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PAGES 358 - 369 ARE MISSING

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SUBJECT: "RR ON THE ISSUES"

ADDRESS TO:

DATE:

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NOT FOR RELEASE UNTIL: SUNDAY, MAY 29, 1966 - 1:30PM

ISSUES AND ANSWERS

Sunday, May 29, 1966

Ronald Reagan and George Christopher

ANNCR: Mr. Ronald Reagan, a leading contender for the Republican nomination for Governor of California, popular movie and television star, political conservative, running on the slogan: "Vote for Reagan for commonsense answers to California problems."

From Los Angeles, California, the American Broadcasting Company brings you ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

The program will be equally divided into two segments, one with Mr. Ronald Reagan, one with Mr. George Christopher. The first half will be Mr. Reagan, who will be interviewed by ABC West Coast Correspondent Piers Anderton and ABC News Political Editor Bill Lawrence.

MR. LAWRENCE: Mr. Reagan, former Vice-President Nixon said the other day that he thought things were going so badly that the Republicans could elect any ticket they nominated in 1968. Do you share in the optimism?

MR. REAGAN: Well, very frankly, he's a little ahead of me. I haven't been looking as far ahead as 1968. I have been looking at 1966. I do feel that there is a wave throughout the country -- now, he's traveled more throughout the country in recent weeks than I have, I have been pretty busy in California -- but I think there is a wave, a kind of ground swell, among the people with regard to some of the things that now are taking place that would lead me to be optimistic.

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MR. LAWRENCE: Well, former Governor Rockefeller just the other day was talking about a ticket in 1968. His ticket would be Governor Romney of Michigan and Senator Javits of New York. As a strong Goldwater sponsor in 1964, what is your reaction to this suggestion?

MR. REAGAN: Well, I think there's going to be, as always, a multiple choice in the Republican Party come convention time. I actually haven't made up my mind, because, as I say, I have been too busy to look that far ahead. I don't think this is the time to pick the ticket for '68, although some people will be laying plans now, but, as always, I will probably have a choice when the time comes; but I will also abide by the decision of the party and support the ticket.

MR. ANDERTON: Mr. Reagan, recently the Un-American Activities Subcommittee criticized the University of California at Berkeley. You supported part of the Subcommittee report, for instance the charge that a dance there was an orgy. Do you have any independent facts to back up that charge?

MR. REAGAN: Well, yes, I only know about the reports what I read in the papers, as everyone else does, but what I have stated is that I had, previous to that report coming out -- as a matter of fact, I didn't know such a report was coming out -- I had had evidence and reports, eyewitness reports of that particular affair, as well as one or two others on the campus, and had been throughout the state criticizing this complete departure, on a campus, from what I consider just normal, ethical, and moral behavior, and it does confirm or affirm some of the things that I have read in the paper or in the Burns Committee Report.

MR. ANDERTON: Well, I was at that dance, and I must have missed the orgy part of it, because I saw nothing of that kind.

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MR. REAGAN: Well, the report I have is from certainly a well-qualified observer, who was evidently there for the purpose of recording this, but if what you say is true with regard to yourself, then this again lends weight to my recommendation. It is high time that we have an open public inquiry to establish the facts, and if the facts are as indicated in the report, then certainly to establish responsibility.

MR. LAWRENCE: Well, Mayor Yorty, and you to some extent I think, have placed some of the blame for this on Governor Brown. How do you make this charge? How do you justify this complaint?

MR. REAGAN: Well, he is president of the Board of Regents of the University. Now, let me make one thing plain. I have no desire to ever see political interference with academic freedom or academic policy. As a matter of fact, I have made that pretty plain for a number of years, that this is one of my complaints over much of federal aid to education, that it is bringing about political control of education, which should not be; but when we get into an incident that indicates actual immorality and, as I say, a departure from a pretty normal ethical code, now, certainly if this evidence was available to me, it must have been available to the Governor, and I believe that the Governor was showing a lack of leadership in not getting into this particular matter. And I think it's another indication of a tendency that I feel he has to, in an election year, not rock the boat.

MR. LAWRENCE: Well, is this a major complaint against Governor Brown, this lack of leadership? Does it just apply to the University of California, or is this a broad, broad assault on many fronts?

MR. REAGAN: No, I think this lack of leadership has been evident in a

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number of ways. It probably reflects his belief that when his position with regard to matters in California crosses policy with federal decisions, he will go along with the federal Government. Now, I could go far afield from the University and give an example four years ago, when the Governor promised the California farmers an adequate labor force, including braceros; but when the federal Government made a decision that their policy was counter to this and they were going to cancel out supplemental labor, the Governor never raised his voice in protest, even though he has occasionally admitted that he thinks maybe they are wrong. I think it was a lack of leadership. I think the Governor had a moral responsibility to stand up and protest to the federal Government that what they were doing was detrimental to the Governor of this state and the California citizens.

MR. ANDERTON: Mr. Reagan, the McCone Commission, which investigated the Negro riots in Los Angeles, laid part of the blame for the Watts situation on the demoralizing effects of welfare payments. I know that you have said that we are making welfare a way of life for some people. Would you explain your position on that?

MR. REAGAN: Well, yes, I think in this welfare program -- and let me make one thing plain, you always have to do this, and I am happy to do it, that there is a segment of welfare that, if I have any complaint, it is that we are not doing enough. Now, this is the part of welfare of those people who, through disability or old age, must depend on the rest of us. I feel that we should do everything we can, and perhaps aren't doing enough because we are spread so thin in the many welfare programs that have sprung up, actually, since the Depression days with regard to able-bodied people, and they were programs

originally intended to put those people back out into productivity, and I think we have strayed away from that goal. We have in California a number of cases, any number, that are people in their third generation of their families who are living on welfare, which would indicate that instead of welfare being used to fit people for a productive life, we have perpetuated their poverty; and I have, yes, a great complaint against this.

I think that welfare spending, as far as possible, should be replaced with welfare investing, and by that I mean trying to head off these cases before they become dependent and trying to rehabilitate those, salvage those, and put them out into that productive life. And I don't think we are doing enough of this. The whole philosophy of this administration is characterized in a book put out by the State Department of Welfare, and it says that public dependency is our social right, and that the aim of welfare is the redistribution of income. Well, I think most people have a concept that it is still based on the Biblical definition of charity and the idea of helping those who are either temporarily or permanently in need of help; and, of course, in the ancient Hebrew philosopher's words that the highest form of help to the needy is to help them to help themselves.

MR. ANDERTON: Well, I think the Negro community here feels that not enough Government money is being spent, say, in Watts. Would you agree that more should be spent there?

MR. REAGAN: No, I think probably what their complaint is about is the cancellation, for example, of the one program that caused the great frustration prior to the August riots last summer, and here we have the situation of the new poverty program, which all seems to be on paper and in the pipeline except

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where the administrators are concerned. Now, it's been very successful in building a great bureaucracy and hierarchy of paid administrators, but very little seems to be coming out of the pipe and meeting the needs of the people. Now, I don't happen to be in sympathy with the poverty program. I think to a large extent it's a pretty good pork barrel, but once it is started and the promises are coming, and the promises aren't kept, as last August there was supposed to be a youth program put into effect in Watts, and as the summer went on and the arguments went on between politicians as to who was going to have the biggest say in the control of the program, the summer went by and the program just didn't happen, and the youth who had been led to believe the flowery promises were pretty frustrated.

MR. LAWRENCE: As a conservative, while we are talking about welfare, did you share Senator Goldwater's view that Social Security ought to be voluntary?

