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+ SCRIPTS
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I-N-D-E-X

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12/4/67

SIDE 1, December 4, 1967, Press Conference at Yale T.D. on Arrival

There is no opening statement or anything so I am going to suggest that some of the student editors open the questioning because I think that this is what they want.

Q Do you think that homosexuals should be barred from holding public office in the United States?

A Well, He wanted to know if he thought whether or not homosexuals should be barred from holding public office in the United States. I suppose I could only speak for my own state. I do not know perhaps the Department of Parks and Recreation--

Q Is homosexuality either immoral or should be illegal between adults?

A Well, I think that we are getting into an area where we can now debate what is an illness or whether it is an illness or not. I happen to subscribe to the belief that it is a gragget illness, a neurosis, the same as many other neurosis and I could wish for a cure or good health for those people.

Q But do you think that it should be illegal?

A You know I really would be speculating and thinking about it for the first time right now. Yes, I do.

Q Mr. Reagan, the reputation that your administration has from 3,000 miles away is perhaps unfortunately largely a negative one on all the cut-backs that have been made on welfare or with the universities, I wonder if you could tell us what you have done positively to solve the problems in California or what programs you have put through?

A Well, it is very easy to get that wrong impression not

only 3,000 miles away but $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet away from the capitol
you can also find some disagreement. But what you have to
recognize that the impression that is usual given when
anyone seeks to restore the economy in government is of some
one a governor for example sitting on a treasurer chest.
Unilaterally deciding that he is not going to let this
money be spent in some cause or other. And this is not true.
The plain simply thing that we ~~xxx~~ all know if we take time
to think about it is that there are "x" number of dollars
coming in from the people of the state to a government body.
And the purpose of government or the function of government
is to allocate those monies for the services that the people
have decided are necessary and essential to them. And you
come to a point, you establish priorities of course, but
you come to a point in which you can give some agency or
department the money it request is to take it from someother
agency or department. And some place along the line someone
has to make a decision as to how far back you can cut. Let's
say police protection or public health. Something of this
kind to give more money as requested. And each department
requests more money than it ever ends up or winds up getting.
Now, if you have a state that is not asking the people for a
fair share to pay for the services that they have indicated
that they want, then government has a responsibility to simply
tell the people that they have to pay more money. But
Californians happen to be paying more for government per capita
than their fellow citizens in the rest of the country-very much

more. So I believe that we have reached virtually the breaking point. There is very little more that you can ask of the people of California. Now it is pretty hard for me to reconcile the criticism what we are doing with regard to cut-backs when at the same time the same publications and the same individuals are attacking me on the basis that I asked for the biggest single tax increase that has ever been asked in the history of this country in any state. And the same opposite or opposing legislators who reduced my request by \$100 million and then handed me back a budget in which I had to blue pencil \$46 million worth of spending which they added into the budget after cutting the taxes that I asked for. It makes it a little hard for me to believe in their sincerity. Now you have asked what we have done constructively. Well, in the first place, we took a state that was spending more than a million dollars a day over and above the revenue that was coming in. This was in violation of our constitution. We can not have a deficit budget in our state. We had to put the state on a sound financial basis. There have been-let me give one example-get talk about cut-backs in the area of mental health. But this ignores the fact that California leads the nation in this regard and leads the nation in the method of treating the mentally ill. In California we have embarked some several years ago-I didn't start this-embarked in a program of stopping this old fashion concept of simply warehousing the mentally ill-storing them away for the rest of their lives. And we started getting those people out of the hospital that could be cured and made able to live with

the help of the new tranquilizer drugs and so-forth a normal life in their home surroundings. To the extent in the last several years, we have reduced the hospital population from 36,000 to around 20,000 and it is continuing to go down. And the cut-back that we made was a cut-back in the staff at the hospital level to more or less keep pace with this declining number of patients but we made also the biggest increase in the history of our state or any state in the funds available to stimulate the development of more of this local and regional health care centers so that we can even increase the pace with which we get this people out of these institutions and get them back to a normal life.

Q Still though, it seems though you are planning to add on any new programs that don't necessarily have to take the form of increased taxes but people do not know what you want to do or what new things that you want to propose for the problems of the cities, lets say, are the really problems that any state has.

A Oh, no, this is not true. We have a great many programs. We have a number of them which are buried in the committee in the legislature now.

Q What are some of them.

A Well, for example there is going on at this time-right at this moment in California-and has been since I took office, a program with regard to putting the unemployed, particularly in the poverty pockets of the minority areas, putting them to work

in private enterprise jobs in industry and in jobs with a future instead of the "make-work" type of a thing that so often is characteristic of government aid to the unemployed. There was a man, an industrialist, in California who right after the Watts riot got a number of his fellow industrialist interested in the problem and the excessive number of unemployed in the Watts area. And he challenged that this was a problem for private enterprise. Private enterprise may not be able to solve all the social problems in the world, but certainly it had jobs to offer. And they set out to match the worker or the unemployed to the job. Through job training, they cooperated with government job training programs. They worked through the state employment office and in a matter of 16 months, they were able to put 17,800 of the hard core unemployed in the Watts area alone into free enterprise jobs. This man's name was McClellan. After I was elected and before I took office, I sought out Mr. McClellan and asked him if he would take on this chore for entire state on a state-wide basis. He is doing this with no salary to the state. We have organized and Bob Finch, Lt. Governor has been put in charge. He is the liason between government and this private effort and Chad McClellan has organized the state of California. He has 2,600 industrialist in the Los Angeles area; 1,500 in the bay area of San Francisco; additional hundreds in San Diego and in other communities. They are organized-they have set up recruiting offices in the proverty pockets-particularly among the minority people. And they are busy seeking out training and finding the employables and putting them to work.

Now, when they get through with this. They are dealing with those people who can be trained and put to work on a job. When they get through, there will be a social problem left then of what could be called the unemployable. People for one reason or another other are not ready at this moment that free enterprise or the private industry could not take on that chore. This will be the task of all of us and we are not neglecting it. We are not waiting. But it will be that much easier if you have your problem down to that level. Now, we have done a number of other things. First of all, I have told you of the mental health thing. It is not true necessarily that we are just cutting back. Our so-called Medi-Cal program-the Medicaid program-this is article 19 of the Medicare program. This as implemented in about half our state, half of the states haven't as yet, we are all suppose to by 1975. There is not a state in the union that has implemented this program that is not facing bankruptcy with it and having great troubles. We called a conference and held a conference with a number of those states and together we are trying to work out and to impress on the federal government what is necessary in their regulations to change. To give us a flexibility to deal with this because contrary to what a great many people might feel. I happen to be committed to a belief that no one in this country-no one-should be denied medical care because of the lack of funds. But I do not believe, if we have embarked on a wrong course, that we should be wasting our treasure to the point where one day

we will have to withdraw this service and not be able to help the people. We have-you asked me in a vast state to start going down the list of all the things that we have done. WE have formed a-successfully formed a crime foundation that brings together for the first time all the various factors involved in fighting crime ranging from the legal and the judiciary and to law enforcement and the penal institutions to treat this whole problem because it is one of the greatest problems confronting our nation today. Run away crime in this country progressing at a rate that is unexplainable to any one. I am trying to think of some-we have a program. We tried to get it through last year and we are trying again-to take the appointment of judges out of politics once and for all. I do not believe that a man should wear the robes of judge simply as the result of a pay-off for campaign favors and so forth. Now I realize that to a governor this is a great patronage thing. One of the greatest _____ the governor can have to/trench himself is the appointment of judges. I witnessed this for the last eight years under my predecessor this kind of judicial appointment. In the meantime, waiting/^{for}the legislation that will set up a plan whereby a joint committee of citizens,^{the}bar and the judiciary will present qualified names to a governor for appointment. In the meantime, I have voluntarily set such a system. Judges in California are now appointed. They have to be appointed by me but we have such a joint committee in every area and all who are proposed as possibilities for judicial appointments are

turned over to this joint committee and are screened and they send them back to us with a rating-a score of ~~which group~~ what each group-the layman, the bar, the judiciary-has rated this person and I have chosen from those-the one who gets the top rating-in every instance, the judicial appointments that I have made. We have-there are a number of things, but somehow in the reporting of my doings, it does not seem to accent the positive.

Q Governor, last night, former secretary of state, Dean Atchinson, said he believed that the negotiations would not necessarily be fruitful in terms of Vietnam, would you agree with that or not?

A Yes, as a matter of fact, I read and I assume that it being the New York Times that Dean Atchinson was accurately quoted. The-I agree completely with what he said. And I think the long history of attempts for negotiations with the communists have indicated that they are long on sound and talk and little on accomplishment. He put in far better words than I have ever been able to exactly what my views are about Vietnam. And about the resolving of this conflict.

Q Does this mean that you think that a military solutions is the only one?

A Well, it is,,in the extent and in the context in which Dean Atchinson said it way. And this is that you simply make it plain to them that to continue hurts them more than they want to be hurt. And that if there is a setting down at a table it is because it hurts too much not to and you make it evident to them that their aggression-their military conquest-is not going

to succeed and then as he says, it does not always mean that you come to a surrender with the generals marching forth under a white flag or of something of that kind. The enemy simply gives up the effort.

Q You are talking about the fading away that we have been told they are going to?

A Yes, I believe that this is true and I do not believe that you get them to the table by persuading them--appealing to their better nature--I think that you get, if there is any--if there is a negotiation as Dean Atchinson may claim. In the negotiations that we have had in the past like at Pan-mu-chaum, the negotiation is just when one way is hurting too much and they are not succeeding they switch over and conduct the war across the table in an effort to get what they could not get by force of arms.

Q Do you think that the departure of Mr. McNamara from the Pentagon will lead to a kind of pressing of our military might into this situation?

A Oh, I would not be able to speculate what is behind this. It could range all the way from Mr. McNamara just getting tired of what has been going on to a difference of opinion.

Q Would you call for a stronger action?

A Yes, as a matter of fact I have. At the same time however, I said that I think we are having that stronger action or a large part of it in recent months. It was only a couple of months ago or less, that I said I believe we had turned a corner. That the

military effort was giving us a far more optimistic outlook than we are being told. I think all the signs indicate this. My criticism of the conduct of the war has been that through escalation over a period of a year and one-half or perhaps two years, we have reached the point now, that some people wanted us to reach in more of a solid trust. For example, the Air Force victory bombing plan in which some time ago they suggested 94 targets to be blitzed in a 16 day blitz. Now all those targets or virtuely all of them, are now being bombed. But their idea was and the military idea was, that if this had been a sudden thrust, that this very well could have brought the enemy around, because if it happens all at once in the 16 days which is faster than they can repair, then they may began to think what will happen in the next 16 days.

Q Governor Reagan, Your public statements have established your positions for intensifications of the Vietnam war against civil rights legislation and against big government, on the basis of this record, how do you distinguish your position ~~on~~ from that of another presidential-possible presidential candidate-George Wallace?

A Oh, I think that my positions are quite different from those of George Wallace and the way that you put it, there is a certain amount of over simplification there. Let me say that perhaps this one difference is this. There seems to be a tendency and those of the so-called liberal philosophy, as ^{say}so

called because I happen to be one who opposes this hyphenating of all of us. I think that we have falling into a custom in this country that everyone must be categorized and given a label and he is a something hyphen this or that. But, the liberal is, if he choses that name for himself, is the most guilty of debating these issues, the solution to the racial problem, the solutions to poverty, all the rest. He is guilty of charging that any one who opposes the method that he suggests for solving these problems, is opposed to the goal as well. I do not think that this is worthy of our country. I think the men and women of good will in this country, and I think that means most of us, actually are united on goals. I have never found any one who does not want a solution to this problem of the minorities, equal opportunity. I have given you my position with regard to medical health. The same is true of poverty. It could be eliminated. The argument is the method chosen to achieve these results. Now, why can't we as men and women of good will and the times of great stress, as fellow Americans, sit down in a room together and negotiate on the basis, that we are debating methods proposed? Now, I can be unalterably opposed to some particular program, but the-as I say, the so-called liberal-greats you not with ~~xxxx~~ arguing-defending his methods, he simply the moment you oppose him, charges you want the poor to die in the streets, you want the ill not to have a doctor and so forth.

Q Do you think the Rumford Fairhousing Act in California is ineffective or bad method of assuring fair housing legislation

or of assuring open housing?

A I think that the Rumford Fair-housing Act in California runs a very great danger of risk. In attempting to achieve something that I desire very much and all of should desire, it runs the risk of giving the government the power that government should not have and could some day come back to haunt us. Can be used for other than worthy purposes and this is the infringement on the right of the ~~individual~~ individual to private possessions and the control ownership of those possessions. Now, there is a great difference between the restrictive convenient idea and the individual being told what he can or cannot do with his own home. Now, strangely enough, and I know that this will sound strange to many of you in view of what you have read. You happen to be looking at someone who spent a life time rather militantly and emotionally opposed to discrimination and bigotry. As a sports announcer many years ago, when baseball, organized baseball, opened its rule book with a line that baseball is a game for caucasian gentlemen. As a sports announcer, I editorialized constantly against this. I can now point with I sort of told you so pride, the wonderful progress that baseball has made because Mr. Ricky had the courage to do what he did. As I say, I would not knowingly patronize a place of business that conducted its business with discrimination and bigotry or prejudice. I would urge all right thinking people to do the same. But we must be very careful trying to achieve a noble goal, solve the problem that would at the same time initiate or give away completely,

some of the safe guards that have given us our individual freedom.

Q Do you have any alternative methods of solving the problem?

A Yes, and they sound a little vague and indefinite. I am sure for those people who want positive answers. I believe that there is a certain amount of this that must be solved simply through leadership and through organizing the people of good will to voluntarily do things. But let me just get back to this one point. California does not have or allowed the restricted covenant. There are no areas or no neighborhoods where people can ban together and say this is restricted to only a certain kind of people or people of another kind can't come in here. This is far different. I heartedly favor that. Because the same thing that makes a restricted covenant, not only morally wrong, but legally in my opinion wrong, is the same thing that makes me question the Rumford Act. And that, we have certain ^{are} rights that/ours from birth. Certain rights that cannot be submitted to a majority rule or vote. And for an individual in a neighborhood who owns a home, to let his neighbors by and simply out numbering him, vote a restrictive covenant ~~in~~ making him abide by it, is an infringement on his right to his own property and his control of it. You can not make it any more right by making it legal.

Q Sir, you say that you are worried about rights infringements on individual rights, can you then tell us are you in favor of

the selective service as to being oblised?

A Well, this has to be a yes and no answer. For quite some time now, I have been opposed to the peace time draft. And I would like to see, and have thought for some time and advocated, that this country if it is fearful in the present state of the world of suddenly cancelling the draft and the misunderstanding that might follow from this in some other countries, that at least this country with its great know how, could evolve a program of incentives of enlistment and then as this proved its effectiveness eliminate the draft. No part of the answer is with a conflict of the size that we are in now, I wonder if this is the moment which we could do away with it without again strengthening the enemies determination to continue that he might ~~misinterpret~~ misinterpret this. We have, and all of us have agreed in this country to the draft time of war.

Q War has not been declared!

A I now it has not been declared. But the ~~present~~ president himself in the Whitehouse several months ago made a public statement in which he said-make no mistake about it, we are in a war. Now the legal technicality of the non-declaration for whatever reason, it is a non-declaration, should not blind us to the fact that we are in a war. So perhaps this is not the best time and I am not going to make a judgement on that to do away with the draft.

Q Governor, (interruption)

A But my answer is yes. I believe we should not have peace

time constriction in this country.

Q Governor, the selective service assistant is taking to
war
reclassifying the/demonstrators and others who are eligible for
the draft, the leading educators call it an outrageous usurpation
of power, can we have your view on this?

A Well, I think what happens there, I can understand General
Hershey in his resentment saying it and emotionally I could go
along with him. On the other hand reasonably, intellectually,
you have to say wait a minute, we can't make military service
punitive, we can't use the military as a way of punishing
people that we may disagree with or who have done some wrong
doing. If we are in a conflict, I think that one of the things
that has happened is a kind that we have drifted into a
perversion of the draft deferment idea on the whole student
contexts. I realize that I am going to lose a lot of potential
and possible friendships when I say this. But the idea in war
time-lets go back to world war II-the biggest most effective
use of the draft in our country-in the midst of an emergency,
certain
the government recognized that there were ~~some~~/people who were
as essential to the war effort in various occupations and
professions as they would be in the military. And so the govern-
ment reserved for its self the right to hand pick and say this
person and that person are exempt from the draft because we need
them some place else in this same war effort. This was the
context of the peace time draft behind exempting those getting
a higher education. In the peace time draft, it was recognized
that we did need and our country was going to be-what success was

going to be based on. The education with many of our young people is possible. So we offered an incentive to education. But now we are in combat. Now it is the case that some people are being chosen for possible death and some are being exempted, puring on the basis of getting an education. And I believe that we either should eliminate completely, or we should recognize that this kind of a choice when we are in combat, when we are in a war, and that we should review the unfairness ~~of the present~~ that we presently have.

Hand Q
Q Governor, do you think that the criteria seems to be that these activities and anti-war activities are not of the national interest, would you agree with that?

A I do not think that they are in the national interest at all. And I do not deny any one their rights to dissent. We had dissentors in World War II. I myself was pretty intolerant then. I believe that the inhumanity of Hitler and Mussolini were such that it was pretty hard to justify neutrality. But there were many Americans who did not believe that we had a place in that war but the dissent took the form, the usual forms of dissent, that had been made available to us in this country and I say that when that dissent is carried into actively interfering with the efficiency of the country in war, when it actually lends comfort and aid to the country, then I do not believe that it can be justified. It can certainly never be justified in breaking the law.

Q But can it be tolerated?

A The dissent can be tolerated.

Q No, the disruptive kind that you said-you say it can't be tolerated.

A No, I don't think that it should be-can be. I don't think that there is anything in this country that justifies the citizen taking the law into his own hands. Once you start to let each individual start determining which law he can obey, we are back to the society based on who can carry the biggest club.

Q But what about disruptive dissent who falls short of breaking the law, but in your estimate ~~xxx~~ still _____ the war effort by giving comfort to the enemy?

A Well

Q Should these people be classified?

A Well, for some reason not known to any of us, the government has decided that it is to our national interest to not take the legal step of declaring a war a war. And if this was legally declared a war within the next five minutes there are certain rules of conduct that we have lived with throughout the history of our nation almost guiding the citizens in a time of war. Certain restrictions that for the war effort and for the aid of those who are actually doing the fighting we recognize are necessary. Now the fact that legally or technically we have not declared it a war, should this technically allow people to do what would under the other circumstances range all the way from treason to obstructionism to lending comfort and aid to the enemy. I question this. I think that the-I think that

once you ask young men to fight and die for their country, the country has an obligation to those young men to do nothing that further endangers them or makes it more difficult for them to do what their country has asked them to do.

Q Governor, How do you regard the candidacy of Eugene McCarthy as opposed to President Johnson as the democratic nomination?

A I am delighted. I hope that there will be more McCarthy's and it is a type of McCarthyism that I heartedly approve of and I

Q (can't understand - but very short)

A Well, Oh, yes. I believe that anything that is devicive and the opposing party is constructive for the country.

Q Governor, what kind of candidate do you think that the Defense Secretary MacNamara might make since he is a republican?

A I don't know. I know that a rose is a rose but it is hard for me to conceive that Secretary MacNamara is a Republican.

Q Time magazine has called the Ruckerfellow-Reagan ticket a green ticket. What do you think of Governor Ruckerfellow as a prospective Republican nominee and would you be willing to accept the vice-presidential nomination?

A No, I am not a candidate for any other office. I have said that over and over again. It seems strange when you/~~put~~ talk about a ticket linking those two names here are two outspoken non-candidates being linked together. But I would say this about the Republicans and all those who have been suggested, the Republican party has a wealth of talent this year which I am sure the public is going to recognize and almost any one of several, I think,

could successful lead this country and do a better job than we are now getting.

