

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Ronald Reagan Gubernatorial Campaign: Files,
1966

Folder Title: RR Speeches and Statements Book II
(2 of 6)

Box: C30

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digitized-textual-material>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/white-house-inventories>

Contact a reference archivist at: **reagan.library@nara.gov**

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/research-support/citation-guide>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

R E P U B L I C A N S T A T E C O N V E N T I O N

RONALD REAGAN at SACRAMENTO

(Address, August 6, 1966)

Chairman Parkinson, and all the rest of the members of our team here, delegates, fellow Californians, I am sure you must realize without my saying it what a thrilling moment this is. What an honor you have done not only me but also all of these people here to make us the standard-bearers for the cause we represent.

It's wonderfully thrilling to be back in Sacramento again although I must confess that some of the changes were a little disappointing. Arriving at the airport yesterday I was sorry that Mr. Cranston wasn't there to meet me.

I will bet all of you saw the television in the last few days about the Governor's fishing trip into the High Sierras. It was nonpartisan and nonpolitical. There was, however, one brief mention of the fact that they weren't biting and he said, "They must be Republicans." That isn't true. They are just like all the rest of us in California. They have discovered that everything that is offered to them has a hook in it.

You have met our team here and we've talked throughout this conference about campaigning as a team but there's something that we haven't mentioned enough that is vitally important and goes beyond the campaign and that is, we'll serve as a team in administering the affairs of the state...

From Frank Jordan, our voice of experience who unfortunately couldn't be with us here tonight, to Ivy Baker Priest, who brings to us the prestige of the job that she held as United States Treasurer...she is the first woman nominee for a constitutional office, I believe, in the history of California.

To Houston Flournoy, experienced as a legislator and familiar with some of the most nagging problems that confront us in the state, particularly that problem that has to do with inheritance tax appraisers. I think he will put an end to maintaining a personal army of campaigners at public

expense and I think he will ask some very real and pertinent questions, such as, "Will the real Alan Cranston stand up?".

Spencer Williams is the Attorney General nominee. It will no longer be possible to have a quiet little \$200 million tax scandal in California. The Attorney General says oh, he had some suspicions about 10 years ago, but he wasn't able to find anything. Two newspapermen from San Francisco could find it and they didn't have an office directly across the hall from the Assessor's office.

Spence will inform the people of the state more fully in the days ahead while his opponent will pretend it didn't happen.

It is time that the people of California got their money's worth from the salaries paid some of their top executives and with Bob Finch as Lieutenant Governor, this state will get it.

Right now, we see the spectacle of the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor who can't even agree on their future party chairman. I pledge to you that Bob Finch and I will work as partners full-time. We are in complete agreement that the Lieutenant Governor will play a major role in administering this state and put an end to silent salaried ghosts roaming the halls of the State House.

While we are on the subject of the State House, let me also say in answer to some of the things that might have been going around that the fine public servants, that great staff of career employees here in California, will have nothing to fear from this state or this team.

For too long and in too many instances, they have been limited in their service. Their experience and their professional skill were made virtually useless in many instances by political hacks and cronies who have been appointed to executive positions above them in areas where they had no super-

ience, or no knowledge of the departments they were supposed to administer.

To the people of California and to these fine state employees, let's make one thing plain: We do not seek office to simply take over the patronage and bureaucratic jungle created by the present administration. Wherever possible we will call upon the knowledgeable state employees and in every case appointments will be based on merits and not blood relationships.

In short, we seek victory not for political expediencies or pride of party but to restore morality and dignity to government.

But while we are here and jubilant in our mood, let's realize our task isn't easy. Within recent days a meeting has been held in our state called by some of the sultans of labor. Hopefully, they thought the meeting was supposed to be kept quiet. But royalty can't travel incognito. So important was this meeting that even the leader of the airline strike left that battlefield to be present.

The plans were laid for raising an unprecedented \$3 million for the California campaign and much of this will not have to be reported as campaign contributions. It will be classified as "educational" spending, but will hardly be spent in a nonpartisan way. Nor will the rank and file of labor be asked if its spending reflects their political thinking.

Already expensive paper brochures have appeared and labor papers are front-paging propaganda--much of it based on inaccuracies and outright falsehoods. Let's make one thing plain when we speak of labor, and all of us should keep this in mind throughout the campaign. We must differentiate between the hierarchy--those professional bosses of labor--and the vast rank and file of the membership, because that membership is made up of millions of honest, fair-minded, patriotic Americans.

We have something to offer them.

Their own leadership no longer believes in their capacity to run their own affairs. One of the spokesmen, rather talented in creating whodunit fiction for cheap programs--Mr. Pitts, explained it when he said, "Any union member who doesn't vote as he is ordered to by union leaders is as guilty of being anti-labor as if he went through a picket line."

That is an insult to every working man and every woman and would suggest that they are unable to exercise the sacred right to vote. And it reveals that Mr. Pitts has a strange idea indeed of what goes to make up this American society of ours.

I happen to be part of that rank and file of labor. I was a member of two unions...more than 20 years an office-holder, board member and six times president of one. I think I speak of labor with some background of experience.

Some of those sultans that conducted this meeting to plan our downfall were discussing the problems of labor when I held office.

I believe in collective bargaining.

