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Reagan quote

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WASHINGTON

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### THREATENS LEAP

Adam K. Breckenridge, 27, stands on ledge of fourth floor window in New York's Greenwich Village and threatens to jump. He tossed knives and bayonet at policemen, one of whom shot him critically. Police said he had argument with girl.

## Sponsor Proposes Tuition Bill Change

SACRAMENTO (UPI)—Assemblyman Don Mulford yesterday said he would amend his University of California and state college tuition bill to provide for faculty pay increases beyond that provided in the proposed 1965 budget.

## Head-on Crash Kills 6, 1 Lives

NEEDLES (AP)—An 11-year-old girl was the sole survivor today of a head-on collision between two cars which killed six persons on a desolate stretch of desert highway.

"We don't know how she survived," said a California Highway Patrol officer, Kathy Scroggs, of Fresno.

Her 10-year-old sister, Susan, who was riding on the back seat with Kathy, was killed, said the officer.

Also killed were Kathy's father, Harvey H. Scroggs, 41, her brother, Harvey L. Scroggs, 24, who was driving, and a third sister, Debra, 12.

San Bernardino County Coroner Walt Terris said a pickup driven by Theodore A. Gillette, 23, of Lake Havasu City, Calif., apparently drifted across the center divider of two-lane highway, 15 1/2 miles south of Needles.

Gillette, trapped in the front seat with his passenger, John Valenzuela, 22, of Needles, died instantly. Valenzuela died four hours later in Needles Municipal Hospital.

"It was almost head-on, strictly head-on," said Terris.

Kathy was taken to Needles Municipal Hospital where she was pronounced dead.

When her head was tilted right away, said her physician, Dr. C. E. Hurward, "We don't see any problems."

Scroggs said he and the author were driving to a friend's house to visit the children's grandmother, Harvey Scroggs, a brother, said Terris.

The brother, William Scroggs, said Harvey H. Scroggs and wife Linnie Mae were married and the children had been raised with their father.

Associated Press Wirephoto

that provided in the proposed 1965 budget.

Mulford, R-Piedmont, said the move also would establish an expanded scholarship program based upon financial need to allow average annual grants of \$500 each to 12,000 students.

The amendments I am proposing will permit the regents of the university and the trustees of the state colleges to establish, at their own discretion, a resident tuition fee of \$50 a semester," he said. "If this proposal is adopted by both the regents and the trustees, more than \$19 million in additional revenue will be raised."

Mulford said that due to a lack of funds the proposed 1965 budget would not provide for the full faculty salary increases requested by the regents and trustees.

The tuition bill, Mulford added, would authorize the regents and trustees to allocate up to 50 per cent of the annual funds derived from resident tuition fees, or almost \$10 million, for the augmentation of faculty salaries above whatever amount may be approved by the budget of that current year.

The assemblyman added that at least \$6 million annually would be available for scholarships.

## Status Of Major Bills

WASHINGTON (AP)—The status of major legislation in Congress at the end of last week.

Health care for the elderly passed House in Senate Finance Committee.

Federal aid for elementary schools.

Income tax reduction on House calendar.

Extension of Social Security to support disabled.

Disability benefits, Senate.

Disability benefits, House.

Disability benefits, Senate.

Disability benefits, House.

Disability benefits, Senate.

Disability benefits, House.

ty are already in state redwood parks.

"The only reason for this resolution is so that conservation groups can point with pride at their accomplishment and ask for more contributions," Christensen said.

Christensen reported the boards of supervisors of Humboldt, Del Norte and Mendocino counties opposed a redwood national park. Farr remarked that he received a petition signed by 1,500 Humboldt County residents supporting the park.

"People get emotionally wound up about redwood trees," said Sen. Randolph Collier, D-Yreka, who represents neighboring Siskiyou County. Collier objected to a national park, citing the restriction it would place on use of the land.

"You just try to take your dog for a walk in a national park," Collier said.

## Reagan Assails Welfare Trend

FRESNO (UPI)—Actor Ronald Reagan said here Friday that people are becoming more dependent on government and government is making welfare too attractive.

Speaking before a Junior Achievement banquet, Reagan cautioned against turning the country into a welfare state, which he described as "a faceless mass waiting for hand-out."

Reagan, considered a prime candidate for Republican gubernatorial nomination in 1966, said, "People have grown more dependent on government — while government has just grown."

"We're spending \$260 million a day," he said, "and they're letting the young people in on it because they're doing it on credit."

On education, Reagan said it is proper that government should share concern over school dropouts but he said the "character building" aspects are being ignored. He said dropouts were encouraged by increased pay benefits on training unskilled workers.

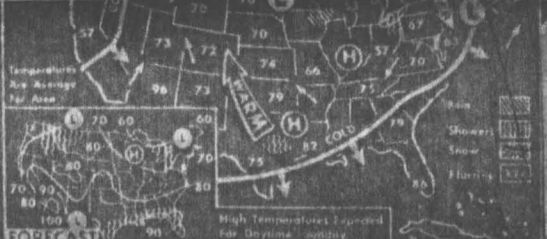
Reagan said he is concerned about the young people "but not pessimistic."

"It is not hopeless at all for young America," he said.

## Segregation Breaker Is Honor Graduate

CLEMSON, S. C. (AP)—Harvey Gantt, the first Negro in modern times to attend a white, state-supported school in South Carolina, was graduated with honors from Clemson University yesterday.

Gantt, who earned a degree in architecture, said he has accepted an offer to join the architectural firm of A. G. Odell Jr. in Charlotte, N. C. Odell is president of the American Institute of Architects.



## Blasts Trigger Fire In Industrial Section

WILMINGTON, Del. (AP)—There were no reports of serious injuries, though two firemen were hurt. One was felled by smoke inhalation and another by a knee injury. It was not known immediately whether anyone was in the buildings at the time.

Fire officials said the first explosion, its cause undetermined, occurred in the Conestoga Chemical Corp. plant about 7 p.m. and quickly engulfed two other Conestoga buildings and a structure owned by the Heil Process Equipment Co., manufacturer of Fiberglas products.

**BORGENS**  
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Speech to the Comstock Club  
Sacramento, California  
August 3, 1965



Need newspaper account.

"Tax forgiveness for the elderly would unfairly burden other homeowners. Isn't it possible that we could assess but not collect the taxes until such time as the home is no longer needed and then collect the accumulated tax from the sale of the estate."

Sr. Citizen Sentinel, Feb., 1966

not in Sacramento Union of Aug. 4 '68  
which covered speech.

P. 4

**Sacramento Speech**

# Reagan Talks Like Candidate

By BERT CLINKSTON, Political Editor, The Union

Ronald Reagan told an overflow crowd of the Comstock Club Monday night there's no reason why actors should not aspire to be governors. Reagan, delivering

practice knocks at big government, did not say he is a candidate but left little doubt that he very well may be.

Asked if the movies are adequate training for a chief executive, he quipped, "I never played a governor."

### MORE 'OF'

But then the 54-year-old veteran actor said the reason really is that government is of, by and for the people and "I subscribe to the theory that we haven't been taking advantage of the 'of' part in recent years."

Nobody should be ruled out because of occupation, said Reagan, after urging Comstock members — predominantly business and professional men — to get active in politics.

Parrying questions submitted in writing by the audience in Hotel El Dorado, Reagan said it would be necessary for him to win the election by unifying the Republican party and attracting Democrats and independents.

The question was how he could avoid alienating the right wing.

### A CORNER

He said he realized there would be an attempt to "paint me into a corner" and that he would be served up by the opposition as "one who would eat my young."

But the practical answer to that, he said, would be to continue getting his message across as he was trying Monday night, when 400 persons were turned away from the club's first annual ladies night. More than 1,000 attended.

How many Democrats did he think were in the audience?

"I would hope a great many," he replied. "I'd hate to think I've been saving souls in Hell."

When he was asked the philosophical difference between himself and Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel — a Republican liberal mulling the question of running for governor — Reagan said he could only speak for himself, that he believes the American "experiment" must not remain static but that basic principles should be held, that power should "derive from the people."

He believes there should be tax reform with the result that nobody is taxed unfairly, but so far "I don't think yet we have had presented to us an overall tax study" free of partisan implications. This was in response to a question about Democratic Assembly Speaker Jesse M. Unruh's proposal for massive tax reforms.

Reagan said he would duck an answer on whether the Legislature should have a chance to abolish the governor's pocket veto power, but that it should be studied and "there's been too much bypassing the legislative branch at every level."

### THE PROBLEM

Why have two major parties "soft-pedaled" free enterprise? came another query, and Reagan said there could be some conspiracy involved "but I think also what happens is that it is the natural tendency of government . . . bureaus and agencies think, 'a little more power, a little more money, how much good we could do.'"

He said he's been speaking for 12 or 13 years on the evils of big government and when he's asked if he's afraid of his own government answers, "Well, to tell you the truth, I am."

He quoted a senator who said that whenever people turn to



government they give up some liberty, and said the senator was John F. Kennedy.

"I freely admit that I am alarmed at the extent to which the government has entered into our lives," said Reagan.

He blamed "the planners" for centralizing power and said their goals may be worthy but the result is less freedom for individuals.

He rapped the anti-poverty program and cited one grant of

\$74,000 where administrators got \$50,000 and the rest went to projects to help the poor.

He said the national anti-poverty drive has a program to "salvage" girls in Los Angeles, where the cost is \$7,000 a girl,

but that product breadwin much.

"What a good fi Comsto



*Pls return to Given*



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\$74,000 where administrators got \$50,000 and the rest went to projects to help the poor. He said the national anti-poverty drive has a program to "salvage" girls in Los Angeles, where the cost is \$7,000 a girl,

but that some families turn out productive youngsters on a breadwinner's income of that much. "What this country needs is a good five-cent nickel," he said. Comstock president Anthony

J. Shiurba opened the program with the comment that the club is dedicated to assisting in forming conclusions on local, state, national and international questions. Reagan has scheduled private

meetings today with small groups of Northern California Republican leaders, the same as he has done in other parts of the state, to present views and offer himself for questions and answers.

San Francisco Chronicle  
October 15, 1965

"We should declare war on North Vietnam. We could pave the whole country and put parking strips on it and still be home by Christmas"





Charles de Young Thieriot, Editor and Publisher  
George T. Cameron, Publisher 1925 to 1955  
Founded 1865 by Charles and M. H. de Young

## Editorials

# Ronald Reagan's Parking Plan

**RONALD REAGAN**, the film actor, chose Coalinga this week as his platform for telling the President and the armed forces how to bring the Vietnam war to an early end.

Speaking at Coalinga Junior College, he proposed that the United States should officially declare war on North Vietnam. Once that was done, he said, it would be "silly" to talk about U.S. troops having to stay for years in the jungles.

"We could pave the whole country and put parking stripes on it and still be home by Christmas," Reagan said confidently.

Difficulties arise in evaluating this statement. Mr. Reagan is a candidate from the ranks of the Hollywood Thespians for the Republican nomination for Governor. How germane are his views on Vietnam?