Q can't understand but very short

A That's

Q _____ come to you and say they wanted you as their vice-president, would you accept that nomination?

A Well, you are asking me a kind of a hypothetical question now. And if I give you a hypothetical answer, as I have said before, I have written your lead for you and I do not think that I should do that. Let me just give you^{what}/my views are on the relative jobs. I have never been one who is greatly impressed as to how much the^{vice}/presidential candidate contributes to the ticket in winning votes for the number one spot. And I think that your question might be a ~~favorable~~ fair one for someone let's say doesn't hold public office as to whether he could contribute or not contribute. But I would think that my position now as governor of what is the most populous state of the union that I can be perhaps has helpful in a campaign in that position as I could any other. I would certainly try to be helpful to whomever is the nominee of our party and so I would be inclined to say that I could contribute as much to the party or more right where I am ~~insofar~~ and certainly I could do more to further by beliefs and these and the things that made me become a candidate for the office that I now hold in the first place.

Q Suppose at the convention came to you and asked you to run for president, being the favorite son from California, controlling a large block of convention votes, what would your decision be then?

A I still do not want to write your lead. There isn't any way that I can answer that question without being in deep trouble. What you are getting around to is General Sherman and the statement here. All I can say to you is, that I am not a candidate. I am very happy in the job that I am doing. Well, there are days when I am not. But, I do not foresee being a candidate.

Q Mr. Wallace says that he is picking up a lot of votes and a lot of Republicans are going his way, is this true?

A Well, I am not one who normally believes in polls but yesterday's poll as printed the Gallup Poll regard to the effect that Governor Wallace might have on the presidential three-way presidential race. I am one who believes that it could be a more harmful to the Republicans than the Democrats. This I think would be particularly true in the South. I think that there are a number of Democrats in the South who are disapproving of the present administration, but they just have an ingrain reluctance to vote for that word Republican and if you gave them an alternative choice, where they could register the disapproval of the Democratic administration without voting Republican, they would take it and to that extent would hurt us.

Q Governor, do you expect to be talking to Reverend Kauffin when you are here in New Haven about peace demonstrations?

A Well, I do not know. That would be up to Reverend Kauffin. Under the circumstances, I would feel a little self-conscious about seeking him out for

Q Governor

Governor: One more question then we have got to quite

Q We have heard several variations about this Sherman like statement from several other non-candidates. Do you have any statement that you would like to make _____ Sherman like or otherwise?

A Oh, no. You mean about Sherman? I could quote former President Eisenhower who told me once that he thought it was a foolish statement and that Sherman shouldn't have made it. I AM SORRY THAT HE HAS GOT TO GO TO A CLASS NOW. THE GOVERNOR IS GOING TO WALK ACROSS THE CAMPUS AND WE CAN MEET HIM AT THE OLD CAMPUS IF YOU WANT TO GET HIM ON THE OUTSIDE. THANK YOU VERY MUCH GOVERNOR AND MRS. REAGAN.

12/7/67

12/7/67 FINAL ADDRESS AND Q&A AT YALE - RR

Would give the money to a worthy cause. I understand that cause is a deserving young student who is now planning to work his way through Berkeley. The Governor's visit has also focused attention on a number of campus issues and in this area the Governor's charming wife has been most helpful. Those who have been campaigning for the abolishing _____ have been greatly encouraged that a Smithy has now spent the night on the campus. Finally, in his talks with the Yale students, the Governor has had a valuable opportunity to find out the opinion of 1968. And in many parts of the country, Republicans are taking about Rockerfellow and Reagan has the green ticket. Other Republicans however seem to be dreaming about a Romney-Lindsey ticket on the basis that it would be difficult of the Democrats to defeat God and the Yale man. But whether or not the Governor is on the green ticket, there are a few people who are now making such a great impact on the discusssion of issues in American politics today. And Governor Reagan, quite seriously, we thank yo u for taking time to discuss these issues here at Yale with us. You have provide Yale students with an altogether valuable experience. Now, I am proud to present to you the Governor of California, Ronald Reagan.

Time is going by. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for that wonderfully warm introduction and I want to thank, as a matter of fact, I could even refer to it as heated at moments. But I want to thank also all of you for this very warm welcome too.

I think that it is a memory that I shall cherish and probably nothing could ever take it out of my mind unless perhaps one day I should receive an honorary degree from Berkeley. REferences to my past occupation, I am not self conscious about that and the stand point that now I am in my present trade, I don't want to remember that it is just that there are certain things that for example I feel how much better it could have been if one of my more eminent protrayals had not been George Gibb of Norte Dame but had been Frank Merrywell of Yale. The other thing of course is, you know, the business that I was in all of us had to experience making some pictures that the studio didn't want them good; it wanted them ~~Tuesday~~ Thursday. And we always in the past figured that time going by would remove those pictures from your memory. And we could forget them also, But now there is a thing called television and if you such stay up late enough at night, they all come back to haunt us. Sometimes when I see some of my own, it is like looking at a son you never knew you had. I got a friend in the business who stays up late to look at his old shows just to watch his hair line recede. But modern communications, being what they are, I am aware that certain of your fellow _____ didn't take kindly to the idea of my being invited here. The Yale daily news which on casual reading does not appear to be subsidized by the C.I.A. It is still shuddering at the idea, the printers ink curdled, I am not all together unfamiliar with the circumstances in which I find myself, becuase, on previous occasions, and in my previous

occupations, there were any number of scripts in which I had to square away, push open the back wing doors to the ~~solo~~ soloon knowing that the fellows in the black hats were lined up against the bar and I was going to have to confront them. Or I walked bravely down ^{between} the tepees into the stockade to engage in a pow-wow with the Apaches --part of the tape lost--In accepting the hospitality, I wasn't so naive as to think that I might make any convert to my way of thinking or that the foundations of this old and famous institution would collapse if you failed to convert me to yours. But what is important in this juncture is that such Americans as you and I, the politician and the intellectual, now let me interject, that I have resisted at time the application of that title politician when applied to myself but I do grant you the application of your title without argument. But any way we should seriously try to understand each other and all the while we try to understand what is happening to and within the United States. The university is or should be concerned. But the important business of making men masters of the fate. One engaged in the political life has to ride the tiger. It is another name for the realities which the intellectual community is charged with identifying and domesticating. Politicians are highly expendable if they are notably edible. And I have no desire to end my career inside the tiger. But I think that I can deplore a modern day philosophical hyphenating of each one of us. This idea that we must be described with a hyphen and then a descriptive adjective. But yielding to the reality of common

usage, I must recognize that many of you, I bear the title or label of conservative and yet I am as anxious as the next man to recognize the new realities of human conditions. The fundamental varieties are no more/^{the} legacy reserved for the conservative tradition than the recognition and insight are gifts peculiar to the intellectual community. And all of a sudden we Americans seemed to have lost our way. The political search for consensus is not necessarily the last resort of a compromise and a trimmer casting about for some workable base for power. It looks to me to the action of a leader that is in search for something that is willing to be lead. In a nation that is no longer pure in its very parts where it is going or where it wants to go. This question of how to maintain the flow of ideas between the politicians and the intellectual community, more specifically the university world is very much in my mind by reason of a papers which I read on my way here. With a talk given on ~~the~~^{these} precincts one June morning five years ago by a gifted politician who was at ease in the academic world and his own creditials were respected there. The point of the discourse was dialogue between the principle parties and the American public, business or among government and business and the public, were being closed by "illusion and platitude". In consequence according to him, government was unable to make the American people comprehend the vast changes which we were already cut up. In the world, American life

had become the prisoner of myth. And the message, the new trust simply was not getting through the fog of dead cliches and worn out slogans and crumbling generalizations on which the past had been constructed. No sensible man can quarrel with the point that American life has changed ⁱⁿ and a revolutionary and explosive way. New words and new values must be minted. New aspiration and new goals must be struck. Who among us would knowingly be caught dead clinging to superstition. But Americans have long been marked as a society in a permanent revolutionary change and a change with us is a condition of life. The only justification for government is the concern for the defense and the improvement of the human lot through the hazards and the opportunities of this change. But something called the recognition factor has been brought into play. How real and how useful is this fundamental change and how fundamental is it? The look of change can be serious. There are certain varieties that do persist for better or ill. In the very recent past, we Americans have witnessed any number of the imaginative and inspired and even heroic efforts by government to demolish the illusions unhorse the patitudes, dis-spell the myth and presumably to keep us from agreeing on what's to be done and setting about doing it. We have seen unveiled a bright new body of thought, called the new economics. And this was to give us through skillful tuning of monetary and fiscal policies. In economy it would achieve full employment without inflation and at a consistently diminishing cost of government. The happy outcome was to be a strong dollar, full employment, full production and stable prices once we got

rid of the myth that the big federal deficit were mischievous and in another quarter, we had some experience with the creative federalism. Which was to have finished off the myth that big government means bad government. Creative federalism undertook to clear the way for instant great society. To be constructed by a generation having a special appointment with destiny. While the computers blinked and the fine tuning went on, the fiscal and monetary console, there was to be a restoration among us that the fading values of "community with neighbors and communion with nature". With regards to the American position in the outer world, new foreign policy was based on a pragmatism proposed that we celebrate the end of the cold war and bury the myth that communism was determined to bury us. We were to throw bridges at a mellowing Russia and in various ways end the shouting and the shooting that have filled our times with uproars. Finally, the new foreign policy was undergirded by a new strategic doctrine. That limited warfare would avoid the provocative aspects of the higher technological weapons and would make less hazardous and less arguable and less conclusive such wars as this nation might be called upon to fight. And here the object was to dispose of the idea the myth that victory and war was desirably useful. And all of these ideas added up to a noble vision. In one form or another they supplied with some of the noblest oratory and the brightest prose to issue from Washington. The trouble is there has been no real dialogue. The Government all this while has been talking pretty much to itself.

And in short of the short intervals of silence that were permitted while the federalized thinkers stopped to catch their breath it has become increasing difficult to tell where life and death matters and old myths have been separated from the realities. The new economics instead of producing an automatic balance of federal accounts during ideal conditions of full employment has piled up huge deficits. Inflation is with us again. Now, the wage price spiral is setting in. The gold is flowing out. The dollar is under attack. And the foreign friends and allies who wanted America with house in order are worried. What ever happened to the fine tuning, the careful orchestration that was to have spared the great society the consequences of the myth of fiscal discipline. Perhaps the federal orchestra was overburdened with fiddlers. Things are out of control. The federal budget is out of control. The deficit is out of hand. Too many of our people in the cities and the colleges are out of control. De Gaul ~~the Xerox~~ is out of control and so alas is Britian. _____ and Hedlin sinks the fire. As we are still in Vietnam, the _____ limited war strategy far from persuading our enemies to mend their ways has pulled us into the bottomless pit of wasteful war, wasteful in men, wasteful in treasure, wasteful of the American meaning in the world. And the new realities remain with us. But so do the prophecies. The old myths stubbornly refuse to roll over and play dead. In the chaos between the new reality and the old reality problem solving just hasn't taken place. Hard work that waits abroad for American hands will go for nothing.

Unless we settle among ourselves the question of what is the United States to be? So lets pick up the dialogue and lets make an exciting and serious one and let's not forget that we, there is still something to be said about the eternal varities however tired and abused they may be. You know, it has been said very well by one of your own in this place on the eve of another American testing back in 1917. He put it in a poetic ~~waywaywaythe~~ way discussing the mystery of moon light elms, the flash of pigeon wings, --tape lost--

These things shall be enchantment of our hearts rememberings and these are more than memories of youth which earths four winds of pain shall blow away. These are youth symbols of eternal ~~xxxxx~~ truth. Symbol of dream and imagery and flames. Symbols of the same varities that play bright through the crumbling gold of a great name. And I hope and trust that Archibald Mc Cleish whose words those were won't feel too seriously that there has been serious miscasting in the performer who chose to read them. Now, I think that before I should go on any further in this, that the custom of the particular type of meeting is that you now have at me anything that might still be left of me. I have walked down the streets of New Haven looking over my shouldérs to see how much blood is being shed so far there is still a little left for this final performance. Before the question period, there will be a short recess while some of this electronic equipment is rearranged. The first three questioners will proceed to the microphone. The chair will

recognize Charles Whitebread, Robert Beatti, and John Townsend.

Further questions will be recognized in a series of three.

Before the last of ~~these~~ these three questions is asked, the chair will ask for the raising of hands and will recognize three more. Questions according to the union standing rules must be limited to one minute in the asking. Mr. Townsend -

Q Mr. Speaker, --

that the state universities was not a place to

A I was incorrectly quoted. Or out of context. A distinguished alumni of your university here, Bill Buckley has pointed out in an article that perhaps my mistake was in using the word intellectual curiosity and that I could've been understood if I had said intellectual frivolity and I accept the criticism because probably the misunderstanding or the out of context quote could not have taken place without the later. I was not referring to the university. I was referring at a time when certain members of the academic community in California were denying that there were any economies that could be affected in a time of very stringent needs in California. Any economies in the university that would not be harmful to the intellectual pursuits and to the quality of education and I took a little exception to that when I pointed out that in a number of instances there were things that while they might be fine and admirable if you could afford them, and they certainly were of interest to the individual.

But some individuals were being subsidized by the taxpayers and intellectual curiosity when they could for example at the taxpayers expense take a course at the university in fly-casting. And I even mention that as an example of one prominent mid-western university that can give you a masters degree in the repair of band instruments. Now, I don't say that should not take place but I wondered about the need of the taxpayer to subsidize this. Now the second part of your question is the function of the university. Well, I think for one thing, the function of a university is to make sure that a generation of young people will not only grow older in four years but they grow up. And I think that at the same time, an university function is to teach and not indoctrinate, to open to you, regardless of the personal views of the instructor, for him without bias to give you every view point and let you make your decision, as to what you believe. If I had my _____ I would quite now.

Q Mr. Speaker, the Republicans in general and the _____ in particular have long been to cry as basically negative. I heard very little positive in your opening remarks, and I wonder if you could give us some indication on what positive programs you would recommend first to remove ~~of~~ us of what you described as a wasteful war and secondly, to deal with the suburban problems of today?

A On the first question. May I again--and I must say if my remarks today seemed a little _____ from some of the things that I have been talking about you must remember that in trying to at least have something different to say at each gathering and there have been several such each day, you finally get down to where I thought perhaps this was the proper gathering for just the kind of general and broad setting of the stage philosophically. As to the war, again and I ~~xxxxx~~ realize what great interest this is to you. You must realize that I cannot really and we have discussed it in almost every class that I have been in and every seminar. I cannot really be discussing this with you as a governor. I can be talking about it as a citizen. California does not have a foreign policy. I didn't declare the war and I can't call it off. But as a citizen, and as a personal as a Republican, yes, I have/~~an~~ opinion on the war. I happen to be one of those who subscribes to the belief that it is to our national interest to be there. I happen to also believe that it would not be to our national interest to simply pack up and get out. I doubt that any one really should attempt to answer in specifics as to what they would do. General Eisenhower the other night from his great experience on television and General Bradley were remarking about what they thought would be the advantages of hot pursuit. Not an invasion of the opposing territory but a hot pursuit when an enemy retreated across the line. These are men that are qualified to discuss that. But I would say this, that I would think that the Republican party

would be safe in taking of what might seem indefinite but a broad view point but which would illustrate the fact that you and I cannot legitimately with the aim of arriving at a conclusion discuss this war because the President of the United States and a little _____ surrounding him have kept to many of the facts surrounding this conflict to themselves without wanting the people of this country to have access to that information. It would seem to me that the Republicans in the campaign year could take the position that against a little 16th rate kind of water buffalo economy country, we have been engaged in the longest war in our history and the Republicans could safely utter a generality and say, if we are elected when we have access to the same information and facts that the present information has, we shall take whatever action is necessary to end this war as quickly as possible because the other side has ~~an~~ had several years and have not been able to do it. Now briefly, you switched to another type of question, and just let me briefly say, there are a many number of programs being advocated for the so-called ghettos and the urban problems and I am very proud and maybe a number of you have heard me say this before, I have discussed one that we have embarked on in California that is unique to us, I do not know of any one else who is doing it. But in addition to all the programs of improving education for example in the last several months. We were able to get legislation in our state. Legislation that would recognize the problem of one of our biggest minorities which

be
happens to/the Americans of Mexican descent who have a ~~lower~~ higher drop out rate than any other minority group, a lower educational level and greater unemployment than any other minority group in California. And we believe that part of this is because children enter the primary grades in this particular minority having heard nothing but Spanish at home and they get into language difficulties and they are unable to keep up with their fellow students. And so we have passed legislation that will now provide for dual language teachers in these schools so a teacher can find out in the child's native language why the inability to understand the situation. But in these minority area, the poverty pockets, Watts, Hunterspoint in San Francisco, over in east Oakland, we have embarked on a program which we have organized the industrialist and the businesses of California and I have used these figures before to some of you-2,600 in Los Angeles alone, 1,500 industries in San Francisco, several hundred in San Diego and additional hundreds in other of our prominent cities. These programs are aimed directly at and our participating in poverty pockets to match men to jobs and to put the hard core unemployed cooperating with government retraining programs, with our state employment office to put them into productive jobs out in the free economy to make them self-sufficient, independent citizens. And in the Watts area alone, in 16 months, the one figure that I can give you in a month or two, I would be able here to give you state wide figures but we are very careful, we do not let those figures

out until a long enough time has elapsed that we can not only say that we got them jobs but they are still in the jobs. They have made it work. We have put 17,800 unemployed from the Watts area alone in to private industry jobs. And 5/6th of them are still in those jobs or have been promoted to better jobs.already.
The chairman recognizes three questions from the floor.

Q Governor, at your press conference last month,

quoting from the L.A. News, and the New York Times,

I believe that you said homosexuality was "a tragagic illness"

I would like to ask you if you think certain other tragagic illness like T.B., cancer and mental illness and heart diseases is also . . .

A No, your question is a fair one. I didn't discuss, I was asked a couple of questions. Being a new kid in school, I figured I should answer. I have never been asked the second one before and actually ~~and~~ I have not given it much thought. But when I had to think about it, I answered it not from the stand point of the illness being ill but recognize this as a form of illness. A neurosis. We have to recognize also, I am not a private psychoanalysis, but we have to recognize that there are certain illness which have with them as a result of that illness a kind of prosolyting effect. They are not content to simply suffer the illness themselves but they seek to get other who catch the ailment. From that stand point, yes. I believe by

the same token that we reserve the right to have laws preventing the contributing to the delinquency of the minor that we have a right to a protection with the regard to the practice that follows. such an illness.

Q Governor Reagan, would you support a Republican candidate in 1968 who did not support Senator Goldwater in 1964?

A I will support whoever is the nominee of the ~~Republican~~ Republican party.

Q Yesterday you had lunch with the political science faculty one member of the faculty noted that unlike other public figures you asked no questions or in any other way attempted to learn from these men. Does this mean that you are _____?

A Well, I do not know which member of the luncheon group that was. But I think in all fairness he might also add that at no time was I free of questions that have been asked of me to answer and as a guest I felt that I should answer what was being asked. He might have also pointed out that on a number of occasions, I did remark because some of the questions dealt with higher education and educational policies. That I did express the view that I was quite sure that those who were asking the questions were better able to answer them than I was and were better informed on these particular subjects and knew more about it than I did.

The chair will recognize three more questions. at this time.

Q Governor, to what extent are you in favor of efforts to reduce tension for the Soviet Union, for example the Counsular Agreement, the

to make a non-liberalization treaty and direct Moscow to New York air flights as examples to these efforts?

