuba. Yet, in the first six months of this year, four nations selling oil to Cuba have received \$145 million.

Since 1933 the Congress of the United States has passed laws that fill eleven thick volumes. In that same period the bureaus of government have adopted regulations effecting us that fill 39 such thick volumes, and many of these regulations are "final and not subject to review by any court."

You and I have lost the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution, our protection against search and seizure. Today federal agents, if they suspect a citizen of violating a regulation, can invade his property without a warrant; can levy a fine without a formal hearing, let alone a trial by jury; and can seize and sell his property at auction to enforce payment of that fine.

HOW WELL DOES THE FARM PROGRAM WORK?

The Farm Program is a classic example of how government must resort to force and coercion when it attempts to control the economy. If we were surprised when the wheat farmers last spring voted against Santa Claus, we might be interested in the case of one wheat farmer. Ten years ago he was operating independently, without help from the government, and he was getting \$2.05 a bushel for his wheat and paying 20¢ a loaf for bread. With the government helping him for ten years, he is now getting \$1.89 a bushel for his wheat and bread costs 36¢ a loaf.

The government has been so zealous to preserve the family farmer that it has declared Louisiana State Penitentiary a family farmer and sends it \$45,000 each year. But after thirty years of helping, there are only half as many family farmers in America as there were thirty years ago. One-fourth of farming has seen a reduction in the per capita consumption of everything it raises. That one-fourth of farming is regulated and subsidized by the federal government.

Three-fourths of farming in the free market governed only by the laws of supply and demand have seen a 21% increase in the per capita consumption of everything it raises.

There is today in the Department of Agriculture one employee for every sixty farmers. Yet with all that help it does not know what happened to sixty-six full shiploads of grain that disappeared without a trace while en route to Austria.

The federal grain program today is prorated at \$43 for every dollar bushel of corn that is not raised. We authorize hundreds of millions of dollars for new irrigation projects to reclaim desert and wastelands and put them into fruitful farm production, but we are paying \$300 million a year to take fruitful farmland out of production.

EVILS OF URBAN RENEWAL AND PUBLIC HOUSING

Meanwhile, back in the cities, we adopt programs of urban renewal. Granted the desirability of refurbishing rundown areas in our cities so they can once again be a source of tax revenue, we have so diluted private property rights under urban renewal that "public use" is anything a few government planners decide it should be. It is this ability to force the sale of private property, more than federal money, that is the real attraction of urban renewal.

At the same time, the opportunities for unscrupulous conduct are many. In one key city in the United States a man owning a run-down section in the heart of the city sold it to urban renewal for several million dollars and then submitted his own plan for renewal. His plan was approved and the government sold him back his own land for 22% of the purchase price.

Officials of federal housing, disturbed as they realize belatedly that all who cried "doom" were not crying falsely, discovered that a whole generation growing up, getting married and raising children is taking for granted as a way of life the living on a subsidy contributed by their neighbors. But they do not suggest going out of business. No, they have a new approach. They are now discussing in Washington taking advantage of the condemnation features of urban renewal, buying homes in scattered neighborhoods and putting tenants from public housing into these individual homes in the hope that a sort of good neighborliness osmosis will occur that will enable them to take their place among the productive people of the community.

In New York City the maximum income for living in public housing is \$7,500 per year. I do not have to tell you that is pretty well above the national average right now. A man is suing the public housing authority for the right to continue living in public housing even though in his new job he and his wife have a combined income of \$14,000 a year. The basis for the suit is his new job. He has been elected to the New York State Assembly, and he says, "How do I know I will get re-elected in the next election?"

CONDEMNS METHODS, NOT HUMANITARIAN GOALS

Government programs usually start with humanitarian goals and in answer to some great emergency. To question the extent of the crisis or the suggested cure is to be charged with being opposed to the noble motive. This is a dishonest evasion of legitimate debate. It is possible to fulfill our responsibilities to a needy neighbor, to be our brother's keeper, without totally replacing human compassion with the coercion of taxation.

Could any of us be charged with being opposed to the noble purpose of the Peace Corps? Since the inception of this country we have, through our various religions, contributed voluntarily to send missionaries to every corner of the world, so of course we are not opposed

to the noble purpose. One religious order today can send and keep a volunteer overseas for one year for \$900. What we object to is that the Peace Corps prorates at \$9,000 for each volunteer per year.

Because we have a problem with school dropouts and juvenile delinquents, it has been suggested that we adopt or revive something like the CCC to help these youngsters. The program that is proposed prorates to \$7,000 a year for each young person to be helped. You can send a boy to Harvard for \$3,000 a year! Do not get me wrong-- I am not suggesting Harvard as the answer to juvenile delinquency.

DILEMMA OF THE SENIOR CITIZEN

Right now the crisis we are hearing about has to do with the health of our senior citizens, and we are told that a compulsory government program of medical insurance will resolve it. Ignored is the revolutionary increase in private health insurance in the last ten years, which has matched the growth of the savings and loan business. Today, 141 million Americans, 76% of our population, have some kind of private medical or health insurance, and the coverage is increasing at the rate of four million a year. Yet we are told that the private sector of the economy cannot solve the problem.

Nine percent of the people in this country are over age 65. They cannot be entirely destitute, because that 9% is collecting 8% of all the personal revenue in the United States. As nearly as we can determine, about 10% of our senior citizens require outside help for medical needs. Legislation enacted in the Kerr-Mills Bill provides federal funds for state administration for this needy 10%. One state has found an excellent solution, using the funds to buy Blue Cross insurance policies for its needy senior citizens--paying in part or in full, depending on individual need.

In the state of California the private insurance companies have obtained permission to pool their resources and their risks and to provide low-cost policies which will cover an additional number of our senior citizens and for which no medical examination is required. However, when the insurance companies of New Jersey asked their state legislature for the same right, they were turned down. In turning them down, the governor said that if this legislation were passed it would be more difficult for the federal government to get its program of compulsory health insurance.

It would seem that government for government's sake is wanted. No responsible person would suggest that a senior citizen should suffer destitution because of unemployment by reason of old age, but should the responsible citizen not be able to question the soundness of Social Security as a solution to the problem without reaping a whirlwind?

SOCIAL SECURITY: INSURANCE PROGRAM OR TAX?

The Social Security agency has told us in more than 100 million pieces of literature since 1939 that this is an insurance program, that each one of us and our employers pay into the fund and thus in our nonearning years we call upon our own money to see us through. Is it not strange, then, that the Social Security authorities appeared before the Supreme Court and denied that it is an insurance program? They used the term only to sell it to the people. They said that Social Security dues are a tax for the general use of the government, and the government has used that tax money.

The Social Security fund is some \$20 billion worth of government bonds. Now, you know better than anyone else that if you and I hold a government bond it is an I.O.U. and an asset, but how in heaven's name does the government give itself an I.O.U. and consider it an asset? The money has been spent. The plain truth is that Social Security today is, by its own admission, \$298 billion in the red. And who pays for this? Just take a look at your son.

A young man going to work today, earning an average salary in his early '20's, will find that he and his employer are now paying to Social Security \$1.69 for every dollar the government promises to give him back. He can go into the open market today with the same amount of money and buy a retirement insurance program that will guarantee him \$220 a month at age 65. The government promises him \$127.

Are we suggesting that we suddenly deny a generation of senior citizens an income? No.. But is it beyond reason that we should look at this program and see where it can be put on a voluntary basis; where people who can buy a better deal from private industry should be allowed to do so; and where those of us who can take care of our brothers in need when the time comes, should ask them to participate in the program in the meantime and contribute toward their own welfare?

FOREIGN AID: COST VS. ACCOMPLISHMENT

Earlier I mentioned foreign aid. All of us agree, on humanitarian grounds if upon no other, that, blessed as we are with material means, we should help our needy neighbors. But I do not believe that Christian charity or charity of the God of Moses demands that we go into debt to see that a needy neighbor has an egg in his beer.

Since the end of World War II, the original 19 countries that we set out to help have become 107. And to those foreign countries and to international agencies we have handed over \$148 billion. We hear howls of protest when Congress suggests cutting the present foreign aid appropriation by half a billion dollars at the same time Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia reveals that foreign aid today has \$21 billion of unexpended funds from previous appropriations.

The Prime Minister of Liberia told Dr. Howard Kirschner recently that his country has no deficits, balances its budget every year, has a modest tax rate, has increased its gold earnings as much as \$170 million each year and has no inflation. To which Dr. Kirschner replied, "Mr. Prime Minister, my country has not balanced its budget in 26 of the past 32 years. We have a public debt that is greater than the combined debt of all the other nations of the world. We have galloping inflation, and we have lost gold to the extent that the solvency of our currency is in danger. Do you think we should continue to give your government millions of dollars every year?" The Prime Minister smiled and said, "No, but if you are foolish enough to do it, we are going to keep on taking the money."

So will Nasser keep on taking it, for Egypt is purchasing \$100 million worth of arms annually from Russia. Half of Brazil's total budget is made up of our money, and recently we appropriated half a million dollars for research and study in Brazil to find out whether that country can use additional funds. Does it surprise you to find out how much it costs to determine where we can spend money? We sent foreign aid to Bolivia, and with our money it nationalized private industry, confiscated the tin mines, doubled the number of employees, cut production in half. And the cost of living went up 250% in a single year.

THE DAY OF RECKONING: HOW SOON?

Representative Weston of Washington asked an official of the Federal Reserve System how long we can postpone the day of reckoning by reserves. The answer was, "We are getting close to the end of the

line right now." As of October 12, the United States gold at Fort Knox totaled \$15½ billion. Foreign claims against that gold are \$27.3 billion, so we are \$12 billion in the hole with respect to our gold. Yet we are attempting to finance the world.

One-fifth of our total industrial capacity is fully controlled, planned or owned by government. One-fourth of all the construction in this nation is done by government. One-third of all the mortgages in this country are financed or guaranteed by agencies of the federal government. The interest on our national debt takes the entire personal income tax paid by 41 million Americans reporting earnings up to \$6,000 a year, but our real debt in legislation already enacted into law is in excess of \$1½ trillion! This is greater than the assessed valuation of all the real estate and tangible property in the United States. The last fiscal year closed with a \$6 billion deficit, but we are not to worry; a \$10 billion deficit is planned for this year.

We have a budget of \$99 billion, we are told. But when you read the 1,600 pages of our fiscal budget you find, concealed in the fine print, some bookkeeping practices which I am sure you would all decry. You find public enterprise funds listed in the budget at \$3½ billion; but if you read carefully, you discover that \$23½ billion is to be used in back-door spending. Yet we are told we wallow in luxury in the private sector of the economy while the public sector is starved for funds.

The problem is not that liberals are ignorant; it is that they know so much that is not so. History tells us that as a country approaches a tax burden of 20%, evasion begins and breaks down respect for law and order. Economists claim that our country is so solid it can afford a rate of 25%, but no nation in history has ever survived a tax burden that reached a third of its national income. Today, 35¢ out of every dollar earned in this country is the tax collector's share; 24¢ goes to the federal government, leaving 11¢ to be divided among the county, the local community and the state.

Is it any wonder that, whatever we need, we turn to the federal government for grants-in-aid? One Congressman described federal aid as the case of a man giving himself a transfusion in the right arm by taking blood from the left and spilling half of it on the way across.

WARNING FROM THE PAST: PRESERVE THE CONSTITUTION

Professor Alexander Fraser Tytler wrote that "a democracy cannot exist as a permanent form of government. It can exist only until the voters discover they can vote themselves largesse out of the public treasury. From that moment on, the majority always votes for the candidate promising the most benefits, with the result that democracy collapses over a loose fiscal policy, always to be followed by a dictatorship." This is not a theoretical speculation on our future; it is a warning from our past, for it was written while we were a colony of Great Britain. The professor was explaining what had destroyed the Republic of Athens more than 2,000 years before. We cannot pass resolutions on economy and then send committees to Washington to get federal spending for our home town.

Tytler's warning reminds us that democracy is mob rule unless we have some ground rules protecting the rights of the individuals and putting them beyond the vote of the majority. You and I have such ground rules providing for the most equitable and limited government ever known to man--the Constitution.

Of course, this stamps me as a Neanderthal man; the Constitution has been ruled obsolete by our intellectual elite. Senator Fulbright, speaking at Stanford University, said that the President is hobbled in his actions by the restrictions of power imposed on him by an antiquated document, a constitutional system designed for an 18th century agrarian society. One man says that to talk of the Constitution today is to talk of taking the country back to the days of McKinley. I think that is not a bad idea, for under McKinley we freed Cuba.

Daniel Webster said, "Hold on, my friends, to the Constitution of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands. Miracles do not happen. What has happened once in six thousand years may never happen again. Hold on to your Constitution, for if the Constitution shall fall, there will be anarchy throughout the world.

It has been said that if we lose this way of life of ours, history will report that those who had the most to lose did the least to prevent its happening. And we can do something about it. There are, perhaps, some among us today who are concerned about taking a stand. They fear reprisal--retaliation from customers or clients or even government agencies. But we can no longer afford to sit on the sidelines; to practice such aloofness today is to go on feeding the crocodile, hoping he will eat you last. But eat you he will. Once you

make the decision that this is your battle, you will find a million things you can do.

A businessman in Virginia, concerned because his 200 employees paid no heed to the increasing cost of government, decided to make all deductions from their pay-checks on the fourth payday of each month. On three paydays they received their full salary; on the fourth payday the entire deduction came out. It took only about two months to make conservatives out of those 200 employees! The Internal Revenue Service is trying to force this man to give up his practice, but what he is doing is perfectly legal. Besides, it saves him \$3,500 a year in bookkeeping costs.

The percentage of money that government is taking from the private sector of the economy must be reduced. Unfortunately, the promised tax legislation of today begs the question. Tax reform is still directed by those who see taxation as a social reform. Through it they can get restrictions on the people that the people would not knowingly vote upon themselves if presented in their true light. They talk of this tax legislation stimulating the economy. They could do a great deal toward stimulating the economy if they just released the average businessman from some of the manhours he has to spend filling out government forms and acting as the government's tax collector. It costs the American Association of Railroads \$5 million a year just to make out ICC forms and papers.

GRADUATED TAX NOT A PROPORTIONATE TAX

Let us have the courage in tax reform to look squarely, once and for all, at the myth that our graduated income tax has any resemblance to proportionate taxation. The entire structure was created by Karl Marx. It has no justification in getting the government needed revenue. It simply is a penalty on the individual who can improve his own lot; it takes his earnings from him and redistributes them to people who are incapable of earning as much as he can.

Let me give you an example of what progressive taxation has done to the American dream in just 30 years. That dream, of course, is that wealth is denied to no one in this land--that any American can go around the corner and find the pot of gold. Thirty years ago Babe Ruth hit 60 home runs a season, and the Yankees rewarded him with the biggest salary ever paid in baseball, \$80,000 a year. Thirty years go by, and Roger Maris hits 60 home runs in a season. But in 30 years

there have been some changes in the value of the dollar and some greater changes in the income tax laws. To match the take-home purchasing power Babe Ruth got from his \$80,000, Maris would have had to be paid \$960,000 for the season.

WHAT HAVE WE DONE TO FREEDOM?

It is time we questioned what we have done to freedom. Federal agencies hold what amounts to life-and-death power over businesses, even those not legally subject to regulation. They can exert this power through the various bureaus, through the control of hundreds of billions of dollars of spending, through the use of the tax power as a policing power. In addition to a reduction in taxes, we must demand that any tax reform be simplified so that the citizen of modest means need not employ legal assistance to find out how much he owes his government.

At the same time we must demand an end to deficit spending and provision for payments on the national debt. It does not take much arithmetic to figure out that there is a basic dishonesty in a government that talks about an \$11 billion tax cut over a two-year period and at the same time knowingly, openly and admittedly pursues an inflationary policy as an aid to prosperity that will in the same two-year period reduce the purchasing power of the people by \$27 billion.

Finally, in this election year--regardless of the party of our choice, because this transcends party lines--we must pin down those who solicit our votes as to where they stand with regard to fiscal responsibility, individual freedom and limited government. We cannot stop the advance of socialism by electing to office men who just happen to be taking a little longer in arriving at socialist goals. Socialist goals can be achieved without the overt seizure and nationalization of private property. It matters little that you hold title to your business, if government can dictate policies and procedure in that business.

'PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE': DANGEROUS FOLLY

This all relates to the world struggle, because there can be no security anyplace in the free world if there is not fiscal and economic stability within the United States. We are told that if we avoid a direct confrontation with the enemy and pursue a policy of accommodation, the enemy will discover that his system is based on a false premise and he will move to the right, adopting more of our democracy

and freedom. If this is true, and certainly it is possible, then does it not make more sense to let his system come unglued than to bail him out every time he gets sand in his gears and is threatened with a breakdown? Or are we trying to prove that Lenin was right when he said, "When we get ready to hang the capitalists, they will stupidly vie with each other to sell us the rope."

At the same time we are told that the enemy will moderate, that we must move to the left into a government-planned and controlled economy and that as we accept a "not undemocratic socialism" the enemy will lose his fear and distrust. Every morning we are treated to bulletins reporting on Khrushchev's smile as an indication of our safety from the threat of the bomb. To those who say Mr. Khrushchev promises peace, co-existence and friendship, the answer was given 2,000 years ago by Demosthenes, standing in the Athenian market place, "What sane man would let another man's words rather than his deeds tell him who is at peace and who is at war with him?" Is it too much for us to ask just one deed as evidence that the enemy is moderating?

Are we warmongers if we suggest that the Poles and Czechs and the Hungarians and all those others enslaved behind the iron curtain in direct violation of signed treaties ought to have a free election? Are we warmongers if we suggest that any meeting with Khrushchev regarding the Berlin crisis should take place after "the Wall" comes down? One thing our well-meaning liberal friends refuse to face is that their whole reasonable, civilized, "let's talk this over" solution to the threat of the bombs is appeasement. Appeasement does not give us a choice between peace and war, but only between fight and surrender.

We do not want to send other people's sons to war. We have sons of our own. It is precisely because we do want peace that we heed all the lessons of history regarding the dangerous folly on the evil road of expediency. Of course there is a risk in taking a firm stand. There is no way to live without a certain amount of risk, but at least let us take the risk standing up for those things we believe to be morally right and sound.

'BETTER TO PERISH THAN LIVE AS SLAVES'

Winston Churchill summed it up when he said to his own people: "If you will not fight for the right when you can, without bloodshed; if you will not fight when your victory will be sure and not too costly; you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival. There may

be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no chance of victory because it's better to perish than to live as slaves."

You and I are face to face with our destiny. We must stand firm, or we shall trail in the dust the golden hopes of mankind for generations to come. I believe that freedom has never been so fragile, so near to slipping from our grasp, as it is at this moment, and this did not come about through an outside aggressor. It came about through our own sincere efforts to solve problems of misery and human need through exchanging freedom for security.

If we do not accept the challenge, our children may well be the generation that takes the first step into another thousand years of darkness. Lincoln's words of 100 years ago are so appropriate they could well be spoken today: "The fiery trial through which we pass will light us to the latest generation. We here hold the power and the responsibility; we shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of man on earth."

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"Our nation is founded on
a concern for the individual
and his right to fulfillment,
and this should be the
preoccupation of our schools
and colleges."

Ronald Reagan

Fellow Californians:

Alfred North Whitehead once wrote, "In the conditions of modern life, the rule is absolute: The race which does not value trained intelligence is doomed."

We Californians put an enormous amount of energy and resources into our educational system; we spend more of our tax dollar on it than on any other public activity; we are justifiably proud of its heritage and its promise.

Yet, despite our efforts, and despite our pride, we can have reasonable doubts concerning its effectiveness, its equity and its viability in some areas. Learning is a living experience yet in too many areas there seems to be a widening gap between learning and education. Should we not boldly investigate possible changes in some of the basic structures of our system? For example, should more of our resources and energies go into the earlier grades? Can basic subjects be more effectively taught? Will the basics of today be meaningful basics tomorrow? Schools in the urban areas—can their needs be more effectively met; is there a better way; are there new concepts that might prove better? What are the real causes, and the cure, for rebellion on some of our campuses? What can we do to revamp, equitably and realistically, the system employed to finance our total public education program?

This paper addresses itself to this range of questions, and more. It attempts some answers; it makes some suggestions. It seeks to stimulate. Most of all, it calls for recognition that new techniques, new times, new challenges call for a great commitment to excellence if education is to help create tomorrow.

Reagan

Governor



We are concerned with the future. This series of creative studies is directed to the question "what kind of a California do we want in the future?"

There is today that small and noisy clique, usually clustered around the campus, which tags itself the wave of the future. While chanting songs to freedom, they violate it; while raising banners to truth, they smash the very ethos of academia. These are not the harbingers

of tomorrow, they are throw-backs to a darker age, a dismal time of Hitlerian holocausts, savagery and inquisitions.

The future will not be built by those who destroy; it will be built by those who have not only the courage to dream big dreams but also the tenacity to perform big deeds. Much of the greatness of tomorrow will come from our schools—from those splendid young men and women who are now applying themselves to the lessons and the love of life. What is tomorrow for most of us will be "now" for them—and learning is their launching pad into a new age where the spirit of man can soar higher than the rockets.

To help these young people—and to build and preserve society—it is vital that we create and maintain the very finest of educational systems. A system which is responsive to the times and relevant to the times to come. A system which takes advantage of the great innovations of society—thus to provide a learning which is meaningful, which makes every taxpayer's dollar count for progress. The Reagan administration's posture on education is based on these fundamental convictions:

—A free society, to remain free, must provide quality education appropriate to the capabilities and motivations of its citizens. In a democracy it is decreed that free men shall judge. Men may be born free, they are not born wise. Education in our society should help free men judge well.

—Our public educational institutions have been established, and are financed, by the people. They are vehicles for the expression of cultural values and goals of the people. The members of the various education Boards are all agents of the people, and the school administrators are employees of the people; through these instruments the people have not only a voice but also accountability and recourse.

—Quality education requires the dedicated services of well-prepared teachers whose primary interest and motivation are the education of students. The teaching profession should continue to be one of our most respected professions. The rewards for service must be commensurate with the importance of the responsibilities involved. Tenure has become one of the rewards. However, if the teaching profession chooses to use the strike as a method of gaining benefits for itself, something must give way and immediately so.

—This is an inappropriate time to entertain seriously argument against the traditional philosophy of *in loco parentis*. The institution as a transmitter of our culture must stand in relation to the young as the responsible parent. At the same time the parent (or guardian) in fact must also be held accountable for the actions of the student. Sanity, order and good taste must return to our campuses.

—There are those who press for standardization, but our value is for diversity in education—content, methods and objectives. We are committed to vocational and technical programs in education in the same strength to which we are committed to programs leading to academic attainments and the communication of culture. Training which will lead to satisfying work careers is not second class. Considering the dilemma of the unemployed and the unemployable, it is first class indeed.

—In California, higher education functions within a tripartite system: junior college, state colleges and the University. Each has a special charge: the junior (or community) college—vocational and technical education including the first two years toward a full col

lege degree; the state college—a four-year college education with some limited programs for first year graduate work; and the University—undergraduate work but importantly advanced study leading to the Ph.D. The University also carries responsibility for the greatest share of research and scholarly activity for society, and it is from the University that most of our future University teachers will come. These three segments of higher education in our State must remain separate and each carry out its role. They must remain separate because each has its own job to fulfill; and because it would be financially impossible for the citizens to support facilities for research and graduate work on 98 additional campuses.

— Society must insure, within the free enterprise system, that no individual is deprived of higher education because of economic circumstances or prejudice. This is the basis of Governor Reagan's Equal Education Plan—to insure that every qualified student has the opportunity for a higher education.

— It is essential to our total education system that private schools survive along with our public institutions. Private institutions serve as pace setters, enrich the range of possible education experience, tend to hone the cutting edge of educational excellence, make possible wider educational opportunity, and can call upon financial support often unavailable to public institutions.

— To the extent possible, the control of institutions should be at the local level so that the people can effectively participate. In decisions affecting schools, programs or finances, other things being equal, the citizens most immediately involved should bear the greatest responsibility for involvement and decision.

On the following pages, we discuss some of the important areas of education confronting us today; things which must be attended to if we are to create the better tomorrow.

All are important, and through them all runs the golden thread: life is dynamic—to be fulfilled, one must grow. It is the function of education to help each individual grow to the maximum extent of his capabilities, to help him fulfill his great personal potential: This is the proper preoccupation of our schools... and, this is the educational preoccupation of the Reagan administration.

We must reassert priorities and revamp the financial structure

Most Californians regard education as our single most important investment; we spend more of our tax dollar for education than for any other public activity. (In 1968-69, more than \$2 billion will be spent by the State for all facets of education; this represents 36.4 per cent of the total budget, and 53.2 per cent of general fund

dollars.) It is therefore mandatory that we constantly evaluate the economic, social and political impact of that cost, and the methods of raising those funds. We must do this on the bases of need, value received and taxpayer burden.

And, at this time when tomorrow beckons with its promises of great innovations and its even greater expectations, it is also imperative that such evaluation be made boldly—with an eye to putting the money where the need is—with an eye to revamping the financial system so that adequate resources are available through an equitable and efficient taxing structure. Today's system is neither adequate nor equitable.

The "quilted," frequently complex, nature of elementary and secondary education financing is archaic, confusing, inequitable and inefficient. The system has been put together with good intentions but by piece-meal efforts. A. Alan Post, California's legislative analyst, puts it this way: "True quality education for most or all pupils cannot or will not occur until such time as the system of state and local support for the schools is drastically revised in order to reduce the disparity in total assessed valuation between school districts."

We urgently need a complete assessment and overhaul of the entire financial system of our public schools. We must mandate a complete evaluation leading to revenue measures which are (1) based on equity to the property taxpayers, and (2) are more responsive to our defined educational objectives.

One measure that deserves exploration is the establishment of a school district foundation program financed by an annual statewide property tax levied on all non-residential (commercial) property. Each school district would receive the same amount of tax money per pupil. This would provide the financial revenue to support basic education. Thus, all children would have the same opportunity to learn basic educational skills in public schools. Expenditures for enriched educational programs, costing more than the amount allocated through the foundation program, could be financed by taxes levied by a vote of the citizens on residential property within the district receiving the benefits of the enriched program. This proposal could reduce the present inequities resulting from widely scattered and generally clustered commercial properties. It would also give the local electorates the opportunity to make well-informed decisions as to the level of education programs they wish to have, and pay for, in their own districts.