MR. REAGAN: Well, now, I don't think Senator Goldwater had completely that view. Now, you realize we are not talking about a state issue, but now we are talking about a federal issue. I have made statements that there are certain features of Social Security which could be made voluntary, and I have also made the statement, and I will stick by this, that Social Security, like so many programs of the Government, has been operated in such a fiscally irresponsible manner that it is in deep trouble financially, and we will run the risk of winding up where some other countries have already wound up, discovering that when the day comes one day to depend on Social Security, there might be a generation of Americans who will find the cupboard is bare, and I have repeatedly urged, and did two years ago in the campaign, that before such a crisis arrives we turn the genius and ability of this country toward that

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program to see that it is on a sound basis. I have no complaint about Social Security in principle. I believe it is a fact of life, here to stay, and a good fact. I think it not only benefits the individuals who receive it, but I think it serves a purpose in maintaining a purchasing power and minimizes some of our economic ups and downs with regard to recessions and prosperity.

MR. LAWRENCE: Well, as a Californian, did you favor the House action in extending minimum wage coverage to the workers on these big agricultural corporations?

MR. REAGAN: Well, as long as this is uniform nation-wide, I have no complaints. Secretary of Labor Wirtz, in establishing minimums last year in the great harvest crisis, which he himself and the Government brought on, I thought revealed some strange thinking when he set different minimum standards throughout the country, for example, \$1.15 an hour minimum in the citrus groves of Florida, but \$1.40 minimum in California. But as long as you are going to have a minimum wage and have it uniform throughout the country, I have no complaint.

MR. LAWRENCE: Briefly, how do you feel this campaign is going? Are you going to win this primary?

MR. REAGAN: Yes.

MR. LAWRENCE: And how do you feel about November?

MR. REAGAN: Well, I not only -- I have to place my confidence in the polls. I have lived too much of my life under the gun of the Nielsen rating not to heed the ratings, and the polls have indicated that not only do I have a substantial lead in the primary, but that I also can win in November, and I believe that in my own evidence that I have acquired going around the state and

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meeting the people, yes, I think I can win in November.

MR. LAWRENCE: I am sorry, Mr. Reagan, our time is up. In just a moment we'll be back with more ISSUES AND ANSWERS from Mr. Christopher.

ANNCR: Mr. George Christopher, the other leading contender for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in California, long-time Mayor of San Francisco, political moderate, whose slogan is "The Qualified Candidate."

MR. LAWRENCE: Mr. Christopher, former Vice-President Nixon said the other day that things were going so badly that he thought the Republicans could elect any ticket they nominate in 1968. As a leading California Republican, do you share his optimism?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: I am sorry to say I do not. I believe that kind of complacency could well destroy the Republican Party. I believe that we should work at all times to do the right thing and be sure we have the right answers to the various issues. That's the only way we shall ever win.

MR. LAWRENCE: Well, Governor Rockefeller suggested in New York just recently that the ticket in 1968 might well be Governor Romney of Michigan for President and Senator Javits of New York for Vice-President. As a Rockefeller supporter in 1964, what is your reaction to that?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: Well, I have a high personal regard for Mr. Romney, and I think he would make a very strong candidate. Insofar as Mr. Javits is concerned, I know him personally, and I think perhaps it's about time we also considered a man of his faith for the national ticket. I think it would be wholesome and good, and I believe it could be a winning ticket. I am not advocating this ticket at the present time, because I don't know who else might come up, but right offhand I would say that could be a strong Republican ticket.

MR. ANDERTON: Mr. Christopher, there have been a rash of reports, led largely by columnist Drew Pearson, about your violation of the agricultural laws in 1940. Do you think these reports have hurt your campaign?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: Well, I think Mr. Pearson is well known in California. He's been out here before. First he did a hatchet job on Mr. Nixon four years ago. He came out again for Mr. Brown, and the people are wondering why Mr. Pearson takes this great interest in defeating Republican candidates. I can tell you why. Mr. Pearson came out because every poll showed that I was the candidate who could defeat Mr. Brown by as high as 20 per cent. Mr. Brown had a conference in Sacramento some time ago, at which time they decided that they wanted to defeat me and nominate my opposition, because they feel that my opposition would be so much easier to defeat in the finals. And so my question is this: Will the Republicans permit Mr. Pearson and Mr. Brown to choose the Republican Party nominee? I, for one, am tired of just winning primaries, and I hope my fellow Republicans are also tired of just winning primaries. We have got to realize, at long last, that the only election that counts is in November, and I am the only Republican who can defeat Mr. Brown.

MR. LAWRENCE: What are the merits of these charges that Mr. Pearson leveled? They purport to be based on court records.

MR. CHRISTOPHER: Well, I would say that 27 years ago we were fighting the constitutionality of the milk laws. These laws are still dubious, still uncertain, and we found that the law at that time was unconstitutional; and when it was so declared unconstitutional, every dairyman in the state, practically, sold milk at whatever price they could get for it; and later on, the law was reversed and found to be constitutional, as a matter of fact, and then we all

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paid fines of \$500, because these were misdemeanors.

Now, then, this is a well-known factor. It is in my own book written about me, the biography by George Dorsey Christopher, of San Francisco. There was nothing secret about it, it is open, everybody there can see it, I have talked about it many, many times, and I am surprised that Mr. Pearson would go back 27 years when he knew about it himself when he at one time, when I wasn't running for Governor, espoused my candidacy. I think all of this is just a part of the Brown-Pearson partnership to deprive me of the nomination, because they know full well that if I am nominated, the Republicans at long last have a winner.

MR. ANDERTON: Mr. Christopher, the latest charges bring the situation up to as recent a year as 1964 when your milk farm was accused of violating the milk laws.

MR. CHRISTOPHER: Well, no, these are technical aspects that are consistently involved and do involve all dairies at this particular time that you speak of in '64 -- I wasn't manager of the dairy then -- but some 30 or 40 dairy companies in the state had nolo contendere pleas on some technical violations which don't involve quality, don't involve anything except painting signs or issuing dispensers for milk. These are technical violations which have existed for 27 years, and I may say that almost every day there are such violations involving big companies and small companies, and no one has ever thought that they were serious violations until this election, as a matter of fact.

MR. ANDERTON: Do you expect further charges of this kind to be brought up against you?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: Well, I wouldn't know. If Mr. Brown and others feel I still am their opponent, if they don't have any charges, they will trump up charges, because Mr. Brown is in a very desperate situation here, and Mr. Brown is going to do all he can to nominate my opponent. He feels he can defeat my opponent quite easily, and most people agree with him. So he is going to do all he possibly can to defeat me in the primaries.

MR. LAWRENCE: Have these charges ever been raised in previous political campaigns like your race for Mayor in San Francisco, and did they help you or hurt you or --

MR. CHRISTOPHER: The charges were referred to on occasion, but they were never raised, and they were known by all the newspapers. There was nothing secret about them, as I said before, they were even reported in my own book, so I don't know what's new about it, frankly.

MR. LAWRENCE: But I wondered what the political impact had been in the past, if any.

MR. CHRISTOPHER: All I can tell you is I won my races by the biggest margins in the history of San Francisco, despite the fact that my opponents endeavored to use these matters on occasion. But they never took hold, and the only reason they are being made an issue at this time is because Mr. Brown has read the polls, and he believes in these polls, as I do.

MR. ANDERTON: Mr. Christopher, you say that Governor Brown is behind this Drew Pearson campaign. Do you think that Ronald Reagan had anything to do with it?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: Not that I know of. All I do know is that Mr. Reagan's people in his various headquarters did take the reprints of Mr. Pearson's

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articles and disseminate them amongst the general public. But that's as far as I know that Mr. Reagan participated in this matter.