**PERHAPS FORTUNATELY** for us all, the governorship of California has nothing to do with decisions on foreign policy and declarations of war, which are the province of Congress and the President. Coming from George Murphy, a statement of the kind Reagan made on Vietnam, while it might have been open to the charge of carelessly exuberant optimism, at least would have been germane for a Senator to make.

Had Mr. Regan chosen to give us the benefit of his views on paving over Sacramento for a parking lot, they would have carried more weight and possibly given a firmer basis for estimating his fitness for office than his Coalinga manifesto.



Newsweek, October 11, 1965

"When they [the emerging African nations] have  
a man for lunch, they really have him for  
lunch".



mouth shut, and that's what I'm doing."

In the end, the Capitol Architect is more scapegoat than cultural villain. J. George Stewart is the pencil, not the hand, that makes the designs. "The Rayburn Building," says one architectural critic, "is an emanation of our democracy. It is a hodgepodge of Congress's repressed inhibitions. All those marble halls and stiffness show what the members are or what they think they are." There can be no architectural improvement until the ruling "club members" of Congress realize they are not building lofty clubhouses but national monuments. Capitol architecture is Congressional architecture, and it will not improve until Congress allows it to improve.

### Leave-Taking Time?

"To every thing there is a season and a time to every purpose under the heaven," Biblically intoned Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen. And it became increasingly certain that the season and time for repeal of Section 14(B) of the Taft-Hartley Act, sought by organized labor ever since its enactment eighteen years ago, was not at hand.

On the eve of Senate debate on the repeal bill this week, the Senate leadership, increasingly restive under LBJ's barrage of must legislation, firmly extinguished labor's last hope that it would do what is needed to defeat a filibuster.

The arithmetic is simple. A majority of about 54 or 55 votes could be counted for repeal of 14(B), which allows states to outlaw union shops. The same number could be counted to limit debate, but that isn't enough. A two-thirds vote is required. The only promising alternative is round-the-clock sessions to wear down the filibusterers. But at a conference of Democratic senators last week, no one advocated this arduous process. The following day, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield received AFL-CIO chief George Meany in his office and told him: "I am not going to lower the dignity of the Senate by holding round-the-clock sessions."

**No Bluff:** Dirksen's filibuster forces—about 26 strong—have well-developed plans for indefinite debate. Republican senators opposed to repeal of 14(B) will man three-man teams on Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday. Democrats, on Tuesdays and Thursdays. "We are prepared to do battle and do battle with vigor," said Ev Dirksen. "I have heard it said that we are bluffing. Dismiss this from your mind."

Mike Mansfield for one wasn't buying the bluff theory. His strategy: after a week or ten days of talk, he plans to make a test of strength, probably by filing a cloture petition. If that fails—and he thinks it will—he will examine the situation and decide where to go from there. Most likely destination: home.

### REPUBLICANS:

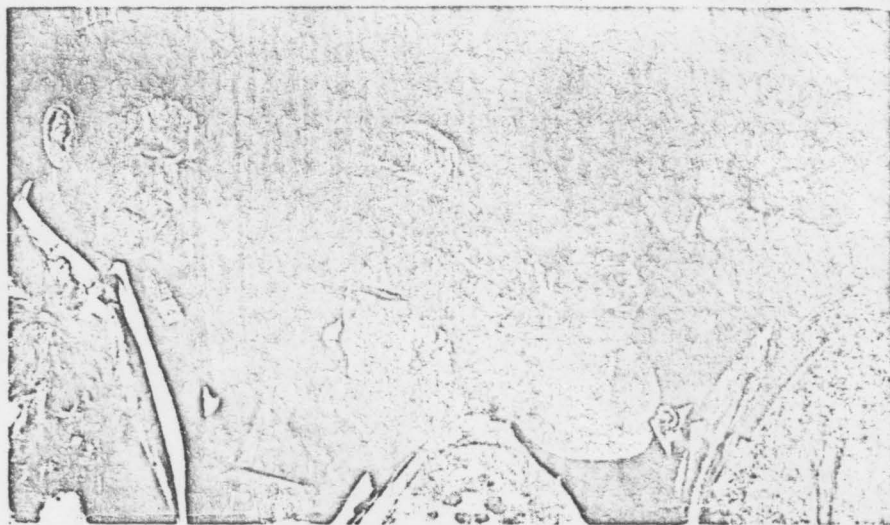
### Reagan Rides East

There was a scent of verbena and saddle soap, a tinkle of heirloom bracelets, a haze of Oxford gray and subdued tweed. Down the aisle of the New Haven Arena came the Mattatuck Drum Band playing "Rally Round the Flag," and then—rosy-cheeked and modestly smiling, a halfback grown significant—Ronald Reagan, heir-apparent to the California gubernatorial nomination and perhaps even to the political following of Barry Goldwater.

It was a triumphant evening for the TV host of "Death Valley Days." The rally, sponsored by the right-wing Connecticut Republican Citizens Committee—which the Republican state chairman recently described as "a kooky fringe"—was billed only as a unity gathering. But

homely philosophy which, with additions or subtractions, comes out much the same everywhere he appears.

But despite a summer of tutoring with Spencer-Roberts & Associates, public relations counselors, Reagan's deftness of touch occasionally falters off the platform. In Boston, the day after his New Haven speech, he held just the sort of free-wheeling press conference he has been taught to avoid. And a careless quip almost undid his elaborately photographed visit to Massachusetts' Negro Attorney General Edward Brooke. "When they [the emerging African nations] have a man for lunch," Reagan said, "they really have him for lunch." He also allowed himself to be backed into a corner over the John Birch Society, and finally declared, almost suddenly for one of such sunny disposition, "Any group that decides to go with me has bought my philosophy. I haven't



Ronald Reagan in New England: Ladies, ladies everywhere

for the crowd of 4,200 there were intimations of Presidentiality. The invocation set the tone: "God of our spirit, lay thy mantle upon thy son, Ronald Reagan . . . And in the hours of lonely vigil which will surely come to him . . ." A young man carrying binoculars and sitting in the very first row said, "We should have had him in '64." And another, watching the smiling Reagan inundated by swarms of women, said, "Look at that public relations. This man stays after, and talks with the people. Not like Goldwater."

**Cue Cards:** On the platform Reagan was, as always, very much his own man. There were none of the stumblings, the awkwardness, the wooden gestures of some politicians. He has an actor's poise and an actor's memory. He uses no texts, only cue cards that take him through "the Speech," a collection of ringing right-wing pronouncements, anti-Administration digs, and scattered bits of

bought theirs." Nor has he repudiated it, though the week before he issued a position paper denouncing Robert Welch and warning the society to "maintain vigilance" lest "a minority of irresponsible members" gain control.\*

Otherwise, Reagan—whose liberal Republican opposition at home was in disarray—brought the California sunshine right along with him. And there were ladies, ladies everywhere; tweedy in New Haven or unexpectedly décolleté at the National Federation of Republican Women in Boston, they buzzed and burbled. "If he wins in California," said one, "there's absolutely no doubt about it. He'll be the next Republican candidate for President."

\*Stronger denunciations of the Birch Society came from other Republicans last week. Among them: Sen. Thurston Morton (who advocated kicking Birchmen "right square in the tail"); Gov. George Romney and House and Senate minority leaders Gerald Ford and Everett Dirksen. "They are not a part of the Republican Party," said Dirksen. "They never have been and they never will be."

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

TO: Bob Hartmann

FROM: AGNES WALDRON

FYE



# RONALD REAGAN: Here's the Rest of Him

RR file

Though he had been an extremely liberal Democrat and an extremely conservative Republican, when Ronald Reagan became a candidate for Governor of California he did not sound like an extremist. Eschewing labels, calling for party unity and effectively capitalizing on anti-Brown feeling among Democrats and Independents, Reagan turned a simple and straightforward appeal for "common sense" solutions into a monumental rout of the hapless Pat Brown. It is this "new" Reagan who remains such a mystery to those who would evaluate his record as Governor or predict his political fortunes. As Governor he has developed a distinctive approach to administration; he has evolved an effective political style that is in itself a formidable innovation in American politics; and he has staked out positions on the issues in deeds as well as words. Hence this special report is devoted not to the distant past but to the recent Reagan record.

*Illustrating the report are cartoons by Paul Conrad of the Los Angeles Times.*



## I. The Will Not to Govern

If there was a major theme in Ronald Reagan's Inaugural Address, it was his call for a Creative Society in almost Kennedyesque fashion:

The path we will chart . . . demands much of those chosen to govern, but also from those who did the choosing. (It) turns away from any idea that government and those who serve it are omnipotent. It is . . . impossible to follow unless we have faith in the collective wisdom and genius of the people . . . Government will lead but not rule, listen but not lecture. It is the path of a Creative Society . . . If this is a dream, it is a good dream . . . Let this day mark the beginning.

But what is this "Creative Society?" Unlike the New Frontier or Great Society, it is not primarily a legislative program. It appears rather to be a spirit in the statehouse, a quality of leadership — featuring blue ribbon commissions, task force reports, voluntarism and reliance on private enterprise. The actual intricacies of government seem to play a very small role in it. There is very little evidence that Governor Reagan conceived of the legislative process as having a function to perform, and certainly the Governor's lack of interest in legislation soon became evident in his weekly press conferences.

In his weekly press conference held on March 14, 1967, excerpted at length below, Governor Reagan demonstrated this attitude:

Q. Do you think that you'll have the rest of your program ready to present to them (the legislature) by that time (April 11), such things as air pollution control programs?

A. Well, I haven't talked since then to my legislative task force on this, so I don't know the state of their preparations. I've often wondered why there are so many laws that have to be passed and maybe we should try to see how many we could do away with. I'll check on the task force and I'll have to find out where we stand. There are only a few more things in keeping with the promises that I made during the campaign that I feel a necessity to introduce.

Q. What are they, Governor?

A. Oh, I'm trying to remember now: agriculture, crime, budget and the tax program (these were programs already introduced). I'm going to have to check up on this and find out what still remains.

Well, oh, I do know one particular is with regard to the judges, the appointment of judges, the merit plan. And I could take some coaching from the sidelines if anyone can recall any legislative program.

Mr. Beck (Press Sec.): Reorganization; I think.

A. (continuing). Oh, reorganization; that's right. That hasn't gone in yet. Those are the two main ones.

(Preliminary transcript, Press Conference of March 14, 1967, provided by the Office of the Governor.)

In view of the Governor's well earned reputation as a man who does his "homework" and has an impressive capacity to retain and recite long lists of facts and figures, his unfamiliarity with his own legislative program is striking. An explanation for his vagueness may lie in an observation made to us by a Republican state legislator, who said "Reagan just doesn't like to govern." That is to say, Governor Reagan sees himself as the public man, the communicator of ideas, the man responsible for setting the basic thrust and direction of

Ripon Forum 6/68

government, but he would rather forget the details of government. As such, he feels more comfortable making a public appeal for more responsible and efficient government than he does spending the tedious hours of labor required to make government actually work.