At the same time, the Reagan administration suggests that the use of a "roving corps of experts" in the fields of school management, budgetary financing, cost control and systems analysis would be of great value. Such a program would deal strictly with fiscal and management techniques and would not in any way attempt to invade the academic province of local school districts. The experts involved would be available to consult with representatives of school districts on various sophisticated management techniques to make better use of existing resources.

It is clear, certainly to the taxpayer, that government cannot and should not do all things for all people all the time. California's wage earners—and the State treasury, into which their taxes flow—have limited resources. What priorities will we set forth to govern the expenditure of those funds? The Reagan administration agrees that education should have the highest priority. But, recognizing

that priority, the question still arises: are our educational budgets out of whack?

For example: we know that during the first few years of school the teaching of basic skills develops a child's matrix for future learning. Yet, the highest teacher-pupil ratios are in our elementary schools. It is a commitment of the Reagan administration to work toward rectifying this—to spend available education dollars first where they will result in the greatest benefit to the student and to society—at the beginning grades of the learning experience.

The Reagan administration also questions whether those citizens who send their children to private elementary and secondary schools should be required to support public schools, through taxes, at the same level as those citizens who send their children to those public schools. In such cases, the parent should probably receive either a tax credit, or a form of reimbursement based on the State's average payment to the school district for each enrolled student.

The rapid rise in costs of higher education, coupled with the State's revenue problems, makes it mandatory to levy a charge for tuition as a step toward providing a portion of the funds required for the university and state college systems. (In the budget year 1968-69, the Reagan administration has budgeted some \$532 million of the taxpayers' funds for higher education.)

Full opportunity for higher education for all qualified students in our state does not exist because of the financial problems of poor families including some of our racial minorities. Ironically, other inequities also exist: California's low income families, through taxes, pay a disproportionate share of the cost of educating students beyond high school. As economist Milton Friedman has asked: "Why should the families in Watts pay taxes to subsidize the families in Beverly Hills who send their children to U.C.L.A.?"

This administration believes that the facts weigh heavily in favor of tuition. Tuition could help rectify the inequities. It could bring about Governor Reagan's "Equal Education Plan." Part of the funds derived from tuition would be set aside to provide grants-in-aid and loans for qualified students with financial need. These would help cover not only tuition but also room, board and incidental expenses. These expenses now constitute a real burden to poor students, including those from minority communities. Repayment of loans would not begin until the student had become an earning member of society.

A substantial number of state college and university students come from families with relatively high incomes. Under the present tax structure, neither these students nor their families are required to contribute to the cost of their higher education in relation to their ability to pay. This is another valid reason for tuition. At the same time, this administration believes that full tax credits should be granted to parents, or responsible relatives paying tuition of their college students.

The people of California face these choices in regard to the financing of our state colleges and universities: we either limit the growth of the colleges and universities, exclude qualified students, divert monies from other public programs (such as welfare or elementary and secondary schools), or raise taxes, or charge a reasonable tuition.

The citizens have voiced majority support for the tuition plan, coupled with an "equal education" program of grants and loans.

The sooner we get on with a tuition program and grants and loans, the sooner we will provide equal educational opportunity in our public institutions of higher learning.

To reclaim the art of teaching

Buildings, books, equipment—all are vital to formal education. But teachers are the key to learning. It is the artistry of teaching—the teacher's relevant knowledge made alive through sensitive articulation—that has most to do with the success or failure of education. The teacher who can make a child's eyes glow with the glee of "Now I see" is the teacher, the artist, who builds a great tomorrow.

Yet teachers are too often taken for granted. Too many citizens accept the proposition that the call to teaching, at least in elementary and secondary schools, can be handled by people who have been provided only second-rate educations and who are sometimes underpaid.

Today, many of our teachers work under exceptionally trying circumstances. This is most apparent in our urban schools—large classes spawned by population explosion, classes confused by the mobility of migration, student bodies changing in ethnic and racial mixtures—all with accompanying tensions, all presenting awesome challenges. Tragically, in some schools the tensions are explosive; aggressions are overt and solutions unclear. Occasional personal injury to teachers, rising fears and calls for "combat pay" make appropriate the word "crisis." The people of California have a responsibility to the teachers who educate their youth; a safe, adequate and meaningful environment in which to teach.

Our most important investment in learning should be the education of our teachers. They should be taught to teach rather than subjected to endless hours of classroom trivia. Colleges and universities must get in step with the realities of this threshold age. Public schools must produce competent, productive citizens—the times demand it, the economic penalties levied on the unprepared and unproductive are harsh and immediate. This is even more vital now than it was in past years; today there are few escapes to the fields or the factories for the uneducated.

Teachers must be motivated toward the goal of excellence. Merit pay plans, increased and meaningful career opportunities, pride in achievement... these can help to revitalize the art of teaching. It is imperative that our great institutions of higher learning show as much interest in their schools of education as they do in their

other professional schools. More of the resources of our colleges and universities should be applied to the education of teachers for this is a crucial regenerative process in the life of society. Teacher training should broaden courses and give students an earlier start in practice teaching, placing them in classroom situations as soon as practical.

The Fisher Act of 1961, which added an extra year (beyond the bachelor's degree) to teacher training and required prospective teachers to study specialty subjects during that year, has by-and-large been a failure. Though raising the level of elementary salary scales, it has unnecessarily delayed credentialing of teachers. It has deterred many students—who did not want to stay in college five years—from taking up careers in teaching; and, the fifth year has many times failed to provide relevant subject matter.

Teachers should receive enough pay incentive to permit them to remain in the classroom. The tendency today is for the good teachers, particularly men, to move into administrative work where the pay is better. But the good teachers are needed in the classroom. When the teaching is poor, a reduction in class size simply results in poor teaching to fewer students at one time.

Teachers are tied to a salary system that pays the least able as much as the first rate teacher. They are "guaranteed" jobs after three years of service in one district, but they pay much for that guarantee: the flexibility to move from district to district on an exchange basis; the implementation of a meaningful merit pay plan that rewards excellence, and the development of new teacher classifications that will provide worthwhile goals and rejuvenate the profession. If salvaged, the waste of inefficiency in many school districts could go part of the way in providing better pay scales. The responsibilities of teachers to their pupils are to teach (not indoctrinate), to motivate, to inspire, to excite, to prepare for the future, and to preserve for them what is important of the past.

To the public, which establishes and maintains the schools, teachers are responsible for the safe keeping of youngsters while in school, for efficient and economical use of equipment and facilities and for full disclosure of the academic achievements of each student.

Over the years, tenure has been granted as a career reward to teachers and faculty by the citizenry. But the costs of tenure must be recognized. It has tended to limit the opportunities for teachers and has often stifled ambition. It was offered by the people to teachers, as a protection and as a reward, who served the public well. Today, too many believe mistakenly that tenure is an inalienable "right" which requires no responsibility. It is ironic that some teachers, granted job security by the public, now threaten to close down our schools. These militants take the position that they are accountable to no one, that they are the power elite and that the people, the owners of the schools, are voiceless providers. This administration's policy is clear: the rights and the best interests of the public are not negotiable.

The urgent need for better, fuller education—and the exciting prospects of technological change in learning, and in the development of this nation—requires that more Americans find personal meaning in a commitment to teaching. It is unfortunate that the actions of the irresponsible few tarnish the reputation of the teaching profession to the point where many who would become teachers now

go into other professions. For, in recent years some educators at all levels have been promoting their self-interest over the needs of the pupil. These have included both teachers and administrators: teachers organized to "take over" the schools and administrators willing to let them or too weak to stop them. It is time for all teachers to embrace the ethics of a great profession; it is time for all administrators to accept the responsibilities of leadership and public trust.

Schools exist for students; they were not built for teachers, or for administrators. Each group has its proper role in the system: students to learn, teachers to teach, administrators to expedite and lead. In the final analysis the people, too, must be held accountable for the schools of their society. For, in a free society, the schools are what the people want them to be.

As a start toward upgrading the teaching profession, the Reagan administration offers these suggestions:

1. Teaching must come of age. In this threshold age and in this Creative Society, teaching can be the great profession—the all-important bridge between the past and a glorious tomorrow. The current salary schedule casts teachers into homogeneous roles; but, teachers are not all the same. They do not all possess the same abilities, motivations or strengths. The following staff levels are suggested as one, but not necessarily the only, means of re-establishing teaching as a profession, and making education more responsive to current and future needs:

Educational Technician—Junior college or college graduates, in any subject field, who could assume many of the clerical or house-keeping tasks of the teacher. The technician would have no instructional responsibilities.

Academic Assistant—The first level of a credentialed teacher. The academic assistant would be a teacher intern. He or she could work with students and have some instructional responsibility in special or skilled areas.

Staff Teacher—In effect, all teachers are staff teachers. However, the full-time staff teacher would spend all of his or her school hours with students.

Senior Teacher—The "teacher's teacher," primarily responsible for the application of curriculum and instructional innovations to the classroom. The senior teacher could be the expert who works to improve classroom instruction, and spends approximately half of his time with students.

Master Teacher—This teacher could spend about one-quarter of his time in the classroom and the other three-quarters working to upgrade subject matter and introducing new concepts. This person would be the specialist in curriculum and research, responsible for keeping subject matter current with the times. He or she would also assist in raising the level of teacher specialization in specific subject areas.

This plan envisions the emancipation of the teacher. It enlarges the role of teaching, offers career advancement, and provides a way for the teacher to be treated as an equal and a colleague alongside other educational personnel and administrators.

2. Most principals are overburdened with paper work and detail. They do not have the time to keep up with good business-administrative techniques. A position of school manager should be considered. The school manager could be a non-credentialed person with management training and experience. He could assume responsibility for the business functions of school operation, and thus permit the principal to participate actively in the instructional program. The principal could also seek, from the Senior Teacher(s), counsel on the selection, performance and evaluation of other teachers. Thus, the plan envisions a principal generalist and a teacher specialist.

Such a plan could be initiated and implemented in every school district. The Temple City Unified School District in Los Angeles County has moved already in this direction. The Reagan administration believes that establishment of position ratings for teachers shows great potential toward restoring of teaching as a rewarding profession.

3. In-service training—a continuing education—is essential for all education personnel. The knowledge explosion mandates a continuance of teacher training in this rapidly changing world.

In-service training must be professional in scope and content, and related to the training of basic skills and understanding of new concepts and knowledge. Also, it must be directed toward the challenging and rewarding tasks of dealing with children of all backgrounds.

4. The teaching profession and the school districts should seek the advice and assistance of business and industry in developing merit pay plans and improving salary classifications for teachers. We cannot expect to recruit or keep a teacher in the profession unless his or her salary is competitive with other types of rewarding enterprises. For superior and bi-lingual teachers who are willing to spend time and effort with the poor child or the child with a language barrier there should be increased remuneration.

5. Throughout the state we have fine examples of volunteer groups providing tutoring for youngsters in basic educational skills. However, many sources remain untapped. Exchange of information is needed. A "teacher-student service corps" could become the vehicle to meet this need. Education departments of California colleges and universities, working in close communication, could coordinate utilization of teachers, former teachers, education students and teaching assistants and others as part-time tutors for school children, particularly those in poor and minority areas.

6. Teacher time—a crucial factor in respect to quality education—is inexcusably abused by the demands of an increasing variety of menial, ministerial chores. Housewives, former teachers, students and others can find satisfaction in volunteering their time as teaching aides and could handle much of the teacher's administrative chores, releasing the teacher for more class work. Some districts already are using teacher aides, and the arrangements have met with considerable success. Short training sessions for these aides are conducted at some colleges in the state.

To restore reason to the campus

In nearly every way that can be measured American higher education is the best in the world. Our physical facilities are superior, our student-teacher ratios cannot be matched elsewhere, our curricula offer the widest variety, the abilities of our scholars excite the admiration of their peers everywhere. And yet despite these things we see rapid spread of rebellion and violence on our campuses. Great universities have been brought to standstills. Their very existence has been threatened.

Many superficial explanations have been offered, but one key point has gone unnoticed. The institutions which have been the targets of rebellion vary widely. Some are small and rural. Others are great cosmopolitan institutions. Their internal structures and curricula differ. They vary geographically and socially. The grievances of a rebellious student at a local junior college in no way resemble those of a student at a large university and neither institution has much in common with the Sorbonne or the University of Caracas or the University of London. Yet all have felt rebellion and violence. Why?

By its very nature, a modern college or university is uniquely vulnerable to the use of force. The root assumption of the academy is that all questions will be submitted to discussion. The institutional goal of the academy is truth, and truth cannot be established by force. The use of force contradicts the very premise of the academy. When, therefore, a rebellious and fanatical minority throws away the premise and resorts to coercion, the academy is ill prepared to meet the challenge.

This is especially true when the disruptive elements among the student body receive moral, and even active support from irresponsible faculty members. Such faculty members illegitimately appeal to the principle of academic freedom even while undermining the academic enterprise itself. Other faculty members often are either apathetic, or exclusively concerned with their own work, and some report they are cowed by aggressive and militant colleagues—and thus fail to defend themselves and their legitimate students, against the tyranny of the revolutionary minority. Administrators, too, have lacked courage. Fearing to be thought "repressive" they have allowed the majority to be repressed. Worrying about their image, they have resorted to duplicity. Blind to the true nature of the revolutionary minority, they have turned aside hoping the storm would pass.

The goal of the rebellious minority on campus is not academic, but political. It is not truth, but power. The challenge comes in various ways. ROTC or recruiters from business or government may be obstructed. Those they disagree with may be harassed. The norms of the community may be challenged often through obscenity. But such challenges are merely ways of testing, dividing, and demoralizing the unorganized majority. The real goal of the rebellious minority is power—and control. Increasingly, its demands involve control of admissions, control of faculty appointments, control of curriculum, degree requirements, and institutional policy. But—control for what purpose?

American colleges and universities are vital institutions of the society. Part of their activity goes on in the classroom. But they are also a kind of nerve center. National defense, scientific development, business, industry, medicine—all depend in important ways on our academic institutions. More than 90 percent of new knowledge is credited to universities in American society—knowledge essential to keep pace with an expanding, imploding universe. It is obvious that the goal of the campus rebels is a dangerous one to our society: to sever the vital connections, to use the academy as an instrument of guerilla warfare, to strike a blow at the foundations of American life. Though a small minority, the rebels are organized, effective and dangerous. They do not bother to conceal their aims. For many the heroes are Che Guevara, Regis Debray, Ho Chi Minh, and Mao Tse Tung.

The threat they pose is real. How do we meet it?

—The hard-core rebels must be isolated. When legitimate student grievances exist these should be remedied, thus depriving the rebels of temporary allies. Procedures for communication between students and administration should be reviewed constantly. Reasonable persons can arrive at equitable decisions; recognizing that those who come to learn do not always have the maturity and the wisdom of those who administer.

—Administration and faculty and students must refuse to tolerate force on campus.

—Those assuming the student role but whose real goals are patently not academic must be expelled. Those who want to learn are waiting for their places.

—Faculty members who betray their academic calling through disruptive or violent activities on the campus should be dismissed on professional grounds. This has nothing to do with political views, rather it is because of actions relating to responsibilities as a faculty member. Deliberate failure to meet classes, improper use of the classroom, or interference with the normal functioning of the university should be ample grounds for the dismissal of a faculty member of whatever rank. The procedures for such dismissal should be reviewed and brought up to date to meet new tactics and the vacuum which exists due to the absence of the restraint of professional ethics.

—The vast majority of students and faculty members who are loyal to academic goals must become more alert to their own interests. They must help to bring order and sanity to the campus. At the same time, the rights of ordinary students and faculty members must be protected. Rights are not the exclusive preserve of dissidents and disrupters.

—The public at large, as well as government, is properly concerned. The academy is not an island outside the law; it must not be used as a staging area for insurrection—it must not be a privileged sanctuary for those who would destroy society.

To help reduce trouble on the campuses, priority must be given to establishing closer contact between colleges and universities on the one hand and citizens in communities served by the institutions on the other.

One approach in this respect has been implemented by our state colleges. Citizen advisory groups, representing a cross-section of community thought, have been established in most areas where a state college is located. To be most constructive and useful, these

groups should be advisory to the governing boards of the institutions rather than to the administrative officers, otherwise conflicts of authority and responsibility will develop.

Tomorrow—the turned on school

In ten minutes it will be time to leave for school.

The youngsters gobble his breakfast. On television, pictures live and direct—in living color, motion and sound—gush forth the launching of a giant space vehicle. The capsule will circle the moon and return to earth. The boy is enraptured. It is now. Wild! His eyes sparkle. His face lives with excitement. He is turned on. He is learning.

An hour later he is in school. The same boy. Now he is dull, shriveled, uninspired. Bored by linear word sequences of the printed page, the static photographs and monotoned lecture. The world speeds by outside—but not inside his classroom. He turns off. He is being educated but he is not learning.

He lives in an electronic age. He is being “taught” in another dimension of time.

Tomorrow, perhaps, “school” will be different; it can be. For some it already is. The world of now could live in the classroom as it does in life. The learning experience of life need not be stupefied by structure, materials or technique. Tomorrow, learning can live for all and “school” can be exciting as well as functional, flexible and economical.

From the practical standpoint of design, schools of the future will feature interiors with wide areas of open space to allow classes the freedom to adapt to a variety of learning situations. Moveable partitions, sliding doors, swing-out panels will make interiors more flexible, more dynamic.

On the outside, massive pre-fabricated wall and roof sections will be easily swung into place. The structures will meld with the environment of learning; life will be inside, a part of the process of study. Because large components will be used, construction time will be reduced—making school plants more economical for the taxpayers, freeing funds for innovation and expansion.

Like many things in life tomorrow, schools of the future will make wide use of electronic aids to help handle teaching situations—and, also, to keep pace with the knowledge explosion. Computers, already being used for such routine tasks as taking student attendance, will frequently be used for the more tedious assignments. Teaching machines and similar equipment will help to revolutionize education; they will free the teacher to teach—to have time for more individual instruction. Electronic teaching aids are capable of

providing a great degree of personalized instruction. Properly used, these machines will permit the individual child to work at his own pace and thus the promise of the wizardry of technology is related to one of the oldest of educational goals—individual instruction.

Prototype educational parks for high school are even now beginning to take shape. They are, in short, "total learning" facilities consisting of a number of schools built in a single, park-like setting. Educational parks show promise in two important respects: (1) they can offer a range of subjects and educational resources and situations that only a large, flexible facility can provide, and (2) they should be more economical through the saving on capital expenditures, and the shared and total use of facilities. In these parks, students might attend school eight hours a day, five days a week, 11 months a year; in the evenings and weekends, the park could serve as a civic center for adult education, recreation and other forms of community interaction.

However, any advantages of such parks must be balanced by a realization that education which is too centralized, and too far removed from neighborhood control, risks standardization and conformity. The diversity of America is part of our national strength; it permits unity without uniformity; it is part of the viability of our education system. As we create the great tomorrow, as we apply innovation, we need not—we must not—abandon or diminish our heritage of individuality.

So-called "cluster schools" also are in prospect; some are operating today. These schools are laid out like a cluster of leaves; each leaf a large classroom. The flexible and open environment gives the teachers maximum opportunity to teach and the students maximum freedom to learn.

The field of educational broadcasting, especially educational television but also radio, will become a great part of the learning process. It will range from highly sophisticated programming to personalized "learning banks" tailored through electronic wizardry to the individual student's quest for knowledge.

Some instructional use of television is under way but the frontiers have not really been crossed. The day is not too far off when the message of this medium will really find its own in learning situations. At that time as much attention may be given to educational TV (for youngsters and adults alike) as is now given to commercial telecasting. Much of the learning through television may take place at home, as a family experience—youngsters "knowing" for the first time, adults relearning, updating their knowledge of a fast-changing world, absorbing new ideas, new techniques, new information.

California should lead the way in the advancement of these great instruments of learning—computer sciences, electronic wizardry, television. What the internal combustion engine did to give us mobility, the computer and the television can do to lift the spirit of man along his journey into tomorrow—whole men and women, living and learning in a total environment, sensitive to the lives of others, productive as only the infinite potential of each human being can be.

Whether it is computer technology, new construction techniques, systems analysis or educational broadcasting, private industry should be closely involved with educators to bring about—and pre-

pare for—the opportunities which lie ahead. Here are a few suggestions to accelerate the application of California's creative genius to our learning system:

1. Trade school centers for drop-outs. These facilities would house computer-era industries providing earn-while-you-learn employment to as many as 3,000 young people. The young worker-learners would attend classes for half of each day—learning what they missed in school (closed circuit TV, films, recordings, computerized instruction courses would enable each individual to proceed at his own pace, and at the same time accelerate his learning achievements). The other half of each day would be spent working and earning in one of the industries housed in the facility. The work-process would interact with the instruction courses so that the learning would be meaningful and practical.

2. A task force, comprising educational leaders, industrial leaders, experts from the fields of communications and computer sciences, and representatives of some of the great research institutions in our State, to search for both immediately practical and also exotic applications of technological innovations to the field of learning. Make the findings and the recommendations of this group available to school districts, interested industries, and educational, scientific and technological journals and societies.

3. Establish procedures permitting schools and school districts to schedule time on computers operated by industry. This would allow educators to experiment with computer techniques, and put representatives of schools in close contact with experienced computer technologists.

4. "Loan" industry experts to school districts to provide expertise in such areas as systems analysis, finance and electronics. For example, such an arrangement could be used to have representatives of the commercial broadcast industry—engineering, production and programming people—consult with schools on how to increase the instructional applications of commercial and educational broadcasting.

5. Provide more instructional broadcast time on both educational and commercial radio and television stations. This would mean devoting some morning or afternoon, public service broadcast time to programs beamed to classrooms. College and university education students also could participate in the instructional programs.

6. Call on industry to make used technical equipment available to schools. Equipment could include radios, TV sets, models and mock-ups that could apply to science studies, and a variety of other equipment suitable for general classroom use and for vocational training.

7. Promote wider use of mobile laboratories to travel from school to school, or to take education into neighborhoods. These units could contain sophisticated educational equipment such as electronic teaching aids. They could be fully-equipped traveling laboratories used to accompany students to the ocean or the mountains, for example, where on-site activities would provide for more meaningful learning experiences.

8. Build pilot educational parks in urban areas for high school grades only. This would preserve the concept of neighborhood schools for elementary and junior high school students, while providing wider learning experiences for high school youngsters.

9. Develop on-line TV-microfilm exchange procedures to increase

availability of educational resources. One great "library," for example, could serve many schools. While each campus still would have its own library containing basic materials, thousands of other volumes could be ordered from the central library on microfilm or on-line TV video tapes. Curriculum materials also could be obtained on microfilm from central points of distribution.

10. Establish main data banks to serve many school districts or campuses. The banks could be used to log information such as student enrollment, performance, attendance and other administrative data. Existence of these data banks would help to cut down on administrative overhead, and provide time for teachers to teach. But, with all the electronic innovations, the "turned on" school will always depend most on a "turned on" staff with a vision of the future, with a motivation to create the future.

A search for meaning in a worried world

Learning is both a find and a quest—and in the continuum of life, the quest is often the more important.

In such a search, curricula must be more than a series of studies and lectures connected by long intervals of boredom. Learning must be a living thing, an on-going, high-peak study of the past, present and future of the human condition; brilliant with the starfire of the good that has been—and the best that is yet to be.

One major step in this direction in California is legislation enacted this year which gives local elementary and secondary school districts greater latitude to develop their own curricula. The legislation sets broad minimum standards but encourages local school districts to innovate and enrich—to make courses more relevant to their students, to develop flexible approaches to both the gifted and the disadvantaged child . . . all to keep pace with a vital, changing world. At the same time, and at the college level, this Administration is moving for program budgets rather than the inflexible line item budgets of the past.

By its very nature learning is most concerned with tomorrow. But there can be no tomorrow without the pedestal of the past. What we do in the future—what we do *with* the future—depends on whether we preserve the best of the past and avoid its errors.

Institutions of learning, great repositories of man's knowledge, must help not only to conceive tomorrow but also to conserve as well as catalogue the past. These schools must not become computerized vending machines. Along with dispensing facts (of which we have mountains) they must stimulate a passion for wisdom, conscience, compassion, responsibility and patience (all of which we have too little)

Today, there is controversy and concern over academic freedom—that commodity which is precious to the pursuit of knowledge and vital to the growth of a free society. Throughout generations, academic freedom has served free men well: it has served best, and been held in highest esteem, when those who claimed it for their own have kept constantly in mind that they are, in fact, scholars. No appeal to higher morality justifies conduct unbecoming a scholar. Kenneth Coombs has warned "the behavior of the academic must never become such that continued preservation of academic freedom becomes less likely."

Because academic freedom is a priceless property, the public and its elected representatives have properly exercised great patience. But patience wears thin when order is destroyed and society is threatened. It is imperative that the great majority within the academic community themselves restrain those who jeopardize the professional freedom they prize so highly; surely, it is up to the responsible members to see that freedom is coupled with discipline.

One of the great challenges of our time, and one which educators must help us meet positively, is how to maintain individuality in the face of an increasingly complex society with its penchant for standardization, in the face of a growing trend which deifies materialism and conformity. The future will be a sepulcher indeed if we ignore, or attempt to diminish, the divine nature of man. What will it profit man if he gains the stars and loses his soul?

The greatest strides, in life and learning, can be—should be—not so much about outer space but about inner man. The great teachers, the timeless masters, have not pointed us toward materialism. They have dealt with the great truths and with the high questions. These are the truths which cement our American heritage. These are the truths which can sustain the future.—And, they are the truths which give reason to life and meaning to education for an age both old and new.

The "Equal Education Plan" for higher education in California

Governor Ronald Reagan's "Equal Education Plan" for higher education in California has four major objectives:

1. To achieve full educational opportunity for all qualified students in California.
2. To keep the University of California and the State Colleges fully competitive with the great private universities and colleges in attracting and retaining outstanding teachers.

3. To provide a supplemental capital improvement fund for each campus of the University and each State College.

4. To eliminate existing inequities, so that low-income families shall not pay a disproportionate share of the cost of educating students.

To accomplish all four objectives, Governor Reagan recommends the adoption of an annual tuition for full-time California students at the University of California and the State Colleges.

Tuition revenues will provide grant-in-aid and loan funds for needy students, including tuition, board, room, and other expenses. These latter expenses often keep poor students from attending the University and State Colleges.

In addition to providing student financial aid, tuition will guarantee additional teaching chairs at the University and State Colleges at salary levels high enough and flexible enough to attract and retain the finest teaching talent in the nation. Tuition also will generate enough revenue to establish special funds for capital improvements on each campus.