The 20 years that I spent in those offices, I was in charge of collective bargaining for my own union.

I sat across the table from the men who run our industry and I know from experience that, at any collective bargaining session, both parties at that table must sit at the table in recognition of the rights of the other, and must recognize also that there is someone with rights not represented at the table, dependent upon both sides of the table to recognize him and his rights, and that's the buying customer who can't be there.

Now, whether it projects controversy or not, let me make my position plain. It is my belief that the so-called right-to-work law is too big a gun for the problems we seek to solve. In 1958 I opposed that particular

measure when it was advanced in California.

I believe the union and an industry or business have a right to sit down and bargain and make a contract with each other. But, I also believe, since we have agreed--or I have agreed--in the right for a worker to be compelled to join the union in order to practice, work, or apply his trade, that he has a right to be protected within that union.

Therefore, I will propose and do everything I can to get legislation passed that will guarantee to every union member in California the right to a secret ballot on policy matters in his union.

The first realistic legislation in the field of labor was passed in the administration of a Republican, Herbert Hoover. It was proposed by Republicans.

For years there has been a no-man's land existing--an area of labor disputes that the Federal Government won't touch, but won't let the states have jurisdiction either. As a matter of fact, in 1957 the Supreme Court passed a decision that the states could not legislate in this field; it had been pre-empted by the Federal Government.

In 1959 a Republican, Dwight Eisenhower, asked that the states be given jurisdiction in that no-man's land. This is the point where the Governor of California lacked the foresight to see the problem area developing and lacked the leadership to push for the legislation to cover that no-man's land. It will be claimed that our Department of Industrial Relations, in its conciliation service, performs that function, but actually there is no machinery for carrying out the policy.

Now, if the old Governor had provided that machinery, such problems as the Di Giorgio election and Delano disturbance couldn't have taken place. The new Governor will ask for legislation to provide such machinery.

A state Labor and Management Resources Act could insure that both labor

and management would be protected from unfair practices so that the great resources, especially the human resources of our state, could be developed to the fullest.

After fumbling for eight years, the Governor now wants to carry the ball for the next four, and he wants to carry it right to Washington where he will ask Big Brother to intervene, when it should be a state matter since it concerns the workers of California. We could go on in almost any direction and get the same story.

At one time we bought land and built parks out of the general funds in our budget and the budget was less than half the size it is now. Under this administration, we have taken out of the budget such spending...it is funded by bonds. But still, 80 percent of the park land that we own as a state is undeveloped because we don't have the money to develop it--even though the budget has more than doubled. Now campaign oratory tells us, in this election year, that great park and recreation plans are in the offing, and that already our parks are great as a result of what they've done; but, they will be utopian in the next four years...if "you-know-what" happens.

A few years ago we were told that we were going to make a human investment in the Aid to Dependent Children program. This was going to be aimed at rehabilitation so that the need for that program would be eliminated... just disappear. Everyone would be saved and entirely made self-sufficient. Five years later, more than two-and-a-half times as many children are being cared for by the Aid to Dependent Children program in California as when the Governor started.

Sometimes, when you look at past promises and present promises and lack of achievement, it reminds me about the fellow who was walking down the street and buttonholed a friend and said, "Say, did you hear about Charley down in St. Louis? The one who sells pants? He had made \$50,000."

And the friend says, "That's great. Just a couple of mistakes there though. It wasn't Charley, it was Bill. It wasn't St. Louis, it was Chicago. It wasn't pants he was selling, it was coats. And he didn't make \$50,000, he lost \$50,000."

We laugh, but doesn't it hurt a little bit? This morning when we were meeting over there in that magnificent historic Capitol building so representative of the greatness of our state, I felt the enormous challenge that's ours: To see that we restore, even in our campaigning and certainly in our conduct in office--if we should be put there by the people of California--some measure of dignity that has been lacking for such a long time.

No member of this team will ever be found scurrying around town to go smearsheeting like a freshman at a fraternity initiation.

A few days ago, the Governor's office called Washington. A phone call was put to Senator Williams by Mr. Dutton, who is managing the Governor's campaign, and he suggested that it might be--the Governor would appreciate it--if Senator Williams would come later on in the campaign to California and campaign for the Governor.

Then it was pointed out that perhaps Senator Williams might be able to have another agricultural subcommittee meeting at the same time and thus he could write off the expenses of the trip against the Congress. Senator Williams said he would be very happy to campaign in California and he would pay his own expenses and his subject would be honest government.

You see, Mr. Dutton had made a slight mistake. He didn't have Democratic Senator Williams. He had Republican Senator Williams from Delaware, the man who discovered the Bobby Baker case.

It doesn't always take outright graft and corruption to destroy honesty in government. The luster can be dimmed by those in office who see no wrong with the University of California regent serving, at the same time, as a cam-

campaign manager for the state's chief executive while a second regent approached University of California professors and enlists them in that same campaign to help the Governor with campaign issues, or when the president of that University sends out a statewide mailing, which, while it mentions no candidate by name, is nonetheless a thinly-disguised partisan piece slanted toward the candidacy of the incumbent Governor.

Honesty is eroded just a little bit when administrative employees receive cards reminding them of their salary and telling them of the minimum donation to the campaign that will be acceptable and the maximum that will be desirable and the Governor describes it as a wonderful manifestation of voluntary interest in good government.