MR. LAWRENCE: Has there been pretty good compliance, strangely enough, with the so-called eleventh commandment that "Thou shalt not speak ill of other Republicans"?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: That's a matter of personal judgment. I know I have tried to adhere to it. I certainly have not used any personalities. I haven't gone back to any man's record of 27 years, I haven't talked about anything of a personal nature with regard to any candidate, and I don't intend to. I don't need the office that bad. I want to be Governor, but at the same time I am not going to compromise my own conscience. But whether others have done so, I will leave that to the discretion of the people who hear and see the incidents.

MR. ANDERTON: Mr. Christopher, recently the Un-American Activities Subcommittee attacked the University of California at Berkeley, saying that it was deluged with filth and controlled by Communists. I understand that that report was issued without ever holding a hearing. Was that your understanding, and what do you think of the report in general?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: I understand also that the report was issued without holding a hearing. I disagree with my opponent that we should conduct a legislative inquiry into this matter. I know that there are some profanities and vulgarities on the campus of the University, but at the same time, I don't want to see a legislative inquiry, because this will embarrass the 99-3/4 per cent of the fine students who are going to the University, and I believe that we should dispense with talk about legislative inquiries and, rather, tell the Governor of the State of California to abstain from injecting himself

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politically into the regents' business and let the regents formulate their rules, let the regents issue these rules, and assure everybody that there will be discipline, and I believe the matter could be ended, because, as matters stand at the present time, I believe that the great University of California, which is world renowned, is suffering from political maneuvers which certainly can be harmful to a great institution.

MR. LAWRENCE: What about the Watts riots last year? There seems to be a great deal of tenseness there now. Is this a legitimate political issue?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: I tried not to make it so. I tried to abstain from making Watts a partison issue, because I believe that Republicans and Democrats alike should sit down and become a part of the solution, rather than make each other a part of the problem. Now, I have been in Watts several times, many times, and the thing that I found wrong there, without pointing a finger at anybody, is that there are various funds being expended, foundation funds, Ford Foundation funds, for instance, and then we have federal funds, we have city funds, and we have state funds, and we have ever so many activities, but there is not one single coordinated effort to bring all of these efforts under one umbrella and thus embark upon a training program that would be of some benefit to the people of Watts. We have a 30 per cent unemployment ratio in that area today, and I think the only way we'll correct this is to put all of the activities under one roof.

MR. LAWRENCE: Do you blame Governor Brown or Mayor Yorty?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: I am not blaming Mayor Yorty, because I think Mayor Yorty is -- while technically responsible, still he doesn't have the full responsibility. I certainly do blame Governor Brown, because he has come down

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there again and again and has made promises of actions that would be taken in the future, but no action has been taken. He is going to wait until another incident takes place, and I will make this prediction: When these funds are exhausted -- I am talking about the various foundation funds which will be exhausted with no coordination -- I am afraid that somebody is going to be disillusioned, and then with disillusionments we could have more difficulties.

MR. ANDERTON: Do you foresee difficulties this year, this summer?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: I am not trying to predict difficulties; I hope nothing takes place. I simply say that now that we have forewarning, shouldn't we be getting some activity under a coordinated effort? If we do that, I believe we can forestall difficulties if these difficulties are going to persist. In the meantime, however, I don't want to be misunderstood. I believe that those people who are violating the law in Watts or any place else should be apprehended and should be punished, because we cannot condone violations under the pretext of underprivilege or any other reason.

MR. LAWRENCE: I am sorry, our time is up. Thank you, Mr. Christopher, for being our guest on ISSUES AND ANSWERS. In just a moment we'll be back with an announcement of next week's guest.

ANNCR: Our guests were Mr. Ronald Reagan and Mr. George Christopher. They were interviewed by ABC News Correspondents Bill Lawrence and Piers Anderton. Next week at this same time ISSUES AND ANSWERS will bring you Governor William Scranton, Republican of Pennsylvania, just back from Vietnam. We hope you will be with us.

ISSUES AND ANSWERS is originated in the studios of ABC TV in Los Angeles.

PAGES 384 - 388 ARE MISSING

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SUBJECT: "RR ON THE ISSUES"

ADDRESS TO:

DATE:

RONALD REAGAN
PACIFIC PALISADES

September 16, 1966

Dr. Max Rafferty
Superintendent of Public Instruction
721 Capitol Mall
Sacramento 95814

Dear Dr. Rafferty: -

Thank you for your letter of September 2. My answers to your questions follow.

QUESTION #1: If elected Governor in November, will you give leadership and support to legislation designed to increase the percentage of state money allocated to local school districts, while at the same time giving relief to the local real property taxpayer?

ANSWER #1: Yes. The small property owner in California is being pushed to the wall by the burden thrown on him as a result of the gradual withdrawal of the state from a fifty-fifty fiscal partnership with local school districts.

QUESTION #2: If elected Governor in November, will you give leadership and support to legislation designed to amend A.B. 145 (Unruh) in such a way as to:

- (a) Give more power to local county redistricting committees to decide matters of district unification, and less power to the State Board of Education?
- (b) Eliminate the requirement to unify along existing high school boundary lines?
- (c) Eliminate the compulsory and expensive two-year voting requirement?

ANSWER #2: Yes. As in the case of many omnibus bills, elapsed time points up certain weaknesses in A.B. 145 which need to be corrected. I stand for local control of education under constructive and dynamic state leadership. I do not stand for educational statism.

QUESTION 3: If elected Governor in November, will you appoint future members of the State Board of Education either from the ranks of distinguished present or past members of local school boards, or from those of our citizens who have had a long and noteworthy acquaintance with the problems of education prior to their appointment to the State Board of Education?

ANSWER #3: The members of the Board of Education should be outstanding citizens distinguished in the State and should be selected with a heavy preference for those with a long and noteworthy experience in the field of education including those who are now or who have served as members of local school boards. If elected, I would appoint such citizens to the Board.

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September 16, 1966

QUESTION # 4: If elected Governor in November, will you require from your appointees to the State Board of Education a pledge that they will abstain completely during their term of office from engaging in such political activities as using their nonpartisan positions as springboards to run for political office or to act as campaign managers and directors for other political candidates?

ANSWER #4: No. I don't believe a Governor should attach any strings of this sort to his appointees. However, I strongly agree that appointed members of statewide educational policy-making bodies should abstain from any political adventures during the time they serve on such bodies, and I will impress my opinion upon each appointee. If a man wants to engage in partisan politics, he should not take advantage of his position on a statewide educational board to launch his own political candidacy or to mastermind another's.

QUESTION #5: If elected Governor in November, will you meet with the University of California Regents and exert the leadership necessary to persuade them to adopt regulations which will prevent treasonable and immoral conditions from existing within the University?

ANSWER #5: Leadership would be directed toward restoring control of the University to the Regents as prescribed by the California Constitution. As President of the Regents, the Governor must lead in fact as well as in theory, not merely show up as a figurehead to preside over meetings once or twice a year. However, the Regents themselves must solve the University's present problems and plan for a finer future with politics playing no part in the University nor the University taking any part in politics. University Rule #5 should be the definition of academic freedom and Article 9 of the State Constitution should be upheld.

QUESTION #6: If elected Governor in November, will you lead a statewide attempt, using every legal means at your disposal, to stem the rising tide of obscenity in California, as evidenced by the growing number of filthy books, pornographic motion pictures, and indecent stage presentations to which the state's children are being exposed?