A Alright, well, I am in disagreement with the ~~books~~ ^{approach} we are taken to some of those things. And the bridges we are attempting to build. I will tell you ~~ways~~ why, I figured that a bridge has two ends. And it seems like for quite some time now, we are the only ones who are building the bridge and . . . We followed understandably and I supported indeed I actively campaigned for a president four times. Casting my first vote for him and so I supported him in World War II when he began to make concessions to our Russian ally with the idea that we once proved to them our friendly intent that some of the suspicion would disappear and these two great powers emerging from the war would get along together. Now, I believe that this country can and must and will co-exist with the Soviet Union. But I do not believe that we can co-exist on the basis on which we wake up every morning looking to see whether they are smiling or frowning. We will co-exist when we maintain our strength to the place and make it evident to them, that as much as we love peace there is a price that we will not pay for that peace. And that they should understand that unless they inadvertently blunder across that line, and my criticism of some of the bridges or the approaches that we are building are that now we have ~~proving~~ proven that the overtures have been made and they were not reciprocated, that we should do a little more bargaining with those. That we should say yes to the Consular Treaty if they want it so badly but we should say

yes if you have a few things that are abrasive to us. You give up or stop that. For example when we are faced with the humanitarian choice ~~choice~~ of providing wheat for the Soviet Union or knowing that some of their citizens might starve, or go through a famine, what would have been wrong is we had said to them you have erected a wall through Berlin that is illegal and in violation of our agreement. Yes, we will send the wheat but we could get it to you easier if we did not have to go through that wall.

Q Governor Reagan, do you think that it is a threat to the United States to be involved in Vietnam?

A Now wait a minute. Do I believe that our commitment in Vietnam makes it - now I got off the sled there. Please give it to me again. I really didn't catch it.

Q Do you think our present commitment in Vietnam

A Again, remember we are talking in the area that none of us really knowing all the factors about this. But I believe that the outcome, how we elect to terminate this conflict, will have a very great bearing on whether we will have to do it again someplace else. But what I have been concerned with in our whole over all structure in what obviously is a cold war ideological conflict with the forces of communism, unless they are keeping

more secrets from us than we know, there seems to be a fuzziness about American policies. We ~~don't~~ don't seem for example to have any thing other than an idea that if we just avoid a confrontation maybe with time the cold war will go away. And it would seem to me that some place along the line--that's playing pretty fast and loose with the security of all the free world--it would seem that this country should sit down with its best brains and best thinking, try to evolve what is the plan of the enemy. What do we honestly believe is going to be his

By the same token, create a plan of our own.in which we say here is the way we will resist and to our best thinking, what are the sensitive spots. What are the areas we cannot relinquish to the enemy? And what are the areas in which he makes a move it is not too detrimental to us in our defense poster and he can go by with them and then a question like Vietnam would answer its self. You would be in Vietnam or would not be in Vietnam on the basis of where did it fit in to our strategy of defense? And along with this, just to prove that I am as mean and nasty as some of you may think, I happen to think that in this kind of ~~country~~ a defense poster, where we are always reacting after they first act, that sometimes when the enemy picks a spot and stirs the pot and ~~getting~~ get to cooking over there, that we might react not necessarily by opposing him in that spot, but we might have a few spots of our own picked out in their back yard.

Q I would like to ask to expand on your views of conservation in the light of your phrase that has been reported

A Well, first of all, I didn't say it. This was during the campaign and you must recognize that during the campaign, both sides are pretty busy trying to take certain phrases and words that they think can be used to their advantage. I didn't campaign that way of course. I was making a speech in San Francisco when I think that you are entitled to know the back ground or the basis for this remark that I just didn't make at all. We are working very hard to have a national redwood park in California. But what has irritated me is some Californians refusal to recognize our own achievement. We do not need a national park for the protection of the redwoods. California has lead any one in the world with regard to the protection of those trees. There are 115,000 acres. Now wait a minute. You are talking to the fellow who had to dig up the figures. There are 115,000 acres of redwood trees preserved in 28 parks spread over a 450 miles area of the coast. There are only about 6,000 acres of the truly cathedral like groves-the park like trees left in private hands and we already have agreements that as we can afford them the private owners are going to sell those additional acres of that type of trees to us. NOW, irritated as I was at this constant ignoring of the great conservation thing we have done by way of Save the Redwoods League, the Sierra Club and many private citizens who in many instances bought these

groves of trees and gifted them--gave them to the state. I was trying to explain to a city audience how much 115,000 acres was. And I said that if you had it laid out in one park a mile wide with a road down the middle, 115,000 acres you would have to drive 200 miles to get through that park. And I said that we a lot of trees. And I think that I am right. And I was amazed the next day that a San Francisco Chronicle had reported that I said "If you have seen one tree you have seen them all". But I will tell you, the history of the negotiations now. I think that we are going to have a national park. The federal government recognizes that the only way that they can have it, is by taking two and three of our choice parks that we already have and changing the shingle and calling it a national park and I just happen to feel that as long as the federal government owns 42% of California's land including miles and miles of beaches at Fort Ord and at Pendleton, the marine camp at San _____ some of the finest surfing beaches in America. I figure that if we are going to change that shingle from the parks that we put together and let them call it a national park, I want a few miles of that beach and a few other acres of the federal holdings transferred over to the state of California for other state parks.

Because of the Governor's tight schedule and because you would like a few minutes to sum up to this audience Mr. Hobb's question must be the last.

Q Governor Reagan, in view of the liberalism of the past decade, how do you explain your increasing popularity and that

of George Wallace

A No, and, Standing here trying to find out how do you get out of a question of the association with someone else. First of all George Wallace is a Democrat and I am a Republican. Second of all, I could best refer you to the philosophy and the policies that have been put into effect in the last 11 months by my administration and ask you to compare them to the policies of the Wallace administration of Alabama when he was not the husband of the governor, but the governor. And as to his rising popularity, whatever it may be, I am a little delighted that he is still having trouble after three trips in getting 60,000 signatures to a petition in California which is the only way that he can get on our ballot for the primary. And I do not wish him any good luck in getting the 60,000 names. But now you come to the whole question of does this mean that we are returning to a dark ages. Not at all, and it is true that when a governor, a Republican governor, assumes the administration of a state that is virtually bankrupt, is in financial chaos after eight years of an administration who has by fiscal gimmickry hidden~~ing~~ from the people the fact that in violation of its state constitution they have year after year in _____ deficits in the running of the state. It is true that most of the attention that you seem to get. The newsworthy idea is what you have achieved or what you have accomplished in the area of

economy and try to put the state on a sound footing. Now, I am not at all a shamed or ever reluctant to talk about what we have done in that regard. We discovered that the state of California, and I am afraid that this is all too true of too many other states, have made no effort to employ even the most rudimentary of modern business practices in the running of the state. And we started imposing those modern business practices. As a result by simply applying the floor space requirements that are used in private industry, and private enterprise, how many square feet of floor space does each employee require of the employees doing the same kind of work? We simply took what is common practice in private enterprise and applied it to the floor space occupied by state employees and this summer I was able to tear ~~as~~ up the contracts and just not start building a \$4,300,000 ten story office building that was scheduled for construction this summer because it is not needed now or in the foreseeable future. If you put the employees in the proper _____ to position. We discovered for example, that we had employees at adjoining desks who had intercommunication systems. Now, this may not sound very important to you, but the phone bill of the state of California is \$16,500,000 each year. We called the phone company in. We figured we were a customer, paid our bills, had a right to some service, and we said look, you have that department that tells people what kind of a phone system they need. Tell us. And a few weeks ago they informed me in writing that our phone bill

will be reduced \$2 million. We discovered that a fellow sitting here at a desk didn't need a light on his phone at \$2.00 a month extra per phone to tell him that the fellow besides him was using the phone.

Now, if I may in recapping here. I know that we are running out of time. Let me just tell you a few of the other things that we did. You know everybody, all of the businessmen and the professional people and everything, year in year out, I've been one of them, go into the locker room after a game and you start talking about government. And the latest stupidity of government and why can't they run their government like we run our business. Well, we took them up on it. We gathered in a room like this several hundred very successful professional and industrial business people in California. The most successful. And we told them that this is what they had been complaining about and we said that now you are going to have your chance. We asked for volunteers but we reserved the right to specify what qualifications we wanted. And we got 240 of the most successful people in their particular lines. From data processing to running hotels. To ~~volunteer~~ volunteer to leave their occupations for at least a six month period full time and even to leave their homes. To live in hotels and motels around the state of California. And organized into teams based on their special knowledge to go into every department and agency of our government and come back and tell us how modern business practices could be applied to make government more efficient, more economical, better able to do the job. But, we also said

if you find a department who needs more help not less, tell us that too. We are now correlating 60 reports that they have submitted. We have put some of them into effect already. Such is the one about the floor space and so forth. We discovered for example, we had large office space that ^{was} ~~was~~ virtuely vacant throughout most of the year because these were the departments that had to do with state licenses of various kinds. The licenses all expired on the same date. And then at the end of the year there would be a great big rush for temporary employees with all the confusion and extra cost and the scramble to renew the licenses. But we have just staggered the expiration date of the licenses. They become due now throughout the entire year and we have one work force with an even work load throughout the year. Now out of all this, has come the greater and the increased possibility of a state that was going bankrupt and that has no more way to go once I finished asking them for another \$900 million in taxes which I did, has no more way to go in asking the people of ourstate for funds because the people of California are paying more for government than anyother American in any other state in the union. And there is a breaking point beyond which you make it uneconomic and impossible to have a normal climate and prosperity in your state if you go beyond that point. We believe that by clearing out the dead wood and by implementing this kind of government, for one example is, we run certain departments that have to do with highways and motor vehicles all out of the receipts from gasoline tax. And

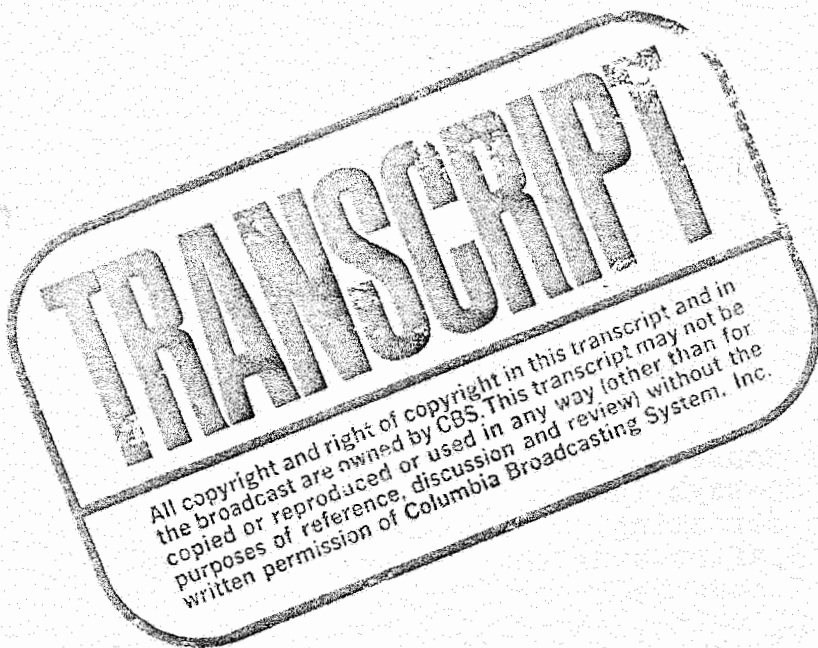
the gasoline tax alone builds our highways and we have to build 300 miles of highways a year just to keep up with the growth and population in our state. Our department head, by simply putting into effect, this reduction of administrative over head, was able this year to announce that out of savings alone, we were going to start \$99 million worth of highway projects one year in advance than when they were scheduled. This has never happened in the history of the state and it is all out of savings. Our department of agriculture out of savings has been able to institute a rabies research program including the purchase of equipment out of the savings they have made in less than ten months of this first year of our administration. But out of all this, is going to come the possibility for us to take some steps and particularly if we can get some cooperation from the federal government in releasing and relaxing some of the regulations that they have imposed on us in connection with federal grants. In such areas as in our cities and in our areas of welfare. Now, I have said publically, so that you will know the context in which I said it, I will say it again. That I believe, on the record, welfare as we know it in America is a colossal if not an almost complete failure. And I say that on the basis that welfare's success should not be basis on how big does welfare grow. Welfare if it is successful, should be reducing itself in size because it is rehabilitating and salvaging human beings and making them independent and self-sufficient and we

want to embark on that kind of a program. We want to carry on with this thing that I told you about that is working now in ghettos. We have a number of other plans in this regard. We are the only state in the union for the first time in history in the area of crime. We have now brought together every phase of law enforcement from the judiciary to the local police into a super crime council. WE are going to have a crime laboratory. The aiding of the police in the smaller communities but at the same time, we have linked for the first time, our state crime information computer with the FBI computer in Washington and with the offices of our principle cities. Local law enforcement such a thing has never been done. But we now have this exchange of crime information from the national right through to the local level by way of our state. We have another program. You know that California is moving more water farther to more people than has ever been done in man's history. In doing this, we have a vast chain of lakes that have been created behind the dams but they are not only for storage of water, we want them for multiple purpose--recreation, sport fishing and so forth and boating and swimming. But up until our administration those lakes were surrounded by chain linked fences and the territory around those lakes had no access to the water, the state confiscates a little piece of land through condemnation and then has a state runned place where you can enter the lake there through that one state facility. We are working out a program to bring in private investment and capitol for the

development of housing and resorts and taking those chain linked
fenses down so that for every dollar of state investment will
be \$2.00 of private capitol investment by resort operators and
so forth to fully utilize these lakes. I could go on but I
would be taking far too much time. In telling you, that yes,
our approach is constructive. We have been a sailed for what
has been misread as economising the expense of mental health
but the truth of the matter is that California has embarked
on one of the newest and most experimental things or several
years ago we did the embarking, we are augmenting and adding
the treatment of
to the program for ~~treating the~~ mental health in which only
one side the reduction of the cost of hospital has been
emphasized and everyone failed to note that we made the biggest
increase of appropriation for the treatment at regional health
care centers of the mental ill so that they could be treated
in their own homesurroundings and live a normal life and even
be out and working in the community and we lead the nation
now, not only in the amount we are spending per capita per
patient, but we lead the nation also in percentage in the mentally
ill who are being cured and released to a normal life from our
institutions. We have some plans in mind with regard to
juvenile training or the juvenile delinquent problem in our
state, all of them involving as much as possible the independent
sector. This is just a little of the positive approach. I do
not believe that the election of people like myself as I say
has meant that we are going to abandon the past approach to
human welfare. ~~XXXXXX~~

I will tell you what I think it does mean. I think that it means that we are going to stop destroying human beings in the name of charity and try salvaging and saving them. Now, this being the last appearance that I have an opportunity here and I must say you have been so receptive, so warm, believe me, you send me away happy but the entire experience has been most enjoyable, something that I will never forget and I am going back to have an argument with Jesse Unruh when he heard that I was invited here said he understood that the Chub fellowship was ~~deteriorating~~ deteriorating in quality. I am most grateful to all of you. This has been a happy experience. You know my joke about Frank Merrywell. I happen to be so old, that its true, that when I was a small boy I did read all the Frank Merrywell books and that is way I have never yelled for Harvard. But, I do, I want to thank you again. It has been provocative, it has been extremely interesting and I have to tell you that Nancy and I have both talked about this since we have been here, back when I was your age and sitting where you know sit, at least in the academic halls at least not this particular one, I must say we did not have your interest in the affairs of the world nor did we have your fund of knowledge your access to information about what is going on in the world and you offer a very bright hope indeed for what is going to take place in the coming days. We need you very much out in that world. Thank you.

12/2/67



CBS REPORTS

"What About Ronald Reagan?"

as broadcast over the

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

Tuesday, December 12, 1967

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REPORTERS: Harry Reasoner and Bill Stout

PRODUCER: Gene DePoris

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER: Sam Zelman

HARRY REASONER: Good evening. This is Harry Reasoner.

Americans like to make shrines of the birthplaces and hometowns of their heroes. And if you think back it seems that they are usually in unlikely places--West Branch, Iowa; Dennison, Texas; Brookline, Massachusetts; Galena. Galena!!! So, if the candidacy of a place called Tampico, Illinois sounds strange now, we could probably get used to it.

Ronald Reagan was born in this house on February 6, 1911. In his book "Where's the Rest of Me?" he says that's where the whole story began. "My face was blue from screaming, my bottom was red from whacking, and my father claimed afterwards that he was white and shaken. Ever since my birth, I have been particularly fond of the colors that were exhibited, red, white, and blue." Reagan's detractors claim that he seems to think he has a patent on those colors. His admirers find it nice that someone still feels strongly about them.

JUDGE MARSHALL F. McCOMB: Do you swear that you do not now advocate, nor are you a member of any party or organization, political or otherwise, that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the State of California by force or violence or other unlawful means?

RONALD REAGAN: I do. No exceptions.

JUDGE McCOMB: Governor Reagan, I now declare you to be duly installed as Governor of the State of California.

REASONER: It's 1,666 miles from Tampico to Sacramento. A good deal farther if you go by way of Des Moines, Hollywood and Schenectady, New York. That's a long way.

CHANT: We want Reagan!

REAGAN: Thank you, Madam Chairman.

CHANT: Reagan '68! (Cheers)

REASONER: It's 2,379 miles from Sacramento to Washington, a still longer way except that in the jet age you can get places pretty fast.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

ANNOUNCER: Here now is CBS NEWS Correspondent Harry Reasoner.

REASONER: There's a very real possibility Ronald Reagan, an actor who ran for his first public office just over a year ago, will be the next Republican candidate for President. This frightens some people and delights others. The people who are delighted and those who are frightened are responding to the same feeling that the man might go all the way. A lot of voters like him. Republicans like him better than Democrats do, naturally, and Goldwater Republicans

like him better than other Republicans do. But a lot of people who didn't like Goldwater like Reagan. The message that came through so strong in Barry Goldwater, seems muted and more widely acceptable in Reagan. But the Republicans who want to hear the message hear it from Reagan.

A CBS NEWS survey has found that he is more popular with potential convention delegates than he is with the rank and file, and it is the delegates who do the nominating. A special analysis of surveys conducted by the Gallup Poll during August and September of 1967, tells you some other things about Reagan. White Protestants like him better than Catholics and Jews and Negroes do. The South likes him better than the West and Midwest do and a lot better than the East does. The people who like him the most as a group are described as well-educated, but low-income, suggesting that Reagan finds a response in people who feel frustrated about their lives. He is not the front-runner in any broad-based poll of possible candidates, but he is among the five serious contenders in all of them. And for a lot of reasons - his Hollywood background, his rapid rise, his strong statements - he is a natural for press attention.

Reagan came to politics out of Hollywood. He came to Hollywood out radio. He used to broadcast the telegraphic reports of Chicago Cubs games over WHO in Des Moines. He was pretty good at it. He was called "Dutch" Reagan then, a nickname his Irish father gave him because he was, Reagan says, "a fat Dutchman of a baby." As a teenager he worked as a lifeguard for seven summers in Dixon, Illinois, and saved 77 lives. These are home movies. The boy in the black bathing suit is Dutch. He worked his way through Eureka College, where he participated in a successful student strike against administration economies, a biographical note that might surprise California students who threatened a similar strike against their new Governor this year. He also played football.

Reagan is married to the former Nancy Davis and they have two children. It's a second marriage. He was married before to actress Jane Wyman; they also have two children. Reagan's fitness and robust handsomeness reflect his love of his ranch in the Malibu Hills. He likes horses and the out-of-doors. It's an American success story. Humble beginnings to a ranch of which he sold a major part last year for \$2,000,000. Small town and summer jobs to the Governor's chair. He also owns a Pacific Palisades home worth at least a quarter of a million dollars. He says he thinks he has everything, including the beautiful wife. We asked him if he talks to Nancy about major decisions.

REAGAN: Well, we have no secrets. She usually knows what's on my mind and knows what's bothering me. She also, I think, knows by now if I can talk about it, that a lot of my thinking is done by talking out loud, so she usually hears a few different approaches to it and suddenly one of them hits and that's the script we go with.

REASONER: Some men at 56, with all Reagan has, might be inclined to relax. But somehow out of his own success story, he has accumulated a concern about the way America is going. He expresses it in his humor sometimes. He doesn't like hippies and way out youth.