State agencies are ordered to come up with campaign documents glorifying this administration at the taxpayers' expense, preferably by department, and appointments are made not on merit but to repay political favors.

The arrogance that comes from being in power too long is evidenced when the Governor, who is elected to represent all of the people, says of the majority of citizens he represents when they happen to oppose his will, that they are "shock troops of bigotry", echoes of Nazi Germany, echoes of another hate binge that began more than 30 years ago in a Munich beer hall.

This is extreme phraseology.

I recently received a letter from William Warne. Mr. Warne was formerly associated with our foreign overseas giveaways. He is now Director of the California Resources Program. The Governor probably thought he would have less trouble keeping track of California water than he did of the liquid assets.

Mr. Warne has praise for the single-handed triumph of pushing and persuading the California Legislature about the value of water. He refers to all the blessings which will flow from Governor Brown's water project. One

has almost a fear that when the Governor leaves office he will take his water with him.

The very least that we can expect is that when this great project is completed the Governor will celebrate its completion by journeying across the surface of each sparkling lake and down the surface of each canal on foot.

Now, it may come as quite a shock to them, but believe it or not, I do know the difference between the Eel and the Feather Rivers. I know that most of us incorrectly use the term "Feather River Project" to describe the California Water Plan of which the Feather River Project is only the first unit, but I wonder if Mr. Warne knows that Governor Brown's water program is--in its entirety--printed over the signature of Governor Goodwin Knight because it was produced entirely in his administration.

All this erosion of honesty, this abandonment of principle, this arrogance, is the inevitable rule of an administration that has grown tired and stale in office. It will need not happen again. As Governor, and I believe I can say with confidence, with the full support of this team, I will seek whatever legislation is necessary to henceforth limit any and all Governors of California constitutionally to no more than two terms in office.

Now, since this seems too short a time for a man who likes to refer to himself as not only a good Governor, but a great Governor, I think he should remember that two terms by constitutional amendment is long enough for the President of the United States. If a man can't do it in eight years, what makes us think he can do it in 12?

But seriously, I believe that such legislation would testify to the underlying belief and principle of our party: not that we just oppose some particular individual as having too much power or being around too long, but that we basically believe that power endangers the freedom of the people

when it is entrusted in the hands of anyone but the people and that no individual or group, including ours, must be allowed to endanger that trust.

Now, the days ahead are going to be very hard for all of us. On Thursday last, Mr. Coate, the Democratic Chairman, issued an announcement that in the coming week he will come forth with an exposure to the people of California. It will be directed, I believe, according to his pre-game announcement, to me. Now, I haven't seen what he is going to issue in this coming week, but five will get you ten, I could have written it myself.

It will be an exercise in guilt by association. You will learn, for example, that speeches I have made back through the years have been reprinted in the publications of organizations that advocate bigotry and prejudice. They have been taped and those tapes have been played at the meetings of such organizations. No question about it, this is true. It's true because anyone who expresses himself publically from a platform of this kind must expect that his words can be used and repeated and reprinted by anyone. Once they are uttered, there can be no restriction on those who can reproduce them. Nor would we have it any other way. I retract no statements of mine that I have made in my past. My principles remain what they always have been. I will stand behind all of the quotes if they are honestly and completely quoted, which I seriously doubt will be the case by Mr. Coate. At the same time I stand behind all of the things I have said back through the years about the need for constitutional limits on the power of government and a deep-seated belief in the right of the people to control their own destiny.

I repudiate bigotry and prejudice and racism and all those who are guided by it. But I will not join Mr. Coate or Mr. Cranston or any of the hatchet men of the Brown machine in debating swears that are designed to divert the people's attention from the failures of this administration.

They will stand before us. They don't dare campaign on their own record. They have to campaign on personally smearing those who oppose them. We will not answer back. It won't be necessary.

Then, late in October, they will stand before us, dripping mud from their arms up to the elbows, and we will hear the words that we've heard twice before, "This is the dirtiest campaign in my entire political history."

And they will be talking of themselves because we are not going to do that.

Here in this state, even though we stand as a Republican Party, we're not selling our party name to the people of California. We are not selling any idea of changing party loyalty. The thing that has happened that they seem to be so unaware of is that, all through this state, there are millions of Californians, honest, patriotic citizens--Democrats, Independents and Republicans--who are sick and tired of being treated as mentally incompetent and unable to understand the issues...sick and tired of having some bigot appeal to them. They want someone to come before them who can appreciate their intelligence and discuss the issues that concern all of us in the state.

And this is a campaign promise I know I can make on behalf of all who sit up here on this team. We are going to campaign on those issues.

We are going to tell the people of California as well as we can what our solution to those problems will be and when we have done that, we won't have to come around after the votes have been counted and apologize for what we said during the campaign because we "really didn't mean it and just don't know how it happened at the time." We will have campaigned the way we intended to campaign.

But we can make another campaign promise and that is that the next time you and I and all of us gather here in Sacramento it will be for the inauguration.