These funds will reduce demands upon the General Fund. The Governor's plan proposes that 50 percent of tuition revenues be used each year for grants-in-aid and loans, 25 percent to establish and maintain the teaching chairs, and 25 percent for capital improvements.

Four Key Elements

The highlights of the four key elements of the "Equal Education Plan" are:

A. Grants-in-aid and loan program. The major economic barrier to a college education is not tuition but, rather, the cost of more expensive items such as board, room, and transportation. Relatively few students from low-income families or minorities actually are found on our University and State College campuses today. To correct this imbalance, the Governor recommends that half the proceeds from tuition be used each year to support a full program of grants-in-aid. In addition, these grants will be supplemented by a complete loan program at minimum interest rates which utilizes private, state, and federal funds.

Governor Reagan also suggests active recruiting and counseling programs geared to students in the low-income neighborhoods who should be encouraged to enroll in the University of California and the State Colleges.

In the awarding of grants and loans, the Governor recommends

that the sole criterion for eligibility be that of need, once a prospective recipient is admitted to the University or State College. He proposes that uniform criteria be established to determine need and the amount of assistance appropriate in each case. In establishing these criteria, he suggests that, in addition to family income, consideration be given to other factors on a formula basis.

These factors will include the number of children in the family, other family obligations, and the ability of the student to assist himself through part-time employment. Another factor is whether different requirements should be established for women and men students.

Finally, criteria should be established for forgiveness of loans to encourage graduates to enter important fields of employment which fill a national or community need. Examples might include teaching, research, or military service.

B. Teaching chairs. These chairs will attract outstanding teachers and reward and retain recognized members of the teaching faculty. The majority of these chairs would be filled over the years by promotion from within, but the program would also attract outstanding faculty from throughout the country.

It is hoped that the establishment of the chairs would serve to keep the University of California fully competitive with other great private universities and colleges.

C. Capital improvement program. The 25 percent of tuition revenues to be assigned for capital improvements would be divided among the individual campuses in amounts proportionate to their respective contribution of tuition revenues or enrollment on the basis of relative size. Therefore, a significant supplemental fund would be available for the individual capital needs of each campus, which presumably otherwise would have had to come from the state's General Fund and taxpayers.

D. Tuition. More than three-fifths of the students in the University of California and more than half of the students in the State Colleges come from families in income brackets of \$10,000 or higher. A substantial number come from families with income in excess of \$15,000 or even in excess of \$25,000, particularly at the University. Conversely, only 12 percent of the University students and 14 percent of the State College students come from families with incomes below \$6,000. Inasmuch as the principal financial support of both the University and the Colleges comes from the General Fund, it is obvious that the lower-income families are paying to support educational institutions which are used primarily by the upper-income families. A modest tuition plan—augmented by grants and loans—corrects this inequity. The costs of a higher education should be based on need according to the formula described earlier. In this connection, the "Equal Education Plan" provides, through a combination of grants and loans, the supplementary funds necessary to give any qualified California student the funds he needs to obtain a higher education.

The particulars of this plan are as follows:

Once financial need is established, the grant-loan program will be administered in the following manner:

1. During the first year the student will borrow 75 percent and be awarded 25 percent in grants.
2. During the second year the student will borrow 50 percent and be awarded 50 percent in grants.
3. During the third year the student will borrow 25 percent and be awarded 75 percent in grants.
4. During the fourth year the student will receive the full amount in grant monies.
5. Governor Reagan recognizes the importance of attracting outstanding graduates from throughout the country. While tuition will be charged graduate students, it is not anticipated that this program will alter the Regents' posture regarding certain waivers. Full-time graduate students who meet the identical requirements in the area of financial need as do those undergraduates mentioned above will become a part of the grant-loan program and receive 50 percent of the annual stipend in the form of a grant-in-aid and 50 percent in the form of a loan. The Governor also suggests that the Regents examine the possibility of forgiveness in the area of these graduate loans, as is being suggested with regard to undergraduate loans, for selected areas of state need. It should be pointed out here that the dollar amount being

considered a necessary expenditure in this area includes all expenses at the University. Present estimates place this figure at \$2,000 per year, which would include the student's tuition, fees, room and board, books, and incidental expenses.

Certain objections have been raised regarding the high amount of loan required during the first year. An alternative which will avoid discouraging potential students from lower socio-economic and minority groups reverses the above formula and places the emphasis upon grants rather than loans. Under the plan, the student could enter the University on full grant-in-aid during the first year, borrow 50 percent and receive 50 percent in grants the second year, borrow 25 percent and receive 75 percent the third year, and receive full grant-in-aid the final year.

In conclusion, the Governor points out, in the case of needy students, tuition will be offset by grants and loans. On the other hand, for the well-to-do family, any state tuition would be far below the tuition for a private university or college, and would represent only a fraction of the actual cost to the taxpayers.

With regard to students from out of state, the plan recommends that the higher tuition rate be maintained and that the residence requirements be revised and strengthened.



"to every man, regardless
of his birth, his shining,
golden opportunity—
to every man the right to live,
to work, to be himself,
and to become whatever thing
his manhood and his vision
can combine to make him—
this, seeker, is the
promise of America."

Ronald Reagan

Fellow Californians:

This is the first in a series of creative studies on some of the great issues of our day and our state. It presents some guidelines for action as we continue to work with all Californians to design the future.

This first paper sets forth the position of my administration in the area of human relations. It is the result of programming which was started in 1967, and it indicates the basic direction in which we wish to move.

We know that our society is in danger because the human community is disrupted by strife. There are some who deny the spiritual nature of man, counting him just an economic digit or a political pawn. With this devaluation of man it becomes all too easy for them to ignore degradation or to excuse violence. We cannot accept either extreme.

Each of us must make a personal commitment to compassionate and honest solutions. California, as a state, must make a commitment to action. Government has been attacking the evils of discrimination for years. But the false promises of too many politicians have smashed the hopes of too many of our people. Over the years promising legislation has been paralyzed by bureaucracy. Some segments of the private sector have not fulfilled their responsibilities. The result has been an "expectation gap"—a chasm between the promise and the deed, between what is and what should be. We must close that gap.

We must ask ourselves, as we deal with this and the other important issues of our society, what kind of a future we want—and what is the best way for the individual and the community at large to build it.

I believe these papers can be the beginning of a new California Commitment—a new sense of purpose.

Ronald Reagan
Governor



What kind of California do we want in the future—in the next ten or twenty years? What kind of a place do we want for ourselves, for our children—for succeeding generations? What kind of schools? What kind of jobs? What kind of cities and parks and highways? What kind of government?

Together we can help design and invent that future. In fact, we must if it is to be what we want it to be.

California still has in its veins the limitless energies of the dynamic West. It is the most unfettered, the most imaginative state in the union. It is time that together we used that imagination, so apparent

in other aspects of our life, to attack and solve our public problems. There is no magical formula for the task of designing and building tomorrow—just work, and common sense, and the cooperative know-how of committed individuals.

Ours is a threshold age: we have before us either decades of great deeds or years of despair and disruption. If we are to make the most of tomorrow, we must shuck the encumbrances of yesterday and develop new and valid priorities.

Californians need a new agenda.

Proven principles remain constant; but changing times also demand new ideas, new applications, new endeavors. "A state without the means of change," as Edmund Burke said, "is without the means of its conservation." It is part of the greatness of our American system that it can accommodate both the fixed and the moving.

The simplistic approach that laws alone can solve all of our problems has shown itself to be fallacious; in case after case the laws are on the books but the problems remain. The valid test of good government is not how many laws it passes, or how much of the taxpayers' money it siphons off for public projects. The true test is whether those in office use disciplined imagination to design a government of and by as well as for the people—whether that government helps to release the energies of every man by removing the obstacles to his progress. And, this is the purpose of the Creative Society: to stimulate constructive change through a continuing joint venture between all sectors of the community while reaffirming the right of every man to maximum liberty and the pursuit of happiness in an orderly society. California is concerned about human relations. We are concerned about the problems facing many of our minority groups. There is no doubt that many of our citizens in the minority communities have legitimate grievances. It is imperative, and it is morally right, that we attend to these grievances; that we correct the inequities; that we remove the unnatural barriers, and that we guarantee equal rights to all, regardless of color or creed. This must be done.

But, it cannot be done by shrill exaggerations or false promises; and, it will not be achieved through mob action or by the torch or the club.

It will take involvement and honest leadership on all fronts. It will take commitments of time, skill, resourcefulness, and capital from all sectors. This is what is required to set our house in order. Without this total effort on the part of individuals, of private enterprise, of organized labor, of local and state governments, too many of our citizens in the minority communities will continue to exist as perpetual tenants on federalized plantations. Such an existence degrades not only them but also California and the nation.

What is needed most today is not urban renewal but *human renewal*.

This paper on human relations—and the plight of the minority communities—is the first in a series of creative studies which have been under preparation by members of the Reagan administration during the last year. Other studies will be published in the weeks ahead. They will deal with such areas as law and order, education, public assistance, economic growth and job opportunities, and the quality of life in today's environment.

The creative society places government in its proper role: government should lead, citizens must act. What we will propose here

primarily is the role the non-governmental sector—the independent sector—can play in building a better state.

Like those to follow, this paper does not pretend to be a master plan; there are already too many master plans and too many master failures on the record. This paper presents instead an exploration of the dimensions of and possible solutions to the problems of our minorities.

For too many the American dream remains an empty promise

Americans are not really divided. But they are deeply puzzled about how to achieve the goals of domestic tranquility, abundance, and human dignity on which we all agree. We do not, as is sometimes said, need new values; probably there are no new values. But we do need new ways of fulfilling our traditional ones. The old machinery no longer seems to work. Familiar methods suddenly seem inadequate to the tasks. The result has been a spreading malaise, even among those who in material things are well off. Socially and politically, we are experiencing a confidence gap.

But for the urban poor, for some of our minority groups, the inadequacy of the old methods has resulted in more than a malaise. Across the nation, riots, looting, murder and arson have been marked by a violent few. But for a great many others as well, the American dream remains an empty promise: It cannot remain so. For whatever was true in the past, Americans today are not content to live in poverty, or to remain cut off from the rest of society, while years and generations pass. They know as well as anyone else that a nation which is reaching out to the stars does not have to accept degradation in its midst.

The failure of familiar approaches ought to unite us all in the development of new ones. The lethargic bureaucracy that fails some of us fails the rest of us as well. We have found that comparatively little of the so-called "war on poverty" money actually reaches those who are poor. We have found that urban renewal is the real war on the poor people. It destroys their homes and fails to provide new ones. (A subsequent study in this series will deal in depth with public assistance and social welfare; the need to break the chain of dependency and to redirect those programs which institutionalize poverty into a kind of permanent status. This is especially important to many of our citizens in minority communities.)

The discriminatory union wastes America's manpower and clogs the free market system. The schools that are too rigid and unimaginative to reach the Negro child, the Spanish-speaking and the Indian child cannot be the best ones we can provide for our other children. Throughout history, the great cities have been the centers of civilization: Athens, Rome, Florence, Paris. "He who is tired of London," said Samuel Johnson, "is tired of life." Yet a century and

a half later the architect Victor Gruen could accurately say: "We turned our cities into doughnuts, with all the dough around the center and nothing in the middle." Our atomic deterrent protects our cities from enemy bombs; but we are allowing them to be effectively destroyed by inner rot. And the loss is all America's.

No one needs to be told that this is a time of great danger, but a time of danger is also a time of opportunity. Societies grow stronger, we are informed by Arnold Toynbee, as they respond to challenges. We have in America, broadly speaking, two rival philosophies of government; they may be called "from the top down" and "from the bottom up." There is no doubt where the founders of this nation stood. They had rebelled against government from the top down; the first three words of the preamble to the Constitution may be the most important of all, for they place the emphasis where it ought to go: *We, the People*.

The path we follow in California turns away from any idea that government and those who serve it are omnipotent and omniscient. Along this path government can lead but not rule, listen but not lecture.

In America, the virtue of the people lies in its dynamic free economic and social system. Yet the energies of this system can be frustrated and misdirected. In its dynamism the system is alien to the spirit of encumbering bureaucracy, and to the rigid blueprints of remote government. But our society has become so vast that an individual, lacking information and opportunities for communication, may not know where or how to exert personal efforts for the common good.

In this area, therefore, government has a special role to play. It has, of course, its own agencies and services, but the most important thing it can do is to liberate the constructive energies that exist all through our society.

In California we have enormous resources for scientific and industrial research. Thousands of highly successful and talented men and women are in our business communities. Colleges and universities are rich in their potentiality for study and research. We have any number of philanthropic enterprises.

To liberate our vast resources of energy and talent, government can dismantle obsolescent structures, strike down inequitable laws, legislate against restrictive practices. Indeed, today's bureaucratic structures cannot remain adequate in a computerized, automated world of accelerating change.

Government, of course, can also maintain its commitment to candor and to fiscal responsibility. The inflation that wastes the middle-class dollar pushes the poor man into despair. A good part of our present difficulty in racial relations comes from the fact that the atmosphere has been poisoned by false promises. The function of leadership is to lead, not delude.

Government has the responsibility for keeping order and upholding the law. "There is no grievance," said Lincoln, "that is a fit object of redress by mob law." Mobs do not generate progress; they retard it. Mobs do not establish rights; they trample them. The spirit of destruction cannot be allowed to prevail here. [The next paper in this series will cover law and order—the proper responsive, responsible system of law enforcement and justice which is necessary "to keep our people safe and free."]

Finally, the government, through its leaders, can bear continuing

witness to the American system and American values. Too often of late the people have been depressed by those who sell America short. The voices of defeat and despair must not be the only ones heard.

But government is a tool, and like any tool is effective only if used for its proper purposes. Some today still talk as if government should initiate and plan all of the activities of our society. Centralized bureaucratic control is failing all over the world. Yet there are some who urge us to turn the clock back by establishing still more unwieldy bureaucratic structures. The surprising thing is not that these systems do not work, but that anyone ever actually thought they would. They certainly are not the answer to the problems of our minority groups.

In California we must solve the problems of racial relations. And what we do here we do not only for ourselves but for all of mankind. California is a microcosm of the nation, and nothing a great people does is purely domestic. We must show the world that a free nation can cope with the pressing problems of modern life, and that a free society—with its variety, flexibility, and spontaneity, with its willingness to experiment—can cope with them much more effectively than any other system. "In America," as Alexis de Tocqueville wrote, "I saw more than America; I saw there the image of democracy itself."

**Unleash the power that can make us
one people, united in justice and purpose**

There are three great forces which can solve the problems of human relations; forces which can move to break the barriers of poverty and injustice and close the expectation gap.

The Great and Growing Middle Class. It is the very strength of our land, and encompasses individuals of all creeds and colors.

The Dynamic and Productive Private Enterprise System. Its knowledge, resources, manpower, factories and capacity can help every individual realize his potential.

Creative Government. It can best meet human needs by liberating the constructive energies that exist throughout society.

These dynamic forces, acting together, can unite the hearts and minds of this land, unleashing the power that will make us one people, united in justice and purpose.

During the Reagan administration, progress has been made but there is still a long way to go to reach the goal of equal opportunity for all Californians.

Here are some of the things which have already been done:

—Governor Reagan has held private meetings with minority group representatives throughout the state to hear about their problems, and discuss ways to deal with them.

—A Negro was appointed director of Veterans Affairs—the first Negro to head a major state department.

—75 Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Orientals and other minority members are among the Governor's appointees to boards, commissions and executive positions.

—Governor Reagan has broken the pattern of predominantly white membership on draft boards by recommending minority citizens for appointment.

—For the first time, the homes of low-income persons located in freeway rights-of-way will be re-located by the state instead of demolished.

—More than 20 bills dealing specifically with the problems of low-income citizens were signed into law last year.

One of the legislative highlights of 1967 was the creation of the California Job Training and Placement Council to develop coordinated training and placement programs through private industry. Some 20,000 representatives of industry and labor, through Management Councils set up in 16 cities, have taken on the responsibility of making this program work.

The Reagan administration also has:

—Provided guidance for a pilot summer "earn and learn" program.

—Trained welfare recipients to serve as family day-care parents, providing both employment for them and care for the children of working mothers.

—Obtained pledges of support from commanding officers of military bases to end discrimination in housing for service personnel.

—Worked with business and schools to cut the number of high school dropouts.

—Signed into law legislation establishing occupational training centers for adults.

—Enacted legislation permitting school districts to use bi-lingual instruction.

—Signed legislation prohibiting discrimination in apprenticeship programs.

Legislation has been introduced this year to create the California Job Development Corporation, which would pool private capital to make loans to small businesses unable to get conventional financing. This is an extension of the Job Training and Placement Council. Financial institutions, as members of the proposed corporation, CAL-JOB, would pledge funds to be used for loans.

The California Home Ownership, Construction and Rehabilitation Act of 1968, would enable many low-income families to experience the pride of home ownership. The bill calls for a \$500 million bond issue to finance state loans for low-income families. It would help them to build or re-construct private homes. Both the CAL-JOB and home ownership measures are supported by Governor Reagan. Lack of jobs, education and housing are the roots of the minorities' problems. Help must come from government, business and labor and the independent sector.

The Reagan administration has instructed heads of agencies and departments that equal opportunity and fair employment laws will be enforced—down the line—in state hiring practices and contract policies. Industry and labor should do no less. Our private enterprise system has the capacity to extend its bounties to all who want to make an honest effort. It is the responsibility of both management and labor to see that the capacity of the system is achieved.

We also support the "urban coalition" approach because the efforts of the total community are needed to solve the problem. This and similar voluntary efforts are functioning examples of a creative society.

Both education and the home have always been central aspects of the American dream. Education opens the way to personal advancement and allows ambitions to be fulfilled. And with each passing year it grows more important, for to an ever-increasing degree our society reserves its rewards for the educated. The home is bound up with both freedom and dignity. Ownership of property and acceptance of responsibility are closely linked.

Though education grows ever more important, increasingly, some are being left behind. Of the 5,000,000 children in California elementary schools, hundreds of thousands attend so-called "ghetto" schools—too often dilapidated buildings with antiquated equipment, in which packed classrooms make adequate teaching all but impossible. Some children are passed from grade to grade without ever learning to read. And some children from "hard-core" poverty areas are so far behind when they enter the first grade that they never catch up.

The decaying neighborhood if left unattended, in time can enmesh an entire city. As the decay spreads, ever more money is required, but ever less is available. And for those who live in the neighborhood the prospect of improvement becomes ever more remote. Those who are able to do so move out, removing from the area the most able and most talented. The decay of buildings becomes a decay of the spirit.

In both education and housing, we must move to break these vicious circles. We need more intensive training designed to prepare teachers who will work in the slums, an incentive system to attract talented and understanding teachers to the schools in the depressed areas, and above all we need more teachers and administrators from the minority groups themselves. The time of the teacher is valuable. Much more use can be made of paid and unpaid lay volunteers. Qualified volunteer mothers could work intensively with small groups of pre-school children. Others could help with playground and cafeteria supervision, and with other non-teaching tasks.

We need to involve the entire community in our educational system. Curricula should be made more responsive to the needs of the core-city child. Courses and textbooks dealing with the Negro in America and Spanish cultures would be valuable. For teachers in Spanish-speaking areas, we should explore the possibility of teacher-exchange programs with Mexican schools, and we should establish an incentive system for bi-lingual teachers.

In neighborhood renewal we must learn to use the energies that exist in the neighborhood itself. We have encouraged home ownership through low interest loans, and through programs which allow an individual to help build his own home. Efforts to improve a neighborhood, planned by the people themselves, can be coordinated and materially assisted. Small parks can be planned and built, decaying property reclaimed, streets cleaned up, recreation programs planned through cooperation among neighborhood residents, talented outsiders and local government.

Everywhere opportunities exist for private capital and private financial institutions to play a role, and already many have shown great readiness to help.

A California Commitment—to audit, galvanize and coordinate the resources of a creative society

What is needed now is an honest appraisal of the tasks required to close the gap between expectations and reality.

It was this desire for facts—plus the desire to open a direct line of communications—which led Governor Reagan to tour the state to meet with the leaders of minority groups.

What they voiced matches the general profile of desire of minority groups throughout America. Surveys tell us that more than 90 per cent of our minority citizens are responsible and law abiding. Unfortunately, the lawless few, the troublemakers and self-seekers, who use misguided and impressionable followers to fan the flames of violence, are covered sensationally by some news media.

What do the vast number of minority citizens want out of life?

They want the same things all other Americans want—jobs, good health, educational opportunities for their children and themselves, and freedom to live in pleasant surroundings. Adequate police protection also is high on their list of priorities, along with opportunities in business and commerce. What they're talking about is full participation in the American way of life.

Leadership is important to any good cause. In the case of California's minorities, leadership is available. But factionalism and organizations working at cross-purposes can hurt their efforts. This has been the historic trouble with government assistance programs.

In the field of human relations, we've experienced a proliferation of organizations, all competing for the chance to better the plight of the poor. Coordination is the key to the success of any project. Working together, such organizations can succeed in the areas where breakthroughs are most urgently needed: consumer purchasing, political action, neighborhood improvement, development of minority businesses and a host of other desirable goals.

Thus, the first step should be an accurate statewide audit of our total assets and liabilities, of what is being done to solve the plight of the minority groups, who is doing what, who can do it best, and what more needs to be done.

Second, a coordinated effort must be developed to activate programs at all levels—state and local, public and private.

Third, and on a continuing basis, these programs should be coordinated and implemented into a total, sustained thrust—and periodically evaluated for maximum relevancy, efficiency and results.

All of this should be an action concept based on practicalities, and designed—not by some federal bureau 3,000 miles and 30 years away, but—by those here in California who are directly involved in the problems and their solutions on a day-to-day basis. This is the thrust of Governor Reagan's program, "The California Commitment." Such a California Commitment would involve both statewide responsibilities and regional compacts. It would consist of representatives from local communities, from the counties, from business and labor, from the academic world and the professions, and from the minority groups and the state government.

The Governor will take the lead in forming this Commitment, but

state government will serve primarily as a catalyst—not as a force of imposition or intervention.

The first task of such a Commitment should be to conduct the state-wide audit. This is necessary not only to outline the dimensions of the job ahead, but also it is needed to minimize waste, inefficiency and duplication. At present, for example, there are more than 400 separate agencies, both public and private, at work in the Watts area of Los Angeles. Without criticizing the good intent and dedication of these agencies, it may well be that better coordination and delineation could achieve a bigger return for each dollar spent. The Commitment, by being a clearing house for information, could bring together these energies and talents and organizations which are now diffused. And, by achieving an overview of the entire situation it could better direct the energies of the community—public and private—to the point of need.

Upon completion of the audit, resulting in a clearer picture of what must be done, what will be required to do it, and what resources and abilities are available within the state—from all sectors, California would then be fully justified in insisting that the federal government leave within the state a substantial portion of that tax money which is now being siphoned to Washington. We do not need more massive federal bureaucracy imposed upon us from afar. We can make our plans, take our actions, and guide our programs here at the state and local levels.

Here are examples of the activities such a California Commitment can evoke from the independent sector:

1. Manned by representatives of both industry and labor, job recruiting stations could be established in low-income areas. This industry/union effort could include recruiters representing a variety of industries and labor skills. Industrial and union organizations should decide details of operating procedures.
2. Tools and equipment could be loaned to neighborhood groups to use for re-building projects. Local residents should be free to decide how and what they want to build, whether it's a park, a community center or simply a clean-up campaign. Tools and equipment could be made available through the cooperation of chambers of commerce and service clubs.
3. Union members assigned by union leadership on a voluntary basis could donate a few hours of work a week in low-income areas to show "how it's done" in various trades and skills.
4. Trade unions should study the possibility of providing paid apprenticeship training during summer months. Such training could result in a cadre of skilled young people for future union membership. Unions could identify potential trainees by contacting community action groups and through referrals by union membership.
5. Industrial plants could remain open at night as a means of providing in-plant training. Women, for instance, could be taught how to type and operate business machines to help prepare them for clerical jobs.
6. A vocational and professional task force consisting of representatives of the State Personnel Board, personnel departments of industries, and union officials should survey the needs and requirements of the job market for today and tomorrow. As an outgrowth of this activity, changes in civil service, vocational training, industry hiring standards and union apprenticeship requirements would be anticipated.

7. Business executives and business students could offer their knowledge and experience in competitive enterprise to help upgrade and establish small businesses. Chambers of commerce and university business schools are ideally equipped to operate such a project.

8. California's Service Centers should provide "coaching" services to minority and low-income job applicants. The purpose is to help applicants overcome fear of test situations.

9. More industries could establish satellite companies in poverty areas. The key is to find products that can be manufactured by un-trained employees, then provide the facilities and equipment to do the job. The final objective is to provide mass employment for the under-trained and build a corps of minority management personnel which later can be assimilated into the parent company. Several California firms are either actively engaged in operating satellite companies or have such plans on the drawing boards.

10. Various industries could consider sharing the costs of keeping junior high and high schools open during summer months to provide recreation, training, and basic education. College students could be hired as staff to operate the schools, with hourly salaries paid by industries. At least one major California company already has approved adoption of a high school.

11. A way is needed to provide tutoring for youngsters in educational subjects and training in such areas as home economics and personal care. A "student service corps" could become a vehicle for students to help people their own age. Student government at all levels of education should organize programs and select locations for student service.

12. Community school center programs bring the family into the school and gain full use of existing educational facilities by eventually keeping them open throughout the year. Activities to serve all members of the family can be conducted: job training, health care, child care, recreation, entertainment—creating a concept of using schools for continued activities and education for the entire family.

13. Education departments of California colleges and universities could coordinate a program to utilize former teachers, education students, and teaching assistants to provide tutoring service for school children.

14. In an effort to broaden the base of educational experience, attempts could be made to exchange teachers between school districts. This approach calls for inter-district transfers and a new look at the entire concept of tenure. Increased benefits, to both students and teachers, should result in a gradual upgrading of education and a broadening of experiences. Better communication and understanding between the various cultural segments would be anticipated.

15. Individual industries and unions in California could make yearly contributions to a fund that would be used entirely for scholarships for the poor. A special scholarship committee representative of the participating businesses and trade unions would decide who should receive the scholarships. Grants should not be limited to higher education, but should be available to those who want to attend trade and technical schools.

16. Thousands of school buses in the state could be used during the summer to: transport youngsters on recreational and educational trips; provide daily service to and from hospitals and health centers

inconveniently located for low-income residents; and as a shuttle service to shopping centers.