The legislator described a minor incident which he felt typified this attitude. He had gone to the Governor's office to discuss the details of a bill in which they both had an interest. The Governor was courteous and gracious in receiving him, he said, but throughout their conversation Reagan displayed the annoying habit of glancing out the window of his first floor office and waving and smiling to school groups passing by on their tours of the Capitol. It seemed clear that the Governor placed far more emphasis on his role as a public figure than on his function as a problem-solving drafter of legislative programs.

Reagan's personal disposition against any intricate involvement in the processes of government roughly parallels his vision of the limited role government itself should play in the lives and environment of the people. Voluntarism free enterprise, the independent sector, these are the forces he conceives as best able to solve social problems, with government's role limited to the establishment of commissions and task forces. For those who believe governmental intervention or planning is necessary for progress, his response is a characteristically simple one: "The West was built without any area redevelopment, and cities destroyed by flood and fire were rebuilt without urban renewal."\*

A newspaper account of Reagan's views expressed late in the gubernatorial election stresses this theme. Describing the Republican candidate's views on disaster relief and state's rights, the report said:

He added that even in flood disasters, such as the ravaged part of Northern California two winters ago, greater efforts should be made to provide aid from just within the state without calling on the federal government for help.

Reagan said if the governor, after such a disaster, would name a California citizens committee to organize local help for disaster areas, "we could solve the problems without having to set foot across the borders of the state. (Sacramento *Bee*, August 6, 1966)

Implicit in these remarks was an attack on intellectuals and others who insisted that modern social problems were complex and difficult.

Reagan's view was strikingly apparent in his Inaugural when he said, "For many years now, you and I have been shushed like children and told there are no simple answers to the complex problems which are beyond our comprehension. Well the truth is, there are simple answers—there just are not easy ones." There can be no question, in carefully scrutinizing Mr. Reagan's record as Governor—both his public statements and his administrative actions—that this brief, declarative statement forms a fundamentally important plank in his philosophy of government.

There is, indeed, a recurrent principle in Reagan's public statements that does really seem to reduce social problems to a simple proposition. It may roughly be

\*Sacramento *Bee*, Feb. 12, 1967

summarized as follows (although Reagan himself has never expressed it precisely this way): evil, pain and suffering exist in the world because there are evil forces at work in the world; it is therefore the task of the statesman or public servant to identify, define and isolate that evil force and confront it, or root it out, with power. This simple confrontation theory of politics is applied with as much fervor in the case of campus demonstrations (student militants are the evil force; prompt calling in of police is the solution) as it is in the case of the Vietnam War (the international Communist movement is the evil force; invasion of North Vietnam, threat of nuclear attack, and generally unlimited military pressure is the solution). Fight fire with fire; confront evil with a show of force; 'that's the only thing these people understand'—regardless of whether the enemy is Mario Savio, Stokely Carmichael or Ho Chi Minh. And in all cases, compromise is unthinkable. Reagan tends to see a Munich analogy behind every issue—domestic and foreign.

Hence, Reagan's dichotomy between what is "easy" and what is "simple" seems eminently sensible to him. To suggest that there may be a multiplicity of causes for a given problem, or that the complexity of a situation may make precise solution difficult, is an elaborate heresy promulgated by foggy intellectuals who have not the courage or decisiveness to isolate and destroy the evil force primarily responsible.

For Governor Reagan, there is usually a fairly obvious "right" way to accomplish a given social or governmental goal (it may not be *easy* to accomplish, of course, but that is because of the difficulty in overcoming the opposing forces, not because the solution is somehow obscured from view)—and just as certainly there is a wrong way. The consequence is that in several instances, (e.g. the mental retardation and mental health crises, described below), Governor Reagan has appeared to be willing to dismantle a governmental program, if it is going about its goal the "wrong" way, even before a properly functioning program can be devised to take its place. He seems convinced that private enterprise or a citizens commission can be relied upon to fill the gap without prior encouragement or planning by government.

Governor Reagan's preference for the simple approach can be seen not only in the decisions and statements he has made but also in the very decision-making process by which he arrives at them. *Newsweek* described it as follows:

The Cabinet secretaries produce one-page memoranda in which problems for the Governor's eyes are rigorously boiled down to four paragraphs headed "issue," "facts," "reasoning" and "conclusions and recommendations." Reagan aides are a little bit sensitive about the mini-memos, but Cabinet secretary William P. Clark, Jr. stoutly insists: "It has been found that almost any issue can be reduced to a single page." (*Newsweek*, May 22, 1967, p. 30)

These "mini-memos," as *Newsweek* called them, are a carryover from the gubernatorial campaign, when Rea-

gan issued a series of "position papers" somewhat shorter than some found in other campaigns (John Lindsay's often ran to over 100 pages on a single issue). Every single issue to which Reagan addressed himself in the campaign was boiled down to a single page—in simple, straightforward, easily readable but vague language—and mimeographed under the billing, "Ronald Reagan Speaks Out On the Issues."

Reagan has frequently translated his preference for the simple into open hostility with the intellectual community—although more often by action than by word. Occasionally, however, he lapses into language more typical of George Wallace than of himself, such as in the following excerpt from a speech delivered in South Carolina:

... The philosophy of the New Deal, the New Order or the Great Society would take us back to the nineteenth century, to the rule of the many by the few, even if the few are a so-called intellectual elite in the nation's capital. (Oakland *Tribune*, Sept. 30, 1967)

Whatever one's view of the "so-called intellectual

## II. The Reagan Style

Though the Governor often handles crises in a way that emphasizes confrontations with evil and the rooting out of conspiracies, in advocating his positions he displays none of the doctrinaire clumsiness of a Barry Goldwater. He has evolved a number of techniques for presenting his opinions smoothly, so that they fire up the right wing without alienating others.

One favorite technique is using the code words of militant conservatives without advocating their positions. For instance, at the summer meeting of the Young Republican National Federation in Omaha, Governor Reagan, interpreting the 1966 election results, accentuated the negative. The 1966 electorate, he said,

voted against a war on poverty which poverty is losing.

And because most people believe in reward for productive labor, they voted against giving that reward to those who are able but unwilling to work.

In rapid fire, the Governor cited four more examples of what "they (the voters in 1966) voted against." The largely conservative YR's loved it, and yet despite the negative thrust, the average "moderate" would find it hard to pin down any negative statement that unambiguously represented Reagan's own views.

It's not that Governor Reagan is against the poor—the trouble with the poverty program is that it is losing the war. And as he said, most people do, in fact, believe in rewards for productive labor (who doesn't?)—Governor Reagan's quarrel with welfare is that it rewards *some* who are "able but unwilling to

elite" (a favorite Wallace phrase) there is no denying that Governor Reagan understands and articulates with great insight the debilitating effects of a huge unwieldy bureaucracy—the dead weight, the buck passing, the waste and inefficiency. This is for him one of the "simple issues." But his lack of interest in the details of administration coupled with his preference for confrontation politics has made him peculiarly unable to bring his own bureaucracies under control. Reagan consistently opts for the meat cleaver approach. He cuts back programs, without having adequate replacements for them. Bureaucracy may be a "simple evil" but getting rid of it takes great patience for detail. Ronald Reagan seems to lack this patience. At a time when people in California and throughout the Nation are increasingly looking to Republicans to bring rational and efficient administration to the bureaucratic jungles in statehouses and in Washington, California's governor has displayed neither the skills nor the inclination to succeed in this area. He talks simply and well, about government but in the last analysis—"He just doesn't like to govern."

work" (about 5% of the rolls in California, according to most estimates), not that it should necessarily be abolished. In this manner, the Governor frequently touches on code-words (such as "law and order" or "able but unwilling to work") which have great appeal on the right, without committing himself to an unequivocal trap that will antagonize the middle.

Another of the Governor's effective techniques is the destruction of a "straw man" to establish a moderate tone while still exciting the Right. For example, when asked about his frequent criticism of the United Nations, the Governor explained gratuitously that he does not want to blow the UN up (an unassailably moderate position), but that he thought some structural changes were overdue. "We made the mistake," he added, "of putting United States foreign policy at the service of the UN."\*

One of the most effective components of the Reagan style is his capacity to answer questions—no matter how difficult—with an appropriate analogy, childhood story or other "common sense" example. He does not appear to be ducking the question, but then again he doesn't really answer it directly either. He succeeds in giving a vivid impression of his view without pinning himself down unequivocally.

Examples:

*On Urban Renewal:*

The West was built without an area redevelopment plan, and cities destroyed by flood and fire were

\*(*Look*, November 1, 1966)

rebuilt without renewal (cited earlier)

*On East-West Trade:*

If the Russians want us to send them wheat, it would be a lot easier if we didn't have to go through the Berlin Wall. (to a Yale student during his recent Chubb Fellowship)

*On "Building Bridges" with the Communist Bloc:*

A bridge has two ends, and we seem to be the only ones building. This country should be willing to coexist, but not on the basis that we wake up each morning to see if the Russians are smiling or frowning. We must show that there's a price we will not pay for peace and they better not cross the line. (Hartford Times, December 8, 1967, p. 6B.)

In each of the above instances, the Governor has gotten his point across with a simple and understandable analogy or image and with an ample supply of that priceless political commodity, ambiguity. His observation about urban renewal is indisputably true—but of marginal relevance. He's not really against selling the Russians wheat, he's against the Berlin Wall; and his two-ended bridge analogy expresses an apparent willingness to build it, but lest someone fear he's getting soft, they'd better not cross that line!

In areas where Reagan feels inexperienced he often states his own position by attributing it to someone else (usually quite well respected) and then agreeing with him.

**Examples:**

Reagan said he agreed with Dean Acheson, former Secretary of State, that there is no possibility of negotiating our way out of Vietnam. He said the only way to get the North Vietnamese to the conference table "is to make them hurt too much not to." (Hartford Times, December 5, 1967.)

\* \* \*

Reagan reminded newsmen that he agreed with Ike on the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam: "The last person in the world who should know we wouldn't use them is the enemy. He should go to bed every night afraid that we might." (Newsweek, May 22, 1967, p. 30.)

Governor Reagan also wins his audience with a masterful arsenal of well-turned phrases and humorous quips. At virtually every high-priced GOP fund-raising dinner, for example, he apologizes to the audience for making them pay so much just to hear him, but then adds, "The only thing I can say is, if the Republicans don't get into office pretty soon this will be the regular price for dinner."

Other examples of the Reagan wit:\*

We are told God is dead. Well, He isn't. We just can't talk to him in the classroom any more.

\* \* \*

Our Governor has a native capacity for using the microphone as a shoe horn to get his foot in his mouth. (referring to Brown)

\*cf. *The Republican Establishment*, by Hess and Broder, p. 273.



"What 'd'y mean . . . 'He doesn't know the territory' . . .?"

There's nothing closer to eternal life than a government agency.

\* \* \*

He (Brown) recognizes that there are two sides to both.