REAGAN: The last bunch of pickets were carrying signs that said "Make love, not war." The only trouble was they didn't look like they were capable of doing either. His hair was cut like Tarzan, and he acted like Jane, and he smelled like Cheetah.

REASONER: He worries about the welfare state.

REAGAN: We have people out there who are in the third generation of their families. Sometimes you might think they have a military-style wedding - you know, crossed welfare checks.

REASONER: This then is the Governor of California. Already a long way from Tampico, Illinois.

For a long time, America's sophisticates couldn't take Ronald Reagan seriously. As an actor he had seemed corny to them, as a politician he seemed improbable. When he ran for Governor, they told the story about Jack Warner, the big movie man, coming home from Europe and hearing the news and saying, "No, no, Jimmy Stewart for Governor, Ronald Reagan for Best Friend." Warner declines to take credit for this story, but he did tell CBS NEWS Correspondent Bill Stout how Dutch Reagan became Ronald Reagan, perennial movie best friend.

JACK WARNER: I met him through our casting director then, a fellow named Max Arnow. An agent called him and said, "There's a chap out here from Des Moines, Iowa, who as I understood him to say, was a sports radio announcer in Des Moines. His name is Ronald Reagan." I said, "Fine, bring him over and let me say hello to him."

BILL STOUT: What was it, Mr. Warner, that caught your eye when you looked at that first test of Reagan?

WARNER: Well, his personality projected, as I term it, off the screen into the audience. It comes through. He had a good smile, happy delivery, rather a little good sense of humor and also had a dramatic quality--

REASONER: The charm that Jack Warner described led Ronald Reagan into a long career as sort of journeyman juvenile. More than 50 movies over 27 years, 40 of them for Warner Brothers. Most of the movies were class B, most of the roles were moral ones. He got into trouble in a lot of them and people were mean to him. But he usually came out all right. He was the kind of an actor who could wear a uniform and he did, often and in great variety. He was very often a best friend, steadfast and true. Sometimes, he loved the hero's girl and didn't get her, but sometimes there was a subplot with a girl for Reagan. It was a perfectly respectable and profitable career for an actor but it lacked the dash and the ups and downs of more

flamboyant stars. He seldom got the girl. Sometimes he wound up with the horse. Sometimes he didn't even get the horse. This scene from "Dark Victory," which starred Bette Davis, George Brent, and Humphrey Bogart, about says it:

GEORGE BRENT: Judy?

REAGAN: Yes. It's Judy. You know, Doc, I've loved her for a long time but I can't help her now because - well, you're the one man, so be nice to her, will you.

REASONER: Off into the sunset.

We talked to lots of associates and friends of Reagan's of that period. Most of them were unwilling to talk to a camera. Some were not unwilling. This is Bryan Foy, executive producer of B movies at Warners when Reagan acted in them.

BRYAN FOY: There's one nice thing about Ronald Reagan, he's really an honest, decent fellow. In fact, he's just what he portrayed on the screen most of the time; he's really that way.

A.C. LYLES (PRODUCER): Being around Ronnie for as long as I had been and being exposed to his great personality and to his honesty, I knew that if the general public ever had the opportunity that I had had to see him and to see this great honesty I knew that would come off to the people.

BOB WILLIAM (FORMER WARNERS PRESS AGENT): Ronald Reagan was a very nice guy, so nice that you tended to disbelieve him. You might classify him as the All American Square.

ALEX GOTTLEIB (PRODUCER): The main thing I discovered about Ronnie Reagan, and I think I'm not the only one, is he was just a bore and dull. You couldn't spend five minutes with him before you wanted to run out.

REASONER: It would be wrong to give the impression that Reagan languished unnoticed in B pictures exclusively. He was in some big ones. Thinking back, he liked one role especially as the talented football player George Gipp to Pat O'Brien's Knute Rockne of Notre Dame.

PAT O'BRIEN (AS KNUTE ROCKNE): Boys, this is Mr. George Gipp, freshman from Calumet High School. Mr. Gipp has kindly consented to carry the ball for the scrubs. Just call any play you like, any at all. They're all the same to him. All right. Watch this, it ought to be good. (Whistle, signals 48, 15, 72 hike) (Gipp carries the ball down the field for a touchdown.)

REAGAN: I guess the boys are just tired.

REASONER: Reagan says the greatest demands ever made on him as an actor were in "Kings Row," when he played a rather dissolute fellow who got his legs cut off in an accident and woke up to find them missing.

REAGAN: Randy, Randy, where's the rest of me?

REASONER: That was a famous scene, and years later it gave Reagan a title for his autobiography, "Where's the Rest of Me?" To some people, the rest of Ronald Reagan is still a mystery. We'll go into that in a moment.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

REASONER: It is very common for a man to change his social and political views during his 40's, an almost routine part of the male climacteric, and the change is almost always from left to right, from liberal to conservative. In the case of Ronald Reagan, the change was especially dramatic. Reagan had served three and a half years in the Air Force in World War II, making training films as an administrative officer. He came out fired up for action. As he says in his book, "I was blindly and busily joining every organization I could find that would guarantee to save the world." They included some that would make current Reagan supporters wince. He was a charter member of Americans for Democratic Action; he was in the United World Federalists; the American Veterans Committee; the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee for the Arts, Sciences and Professions. He had always been active in the Screen Actors Guild. In 1947, he became its president and served for six terms, during which he led a major strike. As president of the Guild, he testified in one of those inquiries the House Committee on Un-American Activities was staging in those days into Communist influence in the popular arts. What Reagan said was traditional enough, but in those suspicious worried days it took courage to say.

REAGAN: I will be frank with you that as a citizen, I would hesitate, or I would not like to see any political party outlawed on the basis of its political ideology because we've spent 170 years in this country on the basis that democracy is strong enough to stand up and fight for itself against the inroads of any ideology no matter how much we may disagree with it.

REASONER: In 1948, Reagan supported Harry Truman and his embroilment in political affairs by then was so strong that his wife, Jane Wyman, the actress, sued for divorce. "His concentration on politics made home life impossible" she said. Reagan was still a Democrat in 1950. Paul Ziffren, former Democratic National Committeeman from California, remembers that year.

PAUL ZIFFREN: At that time I was the chairman of the Advisory Committee for Helen Gahagan Douglas's campaign against Richard Nixon for the United States Senate. Mr. Reagan was a very consistent and vigorous supporter of Mrs. Douglas. Actually, at that time, you recall, the Korean War had started and because of the Korean War and the beginning of McCarthyism, a good many of the Hollywood personalities left the Douglas campaign, but Mr. Reagan stayed with us throughout the campaign and was a great help.

REASONER: But in February, 1951, Ronald Reagan turned 40 and almost immediately there were the signs of change. In 1952, he married for the second time to Nancy Davis, an actress, who was the daughter of a very conservative and eminent surgeon. He voted for Dwight Eisenhower. And as the metamorphosis began, Reagan also found a platform. In 1954, he signed with General Electric to be host and occasional star of a weekly dramatic series on television. What made the new job especially attractive to Reagan was not the acting but the chance to tour G.E. plants and talk to employees and community gatherings. In this process over eight years, his conservative views crystalized. Those views were gradually hardened into what reporters later called "The Speech," a standard address he soon knew by heart. Executive Producer Stanley Rubin recalls one incident with Reagan during the waning days of the G.E. series.

STANLEY RUBIN: One particular incident I remember very vividly with Ronnie, the adaptation of the Marion Miller book for General Electric Theater.

REAGAN: Good evening. We are proud to present this evening the story of a truly loyal American, Marion Miller, who has been called the most decorated woman in the United States. She won these honors for her part in fighting the Communist conspiracy as an undercover agent for the FBI.

RUBIN: One day I learned that the director and Ronnie had reached an impasse, a total disagreement about the development of the teleplay, the adaptation of the Marion Miller book. So they came into my office to have that squabble - that impasse resolved. It concerned the climactic scene in this particular adaptation, this episode that Ronnie was going to make on the Marion Miller book, in which the Communist party chief for whom Marion Miller was presumably working, although actually working for the FBI, was to come into Mrs. Miller's house and find her child praying, and this would reveal to the Communist party chief that Marion Miller was suspicious as a Communist agent, because if she were really a Communist agent her child would not have been taught to pray. To the rest of us in the office this was an oversimplification, but to Ronnie it was a plain simple fact. I remember him saying, "Any atheist is a Communist and any American family that doesn't teach its children to pray is a Communist family."

REASONER: The formal political change came in 1962. Reagan affiliated with the California Republican party. He also joined in anti-Communist television programs, spoke at the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade rallies of Dr. Fred Schwarz, served on the advisory boards of right-wing organizations like Young Americans for Freedom, and campaigned for Representative John Rousselot, a member of the John Birch Society. Amateur analysts have offered a number of explanations for the change in Reagan, his own acceptance as a member of the Establishment, his association with Republican executive types, even his resentment at what welfare state taxes did to his substantial income. Some said his wife changed his views.

NANCY DAVIS REAGAN: No, that's just not true at all. My husband is not that weak a man and I'm not that strong a woman.

REASONER: In any event, by 1964 the metamorphosis was complete. The man who campaigned for Helen Douglas against Richard Nixon in 1950 was co-chairman of California Republicans for Goldwater.

Reagan's next regular employment was in the syndicated television series, "Death Valley Days," as host and part-time performer. The show is controlled by the McCann-Erickson Advertising Agency, whose West Coast vice president, Neil Reagan, provides some clinical insight into his brother Ronald's charm.

NEIL REAGAN: Being in the advertising business and handling clients' money we don't, we hope, spend clients' money foolishly. So, before he did any commercials, we wanted to know what public acceptance would be of those commercials and we did research - after making some test commercials with him - we did research that would flip you, the results of this research, the acceptance of the guy on the tube.

BILL STOUT: Can you define what he did to those people in the trial audiences who watched him and reacted so favorably?

NEIL REAGAN: The first one that we researched, 96 women, in groups of 24 each. We ran the commercial, the research is done; the last line in the research that we have to deliver to the client is, "In all of our years of dealing with names and doing co-op ads or television spots with them, we have never had anybody that wound up as high on the scale in acceptance as this guy." I said, "Look, we're going to go over to the client and the client is going to say, 'What did you do, have all Goldwater women?' They said, 'We thought this would be asked, so we protected ourselves. We went back to the women and we said, 'How many of you 96 women were registered Democrats in the last election and voted for President Johnson?' And better than 70% raised their hands.'"

Then they asked another question, "How many of you are registered Republicans and voted for President Johnson in the last election?" And there was another good percentage. By the time they got down to the place where, "How many of you are registered Republicans and voted for Goldwater?" the show of hands was about commensurate with the way the vote went in the last election. Now, these women then began to volunteer: "When he comes on and says something, we believe him. Even if he tells us how to vote, I rather suspect that I would take his word for it and vote that way." Now, these are women who voted Democrat in the last election.

STOUT: Credibility, is that how you would sum it up?

NEIL REAGAN: Right.

STOUT: If you had to pick one word?

NEIL REAGAN: Yes, very good word.

STOUT: That's fascinating.

NEIL REAGAN: It's also a little frightening, because, as I say, I can pick some people right now who have the same kind of thing.

RONALD REAGAN: Well, now, if the government planning and welfare had the answer and they've had...

REASONER: A little while later, a national panel confirmed the results of Neil Reagan's tests. Through the years in Hollywood union affairs and speech tours for General Electric, Ronald Reagan was getting ready for something. It came in the closing weeks of the 1964 campaign when he made this national television speech for Goldwater.

REAGAN: We were told four years ago that 17,000,000 people went to bed hungry each night. Well, that was probably true; they were all on a diet. But now we are told that 9.3 million families...

REASONER: It was essentially, "The Speech," the one he had given over a thousand times. But, if you had to pick a point, this was the point at which Ronald Reagan became a national political figure. Henry Salvatori, president of a group called the Anti-Communist Voters League, a millionaire from the oil industry, and a prominent backer of Goldwater, told Bill Stout what happened next.

HENRY SALVATORI: He made his talk on national TV which was received throughout the nation with tremendous enthusiasm and resulted in millions of dollars coming into the campaign, so we knew that he had a terrific capacity to move people. And shortly after the Goldwater defeat, three or four of us got together and we decided that we had to look for someone who had the qualifications that would make him an electible candidate and Ronnie Reagan was the man we all agreed would be that particular fellow. But Reagan had to be convinced that the people really wanted him and at the beginning of '66, or shortly before, that decision was made, at which time all of us agreed that this fellow was the candidate that could arouse the people of California.

REASONER: At the Los Angeles Biltmore, Reagan began his campaign against Governor Brown after an easy primary victory over George Christopher, a former Mayor of San Francisco.

REAGAN: It is a responsibility handed to our party to represent not only our party but millions of Democrats and Independents in California who like us say, "Ya basta, we've had it."

REASONER: Pat Brown, who had fought off the best the Republicans could throw at him, including Richard Nixon, began what he thought would be the destruction of Ronald Reagan:

BROWN: The old-day, when they get in the poll and they have to make a decision between a Governor that's been acting and an actor, I think they're going to pull that down for Pat Brown. That's my opinion.

REASONER: At the time, Brown may still have belonged to the rather

touching group who didn't take Reagan seriously, They ignored the fact that while Reagan may never have held office, he had been rehearsing the role of campaigner for a long, long time. A 1941 incident recalled by former Warner Brothers press agent Bob William.

WILLIAM: I was sitting next to the late Al Hale Sr., and Ronald Reagan as usual was standing there and holding forth and making a speech and dominating the set and I noticed that Mr. Hale was fidgeting and becoming more and more uncomfortable and finally he turned to me, he was sitting on my left, and he said, "This guy and his speeches may bring him to the White House some day, but if they don't get him off the set right now, I'm going to quit this picture."

LEO GUILD (FORMER WARNERS PRESS AGENT): There's always end-of-set parties when a movie is finished and very often brass from other cities, important people, are invited and certainly the press. The head of publicity and advertising, Charlie Einfeld, would go around to the stars and whisper in their ears, "Mix, mix." But no one ever had to do that to Ronnie, because he would be going around from group to group saying, "I'm Ronnie Reagan. How are you?"

REAGAN: Hi, hello, there.

REASONER: In 1961, as a right-wing Republican, Reagan was still rehearsing. This time with G.E. Theater Executive Producer Stanley Rubin.

RUBIN: We would start out talking about the host material or the story but it would rapidly turn into a long political discussion on Ronnie's part, usually with three favorite subjects. One was federal aid to education, which he was vehemently opposed to. Another was the overcentralization, that is, big, too big a government in Washington:

REAGAN: You know for a number of years I've been protesting the growth of government, expressing a concern lest government grow so complex as to become unmanageable and beyond the control of the people...

RUBIN: And creeping socialism:

REAGAN: That one man, even in the White House was omnipotent, and that a little intellectual elite in the nation's capital can engage in social tinkering even to the extent of telling the working man and woman in this land how and with whom they must share the fruit of their labor.

RUBIN: And he was always armed with newspaper clippings, statistics, and when I say statistics, I mean an avalanche. I was buried under them.

REAGAN: Four hundred federal aid appropriations, 170 separate federal aid programs administered by 21 federal departments and agencies, 150 ...

REASONER: Back at the Biltmore election night, Reagan learned he had beaten Brown by almost a million votes. The question was whether it

was the mystique of the man or his program or a little of both that brought him such a stunning victory - or it could have been Governor Brown.

BROWN: I don't think there's anything that I could have done in the last campaign that would have elected me over any Republican candidate unless he was an absolute dope. I don't believe it would have made the slightest bit of difference. They had just gotten tired of Pat Brown.

REASONER: Harry Ashmore, with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, and chairman of the Advisory Committee of the California Democratic party:

HARRY ASHMORE: He's the first politician I've ever known in my time who completely turned his campaign over to the experts, to the so-called professional campaign managers, public relations people, image builders, people of great skill. As far as I could see, watching it fairly closely, admittedly from a biased vantage point, since I was supporting Governor Brown who was going down to defeat, it seemed to me that one of the really remarkable things I'd seen in politics was the way in which Ronald Reagan managed to change his image almost completely between the time he announced for the office of Governor and the time he came into the homestretch in the election, a period of some two or three months. I would say that he came into the election carrying the image of Barry Goldwater. He emerged at the end of that campaign bearing the image of Nelson Rockefeller and he did this apparently without losing the votes and perhaps even the fervor of his right-wing supporters who were the original backers, the ones who put him in the race.

JUDGE McCOMB: Do you solemnly swear...

REASONER: Reagan took office at the earliest possible moment, just after midnight on the day his term began.

REAGAN: Well, George, here we are on the Late Show again. I couldn't help that, but I want you to know this moment isn't taken as lightly as such a remark might indicate.

REASONER: A lot of people were realizing the time had passed to take Ronald Reagan lightly. He was, with disconcerting suddenness, a man in powerful office and a national political figure. We'll view him in that role in a moment.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

REASONER: Ronald Reagan as a new governor had no breathing space. He had to deal with the state's well-known activist college students, who began demonstrating against him almost as soon as he took the oath. He had said he wanted tuition charges for the state colleges. The kids thought Reagan was moving to enforce a philosophy.

STUDENT: Now, I want to tell you what Ronald Reagan's theory is. It's the theory of a businessman. You see, you come here, you get your education, you pay for it.

REASONER: To further stir up the liberals and the activists, Reagan had voted with the majority of the Board of Regents to fire Clark Kerr, the president of the State University. The students protested all the way to the State House in Sacramento, where Reagan came out to meet them in an unexpected appearance.

VOICE: Ladies and gentlemen, the Governor has come to see us. We owe him a courtesy. I urge you to treat this man courteously. Let us show the respect for the office.

REAGAN: Ladies and gentlemen, if there are any --- There is nothing that I could say that would in any way create an open mind in some of you, but perhaps there are some who would respond --

REASONER: The Board defeated the proposal for tuition charges but considered raising fees. And Reagan himself shelved his proposal for an investigation of student unrest at Berkeley. On the college front, there was a lull. In the economic area, any new Governor of California would have had real problems.

REAGAN: I ask your help in returning the State of California to financial strength and confidence and I'm certain that working together we are equal to the challenge.

REASONER: A new Governor who had promised to cut the size of state government, and to give local governments new aid so they could cut property taxes had special problems. Reagan moved in two ways. He put through a billion dollar tax increase to balance this year's record budget.

REAGAN: It's not a happy picture. The study makes it plain that our State has been looted and drained of its financial resources in a manner unique in our history.

REASONER: He used a new technique to win support: 90-second television messages such as this one paid for by leftover campaign funds and private contributions and handed out to California stations. But, he also had to make some big cuts in State commitments and he chose to do it in the field of mental health, where a decrease in patients had not produced a decrease in costs.

REAGAN: I don't think the people of California should be required to maintain employees on the salary, or on the payroll, when there is absolutely no justification or no longer any need for keeping them.

REASONER: The objective verdict on Reagan's first year as Governor is mixed. He has not fallen on his face because of lack of experience. But he has not revolutionized state government either. And while he has kept some promises, he has made some powerful enemies. In August, for instance, he told a conference on the State's Medi-Cal program why he wanted to trim the program by 200 million dollars.

REAGAN: I'm frank to say that it is my belief that unless Medi-Cal, which is our homegrown name for the Medicaid program, unless it is revised and revamped, it not only can, but most assuredly will bankrupt our state in a very few years.

REASONER: In Medi-Cal, and mental health and higher education, Reagan has done less than some of his partisans would have hoped, but enough so that supporters of these programs remain up in arms. When a judge issued an injunction blocking the Medi-Cal cutbacks, Reagan warned doctors who might perform services under the injunction that if his Administration won the case on appeal, they risked not getting paid. The very powerful Los Angeles Times, which had supported Reagan in his campaign, now suggested Reagan was advocating disregard of the law. As a matter of fact, the Los Angeles Times has continually criticized Reagan on its editorial pages. But if Reagan has made the Times and other California newspapers unhappy, the evidence is he's more popular than ever with the people who read them, except there is some evidence of disenchantment among the far right. Millionaire right-winger, William Penn Patrick:

WILLIAM PENN PATRICK: Now, he's still talking the conservative language but practically everything that he's doing is even more liberal than the administration we had here under Pat Brown. And these are the things that the conservatives are concerned about and they have a right to be. We have, in my opinion, been betrayed by Mr. Reagan.