THE BROWN DISTORTION

1. PUBLIC EDUCATION

From "The Rest of Ronnie Reagan", unlabelled piece of Brown literature, dated 7/13/66, ~~published by Brown Headquarters~~

"It is a strange paradox, with our complete tradition of individual freedom, parents being forced to educate children."--Orange County Illustrated, May, 1966

-0-

2. SOCIAL SECURITY

From "Here's the REAL Reagan...Judge Him by His Own Words!", Californians for Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, no date:

"Social Security ought to be voluntary."--Human Events, November 1964

"A faceless mass waiting for handouts."--San Diego Union, May 30, 1965

-0-

3. MEDICARE

ibid #2

"You must understand that the doctors' fight against socialized medicine (Medicare) is our fight."--Address to Carstock Club, Sacramento, August 3, 1965

-0-

4. UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

ibid #1

"It provides pre-paid vacations for a segment of our society which has made it a way of life."--Tresno Bee, April 23, 1966

Although no general statement on welfare as such is quoted in the Brown material, the impression is given through misquotes on Social Security, Medicare, unemployment insurance etc. that RR is opposed to welfare of any kind.

-0-

6. INCOME TAX

From "Ronnie Faces the Facts: issued by the Committee to Re-Elect Governor Pat Brown, 3576 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, no date:

"There can be no moral justification for the progressive income tax." (San Francisco, Nov. 17, 1963)

-0-

7. UNIONS

"I support Section 14-B (of the Taft-Hartley Act) permitting states to outlaw the union shop." Los Angeles Times, February 1, 1966.

"Unions would be better off if their membership was voluntary." Los Angeles Times, February 1, 1966
CHARTERED BY RR - SUPPORTS RIGHT TO WORK LEGISLATION

-0-

8. ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Although not included in Brown material in hand, EGB has publicly stated that RR "favors political control of our universities."

-0-

9. BUDGET CUTS

deleted

10. CIVIL RIGHTS

deleted

"I was against the Civil Rights Act of 1964." Los Angeles Times, July 27, 1965

271

11. RICHFORD ACT

ibid # 1

"I'm against both open occupancy and housing covenants."--Detroit News,
March 29, 1966

-0-

12. FARM UNIONS

From "An Open Letter to Ronald Reagan From the Spanish Speaking Citizens of
California, Distributed at NARA State Convention, June 25, 1966":

"We ask you, Mr. Reagan, WHY: You told the Pacific Telephone Co. employees
in Sacramento that you are opposed to the unionization of farm workers in
Delano (as reported by the Associated Press)?"

-0-

13. JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

ibid # 2

"Ronald Reagan says if he runs for office he will accept support from the
John Birch Society. 'It has never been found to be subversive.'"--Chicago
American, March 22, 1965.

-0-

14. EXTREMISM

The major theme of the current Brown campaign is that RR is a right-wing
extremist.

-0-

15. GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY & 16. PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT

As complementary themes, the Brown campaign asserts that RR sees no responsibility
in government for welfare, and that RR is "afraid of government."

-0-

17. FAINTHEART

ibid # 1

"I'm--I don't know. I've never played a governor before."--Address to Congress

TL Real Reason

272

1.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

"This country was founded on individual freedom; yet, we have departed from this fundamental principle to establish a system of compulsory education. In fact, we have developed the greatest public school system in the world.

"The explanation behind this dichotomy is obvious: We recognize, as the founding fathers did before us, that we can be free and in control of our own destiny only if we are a literate people."

--Ronald Reagan, California Teachers Association 4/75

"It is a strange paradox, with our complete tradition of individual freedom, parents being forced to educate children. But, as long as you kept control close to the parents and the local community, you could overcome the problems that went along with the compulsory features of education."--Ronald Reagan, Press Conference 3/68 quoted in Orange County Illustrated, May 1966

"There can be no doubt that education is the bulwark of freedom. But removed too far from parental influence, it can easily become the tool of tyranny. Only with local control can Americans be assured that their children will receive the finest education possible, with safeguards against ideological or political indoctrination."

--Ronald Reagan position paper, April 4, 1966

SOCIAL SECURITY

"As regards Social Security, not only do I accept it as a fact of life, but as a good fact. It is here to stay--at least, it ought to be, in its proper form. Of course, Social Security benefits recipients; but another important fact which is often overlooked is that it also serves all of us to the extent that it tends to level off economic ~~my~~ ups-and-downs by keeping purchasing power among the people"--Ronald Reagan, Senior Citizens 6/16 (date)

"I have been critical of the manner in which Social Security has practiced what I think is fiscal irresponsibility. I have never faulted Social Security as such--as a matter of fact, I have stated and will state again, its a fact of life and a ~~my~~ good fact, and its certainly here to stay."
--Ronald Reagan, Press Conference, 6/3/66

"Social Security should be a genuine insurance program run on a sound actuarial basis. Instead, Washington has allowed Social Security to fall into the welfare category...It is this view of Social Security with which I take exception. Social Security was conceived as an insurance program against the hazards of advanced age. It should be returned to the original concept."--Ronald Reagan, Senior Citizens 6/16 (same as first quote).

MEDICARE

"I support the principle of medical care for the aged. Not only that, I have always supported the principle of medical care, regardless of age, for anyone in this land who cannot provide medical care for themselves. But this, as differentiated from a particular piece of legislation called # 'Medicare' which, I think, has a great many faults, both ~~faults~~ at the national and state levels."--Ronald Reagan, Press Conference 1/4/66

275

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

"Let me make it plain that I have no intention of suggesting that unemployment insurance should, in any way, be curtailed with regard to protecting California's working men and women. They have a right to depend on this as a legitimate insurance protecting them in the event of lay-offs or unemployment not of their own fault.