Another favorite quip is his oft-repeated assertion that "Under the Democratic Administration, government bureaus have multiplied like wire coat hangers in a closet." The point made, he need not belabor the tired old Republican theme of too-much-bureaucracy. This is what a *Newsweek* reporter may have meant when he said, "what he has to say is newsworthy, if not especially new." His are the same themes of bureaucracy and inflation, but with a new twist and a quotable quote. That is style.

**DAZZLING THE PRESS**

One of the most remarkable aspects of the Reagan style is his reaction when under fire. As a former actor, his ease and facility with microphones and TV cameras comes as no surprise. But as a political novice, his capacity to master, or at least survive, hostile audiences is astonishing, and virtually without equal. The more antagonistic the audience, and the more loaded their questions, the better Reagan's performance. He has an extraordinary capacity to field and de-fang hot questions with the appropriate analogy, bromide or moralism.

At Yale, for example, the first question from the floor was obviously designed to embarrass or fluster him: Did the Governor believe that homosexuals should be barred from State employment? By fielding the question with a direct answer ("Yes") and a clever quip ("except perhaps in the Department of Parks and Recreation"), the Governor won his audience. From then on, he was simply confirming their sur-



prised observation that he wasn't "as bad as we'd thought." Pat Brown went after Reagan with both feet, and tried to brand him an extremist of the Barry Goldwater ilk. But it failed, as one audience after another went away with the feeling that he just wasn't a "kook." Whatever his common ideological bond with Goldwater, Ronald Reagan just doesn't *sound* like an extremist.

Reagan's handling of press conferences is usually quite good, and the reporters can generally get a good story out of them. The Governor, perhaps with an assist from his Hollywood background and familiarity with the publicity process, is neither stiff nor hostile with the working press, as were Goldwater and Nixon in the past. His "Communications Director" Lyn Nofziger is generally respected as a hard-working pro (though his reputation was considerably damaged by his blabbermouthing in the Drew Pearson incident). Reagan's press conference performances, always well attended by both the newspapers and TV, go off smoothly, the Governor very rarely stumbling during the Q. and A. When he does, surprisingly, a headline rarely results. Reagan is not reluctant to say, "Well, you've got me there; I'll have to check that one out," and if he does inadvertently say something damaging, a quick "Oops, I've written somebody's lead for him already" brings a laugh, breaks the ice and buries the story.

On the other hand, in moments of stress, Reagan's relations with the press, both state and national, show some signs of deterioration. When questioned at great length on matters that involve his integrity, sincerity or consistency, the Governor can lose his temper and lash out at the questioner.

During the 1966 campaign, for example, Reagan had one particularly bad day with the press. He was still smarting from a gaffe the previous day in which he had misplaced a northern California River by several hundred miles, and was being pressed for his views on open housing legislation. Having stated that he was opposed to the controversial Rumford Act as the wrong way to accomplish the right goal, he allowed that other open housing legislation, differently constructed, might be acceptable. When asked by Paul Beck (then of the *LA Times*; now, ironically, the Governor's Press Secretary) what such legislation should include, his suggestions bore a marked resemblance to the Rumford Act which he opposed. "Isn't that just what Rumford does?" Beck asked. Reagan is reported to have flushed and sternly cautioned, "You fellows are boring in on me." He then explained that it was late and he wasn't thinking very clearly—which struck most of the reporters as odd, since it was only three o'clock in the afternoon. For several days after that, Reagan kept his distance from the press, much the way Richard Nixon did when he felt they were "after him" in the 1960 Presidential campaign.\*

\*In a press conference on April 2, 1968, Reagan reversed his opposition to Rumford, a turn-about that presaged the beginning of the public stage of his campaign for the GOP Presidential nomination.

## PROPENSITY TO DENY

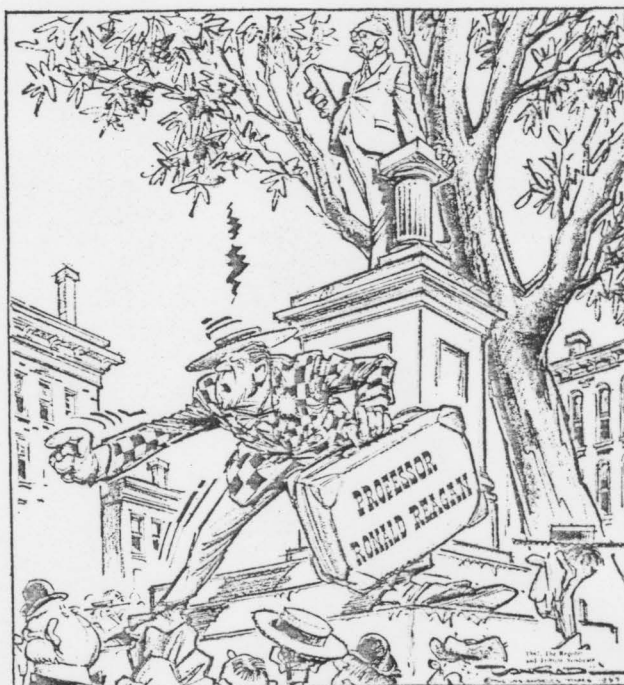
When under intense fire by the press, Reagan tends to issue a flat denial, much the way the State Department will blatantly disavow knowledge of an intelligence agent apprehended in a foreign capital. Reagan, like the State Department, has accordingly developed a credibility gap.

There is, for instance, the case of Marianne Means' Hearst-syndicated column, which described a meeting between Governor Reagan and Mississippi Governor Paul Johnson, in which elaborate Presidential strategies were said to have been discussed. Miss Means has repeatedly stated that she got the story directly from Governor Johnson.

Reagan heatedly denied that the meeting ever took place. "Furthermore," he declared, "I have never met Governor Johnson. She must have been talking to the hippies at Haight-Ashbury." He also said he had a wire of confirmation from the Mississippi Governor and demanded a retraction from Miss Means.\*\* (According to one Sacramento reporter who has seen the telegram from Governor Johnson, it denies vehemently the Means story, and questions her veracity by charging that the last time he saw the Hearst columnist, to put it politely, her vision was impaired by a lack of sobriety.) By claiming that he had "never met Governor Johnson," Reagan left himself wide open. Miss Means produced a photograph, published in the San Francisco Hearst outlet, showing Governors Reagan and Johnson posing together (with others) at the National Governors Conference. Reagan's mild rejoinder: "So maybe I said hello to him."

The source of Reagan's "credibility gap" with the

\*\*(*LA Times*, Sept. 20, 1967).



“. . . TROUBLE! . . . You've got TROUBLE! . . .  
Right here in ANY CITY . . .!"

press differs from that of President Johnson. The President has often used deception offensively—that is, as part of the arsenal of weapons at his disposal to accomplish various goals. But Reagan tends to use deception defensively—when he is trapped or embarrassed and must find a way out of a ticklish situation.

Throughout the fall campaign against Governor Brown, Reagan contended that he was being quoted out of context on his position regarding tuition at the University of California. Accused of supporting the tuition idea (much as Barry Goldwater was accused of supporting the use of tactical nuclear weapons to defoliate Vietnam), Reagan consistently explained that he had only said he would *consider* it, and decide on it only after careful study (just as Goldwater insisted he'd only said use of such weapons was "being considered"). What Goldwater would have done with nuclear weapons if elected is now academic. But Reagan's actions are not: within a matter of weeks after his inauguration, tuition was being pushed as one of the new administration's first major proposals.

A related incident was more closely akin to LBJ's habits of deception. Within two weeks of the inauguration, Reagan's Finance Director Gordon Smith informed the University Regents that the Governor would ask for the imposition of tuition. When the story leaked out to the press, the Governor was furious, and he evoked the very Johnsonian view that, in effect, it's-not-true-until-I-announce-it. Six weeks later, of course, the Governor announced that he would in fact seek tuition for the University.

Governor Reagan has also displayed some familiarity with the art of juggling semantic niceties. In an editorial criticising the Governor's lack of candor with the press, the *Sacramento Bee* on Sept. 22, 1967, listed several instances of position-switching or deception, including the following:

At one time he (Reagan) said there would be no mass firings (of state employees). Shortly thereafter 216 staff workers of the Department of Mental Hygiene were let go and 407 more are scheduled to go next month. This was not mass firing, he said.

The above is more than a little reminiscent of President Johnson's insistence that he was never "escalating" the war in Vietnam. The same editorial continued:

At the time he announced the massive staff cut-backs at the mental hospitals he said there would be no impairment of services to the patients.

Since this promise, hot meals for the patients have been reduced; once open wards have been closed; a multi-million dollar training program for psychiatric technicians has been grossly weakened; important mental health experts have resigned and started the whole mental health system on a cruel decline.

## TEMPER TANTRUMS

One of the most curious aspects of the Reagan style is his behavior when he really loses his temper. Surprisingly, it has only happened twice with any intensity—in both cases where his own integrity

was questioned. The first such instance took place before a meeting of the National Negro Republican Assembly in Los Angeles during Reagan's primary campaign. Paul Beck, now the Governor's Press Secretary, filed the following report with the *Los Angeles Times*:

Ronald Reagan stalked out of a meeting of Negro Republicans Saturday after bitterly assailing those who "imply I lack integrity."

An audience of about 100 sat in shocked silence as Reagan, asking for a point of personal privilege shouted in a voice cracking with emotion:

"I resent the implication that that there is any bigotry in my nature. Don't anyone ever imply I lack integrity.

"I will not stand silent and let anyone imply that—in this or any other group."

As Reagan left the meeting room . . . he slapped a clenched fist into his own palm and muttered inaudible words. He appeared ready to return to the room when aides escorted him outside the hotel.

No one at the convention of the California unit of the National Negro Republican Assembly (NNRA) was sure to whom Reagan was referring—including the two other Republican candidates for the gubernatorial nomination who had been engaged with the actor in a small-scale debate. (*George Christopher and William Penn Patrick—ed.*)

However, during the course of questions submitted by those attending, it appeared Reagan became increasingly angry by a question on the Civil Rights Act and the answers given by Patrick and Christopher.

A delegate asked Reagan how Negroes could explain to their own people Reagan's statement that he would not have voted for the Civil Rights Bill if he had been in Congress.

Reagan also defended his support of Barry Goldwater in the 1964 Presidential race and said, "If I didn't know that Barry Goldwater was not the very opposite of a racist I could not have supported him." (sic)

Patrick . . . said, "It's very difficult to defend an indefensible position. Let the dead be buried."

At that point Reagan's face flushed and he flipped a card he had been holding onto the floor.

Christopher, in his turn, said, "The position taken by Barry Goldwater did more than any other thing" to harm the Republican Party. "We're still paying the bill for that defeat.

"This situation still plagues the Republican Party. Unless we can cast out this image we're going to suffer defeat now and in the future."

George Smith of San Diego, prefacing a question on the candidates' views on education, said, "It grieves me when a leading Republican candidate says it (the Civil Rights Act) is a bad piece of legislation."

Christopher and Patrick gave their views on education and Reagan then took the podium saying, "I want to make a point of personal privilege."