STATE SENATOR JOHN G. SCHMITZ (REPUBLICAN, MEMBER OF JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY): I don't know if betrayal would be the word for it, but I really think that he's taken us for granted. Disappointed is perhaps the best word to use. As far as I'm concerned, the words don't match up with the action.

BILL STOUT: Give me a few specifics, the difference between what he's said and what he's done.

SCHMITZ: Okay, let's just mark them off here. First of all, there's the Rumford Act, repealing the Rumford forced housing act. He was all for repealing it. He comes up with a compromise version that he backed completely, that to the California Real Estate Association officers was in many ways worse than the Rumford Act itself. He says we got to cut our budget. We come up with the biggest budget in California history. We've got to cut taxes or hold the line on taxes. We come up with a billion dollar tax increase with no termination date on it. Another big issue was the University of California and our higher education. He's going to investigate the University and do something about it. He calls off the investigation and gives the faculty administrators a pay raise.

REAGAN: I think we've got some narrow groups on both sides of the spectrum who are well-meant and sincere. But I think that sometimes they would rather see someone go down in glorious defeat, jump off the cliff with the flag flying than recognize the practicalities of trying to promote your philosophy and get it a step at a time and I've tried to point out to Republicans that it's taken the opposition 35 years to accomplish many of the things we're opposed to. We can't believe that some place out of the sunrise a man on a white horse is going to ride along, wave a wand and if we get elected change everything all at once.

REASONER: California Assemblyman Rogert Monagan, the Republican minority leader, who says he's satisfied with Reagan's performance so far, now wants to see what happens next.

ROBERT MONAGAN (MINORITY LEADER, ASSEMBLY): The essential thing now is to develop programs that tackle the immense problems that we have in California to put some so-called muscle and fiber onto the Creative Society and do something about pollution, and our slum conditions, minority group problems, education and a great number of the real difficult things that hit a growing state like California.

REASONER: In a strange way, the talk in California about Reagan as governor has a quaint historic sound. Reagan as a national political force could still be tripped up by events in his administration of the state, but the feeling is that he has gone beyond state boundaries. Wherever he goes he cites his achievements as Governor.

REAGAN: We've just received within the last few days from the phone company, in writing, a notification that our phone bill will be reduced by \$2,000,000. We put a freeze on out-of-state travel. And we didn't really say they couldn't go, we just said they had to come in and explain where they were going and why. And I remember four of them came in, they wanted to go to a study seminar back East. We sent one and told him to take notes for the other three. And when I took office I found there was a stack of stationery about this high with the other fellow's name on it. And then some fellow came in with one of those wheel dollies to cart it out to be burned and I said, "Whoops, wait a minute." Now I've got some stationery with my own name on it, but I thought there must be a lot of letters that just sort of go within the shop here, that we can use that up, it shouldn't be destroyed. So now the girls are x-ing out that other name and they type mine in.

REASONER: He is the Republican perhaps most in demand outside his state as a crowd-drawer and fund-raiser.

REAGAN: Our own interests demand that we seek a long-range determination of the vital interests of all concerned without depending on the United Nations as it is presently constituted.

REASONER: He tells Republican audiences what they want to hear:

MALE VOICE: And when I saw him make a speech in 1964 for Goldwater I said, "There's the man who should be running for President, and there's the man that we need for President."

FEMALE VOICE: I like the way he takes a firm stand on things and the way he goes about them.

MALE VOICE: I think his views agree with mine.

FEMALE VOICE: He has the same type of feeling with the people that John Kennedy had, I think.

MALE VOICE: He's the hope of America.

FEMALE VOICE: I know most people think women like him because of his good looks and charm and that he's a Hollywood personality, but I don't think that's entirely true.

FEMALE: I like him as a movie star.

REASONER: He is greeted everywhere like a candidate and with the obvious enthusiasm and the wide spectrum of people voicing it that go with winning candidates. But he keeps saying that he is not a candidate.

REAGAN: I am not a candidate...I am not a candidate...I am not a candidate...I am not a candidate.

REASONER: The polite thing is to take a man at his word. But should circumstances develop in which the Republicans demanded that he be a candidate, nothing he has said would rule that out. And much of what he has said would have paved the way to run against Lyndon Johnson.

REAGAN: You remember in '64, when he kept saying, "All the way with LBJ," and we didn't know how far he really meant.

REASONER: And even should the unlikely event happen that Mr. Johnson was not the opponent, Reagan has covered the next most possible Democrat.

REAGAN: Bobby Kennedy. There is one of those rare people who can always say exactly the right thing, at the right time, to the wrong person.

SONG: ... "Ronald Reagan is the guy
who will arouse the countryside.
Americans..."

REASONER: At the moment, however, Reagan disavows the supporters who want him to run even when they open a headquarters in New Hampshire.

SONG: "... a modern Paul Revere,
a modern Paul Revere,
Ronald Reagan is the guy who will arouse the
countryside.
Americans can point with pride to a modern
Paul Revere.
Americans can point with pride to a modern
Paul Revere."

REAGAN: ... a guarantee of every citizen's right to share in this abundant society proportionate to his ability...

REASONER: To a lot of people, Reagan does look like Paul Revere and among these people, the idea delights some and frightens others, depending on, I guess, whether they think right now Paul Revere is what we need.

REAGAN: ...that those who under the euphemism of social unrest or

civil disobedience who take to the streets in riot and mob violence will not be tolerated in this land of ours.

REASONER: Crime in the streets. That's Reagan on one of the two major national issues of 1968. Some of his critics say he is implicitly anti-Negro - but he says no, that the Negroes have the biggest interest of all in law and order. On the other major national argument, Vietnam, Reagan is, more than any other prominent Republican, the most convinced that we should do whatever we have to do militarily to win.

REAGAN: ...and somehow this brings no talk of escalation and yet Russian-built munitions to kill American fighting men enter the unmined harbor of Haiphong to the North. And we're told that if we do there the same thing the enemy is doing in the South, if we put mines in that harbor, the war will grow bigger and more terrible. Well, to a man getting killed the war is already as big as it can get.

REASONER: Reagan and his advisers know that some people think a man on a horseback is a danger, not an inspiration. He knows, for instance, that he is regarded as a dangerous lightweight by that vague group of powerful people known as the Eastern Establishment. That may be part of the reason he agreed this fall to come to Yale as a Chubb Fellow and talk to Ivy League students, as did people like Adlai Stevenson, Harry Truman and Clement Attlee before him.

VOICE: Sir, you say that you are worried about infringements on individual rights. Could you then tell us are you in favor of the Selective Service System being abolished?

REAGAN: This has to be a yes and no answer. For quite some time now I have been opposed to the peacetime draft, and have thought that at least this country with its great know-how could evolve a program of incentives and enlistment and then as this proved its effectiveness, eliminate the draft. The "no" part of the answer is, with a conflict of the size that we're in now, I wonder if this is the moment at which we can do away with it.

REASONER: Most of the Chubb Fellow activities were closed to the press. Reports of how things went in the lecture sessions and observations of student reaction outside, indicated Reagan did at least as well as he might have foreseen. He came advertised by the campus' articulate liberals as a wrong man; probably not many changed their minds. And, presumably, the Yale right wing liked him before and after. But there is a large and uncommitted middle in the colleges, and he made a favorable impression on them - not necessarily to convince or convert, but to establish himself as a serious and capable public figure.

REASONER: The verdict of the Yale students on Governor Reagan will not be decisive - but even before his visit there he had begun to impress some Easterners, as long ago as May 15, 1967, when he appeared with Senator Robert Kennedy on the CBS NEWS TOWN MEETING OF THE WORLD, answering questions from international groups of college

students. By then the feeling that Reagan was a creation of public relations, a handsome accident who could work only from script, had almost disappeared.

ENGLISH STUDENT: Would you say the Diem regime was a popular one, or was it one that 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 ...

ENGLISH STUDENT: ...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 ...

REASONER: His confident, well-prepared performance on that broadcast left no doubt that he could work without a script.

All in all, Governor Reagan's first year in office has been a pretty glamorous one. There have been only a couple of untoward incidents. One was the case of the purloined telegram. When the nation's governors were meeting on the cruise ship Independence, Reagan got hold of a confidential telegram from the White House to a Democratic aide, and publicized it. Some people questioned the propriety of that, others said all's fair in politics as well as in other passionate activities. The other incident began with a column by Drew Pearson, who said two members of the Governor's staff had been forced to resign because they were members of a ring of homosexuals. The Governor's top aide, Lyn Nofziger, had confirmed this story to several newsmen privately, including two CBS NEWS reporters, but on October 31, Reagan seemed to give a flat denial to the whole story.

REAGAN: No, there is no truth to the report and I know where the report comes from. I was informed last night, while most Californians won't see it because I think that's the best clue as to the veracity of the report is the fact, that as far as we know, most of the major papers are refusing to run the Drew Pearson column in which it appears.

VOICE: You've extracted from newspapers...

REAGAN: I didn't extract ... wait a minute (pounds on desk) come on, I didn't extract any agreement. I simply said that at the time that this - I was notified of this I was told that the major newspapers of California were as they did with the scurrilous attacks on George Christopher during the primary...

REASONER: The story didn't die, but as reporters kept bringing it up, the flat nature of the denial seemed to moderate.

REAGAN: I have never had and do not have any evidence or proof that would warrant an accusation. No accusation or charge has ever been

made. Now, if there is a credibility gap, and I am responsible, it is because I refuse to participate in trying to destroy human beings with no factual evidence.

VOICE: Why then, Governor, would a Boston newspaper say you're no longer to be believed?

REAGAN: Well, gentlemen, that's up to them if they want to say that. I've told you if there's a credibility gap, all right; and I've told you the reason for it. So now, which ones of you are going to write up that I thumped the table and lost my temper and shouted angrily.

VOICE: Mr. Nofziger has been accused by six newsmen of not owning up to telling them confidentially that people left the administration because of immoral behavior.

REAGAN: Gentlemen, I don't know that that is true and I've told you this subject is, as far as I'm concerned, closed. Now, do we want to have a press conference or do we just want to stand here with me refusing to talk.

REASONER: We asked Governor Reagan about the story and he answered substantially the same way.

REAGAN: I made a statement the other day. I still stick with it. The reasons given by the people who resigned were satisfactory to them and to me.

REASONER: Has this been a salutary experience for you? Have you learned anything of how the press operates on a story of this kind?

REAGAN: Yes, if I look back and if I learned something it was that I tried to answer questions too long until I recognized that due to a few individuals who do want to gossip and make charges, I had descended into that kind of an exchange with them; and long ago I should have said what I'm going to say now: there's nothing more to be said on that subject.

REASONER: Do you sometimes wish you had a television teleprompter at a news conference?

REAGAN: No. And I tell you - there's an old story from back in the days when we used to do those plays like General Electric Theater live, when they weren't on film, where you couldn't quit if you forgot the lines and start over again. There's a story from that. This fellow forgot his lines but to this day no one knows it, because in the midst of doing a scene when he came to the point where he forgot his lines - and what he was doing of course was just mouthing with no sound, and all over America people were fiddling with their sets trying to find out what happened to the sound on their set, when he suddenly remembered the line, it came back to him, he just added the voice to the lip movement and kept on talking. And I've been in a few press conferences where I've thought that could come in pretty handy.

REASONER: Like it or not, Reagan's every utterance will be examined from now on. A feeling that a candidate has a credibility gap can be as damaging as unpopular views on foreign policy. He may well have learned something about the role of the goldfish in dealing with the press. The thing is that while this may be Ronald Reagan's year, this is probably his last chance at the White House. He is not alone in this. For one reason or another, chiefly age, it's 1968 or never for every avowed or mentioned Republican possibility except Charles Percy and Harold Stassen. But there is a particular poignancy about this in Reagan's case because his entry was as spectacular as it was late. In geometry and politics, curves which ascend sharply fall by the same equation. Reagan would say this is all speculation he does not encourage, that he is already at the summit of his ambition. He has disavowed the people who want to put him on the primary ballots in New Hampshire and Wisconsin and Nebraska and Oregon, but he has never said that if the party came to him with the big question he would turn away. Turning away in the final scene was something he did in the movies. Ronald Reagan is not in the movies any more.

This is Harry Reasoner. Good night.

6/26/68

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MEET THE PRESS

Sunday, May 26, 1968

NBC Television - 1:00 PM NYT
NBC Radio - 6:30 PM NYT

MODERATOR: Edwin Newman

GUEST: Gov. Ronald Reagan -(R.-California)

PANEL: James J. Kilpatrick - Washington Star Syndicate
Robert Donovan - Los Angeles Times
Robert Abernathy - NBC News
Lawrence E. Spivak

NEWMAN: This is Edwin Newman inviting you to MEET THE PRESS. (Commercial.) Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is the Governor of California, Ronald Reagan. Although Governor Reagan has repeatedly said that he is not a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination, Reagan for President activity continues across the country. Now we'll have the first questions for Gov. Reagan, who is in our Burbank Studio, from Lawrence E. Spivak, permanent member of the MEET THE PRESS Panel in Washington.

SPIVAK: Governor, the Citizens for Reagan Chairman in Oregon, Robert Hazen, was reported as saying the other day that in order to do well in the Oregon primaries you would have to announce your open candidacy. Is there any chance that you will announce your candidacy before the Oregon primary?

REAGAN: No. There will be no change in my present position. I'm a favorite son candidate. I will be entered in nomination at the convention, as will some others, and there will be no change,

nor have I any plans for going to Oregon.

SPIVAK: And you have no intention of announcing before the convention?

REAGAN: No.

SPIVAK: Governor, since you're not a candidate, or an announced candidate, if I were a voter in the Oregon primary, a Republican voter and said to you why should I vote for you, what would your answer be?

REAGAN: Well, I don't know that I would have any answer. I have said repeatedly that I believe this is going to be an open convention. I believe that the grass roots Republican sentiment is for waiting until the convention, until all the issues are in, until all the information is in, and then a decision is going to be made on the, I believe, the great factor is going to be the winnability of the candidate; and I would think that a part of the factors would be the sentiment of the grass roots. And if someone should be voting on the basis of what he actually believes he has to be voting his own conscience.

SPIVAK: Governor, obviously you'd like to win in Oregon, or am I wrong? Will you tell us why you want to win in Oregon?

REAGAN: No. Let me simply say that those people in Oregon who have been doing this on their own, a few of them came over to see me in Idaho where I was speaking a short time ago, told me that they would be gratified by 15% of the vote, because of the fact that I was not campaigning and that they were doing this on their own. I would have to be frank and say this, that naturally anyone would be gratified and very proud to find that any sizeable group of citizens held him in that regard.

Also I would have to say that any time you are injected into a contest in this way in this business, it has a bearing on my own job here in California. My ability, for example, to influence the legislature which at the moment is dominated by the Democratic majority, to get legislation that is important to me here, all of these factors that weigh on whether you are accepted or not by the people, these have a bearing on your ability to do the job here, and for that reason pride alone would make me, now that I have been injected into that race, want to at least hold my head up.

SPIVAK: Am I to understand by what you are saying that you want to win in Oregon so that you can have more power in California, Governor?

REAGAN: Well you can interpret it that way. I am only saying---

SPIVAK: I'm just asking.

REAGAN: I am saying what would be the adverse effect of, say, not having anything that bore out the effort that's being made.

On the other hand, I must say, I have told you, that undoubtedly I will be entered in the national convention as a favorite son candidate. At that time I'm quite sure that the convention delegates, if it is an open convention and not sewed up, are going to make a consideration of all possibilities that have been mentioned, in addition to the avowed candidates.

SPIVAK: Governor, why do you continue to say nationally I am not a candidate, say in Oregon I am a candidate, in Wisconsin I am a candidate, in Nebraska I am a candidate, and when you and your supporters are doing, when what you're doing so clearly indicates to everybody, every political observer of any significance at all,

that you really are a candidate? Why do you continue to say I am not a candidate?

REAGAN: Because I am not. I have no intention of declaring; I am not campaigning. I have gone into a number of states at the request of Ray Bliss and of Senator Murphy of the Senatorial campaign committee, of Bob Wilson, the Congressional campaign committee, in those areas where they believe Republicans have a chance, a good chance. I have been helpful in raising funds. But you asked about three specific states in addition to my own. The answer is very simple. You can contrast the fact that I was on the ballot in Wisconsin, Nebraska and Oregon with the fact that I've made every effort and was successful in getting myself off the ballot in a number of other states, including New Hampshire. But in California, even though everyone understands what a favorite son candidacy is, you have to sign an affidavit that in effect legally makes you a candidate. In those three states you've named you have to sign an affidavit to get your name off the ballot that is a direct refutation of the one that I had to sign here in California. Legally I could not put myself in the position of signing conflicting affidavits and thus, in effect either be a liar in California or in those three states. They're the only three states in the Union that have such a law and there was nothing I could do about it once people in those states decided at the grass roots level to put my name on the ballot.

NEWMAN: Thank you, gentlemen. We'll be back with MEET THE PRESS and more questions for our guest, Gov. Ronald Reagan, but first this message.

(Commercial.)

ANNOUNCER: Now back to MEET THE PRESS, an unrehearsed press

conference. Please remember, questions of the panel members do not necessarily reflect their own point of view. Here is our Moderator, Edwin Newman.

NEWMAN: Resuming our interview, our guest today is Republican Governor, Ronald Reagan of California who is in our Burbank studio. (Panel intro.) We'll continue the questions now with Mr. Kilpatrick.

KILPATRICK: Governor Reagan, four years ago, second only to Mr. Goldwater, you were known as Mr. Conservative. In this period have your views changed? Are you less conservative today than you were then?

REAGAN: No. As a matter of fact, I deplore the use of those labels as they have been applied in politics because I think it's part of an image-making process that goes on. I don't believe that anyone fits any of those labels completely. I haven't changed in my views. I haven't changed for a great many years in the things that I've thought about government and government's place in our social structure.

KILPATRICK: Let me then inquire about two or three specific issues if I could, Governor. Where do you now stand on open housing occupancy housing legislation, either at the federal or state level?

REAGAN: I stand where I have stood all the time. I have always been opposed to discrimination and prejudice. I have always been opposed, prior to the time that it was against the law, against restrictive covenants. I'm opposed to them morally on the grounds that I deplore anyone who does practice this.

On the other hand I have to tell you that I believe there's a limit to what we can do in solving these problems with legislation and I don't believe we serve any useful purpose either for the

people we're trying to help or for the rest of society here if we embark on the dangerous precedent of allowing government to interfere with the individual citizens' right to the control and the disposition of his own personal property. And, as I say, this is something that can come back to haunt us in the future. I am opposed to that.

KILPATRICK: Governor, another conservative issue has to do with an individual's right to work. What is your position on state right-to-work laws?

REAGAN: Well, I am opposed to the repeal of 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act. I believe that this issue should be decided at the state level. Here in California several years ago we had the opportunity to meet that, and I was one of a group in my own union committee that opposed the right-to-work laws for California.

At the same time, I think there are things that need to be done with regard to organized labor. And I've been trying last year and again in this session to get what I think is a far better thing done for the rank and file of organized labor and for all of our people than right to work. And that is the right of a secret ballot within the union on all policy matters for each member of the union. And so far I haven't been able to get this passed in our Democratic legislature here in California, but I'm going to keep trying. We have it in the union of which I was an officer and a member for so many years, the Screen Actors Guild.

DONOVAN: Governor, if I may pursue the first question, apart from style is there any significant difference in outlook between you and Senator Goldwater?