ANSWER #6: Yes. The present Governor has done nothing to show that he even knows this great and grave problem exists. I propose not only to recognize it, but to do active battle with it. Specifically, I plan to confer with California's fine school people and librarians, and to get their ideas as the first step in bringing this increasing threat to our children under control.

I hope these answers to your questions will clarify my position in regard to some of the major issues facing California schools, and will put your colleagues in education on notice that I intend after my election to use their brains, their idealism, and their dedication to promote better education in our state.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

RR:kd

Citizens Committee To Elect

RONALD REAGAN GOVERNOR NEWS RELEASE...

Contact: Lyn Nofziger

Release: 4:00 pm, 9.9.66

TRANSCRIPT OF REAGAN CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF TELECAST, SEPTEMBER 9, 1966

"It isn't exactly an accident that we chose this day to launch our campaign. On this day 116 years ago, California became a state. Now I'm not unaware that this launching is in a sense ceremonial. You'd have to be living in a cave somewhere not to know that the campaigning hasn't really stopped since the primary.

"In his book, Roughing It, Mark Twain wrote: 'California has a splendid population, for all of the slow, sluggish-brained stayed at home.' You never find that sort of people among pioneers. It was that population that gave to California a name for getting up astounding enterprises and rushing them through with magnificent dash and daring...and when she projects a new surprise, the grave world smiles as usual and says, 'Well, that's California all over.'

"But now the state is getting crowded with a new kind of migrant...Washington visitors who've been invited here to help the Governor. Some days ago we were treated to the shocking spectacle of two United States Senators insulting the Mayor of Los Angeles, and indeed all Californians, in an arrogant display of bad manners. One of those Senators has been invited to come out here to campaign in the Governor's behalf. I hope he comes. It would be interesting to have this citizen of Massachusetts, who serves as the Senator from New York, explain why he's qualified to tell us how to run the State of California. As a matter of fact, it would be pretty interesting to hear the Governor discuss the problems

of California.

"So far the only issue he's discussed is me, and he's gone to great lengths to characterize me in a manner he knows is false. The question that remains unanswered is: WHY? Could it be that he doesn't dare run on the record of his administration? Is he perhaps hoping to divert our attention from the real but unsolved problems he promised to solve four years ago? Or does he think that by raising a false cry of extremism no one will notice that he and his administration, as well as the entire party machinery, have been taken over by militant left-wing radicals, and he is, in truth, a captive of the California Democratic Council whose philosophy is hardly typical of millions of rank and file Democrats?

"Well, the times are too serious for mud-slinging and personal vilification. You are entitled to know where I, as a candidate, stand on the issues of interest to you, and whether I offer constructive proposals.

"In contrast to what the Governor and his political cronies would have you believe, it is my conviction that our political and free enterprise system have made us prosperous enough that we are able to--and must--care for the less fortunate members of our society. I strongly support our system of unemployment insurance for those who are unemployed through no fault of their own, and I believe that such protection could be extended to full-time, permanent farm employees. But, under this administration, the soundness of the program has been seriously weakened, endangering the security of working men and women and unfairly penalizing industry, and this must be remedied. Workmen's compensation is in need of improvement to bring it into line with true living costs.

"I believe that, just as our giant industries have learned they must decentralize in the interest of efficiency, so must government; and state government must return more autonomy to the counties and local communities. We have the

biggest and costliest state government in proportion to population, and it keeps on growing. If you are the average family of four, your share of the cost of state and local government is \$400 a year higher than the national average. I believe the cost of government can be cut by a Governor who truly believes in economy. The people have been squeezed beyond the breaking point with regard to taxes. Property taxes are increasing twice as fast as personal income and are a factor in the slump that has hit our building industry five times harder in California than in the rest of the nation. Building permits are down 49% from last year, mortgage foreclosures are up 38%, and property tax delinquencies are the highest since the depression bottom of 1930.

"Every working man knows that unless something is done to reverse the upward spiral, that after he reaches his non-earning years and retires on pension or social security, he won't be able to live out his life in his own home. Already this tragedy has caught up with our senior citizens. In 1949 Social Security paid a couple \$68.40. Now the payments are \$152.50, but this \$152.50 actually buys \$1.32 less than the \$68.40 bought seventeen years ago. The \$5.00 you and I put away twenty years ago will only buy \$1.85 worth of groceries today. Is it any wonder we read of an 80-year old man who confessed he couldn't afford to live much longer? He said he'd saved his money and thought he had enough, but now as prices go up, he knows he'll run out ^{of} money soon, and that worries him more than dying.

"Social Security is a vital program to protect our senior citizens. It is a federal program but as Governor I would urge the federal government to strengthen it in two ways--by ending the limitation on earnings for those who want to work and augment their pension and by extending coverage to all our citizens over 65. If the government persists in its policy of deliberate, planned inflation, then Social Security should provide compensating cost of living increases.

"There are ways the State can help, pending action at the federal level. Some

senior citizens in California not covered by Social Security, or not receiving enough Social Security for minimum needs, are helped by State Old Age Assistance. Unfortunately, this program is considered welfare and doesn't afford the dignity of Social Security; recipients are subjected to frequent and humiliating investigations which should be eliminated.

"Our free-spending State Government picks strange places to practice economies. Not long ago in an effort to compensate for the increased cost of living, Social Security added a few dollars to each check. California Old Age Assistance cut its payments by the same amount, cancelling out the raise for our senior citizens. A delegation of senior citizens made the long journey to Sacramento hoping to discuss their problems with the Governor, but he stalked angrily out of his office and refused to see them.

"Throughout our history, Californians have taken pride in their ability to care for their own with a humanitarianism unequaled anywhere, even in this great and generous nation. Now we see this humanitarianism exploited by those who preach the gospel of envy and the creed of failure. Legitimate working men and women are taxed and bled to provide for those who refuse to provide for themselves. Welfare recipients increase in number almost three times as fast as our increase in population and the cost doubles in just five years. California industry goes begging for skilled craftsmen and those who can be trained in job skills. Yet unemployment remains 28% higher here than the national average, evidence that our population growth is not caused entirely by those seeking better opportunity, but at least in part because someone put a chalk mark on our door informing the initiated that here in California is an easy access to a variety of welfare programs.

"The time has come to put a new sign on the door. Let its meaning be unmistakably clear. We'll continue to help those in true need and even try to improve our care for

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those who, through no fault of their own, must depend on their fellow man. But these whose only disability is unwillingness to work will discover we don't consider that an incurable ailment. From now on the able-bodied will work for their keep or take training to fit themselves for jobs, and there'll be no pay for play.

"Now while I'm on the subject of work, let me say a few words about labor-- organized labor. It almost seems silly that I should have to explain myself and my position after half a lifetime spent in the ranks and as an officer and six times president of a union. Still, the hierarchy of labor, the professionals who manage union affairs (usually without consulting the rank and file membership) have come forth in this campaign with slick paper brochures and daily releases to all the union papers attacking me as anti-labor, one who would plot and scheme to put right-to-work legislation over on unsuspecting Californians.

"These self-annointed sultans of labor can't help but know that I represented my union in helping to defeat the right-to-work law in 1958. They know that is still my position--that I oppose right-to-work laws as too big a gun for the problems we seek to solve.

"These men have been in my house and I have met with them over the years in the highest echelons of labor. They know my philosophy and my thinking, yet today they resort to deliberate falsehood, probably because they know how much I'm aware of their own cynical lack of faith in their members' ability to run their own affairs.