"In the last few years, this administration has re-interpreted the program and now defines it, not as insurance, but as welfare. The result is that the program has been weakened to the point where there must be concern for its fiscal soundness. And the eventual victims will be the legitimate working men and women who are being sacrificed to provide prepaid vacations for a segment of our society which has made this a way of life."--Ronald Reagan, Statement to the Press, 5/11/66

WELFARE

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

"We have, too often, strayed from welfare's original purpose. We frequently perpetuate poverty by making welfare a way of life rather than by using it to help people back to productive jobs.

"As Governor, I will propose a commission to redefine welfare's goals and recommend appropriate legislation."--Ronald Reagan, Position Paper, 3/31/66

INCOME TAX

"I have stated I am in favor of the principle. I believe that a combination of income and sales tax is probably the best method of taxation-- the most economic to collect. I have been critical of the complexities (of the income tax collection system)."-Ronald Reagan, Press Conference, 6/8/66

UNIONS

"I served for 20 years on the board of a working union--the Screen Actors Guild. I was honored to serve six terms as SAG's president. I remain a strong believer in the rights of unions as well as the rights of the individual. I think we have the right as free men to join a union, and the right to refuse to work over just grievances. The strike is an inalienable weapon of any citizen."--Ronald Reagan, "Where Is the Rest of Me"

"As Governor, I will seek legislation that would submit to a secret ballot all union policy matters, including strike votes. This would ensure labor's rank-and-file the right to make decisions governing their futures without coercion from either unions or management."--Ronald Reagan, Position Paper 4/30/66

"As regards a law banning the union shop, I believe that is too big a gun to deal with the problem. Unfair advantage has been taken of

'right-to-work' laws by some employers in states which have them."

--Ronald Reagan, KABC's Nite Line (date)

279

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

"no one has expressed more concern, down through the years, over the danger of political control of education than I have. This is a point I have made over and over again, especially with regard to Federal intervention in education."--Ronald Reagan, KABC's Night Line (date)

"But what in heaven's name does 'academic freedom' have to do with rioting, anarchy and attempts to destroy the primary purpose of the University of California which is to educate our young people?

"It is high time that an end was put to this kind of nonsense. It is high time the Governor of this state began exercising the leadership the people have the right to expect."--Ronald Reagan, Gov Palace (date)

280

CIVIL RIGHTS

"I did have an experience in the Screen Actors Guild in which there were many fine members who found themselves being discriminated against, and we did a pretty successful job in that Guild, when I was president, of taking care of that situation. That was one union where there was no discrimination."

--Ronald Reagan, California Negro Republican Assembly, 3.5.66

"I have said in public that I believe that government, when someone's constitutional rights are being imposed upon by reason of race or religion--that it is government's responsibility to enforce those rights at the point of bayonet, if necessary. I have further said that I do not believe there is any room in this country--ever--that any parent should have to know the tragedy of trying to explain to a child that that child in some way is different."

--Ronald Reagan, California Negro Republican Assembly, 3.5.66

"I believe -- it

281

RUMFORD ACT

^{this}
"The consideration of ~~this~~ Act (the Rumford Act) I think should be based on its invasion of what I believe is a guaranteed Constitutional right with regard to the individual's use ^{of} his own property.

"I am not only opposed to the Rumford Act from that standpoint, I am also--as I have made very clear--opposed to restrictive covenants. I do not believe that this particular right is one that can be submitted to majority rule. You can't impose on the individual in this regard.

"I am at the same time wholeheartedly in favor of the goals of such legislation in that I hope--and would do everything I could, and will continue to do everything I can, as a matter of fact--to lessen and hopefully eliminate bigotry or discrimination or prejudice of any kind. I've always considered it a sickness."--Ronald Reagan, Press Conference, 6/3/66

FARM UNIONS

"I am in favor of collective bargaining. I believe in it, but I do not believe that this outside force at Delano represents the bulk of the people...As an independent group, they may sit down and bargain with the growers and I am in favor of that--that is the way unions start. But Mr. Chavez in particular is seeking to impose industrial type unionization on the farm economy and it won't work.

"There cannot be fair bargaining if you've got at the bargaining table one fellow who just sits back until the tomatoes start to get ripe and then says: 'we're not packing.' What power does the employer have at the bargaining table on that basis?"--Ronald Reagan, Pacifica JC, 4/26/66

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

"I have never been and I am not now a member of the John Birch Society, nor do I have any intention of ever becoming a member. I have never sought Birch Society support, nor do I have any intention of doing so.

"In my opinion, those who are members of the John Birch Society have a decision to make concerning the reckless and imprudent statements of their leader, Mr. Welch...

"I wish at this time to reaffirm my criticism of Mr. Welch and restate that I am in great disagreement with much of what he says. In my opinion, his charges against former President Eisenhower are utterly reprehensible...

"In my opinion, the Society has a responsibility to maintain vigilance to see that...the Society (is not used) for witch-hunting, anti-semitism or any other un-American activity."--Ronald Reagan, Statement of 9/24/65

EXTREMISM

284

"If the liberal is characterized by the belief in the federalization of our government processes (and I believe that's a fair assumption), then liberalism carried to extremism would pass successively through the planning and controls of the Great Society to a modified Marxism as we find in the Scandinavian countries and in England. And from there to ultra-extremism--the totalitarianism that we find in the Soviet."