His voice rising, he then launched into his out-

spoken remarks which led to his walking out.  
(Los Angeles Times, March 6, 1966, p. B26)

Significantly, nothing the candidate said, even in the height of his fury, was damaging to him. For a short time, the memory of the incident may have been harmful to Reagan, but with no quotable quote to hang it on (such as Romney's "brainwashing"), the public quickly forgot. And also significantly, the candidate never did answer the question fully—that is, why did he oppose the Civil Rights Act; not whether he is a bigot. Reagan chose to answer the latter, unasked question, with a show of apparently sincere outrage rather than stay around to be quizzed at any greater length on this obviously emotional (for him) issue.

In particular, it is odd that his anger did not erupt while under direct questioning on the matter, but rather apparently festered until another whole round of questions on another issue has passed. Some skeptics have therefore suggested that it was all an act, designed to demonstrate Reagan's sincerity, since he had been unable to win many converts on the actual issue itself. Another interpretation—more complimentary to the Governor's character than to his capacity to govern dispassionately—is that Reagan does not see any difference between the two questions: *i.e.*, the personal question of how you *feel* about discrimination and the public question of what you will *do* about it. In other words, if a man holds no conscious bigotry or racial prejudices, that is enough—he should not be queried or criticized on his program or lack thereof to combat such bigotry.

The only other incident on record of Governor Reagan blatantly losing his temper took place in the midst of the turmoil over Drew Pearson's charges about homosexuality on his staff. A visibly disturbed Governor Reagan faced a packed press conference and a battery of network TV cameras the day after Pearson's attack. Television audiences around the country watched the Governor respond with fierce but controlled anger to a barrage of newsmen's queries regarding the controversial charges.

Reagan's response to the predictable first question about Pearson's charges was characterized by the politically valuable attributes of both ambiguity and apparent straight-forward sincerity and self-righteousness. In classic Reagan style, the Governor quoted "three Presidents" as calling Pearson "a liar" and added that he saw no reason to disagree with them. Reagan thus put across an implicit denial, with appropriate fury, without committing himself to a provable position—except that he agrees with three distinguished former Presidents. Throughout the press conference, he pointedly avoided specifically saying that Pearson was lying in every detail of his recent charges—although he certainly conveyed the *impression* that such was the case. Eventually, when pressed, Reagan did say "He's lying," but even then in a sufficiently vague context that it was not absolutely clear which part of the charges he was referring to.

The reporters then began to zero in on specific portions of the Pearson column, especially the charge that Lyn Nofziger, Reagan's "Communications Director," had leaked the story aboard the Independence—which most of the reporters knew to be true. Reagan's response was an example of extremely careful wording—much more so than most press reports of it indicated:

"I am prepared to say that nothing like that ever happened. I've even heard rumors also that behind closed doors I gave statements to the press and this is just absolutely not true. Want to confirm it, Lyn?"

Nofziger then waved his hand and said, "confirmed." (Sacramento Union, November 1, 1967).

According to Martin Smith of the Sacramento Bee, when Nofziger raised his right hand, he looked very pained and said "confirmed" very reluctantly. This is understandable in view of the fact that the clear implication was that Nofziger was confirming as "absolutely not true" the story which Nofziger knew to be true—that he had started the whole controversy by briefing reporters on the Independence.

But a careful reading of Reagan's statement indicates that this was only an implication—since, technically, the absolutely-not-true remark can be applied to the straw-man assertion that Reagan had even heard rumors that he himself leaked the story.

## ALWAYS IN CONTROL

The press conference continued in a similar manner for some time, with the Governor fielding smoothly a host of dangerously barbed questions designed to draw more specific answers. He was in control at all times, although one sensed that he was aware of the untenability of his position (apparently denying what most of the press knew to be true).

And then something happened. Most of the intense questioning on the specifics of the Pearson charges—questions which would have seemed most likely to induce a loss of temper if one was to take place—had already passed. One of the reporters was inquiring about why so few California newspapers had carried the column (for reasons of decency and libel, most responsible newspapers refused to print the column). The Governor mentioned something about most newspapers "agreeing" not to print it, and an enterprising reporter asked if that meant Reagan had extracted such an agreement from the publishers in advance.

Reagan blew up. As *Time* put it, he was "gesticulating, thumping the lectern and mangling his syntax." But despite his arm-waving and his flushed face, the Governor said nothing at all either incriminating or even mildly damaging. While his gestures and appearance suggested loss of control, his words did not. The full import of his statement during the lectern-thumping amounted to a kind of boyish "C'mon now, fellas!" The entire incident was reminiscent of the Governor's appearance as candidate before the National Negro Republican Assembly. In each case, Reagan was

under heavy fire on an issue threatening to soil his Mr. Clean image. In each case he weathered the heavy questioning with uncommon self-control and carefully phrased answers, only to find occasion later on in the questioning to produce an apparently intense display of fury over a relatively minor issue which served nobly to stress his sincerity without really answering any of the fundamental questions which had been raised in the first place. The incidents add an intriguing footnote to any study of the Reagan Style. Even when he seems to lose his temper Reagan never really loses his "cool."

**TRYING TO BE DEEP** The Governor's forte appears to be neutralizing hostile audiences, even of intellectuals, and stirring up the Party faithful. His most successful techniques are his common sense approach and his talent for the persuasively ambiguous statement. But in a homecoming speech at his alma mater, on September 28, 1968, he used a different approach: he tried to be deep, perceptive and intellectual. And as Mary McGrory put it in a *Washington Star* article a couple of days later, he was a bomb.

The build-up for the speech had been tremendous—not necessarily by any design of the Governor's, but because the press loved the idea. Political pundits found humor in the fact that the Governor, known for his militant stance against the Berkeley demonstrators, was returning to the campus where, as an undergraduate, he himself had led a student strike that toppled the President of the College. His defenders saw the occasion as proof that the Governor was not, as he had so often been charged, anti-intellectual—he was to dedicate a new library at his own alma mater. News-starved political columnists detected the aroma of Presidential intrigue, with both Senators Percy and Dirksen to be in attendance. Dirksen himself had hinted the week before that his introductory remarks "would sound like a nominating speech." Throngs of townspeople and academicians were expected to cheer the return of their most famous alumnus.

But the turn-out was disappointing. As for Dirksen's introduction, the closest it came to attributing Presidential qualifications to the California Governor was an observation that his birthday was in February—the same month as that of Lincoln and Washington.

Reagan must have been determined to destroy his reputation as a shallow thinker. As nearly as a close reading of the text can determine, the topic appeared to be the generation gap; or perhaps it was alienation in the ghetto. It really wasn't clear. There were none of the clever remarks, colorful quips, or historical analogies that had marked so many of his previous and successful speeches. It read as if a busy staffer had taken a Reaganesque first draft and then translated it all with a thesaurus, following no particular theme, except that it had to sound sociological and political science-like. In an attempt to sound intellectual, it

failed to convey either intellect or common sense. The following sentence is typical:

This horizontal stratification has led to lateral communication and it is highly essential that we restore vertical dialogue if not an outright recognition of the naturalness and rightness of a vertical structuring society. (*Official advance text of the speech, delivered by Governor Reagan at Eureka College, Illinois, September 28, 1967*).

The problem was that the speech was not only dull (which is unusual for the Governor), but meaningless (which is not)—since he never did explain what he meant by "horizontal stratification," "lateral communication," or a "vertical structuring society."

Unquestionably, the Eureka speech was the exception, not the rule. The Governor does not usually fall into the trap of trying to shed new light on problems or of concentrating on substance and deep issues. Usually Reagan sticks to the superficial, and his poise, presence, and superb style give his commonplaces stunning effect. Yet some have also noticed that his performances often lack long-range staying power.

**CHINESE DINNER** At Yale, for example, a host of embarrassing questions failed to unsettle him. But the one time he was caught speechless came when a mild-mannered student asked him quietly, away from the glare of large audiences, about civil rights. The student observed that whenever the Governor was asked about his position on civil rights, he would respond with stories about Jackie Robinson and Willie Mays, or about Negroes he had appointed to certain boards. But what substantive program, the student asked, did the Governor recommend as a solution? Reagan's silence in response gave listeners the impression he really hadn't given that too much thought.

In Connecticut, some listeners impressed with Reagan's platform style, began to have second thoughts later, as they sought to separate the substance from the glitter.

One observer in Hartford compared a Reagan speech to a Chinese dinner—"It tastes good, but an hour later, you suddenly realize you're empty."

(*Associated Press wire, December 8, 1967*).

\* \* \*

"You ask him a question, and he responds, and then ten minutes later you suddenly realize he didn't answer the question," said a Yale student.

(*A.P. December 8, 1967*)

But perhaps former GOP State Chairman A. Searle Pinney said it best:

He certainly had all of the charm and glamour that he was billed to have, but I was disappointed that he didn't offer more solutions to the problems of the day. We don't solve the problems by a recital of what they are. The poor don't go away, you know.

(*Hartford Times, December 8, 1967, p. 2*).

### III. Reagan on Selected Issues

#### THE BUDGET: cut now, ask questions later

"The time has come for us to decide whether collectively we can afford everything and anything we think of simply because we think of it. The time has come to run a check and see if all the services government provides were in answer to demands or were just goodies dreamed up for our supposed betterment. The time has come to match outgo to income, instead of always doing it the other way around." — (*Governor Reagan's Inaugural Address.*)

During its fledgling year, nothing has been more characteristic of the Reagan Administration than its relentless repetition of the need to cut costs and reduce the state budget from its huge pre-Reagan size. Yet the Governor has been far more successful at cutting the scope of state services than he has been at cutting costs, per se. He can recite an impressive list of seemingly insignificant savings that add up to something approaching \$23 million — and that is to his credit. But while office costs, typewriter allowances and phone bills have been trimmed down to manageable size, somehow the rest of the state government is still on a runaway course.

A month after his inauguration, he submitted a \$4.6 billion budget to the Legislature, a cut, he estimated, of \$250 million in the annual expenditures of his Democratic predecessors. In March, he raised the figure to \$5.06 billion, \$184 million higher than any previous budget and increased taxes nearly a billion dollars.

"I will tell you now," he told the voters in July, "this tax bill, like the budget, does not represent my philosophy." (*Murray Kempton, Article III, New York Post, Jan. 31, 1968.*)

The *New York Times* (Feb. 11, 1968) reported that the Governor's budget for fiscal year 1969 climbed even higher, to the unprecedented level of \$5.7 billion. This in no way undermines the validity of the Governor's claim to have saved \$23 million by cutting and trimming "fat" from various budget requests — but it does bring into question its significance.

There are several possible explanations for the disparity between the Governor's stated goals and his accomplishments in this field.

Perhaps the most plausible is suggested by the theme developed above, that the Governor doesn't really like to govern, to get tied down in the nitty gritty, in the operative level of government. Thus, while the Governor frequently launches into verbal frontal assaults on the scope of services provided by the state (such as in mental health and Medi-Cal), proposals showing how the same level of services might be retained but delivered more efficiently receive scant attention.