"It was Mr. Pitts, recently elected to high office in the AFL-CIO, who said, 'Any union member who doesn't vote as the leadership tells him to is as guilty of an anti-labor act as if he went through a picket line.' That's an insult to every union member and shows a great lack of understanding as to what this country is all about.

That's why my own idea of needed labor legislation is a measure to guarantee every union member the right in his union to a secret ballot on all matters affecting

the policy of that union. I will also seek machinery to insure fair bargaining for both management and labor with protection for the public in those areas not now covered by federal legislation. Such machinery is nonexistent in California.

"Labor is not a small clique of self-perpetuating professionals. Labor is millions of hard-working, fair-minded, patriotic Americans, and I have faith in their ability to vote their conscience and run their own lives. I believe in their right to organize and bargain collectively. I must! I led my own union in the only strike in its history, and we achieved an employer-paid pension and welfare plan.

"There are other issues in this campaign. Few if any of our city streets are safe for a woman after dark. Narcotics traffic has mushroomed like a rush hour jam on the freeway, and directly in its path--as its prime target--is our youth, our sons and daughters. Pornography has become a national scandal and California is its fountainhead. Crime has sky-rocketed until we have double our proportionate share, but the record will show that bill after bill, introduced by concerned legislators in Sacramento, has been opposed by the administration and either dies in committee, or, if passed, is vetoed by the Governor.

"Willful murder is up 14.4% in one year; robbery, 9%; forcible rape, 5.3%; arrests of juveniles for narcotics violations, a shocking 34.9%.

"Let me make a prediction. Very shortly the Governor will issue a bewildering maze of statistics to refute everything I've just said. We'll be told there was a 35% decrease in juvenile narcotics arrests. There will be similar contradictions regarding crimes of violence. I have no way of knowing how he will arrive at his figures unless he resorts to the new arithmetic. The source for my figures was this official report from the Governor's own Attorney General, Crime and Delinquency in California, 1965, compiled in the Bureau of Criminal

Statistics.

"I've made a number of specific proposals aimed at curbing this run-away crime. Local communities should be given the right they once had to adopt ordinances for the protection of their citizens. We should start a drive to raise, by citizen contributions, a fund for the widows and children of police and firemen killed in line of duty. This would serve to ease recruitment problems in both these services. The phone company says a simple three digit number is possible on a statewide basis so that in emergencies citizens could dial even from pay phones without a coin and be instantly connected with the proper agency. We should begin immediate planning for a central crime laboratory and for a police academy to offer uniform training for those communities unable to afford such training.

"With that last suggestion, I'm kind of hard put to understand just what is the Governor's position. When I first proposed an academy he attacked it as an unnecessary extravagance, but here is a piece of his campaign literature, and he promises if he is re-elected, he'll give us that same 'unnecessary' extravagance. It's possible his busy left hand doesn't know what his right is doing--or promising.

"In 1748, a philosopher wrote: 'When a government last a long while, it deteriorates by insensible degrees.' Another one of my proposals (not dealing with crime, let me hasten to say) is a two-term limit on the Governorship. If you can't do the job in eight years, you shouldn't try for twelve.

"Californians for many years have had a fierce and well-deserved pride in our educational system and our great University. Now they feel great concern as they see that University threatened by the irresponsible and destructive conduct of a small radical minority. This is no false issue concocted by candi-

dates for political advantage. This is a question (so far unanswered) in the minds of millions of citizens, and it won't go away by pretending it doesn't exist. The time has come to deal with it and put it in its proper perspective without hysteria, recognizing the vast majority of faculty and students are no part of that loud vulgar minority, but are seriously interested in educational ideals and the University's primary purpose. The approach must be constructive and must make sure the University will be allowed to function without, repeat, without political interference.

"I charge there has been political interference which has resulted in the appeasement of campus malcontents and filthy-speech advocates under the pretense of preserving academic freedom. Actually this policy of appeasement has been dictated by political expediency in this election year in the hope of sweeping the problem under the rug. This will, of course, be denied. The Governor, aided by his well-oiled and heavily financed machine, will charge instead that I would impose political control on the University. He remains deafeningly silent about how the problem should be solved.

"Well, let me tell you my belief and you be the judge of whether it threatens academic freedom.

"The function of the University is to seek and to transmit knowledge and to train students in the processes whereby truth is to be made known. To convert or to make converts, is alien and hostile to this dispassionate duty. Where it becomes necessary, in performing this function of the University, to consider political, social or sectarian movements, they are dissected and examined--not taught--and the conclusions left, with no tipping of the scales to the logic of the facts. Its obligation is to see that the conditions under which questions are examined are those which give play to intellect rather than

passion.' (The sit-in at Sproul Hall--the attack on the forces of law and order--the continued violation of moral and ethical standards hardly fits this concept.)

"Essentially, the freedom of a University is the freedom of competent persons in the classroom. In order to protect this freedom, the University assumes the right to prevent exploitation of its prestige by unqualified persons or by those who would use it as a platform for propaganda.

"The University expects the state, in return, and to its own great gain, to protect this indispensable freedom, a freedom, like the freedom of the press, that is the heritage and the right of a free people.'

"Now let me tell you--this is not only my belief, but it also is a University regulation.

"This is University Regulation No. 5, the University's own definition of academic freedom, subscribed to by faculty and administration since 1934. This rule helped guide the University to greatness and should be restored as the accepted definition of the University's purpose. But to say it is the measuring stick for what has been taking place in the past year would be the mis-statement of all time. The so-called 'New Left' has used the University, even in the classrooms, as a political propaganda base with no pretense of allowing balanced discussion and divergent points of view.

"Article 9, Section 9, of California's Constitution says: 'The University shall be entirely independent of all political or sectarian influence and kept free therefrom in the appointment of its Regents and in the administration of its affairs.' With this pledge to keep the University free from political influence goes the obligation on the part of the Regents and the University not to get involved in partisan politics. This obligation also has been violated by the government machine, with one Regent serving as the Governor's campaign manager,

and another organizing University professors to help school the Governor on the issues.

"The Constitutional independence of our University from political control must be restored. If that independence was necessary when the Constitution was written almost a hundred years ago, can anyone who loves the University doubt its indispensability today when the political forces which besiege the University are not our traditional Democrats or Republicans, but are members of the 'New Left' which brought it to a grinding halt almost two years ago?

"The people are concerned, and justifiably so. There has been a 20% drop in undergraduate applications. This will be denied, but only because the University has changed the cut-off date and allowed previously unqualified students to fill the vacancies. There has been a drop in qualified graduate students. Professors are leaving the University at a rate of three times as great as the normal turnover. There are reports, too, from recent graduates that employers are leary about hiring them because of the University's new reputation for radicalism. These are legitimate causes for concern and the people will not be satisfied with a 'self-investigation.'

"We must have a fair and open inquiry and we must maintain academic freedom for the University and keep it isolated from political influence. As Governor, I will ask the most qualified man in California and the nation--John McCone--to conduct such an inquiry. John McCone's credentials for this job are impeccable. No responsible person has been able to fault the inquiry he led into the Watts riots or its findings or its recommendations.

"Mr. McCone will be given a completely free hand to pick a non-partisan panel of California's leading citizens as members of a blue ribbon commission to investigate all aspects of the situation at the University. This commission

would choose its own investigating staff, would be financed by the state, and would report to the Board of Regents, who, in keeping with the Constitution, will be guaranteed the right to run the University without political interference. At the same time, the people will be fully and accurately informed as to what has been taking place on the campus.

"Such a plan is within the framework of the 'Creative Society'. It turns to the people themselves, calling on their abilities and their common sense. This is the 'Creative Society' and I know of no state with a greater potential for making it work.