"Now let's carry conservatism to the point of extremism. Since the conservative believes in individual freedom, and the limited power of government when carried to extremism would become increasingly laissez-faire, ultimately there would be no law and order and thus extremism on that side ~~the~~ would become anarchy."

~~"The conservative has a responsibility to rule out of order those people in his own midst who are such purists that they would in truth settle for complete laissez-faire, dog-eat-dog, ~~will take the hindmost~~, and say there is no answer if the individual can't provide for himself. No one with any common sense or responsibility believes that."~~

--Ronald Reagan

285

GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY

"I favor taking care of everything we can within the framework of the free enterprise system, but I recognize government does have a responsibility.

"With regard to Federal aid, I have always stressed...(the need for) legislation which would make some of those Federal funds available at the state and local level before they are taken to Washington so that they could be spent at the state's discretion without having to go along with the red tape, the regulations and demands that are attached to those Federal funds by Washington."--Ronald Reagan, Press Conference, 6/8/66

286

PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT

"I don't think there is anything in my philosophy that doesn't cross party lines. Actually, my philosophy--if I had to simply ~~if~~ is nothing more than a belief in the capacity of the people for self-government. I believe that the great problems confronting California can better be solved by mobilizing and utilizing the energies and abilities and resources of the people than they can by trying to create some little intellectual elite in Sacramento that will make all the decisions in our behalf."

--Ronald Reagan, press conference, 6/8/66

BACKGROUND

~~An attempt is being made to set up a straw man for Gov. Brown to knock over in November. The straw man is an actor with no other background who walked off a movie set one day, phoned his agent and told him: "Listen, Baby! I want to try out for the role of Governor. Get me an audition!"~~

The following information is for those who are interested in the facts concerning the background of the Republican gubernatorial nominee:

Ronald Reagan, once a shoe salesman, worked his way through college and received his degree in economics and sociology.

Following graduation, he worked as a radio announcer and sportscaster in the midwest. While on a spring training tour in California with the Chicago Cubs, he took a Hollywood screen test and ~~was~~ was offered a contract.

Very early in his career, the Screen Actors Guild offered him a position on their board, which he accepted.

Reagan was a reserve officer in the U.S. Army, and he was promptly called to duty after Pearl Harbor. He served throughout World War II as Adjutant--an administrative position--at an Air Force base, emerging as a Captain having turned down a commission as Major because ~~his~~ poor eyesight precluded combat duty.

After the war, he returned to the board of SAG, and more than any other single man, he was responsible for preventing an attempted Communist take-over of the ~~motion~~ motion picture industry. He served as President of SAG for six terms and on the board for 20 years.

He served ten years on the board of the Motion Picture Council--a joint management-labor organization--including two years as President. In this capacity, he represented the entire industry before Congress.

As a businessman, he has ~~also~~ served on the boards of an insurance company, a college, a hospital and an educational foundation.

288

He operates a ranch where he raises cattle and feed grains and breeds thoroughbred horses. He is a member of the California Thoroughbred Breeders Association.

He has long been an active participant in politics--first as a liberal Democrat, then, beginning with his vote for Eisenhower in 1952, increasingly on the Republican side. He actively campaigned for Republican candidates in 1958, 1960 and in 1962 when he changed his party registration. In 1964, he served as state Co-Chairman of the Republican Presidential campaign.

He has received numerous awards for his long public service from such organizations as the American Legion, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the American National Red Cross, the National Safety Council and the Freedoms Foundation, to name a few.

-0-

While the straw man is no doubt preferred by Gov. Brown as an opponent over the flash-and-blood Republican nominee, Ronald Reagan is in fact a man with an impressively broad background who was not only an actor with a long, successful career but also a highly respected union leader, an effective anti-Communist leader who helped frustrate a key Communist move (to turn Hollywood into their propaganda medium), an industry leader who represented the motion picture industry before Congress, a businessman with interests both inside and outside the entertainment field, a college board member, a hospital board member, an education committee board member, a nationally sought-after speaker and lecturer, a rancher and an active participant in political campaigns.

Gov. Brown may hold to his tight little dogma that state government is the private preserve of professional, life-long politicians, and that anyone interested in the state is irresponsible and a pretender, but Mr. Reagan believes that government still belongs to the people, and he offers himself to the people as one of their own--a citizen politician.

Q: Would you clarify remarks that you made that started this whole thing off with Mr. Cranston--when you first heard about that. You...remarks were attributed to you in newspapers here saying that you wanted to see the proof, and it was interpreted by some observers that you were in defending the JBS.

RR: Well, I know, and I feel that those who did want to interpret it that way. I'm not defending them in any way and certainly I'm not defending anyone who is guilty of racial or religious prejudice. I have a...I'm unalterably opposed and I repudiate anyone who does follow these practices or these beliefs and always have. Actually, what I tried to say was...I tried to divorce myself from it, and I was the most surprised Salmon man in the world to find out how my remarks were taken. I was approached and asked about this thing that I had not even seen; one of the newspaper ^{men} had told me about it, and I simply said--that the gist of my answer was--to the effect, you know, why bring this to me? this is between Mr. Cranston and the Birch Society. And if he's got some evidence, I think he should present it in the proper places, and that's still my viewpoint.