REAGAN: Well, there are a lot of specific issues. I'm time trying to recall, and frankly memory is failing me, that just a short/

ago I found he had made a statement, I was asked about it; I was in disagreement with him on that particular statement. Again, as I say, I don't think you can classify people in groups. One of the characteristics of the people in the Republican Party is they're all pretty highly individual. That's why we have such difficulty healing our wounds as our opponents can once the fight is over and they all go back to discovering hidden virtues in each other.

And when you say this, it would be very difficult in the limited time we have also to explain to an audience that was subjected a few years ago to probably the greatest job of image building that we've seen in politics in many a decade in this country, to say, well are you talking about the image of Goldwater that was falsely created or are you talking about the real man that I happen to know as a friend? Because I found very little resemblance between the man I knew and the image that was constructed of him for the benefit of the voting public.

DONOVAN: Well, I was thinking of military policy for one thing. You suggested last week that if the Paris peace talks fail we should threaten the invasion of North Vietnam. Now in light of that what is your attitude toward a possible military confrontation with Red China?

REAGAN: Well, I doubt that a military confrontation at this time with Red China is imminent. As a matter of fact, most military experts have agreed that it isn't. But my statements last week about what should be done at the negotiating table were in reality quoting some earlier remarks by former President Eisenhower to the effect that when you sit down to negotiate with the communists we should keep in mind that two years of negotiations in Korea in which during

that period of time more than twenty thousand Americans were killed, and I think you have to recall that President Eisenhower, coming in as a new President toward the end of that two-year period, brought an end to the negotiations and a settlement of the conflict by simply releasing the word that the United States was going to review its options with regard to weapons, theaters of operation, manner of fighting, et cetera. I've said the same thing I believe should be true in these Paris negotiations. If at a given time -- and we should let the enemy know -- that if at a given time, certain reasonable period, they have shown no evidence of a sincere desire to settle this conflict and to bring peace, that they are procrastinating and using the negotiations to gain what they couldn't gain on the battlefield, then we must be prepared to threaten them with force. And I would think that the same conditions that President Eisenhower submitted would be the conditions here -- a review of our strategy, review of targets, review of theaters of operation, meaning whether we're going to continue to fight this war and destroy the cities of South Vietnam or fight this war on their own soil.

Whether you do this or not, once you make that statement you must be prepared, in the last analysis, to do that. But I think anything else is to go down the same lonely road that we followed some years ago, and with the same tragic results. I would call to your attention that in the first two weeks of these negotiations the death rate for Americans in combat has gone up and set new records for this entire long war.

ABERNATHY: Governor, pursuing that, how long do you think we should wait for some sign of progress at Paris before we give a specific time limit?

REAGAN: I don't think that anyone sitting on the outside could pin that down that specifically. I know in one area in which I am experienced is in the area of negotiations by reason of my labor union experience; I was the negotiator for more than twenty years, and led our negotiating committee for the Screen Actors Guild; and I know there's a kind of an instinctive thing goes with it, but it's also based on knowing what the enemy's demands are, knowing what your own conditions are.

ABERNATHY: Are you talking about weeks, months, years, what?

REAGAN: Well, certainly not years. And I would think that this country should be insisting that one of the first points of negotiation if the enemy is sincere, is the arriving at a mutual cease fire. I don't think we want to continue, or to go back to the twenty thousand casualties or deaths after the negotiations start.

It seems to me that if both sides really want an end to the combat and want peace then it seems to me that when the talking really gets under way the killing should stop.

ABERNATHY: Governor, you have suggested that if the talks fail there be an invasion of North Vietnam. Do you mean by this a U.S. invasion or a joint U.S. and South Vietnamese invasion? What do you mean?

REAGAN: Well, the ideal if such a thing would come about would be a South Vietnamese invasion, supported logistically by the United States. This of course would take away some of the propaganda effort of the enemy on the world scene about aggression on the part of the United States.

But whatever is required, if that comes about, should be done. In the meantime it would seem to me that the enemy should see

preparations -- you might never have to go that far, but the enemy must believe and must see that you are willing to, that you are amassing the landing craft, the weapons, mobilizing the forces that are going to result in invasion.

SPIVAK: Governor, may I check what you said a minute ago on the matter of open housing? I understood, at least there has been a report that you've changed your position about repealing California's open housing law, the Rumford Act; is that true?

REAGAN: No. Let me tell you what led to that confusion because there is some confusion on that and it's been of concern to me. The Rumford Housing Act in California is an omnibus bill. There is a great deal of legislation in there, incorporated in it that were previous pieces of legislation, certainly satisfactory, and certainly aimed at solving the problems of bigotry and discrimination, equality of opportunity. And all of us want that.

Now when it was talked of repealing the Rumford Act this was done in simply the technical sense that if you have a piece of legislation of this type that you're going to correct that sometimes it's better to simply wipe that out and start with a new piece of legislation. No one has ever advocated that you wipe this law off the books completely and not replace it with necessary legislation to make sure that you do all that can be done to curb the practice of discrimination.

My only change is I believe now that we could do better -- and a great many other people in California believe that we could do better -- simply making changes and modifications in the existing legislation and not getting into the whole problem of wiping out and starting over again. Now that is the only change I've made.

The part of the bill that the people of California tried to change has to do particularly with the individual owner, and governments now having a control on that individual and his right to property. And believe me, this is the issue in California, and I believe in most people's minds, not racism or a desire to discriminate, but a belief that there is something dangerous, that there is a great tie between the right to personal property and individual freedom.

SPIVAK: Well, what would your position be on the open housing section of the Rumford Act? Would you want to leave it in, or would you want to revise it or would you repeal it? I'm not quite clear.

REAGAN: I want to revise it, particularly where it comes to the individual home and the individual's right to the ownership of his home, disposition of that, rental of it, et cetera.

SPIVAK: Thank you, Governor. Governor, there are a great many political observers who believe you're out to stop Richard Nixon from getting the Republican Presidential nomination. In view of the wide support he has received across the country, in view of the fact that you yourself are not a candidate and have spoken a great deal about unity why aren't you supporting him?

REAGAN: Well, at the moment this would be impossible for me to do. We have put a delegation on the ballot that represents the whole cross section of the Republican Party. I myself have asked those delegates not to express publicly any opinion as to who their personal choice might be. I certainly then am bound by that same idea. The idea of a favorite son delegation and the idea of our delegation is to come to the convention prepared to move in the direction that we think will best benefit the party and that will give

us the greatest chance for victory.

I might say with regard to this talk around the country it was Richard Nixon himself just last summer who said to me that we must be on guard against attempts on the part of some to drive wedges between any of us in the leadership of the Republican Party.

KILPATRICK: Governor, Columnist Art Buchwald has written that Governor Rockefeller came by your hotel room the other day just to get your autograph for Happy. What did the Governor of New York really have on his mind?

REAGAN: Well, I can tell you I didn't know until the night before that he was going to arrive in New Orleans, and I was leaving early the next morning. Early the next morning my own people woke me and said that the Governor on his way to a breakfast that he had scheduled and which was the reason for his being there with the southern chairman, wanted to stop by the room and say hello. I at least got into shirt and pants by the time he arrived at the door. I had some coffee ordered up; we didn't get to finish the cup because of his schedule; and his opening line when he came in the door was: I couldn't be in the same hotel without at least coming by and saying hello.

KILPATRICK: And that was all he said, hello?

REAGAN: Oh, we discussed a little politics, particularly of the other party. Both of us were quite impressed with the ability of one of the candidates in the Democratic side to speak now in tones that have not been familiar to him, making speeches out here that sound a little like my last campaign speeches.

KILPATRICK: How would you feel about Mr. Rockefeller as a running mate on your ticket?

REAGAN: Well, I don't have a ticket so I couldn't be choosing anybody, and I don't know just exactly which way you meant that; but if you're speaking about the rumors around that there's been some kind of a deal for me to be the second spot on the ticket, there is no such deal and no one has suggested such a thing, and I have no intention of accepting if anyone should.

NEWMAN: Mr. Donovan. We have four minutes left, gentlemen.

DONOVAN: Governor, do you mean to say that if Nelson Rockefeller were nominated for President by the Republican national convention and asked you to be his running mate that you would not run for Vice President?

REAGAN: No, I would not.

DONOVAN: I think only once in this century has anyone turned down that position. Why would you turn it down?

REAGAN: Well, I've explained on a number of occasions that I didn't aspire to a political career. And I sometimes wonder why I find myself in the job I'm in. But I do have some very strong beliefs about government, government's place and what can be done. I believe we've been going down a dangerous road in this nation. Now I have an opportunity to put these views into practice. If it was personal ambition, I have no question but that the Vice Presidency is a prestigious position, a great honor, and any man would be proud to be remembered in history as having held that office. But I believe that here in the most populous state in the Union we have an opportunity to prove, to put into action and are putting into action some of these ideas about government, and if we can succeed here I think we can do a great service for the country and we can start a prairie fire that will sweep across a number of states; indeed,

a number of states have already come to us for information on some of the things we're doing and have put these things into practice.

DONOVAN: Governor, if that much can be done politically in California why in the short space of the sixteen months you have been in office have you travelled out of the state 44 times and participated in political meetings in 26 other states?

REAGAN: Well, because this is an election year, and there is no question about the responsibility of anyone holding public office to his party. All of us have discovered that we're better box office the farther away from home we get. I have been out of my state, but incidentally, on those 40-odd days that you named I'd like to call to your attention that these are far less than any of my predecessors have been out of the state even in non-election years. But most of that time has been for governors conferences which are legitimate functions of this office I hold; and most of my speaking for political fund raisers has been either on the way to or on the way back from those governors conferences.

This last three-day trip was the only three working days in which I specifically went out and simply on political fund raisers and not in connection with one of these other functions. But I have been successful in raising a considerable amount of money for the party and I have gone to states, as I pointed out earlier, where there were chances for Republican victories. I might add that in exchange for that, in doing that, in our own state we have had the pleasure for our own fund raisers of Governor Love, Governor Shafer, Governor McCall, Governor Laxalt, Senator Percy of Illinois; Senator Dirksen has been out here. A number of other Republican leaders have on an exchange come here.

NEWMAN: Mr. Abernathy, you have about thirty seconds left.

ABERNATHY: Governor, in American history no divorced man has ever been elected President. Do you think attitudes have changed enough on this subject so a divorced man can now be elected President?

REAGAN: Oh, yes. I think the same thing was said with regard to religion, or at least was implied, in the 1960 election. The Democrats themselves ran a divorced candidate in the person of Adlai Stevenson, and I doubt that this was any factor in this. So I have to say that I believe this would not be a problem.

ABERNATHY: What about a ticket with two divorced men on it?

REAGAN: Well, I've just indicated that there's one way in which that couldn't come about.

NEWMAN: Sorry to interrupt, but our time is up. Thank you, Gov. Reagan, for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

Next week: Grayson L. Kirk, President of
Columbia University

4/5/68

TRANSCRIPT OF GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN'S REMARKS
JOEY BISHOP SHOW
June 5, 1968

Joey - Governor Reagan, are you there?

Governor - Yes, Joey.

Joey - Hi

Governor - How do you do?

Joey - I'm all right sir. I know that this is an imposition, I know that you, as a matter of fact, cut short the staff meeting so that you could afford us the opportunity of speaking to you as the governor of the state of California in which a great tragedy has occurred. I just wanted to get some of your viewpoints on how we abolish what is happening, how do we prevent it, what do we do about it?

Governor - Well, Joey, never mind anything that I might have cut short. I am very grateful for the opportunity to speak to all of you and to speak to some of our fellow Californians and our fellow citizens in other states about this--a great tragedy that has occurred here. A young man has been struck down in a senseless and savage act. I am sure that all of us are praying not only for him but for his family and for those others who were so senselessly struck down also in the fusillade of bullets that came from the would-be assassin's gun. There is a pall over our state; all of us feel it. At the same time, though, I would like to say that I am in great disagreement with those among us who are counseling that we should all feel a collective sense of guilt. Two hundred million Americans did not do this. One young man did it, and not even for an American reason. It develops now that this young man believed that because the senator from New York advocated our nation's support of Israel in their conflict with the Arab nations, that he had to perform this vile act in some way for his country, and that was not this country--that was Jordan. I have to say to those people who would suggest that we are all guilty whenever a terrible thing of this kind happens that there can be no such collective guilt. I am sure that all of the people in your studio, all of the people there with you, all of the people here in this studio, everyone that I have met so far, feels this great sense of tragedy, this loss, and is deeply concerned not only about our nation, but about this particular family and the tragedy that has struck. As I say, all of us are praying and, I believe we should go on praying to the best of our ability, to ask for God's mercy in what has happened to us.

The American people have seen lawlessness and violence come to our nation over the past decade, and I do not believe this is something advocated by the majority of people or that Americans want it. On the contrary, I think most Americans are deeply disturbed, deeply disturbed by what seems to be a loss of principle and standard, a loss of all our moral beliefs.

Now, we have known times in the past, in almost any period of history, when people have broken the social code, broken the rules, broken the laws. But always they knew they were breaking the law. They knew what they were doing was against the moral and ethical code. The disturbing thing in America is that we have had too many people, people in high places, people in and out of our government, who have been suggesting not that we are breaking the rules, but that the rules no longer apply; that the moral standards by which we have lived all these many years, no longer apply; that there has been a change; that we are throwing out the code and saying that people should do what they choose to do. And some of this began with some leaders who, with the best of intentions, suggested that in order to right certain wrongs, in order to correct certain things, it was alright for some of us to choose the laws we would obey.

This can lead only to a law that exists on the basis of who can carry the biggest club. We must return to a belief that no matter how much we disagree with the law, we must follow the usual channels, if we believe they are proper, in getting the law changed. But until it is changed, we abide by and believe in, the law. We must return

to the principle that the individual is responsible for his misdeeds and must pay the price. We must do away with this permissiveness, this idea that society is to blame for all the wrongdoing, for all the misdeeds that take place in our country. Now, I had my political differences, of course, with Senator Kennedy, and yet, the funny thing was to find out how much we all have in common in this country. In recent days here in California, Senator Kennedy has been expressing the desire that this nation should do exactly what we have been trying to do, what some of us have been saying here. The government must become closer to the people; that we must do away with such things as a meaningless welfare that simply perpetuates people in poverty and keeps them on a dole. We must seek a way to give them a hand-up instead of a hand-out; that we must lift them up to where they can be self-sustaining. As a matter of fact, a great Jewish philosopher of the 11th Century, Maimonides, suggested a number of ways in which you can help those who need help. The poorest, he said, is simply to give a man a hand-out. The best is to teach him to help himself. The Talmud tells us that for a father not to teach his son how to make a living is to teach him literally how to steal, because that might be the inevitable result.

Joey - Well, Governor Reagan, I don't mean to interrupt you, but we have Father Kaiser here. Would you like to give the New Testament some equal time?

Governor - Yes, the man from Galilee had a great deal to say about individual responsibility, and that each man must find his own salvation in his own soul. But, about this particular tragedy, as I say, I think it began with those of us who did decide or who admitted or agreed that it was alright for civil disobedience, for the breaking of laws with which we were in disagreement. And, I say that this is what has led us to this particular point. America is not to blame as a society. I think the people of America are deeply concerned by the course our country has been taking.

The enemy sits in Moscow. I call him an enemy because I believe he has proven this, by deed, in the Middle East. The actions of the enemy led to and precipitated the tragedy of last night. Tonight, we find that this same Soviet power has impressed upon the world its belief that the end justifies the means, that there is no morality except ^{that} which furthers the cause we are trying to put over.

Yet, we must make up our minds as to where we stand, with regard to our belief in morality, in law, and in individual responsibility. I say again that all of us have a prayer in our hearts with regard to this tragedy, I say again that the challenge to America is not to castigate ourselves over something for which we were not responsible. Rather, we must say that as of this moment, there will be an end to Americans putting up with, or tolerating, those who advocate the taking of the law into their own hands; that we are, once again, going to become a land in which we are not necessarily our brothers' keepers, but our brothers' brothers; that we are going to become a land that abides by the law, that believes in the sanctity of the law that believes in morality.

Joey - We are speaking largely now about the majority, but I think the president himself issued a statement that all presidential candidates are now, I notice, put under the tight security ring, around most of the presidential candidates. Is that true, sir?

Governor - Yes, as a matter of fact, I learned today that the declared candidates have had secret service assigned to them.

Joey - Have you, governor?

Governor - No, I am not a declared candidate. But, Joey, I do not think there is anyone serving in public office today who does not realize that he is in a climate which is endangered by a very dangerous faction in our country--that he is a potential target. He recognizes that certain hazards go with his profession--the same as a soldier.

Joey - Did this same climate hold true in 1864, and at the time when Mayor Cermac of Chicago was shot when they were trying to assassinate President Roosevelt? Was this, or is there, a certain era that this country goes through which produces a kind of violence and immorality over a period of years? Do we find ourselves almost repeating it? Is that so? Does that happen?

Governor - No, Joey, I think we have always had the political assassin. I think a certain segment of our society has always believed in taking the law into its own hands. That is why we have prisons, courts, our entire judicial system. But I think what is coming upon us today is a sort of permissiveness by society which says the criminal is no longer a criminal--that he is some sort of psychological misfit, and all of us are to blame for what happened to him, what made him this way.

The great tendency of some of our recent judicial decisions has been to overweigh the balance on the part of the accused, forgetting that government's principal responsibility is to protect society from the lawbreaker, and not the other way around. All I'm saying is that the difference between those days and today is the difference between the people who knew they were breaking the rules and people today who are trying to foist off on us the philosophy that rules no longer apply, that each one of us is sole judge, jury and decider of what the rules are.

Joey - Governor Reagan, as governor of the state of California, do you intend to pass some sort of legislation regarding how easy it is to obtain a gun?

Governor - Joey, I think that the flurry over the gun law treats the symptom, and not the cause.

Joey - I have some statistics I looked up today.

Governor - Alright, o.k.

Joey - And in this country, 56 hundred people were victims of gunshots. In England, because there was a law against it, there was 30. And I think it was France, there were only 12. But we were 56 hundred as opposed to 30 in one country and 12 in another. Does that seem to have some bearing on the bearing of guns and the carrying of guns?

Governor - Well Joey, how many other murders were committed by other means? For example, this type of assassin last night showed a complete disregard for his own safety. He wasn't hiding someplace to take a shot. He walked right in, knowing that he had to be apprehended, and yet he was willing to take the chance. Isn't this similar to the assassination of the emperor of the Austria-Hungarian empire that began World War I, who did it with a bomb? He walked up and tossed a bomb into a carriage. Wouldn't this man, without a gun, have gone with a knife instead? Isn't it true that this kind of man would find a gun, would obtain a gun in some way, normally through theft? The criminal has no trouble getting one. I don't see the point of just registering firearms so we know who has them. I'm quite sure that this young man was not a psychopath; I'm quite sure that he would have had no trouble, under whatever law, in legitimately obtaining or buying a gun.

No, I think what we've got to treat now ^{are} the causes. We have to get down to "what is this atmosphere?" What is this atmosphere, for example, that begins on a campus, that says that young hoodlums can come in and, under the name of some cause they believe in, interfere with the activities of thousands and thousands of students who are legitimately bent on getting an education, who can vandalize the property of the university or college, who can sit there in the office and interrupt orderly processes. And we're denied, supposedly, the right to exact any punishment or even expel them from school. I believe that there is a principal, an inherited law that says that crime must be followed by swift and certain justice, not necessarily punishment. I think we have to review our permissive attitude.

I read a little piece the other day by a psychology professor who told of an incident in New York in which a young lady was being attacked in an apartment building. A group of men holding a meeting on the second floor came out on the landing. They saw what was going on but never interfered. Then they went back into their meeting. What makes this particularly newsworthy is the purpose of the meeting: to pass some resolutions on how they as committee members could be of more help to unfortunate people. Their help did not include going down one flight of stairs to help a young lady who was the victim of a terrible crime of violence.