"We've attracted the young, the talented, the adventurous from all the 50 states and most of the nations of the world. They've come, attracted as were those earlier migrants, by the legend of beauty and opportunity and unlimited variety as a way of life. Among us are counted the highest numbers with professional training and technical skill.

"There isn't anything we can't do, and that includes solving the one overriding issue of this campaign...the issue besetting not only California, but also the nation...the issue that over-shadows and colors all others. It is the issue of simple morality. Who among us doesn't feel concern for the deterioration of old standards, the abandonment of principles time-tested and proven in our climb from the swamp to the stars? Today voices are raised urging change for change's sake. Individuals have privilege, but no responsibility. While some young Americans fight and die for their country, others send blood and money to the enemy, and what is, in truth, treason, is called their right to freedom of expression.

"Cheating and stealing isn't cheating and stealing if it takes place in the halls of government--then, it's just politics, a game played with someone

else's money.

"And God is dead. Well, He isn't--we just can't talk to him in a school room.

"Is this the way we want it to be? We can change it. We can start a prairie fire that will sweep the nation and prove we are number one in more than size and crime and taxes. If this is a dream, it's a good dream, as big and golden as California itself.

"It's a dream that knows no partisanship. Millions of patriotic Democrats will join us bringing that dream to fulfillment because they, too, believe in a 'Creative Society' mobilizing the full resources of our people, bringing the common sense of the people to bear on all the problems, restoring pride in ourselves, our government and our state and nation.

"We can 'get up astounding enterprises and rush them through with magnificent dash and daring.'

"William Penn said: 'If men be good, government cannot be bad.'

"Our people are good. Our government can be."

9.8.66

ANNOUNCER:

Governor Edmund G. Brown of California and Republican challenger for the governorship, Mr. Ronald Reagan. Here are the issues:

Which of you will win in November? What issues will decide the election? What is the national significance of the California race?

From Los Angeles, California, the American Broadcasting Company brings you Issues and Answers. Here is ABC Whitehouse Correspondent Frank Reynolds.

MR. REYNOLDS:

One of the hottest political contests in this off-year election is the race for Governor of California between Democratic Governor Edmund G. Brown and Republican Ronald Reagan. I will join my ABC news colleague, Piers Anderton, to interview Governor Brown and Mr. Reagan in just a moment, after this message.

The rather unhappy events in San Francisco this week have focused new attention on civil rights issues and problems. How strong is the backlash here in California?

GOVERNOR BROWN:

Well, I don't think that the backlash is too severe. The people are very deeply concerned over the racial difficulties we have but I think people are primarily concerned with law enforcement. I think this is the thing that has now become

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the overriding issue. People want the rule of law to be observed in this state. As Governor, I try my best to see it is.

MR. REYNOLDS:

I have heard it said that these riots and disturbances not only in California but elsewhere benefit your opponent. Do you think that's true?

GOVERNOR BROWN:

Well, I don't know. I think we have to look at it as a National picture. We have riots and disturbances in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Chicago, Michigan -- Governor Romney -- New York, Pennsylvania. I think people understand that there is a revolution going on by a very small minority of the Negroes in this country -- referring to those who violate the law. I think here in California, with the excellent police we have, and the cooperation between the State and local authorities that we have done a good job. I certainly hope that it will not be a political issue, because it is the toughest domestic issue that we have had probably in the last 25 years.

MR. ANDERTON:

The fact you called in the National Guard so quickly during the San Francisco riot, was that brought about by political considerations?

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GOVERNOR BROWN:

No. As Governor of this state I have to act according to the dictates of my conscience and the prime job that I have as Governor is to see that the lives of people are protected and their property's protected, too, and I think that if we look over my entire record as District Attorney of San Francisco, as Attorney General, and as Governor, I have never failed in that category and in this particular situation we were deeply concerned and when Mayor Shelley and Chief of Police Cahill asked for my cooperation they got it.

MR. REYNOLDS:

How united is your party now in support of your candidacy? Have you heard from Mayor Yorty lately?

GOVERNOR BROWN:

No, I haven't heard from Mayor Yorty, but we have, I think, 24 Democratic Congressmen, every single, solitary one is working for me as hard as they can, every Democratic Assemblyman, every Senator -- Howard Burns, the president pro tem of the Senate -- and Jesse Unruh, with whom I have had some difficulty, and every Democratic Chairman in the state is supporting my candidacy, so I would say the Democratic party is as united as it can be. There are some people on the left-wing side that have stated they will not vote for me and I can

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understand that.

MR. ANDERTON:

A month ago today you came to Los Angeles and you, in your own words, wooed Mayor Yorty like a beautiful woman. Do you expect the Mayor to throw his support to you? He does, supposedly, command a million votes he got in the primary.

GOVERNOR BROWN:

I don't think I said I wooed him like I wooed a beautiful woman. I said he's being wooed like a beautiful woman. Maybe that's the same thing. I think Mayor Yorty expressed himself by saying that the people that voted for him were Democrats and that they would vote for the Democratic candidate rather than my opponent, who has been on the extreme right of the Republican party. If Mr. Reagan were a moderate I think I'd have more difficulty getting some of the Democrats to support me, but he made the statement the Democrats that voted for him will vote for me. I don't know what he will do but I still want his support if I can get it.

MR. REYNOLDS:

How important out here is the popularity of President Johnson?

GOVERNOR BROWN:

Well, President Johnson's popularity is just about the same today as President Kennedy's at the time of President

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Brown-Reagan continued.

Kennedy's assassination. We have to make tough, hard decisions, whether it's as Governor or President. You are going to find out your popularity just will not be as high as it is at the beginning, because nobody agrees with everything that you do and the President's had to make some awfully tough, hard decisions. I think the President, if the election were November 8th of this year would be reelected against any Republican candidate that they might put up, and I think that's the real test.

MR. REYNOLDS:

Well, we have heard -- we know there have been several opportunities for the President to come out here to California and to campaign openly for you. We have also heard that some of your people have had misgivings about the President coming in. Have you invited him, is he going to come out here?

GOVERNOR BROWN:

I don't know from whom you have heard in my campaign but I can tell you I have talked to him on the telephone on two occasions during the past three weeks, on both occasions he stated that he would come to California if I wanted him, and I do want him, and I will tell you why. A Governor must win these campaigns on his own, must win them on his own record. Nevertheless, California is now the No. 1 state in this Union. There are great international issues, great Federal-State

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relationships. I think the people of California are entitled to see the President. With the largest state population, we lead in every category, so I do hope he comes out here, but I repeat, I am going to have to win this one on my own record of accomplishment and the record I expect to accomplish during the next four years.

MR. ANDERTON:

I have heard several Democratic voters in this state express resentment or even ridicule at Vice-President Humphrey's the Kennedy brothers' visits here. Besides raising money, do those visits really help you?

GOVERNOR BROWN: Well, I can't tell you -- I will tell you on November 9th, but Vice-President Humphrey came out here, he visited the College of Oceanography down at San Diego. He participated in a meeting at the Lockheed plant and he is the Chairman of the Space Age Commission of the Federal Government. I am not ashamed to have the Democratic leaders of my country come to California. I can understand why Mr. Reagan would not want Mr. Nixon or Mr. Goldwater to come in here, but I can only repeat I will win this one on my own, but these people will help the dialogue here in California.

MR. REYNOLDS:

In National terms, what would a victory for Mr. Reagan mean to the country?