A businessmen's task force report, for example, was

delivered to the Governor in October 1967 suggesting ways in which the Medi-Cal program could be administered more efficiently without substantially cutting back services. Yet by mid-December, the report still lay dormant on the Governor's desk while he conducted an embarrassingly confused attack on Medi-Cal, contending its deficits approached \$200 million or more. The Governor insisted that at least \$200 million worth of services had to be cut (the Legislature, estimating the deficit at a fraction of that figure, refused) instead of trying to make the program more efficient. Critics were led to believe, in the context of Reagan's long-time opposition to the concept of any kind of Medicare, that the Governor actually wanted to cut back the Medi-Cal program drastically for philosophical rather than economic reasons.

Another plausible hypothesis is that many of the Governor's cuts are counter-productive and approach being short-sighted — that is, in the long run, they cost more than the savings they generated. Two examples suggest that this may often be the case:

Reagan relishes telling audiences about how he used up old stocks of official stationery rather than ordering anew, which had all his administration's secretaries x-ing out Pat Brown's name and typing in his. But his detractors also like this tale of frugality: wasting all that time and effort seems such false economy in place of a two-penny printing bill. Equally diverting was the administration's decision to stop the state justice department's consumption of the lined yellow tablets which are, by some academic alchemy, an absolute necessity for the pencilling of legal thought. Some attorneys proposed instead a supply of rulers and a new civil service category for someone to draw lines on plain paper. (*Atlantic, Feb. 1968*)

Even more disconcerting than the "savings" whose costs show up immediately, however, are those whose costs are hidden until future administrations and future generations are forced to pay.

One such "saving" may have come in the area of agricultural research. An article in the *Sacramento Bee* early last year reported that "agricultural research scientists fear that Governor Ronald Reagan's 'fat-free' budget might injure California's \$4 billion farming industry." In a two-article series examining the benefits of agricultural research and the dangers of its curtailment, the *Bee* found that the pink boll-worm (the eradication of which it had previously reported as part of the Governor's 9-point agricultural program — Feb. 9, 1967), posed a severe new threat to the state's \$258 million cotton crop, and quoted University of California Agricultural School Dean Peterson as saying "research on a statewide basis is essential."

"The pink bollworm is a pest which will require research dollars to control," the article continued, "the kind of dollars not available in a tightened budget such

as that proposed for the University of California by Governor Reagan." Dean Peterson was also quoted as asserting that such research is tax earning, not spending. (*Sacramento Bee*, March 10, 1967)

In the fall of last year, Governor Reagan's "economies" handed Assembly Democrats an even more attractive issue — a cutback in the program to aid crippled children. Democratic Assemblyman Robert Crown introduced legislation to appropriate an additional \$750,000 to allow an estimated 5,000 to 7,000 children to continue Crippled Children's Service care — children whose ailments, such as cross-eyes, mild deafness, drooping eyelids, lop-ears and club feet, were not considered severe enough by the Administration to justify the budgetary strain of continued treatment. When asked about this, Governor Reagan responded:

"I have a question whether there has been a cut-back. This is a program that could be as open-ended as you want it to be. It would simply be where do you draw the line, at what is a disability on the part of a child. "And there has been to my knowledge no cutback in this program and there was no reduction in the program. But as the state continues to grow, you may find that some — that lines are drawn. "What lack of ability, what physical defect do you constitute as a disability that requires special treatment or care?" (*Sacramento Bee*, Feb. 29, 1967)

To some bewildered listeners, the distinction between a cutback or reduction in the program and simply "drawing the line" so as to exclude children with cross-eyes, mild deafness, drooping eyelids, lop-ears and club feet, seemed spurious, if not incomprehensible.

In an angry editorial the following day, the *Sacramento Bee* contended that such cutbacks were not only inhumane, but also uneconomical — since a partially crippled child unable to reach the line drawn by the

Governor may well become a fully dependent cripple (for whom state services would then have to be provided) if proper medical service is not provided early enough to prevent a worsened condition.

Within a couple of days, therefore, the administration was to be found deftly changing the thrust of its "no cutback" contention from the line-drawing distinction to a more palatable argument. Edwin W. Beach, chief of the budget division of the State Department of Finance, denied there was a program "cutback." Instead he argued that the Crippled Children's Service would cost less because of an overlap with the Medi-Cal program (which the Governor has also labored arduously to cut back). He added, however, that more certain financial information would be available in January. Other administration officials, while echoing the Medi-Cal overlap argument, consistently avoided any specific assurances that no youngsters would suffer permanent damage without augmentation of the program. (*Sacramento Bee*, Dec. 1, 1967). This seemed to be an example of distinct tendency on the part of the Reagan administration to cut first, ask questions later.

Oddly enough, Governor Reagan does not think that all governmental services should be reduced or eliminated: rather, he focuses largely on those such as the poverty program or medical services. While the Governor fought tooth and nail with the Office of Economic Opportunity, for example, over what he considered to be wasteful OEO grants to California, the same attitude did not prevail when it came to road-building. In a March 17, 1967 press release, the Governor patted himself on the back for mobilizing intensive support in Congress for federal highway money and offered great kudos for Washington when the funds came through. The same enthusiasm was markedly absent when it came to mobilizing Congressional support for such lower priority items as saving the cities, providing decent housing or medical care.

Similarly, on ABC's *Issues and Answers* last fall, Governor Reagan suggested that President Johnson could take a leaf out of his book by seeking to eliminate some of the "luxuries" first and then imposing the income sur-tax only if necessary:

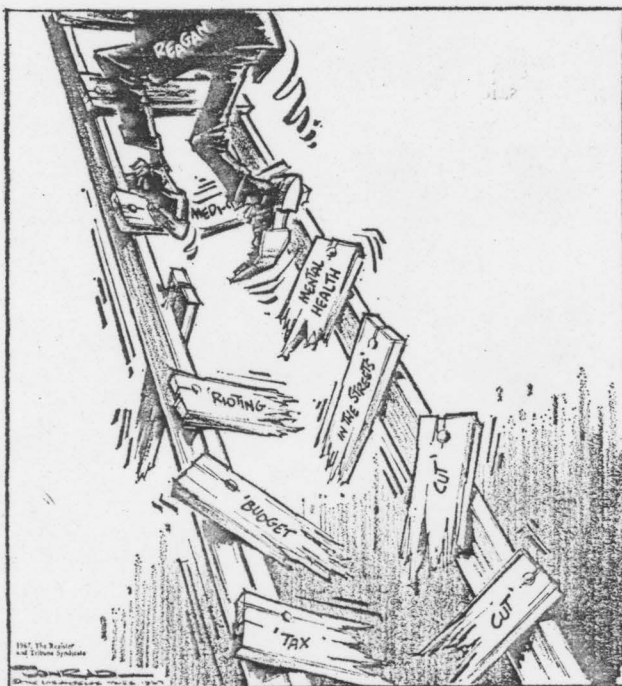
Apparently reacting to the governor's use of the term luxury, the television questioner appropriately asked: "Would you eliminate the Supersonic Transport program?"

The governor answered by shifting gears, a trick of seasoned politicians to avoid a yes or no response to a direct question.

"Actually, I am not qualified to answer," said Reagan. Then he plunged into another subject, the antipoverty program (Office of Economic Opportunity), using it as an example for economy.

What the governor was saying, if the listener chose to interpret the interview literally, is that the poverty program is a luxury and the Supersonic Transport (SST) program is unclassified in the governor's mind. (Richard Rodda in *Sacramento Bee*, Oct. 22, 1967.)

It should be noted that the California Governor sees the government budget wholly as a matter of balancing books, not as an instrument for promoting eco-



Nothing Succeeds Like Failure

conomic growth. His fiscal policies for the national government thus reflect an unequivocal rejection of Keynesian economics of any sort. In a speech in Milwaukee on Sept. 27, 1967, the Governor specifically said: "We will oppose the use of taxation and deficit-spending as a means of control in the market place."

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## MENTAL HEALTH: rising odors

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In the absence of more specific knowledge about causes and treatment, a practical goal for the Mental Health Program is development, maintenance and restoration of social and personal equilibrium despite emotional stress. This means that the primary emphasis will be to assist individuals who are mentally ill to achieve a reasonable operating level. For the foreseeable future, therefore, the broad aim is not general emotional well-being nor is it complete cure. It is to provide such treatment and supportive services as will keep a child at home and in school and an adult with his family and on the job with both functioning at a reasonable level. (Reagan press release, May 8, 1967, "A Definitive Statement of California's Goals Programs for Treatment of the Mentally Ill.")

The "Definitive Statement" excerpted above would appear to suggest a reasonable and practical, if limited, approach to the problem of mental health on the part of Governor Ronald Reagan. Indeed many of his public statements embrace laudable long-range goals and express appropriate concern for the mentally ill. His long-range goals for mental health follow the lines of the liberal Lanterman-Petris Mental Health Act of 1967, which promotes local mental health programs as superior to large state hospitals. He further urged expansion of the Short-Doyle program of providing local and county mental treatment centers with some state assistance saying:

"It is our belief that local mental health programs offer the most feasible and enlightened way to achieve the best results for treatment of our mentally ill.

"By increasing state assistance in the development and extension of local programs, we hope that we can continue to reduce the size of our mental hospitals and eventually use them primarily as a back-up resource for local efforts." (Los Angeles Times, May 10, 1967)

Despite such apparently progressive statements, one of the greatest battles fought by Governor Ronald Reagan during his first year in office came over the issue of mental health. The reason: his heralded budget cuts, which appeared to take precedence over almost all other policy considerations. While his stated position was that improved local programs would eventually allow reductions in the state hospitals, the Governor seemed to want to accelerate the process by cutting the state hospitals immediately, even before provision could be made for alternate facilities.

It is difficult to discern whether the apparent discrepancy between the tone of the Governor's words and actions was a product of naivete or deception, but in either case the discrepancy was there. And the cuts administered to the state mental health program, described by some as "meat-ax" cuts, produced a howl from every corner of the state.

In a June 12, 1967, press release, the Governor blamed a "high powered propaganda campaign" for the opposition he was receiving and accused the perpetrators of "blackmail." But neither the issues nor the situation were that simple.

(The most telling criticism offered against the Governor's cuts went beyond the question of whether they were humane and suggested that they would actually prove counter-productive and uneconomical — shortsightedness that would not only reduce the services the state could provide but which would actually end up costing more.

S. G. Hanson, General Manager of the California State Employees Association (CSEA) and no friend of Governor Reagan, was reported by the Sacramento Bee (June 8, 1967) to have cited instances of how the cutbacks were disruptive of services in a way that would eventually prove wasteful and costly:

CSEA studies show administrative plans for staff cuts will force the Napa State Hospital to discontinue care of 32 acres of lawn and shrubs and other areas, Hanson said. He also charged the staff will have to discontinue preventative maintenance programs at most hospitals because of the cutback in jobs. Only emergency repairs will be made in the future when actual breakdown occurs, Hanson declared.

\* \* \*

"It takes many years," Hanson said, "to build a complete corps of people to operate a facility as large and complex as a mental hospital. . . . Where, for instance, do you find a plumber, an electrician or an equipment operator who can work and direct the efforts of mentally ill and mentally retarded patients who are attempting to find a useful niche in society?"