- 02 8/15/54

EXCERPT FROM JUNE 8, 1966 RR PC AT AMBASSADOR

Q: Mr. Reagan, the Governor said this morning he thought you'd been, to quote him, "a little bit coy", about whether you'd serve out ^{a full four} ~~four~~ years if elected. Would you like to make a categorical statement on that?

RR: I think if you're elected, you've made a contract with the people, and you keep the contract.

JE 8/13/66

RAY SCHERER: Can you give the voters of California an iron-clad guarantee that you will serve out your four years as Governor?

RR: Oh, heavens. This...I never dreamed that anything like this would come up, as it seems to have come up. As I told you, I never wanted to run for office, and only was persuaded to on the basis ~~that~~ that perhaps I could be of some service without our particular California problems. That's still my goal. I believe that there are some problems that I could be helpful in solving in California, and that's what I want to do.

SCHERER: Well, do you give this guarantee?

RR: Yes, sure!

SCHERER: You will serve out the four years?

RR: Well, you know, as far as anyone can control his fate. If I'm still around for four years....

SCHERER: There seems to be some feeling among--perhaps Democrats--that Republicans have bigger things in mind for you, and that's what gives rise to the question.

RR: Well, no one's taken me into their confidence. It's taken me all my life to get up the nerve to do what I'm doing.

-85-115-110

292

TONY WOLFE, RES.

In answer to statement that he is running for national office instead of state office. RR says its "hit-picking." UPI, 6/17, Friday night, Seattle Airport

-0-

7/5 1.a. UPI

RR pledged today after a meeting with Rep. govs. that with "God's goodness" he would serve a full four-year term, if the voters elect him Calif. Gov. in Nov. "If I am elected, I expect to work my head off for four years."--RR

-0-

same as above

asked if he wld mk flat statement. "Well, I have," he said.

-0-

Gov. M. talked about it, RR said. Asked directly if he is prepared or int. in taking on LBJ in '68, he replied: "It's taken me all my life to get up the nerve to do what I'm doing. There are some problems to be cleaned up in Calif., and that's as far as my dreams go." 6/17 Sac. Bee. NY Times news sv2.

Ty say RR avoided any pledge to stay out of presidential politics.

-0-

293

It is our hope that you will keep these statements made by Mr. Reagan on hand for easy reference at such times as misrepresentations are made (by Gov. Brown and the Brown people in news items, by callers on telephone conversation shows, members of the audience on television conversation programs, etc. etc.). All statements enclosed ^{are condensations of statements} were made during the primary campaign ^{and} at a press conference the day after primary election day, with the exception of the excerpts from the statements on the John Birch Society, which was released Sept. 24th, 1965.

If you ever have any question concerning Mr. Reagan's stand on these or other issues, please feel free to call us at 701-5771 and we will make every effort to provide you with actual quotes made ^{by} ~~made~~ ^{by} Mr. Reagan.

294

(TEAR-OUT FROM COLUMN OF ORANGE COUNTY ILLUSTRATED, BEGINNING WITH:

"REAGAN: 'I HAVE A VERY DEFINITE STAND ON THIS...' TO '...COMPULSORY FEATURES OF EDUCATION.' PORTIONS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE AND AFTER DESIRED QUOTE SHOULD BE ENCLOSED BY PARTIALLY SHADDED OUT TO HIGHLIGHT DESIRED QUOTE. ALSO, TEAR-OUT OF ORANGE COUNTY ILLUSTRATED RATHER TO ONE SIDE OF TEAR-OUT QUOTES.)

Mr. Reagan has made observations along these lines many times in his public appearances so that the Brown people who did the research for the Governor's campaign material could not have been honestly misinformed on Mr. Reagan's true position on the matter.

For example, Mr. Reagan put it this way in an address at Redlands University, Feb. 15, 1966: "Sometimes I wonder if we ever pause to contemplate a strange paradox that this nation founded on individual freedom should depart from this principle to establish as we have a system of compulsory education. Now if and when we do, I think we recognize, as the founding fathers did before us, we can only be free and in control of our own destiny if we are a literate people."

Could any literate person honestly misunderstand from this that Mr. Reagan is in any way opposed to compulsory public education?

The only intent of the Brown campaign material and certain statements by the Brown people, is to put these misrepresentations into general circulation for the purpose of deceiving the people. They know that once they get these misstatements into circulation, they will become common currency and will be repeatedly innocently many times by persons who are unaware of the fraud.

Knowing that you are in a responsible position, and that as a professional you are not to be used to circulate or aid in any way in the circulation of misrepresentations calculated to deceive the voters, we have enclosed a list of names of persons who are known to have been distorted by the Brown people so far. As the campaign progresses, we will add additions to this collection as required by the

It has come to our attention that a number of misrepresentations are being circulated concerning the stand Republican gubernatorial nominee Ronald Reagan has taken on the issues, most notably perhaps on Social Security, Unemployment Insurance and Public Education.

Many of these misrepresentations were included in speeches and remarks made by Gov. Brown. Others have been mouthed by the Brown people. Many have been given currency in campaign literature circulated by Gov. Brown's headquarters.