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GOVERNOR BROWN:

Well, I think that you know that in the Republican party we have what you might call the ^{Kuchel} Kinkle-Javitz wing, the Goodwin Knight, the Earl Warren -- of course, he is out of politics now -- versus the Goldwater extremist group in this country, and Mr. Reagan has been aligned with these people all the days -- well, ever since he changed from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party. This would really give a big impetus to the extreme right, in my opinion.

MR. REYNOLDS:

Do you feel you are fighting to stem a revival of the right?

GOVERNOR BROWN: I think that's certainly one phase of it, and that's why I feel so deeply concerned about this campaign in California. I, of course, would, anyway. I have a deep personal interest in it, but I also feel that they are wrong, that their political position, their position in government is -- they are just on the wrong track, just as much as I feel that those on the extreme left are wrong. Politics is the art and the science of accomplishing a consensus and the people on the right and the people on the left just don't understand that.

MR. ANDERTON:

Governor, you yourself have said that you have made a great many enemies during your years in office. What can be done about this problem in American politics where a government leader makes

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enemies and people get tired of him just because he has been in office for so long?

GOVERNOR BROWN:

Well, Earl Warren was elected Governor of this state on three separate occasions, Mr. Williams, Soapy Williams, in Michigan, was elected seven or eight times. O'Shea was elected five or six. I think the people will make a good choice. I don't want to do anything about it except let the people make the decision. I think I have been a good Governor. I think the economic position of our state, number one, the lowest unemployment in the -- since I became Governor in 1959 -- you take a look at everything in this State, if the people -- if I could only get that message across there can be no question about the results in November.

MR. ANDERTON:

Aren't you a little ashamed of this campaign in the number one state with these big problems we have in a campaign that's been conducted about who signed a real-estate covenant in 1941?

GOVERNOR BROWN:

Those are collateral issues. I have made ten speeches. The first speech I made at the Democratic State Convention, where I outline our program of the working society and we went into detail. Since that time I have amplified it by speeches on every phase of governmental activity, from getting the people

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Brown-Reagan continued

that are out of work trained, put them to work, people who are on welfare. Our tax program, to remove -- to relieve the property tax burden in the State of California. Our crime program that we are moving into to use scientific methods to achieve better crime control. I have outlined these things specifically, but, unfortunately, the reporters here in California are more concerned with some little issue that they felt was important. On the covenant, that was not important in '39 or '40. A lot of people signed them. It was the question of the credibility of Mr. Reagan. He stated that he was always against them. We proved he was not always against them. But I do agree with you that it is too bad that these speeches are not too interesting when you are talking specifics about your recreational program and your program on taxation. There is not much sex in these things. I suppose the quarrels between the two candidates is far more interesting, but I wish in the last six weeks that the fundamental differences that exist between me and Mr. Reagan will be brought out. They are fundamental, believe me.

MR. REYNOLDS:

There are people, too, who maintain -- reverting now to the Civil Rights question, that you have bowed to the potential backlash in California by softening your position with respect to fair housing. Are you still wholeheartedly in favor of open occupancy?

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Brown-Reagan continued

GOVERNOR BROWN:

I can only tell you that the legislature, both Republicans and Democrats, voted for an open housing provision which is a very limited one, as a matter of fact. It only applies to houses of -- to abodes of more than four. I was corrected afterwards because it does apply to Federally-financed housing, but if you repeal the Rumford Housing Act in California it would still be in because by Executive Order you cannot discriminate in housing if there is any Federal money in it at all. I do believe that rather than to get into a great big argument with me defending open housing against some other form of it, that the best thing to do is to try to get the real-estate people to sit down, let's see what happened in Chicago where we had marches and riots. Let's find out whether we can make the Rumford Act a better bill, should it be elected, should it be extended; Republicans, Democrats, Reagan supporters, Brown supporters, rather than getting into making this the Holy Grail that we are defending, I don't think that would be a good thing.

MR. REYNOLDS: Thank you very much, Governor Brown. We will be back with Mr. Reagan and the second half.

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MR. REYNOLDS: Mr. Reagan, I know you enjoyed the first half of today's program. Let's see how you do on the second. I'd like to address basically the same question to you as we began with Governor Brown on the backlash and the most recent events in San Francisco. Are these riots helping or hurting you?

MR. REAGAN:

Well, I don't know whether there is any specific answer to that as to the difference between us as individuals. I would be inclined to believe that any time there is disturbance or disruption of the norm, that this must be more of a problem for those in power and must perhaps result in some dissatisfaction on the part of the people. It certainly would -- and has never been my intention, however, to attempt to capitalize on such a tragedy for political purposes.

MR. ANDERTON: You have stated that racial discrimination should be ended not by laws but by individuals of good will getting together and cooperating and yet you have criticized the Governor for not forestalling these riots. Would you recommend the riots be forestalled by getting individuals of good will together or by laws?

MR. REAGAN:

Let me attack first the premise of your question. I have said that I would favor and do favor any legislation that anyone can show will close some of these loopholes. I have also expressed the idea that there is a limit to what law can accomplish and

Brown-Reagan continued.

that certainly we must stop short regardless of how noble the purpose, stop short of penalizing one individual or other individuals in an effort to try and find the solution to someone else's problem. I have also said and do believe that at most levels of our government there has been a lack in using the prestige of office without legislation to simply move in with people and appeal to the right-thinking people to organize, to get the leaders of the community organized to voluntarily move in and help. Now, we have some wonderful examples here in the Watta area of Los Angeles of what can be done by the people in cooperation with government programs. No one is ruling out the necessity for that cooperation, but I am speaking of the work of the industrialists, led by Jed MacClellan, who had the original idea and who went into the Watts area and to date they have provided thousands of jobs in private industry. They moved in voluntarily because there was a problem there and the one way in which they could help as industrialists was to provide jobs. Now there are other areas where we can in regard to housing, to get state-wide the finest people, the people recognized as leaders in every professional branch and get together in a room and recognize and try to find all those areas where we can be of help in this very heart-breaking problem.

MR. REYNOLDS:

Do you believe this is not now being done by the present state administration?

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MR. REAGAN:

No, I don't believe that with all the turning of legislation that there has been recognition of the great power that can come from just this kind of use of, as I say, the prestige of the office.

:MR. REYNOLDS:

I know you have been through this before, but it seems that now just about everybody has repudiated the Birch Society except you. Senator Goldwater has repudiated it. What's holding you up?

MR. REAGAN:

Now, Senator Goldwater is speaking about a specific problem. He has continued to speak on that in his state. I don't know his situation in his state but I have confidence what he said must be true of that situation. I have never believed he shoots from the hip. So I am not going to comment on the situation in Arizona. The only thing that I have ever done is repeated over and over again and I cannot believe that anyone, including my opponent, really seriously thinks that the issue of this organization is the most serious issue in the State of California. Now, I am not a member, I have no intention of becoming a member, I have never been a member, I have no intention of soliciting their support. What we are talking about is the attempt on the part of my opponent to make me on his accusation blanket indict a group of people I don't even know because of what he says is

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true of their organization. Now, if you want to ask me on the specifics of issues, things that they support and where I stand on those, I will be very happy to answer, and I think anyone will find I am not an extremist but I sometimes wonder if what the Governor really means is that if I do all the things he says will he then vote for me.

MR. ANDERTON: Mr. Reagan, to go to another issue in the campaign, the student disturbances at the University of California, in your autobiography you described how you were on a strike committee on the college you attended in which you shut down the college, you had the Board of Trustees meeting, you demanded the president resign. Isn't this all part of the same youthful searching, high spirits?