17. Patterned after the Olympic Games, neighborhood competition in track-field and water sports events is proposed to keep youngsters active and to salute 1968 as an Olympic Year. School coaches and recreation leaders, in cooperation with service clubs and local Y's, are especially qualified to plan and carry out this project which can be staged at high schools. It is suggested that Neighborhood Olympics be held on weekends to permit maximum participation. All the participants, boys and girls, would receive California Neighborhood Olympic certificates.

18. California's great athletes, amateur and professional alike, could lend their talents and prestige to the fight for equality by holding sports clinics in poverty areas and appearing at Neighborhood Olympics. Our professional sports teams, the athletic departments of colleges and universities and such groups as the Fellowship of Christian Athletes could cooperate.

19. Both the state government and the private sector own undeveloped land throughout California; land that is not being used while it awaits development. Through the state and the action of local chambers of commerce, it is suggested that land near poverty pockets be loaned to local communities for recreation or other purposes. If necessary, the land can be cleared by volunteer labor using loaned equipment to make it suitable for use.

20. Child care centers to care for pre-school children of working mothers. The facilities could be provided in the immediate vicinity of an industrial plant, and provide education, recreation, and health services to youngsters while their mothers work. Costs of such facilities could be shared by both industries and unions.

21. Evidence suggests that many minority citizens are victimized by over-pricing, shoddy merchandise, and usury. To help stop these abuses, consumer consultants will be located at the State Service Centers. The consultants will also offer advice on "how to buy" to low-income housewives.

22. Several community fund organizations in California have summer earn, learn, and play projects already planned. Limited funds are available for the projects, however. More money from the private sector would bring greater benefits to more people, mostly youngsters. Business, industry, and union officials should contact united fund officials in the metropolitan areas and offer to help expand these programs.

23. Communications media should help to promote the concept of the California Commitment. The Advertising Council can prepare a public service promotional campaign, in cooperation with such groups as the California Broadcasters Association and the California Newspaper Publishers Association.

These are just a few of the ideas that can be translated into positive action. Implementation will depend on proper motivations, coordination and a concentrated effort. This effort must come from individuals, from their organizations, their schools, their government and from the private enterprise system.

The answer will come from
the hearts of men.

It must be clear that all of this is only a beginning. It is, however, the foundation of an accelerated effort toward human renewal—an effort to spur on those who are willing to help others, an effort to provide opportunity for those who in the final analysis are willing to help themselves.

This concept of a California Commitment can help to innovate and create; it can also help coordinate and make the most of what is already being done in all sectors of society—by men and women and organizations of good will throughout our state.

It is fitting that this fresh commitment be made here in California, here in the West. For the West has always stood for the promise of America. It is appropriate that California take the lead in solving our racial problems and that here we begin the new agenda which will strengthen our entire society.

If there is any honest answer to improved human relations, the answer will come from the hearts of men.

It is time to stop acting like our brother's keeper; it is time to start being our brother's brother.

The cry from the minority group today is not a new cry. It is a cry which has been uttered by man ever since his beginning:

"I am a man. I want to be recognized and accepted as a human being—with human dignity and independence."

This is the cry articulated in the Declaration of Independence, and in the Constitutions of the United States and the State of California. The fact that too often this cry has been ignored, or stifled, does not invalidate its eternal truth.

The time has come for each one of us to make the choice. Either we affirm our faith in man's ability to meet his fellow man in a spirit of good will—to build together peacefully and harmoniously—or we fail for all time.

Many of today's problems are the result of prejudice—the prejudice which has divided mankind from his very beginning. Many religious and ethnic groups in America have experienced prejudice and it is a tribute to them that such prejudice is now largely a matter of history. It will be a tribute to our minorities today—and a tribute to our majority—when existing prejudice also is pushed into the past.

We must make sure that no American ever again will have to tell a child that he is denied some of the blessings of this land because in some way he may be different. And, this must be a personal thing. Each individual must become involved.

The American dream which we have nursed so long in this country—and neglected so much, of late—is not that every man must be level with every other man. The American dream is that every man must be free to be himself, to be free to become whatever his aspirations and his ability and his drive can make him to be.

The restoration—the perpetuation—of that dream is the greatest challenge confronting every one of us today.



"In the final analysis
the call for law and order
and justice must come
from each citizen at every level
and on every occasion.
Only in that way can our
people be safe—and free."

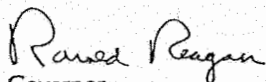
Ronald Reagan

Fellow Californians:

Disregard for law and order increases all around us. Crime rates soar. The use of narcotics spreads, particularly among our young. A violent faction would turn our campuses into staging areas for insurrection and our streets into a no man's land; they violate both the law and the rights of their fellow citizens.

We need today a revival of common sense and common decency—a rejection of the permissive attitude which pervades too many homes, too many schools, too many courts. We must reject the idea that everytime a law is broken, society is guilty rather than the law-breaker. It is essential we restore the American precept that each individual is responsible, and accountable, for his actions. And, it is too simple to trace all crime to poverty. Our time of affluence is also a time of increasing lawlessness; there is a crime problem in the suburbs, as well as the slums.

As we seek to turn the tide in favor of the responsible, law-abiding citizen, it is crucial that we have a total and sustained fight against lawlessness... coordinating the efforts and the resources of individual citizens, the private sector and local organizations as well as government at all levels. Such an effort is necessary if we are to give meaning and substance to the California Commitment. And, it is essential if we are to keep our people safe and free.


Governor



This creative study, the second in a series now being prepared by the Reagan administration, deals with the need for law and order in a free and creative society.

This paper outlines some of the dimensions of the twin problems of crime and lawlessness and proposes measures, techniques and programs which are vital to the essential purpose of a democratic government—insuring individual safety and freedom for all citizens. This paper reaffirms the right of every citizen to the full protection of the law and the responsibility of every citizen to uphold and obey the law.

The Reagan administration is dedicated to building and maintaining a creative society in which every person is guaranteed maximum freedom under just laws and is assured the right to become whatever his abilities and aspirations allow him to become within the framework of these laws.

It is axiomatic that while society can have law and order without freedom, no society can long remain free without law and order.

Today lawlessness is rampant in America. Crime continues to increase faster than population; juvenile delinquency increases at an even faster rate. In too many cities few women are brave enough—or, foolhardy enough—to venture out alone after dark; the streets are not safe. Campus after campus is wracked with disorder; universities are used as staging areas for insurrection.

Mass violation of the law and mob violence increasingly threaten our communities in the guise of "civil disobedience." In reality this is deliberate and premeditated violation of the law by groups determined to achieve their ends regardless of the cost to their neighbors or the effect on the total society. As a nation and as a people we cannot tolerate this. We must draw the line between legitimate protest and those actions which interfere with the rights of all our citizens to carry on their normal, daily activities. No one has the right to choose which laws he will or will not obey.

The frightening increase in crime in recent years is evidence that our criminal justice system, of itself, cannot contain crime. What is needed is a total, coordinated program involving all sectors of our society—and every citizen. We must establish long-range goals and design a step-by-step action program with each step consistent with those goals. In addition, an improved criminal justice system is mandatory if we are to reach the four goals set by the California Commitment in this area. These are:

- to guarantee each citizen the security and protection of the law;
- to strengthen and maintain the concept of law and increase respect for it, so that we can reduce crime and maintain order and safety in our communities;
- to emphasize that the primary responsibility for preserving law and order rests with local government, supported and assisted by state government, and
- to develop and coordinate the imaginative thinking of business and industry, educational institutions, government, science and technology and citizen leaders in order to identify and implement both established and new methods for the prevention and control of crime, the administration of justice and the punishment and rehabilitation of law violators.

The vehicle to accomplish these goals was established by legislation in 1967. It is the California Council on Criminal Justice. This group provides a statewide team for the planning, coordination, improvement and development of law enforcement techniques, and the administration of justice. Representatives of all agencies involved in the law and order process serve on the Council: members of the legislature, law enforcement officers, attorneys, representatives of the courts and penal institutions. Education and appropriate branches of science and technology are also represented.

The Council serves as a clearing house for crime prevention and control proposals. It is also charged with providing information service on research and development projects, and with advising government agencies on criminal justice matters.

Many of the programs which could be instituted and implemented by the Council are listed in this paper.

But, most important, this study emphasizes that the individual citizen must do his part; he must become involved in the continuing fight to maintain law and order.

It is not enough to be concerned; there must be a commitment to

action. The average citizen is quick to deplore "the crime problem" but all too often he is reluctant to accept his personal responsibility. In the midst of his journey through a hostile land, the Good Samaritan did not just seek the nearest emergency center, he ministered to the victim himself—he became involved, because he cared enough to act.

It is the basic commitment of government that every citizen should be safe—safe on the street, safe in his home, safe in school, safe in the park. But, it is also a part of the California Commitment that each individual is responsible for his own actions—that each citizen must accept his full share of responsibility. When the freedom the Athenians wished for the most was freedom from responsibility, Athens ceased to be free.

We face a serious breakdown in the rule of law

Law is more than just a set of rules; it is the gateway through which man passes to reach the fullness of human existence. Without law, as Hobbes said, life would be "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." But law, in the words of Clarendon, "is the standard and guardian of our liberty."

Yet today we face a serious breakdown in the rule of law, a breakdown which endangers our traditional American way of life.

In some quarters there has grown up a nihilistic contempt for the very idea of law. Among some of our government officials there is a willingness to accept lawbreaking as a "right" and a timidity about facing up to the responsibility of enforcing the law swiftly and equally for all citizens. Pervading our society is a climate of permissiveness. There is confusion between the rights a citizen may have under the law and the largess a concerned and generous society may bestow on its less fortunate members.

The problems have many aspects and many facets, not the least of which is the rapidly rising rate of major crimes.

The material cost of crime is staggering: over \$30 billion a year. Spent constructively this money could transform America. The cost in wasted human lives and wasted human potential cannot be measured. And this is all the more damaging because the victims of crime are often those least able to bear the burden—the poor and the members of minority groups.

The dramatic increase in crime is only one aspect of the problem. Many citizens sense a spreading malaise in which alienation from society and rule-breaking are commonplace. Bizarre cults spring up whose behavior seems to be a calculated affront to the idea of an orderly community and the belief in human dignity.

There is, of course, a limit to what law alone can accomplish. The preservation of order is the responsibility of the entire community, not just of government and the police.

"There is no country in the world," wrote Alexis de Tocqueville, "in which everything can be provided for by the laws, or in which

political institutions can provide a substitute for common sense and public morality."

Public attitudes are vitally important. Yet in the crucial matter of attitude there has been an erosion of respect for law and of concern for order. Crimes are often spectacular, and everyone is aware of them, while the erosion of concern is silent and invisible. Yet if crime is like a house on fire, the erosion of concern is like a house decaying. The end result is the same.

In the pages that follow we will deal with both immediate and long-range measures to support these fundamental precepts:

Every law-abiding individual has the right to expect government to guard the safety of his person.

Every homeowner and businessman has the right to expect government to protect property against the criminal, the arsonist, and the looter.

Every parent has the right to expect government to protect the community from those who deal in narcotics.

Every student in our colleges and universities has a right to pursue his education unhampered by the violent few. The campus is not an island outside the law (the serious problem of campus disorders and the need for stricter controls and discipline will be covered in the creative study on education which will be included in this series of papers).

Where laws are needed to move forward against crime we will press for them. But active concern, throughout every sector of the community, can be mobilized right now. This is essential if we in California are to reverse the trends of the last decade.

As much force as necessary, as quickly as possible

In 1967 California's crime laws were improved. Governor Reagan signed into law measures which strengthened statutes concerning burglary, robbery and rape, and increased the penalties in cases where the criminal inflicts great bodily harm upon the victim.

One of the most important accomplishments of the Reagan administration has been the enactment of legislation establishing the California Council on Criminal Justice. As already outlined, this Council can be an effective statewide vehicle for increased and enlightened law enforcement.

The most modern facilities available in education, scientific research, and systems technology must be fully utilized in the fight against crime. In 1967 Governor Reagan signed legislation creating the Crime Technological Research Foundation. This foundation is supported by both private and public funds and is destined to design new concepts in crime detection and law enforcement.

In 1967 the California Highway Patrol in cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation put into operation the first law enforcement computer hook-up in the nation. The Highway Patrol's crime information computers in Sacramento were linked to the FBI computer center in Washington, D.C., and connections were extended

to include the intra-state electronic communications network maintained here in California. As a result, instant communications are available not only between Sacramento and locations throughout the State but also between Sacramento and Washington. This greatly increased speed and information service helps our law officers to move more swiftly and more efficiently in the apprehension of criminals.

Governor Reagan has acted to insure immediate and effective steps to control lawlessness and to restore order in the event of riots and other major disorders. At his direction an improved system of planning, communication and liaison was established between state agencies and local law enforcement officials. This system will also facilitate emergency assistance in cases of natural disaster.

Task forces of key state officials work closely with sheriffs and police chiefs to coordinate the system in the principal cities throughout the state and to coordinate planning and procedures for state assistance on call. In such situations, the assistance will be instant and constant until the disorder is ended. Similarly, a 24-hour, streamlined communications system has been established to provide immediate notification to all state agencies in case of potential or existing emergencies such as floods, earthquakes, and other disasters.

California law enforcement has taken the firm position that mob violence and mass criminality will not be tolerated. Immediate and effective action will be taken to control lawlessness, to restore safety and order, and to protect our citizens in case of rioting.

Other steps in the area of law enforcement taken during first months of the Reagan administration include:

- The Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training has embarked on a comprehensive recruiting program to determine the need for new law enforcement officers, and to furnish recruiting information to potential candidates.

- State government has provided full support for crime prevention programs and has encouraged service clubs, fraternal groups and civic organizations to support local law enforcement, and to help rehabilitate ex-convicts through the formation of parole advisory committees.

- In cooperation with the Attorney General's office, the Governor has urged the legislature to authorize a special investigative force to prevent the spread of organized crime in California.

- A narcotics education study has been established to develop the curricula and materials for teaching our school children about the dangers of illegal drug use.

During 1968 legislation was introduced to tighten state laws against pornography in accordance with the latest rulings of the United States Supreme Court. Particular attention is being given in this proposed legislation to the prevention of widespread distribution of obscene material to youngsters.

Other administration-endorsed legislation is aimed at restoring to cities and counties the right to enact laws relating to local problems of public safety. This measure would eliminate the legal confusion often arising from "pre-emption" when state and federal statutes abrogate local authority.

A judicial selection plan, submitted by Governor Reagan to the legislature and supported by many prominent professional and civic groups throughout the state, would take the appointment of

judges out of politics. The bill would insure the appointments of qualified men and women of proven ability and integrity to judicial office. At this time, when it is imperative that society take all proper steps to uphold law and curb the increase of crime, it is also imperative that the courts be firm, fair and above reproach.

Recent proposals in the criminal justice field call for the federal government to appropriate large sums of money for subsequent grants to state and local governments. This action would, for the first time in our nation's history, substantially involve the national government in the local responsibility for enforcing the law and maintaining our basic system of criminal justice.

A more desirable alternative, which has broad applicability in other fields of governmental activity, would be the development of a tax credit system for financing state and local projects in the areas of law enforcement and the administration of criminal justice. Basically, the states and local communities would choose to retain control over a portion of the tax base. The system leaves financing and decision making at the state and local level. It allows state and local government to exercise maximum discretion in defining and achieving public service objectives.

Law enforcement

The policeman has long been a symbol of the law to the American people. Through generations, both the personal and family safety of our citizens have been entrusted to the police. We have been taught that respect for the law means respect for the police. The peace officers of this state are the most carefully selected, most highly trained in the nation.

Events of recent years indicate a deterioration in respect for both the law and the law officer by some elements of society. Instances of disrespect, even open defiance, of the police have increased; the situation threatens to become critical and its ultimate end would be the total breakdown of law and order. Because of this danger, the law—today, more than ever—must have our active support.

The era of the officer on the beat has passed. The policeman travels today in automobiles and on motorcycles. As a result, in too many neighborhoods, he no longer is a friendly and familiar figure. This separation of the police and the public, and resultant lack of communication, has probably contributed to some misunderstandings. But it cannot account for some of the more serious aspects of the breakdown in respect for the police:

- More and more, the police themselves are becoming the victims of crime.

- Even routine arrest situations sometimes threaten to erupt into widespread violence.

- Charges of brutality are being raised by a small but disruptive segment of society, which is constantly challenging the authority of the law.

For the law-abiding, the policeman is a friend. For all our science and sophistication, for all our justified pride in intellectual accomplishment, the jungle is waiting to take over. The man with the badge helps to hold it back. Too often the only thanks he gets is a charge of "police brutality."

It is time that responsible citizens are heard from; that they act to assist the policeman, show him the respect he must have to carry out his job and provide him with the cooperation necessary to preserve the peace.

Harassment, tough working conditions and low pay are making it difficult to recruit qualified persons to serve as lawmen. On an average night in a California city of 500,000 only 65 peace officers will be on patrol duty. To locate and employ the types of people who must be attracted to police work, careers in law enforcement must be upgraded to professional status. More advantages are needed in terms of compensation, benefits, opportunities for advancement and job satisfaction.

Today's police officer must be better educated and better equipped technically to handle modern anti-crime techniques. This is why the Reagan administration has advocated establishing a California Police Academy to provide advanced training for local law enforcement officers. The academy would be staffed by experts in all facets of law enforcement, and use modern equipment to teach latest police methods. A measure to establish the academy will be included in the Governor's next legislative program.

Following are other specific suggestions that we believe will help to improve conditions for law officers, to give them more tools for the fight against crime and restore public respect for the law:

1. Make every effort to put more officers back on the beat. The purpose is to build friendly and trusted contacts between law officers and the public. At least one major department—Los Angeles—already doing this.
2. Upgrade salaries and opportunities for advancement to attract the best men available. Salaries should be based on career programs. Too often departments provide no pay increases after the third year of service unless officers move up into administrative or supervisory positions.
3. Adopt modern management techniques. Systems analysis and electronic data processing should be adapted to the problems of law enforcement.
4. Establish community relations units in all police and sheriff's departments. Human relations training should be required for all officers. Emphasis should be placed on the officer's relationship with the members of the community and the efficacy of "preventive police work."
5. Create incentives for officers to continue their education in relevant fields. Departmental policies should adopt work schedules to permit officers to enroll in college courses or specialized training programs. Men with degrees, and men who have completed their legal training, often continue in police departments because they are attracted to this particular area of public service.
6. Establish a system of periodic leaves to permit police officers to spend time in research, study or teaching. This system would provide a change from the ordinary routine of police work, and would broaden the officer's outlook, thus benefiting both the officer and his department.

7. Establish exchange programs between agencies involved in the administration of justice, providing for a cross fertilization of ideas and expertise.

8. Increased use of miniaturized communications equipment, especially by officers when they are away from their automobiles or motorcycles. Such equipment combined with modern telecommunications systems can speed the flow of crime information and increase the officer's safety and effectiveness.

9. Greater use of closed circuit television for security of critical areas such as jail cells, bank vaults and high crime areas. Such systems can supplement police patrol activity.

10. Helicopter patrols, linked by radio with ground units, can improve police efficiency, increase surveillance, and provide greater capabilities for emergency rescue operations. This concept has been successfully pioneered by the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department.

11. Develop improved education and training programs including specialist training in such fields as criminal investigation, community relations, and administration. The latest scientific knowledge, techniques, and equipment should be utilized in such activities.

12. Develop in cooperation with the phone companies a telephone "help" number to be dialed in the event of an emergency. Use of coins at pay telephones should not be needed. Electronic equipment would pinpoint the location of the call, and relay the information to the nearest law officer.

13. Work with the Broadcasters Association to select broadcast kilocycle locations to be dialed in the event of an emergency. These would be used to transmit information to persons living in areas where disturbances occur, and to broadcast emergency information to the public.

The legal system

"Justice delayed is justice denied." Experience confirms the validity of this saying, for it describes the current condition of our court procedures. A powerful deterrent to the potential law-breaker is knowledge that he will have a speedy trial, and that the proper penalty for the crime will be enforced.

This administration believes that steps should be taken to make the judiciary more efficient, and more responsive to the times. As a start, the courts should consider using computers for information storage and retrieval. Other suggestions are:

1. Re-examine bail and pre-trial release practices so that the quality of justice is not measured by the quantity of a defendant's money.
2. Develop a summons system in lieu of physical arrests for persons not charged with crimes of violence or moral turpitude. Defendants could be ordered to report to court through mailed summons. Only if he failed to appear would an arrest be made.

3. Develop improved techniques for handling mass arrests. In these difficult situations, justice should be assured and the guilty should not be permitted to escape punishment simply because a large number of persons are involved in breaking the law.
4. Equip crime investigators with technical capabilities at least equal to the sophisticated equipment employed by today's criminals. Legislation should be enacted to allow law enforcement officers to use electronic surveillance equipment under the control of a warrant authorized by a judge. This is of special importance in the campaign against organized crime.
5. Provide some means whereby the constitutionality of challenged laws can be determined without requiring that law first to be broken — with the attendant arrests, criminal records, possibility of violence, etc.
6. Urge greater cooperation between the judiciary and the police to establish clearer guidelines for arrest, interrogation and search procedures. The guilty should not go free simply because of legal technicalities.

Juvenile delinquency

Few areas of human endeavor exhibit more good intentions, but show less achievement, than the battle against juvenile delinquency. Here is the beginning of our crime problem. The challenge we face is to save young people before they take the first turn down the road to crime. The old maxim "prevention is better than correction" is especially true when applied to juvenile delinquency.

The main problem with delinquency prevention efforts has not been a lack of suitable programs, but a failure to coordinate existing activities into a concentrated statewide effort. Fragmented, piecemeal approaches of limited scope have been mounted by both state and local government.

A concerted effort is required. The objective of such an endeavor is to define a realistic, practical, and comprehensive strategy for preventing delinquency in California. It must delineate the targets, identify existing and potential resources, and prescribe an organizational and operational strategy.

Delinquency springs from a multitude of causes. Its roots are deeply imbedded in our society. Because of this, we obviously cannot eliminate some aspects of delinquency completely. But a determined commitment by citizens, the infusion of existing resources, public and private, and an assessment of what we are doing in the field should help to reduce crime among our youth.

These steps should be included in a statewide drive on delinquency:

1. We must identify needs, coordinate programs and implement efforts in a realistic approach to reducing juvenile delinquency. The statewide Delinquency Prevention Commission, Public Agency Coordinating Councils and similar groups at the local level are natural vehicles for this effort. It is essential that better communication

and coordination exist among correctional, welfare, health, educational, law enforcement and rehabilitation services. Local surveys should be taken and an analysis made of the problem areas and conditions that account for delinquency. The efforts of public and private agencies in this field should also be audited.

Particular targets for scrutiny are:

- a. The programs serving families and children, especially the child protective services;
 - b. The efforts of the public school system to provide for those segments of the population which have a high potential delinquency risk;
 - c. The utilization made of the job training and placement resources for youth;
 - d. The adequacy of recreation and leisure time activities for all, and
 - e. The efforts being made by the organized agencies to reach the juvenile population.
2. Youth Service Bureaus should be organized under local auspices to provide counseling, recreational, special educational, job referral and placement activities for youth. These bureaus would specifically deal with juvenile problems.
 3. Youth in-service programs should be established in which the delinquency-prone are organized to provide recreational leadership and participation in community service projects. Many students in the community could be encouraged, by their schools and churches to "adopt" a brother or sister which could mean a new and constructive relationship for the delinquent youth. Youth Councils in every high school could be created with the responsibility of minimizing delinquency by working with the police and school administration.
 4. Special programs could be designed by school counselors and teachers to reduce the dropout rate and to provide special services to potentially delinquent youth.
 5. Educational programs in colleges and junior and senior high schools should be developed to alert young people to the dangers of drug abuse. The curricula, materials and instructional guides must be carefully prepared by experts in such fields as medicine, pharmacology, law and psychology so that the ultimate product will be both factual and acceptable to student audiences. This group of experts could be organized at the county level and travel and consult with each school district to develop a basic orientation course on narcotics and drug abuse for all teachers. Special training courses could also be established for selected teachers at each high school and junior high school. This in-depth orientation by experts in the various professional fields associated with drug problems could provide a corps of instructors to present drug education programs.
 6. Drug abuse committees should be set up at junior and senior high schools through local PTA's. Faculty members, school administrators, law enforcement personnel, and health officials should serve on each committee. It should serve to facilitate the student education program and provide information to parents about drug abuse and specific conditions within the school. Such committees could provide the means for rapid dissemination of the latest information on narcotics and drug problems through statewide mailing from a central source.

Corrections

Punishment and rehabilitation are legitimate and desirable goals of a correctional system. Swift and sure punishment is recognized as a deterrent to criminal behavior. Effective rehabilitation is also a good crime prevention technique; it involves the correction of anti-social conduct.

We must provide a flexible system with more options for the treatment of criminal offenders. We must recognize that the overwhelming majority of all inmates in prisons and other correctional institutions will some day return to society. Whether their adjustments both in prison and later in the community will be successful depends upon the effectiveness of the rehabilitation program.

The prevention of recidivism (i.e., repeated criminal offenses by persons released on probation or parole) offers a major challenge for our correctional processes. Improved prison programming which emphasizes the prisoner's adjustment to less restrictive conditions, is a key feature of effective rehabilitation. Today the criminal offender is suddenly thrust from rigid institutional control to relative freedom as a parolee, a probationer, or a discharged prisoner. If he fails in society, he must go back to prison and start over.

What is needed in the modern correction system is sufficient program flexibility to permit offenders to readjust gradually to the conditions and requirements of normal citizenship. In such structured situations, close supervision and preventive detention at the first sign of a return to the pattern of criminal behavior would increase the public safety.

Specific ideas which could be developed for a modernized correctional system include:

1. Establish educational programs for inmates in county jails. The training, conducted in conjunction with work programs already under way could increase the possibilities for employment of a prisoner upon his release.
2. Expand work furlough programs at both the state and county level. Under these plans, prisoners are allowed to work during the day, and return to jail during off-duty hours. In this way a prisoner retains his gainful employment, and continues to support his family. At the same time he is being supervised, and the work experience aids in his rehabilitation.
3. Utilize local treatment centers as a "half way" step between prison and community. At these centers, parolees could find counseling, short term residential facilities and other assistance toward total re-adjustment. Improved parole services could include job placement units, expanded outpatient psychiatric services and additional community education resources, such as training programs provided by private employers.
4. An important factor in improving parole successes is the availability to a parolee of normal contacts with individuals and groups other than former convicts. These contacts could be found through parole advisory committees usually formed at the local level by service clubs or civic organizations. Another method of providing this type of relationship could consist of church sponsored projects in which a parolee is "adopted" by a family to provide a new and constructive relationship.