Hanson said it takes two to six months to train journeyman craftsmen to work effectively with mental patients.

Governor Reagan insisted repeatedly that if the level of treatment suffered as a result of his staff cutbacks, he would restore the cutbacks. The Governor has yet to concede that the level of treatment actually did suffer, but many examples in state hospitals throughout the state seem to suggest the contrary.

The Sacramento Bee researched a series of articles on mental hospitals throughout the state. In a summation article published December 1, 1967, the following conclusions were reached:

It is difficult for the nonmedical person to determine whether the 1967 mental hospital cutbacks have affected patient care. A picture begins to emerge only after a visitor has asked employee after employee, doctor after doctor, to compare conditions this year to those a year ago.

That picture, as sketched in conversations with numerous persons in the hospitals, indicates the cuts have



"Some mental institution administrators are out to get me! . . . But, I'm wise to them! . . . I'll show 'em! . . ."

brought these changes to the mental hospital:

1. A drastic loss of morale by staff members which affects their performance on the job.
2. An increase in the size of many wards as administrators put patients into larger groups as a means of stretching available staff to the maximum.
3. A weakening in programs for long-term mentally-ill patients because administrators prefer to concentrate available staff on the care of newly admitted patients who have the best chance of recovery.
4. A massive reshuffling of employees throughout the various hospitals, causing staff members to be placed in new jobs and taking them from wards where they knew their patients intimately.
5. A drop in the care for bed-ridden geriatric patients as administrators shift nursing employees to duties with patients more likely to recover.

\* \* \*

There are also little evidences of a change which a visitor can discover by continually asking questions of employees.

Among these are:

- A clear odor of urine in the geriatric wards at DeWitt or Stockton or Mendocino State Hospitals, wards where staff members say there was no odor last year.
- A locked door on a ward at DeWitt which a staff member said formerly was unlocked but had to be locked when employee reductions made it more difficult to supervise the patients.
- A nurse and a physician at Napa who said the number of older patients suffering from constipation has risen, this due solely to a lack of attention.
- A nurse at Stockton and a physician at DeWitt who admit to an increase in the number of bed-sores

among their bed-ridden geriatric patients.

— A nurse at Stockton who said there is a noticeable dulling of the morale of her patients since her ward had to quit its daily music and marching activities because of a staff shortage.

Perhaps the most disconcerting aspect of the drop in the level of mental health services due to the Governor's cuts—despite his pledge to the contrary—was Reagan's apparent reluctance to determine for himself whether the charges being leveled at his actions had any basis in fact. Repeatedly, the Governor simply took the word of his own administration officials that conditions had not become worse.

In the fall of last year, the Governor finally decided to visit one of the state mental hospitals to see for himself what the conditions were like. But he announced in advance just what his plans were, which gave the hospital officials plenty of time to prepare for the visit and "spruce the place up." This is precisely what they did at Camarillo State Hospital in Ventura County, according to charges made by the Independent Union of State Employees (*San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 17, 1967). But the next day, Reagan denied that the state's largest mental hospital had been "spruced up" for his visit. He further refused to make any unannounced inspections of other mental hospitals.

This reluctance to "see for himself" whether his cutbacks had brought about worsened conditions was also evident in the Governor's response to a series of incidents surrounding Sonoma State Hospital for the Mentally Retarded. In the early summer of last year, the Governor's cutbacks were attacked as the cause of poor conditions at Sonoma: specifically, it was alleged that retarded children were going two days without their diapers changed and five days without being bathed. But in a June 7 press release the Governor put the matter to rest by saying, "I have been advised by Health and Welfare Secretary Spencer Williams that the patients at Sonoma State Hospital are being given excellent care." And on what did Mr. Williams base such advice? A telephone call to Dr. Joseph E. O'Neil, the superintendent of the hospital, who denied the charges, not unexpectedly.

Reagan did concede that there was "a very brief period earlier this year when patients in some wards got bathed once a week" but he attributed that to a "temporary staff problem that had nothing to do with current cutbacks." Somehow it escaped the Governor that if merely a "temporary staff problem" could produce such poor consequences for the patients, that stiff cutbacks could produce even worse conditions.

It came as no surprise, therefore, to some observers that five months later Sonoma was back in the headlines, as typified by the following excerpt from the *Capitol Report* (Nov. 15, 1967):

Niels Erik Bank-Mikkelsen, Director of the Danish National Service for the Mentally Retarded, charged in a *SF Chronicle* interview that conditions at the (Sonoma State) hospital were sickening. His basic accusation of "neglect" at the hospital apparently was



related to staffing levels and, to a lesser extent, the physical facilities.

Governor Reagan's response to the Danish official's accusations may be instructive:

"There is such a ward in every institution of that kind," Reagan said. "This is a ward of people who are physically mature, completely grown up and who have minds that have not developed above the one-year-old stage. . . . And it just presents a terrible problem." (Sacramento *Union*, Nov. 15, 1967)

"A terrible problem," the Governor acknowledges. But how terrible? Apparently not terrible enough to warrant extra staff to take care of the people in those wards. There is a ward like that "in every institution of that kind." And that just seems to settle it.

Mental Health appears to be for Governor Reagan one of those areas of social concern in which the status quo will suffice. In fact, out of 4000 state jobs lopped off by one of the Governor's early job freezes, 3700 of them came from the mental hygiene department—out of 22,078 total jobs in the system. The California Commission for Staff Standards in State Hospitals had said earlier that the mental hospital staffs were at barely 90% of proper standards."

The *Atlantic* (Feb., 1968) in an article on Reagan's squeeze-cut-trim-itus summarized the Governor's dilemma on such problems as mental health and retardation:

Reagan shares the bewilderment of the man in the street. He is a decent human being, and confronted with individual tragedy, responds with compassion. However, confronted by mass programs, he loses the sense that humanity is involved and sees only bureaucratic machinery.

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## POVERTY: highways si, OEO no

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Among the Governor's favorite targets are the welfare system and the Office of Economic Opportunity. In the former case, Reagan rarely misses an opportunity to advance the notion, however ambiguously, that welfare is an institution populated largely by the lazy and the unscrupulous ("welfare recipients," as he often calls the poor). On July 10, 1967, for example, he ordered a statewide probe to eliminate welfare cheaters. He didn't actually allege the specific extent to which chiseling existed, but rather wanted to "clear the air," (later backed away from the probe), but he left little doubt to whether he felt there was in fact large-scale chiseling going on." (San Diego *Union*, July 11, 1967)

But the Governor leaves nothing more than an impression. He states repeatedly that no one quarrels with the humanitarian aims of welfare programs but when proceeds to ridicule each and every program, using an administrative flaw in some isolated instance to imply that the whole concept of aiding the needy is mis-

guided. He stresses repeatedly that "capitalism and free enterprise have successfully fought poverty" for 200 years (echoing his frequent observation that the West was built without urban renewal.) He has frequently charged that the federal Government has poured \$288 million in poverty funds into California since 1964, "with no material change." (Los Angeles *Times*, Aug. 9, 1967, Sept. 24, 1967)

One of the first official acts of the new Governor in the area of welfare and poverty, was the announcement (press release, Jan. 12, 1967) of the elimination of eight (later reduced to seven) of the 13 multi-service centers for welfare recipients which had been opened in urban centers in the aftermath of the Watts riots. The Governor explained it as a money-saving step and later defended the move by asserting that the remaining six centers were being "beefed up," while the need for the others, which had already been eliminated, was being studied. This seemed to indicate an alarming inclination to cut first, and ask questions later when it came to programs to relieve urban ills. (Los Angeles *Times*, Sept. 24, 1967)

Thus the stage was set for a series of vetoes of OEO grants which began to reach the headlines late last summer. At a time when the Governor was desperately trying to "trim, squeeze and cut" millions of dollars out of the state budget, his administration was geared up to turn away every penny of federal poverty assistance whose absolute need could not be proved:

"At least half of the proposed OEO programs for California either have been approved (by Reagan) with stringent conditions for redirection or have been vetoed," (William) Clark (Reagan's cabinet secretary) said.

"The Governor has announced to his staff that unless an offer of assistance fulfills a valid public need, we are to reject it." (Los Angeles *Times*, Aug. 3, 1967)

Clearly the burden of proving a given OEO grant was needed by California was on OEO—and this while all other major industrial states (most of which are governed by Republicans were begging for more OEO funds.

By October, Reagan had vetoed at least seven OEO grants, although the Governor's office claimed, apparently with some pride, that the correct number approached eleven. The Sacramento *Bee* (October 3, 1967) listed the following:

1. Ventura County project aimed at rehabilitating hard-core unemployed by putting them to work beautifying open areas: \$63,270.
2. An Alameda County Legal Aid Society for "on-campus legal services": \$32,314.
3. Solano County Economic Opportunity Commission: \$65,940.
4. A Los Angeles program for 12 VISTAs for which no direct cost was listed.
5. An emergency loan program for Yolo County migrant farm workers: \$15,000.
6. A California Center for Economic Development at Fresno to train low income workers in the field of

community organization and development: \$109,520.

7. A Stockton Unified School District adult basic education program: \$69,911.

When it became apparent that Governor Reagan had vetoed as many OEO programs as even Lurleen Wallace (and more than any other Governor in the country), the Democrats in California gleefully put out a statement drawing public attention to the mark their Governor had reached, and the Governor obliged, to the surprise of many, by claiming that it wasn't true — that he had actually vetoed *more* OEO programs than the Wallaces. That is when the numbers game began. The disparity in the veto-count apparently came from the Reagan Administration's inclusion of four additional semi-vetoes or attempted vetoes. They were:

1. Fresno Tenants Council, which was receiving \$25,949 from OEO. Reagan asked for an immediate withdrawal of funds, but the federal government refused.
2. \$242,316 grant to Pacoima Congregational Church for social action projects — suspended by OEO Washington before Reagan had a chance to veto it.
3. \$13,074 for the Economic Opportunity Commission of San Diego for a proposed Asiatic-American Service Center (Reagan's veto came three weeks late).
4. A VISTA project at Parks Job Corps Center in Alameda County; no price tag. (Sacramento Bee, Oct. 18, 1967).

## TOPS IN OEO VETOES

At any rate, whatever the final count for California, it is clear that Governor Reagan is Number 1 when it comes to vetoing OEO programs, and that he likes it that way. In fact, Governors Reagan and Wallace, between them, have vetoed more OEO programs for their respective states than all other governors of the other 48 states combined.\*

When Governor Reagan vetoed the first OEO program for California, the *Sacramento Bee* reported that it was the first time any Governor of any state in the Western region had ever vetoed an OEO grant, and that there had been only 13 in the entire nation, largely in the South.

Reagan's OEO vetoes are particularly revealing of his approach toward the poverty program and the problems of the poor in general. One was the Ventura County project for rehabilitating the hard-core unemployed by putting them to work beautifying open areas. Governor explained it as follows:

Among those ejected, he said, was a Ventura County project aimed at rehabilitating hard-core unemployed by putting them to work beautifying open areas.