MR. REAGAN:

No, I think there is a considerable difference, and I was a freshman at the time. I was chosen to be the freshman representative of the student committee. In the dark days of the depression in this little college we, like a number of schools, the endowment was virtually wiped out by the crash, poverty had hit all of the schools, we had one man, a president of the university, whose solution was going to be to change the curriculum so drastically, discharge professors and so forth that students who invested as much as three and were in their fourth year of their college careers, some of them taking

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preparatory courses for medicine, law, and so forth, that they would have lost all of that because they would be unable to complete their majors, the courses would have been so changed. And in this particular instance the faculty solidly, a hundred per cent, the rest of the administration of the university and the students opposed this and we must have been right. What you call a strike is the students just simply stayed home from classes, but I could contrast that with a beatnik picketing and the demonstrations and the unlawful conduct of these present demonstrations over outside issues not really dealing with the university to a responsible group that every day met and studied and kept up on their school work. This lasted for a week or so. And then the president of the university resigned. Now, the merit of our particular issue might be proven by the fact that the college is still in business today, is bigger and better than it ever was, has a very high scholastic rating and that the professors showed their faith in those dark depression days; they worked for many, many months without salary to keep that school open and I have no regrets or apologies. This is like comparing Castro's take-over of Cuba with the American Revolution, and I never quite made that comparison.

MR. REYNOLDS:

What about their right to express dissent?

MR. REAGAN:

Oh, there is a right to express dissent, but certain bench

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Brown-Reagan continued

rules must be observed with the right of free speech, also the right of privacy. Someone doesn't have to listen. You have no right sitting in a public place if the man at the next table is using foul mouth and obscene language. My family is with me. I have no right to tell him he can't use that language. I do have a right to tell him that he can lower his voice because my family shouldn't have to listen to it.

MR. REYNOLDS:

In the first part of this program the word "extremist" was used quite frequently. You came to great fame in this country politically after your fame in movies with that speech you made in 1964 for Senator Goldwater. Is there anything you would now change in that speech?

MR. REAGAN:

No, and I have always been a little interested that everyone thinks I was created out of cosmic dust just in time to make that speech. They might be interested to know that I went back in my own files and there are some paragraphs in that speech that I took virtually verbatim out of the speech that I made a few years before in behalf of Richard Nixon, because I thought they still applied, and were still true, and I did the same thing for Richard Nixon that I did in this last campaign. The only difference was that at that time having been a former Democrat maybe the Republicans didn't have the confidence to put me on nationally. The only put me on statewide.

(Continued)

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Brown-Reagan continued

MR. REYNOLDS:

Are you still what would be called a Goldwater Republican?

MR. REAGAN:

I am a Republican and I believe that our party has been divided by labels long enough, and I think I have proven that I am a Republican in the tradition of the party. It is very hard for me to believe, as was pointed out here in the earlier part of the program, that I am representative of some limited faction when I received almost 70% of the Republican vote in the primary. Now, if -- I don't know what the new arithmetic teaches, but it seems to me 70-30, if it is in my favor, puts me in the mainstream, and I would point out also that on my executive committee statewide in helping me with my campaign there are presently of the ten members of that committee seven who were chairmen and working hard in behalf of other candidates in the primary and have since the primary come over to join in my campaign.

MR. REYNOLDS:

Speaking of votes, you had quite a substantial lead in the poles some time ago. Now I understand that lead has declined somewhat. What are you doing that's wrong?

MR. REAGAN:

I don't think I am doing anything that's wrong. This is all based on one poll which I never did believe right after

(Continued)

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Brown-Reagan continued

the primary, but if you will check the same man's polls you will find that going clear back to March the fluctuation has been so slight that it can be accounted for by just the margin of inaccuracy in polling. I have stayed in this position with regard to the Governor from three to five per cent since March with the exception of that one outlandish poll right after the primary, and there are some other polls that are going to be spoken of in the immediate future and I think they are going to have an even more optimistic view.

MR. REYNOLDS:

Thank you very much, Mr. Reagan, for being with us on Issues and Answers. We will be back in just a moment with news of next week's guest right after this message.

-KABC-TV-

CALIFORNIA FARM BUREAU FEDERATION QUESTIONS

Marketing Orders:

Is there a need to revise the California Marketing Act? Should marketing quotas and/or acreage limitations be made available to growers through the Marketing Act? Should processors be able to use the Act to set quality standards, prices, whatever, without including growers in such an order?

Labor:

Should the state of California pass legislation providing collective bargaining for farm workers?

Should Unemployment Insurance be extended to all farm workers?

Should the Department of Employment have broader responsibilities in recruiting farm workers, setting wages and working and housing conditions?

MARKETING ORDERS: As to the need of revising the California Marketing Act, I believe a more efficient utilization of our resources would occur if we would adhere more closely to the original intent of the Act. As I understand the Act, it was designed to aid the agricultural community, and the people of the state, in stabilizing the various agriculture markets. To work effectively it requires a high degree of cooperation among growers. It was not intended as a tool by which the state could control production. In recent years we have departed from the original intent of this law, and have reached a point where it may be necessary for the Legislature to examine this Act in order to insure that the state does not obstruct our access to an open market.

In reference to marketing quotas and/or acreage limitations and their inclusion in the California Marketing Act, I could not express my disapproval more. An open market

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depends on management decisions by producers based on market conditions with minimum interference from government. Every farmer in California knows that those crop areas which have had the most difficulty are those which have had the closest governmental control.

There is no reason why processors should be able to use the Act to set standards and prices without consultation with all interested sectors of the industry. The original intent of the Act requires cooperation among all sectors, and if one sector becomes dominant, substantial freedom of action is denied the others. Joint-orders drawn after all sectors have been heard is the most equitable approach, and provided all sectors are able to make their opinions known to the Director of Agriculture, I see no reason why this Act could not become stronger and more helpful to both the agricultural community and the people of the state.

LABOR: Collective bargaining for farm workers must be modified in such a way as to protect the perishability of crops. When one side has the power to destroy the other side, no collective bargaining can take place. Instead, we in California need a mechanism such as the State Labor-Management Relations Act which I have proposed in order to assure both sides in disputes a freedom of action under mediation facilities of the state government. This plan would also allow the workers to select their own representatives, as well as meeting the needs of the farmer-employer.

With regard to unemployment insurance for farm workers, I see no reason why these benefits should not be extended to all permanent farm workers. I would support a detailed examination of the seasonal workers stand in this area of unemployment insurance, but as the program

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all ways in which we can help these seasonal workers.

In responding to a question about increasing the responsibility and authority of the Department of Employment, I must say that between the State and National departments there appears adequate authority for them to recruit workers. During short supply periods it may appear that increased authority is warranted, however, adequate administration regarding the projection of needs should allow them to meet labor demands.

While the governor has little influence on the national minimum wage, it is my firm belief that an open market makes a better determination than an arbitrary level. California has proved this point by ordinarily remaining well above the national minimum wage. Furthermore, the use of these established wages can, at times, place California at a competitive disadvantage as compared to other parts of the country.

We are presently going through the formulation and application of new rules about farm labor housing under the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs. Positive steps are being taken and until we can establish some evaluation of their effectiveness I see little reason to propose alternative measures to cope with these problems.

RR on SFO rioting

In response to a question, Rodger Young Auditorium, 9.28.66, Executive Board Meeting, Los Angeles County Federation of Republican Women

...any kind of rioting is a shame "and the leaders of the negro community who have urged civil disobedience have forfeited their right to leadership.

"Beyond this, it is obvious that the Governor has not profited at all from the experience of Watts and has done nothing to forestall future disturbances in other possible trouble spots. He has made it obvious that new leadership is needed."

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