5. Develop new approaches for the handling of chronic alcoholics. A variety of programs could do much to reclaim lives now wasted due to chronic alcoholism, including: detoxication centers, local counseling programs, long term institutionalization in alcoholic rehabilitation facilities, and work training programs. Such steps are also consistent with a growing trend of legal decisions which point toward the treatment of such cases as medical problems, rather than as strictly criminal matters.

6. Provide quarters at prisons for conjugal visits between inmates and their wives. This should help to alleviate instances of homosexuality in the prisons, and help to keep the family unit intact while the head of the household is incarcerated.

Crime and the community

Crime must be the concern of the entire community and some California communities already are marshaling their forces to combat crime. Such diverse organizations as chambers of commerce, neighborhood groups, "Y's," ministerial and church associations, service clubs, real estate boards, PTA's, improvement associations and news media have joined together to plan and conduct crime prevention activities and support for law enforcement.

Individual citizens have become involved by serving on neighborhood patrols, speaking before schools, churches and civic groups, raising funds and providing special talents to the campaigns.

Projects include ideas on how to reduce the number of burglaries in homes, schools and stores; vandalism; auto thefts; robberies; and assaults. Free time and space have been donated by broadcast stations and community newspapers, and stores and other businesses have cooperated by distributing materials that provide anti-crime tips to their customers and employees.

To be effective these community efforts must always be coordinated with local law enforcement agencies. In one area, a community "march on crime" reduced the crime rate by one-third.

The Reagan administration has considered a wide variety of approaches to community involvement in crime control prevention. Here are some ideas for coordinated action between law enforcement agencies, individual citizens and community groups:

1. Develop special activities to educate citizens in crime prevention. Sound prevention efforts diminish opportunities to commit crimes. Presentations designed for civic groups, churches and professional organizations could teach citizens to protect themselves and their families against residential burglaries, child and female molestations and similar dangers. School curricula should include appropriate educational programs concerning citizenship training, respect for the law, the role of police in society, and the criminal justice system.
2. Develop programs for businessmen to help them to protect their plants, stores and offices. Education in business practices, such as location and types of safes, how to keep cash on hand, anti-crime training for employees and development and use of internal security systems could be included. This training could be most effective if conducted through the cooperative efforts of all citizens and repre-

representatives of the criminal justice system. This type of "total" involvement would promote personal commitment and mutual respect.

3. Formulation of model anti-crime programs by local officials, service clubs and civic organizations. Planning councils could be organized, representing every segment of the community, to develop ways in which lives and property can be protected against criminal activity.

4. Designate a "project city" for purposes of pilot studies involving a variety of new techniques to fight crime. When a number of anti-crime measures are introduced into a single community, the effectiveness of the combined effort would be more easily determined.

5. Increased participation by churches in an organized drive against pornography.

6. Recruit groups of clergymen of all faiths to serve during emergency situations—for example, patrolling troubled areas to exert a calming influence. The clergymen should wear some identifiable markings that would single them out as "peacemakers." This type of group effort must be coordinated with law enforcement agencies.

7. Appoint "block parents" in each neighborhood to provide a home where any child may take refuge if he becomes lost or is confronted by a suspicious stranger. The homes could be identified by an appropriate sign or window decal such as a "helping hand." Service clubs and churches could take an active part in this program.

8. Establish telephone warning systems among merchants, in cooperation with local law enforcement agencies. This could help to prevent business crimes, such as passing fraudulent checks, shoplifting, confidence games and robberies.

9. Enact local ordinances that will make auto theft more difficult. Laws have been passed in some areas against leaving keys in automobiles, or leaving the ignition unlocked.

10. Promote building security measures, including devices for doors and windows, silent and non silent alarm systems and industrial area planning. This could be done through merchant groups, business organizations and trade associations. Building security surveys, educational literature, and demonstrations by industrial security specialists could form part of this project.

11. Provide for more effective crime prevention by including representatives from the criminal justice system in various community activities. For example, the police should take part in planning and development of public transportation, building design, street lighting, parks and recreation, street and highway planning and parking facilities.

12. Form technical research and development committees at the community level and recruit the experts within the community. This could include such areas as science and technology, public relations, graphic arts, statistics, data processing and engineering. Particularly in smaller cities, these persons could serve without charge as a community service, and thus increase the resources available for the administration of justice.

13. Launch mass publicity campaigns to encourage citizens to observe and report crimes in progress, suspicious persons and suspicious vehicles. Pocket size information cards could be distributed instructing citizens as to what they should observe and how they should report to the police.

What has happened to the soul of America?

What has been presented in this study are some of the measures, some of the tools, some of the programs, needed to keep our people safe and free.

Individual acts of crime, and the ravages of organized crime, are matters which demand major concern of the citizen and his government. We must continue to press for the laws, the tools, and the citizen awareness needed to combat these forces.

But, these are now almost overshadowed by a new kind of crime: political lawlessness.

There are those today who say that each man can choose the law he wishes to obey; that need for social change is justification to wreck society; that reform is excuse enough to violate individuals and destroy property. In their perversion of the right to dissent, these revolutionary hypocrites sing songs to freedom but dance to the beat of anarchy.

Even now, as America struggles to reaffirm its commitment to a government of just laws equitably applied, there are those in high places who condone and even encourage wanton violation of the law. One of America's highest elected officials brags "I've got enough spark in me to lead a mighty good revolt."

With such irresponsible demagoguery in high office, is it any wonder that sparks of revolt are fanned into flames of rebellion? We cannot be safe, we cannot be free, if liberty becomes license; those who hold otherwise are not liberal, they are licentious.

Much of the lawlessness of today is a symptom of the sickness of permissiveness—permissiveness in the attitudes of right and wrong. It is a permissiveness which pervades our homes, our schools, our churches, our courts and our governments.

Suddenly it is wrong to hold an individual accountable for his own actions. Suddenly it is wrong to hold a parent accountable for the deeds of his child. Suddenly, now, it is unfair to expect college students to obey the rules.

What has happened to the concept of right and wrong—of reward for virtue and punishment for vice? What has happened when the guarantee of law, which was written to protect the law-abiding, is twisted and turned to set the criminal free? What has happened when anarchy is given status as a bargaining agent to halt the orderly process of a university?

What, indeed, has happened to the soul of America?

The time has come to state that the law will be upheld—and mean it; to say that once again no man will be above the law—or beneath it, and that every man will know the full protection of the law; to say that if the law is to be changed, the revisions will be written in the halls of government, not on the streets and sidewalks.

It is a basic part of the California Commitment that this be so. But, government cannot do it alone; law enforcement agencies cannot achieve it on their own. Government is the representative of—but not a substitute for—the people.

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1964

1964

RENDEZVOUS WITH DESTINY

On this and following pages you will find Ronald Reagan's 1964 TV speech — reprinted in full. Mr. Reagan wound up this speech with the statement: "You and I have a rendezvous with destiny." The statement (the theme of his speech) was far truer than even he realized at the time! -

His speech reminds historians of two earlier speeches: In 1856 a lawyer from Reagan's home State of Illinois made a speech for the GOP Presidential Candidate. The candidate lost, but that lawyer (his name was Abraham Lincoln) was drafted to run for the U.S. Senate in 1858. And in 1860 he was drafted to run for the Presidency.

In 1928 a little-known New Yorker delivered the nominating speech for the Democrat's Presidential Candidate. The candidate lost. But the speech-maker (his name was Franklin Delano Roosevelt) was drafted to run as Governor of New York (he won). And in 1932 he was elected to the first of his four terms as President of the United States!

APPENDIX

I am going to talk of controversial things. I make no apology for this. I have been talking on this subject for ten years, obviously under the administration of both parties. I mention this only because it seems impossible to legitimately debate the issues of the day without being subjected to name-calling and the application of labels. Those who deplore use of the terms "pink" and "leftist" are themselves guilty of branding all who oppose their liberalism as right wing extremists. How long can we afford the luxury of this family fight when we are at war with the most dangerous enemy ever known to man? If we lose that war, and in so doing lose our freedom, it has been said history will record with the greatest astonishment that those who had the most to lose did the least to prevent its happening. The guns are silent in this war but frontiers fall while those who should be warriors prefer neutrality. Not too long ago two friends of mine were talking to a Cuban refugee. He was a business man who had escaped from Castro. In the midst of his tale of horrible experiences, one of my friends turned to the other and said, "We don't know how lucky we are." The Cuban stopped and said, "How lucky you are! I had some place to escape to." And in that sentence he told the entire story. If freedom is lost here there is no place to escape to.

It's time we asked ourselves if we still know the freedoms intended for us by the Founding Fathers. James Madison said, "We base all our experiments on the capacity of mankind for self-government." This idea

that government was beholden to the people, that it had no other source of power except the sovereign people, is still the newest most unique idea in all the long history of man's relation to man. For almost two centuries we have proved man's capacity for self-government, but today we are told we must choose between a left and right or, as others suggest, a third alternative, a kind of safe middle ground. I suggest to you there is no left or right, only an up or down. Up to the maximum of individual freedom consistent with law and order, or down to the ant heap of totalitarianism, and regardless of their humanitarian purpose those who would sacrifice freedom for security have, whether they know it or not, chosen this downward path. Plutarch warned, "The real destroyer of the liberties of the people is he who spreads among them bounties, donations and benefits."

Today there is an increasing number who can't see a fat man standing beside a thin one without automatically coming to the conclusion the fat man got that way by taking advantage of the thin one. So they would seek the answer to all the problems of human need through government. Howard K. Smith of television fame has written, "The profit motive is outmoded. It must be replaced by the incentives of the welfare state." He says, "The distribution of goods must be effected by a planned economy." Another articulate spokesman for the welfare state defines liberalism as meeting the material needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government. I for one find it disturbing when a representative refers to the free men and women of this country as the masses, but beyond this the full power of centralized government was the very thing the Founding Fathers sought to minimize. They knew you don't control things, you can't control the economy without controlling people. So we have come to a time for choosing. Either we accept the responsibility for our own destiny, or we abandon the American Revolution and confess that an intellectual belief in a far-distant capitol can plan our lives for us better than we can plan them ourselves.

Already the hour is late. Government has laid its hand on health, housing, farming, industry, commerce, education, and to an ever increasing degree interferes with the people's right to know. Government tends to grow, government programs take on weight and momentum as public servants say, always with the best of intentions, "What greater service we could render if only we had a little more money and a little more power." But the truth is that outside of its legitimate function, government does nothing as well or as economically as the private sector of the economy. What better example do we have of this than government's involvement in the farm economy over the last 30 years. One-fourth of farming is responsible for 85 per cent of the farm surplus. One-fourth of farming has seen a steady decline in the per capita consumption of everything it produces. That one-fourth is regulated and subsidized by government.

In contrast, the three-fourths of farming unregulated and unsubsidized has seen a 21 per cent increase in the per capita consumption of all its produce. Since 1955 the cost of the farm program has nearly doubled. Direct payment to farmers is eight times as great as it was nine years ago, but farm income remains unchanged while farm surplus is bigger. In that same period we have seen a decline of five million in the farm population, but an increase in the number of Department of Agriculture employees. There is now one such employee for every 30 farms in the United States, and still they can't figure how 66 shiploads of grain headed for Austria could disappear without a trace, and Billy Sol Estes never left shore. Three years ago the government put into effect a program to curb the over-production of feed grain. Now, two and a half billion dollars later, the corn crop is 100 million bushels bigger than before the program started. And the cost of the program prorates out to \$13 for every dollar bushel of corn we don't grow. Nor is this the only example of the price we pay for government meddling. Some government programs with the passage of time take on a sacrosanct quality.

One such considered above criticism, sacred as motherhood, is TVA. This program started as a flood control project; the Tennessee Valley was periodically ravaged by destructive floods. The Army Engineers set out to solve this problem. They said that it was possible that once in 500 years there could be a total capacity flood that would inundate some 600,000 acres. Well the Engineers fixed that. They made a permanent lake which inundated a million acres. This solved the problem of the floods, but the annual interest on the TVA debt is five times as great as the annual flood damage they sought to correct. Of course, you will point out that TVA gets electric power from the impounded waters, and this is true, but today 85 per cent of TVA's electricity is generated in coal burning steam plants. Now perhaps you'll charge that I'm overlooking the navigable waterway that was created, providing cheap barge traffic, but the bulk of the freight barged on that waterway is coal being shipped to the TVA steam plants, and the cost of maintaining that channel each year would pay for shipping all of the coal by rail, and there would be money left over.

One last argument remains: The prosperity produced by such large programs of government spending. Certainly there are few areas where more spending has taken place. The Labor Department lists 30 per cent of the 169 counties in the Tennessee Valley as permanent areas of poverty, distress, and unemployment. Meanwhile, back in the city, under Urban Renewal, the assault on freedom carries on. Private property rights have become so diluted that public interest is anything a few planners decide it should be. In Cleveland, Ohio, to get a project under way, city officials reclassified 84 buildings as substandard in spite of the fact their own inspectors had previously pronounced these buildings sound. The owners stood by and watched 26 million dollars worth of property -- it

was destroyed by the headache ball. Senate Bill 628 says, "Any property, be it home or commercial structure, can be declared slum or blighted and the owner has no recourse at law. The Law Division of the Library of Congress and the General Accounting Office have said that the Courts will have to rule against the owner."

44
Housing. In one key Eastern city a man owning a blighted area sold his property to Urban Renewal for several million dollars. At the same time, he submitted his own plan for the rebuilding of this area and the government sold him back his own property for 22 per cent of what they paid. Now the government announces, "We are going to build subsidized housing in the thousands where we have been building in the hundreds." At the same time FIIA and the Veterans Administration reveal they are holding 120 thousand housing units reclaimed from mortgage foreclosure. Mostly because the low down payment, and the easy terms brought the owners to a point where they realized the unpaid balance on the homes amounted to a sum greater than the homes were worth, so they just walked out the front door, possibly to take up residence in newer subsidized housing, again with little or no down payment and easy terms.

Some of the foreclosed homes have already been bulldozed into the earth, others it has been announced will be refurbished and put on sale for down payments as low as \$100 and 35 years to pay. This will give the bulldozers a second crack. It is in the area of social welfare that government has found its most fertile growing bed. So many of us accept our responsibility for those less fortunate. We are susceptible to humanitarian appeals.

Federal welfare spending is today ten times greater than it was in the dark depths of the depression. Federal, state, and local welfare combined spent 45 billion dollars a year. Now the government has announced that 20 per cent, some 9.3 million families, are poverty stricken on the basis that they have less than a \$3,000 a year income.

If this present welfare spending was prorated equally among these poverty stricken families, we could give each family more than \$4,500 a year. Actually, direct aid to the poor averages less than \$600 per family. There must be some administrative overhead somewhere. Now are we to believe that another billion dollar program added to the half a hundred programs and the 45 billion dollars, will, through some magic, end poverty? For three decades we have tried to solve unemployment by government planning, without success. The more the plans fail, the more the planners plan.

The latest is the Area Redevelopment Agency, and in two years less than one-half of 1 per cent of the unemployed could attribute new jobs to this agency, and the cost to the taxpayer for each job found was

\$5,000. But beyond the great bureaucratic waste, what are we doing to the people we seek to help?

Recently a judge told me of an incident in his court. A fairly young woman, with six children, pregnant with her seventh, came to him for a divorce. Under his questioning it became apparent her husband did not share this desire. Then the whole story came out. Her husband was a laborer earning \$250 a month. By divorcing him she could get an \$80 raise. She was eligible for \$350 a month from the Aid to Dependent Children Program. She had been talked into the divorce by two friends who had already done this very thing. But any time we question the schemes of the do-gooders, we are denounced as being opposed to their humanitarian goal. It seems impossible to legitimately debate their solutions with the assumption that all of us share the desire to help those less fortunate. They tell us we are always against, never for anything. Well, it isn't so much that Liberals are ignorant. It's just that they know so much that isn't so.

We are for a provision that destitution should not follow unemployment by reason of old age. For that reason we have accepted Social Security as a step toward meeting that problem. However, we are against the irresponsibility of those who charge that any criticism or suggested improvement of the program means we want to end payment to those who depend on Social Security for a livelihood.

Fiscal Irresponsibility. We have been told in millions of pieces of literature and press releases, that social security is an insurance program, but the executives of Social Security appeared before the Supreme Court in the case of Nestor v. Fleming and proved to the Court's satisfaction that it is not insurance but is a welfare program, and Social Security dues are a tax for the general use of the government. Well it can't be both, insurance and welfare. Later, appearing before a Congressional Committee they admitted that Social Security is today 298 billion dollars in the red. This fiscal irresponsibility has already caught up with us.

Faced with a bankruptcy we find that today a young man in his early twenties, going to work at less than an average salary, will with his employer pay into Social Security an amount which could provide the young man with a retirement insurance policy guaranteeing \$220 a month at age 65, and the government promises him \$127.

Now are we so lacking in business sense that we cannot put this program on a sound actuarial basis, so that those who do depend on it won't come to the cupboard and find it bare, and at the same time can't we introduce voluntary features so that those who can make better provision for themselves are allowed to do so? Incidentally, we might also allow participants in Social Security to name their own beneficiaries, which they cannot do in the present program. These are not insurmountable problems.

145 -
Youth-Aid-Plan. We have today 50 million workers protected by industrial and pension funds that are soundly financed by some 70 billion dollars invested in corporate securities and income earning real estate. I think we are for telling our senior citizens that no one in this country should be denied medical care for lack of funds but we are against forcing all citizens into a compulsory government program regardless of need. Now the government has turned its attention to our young people, and suggests that it can solve the problem of school drop-outs and juvenile delinquency through some kind of revival of the old C.C.C. camps. The suggested plan prorates out to a cost of \$4,700 a year for each young person we want to help. We can send them to Harvard for \$2,700 a year. Of course, don't get me wrong—I'm not suggesting Harvard as the answer to juvenile delinquency. We are for an international organization where the nations of the world can legitimately seek peace. We are against subordinating American interests to an organization so structurally unsound that a two-thirds majority can be mastered in the U.N. General Assembly among nations representing less than 10 per cent of the world population.

Is there not something of hypocrisy in assailing our allies for so-called vestiges of colonialism while we engage in a conspiracy of silence about the peoples enslaved by the Soviet in the satellite nations? We are for aiding our allies by sharing our material blessings with those nations which share our fundamental beliefs. We are against doling out money, government to government, which ends up financing socialism all over the world.

We set out to help 19 war ravaged countries at the end of World War II. We are now helping 107. We have spent 146 billion dollars. Some of that money bought a \$2 million yacht for Haile Selassie. We bought dress suits for Greek undertakers. We bought 1,000 TV sets, with 23-inch screens, for a country where there is no electricity, and some of our foreign aid funds provided extra wives for Kenya government officials. When Congress moved to cut foreign aid they were told that if they cut it one dollar they endangered national security, and then Senator Henry Byrd revealed that since its inception foreign aid has rarely spent its allotted budget. It has today \$21 billion in unexpended funds.

Some time ago Dr. Howard Kershner was speaking to the prime minister of Lebanon. The prime minister told him proudly that his little country balanced its budget each year. It had no public debt, no inflation, a modest tax rate and had increased its gold holdings from \$70 to \$120 million. When he finished, Dr. Kershner said, "Mr. Prime Minister, my country hasn't balanced its budget 28 out of the last 40 years. My country's debt is greater than the combined debt of all the nations of the world. We have inflation, and we have a tax rate that takes from the private sector a percentage of income greater than any civilized

nation has ever seen and survived. We have long held the view that the solvency of our currency is in danger. Do you think that my country should continue to give your country millions of dollars each year?" The prime minister smiled and said, "No, but if you are foolish enough to do it, we are going to keep on taking the money."

9 Stalls for 1 Bull. And so we built a model stock farm in Lebanon, and we built nine stalls for each bull. I find something peculiarly appropriate in that. We have in our vaults \$15 billion in gold. We don't own an ounce. Foreign dollar claims against that gold total \$27 billion. In the last six years, 52 nations have bought \$7 billion worth of our gold and all 52 are receiving foreign aid.

Because no government ever voluntarily reduces itself in size, government programs once launched never go out of existence. A government agency is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth. The United States manual takes 25 pages to list by name every Congressman and Senator, and all the agencies controlled by Congress. It then lists the agencies coming under the Executive Branch, and this requires 520 pages.

Since the beginning of the century our gross national product has increased by 33 times. In the same period the cost of Federal government has increased 234 times, and while the work force is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ times greater, Federal employees number nine times as many. There are now $2\frac{1}{2}$ million Federal employees. No one knows what they all do. One Congressman found out what one of them does. This man sits at a desk in Washington. Documents come to him each morning. He reads them, initials them, and passes them on to the proper agency. One day a document arrived he wasn't supposed to read, but he read it, initialed it and passed it on. Twenty-four hours later it arrived back at his desk with a memo attached that said, "You weren't supposed to read this. Erase your initials, and initial the erasure."

While the Federal government is the great offender, the idea filter down. During a period in California when our population has increased 90 per cent, the cost of state government has gone up 600 per cent and the number of employees 500 per cent. Governments, state and local, now employ one out of six of the nation's work force. If the rate of increase of the last three years continues by 1970 one-fourth of the total work force will be employed by government. Already we have a permanent structure so big and complex it is virtually beyond the control of Congress and the comprehension of the people, and tyranny inevitably follows when this permanent structure usurps the policy-making function that belongs to elected officials.

One example of this occurred when Congress was debating whether to lend the United Nations \$100 million. While they debated the State Department gave the United Nations \$217 million and the United

Nations used part of that money to pay the delinquent dues of Castro's Cuba.

Under bureaucratic regulations adopted with no regard to the wish of the people, we have lost much of our Constitutional freedom. For example, federal agents can invade a man's property without a warrant, can impose a fine without a formal hearing, let alone a trial by jury, and can seize and sell his property at auction to enforce payment of that fine.

Rights by Dispensation. An Ohio deputy fire marshal sentenced a man to prison after a secret proceeding in which the accused was not allowed to have a lawyer present. The Supreme Court upheld that sentence, ruling that it was an administrative investigation of incidents damaging to the economy. Some place a perversion has taken place. Our natural unalienable rights are now presumed to be a dispensation of government, divisible by a vote of the majority. The greatest good for the greatest number is a high-sounding phrase but contrary to the very basis of our Nation, unless it is accompanied by recognition that we have certain rights which cannot be infringed upon, even if the individual stands outvoted by all of his fellow citizens. Without this recognition, majority rule is nothing more than mob rule.

It is time we realized that socialism can come without overt seizure of property or nationalization of private business. It matters little that you hold the title to your property or business if government can dictate policy and procedure and holds life and death power over your business. The machinery of this power already exists. Lowell Mason, former anti-trust law enforcer for the Federal Trade Commission, has written "American business is being harassed, bled and even black jacked under a preposterous crazy quilt system of laws." There are so many that the government literally can find some charge to bring against any concern it chooses to prosecute. Are we safe in our books and records?

The natural gas producers have just been handed a 428-page questionnaire by the Federal Power Commission. It weighs ten pounds. One firm has estimated it will take 70,000 accountant man hours to fill out this questionnaire, and it must be done in quadruplicate. The Power Commission says it must have it to determine whether a proper price is being charged for gas. The National Labor Relations Board ruled that a business firm could not discontinue its shipping department even though it was more efficient and economical to subcontract this work out.

The Supreme Court has ruled the government has the right to tell a citizen what he can grow on his own land for his own use. The Secretary of Agriculture has asked for the right to imprison farmers who violate their planting quotas. One business firm has been informed by the Internal Revenue Service that it cannot take a tax deduction for its institutional advertising because this advertising espoused views not in the public interest.

A child's prayer in a school cafeteria endangers religious freedom, but the people of the Amish religion in the State of Ohio who cannot participate in Social Security because of their religious beliefs have had their livestock seized and sold at auction to enforce payment of Social Security dues.

We approach a point of no return when government becomes so huge and entrenched that we fear the consequences of upheaval and just go along with it. The Federal government accounts for one-fifth of the industrial capacity of the nation, one-fourth of all construction, holds or guarantees one-third of all mortgages, owns one-third of the land, and engages in some nineteen thousand businesses covering half a hundred different lines. The Defense Department runs 259 supermarkets. They do a gross business of \$730 million a year, and lose \$150 million. The government spends \$11 million an hour every hour of the 24 and pretends we had a tax cut while it pursues a policy of planned inflation that will more than wipe out any benefit with depreciation of our purchasing power.

We need true tax reform that will at least make a start toward restoring for our children the American dream that wealth is denied to no one, that each individual has the right to fly as high as his strength and ability will take him. The economist Sumner Schlichter has said, "If a visitor from Mars looked at our tax policy, he would conclude it had been designed by a Communist spy to make free enterprise unworkable." But we cannot have such reform while our tax policy is engineered by people who view the tax as a means of achieving changes in our social structure. Senator Clark (D.-Pa.) says the tax issue is a class issue, and the government must use the tax to redistribute the wealth and earnings downward.

Karl Marx. On January 15th in the White House, the President told a group of citizens they were going to take all the money they thought was being unnecessarily spent, "take it from the have's and give it to the have-nots who need it so much." When Karl Marx said this he put it: "... from each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

Have we the courage and the will to face up to the immorality and discrimination of the progressive surtax, and demand a return to traditional proportionate taxation? Many decades ago the Scottish economist, John Ramsey McCulloch, said, "The moment you abandon the cardinal principle of exacting from all individuals the same proportion of their income or their property, you are at sea without rudder or compass and there is no amount of injustice or folly you may not commit." No nation has survived the tax burden that reached one-third of its national income.

Today in our country the tax collector's share is 37 cents of every dollar earned. Freedom has never been so fragile, so close to slipping

from our grasp. I wish I could give you some magic formula, but each of us must find his own role. One man in Virginia found what he could do, and dozens of business firms have followed his lead. Concerned because his 200 employees seemed unworried about government extravagance he conceived the idea of taking all of their withholding out of only the fourth paycheck each month. For three paydays his employees received their full salary. On the fourth payday all withholding was taken. He has one employee who owes him \$4.70 each fourth payday. It only took one month to produce 200 Conservatives.