Joey - Governor Reagan, I hate to interrupt, sir, but having done a show of your own, some time back, I'm sure that you know that you have to break away once in a while for a commercial, and I must say

sir, in all fairness to myself, that when you did Death Valley Days, I stayed with you through the commercial and after. I hope you'll do the same for me.

Governor - Well, I don't know that I've said all that needs to be said.

Joey - I did want to ask you one more very important question. After we come back from this, I'll hook you somehow.

Governor - I'll be here.

Joey - I do want to find out from you how all this looks to the rest of the world, if you'll just extend me the courtesy of doing this when we come back, and then I will let you go. I will pardon you, governor.

(Commercial)

Joey - If you can, in a few words, or whatever amount of time it takes, tell us how we look in the eyes of the rest of the world,...with all the violence that's taking place here.

Governor - Well, you know, Joey, that doesn't bother me too much because I think there's a great deal of anti-Americanism in the world --perhaps we have brought some of it on ourselves. I'm sure that there are going to be writers sharpening their pencils right now all over the world who are going to gleefully point at this, in spite of its tragic nature, as another example of the supposed decadence of America. Most of them wouldn't even be free to write what they wanted to write if this country, ever since World War II, hadn't been standing between them and the barbarians, if we hadn't been pouring out our treasure and guaranteeing our strength, that they had the right to autonomy and freedom. They would have been overwhelmed in five minutes without us. So they don't bother me too much at all.

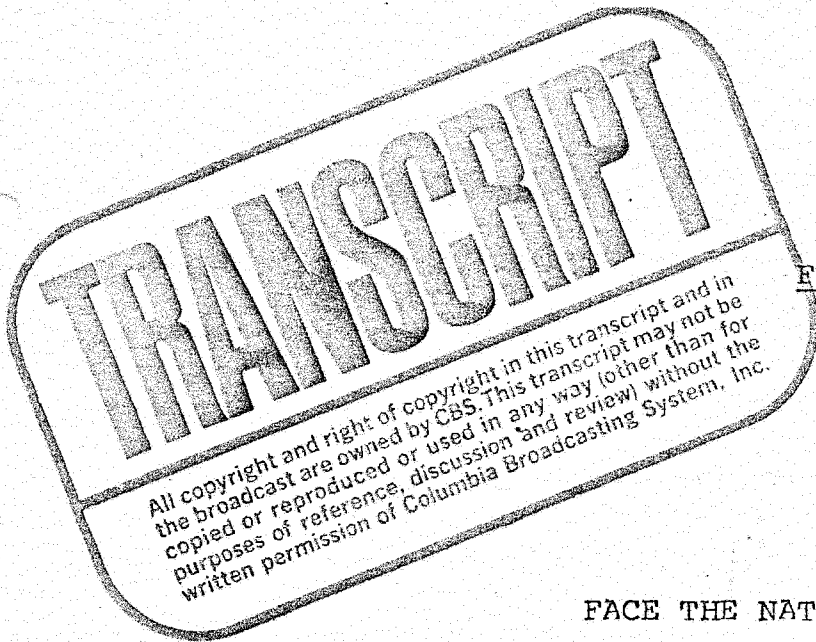
I think what we should be concerned about, and I have said this before, is that it is time that this country assumes some leadership from its governmental level, and say to the rest of the world: "We're not going to buy your affection anymore, or try to. We're going to demand your respect." We do this best when our government recognizes that the prime function of government is to protect the rights of the individual, to guarantee that he is secure in his person and his property, and that he is safe in his home and his place of business. I'll tell you this. As far as it can be done from a state level, we're going to do that in California, so help me God.

Joey - Governor Reagan, I should like to take this opportunity of thanking you for two occasions--once, for carrying on my opening show, and once again for appearing tonight, and I do hope that next time we meet, it will be under much happier circumstances. Thank you, Governor Reagan.

Governor - Thank you.

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6/16/68



CBS NEWS
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FOR RELEASE: 12:30 PM, EDT
SUNDAY, JUNE 16

FACE THE NATION

as broadcast over the

CBS Television Network

and the

CBS Radio Network

SUNDAY, JUNE 16, 1968 - 12:30-1:00 PM EDT

GUEST: HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN
Governor of California

NEWS CORRESPONDENTS:

Martin Agronsky
CBS News

Paul B. Hope
Washington Evening Star

Bill Stout
CBS News

DIRECTOR: Robert Vitarelli

PRODUCERS: Sylvia Westerman and Prentiss Childs

NOTE TO EDITORS: This broadcast was pre-recorded at KOTV, in Tulsa, Oklahoma, Saturday, June 15.

1 MR. AGRONSKY: Governor Reagan, at the Republican Governors
2 Conference in Tulsa the consensus was that for two days you con-
3 ducted yourself like a candidate for your party's presidential
4 or vice presidential nomination. Do you still maintain you are
5 not a possible contender for either office?

6 GOVERNOR REAGAN: No. And I would be hard put to know where
7 anyone got that idea. I attended all of the meetings. I don't
8 know of anything I did on the outside except agree to a press
9 conference which was asked of me. And, other than that, I was
10 in the meetings where the press wasn't present or none of the
11 public.

12 ANNOUNCER: In Tulsa, Oklahoma, at the Republican Governors
13 Conference, in color, FACE THE NATION, a spontaneous and unre-
14 hearsed news interview with Governor Ronald Reagan of California.
15 Governor Reagan will be questioned by CBS News Correspondent Bill
16 Stout, Paul Hope of The Washington Star, and CBS News
17 Correspondent Martin Agronsky. We shall resume the interview
18 with Governor Reagan in a moment.

19 - - -

20 MR. AGRONSKY: Governor, I wonder if we can go back to that
21 question. Do you still maintain you are not a possible contender
22 for either the presidential or vice presidential office?

23 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, I am certainly not a contender for the
24 latter, for the vice presidential office. I think technically
25 you would have to recognize that anyone who is a favorite son

1 candidate, even though he is a favorite son candidate only in
2 the sense of directing a delegation or hoping to, that technically
3 at the convention he is a candidate. He is entered in nomination
4 and would be a candidate if the party chose to consider him as
5 such.

6 MR. HOPE: Well, now, really you are more than technically a
7 candidate, aren't you?

8 GOVERNOR REAGAN: You mean at the convention?

9 MR. HOPE: I mean now or at the convention, any time.

10 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, I certainly am not now. I haven't in-
11 jected myself into this race, nor would I. But at the convention,
12 as I say, I use the word "technically" because it is true, that
13 you actually are placed in nomination. That is true of me as
14 well as a number of other favorite son candidates. And I have
15 said for some time that I believe this is going to be an open
16 convention and, therefore, if the delegates choose to consider
17 other than the announced candidates, they will do so.

18 MR. STOUT: When you say that you haven't conducted yourself
19 here, Governor, as a possible contender, you are talking, perhaps,
20 about your own attitude. But what do you think of the attitudes
21 of the people? The people and the delegates decide who will run.
22 You don't really decide for yourself and no man going into a
23 convention --

24 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Bill, I have said this for a long time: I
25 think the people do -- this job seeks rather than someone seeking

1 it, and this you have very little control over. I am aware of
2 a great many people who have expressed this belief with regard
3 to me, and I am greatly honored, as I have said before, that
4 anyone should consider me in that light. But I can again say
5 that I have been doing my job and I have done nothing to
6 encourage or to try and set up any organization to promote that
7 sort of thing.

8 MR. AGRONSKY: Governor, let's carry you -- you carried yourself
9 a step further, at least. Now we have you saying you're not
10 considering yourself as a contender for the vice presidential
11 nomination but you can't help it if you go as a favorite son,
12 which makes you a contender for the presidential nomination.
13 Now, could you address yourself to this: Which candidate, of
14 the two men who do say they want to be President, get the
15 presidential nomination on the Republican ticket, Nixon or
16 Rockefeller, with which of those two could you most easily make
17 common cause?

18 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, now I have to not only be evasive but I
19 just have to avoid the answer, because I have asked our own
20 delegation -- we have only had one organizing meeting so far,
21 and that was prior to the official placing of them on the ballot
22 or getting them recognized on the ballot as the delegation -- I
23 have asked all of our delegates to not give any opinion as to
24 who they might favor when and if the time comes to make a move
25 in some direction, in order to insure the very unity that caused

1 us to have a single delegation to begin with. Now, it would
2 hardly behoove me now to come on television nationwide and
3 announce a preference of my own. I just can't do it.

4 MR. HOPE: Well, as Governor of the largest State in the Uni
5 don't you feel some obligation to lead the people --

6 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Oh, yes.

7 MR. HOPE: -- to tell them who you're for?

8 GOVERNOR REAGAN: No. We ran on the basis of a broad-base de
9 gation in which if we were for someone in advance we would ha
10 sought a delegation of people who were pledged or who leaned
11 that same direction. We didn't. In the interest of unity,
12 which was the whole purpose of this, we have a delegation fro
13 California that represents the whole spectrum of the Californ
14 party. We have people who were actively in support of variou
15 candidates on that delegation and who have had past support f
16 those delegates. Now, the idea of not having an open primary
17 in the interest of unity, was so that at the convention, when
18 the facts are in and it is time to make a decision for who we
19 think will be the winner and the next President of the United
20 States, to say nothing of platform decisions, that hopefully
21 delegation can resolve its differences within itself and oper
22 as a unit for the best interests not only --

23 MR. HOPE: Well, aren't you really playing it a little cozy,
24 expecting that something is going to develop for you at the
25 convention?

1 GOVERNOR REAGAN: No, I don't think so. As a matter of fact,
2 the only thing I can give you by way of proof of sincerity is --
3 and California knows this -- that I was the one who
4 was opposed to a favorite son candidacy, and this was announced
5 the day after I was elected at a joint press conference with
6 Bob Finch, the Lieutenant Governor, and Bob publicly stated then
7 he was going to do everything he could to convince me I should
8 be one in the interest of unity. And the result was the party
9 leaders and our State Central Committee officers were the ones
10 who persuaded me that I should be the favorite son candidate.

11 MR. AGRONSKY: Governor, could we get one thing -- perhaps you
12 could tell us -- would you say your political philosophy was
13 closer to that of Mr. Nixon or Mr. Rockefeller?

14 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, I think without my answering that you
15 could probably say that to me.

16 MR. AGRONSKY: No. Why should I answer the question?

17 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, because I think that on the basis of
18 views expressed, for example, right now on the Vietnam conflict
19 or on the approach of -- the involvement of government in the
20 solution of some problems -- yes, I would think that this would
21 be a fair statement.

22 MR. AGRONSKY: What would be a fair statement?

23 GOVERNOR REAGAN: That I have perhaps tended toward solutions of
24 national problems, more in the same context or vein that Richard
25 Nixon has than I have at times with Governor Rockefeller.

1 MR. STOUT: Well, let's take this a step further, Governor.
2 When we talk about the convention and the delegates, there are
3 estimates ranging from -- I have heard 38 per cent, I have
4 heard 60 per cent of Goldwater delegates returning this year and
5 alternates returning this year to Miami. Do you see yourself
6 as the only hope of the conservatives in the party? They cer-
7 tainly are not going to rally around Nelson Rockefeller, and
8 many of them may not around Richard Nixon. Where else do they
9 have to go except to you?

10 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, Bill, as you know, I won't go along any
11 more with using those labels. I have been working for two years
12 trying to get the party to drop the labels --

13 MR. STOUT: But a great many people do use them.

14 GOVERNOR REAGAN: -- and yet we have been very successful,
15 though, with getting them to. I think there is a different
16 philosophy or belief in the Republican Party today, at the grass
17 roots level and on up through the pros. I think you will find
18 the Republican Party today is far more willing to see good in
19 other Republicans, in the interest of unity and in the interest
20 of winning. There is a great desire -- we have had our blood
21 bath and learned a lesson from it. The party was virtually out
22 of existence just a few years ago, and I don't think that you
23 are going to have that problem. I don't think people are going
24 to this convention frozen into an ideological mold as they have
25 been at some times in the past.

1 MR. AGRONSKY: Governor, let's not talk about being frozen.
2 You do say that your political philosophy comes closer to that
3 of Mr. Nixon than to Mr. Rockefeller, that is one position you
4 have taken now. Now, the Nixon coordinator in the South, Mr.
5 Calloway, recently said perhaps we can get George Wallace on our
6 side, that is where he belongs. Would you feel that George
7 Wallace belongs on the Republican side and would you welcome
8 him in the Republican Party?

9 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, I think this is a decision -- if George
10 Wallace belongs on the Republican side, then he should re-
11 register, but he is still registered as a Democrat. And it
12 would seem to me that anyone -- I have always believed that
13 anyone who wants to come into the Republican Party has come in
14 by virtue of buying our philosophy, but we don't go out after
15 someone by virtue of buying theirs. And, therefore, if he
16 found that he was compatible and could believe in the philosophy
17 of the Republican Party, then I think that his place was in our
18 party.

19 MR. AGRONSKY: You could welcome him to the party under those
20 circumstances?

21 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Under the circumstances that he subscribe to
22 our philosophy.

23 MR. HOPE: Well, do you think he is compatible with your phil-
24 osophy?

25 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, I think if you look at his record as a

1 Governor, you will find a number of instances where on domestic
2 issues he has been right in line with the present Democratic
3 philosophy of government control and subsidy and regulation,
4 and so forth, which would be contrary to the Republican phil-
5 osophy. At the moment there is no question that he has ex-
6 pressed some views, particularly on the international scene,
7 regarding Americanism and patriotism, and so forth, that I am
8 sure few people disagree with.

9 MR. AGRONSKY: What about his position on racial problems?

10 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, he seems to have avoided that subject
11 pretty well?

12 MR. AGRONSKY: Avoided it?

13 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I haven't heard too many statements -- not
14 that I have heard everything he says or pay too much attention
15 to it -- but I haven't heard much said that --

16 MR. AGRONSKY: Well, his position, I mean, against integration,
17 to make a specific point?

18 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, I happen to be one who believes in --
19 first of all, I am incapable of feeling prejudice myself. I do
20 not believe in discrimination and I certainly believe in
21 equality of opportunity for all people. And I believe that the
22 answer to the problem will come some day when all of us in
23 America will stop using -- just as we've stopped using the
24 labels in our party -- we will stop hyphenating ourselves and
25 using a word in front of American with a hyphen.

1 MR. STOUT: Let's go back to these labels, Governor, that you
2 object to but most people in this country employ in common talk,
3 liberal and conservative. Senator Kuchel lost to Max Rafferty,
4 and there doesn't seem much argument within the Republican
5 Party that Kuchel represented the moderate or liberal wing and
6 Rafferty the conservative or perhaps the right wing. What do
7 you make of that?

8 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, I recall, during the campaign, hearing
9 both of them comparing--one contender comparing his views and
10 the other comparing his vote record with the voting record of
11 Senator George Murphy. And they came out about even with the
12 support of the things that George Murphy had stood for. Now,
13 I think the Kuchel-Rafferty campaign -- there were a number of
14 factors. First of all, the contender in this case has been a
15 very successful campaigner in California, winner of two
16 elections by wide margins, one by a very large margin. He is
17 known to the people of California. And the other didn't campaign
18 as actively, spending a great deal of his time in Washington
19 because the Senate was in session. And I think that Max
20 Rafferty himself gave a view that cannot be discounted too
21 much. He said that he believed there is such dissatisfaction
22 on the part of the people today with what has been going on
23 that there is a kind of tendency against the incumbent instead
24 of the other way around.

25 MR. STOUT: Not just a swing to the right but against individual

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1 incumbents?

2 GOVERNOR REAGAN: That's right. There is a sort of "let's have
3 a change."

4 MR. HOPE: How much did party loyalty play in the Kuchel-
5 Rafferty race? Kuchel did not support you. He did not support
6 Nixon. He didn't support Goerge Murphy. Was that a major
7 factor?

8 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, you would have to ask the people who
9 voted and why they voted. I would have no way of knowing.

10 MR. HOPE: Well, do you think it was a favor?

11 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I honestly don't know. It was a hard-fought
12 campaign. They criticized each other. But I think there was a
13 basically adherence to our 11th Commandment. There was no --
14 they didn't inject personalities and get into that kind of
15 bitterness at all.

16 MR. HOPE: Well, Rockefeller didn't support Barry Goldwater in
17 1964. Do you think this should be a factor in his candidacy
18 this year? Is he entitled to the nomination, not having sup-
19 ported the nominee in '64?

20 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I am opposed to anything that is going to
21 reopen old wounds or that is going to lessen our chances for
22 making a change. I think it is vitally important in America
23 today that we have a change. I think the present Democratic
24 leadership has taken this country -- or lack of leadership,
25 actually -- has taken this country down a road that can lead.

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1 only to disaster and ruin for the country. And I think the
2 issue is far more important than dredging up or remembering an
3 past grudge.

4 MR. HOPE: Well, Republicans have to nominate a nominee. If
5 the people do not know where the Republicans stand, if they do
6 not talk about one another, how are they supposed to decide?

7 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, in California in 1966 we waged a
8 primary in which we campaigned our views and what we would do
9 as opposed to those of the incumbent Democratic administration
10 and the people made the decision on who they thought would be
11 the best replacement for that administration. This does not
12 mean that you take on the other -- you state your case. You
13 run against the opposition. You know, this is a try-out for
14 who is going to run in the big race against the other school.
15 And I have likened it with a track meet. If on Wednesday
16 afternoon the kids go out on the track to do a hundred yards
17 to determine who is going to run on Saturday against the other
18 school in the big track meet, you try to find out who is the
19 fastest. You don't go down the track spiking each other to see
20 who can be the only survivor.

21 MR. STOUT; That is a different game, Governor, that is not
22 politics.

23 GOVERNOR REAGAN: No, I don't think it is a different game
24 What are we interested in? We are interested in the views of
25 the Republican candidates and what they would offer and what..

1 they would propose in contrast to the leadership that we now
2 have in Washington. And thus there is no need to point a
3 finger at any other Republican candidate. You state your case,
4 what you would do.

5 MR. STOUT: It has always happened in every campaign, particu-
6 larly in primaries, and I am sure it happened in the '66 primary
7 between you and George Christopher.

8 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, I would ask you to go back and find one
9 word that I ever said about him or he about me.

10 MR. STOUT: But it takes two, you know. He said a great many
11 things.

12 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, whether that had anything to do with
13 the result or not, people made a decision.

14 MR. AGRONSKY: Governor, would you say that there is a funda-
15 mental difference between your position on Vietnam and that of
16 Nelson Rockefeller?

17 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I can't say that I am a complete authority on
18 his position. I used this just as an example a moment ago and,
19 incidentally, let me correct one -- if I gave an impression
20 there that this meant that I was supposed to be favoring one
21 over the other, no. You asked a question; I honestly tried
22 to answer it. But, at the same time, in governors conferences,
23 Governor Rockefeller and I have been in great agreement many
24 times across the table on issues that were confronting us.
25 I know that he has announced -- whether he has stated it already

1 or not -- a position or that he is going to explain his position
2 on Vietnam. But it has been my -- when I said that I perhaps
3 was closer on that one, you were looking for an example. I
4 think that what I was actually trying to say was that both
5 Richard Nixon and I have over the period of the past year
6 spoken out against the limited war concept, against a win
7 policy and against the need to be there. Now, my impression --
8 MR. AGRONSKY: Against a win policy and against the need to be
9 there -- you mean you are willing to lose --

10 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Against the -- oh, no, did I say "against the
11 win" -- oh, no.

12 MR. AGRONSKY: A no-win policy?

13 GOVERNOR REAGAN: A no-win policy. It has been my impression
14 that perhaps Nelson is placing a little more faith in the
15 negotiations or in some kind of compromise settlement than I
16 find myself able to.

17 MR. AGRONSKY: You have no faith in that prospect in Paris?

18 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Oh, I can hope for peace but I don't hope for
19 the kind of peace that would result in, say, a concession that
20 would allow the Viet Cong to be a part of the South Vietnamese
21 government. I think this would be about the same as the
22 United States government taking the Cosa Nostra in as partners.