One such piece of campaign literature, not picked up by a member of the Reagan press staff at Gov. Brown's headquarters at 3576 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, bore no identifying label whatsoever as to who published and circulated it. But it was available on a table, along with other Brown literature, just inside the campaign headquarters--open to the public and the material on the table for distribution to the public. It seems a fair assumption that this material was also mailed out.

One example from this unlabelled piece of an campaign material which illustrates the need for clarifying Mr. Reagan's stand on the various issues, so carefully distorted by the Brown material.

Below is a reproduction from the unlabeled three-page leaflet picked up with other similar material at Brown headquarters:

(Tear-out from Brown leaflet of entire "ON EDUCATION" portion but highlighting quote: "It is a strange paradox, with our complete tradition of individual freedom, parents being forced to educate children." ORANGE COUNTY ILLUSTRATED, MAY, 1966").

Below is the actual tear sheet from the publication the Brown people quoted. We leave it to your judgment as to whether their purpose—to strip Mr. Reagan's quote from context for the purpose of distorting you and the public as to Mr. Reagan's actual stand on public

296

5.18.47--Los Angeles Times--column by Hedda Hopper re RR

"Passionately interested in the working man, he recognizes faults in labor as well as management.

"Ronnie is opposed to all forces that seek to curb or destroy individual liberty. 'Our highest aim,' said he, 'should be the cultivation of freedom of the individual, for therein lies the highest dignity of man. Tyranny is tyranny and whether it comes from the Right, Left or Center, it is evil. I suspect the extreme Right and the extreme Left of political ideologies, though seeming to branch off in opposite directions, curve to a common meeting point.

" 'I believe the only logical way to save our country from both extremists is to remove conditions that supply fuel for the totalitarian fire.

" 'Right now the liberal movement in this country is taking the brunt of the Communist attack. The Reds know that if we can make America a decent living place for all our people, their cause is lost here. So they seek to infiltrate liberal organizations just to smear and discredit them. I have already pulled out of one organization that I joined in complete good faith.' "

297

2.48--Movieland Magazine--"Citizen Reagan" by Robin Cooms .

" 'I abhor the Communist philosophy while admitting that in a democracy the Communist has a right to think as he pleases.

" 'I am afraid that what (those who favor Communism?) are seeking is some form of magic cure-all to preserve democracy so we can all sit back and relax. But we can never sit back and relax. Those who believe in democracy must work as hard at preserving it as those others are working at tearing it down. Eternal vigilance is still the price of safety.' "

298

2.26.48--Hollywood Citizen News--column by Sidney Skolsky

"He reads every book he believes he should read and he reads most of the political columns. He admits that they are a trifle bewildering."

1.22.51--Fortnight--"How Do You Fight Communism?" by RR

297

"The real fight with this new totalitarianism belongs properly to the forces of liberal democracy, just as did the battle with Hitler's totalitarianism. There really is no difference except in the cast of characters. On one hand is our belief that people can and will decide what is good for all the rest. Unfortunately, most of us were touted away from the fight when 'professional hate groups' masked their racial and religious bias behind an 'anti-Communist' crusade, when anti-labor forces used 'red-baiting' to fight unions, when individual politicians found it a handy way to electioneer.

"Democracy does ~~not~~ guarantee the right of every man to think as he pleases, ~~to~~ to speak freely and advocate his beliefs. Democracy also provides defense against those who would deliver our nation into the hands of a foreign despot. Call them pro-Russian and take away the screen. If we must fight, make the enemy be properly uniformed."

300

---Daily Variety--news item re HUAC report and censorship

"Reagan also lashed Huac's condemnation in its annual report released over weekend, of the industry for not 'cleaning out the Communists', asking 'How can we do such a thing when it's against certain laws? Only recently the local courts awarded two persons fired by the studios \$90,000...'

"Reagan asked for freedom from censorship for the pix industry, asserting that he, as an individual, is willing to have his children see all pix turned out by the industry, and if some are bad, to counteract the evil by his personal life and actions within his own home. 'The freedom and dignity of the individual is at stake,' he declared."

RR Statement re

5.1.53--Los Angels Daily News--~~participation in Bowron~~
campaign

"I have taken on this job because of the threat to good government posed by some of the sinister forces opposing the re-election of Mayor Bowron. I believe strongly that now is the time for every advocate of good government to join the fight against the special interests.

"Mayor Bowron has brought clean government to Los Angeles. He has favored no privileged group, but believes in a 'fair shake' for everyone. His honesty and efficiency have earned him the support of all decent citizens."

11.23.53--Los Angeles Examiner--news item

"Attorney General Edmund G. Brown who presented the plaque to Reagan praised the actor for his 'many selfless actions of service to the community' and for his 'exemplary conduct which has endeared him to millions of people throughout the nation.'"

/plaque was Award of Honor from California Home for the Aged in
Reseda/

303

12.10.53--Hollywood Reporter--news item re Sterling Hayden testimony

"Ronald Reagan, then president of SAG, was like a 'one man battalion' in defeating efforts of Communist members of the SAG to back the 1945-46 strike of the Conference of Studio Unions, Sterling Hayden, one-time Communist, told a jury in Superior Judge George Dockweiler's court yesterday."