Are you willing to spend time studying the issues, making yourself aware, and then conveying that information to family and friends? Will you resist the temptation to get a government handout for your community? Realize that the doctor's fight against socialized medicine is your fight. We can't socialize the doctor's without socializing the patients. Recognize that government invasion of public power is eventually an assault upon your own business. . . . If some among you fear taking a stand because you are afraid of reprisals from customers, clients, or even government, recognize that you are just feeding the crocodile hoping he'll eat you last.

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47 -
If all of this seems like a great deal of trouble think what's at stake. We are faced with the most evil enemy mankind has known in his long climb from the swamp to the stars. There can be no security anywhere in the free world if there is not fiscal and economic stability within the United States. Those who ask us to trade our freedom for the soup kitchen of the welfare state are architects of a policy of accommodation. They tell us that by avoiding a direct confrontation with the enemy he will learn to love us and give up his evil ways. All who oppose this idea are blanket indicted as war-mongers. Well let us set one thing straight, there is no argument with regard to peace and war. It is cheap demagoguery to suggest that anyone would want to send other peoples' sons to war. The only argument is with regard to the best way to avoid war. There is only one sure way--surrender.

Appeasement or Courage? The spectre our well-meaning liberal friends refuse to face is that their policy of accommodation is appeasement, and appeasement does not give you a choice between peace and war, only between fight or surrender. We are told that the problem is too complex for a simple answer. They are wrong. There is no easy answer, but there is a simple answer. We must have the courage to do what we know is morally right, and this policy of accommodation asks us to accept the greatest possible immorality. We are being asked to buy our safety from the threat of the Bomb by selling into permanent slavery our fellow human beings enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. To tell them to give up their hope of freedom because we are ready to make a deal with their slave masters.

Alexander Hamilton warned us that a nation which can prefer disgrace to danger is prepared for a master and deserves one. Admittedly there is a risk in any course we follow. Choosing the high road cannot eliminate that risk. Already some of the architects of accommodation have hinted what their decision will be if their plan fails and we are faced with the final ultimatum. The English commentator Tynan has put it: he would rather live on his knees than die on his feet. Some of our own have said "Better Red than dead." If we are to believe that nothing is worth the dying, when did this begin? Should Moses have told the children of Israel to live in slavery rather than dare the wilderness? Should Christ have refused the Cross? Should the patriots at Concord Bridge have refused to fire the shot heard round the world? Are we to believe that all the martyrs of history died in vain?

You and I have rendezvous with destiny. We can preserve for our children this the last best hope of man on earth or we can sentence them to take the first step into a thousand years of darkness. If we fail, at least let our children and our children's children, say of us we justified our brief moment here. We did all that could be done.

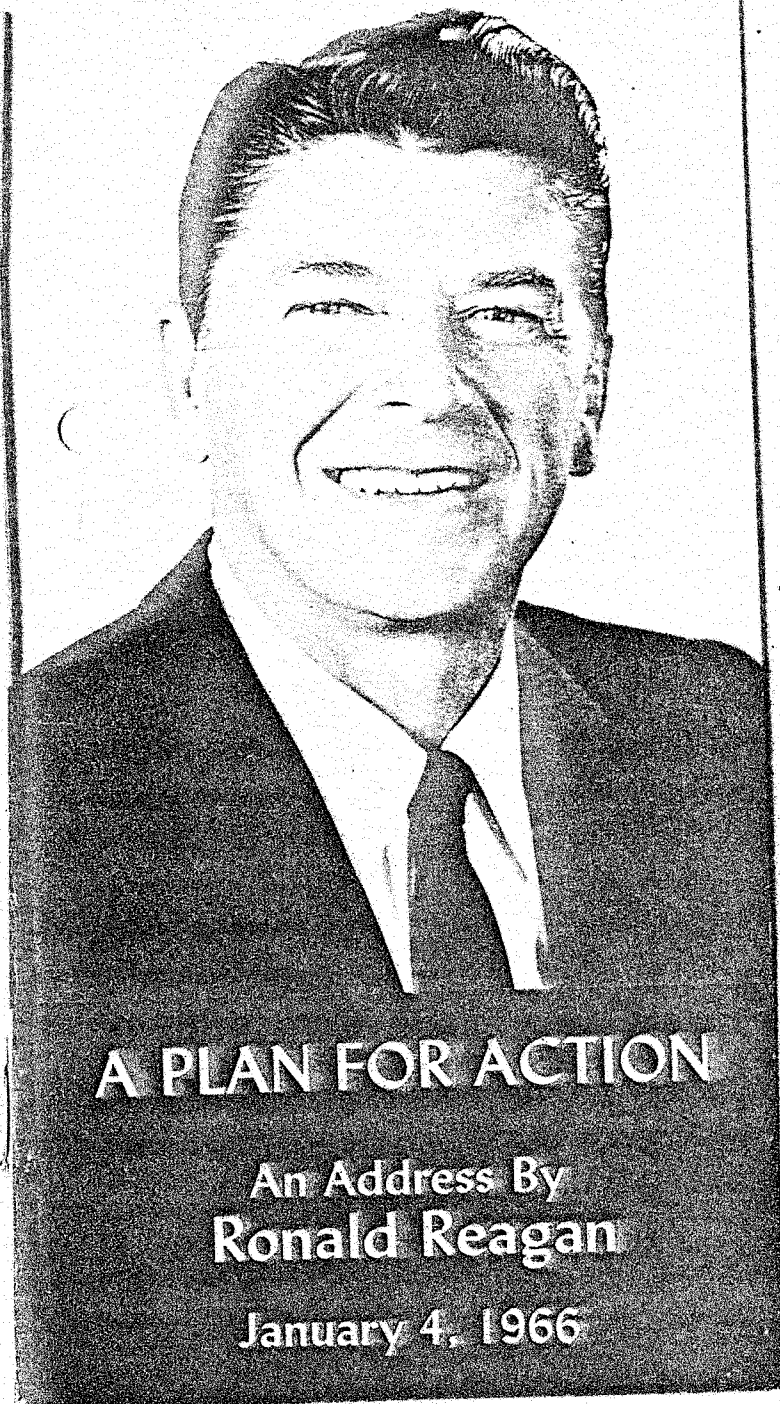
The speech above contains an excellent summary of Mr. Reagan's political philosophy, derived from his own convictions. It represents sentiments he has expressed publicly across the nation since the early 1950's!

1-4-66

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A PLAN FOR ACTION

**An Address By
Ronald Reagan**

January 4, 1966

A Plan for Action

By Ronald Reagan

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A creative society mobilizing the business and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

candidate seeking the Republican nomination for Governor.

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

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

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

In the meantime, you are entitled to some

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

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

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

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

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

4-19-66

"THE CREATIVE SOCIETY"

University of Southern California

April 19, 1966

Each generation is critical of its predecessor. And as the day nears when the classroom and playing field must give way to that larger arena with its problems of inequity and human misunderstanding, it is easy to look at those of us already in that arena and demand to know why the problems remain unsolved. We, who preceded you, asked that question of those who preceded us, and another generation will ask it of you. I hope there will be less justification for the question when it becomes your turn to answer.

Don't get me wrong! When the generation of which I am a part leaves the stage, I think that history will record that seldom has any generation fought harder and paid a higher price for freedom. We have known three wars in our lifetime--a cataclysmic, worldwide depression--and these events toppled governments and re-shaped the map. At the same time, as a result of this, or perhaps just because of human frailty, we have downgraded our performance with an attitude sometimes apathetic--sometimes cynical--toward the conduct of public affairs.

We are confused and we have confused you with a double standard of morality. We try to keep alive a moral code for our individual conduct--"don't cheat," "promises are sacred," "your word is your bond," "serve your fellow men"--but at the same time, we accept double-dealing at government levels, and we have lost our capacity to get angry when decisions are not based on moral truth, but on political expediency. When small men are granted great rewards for political favors, we excuse it with the expression: "Well, that's politics."

I have already established myself now as not of your generation, but I am aware there are those who go even farther and place me as far back as the Ice Age, or even farther than that--in the period of McKinley. I realize that modern political dialogue concerns itself largely with false image-making, rather than with legitimate debate over differing viewpoints; and no candidate can hope to engage in a political contest without experiencing the deliberate distortions of his positions and his beliefs. But I sometimes wonder if we haven't reached one of those moments in time when the stakes are much too high for this kind of middle-aged juvenile delinquency.

Public officials are elected primarily for one purpose--to solve public problems. You have a right to ask any candidate about his understanding of the problems facing us, his acceptance of responsibility for solving those problems, and whether he has a fresh approach or just offers the same old bargain-basement politics--"We will do everything the other fellow's been doing, only we will do it cheaper and better." You have a right to know--and I am obligated to tell you where I stand and what I believe.

To begin with, I am not a politician. I am an ordinary citizen with a deep-seated belief that much of what troubles us has been brought about by politicians; and it is high time that more ordinary citizens brought the fresh air of common sense thinking to bear on these problems. We have had enough of the wheeling and dealing, and enough of schemers and schemes. I think it is time now for dreamers... practical dreamers willing to re-implement the original dream which became this nation....the idea that has never fully been tried before in the world....that you and I have the capacity for self-government.... the dignity and the ability and the God-given freedom to make our own decisions, to plan our own lives and to control our own destiny.

Now it has been said that nothing is more powerful than idea whose time has come. This took place some 200 years ago in this country. But there is another such idea abroad in the land today. Americans, divided in so many ways, are united in their determination that no area of human need should be ignored. A people that can reach out to the stars has decided that the problems of human misery can be solved and they will settle for nothing less. The big question is not whether-but how--and at what price.

We can't accept the negative philosophy of those who close their eyes, hoping the problems will disappear, or that questions of unemployment, inequality of opportunity, or the needs of the elderly and the sick will take care of themselves. But, neither should we unquestioningly follow those others who pass the problems along to the federal government, abdicating their personal and local responsibility.

The trouble with that solution is that for every ounce of federal help we get, we surrender an ounce of personal freedom. The Great Society grows greater every day--greater in cost, greater in inefficiency and greater in waste. Now this is not to quarrel with its humanitarian goals or deny that it can achieve those goals. But, I do deny that it offers the only--or even the best--method of achieving those goals.

The administration in Sacramento is guilty of a leadership gap. Unwilling, or unable, to solve the problems of California, it has reduced this state to virtually an administrative district of the federal government. This is not to deny the rightful place of the federal government; but state sovereignty is an integral part of the checks and balances designed to restrain power and to restrain one group destroying the freedom of another. We can do more by keeping California tax dollars in California than we can by running them through those puzzle palaces on the Potomac only to get them back minus a carrying charge.

Federal help has neither reduced the size of the burden of our state government nor has it solved our problems. In California, government is larger in proportion to the population than in any other state and it is increasing twice as fast as the increase in population. Our tax burden, local and state, is \$100 higher per capita than it is in the rest of the nation, and the local property tax is increasing twice as fast as our increase in personal income.

What is obviously needed is not more government, but better government, seeking a solution to the problems that will not add to bureaucracy, or unbalance the budget, or further centralize power.

Therefore, I propose a constructive alternative to the Great Society which I have chosen to call "A Creative Society." While leadership and initiative for this Creative Society should begin the governor's office, it would be the task of the entire state government to discover, enlist and mobilize the incredibly rich human resources of California, calling on the best in every field to review and revise our governmental structure and present plans for streamlining it and making it more efficient and more effective.

There is no major problem that cannot be resolved by a vigorous and imaginative state administration willing to utilize the tremendous potential of our people. We have the greatest concentration of industrial and scientific research facilities of any state in the Union. Tens of thousands of successful and highly talented men and women are in our business communities; colleges and universities are rich in possibilities for study and research; charities and philanthropic enterprises are many, and there are innumerable people of creative talent in the professions.

We have attracted the most youthful, the brightest and the best trained people from every state and every nation. We have untapped resources in the retired men and women with lifetime records of achievement in every conceivable area of endeavor. Probably there is more talent prematurely retired in California than in any other state. And these people, I believe, would welcome a chance for meaningful personal fulfillment in community service--if only someone would ask them.

And that is the basis of the Creative Society--government no longer substituting for the people, but recognizing that it cannot possibly match the great potential of the people, and thus, must coordinate the creative energies of the people for the good of the whole.

Now this is not some glorified program for passing the buck and telling the people to play Samaritan and solve the problems on their own, while government stands by to hand out Good Conduct ribbons. There is a definite and active role for government, but as our numbers increase and society grows more complex, the idea of an economy planned or controlled by government just doesn't make sense. No matter how talented, government is, it is incapable of making the multitudinous decisions that must be made every day in the market place and in our community living. Big business has already replaced autocratic rule from the top with decentralization, and government must do the same thing.

This means the Creative Society must return authority to the local communities--give them the right to run their own affairs. The people in San Francisco know better than anyone in Sacramento where a freeway in San Francisco should go.

A skyrocketing crime rate has given California almost double its proportionate share of crime--crimes of violence--simply because the state, as a result of certain judicial decisions, denies local governments the right to pass ordinances for the protection of the people. Time after time, legislation has been introduced to correct this. Much of it died in committee in Sacramento; but eventually, when it did pass the Assembly or the Senate, it was vetoed by the governor. The legislation will, and must, be reintroduced and signed into law to give our police the power to make our streets safe again. At the same time, government must call upon the best minds in the field of human relations and law and penology for a creative

I propose and urge the adoption of a plan whereby a joint committee of laymen and members of the Bar Association will choose a panel of individuals, based on their personal character and on their legal experience and ability. And then the governor would be forced to appoint all judges from this panel, taking judicial appointments once and for all out of politics.

A confidential survey of industry reveals that by all the criteria used to establish economic health, California comes off looking like that fellow on TV before he takes the pill. We lead the nation in population increase, but we lag far behind the national average in growth of personal income, retail sales and gross product. When home construction fell off last year in the country, it declined five times more in California than it did in the rest of the nation. Five years ago, we were sixth among the states in our ability to attract new industries; today we have fallen to 13th. And running like a thread through this survey are the reports of government's unfriendly attitude toward business, evidenced by the harassing regulations, needless paper work and regressive tax policies.

The present administration's approach to our deteriorating business climate is always another pill out of the same old bottle--build another bureau, add another tax, put the unemployed on the public payroll. The Creative Society will, instead, turn to those who truly have the capacity to create jobs and prosperity. Ask the best brains of industry and the community: What is needed to make California once again attractive to industry? Ask them to evolve the plans for creating job opportunities and a program of on-the-job training--because in the last analysis, employment and prosperity are the function and responsibility of private enterprise. It is government's responsibility to end the harassment, road blocks, regressive taxation and to offer, wherever practical, tax incentives which will help to provide jobs and a friendly business climate.

Somewhere, every problem that faces us is being solved economically and efficiently by citizens who did not wait for the slow growth of bureaucracy. The Creative Society would encourage the expansion of these voluntary efforts instead of competing them out of existence with free federal handouts which turn out not to be very free at all.

A Californian concerned with needy college students and their problems aroused the interest of bankers and other interested citizens and today, through the United Student Loan Fund, some 65,000 students, on 700 campuses, have borrowed \$35 million from banks which will be repaid after graduation. Every dollar is underwritten voluntarily by private citizens with government playing no part whatsoever.

Following the tragic disturbance in Watts last summer, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce mobilized hundreds of industrial concerns in this area and they agreed that unemployment was their responsibility. Working with a committee of fine, responsible Negro businessmen in that area, they set out to establish an employment and job training program and so far, they have put 5,000 of the citizens in that area to work or in on-the-job training spots. This is almost as many people as there are poverty program administrators in the area.

A businessman in Texas, brought up in poverty--now successful--founded a boys ranch. He and his wife worked tirelessly--just the two of them--and they have developed what J. Edgar Hoover has called a "blue print for the prevention of crime." Three hundred boys, ranging in age from 4 to 17, are cared for at a per capita cost of about \$1,600 a year. Compare this with the \$3,600 a year it costs us to maintain a boy in juvenile hall.

Here in California, a B'nai B'rith Lodge adopted one of our youth probation camps. Just by lending a helping hand, showing an interest, being willing to listen to these young men, they have reduced the period of time the boys must stay in this camp by a full one-third. It would be easy to establish what that means to the taxpayer in dollars and cents. And all it took was a little time and a little human compassion.

Have we in America forgotten our own accomplishments? For 200 years we have been fighting the most successful war on poverty the world has ever seen. We built the West without waiting for an area redevelopment plan. San Francisco, destroyed by fire, was rebuilt by Californians who did not wait for urban renewal. We have fought our wars with citizen-soldiers and dollar-a-year-men.

At the end of World War I, American citizens cooperated with government in a voluntary program of Belgian relief that saved millions of lives. As World War II drew to a close, Jesse Jones, secretary of commerce, alarmed at the plans he saw on bureaucratic drawing boards in Washington, appealed to corporation heads and businessmen and asked them, instead, to plan the transition from war-time to peace-time economy. The Council of Economic Advisors was born. Fifty thousand business leaders, through 2,000 community organizations, performed what is still viewed as an economic miracle--and no tax dollars changed hands.

Farming is California's greatest industry, responsible, directly or indirectly, for one-third of our employment and 70 percent of all the cash business transactions that take place in the state. We produce a greater variety on California farms than any other state--some 200 crops--and 98 percent of our farming is out on the free market, unsubsidized by the federal farm program. But our farmers have very little voice in our state capitol of Sacramento. Last year they were made into guinea pigs for a sociological experiment by the federal government, aided and abetted by our state government. They, and representatives of associated industries, should be called in and they should be asked, in a Creative Society, for common sense answers to their problems and the voice of California government should be raised in their behalf.

Control of education should remain, as much as possible, at the level of the local school boards and unwanted unification should not be imposed from above, but should only take place if it represents the will of the people directly involved. Increased autonomy should be granted to our state colleges and universities and the management of the people's affairs should be kept, as much as possible, at the local level.

The Creative Society, in other words, is simply a return to the people of the privilege of self-government, as well as a pledge for more efficient representative government--citizens of proven ability in their fields, serving where their experience qualifies them, proposing common sense answers for California's problems, reviewing the governmental structure itself and bringing it into line with the most advanced, modern business practices.

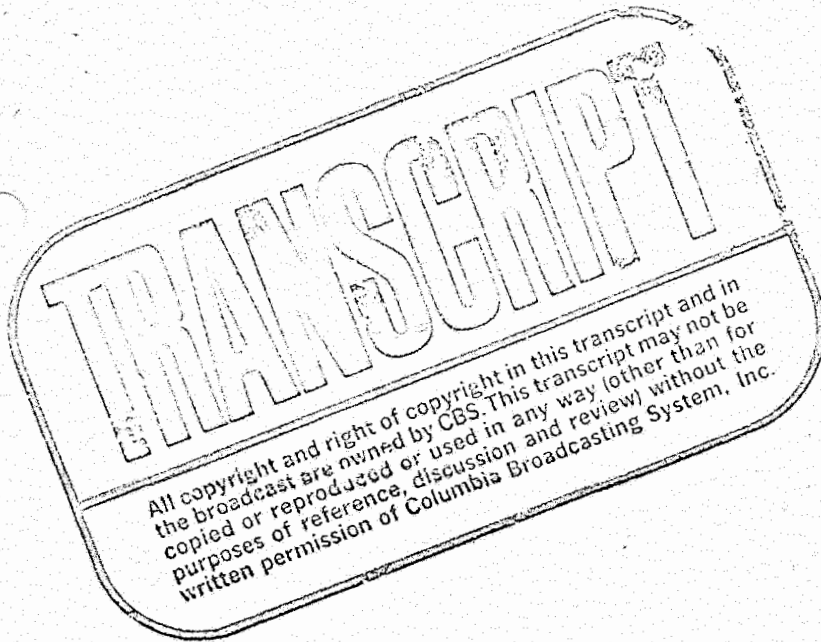
Those who talk of complex problems, requiring more government planning and more control, in reality are taking us back in time to the acceptance of rule of the many by the few. It is time to look to the future. We have had enough talk--disruptive talk--in America of left and right, dividing us down the center. There is really no such choice facing us. The only choice we have is up or down--up, to the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with law and order, or down, to the deadly dullness of totalitarianism.

Do we still have the courage and the capacity to dream? If so, I wish you would join me in a dream. Join me in a dream of a California whose government is not characterized by political hacks and cronies and relatives--an administration that doesn't make its decisions based on political expediency but on moral truth. Together, let us find men to match our mountains. We can have a government administered by men and women who are appointed on the basis of ability and dedication--not as a reward for political favors. If we must have a double standard of morality, then let it be one which demands more of those in government, not less.

This is a practical dream. It is a dream you can believe in. It is a dream worthy of your generation. Better yet, it is a dream that can come true, and all we have to do is want it badly enough.

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TOWN MEETING OF THE WORLD

"The Image of America and the Youth of the World"

as broadcast over the

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
and the
CBS RADIO NETWORK

Monday, May 15, 1967

10:00 - 11:00 PM, EDT

With CBS NEWS Correspondent Charles Collingwood

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER: Don Hewitt.

STEPHEN MARKS: Senator Kennedy, I'd like to ask you what you think of Dean Rusk's recent claim that the effect of anti-Vietnam war demonstrations in the States may actually be to prolong the war rather than to shorten it?

SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY: The war is going on in Vietnam, being extended in Vietnam, really because of the determination of those who are our adversaries, the North Vietnamese, the Vietcong, National Liberation Front. I don't think a particular action takes place - military action takes place in South Vietnam because of the protests here in the United States. I think that if all the protests were ended, and even if all of the objections to the war came to an end here in this country, that the war in Vietnam would continue.

I'm sure to some extent the fact that there are some protests gives some encouragement to Ho Chi Minh and to others. But I don't - I certainly don't think that that's the reason the war is continuing, and why the casualties are going up.

GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, I definitely think the demonstrations are prolonging the war in that they're giving the enemy, who I believe must face defeat on relative comparison of the power of the two nations, they are giving him encouragement to continue, to hold out in the hope that division here in America will bring about a peace without defeat for that enemy.

Many of the demonstrations now taking place in this country could not legally take place if there was a legal declaration of war, so we, I think, are faced with a choice here. But again, and I'm sure the Senator agrees with me, America will jealously guard this right of dissent, because I think the greatness of our country has been based on our thinking that everyone has a right even to be wrong.

CHARLES COLLINGWOOD: I'm Charles Collingwood and this is TOWN MEETING OF THE WORLD, the latest in an occasional series of trans-Atlantic confrontations that's been going on ever since communication satellites made them possible. With me here in the studio of the BBC in London are a group of young people, university students from - one from the United States, but the rest of them from Europe, Africa and Asia. They are all attending universities in Great Britain. They have ideas, all of them, sometimes provocative ones, about the United States, its role and its image. For the next hour, via the Atlantic communications satellite, they will be participating in a global dialogue with Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat of New York, and Governor Ronald Reagan, Republican of California.

ANNOUNCER: This is another in the CBS NEWS series, TOWN MEETING OF THE WORLD. Tonight's subject: "The Image of America, and the Youth of the World." We'll be back in a moment.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

ANNA FORD: I believe the war in Vietnam is illegal, immoral, politically unjustifiable and economically motivated. Could either of you agree with this?

COLLINGWOOD: Who wants to start? Senator Kennedy?

KENNEDY: I don't agree with that. I have some reservations as I've stated them before about some aspects of the war, but I think that the United States is making every effort to try to make it possible for the people of South Vietnam to determine their own destiny. I think that's all we want - no matter how - how we - what reservations we have about the conduct of the war. I think that we're all agreed in the United States that if the war can be settled and the people of South Vietnam can determine their own destiny and determine their own future, that we want to leave South Vietnam. That's the stated governmental policy, certainly what I would like to see, and I think that's backed by the vast majority of American people. The fact is that the insurgency against - that's taking place in South Vietnam is being supported by North Vietnam. If both of us withdraw and let the people of South Vietnam determine and decide what they want, what kind of government they want, what kind of future they want, what kind of economic system they want to establish, I think that's all we're interested in, that's all we're interested in accomplishing. So I think it's quite different than you've described it.

COLLINGWOOD: Governor Reagan, what about you?

REAGAN: Well, I think we're very much in agreement on this, that this country of ours has a long history of non-aggression but also a willingness to befriend and go to the aid of those who would want to be free and determine their own destiny. Now, I think all of us are agreed that war is probably man's greatest stupidity and I think peace is the dream that lives in the heart of everyone wherever he may be in the world, but unfortunately, unlike a family quarrel, it doesn't take two to make a war. It only takes one, unless the other one is prepared to surrender at the first hint of force. I do believe that our goal is the right of a people to self-determination and to not have a way of life, a government or a system forced upon them.

DAVID JENKINS: Mr. Reagan, just five minutes ago on this program, you said every man has the right of dissent and I believe that every man has the right to be wrong. No doubt you'd also support the American ideal of freedom. Now, while on this I want to ask you whether you'd support the people who at the moment you say are dodging the draft, and whether you will go on record as supporting people who claim to be conscientious objectors as a means for not joining the war in Vietnam?

REAGAN: Oh, now wait a minute! I thank you for giving me a chance, if I left the wrong impression. We agree in this country of the right of people to be wrong, but as I said before, taking advantage of the technicality that we are not legally in a state of war, we have people doing things with which I am in great disagreement. I do not believe in those who are resisting the draft. Now, we draw a line between the conscientious objector on religious grounds. With our great belief in religious freedom in our country, we have always said those whose religion specifically prohibits them, such as our Quakers, from taking human life, we offer them military service in a noncombat

role such as being medics and so forth, and they have a great and honorable history, people of this kind, of serving in our wars in that capacity. But I believe if government is to mean anything at all, that all of us have a responsibility, once the action has been decided upon and supposedly by the majority will, that we then, while reserving our right to disagree, we support the collective or the unified effort of the nation. Otherwise, all law and order and all government breaks down, because we might have a citizen who has a conscientious objection to paying taxes, and if we allow our citizens to voluntarily quit paying taxes, the government breaks down - or obeying the law, or anything else that may come along. We give up certain individual freedoms in the interest of - well, I suppose it comes from our own Constitution, our idea that every American or every person has the right, is born with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. But my pursuit of happiness, if it comes from swinging my arm, I must stop swinging my arm just short of the end of your nose.

COLLINGWOOD: Senator Kennedy, is there anything you want to add to that?