23 MR. STOUT: Governor, if we can move to a different topic, the
24 day after Senator Kennedy died -- or perhaps it was the day he
25 died -- you blamed demagogic and irresponsible leaders in and

1 out of office. You said that their words had fed this attitude
2 of lawlessness in our society. And, as I recall, after that
3 news conference in Sacramento you refused to identify any of
4 them, or you failed to identify them. Can you tell us now what
5 kind of people do you have in mind? What are their names?

6 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, Bill, let me straighten one thing out.
7 I didn't say demagogic leaders. I said demagogic statements by
8 people in and out of public office. Now, a demagogic state-
9 ment can be deliberate. It can also be carelessness on the
10 part of the individual who didn't intend to be a demagogue. But
11 you can go back -- one of the reasons for not naming an indi-
12 vidual is to try and pick out and name one would be unfair
13 unless you were going to compile a list of all of them and
14 their statements and say, here, all of these statements we
15 think have contributed to this atmosphere. But we have had
16 statements --

17 MR. AGRONSKY: Did you have Senator Robert Kennedy's statements
18 in mind, his own statements?

19 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I can only tell you that Robert Kennedy, in
20 the last several weeks in California, has actually been campaign-
21 ing on a basis of healing the wounds, restoring law and order,
22 stopping the violence in our country --

23 MR. AGRONSKY: You did not mean Senator Robert Kennedy?

24 GOVERNOR REAGAN: -- and stopping enflaming the --

25 MR. AGRONSKY: Whom did you mean, Governor?

1 GOVERNOR REAGAN: I was talking about -- I wasn't talking about
2 individuals -- I was talking about statements. And I repeat

3 MR. AGRONSKY: Individuals make statements, Governor.

4 GOVERNOR REAGAN: All right, some of them might have been
5 attributed to him. But statements such as someone saying that
6 if he lived in a slum he too would join a rebellion or could
7 wage a --

8 MR. HOPE: Is that what you are talking about?

9 GOVERNOR REAGAN: This is the kind of statement I am talking
10 about. I am talking about statements made several years ago
11 of a statement that perhaps a jail record would be a mark of
12 honor in this country with regard to being arrested for
13 demonstrations and so forth. I am talking about any statement
14 of a kind that encourages riots. Now, these could encompass
15 great many commencement speakers of the last week or so who
16 have appeared on a number of campuses, and they come from a
17 number of lines of activity, including academic, including
18 judicial and public figures who have talked about encouraging
19 supposedly just dissent but encouraging the type of rioting
20 that we have seen on our campuses. I claim these statements
21 are demagogic and I claim it is time for anyone who is going
22 to speak publicly to think twice with regard to his words and
23 word that he thinks might be used, even misinterpreted by
24 someone as to be a ticket or an admission for him to go out
25 take the law into his own hands, we had better think twice.

1 MR. AGRONSKY: Governor, you have talked about student protests.
2 Where would you draw the line on student protests on our
3 campuses?

4 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Well, we have in this country a built-in
5 system for dissent. This is what we mean by freedom of speech,
6 freedom of assembly. We have a right to try and persuade our
7 fellow citizens, to try and persuade our elected officials.
8 But I think that dissent must stop short of interfering with
9 the rights of other individuals. When a group takes over the
10 administration building and other buildings of a campus, when
11 they interfere with the orderly processes of the administration
12 when they force the cancellation of classes and studies on the
13 part of the majority who happens to disagree with them, when
14 they attempt by force to prevent recruiters from various indus-
15 trial firms from coming on a campus seeking future employees,
16 when they go out in the street and stage civil disobedience,
17 it is all well and good to say that they are staging a civil
18 disobedience with an idea that they will pay the price by being
19 arrested, but how do they repay the person who might have been
20 in an ambulance on their way to the hospital who was blocked
21 and held up by this demonstration in the street; how do they
22 repay the person perhaps whose house burned down because the
23 fire department couldn't get through the thousands of people,
24 let us say, in one of our California cities, who were attempting
25 to attack a draft center? Civil disobedience, in taking the

1 law into your own hands, you very rarely if at all can do this
2 without interfering with the basic rights of someone else, and
3 this we have no right to do.

4 MR. HOPE: Do you think the President should have let the Poor
5 People's Campaign camp on public lands in Washington?

6 GOVERNOR REAGAN: No, I don't, unless they were grounds suitable
7 for camping, unless they were coming into an area where this
8 was the custom and where this was proper. Frankly, I am in
9 disagreement with this particular march and I am in disagree-
10 ment with the government's acceptance of it on the basis not of
11 disagreeing with their goals. I think all of us want to do
12 everything we can to lift the standard of living, to bring
13 everyone up as high as they can be brought, to enjoy the things
14 that this society of ours can afford. But I think there is a
15 great disillusionment coming to many people. First of all, the
16 idea that by coming and staging such a demonstration they can
17 persuade the Congress to pass some law that is going to
18 eliminate poverty or alleviate it, even, is a falsehood, and
19 many people are deluded into believing that this can take place.
20 There is nothing wrong with the American people or the American
21 government's attitude toward poverty. Our record proves -- we
22 have spent billions of dollars in hundreds of programs in a
23 legitimate effort to try and find an answer to these problems
24 but the truth is it is the manner in which we have done it
25 that has failed. There is no lack of intent. They don't have,

1 to persuade Congress to feel a sympathy for the poor. We already
2 have that.

3 MR. AGRONSKY: Governor, they are poor. They feel that the
4 remedy is not in sight immediately for them and they sought
5 this way, apparently, to dramatize their position. This was
6 under the aegis, really, of the right of a public demonstration,
7 the effort of people to seek redress from the Congress itself.
8 But you would disagree with the President in having permitted
9 them to take the position that they did in the shadows, as it
10 were, of the Lincoln Memorial, on public grounds?

11 GOVERNOR REAGAN: Yes. Again, I must say that I think a great
12 many people are going to be disillusioned. We are deluded into
13 believing that this could result in some immediate answer to
14 their problem. Now, again, you get back to dissent and what is
15 needed in this country. There are a great many voices that
16 have been heard -- one of them was the late Senator Robert
17 Kennedy's -- saying virtually the same things that I have been
18 saying in California. As a matter of fact, in California he was
19 advocating what we are doing in California, a program to provide
20 jobs for the poor, the minority element. And here, in other
21 words, was a place proper leaders of the poor should be telling
22 them "support those people today who are advocating a change in
23 the programs that are a failure."

24 MR. STOUT: But, Governor, even before the horror at the
25 Ambassador Hotel, Robert Kennedy also spoke for tougher gun

1 control laws. And you have said we probably have the best laws
2 in the Nation in California now.

3 GOVERNOR REAGAN: We do. You think we don't? Yes, we do.

4 MR. AGRONSKY: Gentlemen, I really regret our time is up. Thank
5 you very much, Governor Reagan, for being here to FACE THE
6 NATION. A word about next week's guest in a moment.

7

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8 ANNOUNCER: Today on FACE THE NATION, Governor Ronald Reagan, of
9 California, was interviewed by CBS News Correspondent Bill Stout,
10 Paul Hope of The Washington Star, CBS News Correspondent Martin
11 Agronsky led the questioning. Next week, Senator Thomas Dodd, of
12 Connecticut, leader in the fight for a strong gun control bill,
13 and Harold Glassen, President of the National Rifle Association,
14 which is fighting additional gun control legislation, will FACE
15 THE NATION. FACE THE NATION was recorded yesterday at Station
16 KOTV, in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

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Press
Excerpts of Remarks

by Governor Ronald Reagan

Calif. Assn. of Christian Schools

Anaheim, April 21, 1969

In setting down some thoughts for my remarks to you this evening, I reviewed several of the recent reports concerning the California Association of Christian Schools. I was especially pleased to learn that your enrollment is now well past the 26,000 mark.

Private schools have always had a tremendously important role in our nation's -- and our State's -- educational system. It is essential to our total education system that private schools thrive. The private institution often serves as a pace setter, and today, particularly, is a vital link to reality. Private institutions are an educational whetstone --- helping to hone the educational process, forcing the public system to compete in the drive for excellence -- making possible wider educational opportunities and thus improving both the private and the public school systems. They are, in fact, full partners in the pursuit of knowledge.

I believe there are some very valid reasons -- some compelling factors -- for your splendid growth these past years.... reasons over and above the outstanding capabilities, dedication and hard work of your leadership, your faculties and your supporters.

First, because you are private institutions -- free enterprise schools, as it were -- you know you must produce. It is a real sacrifice for parents to spend the extra money to pay for this education for their children -- especially when it is over and above the heavy costs they must also pay for the public education system; and therefore, they must expect a better product. The fact that you are growing indicates your schools are producing that superior product.

Second, I think your growth is due to the academic environment you provide in and through your schools. In today's sea of campus turmoil, your schools are like an island of dedication and purpose. You are a part of the bulwark of morality which is essential to the foundation of freedom -- history shows that we cannot have one without the other.

And, most importantly of all, I think your growth is due to the fact the God-oriented atmosphere of your classrooms and your activities. God is not dead on your campuses -- he is not forgotten, not shut out he is very much a living, motivating force. And this is the key.

Just as our forefather wove God into the very fabric of government, so we must reweave God into our government if we are to build any kind of an acceptable future. "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty". As Dr. Louis Evans said, if we are to go anywhere tomorrow, we must add God to gold and Christ to commerce and soul to science.

And, as Milton Mayer wrote, today's education sometimes teaches us how to say "no" to our enemies but very seldom teaches us how to say no to our friends -- and almost never teaches us how to say "no" to ourselves. Through your association and its member schools, comes an education which not only teaches you when and how to say "No" to your enemies, your friends and yourself, it is an education which also teaches you how to give the right "Yes" the challenges of life.

We remember how Christ feed the multitudes with the youngsters' loaves and fishes -- how he magnified the seven loaves, and the few little fishes, to feed the thousands. In that parable there is a message for your schools -- and for each one of you. In these days, when the world is hungry for morality -- if only someone will speak out; when the world is searching for integrity, if only some will speak the truth; when the world is crying for leadership -- if only someone will give it you can be the loaves, you can be the fishes, to multiply and help feed the spirit of man.

The most significant dimension of the future -- the future of this nation, and your future -- will be spiritual. For the real challenge of tomorrow is not simply how many bathtubs or how many TV sets, or how many two-car families we produce or own -- the real challenge of tomorrow is whether we will rediscover America's spiritual heritage and reapply morality and virtue to our national life. It will profit us little if we gain the whole material world and lose our soul.

Economics and greatness of spirit need not be incompatible. We have spent decades applying ourselves and our resources through a free enterprise system based on spiritual commitment -- and this free enterprise system has built a mighty material foundation for this nation. It is the task of coming generations to maintain, and build, that material foundation -- but to give the greatest attention to a future of spiritual greatness. If we are to really go anywhere tomorrow, it must be not simply outward and upward ... but inward and upward.

We have abandoned at our peril some of the basic rules and spiritual nature of freedom in these last few decades -- and, strangely enough, we have done this in the name of social progress, claiming all the time the most humane of motives. In the effort to meet the material needs of those who fell behind in the economic race, we have somehow found ourselves not only striving to meet their needs, but also their wants -- while too often ignoring the needs or encouraging the wants of their spirit.

Years ago, during the great depression, a mother scrimped and saved and, with a scholarship, managed to send her son off to college.

As he was getting ready to leave, she handed him a Bible and said, "Son, keep in touch with the Lord. No matter how hard you work on other things, spend a little time each day reading the scriptures. Seek first the kingdom of the Lord, and all things will be added unto you."

Sometime later, the son wrote home and as most students do at one time or another asked for some extra money to help him over a rough spot. His mother wrote back, "Read your Bible." Downhearted

and bewildered at his mother's heartlessness, the boy finally turned to his Bible and there, tucked between its pages, was a ten dollar bill.

You see, somewhere along the line -- without realizing it -- we seem to have discarded some of the important answers which are so important if this nation and this way of life is to endure. And, if we will go back and find those answers -- we'll find the solution to our other problems.

We have discarded, for example, the factor of incentive; in our desire to be humane, we have helped people without requiring that they also do what they can to help themselves, and so it became easy to pass over incentive, to think we're doing everything we could to help our fellow man when, in reality, we were being a party to his gradual self destruction.

There was a mother who raised her daughters -- and she had an incentive system. She used to put a \$5 bill under the papers on the pantry shelves. The daughter who was industrious enough -- diligent enough -- to find the five dollars was allowed to keep it. When the daughters were grown, one of them was telling HER daughters how their grandmother had raised her. One of the girls asked, "Why didn't you ever do that with us?" And she said, "I did."

We have lived more than three decades with an ever-increasing assumption by government of those functions which were once performed by the people themselves ... and we've become too accustomed to the style of government doing for the people some of the things they should be doing for themselves.

During the floods that devastated so many areas of California last winter, I made a tour of the State. In addition to checking on the various government public works programs such as road repair and so forth, I saw many people like ourselves and our neighbors who had suffered grievously -- and for whom there were no government programs. And I started talking about the need for us to return to something we drifted away from in this country of ours -- the old fashioned concept of helping your neighbor; the Christian admonition to "love thy neighbor as thyself."

Coming back to Sacramento after the trip, we called a meeting of government and civic leaders from around the State and asked them what could be done to organize a program of person-to-person, neighbor-to-neighbor help. During the course of the meeting, we were told that this idea of helping one another in such situations was not only out-of-date, it was prehistoric ... and furthermore, we were told (and I quote) "that the system obviates the need for individual assistance."

Can this be true? Can this be true without also obviating the need for the individual, as well? And, if this is the way it is, or the way it comes to pass, then don't we become people of the government rather than a government of the people (and there is a vast difference)?

Can you imagine what would have happened if that social system had existed back in the days of the Good Samaritan who voluntarily crossed the road to help the poor, set-upon, broken and bleeding pilgrim? Under the "new" philosophy, I guess he would have taken a look at the poor man lying there and said, "cool it, Mac. When I

get to the next town, I'll call Caesar and they'll see if the welfare department can do something for you."

Has the system obviated the need for the individual, and for the individual's personal effort? I think not. No government, no agency, no system at any level can possibly be big enough -- in size or soul -- to match the great potential of the people. And those who would try to substitute the system for the individual -- as well as those who would accept the system as a substitute for individual effort, would do well to go back to the scriptures, to Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. Paul had a message for today -- for the bureaucrat and for the un-involved ... for the person who would have the State be our shepherd; it should be printed and framed and placed in every capitol, every office, every home.

"And though I bestow my goods upon the poor and though I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing." Love doesn't need a middle man -- there is little love in a government program. Love requires personal effort; love is a personal thing.

We haven't lost it yet, this love -- this desire to help.

Two hundred and fifty million man-hours a week are contributed in this country -- given voluntarily by our people in church work, in charitable causes, in youth work. And just recently a Gallup Poll showed that 70 percent of the people in this country said, "Yes," they would be willing to give up four hours each week to help their fellowmen ... if they were just asked, just shown what to do.

But, too often they aren't asked -- because there are too many who ignore them and let the system obviate the need for individual participation.

Now, no one can prove that this robbing of the people of their opportunity to help -- to participate in community affairs -- is responsible for the problems of today -- the crime problem, for example; the subtle erosion of compassion and honor, the disintegration of honesty and ethics, the compromise with truth -- the easy-way-out, the comfortable anonymity of the faceless crowd; the erosion of public standards which make it easier and easier to accept an erosion of personal standards and vice versa -- standards which once compelled us to follow the same rules when we weren't being observed that we followed when we were; this ease in which we substitute the public norms for the unyielding, uncompromising personal values of the Judaic-Christian conviction.

How has this come about -- this rise in crime and this crashing decent of morals, this disintegration of ethics, this transposition of love into lust -- how has it come to pass that we lost our way? What is turning our dream into a nightmare?

I think it is due, in large part, to the fact we have lost the faith of our fathers. In a recent column about General Eisenhower's funeral services, James Reston worried about this, too. He wrote:

"The choir at the National Cathedral in Washington sang the old hymn. The opening line is: 'Faith of our fathers, living still', and despite all the modern denials of the point, it is probably still

true.. The first line of the chorus, however, is different: 'Faith of our fathers, holy faith, we will be true to thee till death' -- and that clearly is not true for most Americans.

"Nevertheless", Reston goes on, "for believers and nonbelievers alike, some facts are plain. The political life and spirit of this country were based on religious convictions. America's view of the individual was grounded on principle, clearly expressed by the founding fathers, that man was a symbol of his Creator, and therefore possessed certain inalienable rights which no temporal authority had the right to violate.

"That this conviction helped shape our laws and sustained American men and women in their struggle to discipline themselves and conquer a continent even the most atheistic historian would defend. And this raises a question which cannot be avoided. If religion was so important in the building of the republic, how could it be irrelevant to the maintenance of the republic? And if it is irrelevant for the nonbelievers, what will they put in its place?"

Yes, and for those for whom God is dead -- just what will they put in His place? From what we've seen during recent months and years -- not very much, and not very good.

General of the Armies, Omar Bradley, put it this way:

"We have many men of science; we have too few men of God.

"We have mastered the theory of the atom; and we have rejected the Sermon on the Mount.

POSSIBLE INSERT FOR SPEECH, MONDAY, APRIL 21, 1969

CALIF. ASSOCIATION OF CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS
ORANGE COUNTY CONVENTION CENTER

Just recently, in a town not far from here, a seventeen year old boy died from an overdose of drugs -- he was a pill dropper, as they say. This is in itself a tragedy. But the real tragedy is that his friends -- the boys and girls with whom he travelled -- knew he was on dope, and did nothing to help him; in effect, they let him die. Oh, not that they sat around and said, "Well, he's going to die -- let him." But they watched him getting worse and worse, they watched his sickness and his torment, and they did nothing to help him.

They said they loved him -- at the funeral they shed their tears. But that was too late -- they didn't love him enough to help him when he needed it.

If they had found him cut and bleeding and broken in the street or on the sidewalk, they would have nursed his wounds and rushed him to a hospital. But, they saw him broken by drugs and dying in body and soul from drugs; and they did nothing. They didn't go to the police, they didn't go to the medical authorities, they didn't go to the school authorities -- because they love him and they didn't want to get him in trouble ... and, I suppose, they didn't want to get themselves in trouble.

And so this young man -- who the year before had been a star athlete and a good student -- went down and down, and last week he came to the end of his road -- in part the victim of a system which obviated the need for individual assistance, a system which in this case finally obviated the individual.

RW:dg

"We are nuclear giants and ethical infants.

"We have achieved brilliance without wisdom, and power without conscience."

Sometimes, it seems, we are in a position similar to that in which the rich merchant found himself -- you'll remember the scripture. The harvest was rich and his barns were overflowing and there were still more fields to be picked. And so he leaned back and smiled and said: "Tonight I will eat and drink and take mine ease and tomorrow -- tomorrow I will build bigger barns!"

Thou fool, said the Lord, Thou Fool. This night thy soul shall be required of thee.

Well, I wonder when the soul of America will be required of us.

In this moment in history we -- you and I -- find ourselves in the position of being a vehicle for those who believe in human dignity as it was endowed by our Creator ... an instrument for those to whom God can be very much alive -- for those who view with understanding the idealism of our times and who want to move with compassion to solve the pressing problems ... who want to exercise the love spoken of by St. Paul, who want to use common sense and disciplined imagination to build the balance between reality and desire, who want to discard the fraudulent theory that we are our brother's brother ... and to revitalize the precept that each individual is entitled to the full rewards of his labor, and that the initiative of free citizens in a free, competitive enterprise is the mainspring of human progress ...

... and to do these things -- not because they may be politically smart, or popular, but because they are the morally right thing to do.

No nation in history has ever denied God and continued to write on the pages of history that have been allotted to them; this lesson from the past should be our guiding torch for the future.

Private schools -- Christian schools -- will be a very important part of that future -- coming generations may rise or fall -- feed the multitudes the food of the spirit as well as the mind and the body ... be the leaven in a glorious tomorrow.

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