KENNEDY: Well, I expect I disagree somewhat with the Governor. I don't think that we're automatically correct or automatically right and morality is on our side or God is automatically on our side because we're involved in a war. I don't think that the mere fact that the United States is involved in the use of force with an adversary makes everything that the United States then does absolutely correct. So I - the idea that we're involved in this kind of a struggle, if there are those within the United States that feel that the struggle could be ended more rapidly with less loss of life, that the terror and the destruction would be less if we took a different course, then I think that they should make their views known. I don't think they're less patriotic because they feel that. In fact, I think that they would be less patriotic if they didn't state their views and give their ideas, just because the United States is involved in this kind of a conflict as we are at the present time. Not to state any opposition, or say that we can't state an opposition because of the - the fact that we're involved in a struggle I think is an error. This is a difficult period of time, but the mere fact that we're shooting one another across the world doesn't make the United States automatically right. I think it should be examined. It doesn't make the course that we're following at the present time automatically right, automatically correct and I think that those who have a different point of view, no matter what their point of view might be and whether they are in favor of using increased force, or in favor of lessening the force, or even - some - of pulling out unilaterally - I happen to disagree with that - but I think they have a responsibility and a right to state those views, even though we're in a difficult period of time.

COLLINGWOOD: Would you draw the line at draft-dodging though. Yes, Mr. Reagan?

REAGAN: Well, I just - again apparently I haven't made myself clear. Senator, I want to make it plain, this. No, as I say, we reserve the

right of dissent, but when that dissent takes the form of actions that actually aid the enemy, the enemy that is engaged in killing our forces, such as avoiding the draft, refusing service, blocking troop trains and shipments of munitions as we've had here in this country by some demonstrators, this is going beyond the dissent that is provided in our present governmental system, whereby any American can stand up, protest, can convey his feelings to the legislature or to the duly organized government in an effort to get the government to change its course; but again, it must stop short of lending comfort and aid to an enemy that is presently engaged in forceful activities against our country.

COLLINGWOOD: Arshad Mahmood of Pakistan.

ARSHAD MAHMOOD: Both of you a moment ago defended the right of self-determination of people and the right to dissent. I was wondering, given the assumption that North Vietnam and South Vietnam can be brought to the conference table, would you advocate that the National Liberation Front be given a place in the con - in the negotiations or in the conference?

KENNEDY: Is that - who is that directed at?

COLLINGWOOD: Well, why don't you start, Senator?

KENNEDY: I've said before that I'm in favor of the National Liberation Front being represented at the conference table, that they come to the conference table, that they take place - that they take a part in the discussions. They have been involved in the struggle for a long period of time. I don't think that we can arrive at any meaningful peace - I don't think we can have any negotiations that are really going to be very productive unless the National Liberation Front is represented and I would therefore be in favor of the National Liberation Front, who is the political arm of those who are providing most of the troops, most of the force, most of the effort in the south, being represented at the conference table.

COLLINGWOOD: Governor?

REAGAN: Well, here we're in disagreement. I believe if there is any negotiation involving the Vietcong, that that is between the Vietcong, and the South Vietnamese government, in a negotiation of their own, because the Vietcong is in a position of being a rebellious force, an illegal force, fighting against the duly authorized government of its own nation, and to sit them down at a negotiating table between two nations, North and South Vietnam, who are engaged in a conflict, is tipping the scales. I doubt if we - if we wanted to draw a parallel...

KENNEDY: Do you think the United States, should be represented then?

ARSHAD MAHMOOD: Surely, Governor...

REAGAN: No, if you're going to have a negotiation between North and South Vietnam...

KENNEDY: But if you're going to have negotiations to end the war, and North Vietnam, South Vietnam, is going to be represented, shouldn't the United States and the National Liberation Front be there?

REAGAN: I don't think you can have a rebel force that is engaged in criminal activity having the distinction of sitting at the table as - as one of the representatives.

JEFF JORDAN: I'm sorry, but you say that you believe in self-determination and in this lovely idea of let everybody decide for themselves. Yet, in Vietnam, in 1954, you refused to sign the Geneva Convention, you refused to allow independent elections in Vietnam, you forced the Diem regime on the Vietnamese people, it was hated by the Vietnamese people, it put six million in forced prison camps. This was your puppet regime, and you supported it. You've refused to come to the negotiations with the Vietcong, and you've shown every time you ask for a peace talk, all you do is escalate the war. This is only one example in Vietnam. You've got the example of the C.I.A. overthrowing the Jagan government, you've got the example of it giving 104 million pounds' aid, military aid to Greece. There are so many examples of America refusing to allow a people to determine for itself what government it would have.

REAGAN: Now, are you talking about a people determining what government they'll have, or are you talking about a faction within a country that wants to take over and dictate the system to a country? Now, I disagree, I disagree.

JORDAN: ...the Diem regime. Would you say the Diem regime was a popular one, or was it one which you imposed on a people and which the people then rebelled against?

REAGAN: I doubt that you could make much of a case. I challenge your history. In 1954...

JORDAN: ...the history of the Diem regime, sir?

REAGAN: I do. Because there was a referendum taken in 1954, in which 90 per cent of the people voted, in a referendum, for Diem to take the position that he took. He was subsequently endorsed in two other elections, a few years apart, in which they elected both the General Assembly for his government that was preponderantly pro-Diem; they re-elected him to his position. We could hardly have installed a puppet regime at a time when we had less than 700 unarmed military advisers, many of them non-commissioned officers, helping to teach the South Vietnamese how to organize an army for protection against guerrillas in their own country.

JORDAN: I'm sorry, are you saying that you approve of the activities of the Diem regime?

REAGAN: What activities?

JORDAN: Do you approve that they put six million in forced prison camps and that the American advisers did nothing but help them in this?

REAGAN: I challenge your history again. There is absolutely no record that six million people were put in concentration camps. They only have 16 million to begin with. Now, I'd also like to challenge something else about the supposed evils of the Diem regime. I do approve of Diem's land reform in which he took from the great mandarin holdings, and began to make land available to the peasants and to the people of Vietnam, who had never owned land before. But also, I would like to call to your attention that a team from the U.N. was sent to Saigon, Vietnam, to investigate the charges made against Diem's regime. They did investigate those, but as they returned to this country, Diem was assassinated, which I think was one of the great tragedies of this whole conflict; and the United Nations report, which they declined to make official because they thought why bring anything up now that he's been killed, has on the other hand, been published, there has been public access to it, and the United Nations report completely cleared the Diem regime of any of the charges that had been brought against him.

COLLINGWOOD: Governor, let's get Senator Kennedy in on this. We haven't heard from him in a while. What about your answer to Jordan's question, Senator?

KENNEDY: Well, why doesn't somebody ask me a question, and then I'll answer it specifically?

JORDAN: Can I - can I ask you the question then?

COLLINGWOOD: Hands sprout up again. Go ahead, Jordan.

JORDAN: ...self-determination, the principle of which Mr. Reagan made use, seems to me to be violated by America's record in Vietnam, by its refusal to allow free elections which was the suggestion of the Geneva Convention, by its supporting of...

KENNEDY: O.K., I understand that. I understand. I would say that there, as I've said before, I think that there were mistakes that were made over the period of the last 10 years. There were mistakes in which I was involved - excuse me.

JORDAN: Do you regard it as a mistake that a million civilians have been killed?

KENNEDY: If a million civilians have been killed, I would regard it as a mistake - I think that the civilians being killed in North Vietnam, or South Vietnam, I think that the terrorism that existed in North Vietnam was a mistake: I think that the terrorism - the killings that took place in Hungary during the 1950's were a mistake; and I think that some of the actions of President Diem in South Vietnam were a mistake. I think that the United States at various times have been associated with governments which do not represent the will and the wish of the people, and I think that that is most unfortunate, but I don't go on this program, and I don't think Governor Reagan goes on this program, saying that we never made a mistake and that we never erred, because I think we have. But if we look at the present times, if I might say to you, if we look at the present time, the fact is, the United States is willing to have elections in South Vietnam,

willing to abide by the result of those elections, willing to permit an outside group to come in and supervise the elections, and it's the North Vietnamese that are unwilling to accept that.

Let me also say, if you want to criticize President Diem, I think that at the same time, I would suggest that perhaps you could also criticize North Vietnam. When did they last have a free election? When did they last have a free election in any of the countries who are our adversaries? I agree that our standard that we hold up to the rest of the world might be higher and might be different, and therefore we have a greater responsibility to adhere to it. And at times we have not in our relationships with some of the countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa, and I'd be glad to go into what I think the explanation of that is. But I don't say that we are without fault, I don't say that even the administration that I was involved with - President Kennedy - was without fault, in our policy towards Vietnam; but nor has North Vietnam. And the other important point is, which I think you should accept, and have to accept, is the fact that we are willing at the present time to abide by elections. We've stated it quite clearly, and that we were willing to permit an outside group to come in and supervise it.

JORDAN: I don't know who you mean by "we." But President Johnson and certainly Governor Reagan isn't prepared to have realistic negotiations with the Vietcong, who you agree ought to be at the conference table. While they're spending 20 billion dollars a year destroying the country, and while your government refuses...

KENNEDY: You're wrong in your figures again - it's about 25 billion.

JORDAN: Oh, splendid, 25 billion dollars...

KENNEDY: But I wouldn't say - let me just say this - let's also - it doesn't do any good for any of us to get into exaggerations. We're not spending 25 billion dollars to destroy the country. We feel very strongly in the United States - you can smile if you wish - but we listen to you, just listen to us for a second. We want the people of South Vietnam - again, Governor Reagan and I have some differences and I have perhaps differences with others, but - and - but the fact is that we do agree that we will abide by the results of elections in South Vietnam. That's all we're interested in, in South Vietnam - that people make their own determination. President Johnson has said publicly that he is willing to abide by the elections, and even if the Communists take over the country, that the United States will withdraw. Now if the North Vietnamese were to make a public statement now, "We'll abide by the elections, and we'll have elections there in 60 days, and we'll have the I.C.C. come in and supervise the elections," then I think that - and then we back down - then I think there's more point to your statement. We held out the challenge, that we're willing to abide by the election if that's where you put your emphasis. I think it's much more complicated.

JORDAN: ...if it doesn't come about in 60 days - can we take it that I'm right?

KENNEDY: Excuse me?

JORDAN: You said, sir, that if this doesn't happen in 60 days there's a point to my question.

KENNEDY: No - but will the North Vietnamese agree to elections? Can you deliver the North Vietnamese?

STEVEN MARKS: Senator Kennedy, can I ask you something about those elections because what I understand from reading the American press, is that in elections that have recently been held in South Vietnam, no one that the government considered in its own opinion was either a neutralist or a Communist, was allowed to stand.

KENNEDY: Yes, that's right.

MARKS: And, there was also considerable intimidation. Now, it seems to me that if you - you accuse us being inconsistent, that if you're going to accuse North Vietnam of not holding free elections, then you should condemn the South Vietnam government that President Johnson is supporting for holding elections that are equally as farcical as anything that ever happened in a Communist country.

KENNEDY: Well, let me just say this, I said in the beginning that there were mistakes and things done that I would disagree with in South Vietnam. I'm just saying - and I don't think - and I agree with your criticism of the elections of South Vietnam. As I have said before, I don't think that's the point. The point is that we have said that we'd be willing to abide by the result of elections, and I don't say that the elections that have been held have been free elections. You're absolutely right. The government of South Vietnam has not permitted neutralists or Communists to - or people from the National Liberation Front, to participate in the elections that it held in the past. But we said, the United States policy has been that if the North Vietnamese will agree to it, the National Liberation Front will agree to it, that we will agree to hold elections in which all parties will participate in South Vietnam and let the people themselves determine their own destiny. I said that I'm sure we'd be willing to do that in 60 days, if you can get Mr. Ho Chi Minh and the head of the National Liberation Front to participate with us. That is the challenge I'm offering to you.

COLLINGWOOD: Mr. Graziani of Italy.

GRAZIANI: Yes. I mean, I think this very relevant. I think what we want to know is what the Americans are doing in Vietnam. I think what we want to know is what right they have to be there. By going there, they have breached the U.N. Charter, the U.S. Constitution, and the Geneva Agreements. What can you say about that?

REAGAN: Well, I don't think they have breached any of those agreements. As a matter of fact, by the Geneva Agreement, two countries were created, with the 17th Parallel dividing them...

STUDENTS: No, no, a temporary division.

REAGAN: A million people - a million people fled across the border to South Vietnam. Now...

GRAZIANI: Can I quote you a passage from the Geneva Agreement? "The 17th Parallel dividing North from South Vietnam is mere provisional military demarcation line, and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary. The introduction into Vietnam of foreign troops and military personnel, arms and ammunitions is prohibited." Don't you think that this is abridged?

REAGAN: Oh, Mr. Graziani, I - just a moment. When I said this, I'm not talking about the fact that Geneva set this up as a separate country, but once the demarcation line was set, was it not Ho Chi Minh and the North Vietnamese that closed that border after a million refugees had fled from the Communist regime that was imposed in North Vietnam - had fled to South Vietnam? Did they not make this a country themselves, and did they not create or start the aggression with regard to a South Vietnam in violation of that treaty? (Several voices)

COLLINGWOOD: Let's hear Senator Kennedy on this, Mr. Graziani. Let's hear Senator Kennedy on this.

KENNEDY: Well, first, I - I think probably I've some differences with Governor Reagan regarding communism at the moment. First, I'd say...

GRAZIANI: Answer my question first.

KENNEDY: Well, I don't know...

GRAZIANI: I'm sorry. You should. You should give the legal right for America to be in Vietnam.

KENNEDY: I'll come around to it. I think I can answer it the way I want. I don't think that communism is a monolithic political system at the moment. I think there are very major differences between the Soviet Union and Communist China, and I think that that's recognized in the United States, as I think it's recognized in Europe and recognized elsewhere around the globe.

I agree that I don't think that the Communist system wishes us well, but I think that it's recognized that - that it's a different system than it was 20 years ago, that we're going to make every effort within the United States, our governments, our people make every effort to try to reach an accomodation, particularly with the Soviet Union, that we recognize the danger from China, but that as President Johnson has said, that we're going to make every effort to try to reach an accomodation also with Communist China, if that's possible. Perhaps out of the internal struggles that are taking place within China at the present time, out of that might come a government which - with which not only the United States, but the Soviet Union and other countries around the globe could deal. That's what we're hoping.

COLLINGWOOD: Let's see what some of the others...

GRAZIANI: You did not answer the question.

KENNEDY: I will be glad to answer the question.

GRAZIANI: I asked you already, what are the legal rights for the America to be in Vietnam?

KENNEDY: I'm going to answer that. I'll just say that other people have raised points. And I think that it's interesting that they've raised them and that we're going to discuss them. But in any case, we were invited to come in, in 1955 by the government at that time to give help and assistance. It was after - in - during 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, when there were indications that North Vietnam was supporting some insurgency within the South, and it was to struggle against that insurgency that the United States sent greater numbers of people. We have had the same agreements in Western Europe. We sent troops to Western Europe and kept them there with NATO after the end of the Second World War to insure that there wouldn't be an overthrowing of the governments of those countries and that the people themselves could determine their own destiny and their own future.

COLLINGWOOD: TOWN MEETING OF THE WORLD will be back in a moment.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

COLLINGWOOD: Well, we're having a brisk argument about whether or not the National Liberation Front should be represented, and among the students there are all sorts of hands up. Steven Marks.

STEVEN MARKS: Well, first of all, I'd like to ask Governor Reagan how he thinks that his attitude towards legitimacy and the principle of no negotiation with rebels, had it been applied in the 18th century, I'd like to know how he thinks his country would ever have achieved independence?

REAGAN: I think we have to be pretty realistic about these supposed wars of liberation; the legitimate uprising of a people who rose as did the Americans a couple of hundred years ago against what they considered a tyranny and invasion of rights, beginning with the line of the Declaration, "When in the course of human events." We must be realistic enough today to ask ourselves, are these truly wars of liberation and the uprising of a people, or are these being instigated by someone outside as a part of the great ideological conflict which still seems to be going on in the world today?

Now, this is what I - if the Vietcong and the South Vietnamese sit down and negotiate out whatever differences have caused the Vietcong to rebel, I think we might be surprised to discover that the Vietcong - I wouldn't be surprised, is a very tiny minority instigated by an outside force, namely North Vietnam, but it hardly constitutes an uprising of the people of South Vietnam.

KENNEDY: And I think that it's important that the United States associate itself with - with those forces within a country who are in favor not just of change for change's sake, but - but for a better life for the people of these nations, not with the prince in his palace or the general in his barracks, but with the peasant in the field, and with the student and with those who want to lead a better life, and lead their country in a better life, not to turn over to one tyranny, however, for another tyranny, not for one kind of dictatorship to another kind of dictatorship.

GELLA SKOURAS: Would you like to see the United States dissociate itself from the military regime which is now in Greece?

KENNEDY: Greece. Well, I think it's unfortunate whenever a - the military takes over from a democratic system in a country. I think it's particularly unfortunate when it takes place in Europe where the other countries look to for - other countries of the world look to for some kind of guidance, and I think, particularly, because democracy began in Greece, began in Athens, that it's particularly unfortunate that it should happen there.

I think the United States must make it clear that we - that our relationship with Greece is going to continue to be strained unless the country returns to democratic processes, and I, for one, would be opposed to giving any military aid or assistance to Greece until it's made quite clear that the people themselves are going to determine their future, not a military junta.

COLLINGWOOD: Do you agree with that, Governor Reagan?

REAGAN: Well, this is a pretty cloudy situation over there, and I'm not sure that I agree completely that - well, I'm not sure that the forces that the military junta rose up to put down were completely dedicated to Greece's welfare, or whether they perhaps were again a part of this instigation of uprising and violence on the part of people who have a prior allegiance to an economic and political theory that they believe should dominate the world.

VLADIMIR PERENOSOV: We think the Communists will be all over the world, because it is a very good system. You believe that another system will be all over the world, but we shouldn't quarrel, we shouldn't fight against each other and instead of saying such things as you said, we would like to negotiate and we would like to have it in Vietnam nowadays, and we would like to negotiate now in Vietnam and not - not to see American troops in Vietnam now. And we know that over 50,000 people, American soldiers, are going to Vietnam, and we think that it will create a new world war, because the Chinese Prime Minister said that if Americans landed in North Vietnam, they will have to send their volunteers there. And you know that the Soviet Union in the open said about that, that it would like to send volunteers, too, and so it might create a new dangerous world war. And I think instead of sending American troops to Vietnam, it's better to negotiate and to stop this war in Vietnam, and to negotiate between the Soviet Union and America, and to create a very good atmosphere.

BRADLEY: This discussion is now sounding like many I've had at Oxford, and many I've had in Europe. It's one in which discussions on Vietnam somehow degenerate into polemical accusations and disputations of facts, etc., etc. I think there is a basic understanding that must be had in any kind of discussion here, and that is that the United States is not out to achieve a position of power in land or economic force in the world. And I think that there are other things that we should debate here. When you talk about negotiations which seem to be the main advocacy of everyone here, well, what - so we have negotiations, and we bring the people from NLF and we bring the people from North Vietnam, and we bring the people from South Vietnam and the United States. Then, what do we negotiate for? Do we negotiate for a stable Asia and what does a stable Asia mean? Does this mean that the United States should be present in Asia, or does it mean that the United States should be absent, and let the revolutionary forces take their course?

I think these are more important questions that could be asked, and I'm sure, for example, that Mr. Singh from India, if we asked him if the Chinese happened to attack India, to whom would he first go for help? Would he go to the Soviet Union, or would he go to the United States? I think that there are certain considerations here about stability in Asia that haven't been answered.

COLLINGWOOD: Well, let's see. I called on Mr. Delvaque of France before.

DELVAQUE: Bill has mentioned recently the necessity of the presence - or the ... choice of the presence of the United States in Asia - I think the best presence of any country in any other country is a diplomatic presence. And President Johnson has mentioned the necessity of, say, normalizing the relationship between the United States and China. Governor Reagan, do you think this normalization is desirable?

REAGAN: Well, the only objection that I've had with some of the building of bridges that has been attempted by this country, is very frankly, we haven't been hard-nosed enough in getting - now when I say concession, I don't mean that they have to buy their way but in getting concessions that would also help build the bridge from the other end.

For example, I think when we signed the Consular Treaty with the Soviet Union, I think that there were things that we could have asked in return. I think it would be very admirable, if the Berlin Wall, which was built in direct contravention to a treaty - if the Berlin Wall should disappear, I think that this would be a step toward peace, and towards self-determination for all the peoples if it were. And so, I think that what you're bringing up here, and this ties in with something that Bill Bradley said, and it's very significant - Among people of good will in the world today, there is too much of a tendency to argue challenging or suspecting the other fellow's motive, when perhaps what we're challenging is only the method that has been suggested. Let's start with the premise that all people want peace, and not suspect that anything that someone else suggests is a plot. For example, we don't want the Berlin Wall knocked down so that it's easier to get at the throats of the East Germans. We just think that a wall that is put up to confine people, and keep them within their own country instead of allowing them the freedom of world travel, has to be somehow wrong.

DELVAQUE: I don't think you are really answering my question. I - I asked you whether you consider that the normalization of the relationship between the United States and China was desirable.

REAGAN: Well, well I thought I had. I guess maybe I was too general in that. When you say the normalization, what do you mean? Do you mean that the United States should ...

DELVAQUE: That's what I want you to tell me ...

REAGAN: All right, the United States, we'll say, has wheat and China is undergoing a great famine. And we could help with that wheat. Should we stand over here and give that wheat to the government of the Red Chinese who, incidentally, have never proven that they are the choice of the Chinese people ...

WARUHIU: Do you think Chiang Kai-shek is a better choice?

REAGAN: Wait a minute, wait a minute. Just a minute before my young English friend smiles - there - aloud. What if we said, in an effort to bring friendship between the two peoples, that

we be allowed to provide this wheat in such a way that we are sure that the Chinese people, those who need it, can get it, at the same time that we ask in return for the Red Chinese to sit down with an effort toward giving up some of their hostile utterances which openly announce their aggressive intent. Is this wrong?

WARUHIU: Governor Reagan, you're on record as having supported Senator Goldwater when he was running for President. One of the things he said was extremism was about - was about extremism and liberty. Now, how do you - do you see any essential difference between saying this and a Stokely Carmichael saying to hell with the laws of this country? Aren't those two saying as extreme - I mean, as each - aren't they both extreme? And when you talk about Red China giving up some of its hostile sayings, would you give up this saying which is patently hostile?

REAGAN: Well, I don't think there was anything hostile in what he said. Actually, I could have questioned whether that was the time and place to say it. He was paraphrasing a very famous remark that goes back, I guess, to Cicero. And what he was paraphrasing - he was paraphrasing in that statement the idea of all-out defense of virtue - all-out defense of liberty, and that there was - I would think that a soldier who died in World War II fighting Hitlerism had gone all the way out in his defense of what we believe to be right and moral, virtuous, and certainly in defense of freedom. Now, to turn this ...

WARUSHIU: Excuse me, sir, could you substitute communism for virtue and you see the deadlock which it would produce. You think something is good; he thinks something else is good. You want him to give up some of his hostile views. You are not prepared to move back one inch from yours.

REAGAN: May I ask, all right, wait a minute. Let me ask you one question. I could almost guess the answer, but I know what the answer is in my own heart, and that of people who will really weigh this. At the end of World War II, one nation in the world had unprecedented power, had not suffered any damage to its industrial complex, had the greatest military force the world had ever seen put together, the United States. The rest of the world was war-weary. The United States also had the only bomb that had been demonstrated. We had the atomic bomb, that great weapon. Now, the United States disarmed, the United States made no effort to impose its will on the rest of the nations. Can you honestly say in your heart that had the Soviet Union been in a comparable position with that bomb, or today's Red Chinese, in a position with that bomb, and with that great military force, that the world would not today have been conquered by that force? But this country did not.

WARUHIU: Don't forget that the Soviet Union which fought the war is not the Soviet Union which is here now. And in any case, there is no comparison really. How can you give an answer to such a purely hypothetical question?

REACAN: No, I am saying this, as an evidence of the proof. We're talking - we were supposed to - on this program - we were supposed to be talking about the image of America, and I would like to point out how consistent this was with our past, of no aggressive intent, at a chance when for the first time, perhaps in all of the world's history, there was a nation with the power to have done it. You know, perhaps one day, history might record that we goofed, that that was the time when the United States should have said to everyone, lay down your arms, and then we'll lay down ours.

COLLINGWOOD: We have a representative of the Soviet Union here. Vladimir Perenosov, what about that?

PERENOSOV: It seems to me that it is very strange to hear from you that America, the only country who used an atomic bomb and didn't use it against another country. It seems to me that it isn't a very good idea to say so. We now have a lot of armaments. We now have a lot of people, but we are not going to use this armament, these people against America, or against another countries. And it seems to me that America, who did take part in the last war, and the Soviet Union did take part in the last war, and if we say for example about America who gave a lot to finish the war with Hitler, with Germany, we can speak about that, from the - from the Soviet point of view, but we don't boast about that. It isn't necessary to do that I think so ...

COLLINGWOOD: We'll get back to this in a moment, as we continue with TOWN MEETING OF THE WORLD.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

COLLINGWOOD: Now the lovely blond girl from England.

JEAN SOLOMON: I'd like to change the subject to civil rights. In England there is a growing movement for legislation against racial discrimination. I believe that many states have experienced this legislation. Would those candidates like to comment on this and perhaps other countries may learn from America's experience.

COLLINGWOOD: Senator Kennedy, you were Attorney General when the civil rights legislation was in a crucial phase.

KENNEDY: Well, I'm not familiar with the exact kind of legislation being proposed within your own country. We passed some major bills in 1964, 1965, 1966 which gave some guarantees to individuals in the field of education, in the field of using public accommodations such as hotels and restaurants, and in the field of job discrimination. Some of the legislation has been more effective than other parts of it. But there was an effort by the United States to try to deal with the problem, not completely successfully, but at least we started to make the effort. If you want to talk about some particular piece of

legislation - I think it was extremely important that we pass the legislation. I think it was extremely important that we recognized the problem and began to deal with it, but I would say to you quite frankly we've by no means made this very difficult problem that affects the United States disappear, and we're going to have a lot of problems including some of the disorders that have happened in the past over the period of the last 6 years. We're going to continue to have those within our own country for some years to come. We're dealing with a heritage of 150 years - we've been unjust to our minority groups, and particularly the Negroes - as well as some other groups - the Mexican-Americans, the Indians, and we've just begun to recognize it and now we're starting to deal with it. And I think we're going to have to continue to deal with it in the form of legislative action as well as personal activity on the part of all of us.

COLLINGWOOD: Governor Reagan, what do you think as a governor of a great state of the effectiveness of American civil rights legislation?

REAGAN: Well, I think with all of the disorders we've lost sight of some of the progress that has been made. There can be no question that in this country, well, I guess in all the world - there is the heritage of those people who mistrust those who are different, and when you have - and history tells us, when you've had a people enslaved, you have a much harder time. It is not just a racial or ethnic or religious difference. There is a prejudice that remains. Now, I happen to believe that the greatest part of the problem lies in the hearts of men. I think that bigotry and prejudice is probably the worst of all man's ills - the hardest to correct. And in addition to legislation which guarantees and enforces our constitution - and our constitution - and it differs from the constitutions of many of the countries represented there by the young people. Many constitutions promise their people the same things that ours does, but there's one subtle and yet very great difference. Those constitutions in many other countries say the government grants to the people these rights and our constitution says you are born with these rights just by virtue of being a human being, and no government can take them from you. Now we've found it necessary to legislate, to make it more possible for government to exert its responsibility to guarantee those constitutional rights. At the same time, we have much more that can be done in the area of just human relationships. I happen to bridge a time span in which I was a radio sports announcer for major league sports in our country, in athletics, many years ago. At that time the great American game of baseball had a rulebook whose opening line was: "Baseball is a game for Caucasian gentlemen." And up until that time, up until World War II, there'd never been a Negro play in organized major league or minor league baseball in America. And one man defied that rule - a man named Branch Rickey of one of the major league teams, and today baseball is far better off and our country is far better off because he destroyed that by hand-picking one man and putting him on his baseball team, and the rule disappeared. Now I don't say this is the only answer, but

we must use both, and I think the people in positions like ourselves - like the Senator and myself, like the President of the United States, can do a great deal of good, perhaps almost as much as proper legislation, if we take the lead in saying those who operate their businesses or their lives on a basis of practicing discrimination and prejudice are practicing what is an evil sickness. And that we would not knowingly patronize a business that did such a thing, and we urge all right-thinking people to join us and not patronize that business. Soon we will make those who live by prejudice learn that they stand alone, that they're ...

COLLINGWOOD: Excuse me, Governor, Andrew Verzar, our Swiss student, hasn't been on yet.

ANDREW VERZAR: Through this rather irrelevant rhetoric, to my mind, how does Mr. Reagan explain the fact that there is a very much higher percentage of Negro soldiers in the Vietnamese - in the American forces in Vietnam than there is a percentage of Negroes in the States. Is it perhaps due to the fact that Negroes have more difficulty still and will continue to have more difficulty in finding jobs in America?

REAGAN: I don't think anyone could deny that because of this heritage of prejudice which the Senator referred to, there has been, and among our minority groups, a greater percentage who did not go on through our educational system - did not qualify themselves for the better jobs, and so therefore there perhaps is a higher percentage who find the army or the military a suitable job and a good job in the face of lack of opportunity in other lines. And this could be true.

COLLINGWOOD: Senator Kennedy, what about your views?

KENNEDY: I think his point is well taken. The gentleman, I think, from Switzerland - there are a higher degree - a higher rate of Negroes serving in Vietnam than the population as a whole, and the casualties in Vietnam amongst Negroes is higher than the population as a whole. I think that's partially due to what he mentions.

Secondly, I think it's also the fact that the draft has been unfair here in this country, and has discriminated against those who are poor and those in the lower economic groups which we're trying to remedy now.

But these are some of the problems and we've recognized it and we're trying to do something about it. Some legislation was passed in the United States Senate just this past week, which will at least partially rectify the situation. But the Negroes and the lower economic groups ... a larger percentage of them as a population as a whole have been drafted, taken into the Army, and have been serving in Vietnam and have suffered casualties. And I think that it's most unfortunate.

COLLINGWOOD: Senator, Governor Reagan, gentlemen and ladies of our university group, I'm afraid that our time has run out. I know you didn't get a lot of questions in that you would have liked to have done, and I suspect that the Governor and the Senator didn't get some answers in that they would have liked, but thank you very much for being with us on this TOWN MEETING OF THE WORLD.

KENNEDY: Could we just say a word, please?

COLLINGWOOD: This is Charles Collingwood - yes, say a word.

KENNEDY: Just how much we've enjoyed, and I'm sure Governor Reagan has, and obviously we don't agree on all of these matters. But it's so extremely important within our own country that we have a dialogue. We make major mistakes within the United States. We recognize that. Perhaps we don't remedy them as rapidly as you would like to see us remedy or deal with them, but there are people. Even though Governor Reagan and I represent different political parties and perhaps a different point of view on some of these matters, we've recognized the fact that we are obviously far from perfect.

But the world is so close together now because of technology, because of a lot of different things, that it's so important that we have these kind of exchanges, and particularly as the world belongs to you, that what we do and the decisions that we make have an effect on your lives, that you continue where you see that we make mistakes, that you continue to criticize. But, as I said earlier, that you examine the facts. And that all of us, whether we here in the United States, or elsewhere, examine the facts and try to deal with them.

Plato once said that all things are to be questioned - and all things are to be examined, and brought into question - there is no limit set to thought, and I think that has to apply for all of us, particularly those who have the advantage of an education. Thank you.

REAGAN: Mr. Collingwood, is there time for just a word of farewell?

COLLINGWOOD: Governor, I'll let you second that.

REAGAN: Well, I do second it. The very fact that we have discussion and differences, I think, brings me to the point - being the oldest one here, I can take the liberty of giving a little advice to the young people.

I believe the highest aspiration of man should be individual freedom and the development of the - of the individual, that there is a sacredness to individual rights. And I would like to say to all of the young people as they pursue their way, and this has been very stimulating, I think you should weigh everything that is proposed to you, everything in the line of government and law and economic theory, everything of that kind and weigh it on this one scale - that it should at all

times not offer you some kind of sanctuary or security in exchange for your right to fly as high and as far as your own strength and ability will take you as an individual, with no ceiling put on that effort. Plenty of room for a floor underneath so that no one in this world should live in degradation, beneath that floor, but you reserve the right for yourself to be free.

COLLINGWOOD: Thank you very much again. This is TOWN MEETING OF THE WORLD. This is Charles Collingwood. Good night.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

ANNOUNCER: This has been another in the CBS NEWS series, TOWN MEETING OF THE WORLD. Tonight's subject was "The Image of America and the Youth of the World."

TOWN MEETING OF THE WORLD was recorded earlier today for broadcast at this time and was edited under the supervision and control of CBS NEWS.

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AND TELEVISION PROGRAM TO "ABC'S ISSUES AND ANSWERS."

ISSUES AND ANSWERS

Produced by Peggy Whelan
October 13, 1967

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GUEST:

HON. RONALD REAGAN, Governor of California

INTERVIEWED BY:

John Komen, ABC New York Correspondent

Bill Lawrence, ABC Political Editor

o o o

1 MR. LAWRENCE: You have often stated you are not
2 an active candidate for the Presidency, but are you now
3 willing to declare as firmly as Governor Nelson Rockefeller
4 has done this week-end that you do not wish to become
5 involved or have your friends get you involved at this
6 Presidential Conference?

7 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Bill, I have been saying that over and
8 over in this thing going on in New Hampshire. Not
9 only have I asked a personal friend going into that area to
10 carry a message for me to people who are suggesting this
11 kind of involvement, but we have just recently sent a letter
12 to every paper in New Hampshire, disavowing the efforts
13 that are being made in my behalf and urging that such
14 efforts be stopped.

15 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, now this friend you sent to New
16 Hampshire, that was Leland Kaiser, is that right?

17 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes.

18 MR. LAWRENCE: I understand he reported back to you that
19 there was such building sentiment that he just couldn't
20 overcome it.

21 GOVERNOR REAGAN: He didn't report that to me but I
22 have heard he said that publicly. I didn't send him to
23 New Hampshire. What had happened is that he is a member
24 of the Republican National Finance Committee and I knew
25 that he and his wife were planning, they were coming east

on business and then planning a trip up through the New England States, a driving trip, a motor trip, and I sent him a letter and said if at any time, I didn't want to put him out, but if he had the opportunity and would be seeing any of the Republican leadership who might be involved in this thing, would he convey that message to them, and he not only graciously did this and took the letter, but I am sure did go out of his way to carry that word to a number of them.

MR. LAWRENCE: Well, I travel a lot, Governor, and in my experience as I travel around the country there is a lot of rising "Reagan for President" sentiment. Do you detect it in your travels away from home -- Illinois, Wisconsin, South Carolina, an last night, Kentucky

GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, Bill, I have to be conscious of that but I have made no effort to find out how deep is it. You know it is very easy to get impressed at an airport with a welcome and a group of people who are expressing this sentiment, but when you stop to think how big the city is, that group at the airport is relatively small. Now whether that group is the sum total of that feeling or whether it is deeper I have made no effort to find out. Let me say here lest it sound as if I am disparaging those who are doing this, anyone would have to be tremendously honored and grateful that anyone would think of him in

connection with this office, regardless of what his intentions
were. So, of course, this is something that down inside
of me I have got to feel warm and good about, but it
does not change my position. I am not a candidate.

MR. KOMEN: Governor, if you are not an active candidate
for President, why do you move out of your home base,
and particularly into some states which are counted for former
Vice President Richard Nixon?

GOVERNOR BRAGAN: Well, John, I know this is the thing
that you fellows can find and it seems to be an Achilles
heel in this whole position, but let me cite my own
background before I ever held office. I have been on the
washed potato circuit for a number of years. I have been
speaking publicly -- fund raising, dinners and so forth,
for, I suppose, about 20 years. And it is true in the Party
once you are an office holder, I think you have certain
chores that you should do for the Party. This is part
of the job. It is also true that each one of us improves
his box office the farther away from home he gets. Thus
you go a long way from home and there is a curiosity about
you and therefore you are better box office in selling
the tickets to the fund raising dinner. The same is
true in our state. We have a great many people from the
East and the Midwest who come to California and do fund
raising. We have left the selection of the places I go

1 to be determined by the Chairman of the Senate and
2 Congressional Campaign Committee in Washington -- George
3 Murphy for the Senate, Bob Wilson for the Congressional
4 Committee, and the priorities are established on those
5 areas where the Republicans think we have the best
6 chance, where we should put the most effort in.

7 Now, for example last night I spoke at a fund raiser,
8 a gubernatorial campaign of Louis Munn in Kentucky,
9 but I would also like to call to your attention Senator
10 Dirksen, Senator Murphy, Senator Fannin, have all been in
11 there, Governor Kirk of Florida has been in there.

12 This is a good key area for our party. This is the
13 only explanation for the engagements that I have -- the
14 invitations I have accepted.

15 MR. KOMEN: To bolster the Republicans' campaign chest.

16 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes, and they are kind of concentrated
17 now because I had to refuse virtually all of those
18 invitations for the months from last January up through late
19 summer because of our legislative session. Now our
20 legislature is not in session and I was able to cram
21 some of these dates into these few months before they meet
22 again.

23 MR. LAWRENCE: Governor, are you in any trouble at
24 home or are you getting any beat at home because you are
25 getting away now? Do you think it is entirely safe to go

off on their Governors Conference cruise this week with the
expectation of trouble in San Francisco and Oakland
in this anti-Vietnam War thing?

GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, Bill, this is something we
really did some soul-searching about. There is no question
but that there is going to be trouble in California. But
we had to face this -- I had to face this one
thing: The threat of this kind of trouble created by
a little minority that has to be less than one percent --
they are 99 percent of the noise, but they are one percent
of the people -- if we are going to continue to abandon and
leave the regular functions of the office -- not do the
things that are normally required, simply because of this
kind of threat, then you are going to find that pretty
soon the constitutional officers of a state are going to
be sitting there spending most of their time waiting to
react to the next threat.

Now we have a great system that has been working on a
permanent and a 24-hour basis. We have organized completely
our disaster office, our Attorney General's office,
the California State Highway Patrol, and the National Guard.
We have almost a permanent liaison in the leading cities
of California with local law enforcement. We have a
system whereby at even the hint of trouble, long before any
of the state aid is called for, we are in actual physical

1 liaison in the local police headquarters with comparable
2 delegates in Sacramento in the Governor's office.

3 Now this system is set up to operate in this next
4 week and Bob Finch, who is Lieutenant Governor, has been
5 in on all the briefings -- unlike what might have happened
6 in the past in California, our Lieutenant Governor knows what
7 is going on in the Governor's office.

8 MR. LAWRENCE: Governor, is there any way you could get
9 off this cruise ship and get back if they needed you?

10 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes, Bill, this is the other thing.
11 And not only myself but a number of Governors actually
12 had to face and sit down with those who have planned this
13 Governors' Conference as to what our problems might be
14 and the result is they tell us we are insured of constant
15 communication, plus the ability to be taken off the ship by
16 helicopter at any point in the entire trip and delivered
17 back for a flight to our own capitals.

18 So assured of that, and with perfect confidence in
19 Bob Finch's ability and understanding of the situation
20 and our own forces, I felt that I had an obligation.
21 I have never been to the Governors' Conference, completely.
22 This is an important Governors' Conference and I felt I
23 had an obligation to go.

24 MR. KOHEN: To get back to the Presidential race,
25 Governor, have you any favorite now -- you say you are not

1 a candidate -- do you have any favorite now among those
2 various persons who appear to be running?

3 GOVERNOR REAGAN: No, and it wouldn't be proper for me
4 to answer that, John, because if I am going to be, as
5 I stated I will be, a favorite son candidate, with the idea,
6 to explain to those who might not understand, that a
7 favorite son candidacy is not as we know actually a
8 candidacy, it is technically so, but it is in order to
9 hold a delegation together so that your state can make its
10 presence felt better in helping determine the issues in
11 choosing candidates, if I am going to do that, it certainly
12 wouldn't be proper for me now, even before I have chosen a
13 slate of delegates, to make a decision or announce that I
14 favor someone.

15 * * * * *

16 MR. KOMEN: Governor, resuming our discussion about
17 possible Presidential candidates, can you see a consensus
18 developing among the Republican Governors over a single
19 contender, perhaps restoring the power or strength
20 of the Republican Governors as a political force?

21 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Not at the moment. I would doubt
22 that. I know there have been some who suggested this, but
23 I can't believe that the Governors in advance would have
24 any more tendency to go together or
25 unite as a force than any other members of the Party. I

1 do think, however, that it is going to be different than
2 it has been in the past. I think the Party has learned
3 some lessons and that we can expect a consensus behind
4 the chosen nominee.

5 MR. KOWEN: But that would be after the Convention?

6 GOVERNOR REAGAN: After the Convention.

7 MR. LAWRENCE: Governor, there has been a lot of
8 newspaper talk about a Rockefeller-Reagan ticket or a Romney-
9 Reagan ticket. Is this even remotely possible?

10 GOVERNOR REAGAN: No.

11 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, what about a Reagan-Rockefeller
12 ticket?

13 GOVERNOR REAGAN: No, I said I am not a candidate for
14 that either. On the other spot I have great respect for
15 the office, but I didn't choose to have a political career
16 and I am doing what I am doing because of some strong
17 beliefs in things that I thought had to and should be
18 tried at least in government. I just happen to believe there
19 is more opportunity to do those things in the position I
20 hold than there would be as Vice President. But I am not a
21 candidate for either one.

22 MR. LAWRENCE: Could you be drafted for either?

23 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I don't foresee that having to
24 be a question --

25 MR. LAWRENCE: I don't think that is quite responsive,

though, Governor. The question is, could you be, not will you be?

GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, now, Bill, here again you get in a hypothetical situation and I got in trouble answering this, trying to answer it once before at the Western Governors' Conference.

The question of this gets down to the Sherman statement, and would someone make the Sherman statement. Well, I like to remember what former President Eisenhower said to me one day on a golf course about the Sherman statement. He said "It is a foolish statement that even Sherman shouldn't have made." It calls into being does anyone have a right, if there is a legitimate call on the part of their citizens for them to serve, does any citizen have a right to refuse that? But again, I say, I don't anticipate that.

1 MR. KOWEN: Let's turn, now, to Vietnam, Governor. You
2 have been quoted as saying you would give the generals a freer
3 and in running the war. Do you think this is safe from a
4 worldwide point of view or from a civilian-control-of-the-
5 military point of view?

6 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, I would like to comment on that
7 because I have seen ^{myself} quoted, and perhaps it is my own fault.
8 Maybe I didn't tie it together or make it clear enough but,
9 quoted to the extent that it looked as if I am one who would
10 put everything in the hands of the military and say, "Take
11 your picks. Go ahead."

12 No one in this country with any reason or common sense
13 would ever give up our philosophy or our belief in the control
14 of the military by the civilian. This is inherent in our whole
15 system and we will preserve it. But when you talk about giving
16 more attention to the military, or heeding their recommenda-
17 tions more, you are talking about it in the context and the
18 framework of those responsible for national policy. In a
19 combat or a conflict such as we are in, taking the generals
20 into their confidence as to what are the goals, what are we
21 trying to achieve, what are our fears, what are the things we
22 are worried about, and then saying to the generals, "With
23 that framework in mind, within that framework, you, as
24 technicians in the field, you, as experts in the field, what
25 are your recommendations as to how to achieve these objectives?"

MR. KCMEN: You don't think that is being done, now?

GOVERNOR REAGAN: Apparently not, from the number of military men who, in testifying before Congressional committees have expressed dissatisfaction. One of two things is important. Either they have not been taken into the confidence of the administration with regard to the goals or they feel there are military decisions that could be made that would do a better job of achieving those goals.

Now I would hate to think that the civilian administration has kept those entrusted with the fighting of the war in the dark. So I have to assume that, aware of the objective aware of the risks, they have advocated certain things that they believe would bring those objectives to completion sooner and one that seems to be the most general, of course, is the constant and almost unanimous recommendation of the military that we should have long since stopped the flow of traffic in and out of the port of Haiphong because that is where 85 percent of the materiel is coming in that is killing American men.

MR. LAWRENCE: Were you correctly quoted, Governor, as saying that if the military favored invasion of North Vietnam, you would favor it?

GOVERNOR REAGAN: Again in this context of them also being privy to the objectives and the information that the administration has. This, of course, touches on what I

3
1 think is one of the key issues in this whole situation: the
2 credibility gap. The fact that not only the people but
3 others who should be informed, representatives in Congress
4 and the Senate and in the, perhaps, military, are not privy
5 to what is creating national policy, or what is dictating
6 national policy.

7 I think the people of the country have the wisdom to
8 know more than they have been told, and it is very difficult
9 for any of us to sit here and give an answer or speculate on
10 Vietnam, as we are always asked to do, until we know, and
11 unless we know more than we have been told, and I certainly
12 think that our representatives in the Congress should know
13 more.

14 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, there is certainly a lot of dis-
15 satisfaction with the President's policy across the country,
16 and in California we hear that a Democratic Peace Slate
17 might just beat the President in the primary out there
18 next year. Do you think this is true, and is there any
19 kind of organized opposition in the Republican Party on that
20 issue?

21 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I don't think there is any organized
22 opposition in the Republican Party. The faction that is
23 back of the peace move out there is the same CDC faction, the
24 California Democratic Council, which has been pretty extreme
25 in its positions for the last several years, and you know

1 recently on this issue for the first time there seems to be
2 splitting of their ranks and they are having trouble. People,
3 local chapters, are dropping out, enmass, dropping their
4 membership. At the same time there is no question but that
5 the CDC has attracted some of the anti-Vietnam factions and
6 the more radical groups to their ranks.

7 I wouldn't be able to evaluate whether they could or could
8 not defeat the President. I wouldn't know.

9 MR. KOMEN: As you said a moment ago, the Republicans are
10 just as divided on this as the Democrats are.

11 Do you think the Republicans can come up with a uni-
12 fied stance, either for a stronger policy than the Presiden
13 is carrying out, or a weaker policy and where do you stand in
14 that spectrum?

15 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I think it could be, the Republicans
16 don't have the same problems at all as the Democrats because
17 the CDC position, that peace-party position, is one of
18 complete withdrawal. Withdraw, now. Just simply quit and
19 get out. And I think there are some, at least, not all, as the
20 there are many people, who are sincerely misguided but I think
21 there are some in there who obviously must have someone else's
22 interests other than the United States at heart when they
23 make these recommendations.

24 In the Republican Party I think there is unanimity on
25 the belief of ending the war, the desire for peace. There may

1 be some disagreement as to the alternatives to end it but I
2 have heard very few Republicans, and I doubt if the Republi-
3 can Party would seriously consider that radical alternative
4 of ending the war by simply packing up with your tail be-
5 tween your legs and running for home.

6 MR. KOMEN: How do you feel it should be approached,
7 should the Republican stance be stronger than what the
8 President is doing, or should there be a weaker stance?
9 Where do you stand?

10 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, right at the moment, I have a
11 feeling that -- I have been critical in the past of the
12 gradual escalation and the fact that it didn't seem we were
13 making the immediate effort we should. As long as we were in
14 combat and men were being killed. But reading between the
15 lines and from some of the indications -- all of us have
16 access to some contacts with that -- I have a feeling that
17 perhaps we are doing much better in the war than we are
18 being told. I have a feeling that a corner has been turned and
19 that very possibly and probably we are winning. And we are
20 not being told that and very frankly I think that we will
21 possibly be told when it is politically advantageous to the
22 present administration to tell us, with an election year
23 coming up.

24 MR. LAWRENCE: Well, Governor, let's talk a little bit
25 about domestic affairs. How do you stand on President

Johnson's ten percent surtax to finance the war in Vietnam?

Governor Reagan: Well, now, you ask a pretty tough question for a fellow who has just asked for the biggest tax hike in any state's history, but I would also point out that before we ever got around to that we did everything we could, and reduced the cost and the size of government in our state as far as we could, and then, faced with a deficit we had inherited, and a debt that was unconstitutional to maintain, we had to turn to taxes, finally, to finish solving the problem.

I don't see any evidence of that in Washington. Washington seems to, and this administration seems to turn automatically to more revenue from the people as the answer to the problems, with no effort on the part of government to reduce its cost, and I think that there are many areas where the cost could be reduced. I think the federal government is engaged in a number of luxuries that the people can't afford and that the people have had very little chance to decide whether they want to afford them or not.

1 MR. KOMEN: On that point about budget cutting, could
2 we have some specifics? And for example, what about the
3 supersonic transport program, a very expensive program,
4 by the way, do you think that is one area in which the
5 federal government could cut? The SST?

6 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, actually I am not qualified to
7 answer on that. I will be frank to admit I have been too
8 busy with the problems I am confronting in California to try
9 to find the answers for myself on a number of these
10 things, particularly things where I wouldn't be able to
11 influence the outcome anyway. But I think there is a -- well,
12 we have vetoed a number of OEO programs. The state governor
13 has the opportunity in a 30-day period to -- the OEO
14 programs in the state come across my desk. You can veto them.
15 At the end of 30 days it is true the federal government can
16 override your veto. We have found a number that we have
17 vetoed. And I never kept track and never tried to count up
18 until I read in the press someone else had counted up that
19 California has vetoed more than any other state.

20 But more than that, of all that we have eventually
21 signed, we held them up to where we got drastic changes
22 in more than half of them. Let me give you one example
23 of the kind of fat I mean can come out of government. When
24 you suddenly turn loose billions of dollars of money and
25 scatter it out, you open yourself up to a lot of people who

1 have ideas, and the ideas may not be good. Now one came
2 across our desk from a county for a grant of some tens of
3 thousands of dollars and it was to salvage the hard core
4 unemployed by putting them to work in this area, in
5 beautifying and clearing open-space parkland. Now this sounds
6 pretty good. You would think it would fit my philosophy
7 exactly that those people on public assistance if able should
8 be contributing something back to the public good, should
9 be either training for work, or working. But when we
10 looked at the program closely we found that the hard core
11 unemployed they were going to help numbered 17, and over
12 half of the budget they wanted approved was for seven
13 administrators to administer to the 17. And we thought
14 it was a little out of proportion and vetoed the program.

15 When you veto those, the federal government doesn't
16 override your veto I have found because they don't dare let
17 the spotlight of publicity in any open controversy reveal
18 to the people what is going on. We vetoed another more
19 expensive program out there that actually would have
20 set up a training course for picketers and demonstrators.
21 Now demonstrators are a kind of native California product.
22 We don't need to train any new ones out there.

23 MR. LAWRENCE: While we are talking about California,
24 there has been a lot of criticism of your use of convicts
25 to pick crops in labor-shortage areas.

1 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes.

2 SR. LAWRENCE: What motivated that decision?

3 GOVERNOR REAGAN: That decision was motivated the
4 same as it was when my predecessor, Governor Brown, did the
5 same thing. No one of us likes to do it. I wish there was
6 another answer to it. Here is the strange situation -- and
7 again perhaps this touches on the economy factor. Bill,
8 here is a state, California, with the highest unemployment
9 rate -- well, at least it is above the national average.
10 Here is a state that has had an increase in the number of
11 recipients getting welfare in the last four years of 54.6
12 percent. That is the increase in a four-year period.

13 But we had, in our home of unusual weather, unusual
14 weather this spring. Suddenly in this harvest season
15 a number of crops that normally ripen one at a time
16 so that a work force in the fields can go from one crop
17 to the other, ripened all at once because of the late start
18 of the season. We didn't have the work force. We appealed
19 to the Secretary of Labor for supplemental labor from across
20 the border in Mexico. He, who is no friend of this, and
21 certainly has been no friend of the California farmer, he OKed
22 8100 of the supplemental laborers to come in. So the
23 situation must have been, as we described it, and desperate,
24 for him to do this.

25 Now, there was a delay due to some legal action in the

1 importation of the supplemental labor. We couldn't get
2 them fast enough. The crops were beginning to rot in the
3 fields. When farmers come to you, and in one area around a
4 small town, and show you a half million dollars worth of fruit
5 that is going to rot right there on the trees unless
6 someone comes to pick it, we figured that we had to do what, as
7 I say, my predecessor did. And we looked the use of several
8 hundred prisoners. Now these prisoners are being paid
9 the full amount that is being paid to any laborer. They are
10 not taxing the state for board and room because while they
11 are earning they are paying their own board and room.
12 The growers are paying for the guards out there in the fields.

13 MR. LAWRENCE: Governor, I am sorry to have to interrupt.
14 Our time is up. We want to thank you, Governor Reagan,
15 for being with us on ISSUES AND ANSWERS today.

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