"We didn't quarrel with the purpose, but when our research revealed there were 17 hard-core unemployed and one-half the money would be for seven administrators to take care of the beneficiaries, we vetoed the project." (Sacramento Bee, Sept. 27, 1967)

\*William F. Buckley, Jr., was apparently oblivious of this when he berated questioners for tying Reagan to Wallace on the issue of OEO vetoes: "No mention that Governor Pat Brown had also vetoed several anti-poverty projects," Buckley fumed. No mention? Of course not, because it wasn't true. Cf. Buckley's N. Y. *Post* column, 12/26/67.

But the "research" Reagan referred to appeared to have been dangerously superficial, when Assemblyman Willie Brown (Democrat-San Francisco) rebutted the Governor a week later:

"The Governor complained that the program called for providing seven supervisors for only 17 workers. However, anti-poverty officials said the program will fund only one-half an administrator and half a secretary to assist him.

"The other five 'supervisory personnel' would consist of persons, such as foremen of county crews who are already on the employing agency's payroll. They would receive no federal money." (Sacramento Bee, Oct. 3, 1967)

Herbert J. Kramer, OEO public affairs director, then provided further details:

Kramer said federal officials approved \$56,250 to provide beautification, parks and open space jobs in Ventura for 17 chronically jobless individuals for 39 weeks. Of the total federal outlay, \$3,120 was earmarked for a half-time coordinator and \$620 for a one-day-a-week payroll clerk. Kramer said the overhead personnel cost to the US government thus was to be \$3640 — or less than 7%. (Sacramento Bee, Oct. 17, 1967)

Nevertheless, Reagan continues to cite the Ventura project in speeches to groups outside of California.

Perhaps Reagan's least favorite of all the OEO-funded programs is the California Rural Legal Assistance program (CRLA). The Governor has observed that CRLA had a budget of \$1,545,847 and a total of 130 lawyers, investigators, secretaries and clerk-typists in ten offices throughout the state.

"Now this sounds just fine. Legal help for the rural poor." But he went on to charge that "many" of the office's lawyers are "actively and unethically promoting litigations, often against the state, once again leaving the taxpayers both the costs of the prosecution and the defense." (San Francisco Sunday *Chronicle* and *Examiner*, Sept. 24, 1967)

In particular, Reagan was irked that CRLA had brought suit to prevent importation of about 8100 braceros into California on an emergency basis. Remark- ing that Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz had sided with him on the issue, he added, "so we have the spectacle of a federal government body (presumably CRLA) opposing the decision of an officer of the President's cabinet." What Reagan failed to point out was that the California Supreme Court decided in favor of CRLA, and against Messrs. Reagan and Wirtz.

Governor Reagan then gave another example of the kind of "harrassment" he and his agencies were being forced to suffer at the hands of CRLA. In one case, he said, CRLA, "using taxpayers money, is harrassing a county welfare office (apparently Sutter County) to the point where that county's board of supervisors has to use taxpayers money to hire a lawyer at \$35 an hour to protect its county welfare director." The director, the Governor said, saved the unidentified county \$200,000 in welfare costs last year and "in the eyes of these people saving taxpayers money is a

crime." (Los Angeles Times, Sept. 24, 1967)

The Sacramento Bee put all these charges in a little clearer perspective when it observed that CRLA has actually won 12 of its 13 cases against the state and assorted state agencies (Oct. 7, 1967). If CRLA had lost every case, then perhaps the Governor could make a good case for costly harassment, but inasmuch as virtually every decision has gone against the state, it appears that without CRLA, the state would have been permitted to carry out policies which the state courts have found to be *illegal* and injurious to the poor. The whole controversy cast some doubt on whether the Governor rejected the public defender system as a whole, until, in the end, he reversed his position and accepted CRLA grant money from the OEO.

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## LAW ENFORCEMENT: a militant approach

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The outbreak of violence in the nation's urban centers has given Governor Reagan the opportunity to underline his tendency to view problems as the product of a single "evil" cause:

Gov. Reagan Tuesday blamed "mad dogs and law breakers" for the recent racial violence throughout the US and charged there is a master plan.

"It would be pretty naive to believe these riots are just spontaneous. I believe there is a plan."

Asked to identify who is behind the plan, however, Reagan declined to name names.

He cited reports by law enforcement officials that some of the same persons seem to show up at every riot. (LA Times, July 26, 1967)

A constant theme in Governor Reagan's attitude toward riots is that agitators, and not poverty or poor living conditions, are the prime causes. He likes to point out that the crime rate during the Depression was extremely low when compared to today's crime-ridden but prosperous and affluent society. (Sacramento Bee, May 2, 1967)

As a result, Reagan apparently believes rioters must be dealt with harshly, without appeasement. Close Reagan aide Lyn Nofziger echoed this attitude in response to plans of Democratic Assembly Leader Jesse Unruh to create jobs in an effort to head off summer turmoil:

Nofziger in Los Angeles indicated the Administration was upset over Unruh's surprise announcement of a state-financed program for make-work projects in poor sectors such as Watts, declaring, "From what we've heard, that sounds like a bribe type of thing: 'If we give you some money, you won't riot.'" — (Los Angeles Times, Aug. 2, 1967)

At one point during the summer, Governor Reagan expressed considerable irritation at the attention being given the possibility of such outbreaks in Cali-

fornia. His rather helpless response, when asked if he thought any such disturbances were pending in California, was, "If we keep on talking about them, we'll have them." (Sacramento Bee, July 25, 1967). More than a few observers believe that the Governor also believes the converse of that statement to be true: i.e. if we don't talk about them, they'll go away.

As the summer progressed, however, Reagan began to concede that some effort to reach the root causes might be helpful:

"We are working closely with key leaders at the local level and with local officials to stimulate grassroots actions aimed at eliminating the basic and real causes of racial tensions."

The governor plans to meet privately today "with a group of responsible leaders of the Negro community to talk about these problems and seek solutions."

Other conferences will follow, he said, adding that "the first thing I'm going to do Wednesday is listen." (SF Chronicle, July 19, 1967)

Unfortunately, however, the "responsible members of the Negro community" were not always representative members of the Negro community. In a July 25, 1967 press conference, Negro Assemblyman Willie Brown (Democrat-San Francisco) charged that all but one of the 16 Negroes with whom the Governor met were Republicans and had worked in the Reagan campaign. Furthermore, reports of the meeting indicated that Governor Reagan devoted much of his time in exhortations to those present to go back to their localities and stimulate more local action to alleviate the problem. Not once did the Governor indicate a willingness to channel state funds into these areas, nor in fact did any of the "responsible Negro leaders" even bring the subject up.

The Sacramento Bee (July 19, 1967) filed the following report concerning the well-publicized meeting with Negro "leaders:"

James C. Dodd, Negro architect and former GOP State Senate candidate, said Reagan 'admonished' the persons at the meeting to encourage Negroes to "take more advantage of the facilities that already exist . . . and to try to do away with any feeling of hopelessness." He said it was very constructive.

He said there was no discussion or suggestion on the use of state money in financing work projects for Negro youths.

Governor Reagan apparently sees a very close connection between methods of avoiding riots and methods of handling them once they have arisen — and in both cases it is the hard line, the threat and use of force. This posture was articulated well by then-Executive Secretary to the Governor Phil Battaglia, as reported in the San Diego Union (Aug. 16, 1967):

Battaglia said the governor's plan to avoid racial conflict and rioting in California this summer "is working well."

He revealed for the first time that two weeks ago, several units of the National Guard had been called to duty and put on a stand-by basis in the San Francisco area because of the possibility of rioting there.

"We could have put troops on Market Street in San Francisco within twenty minutes after we received a call from local authorities," he said.

The governor, he said, fully intends to live up to his promise to take swift action to put down rioting, "and this intent itself has a decided put-down effect on those who start them."

To Governor Reagan's credit, at least in regard to his sincerity and consistency if not his wisdom, this militant approach to the enforcement of "law and order" does apply across the board. The Los Angeles *Times* (Mar. 12, 1967) observing that the Governor has said that he would have voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964, quoted him as follows:

I believe it was not as well-written as it could have been. But I've been heart and soul all my life, active in promoting goals of that act. I regret the great bitterness that exists. I have repeatedly said that where the constitutional rights of citizens are violated for any reason, it is the responsibility of government, at bayonet point if necessary, to enforce those rights.

Also to Reagan's credit, while he apparently sees no limit to the type and extent of force that may be applied by the government, he at least rules out the National Rifle Association proposal that armed vigilante groups be formed as a back-up for the National Guard: "You don't settle anything by citizens taking the law into their own hands." (*Sacramento Bee*, Mar. 10, 1967).

Another theme stressed continually in Governor Reagan's views on the rising crime rate and riots, has a distinctly anti-civil libertarian flavor. If the rights of the individual conflict with those of society, then Reagan often appears to believe that the individual has no rights. This would seem to be a direct contradiction on his belief in "individual freedom"—but apparently that applies less strictly to police engaged in law enforcement. A wrong-doer menaces society. Therefore, society must punish him without regard to his individual rights.

This philosophy is most clearly demonstrated in his frequent and intense criticism of recent judicial decisions designed to protect individual rights in criminal cases:

You cannot ignore the fact that crime starts its sensational rise here in California directly from some of the judicial rulings that inhibited the policeman and have prevented him from doing all that he could do. (*Terminal Island Officers Club*, Oct. 14, 1965)

The Governor has even been reported to have said (at the National Press Club, May 16, 1966) that he was specifically against the Supreme Court's decision barring police from quizzing a defendant before he is warned he may talk to a lawyer first.

Reagan's antipathy for court rulings goes beyond criminal decisions. When the California Supreme Court ruled that the Governor's proposed cuts in the Medi-Cal program were illegal and contrary to the legislative mandate, an angry Reagan press release (Nov. 21, 1967)

declared: "Now the legislature has the chance to say to the Supreme Court: 'Get out of our store. We are running our own shop.'"

Such outbursts as these prompted one liberal Republican legislator to suggest to some of his colleagues that he is considering ordering one thousand bumper stickers bearing the slogan, "Support Your Local Judge."

Despite the Governor's hard line against criminals (and the courts), his six-point legislative program to combat crime was astonishingly modest, and to many observers ineffective. Except for the usual creation of commissions to study the problem (and an anti-pornography measure of questionable relevance), the basic thrust of the Reagan program was increased penalties for those apprehended and convicted of violent crimes.

In his own "Report to the People" on his first hundred days' accomplishments, Reagan described his crime program as follows:

Among the most important legislation we are seeking are laws to control crime. This includes bills returning to the localities the right to deal with local problems, increasing penalties in some areas, controlling the dissemination of pornographic material and other legislation aimed at protecting the innocent. (from *Excerpts of Governor Reagan's Report to the People on April 16, 1967*, published by the California GOP State Central Committee)

Reagan is a great believer in the deterrent effect of harsh penalties, but it is difficult to imagine how any criminal facing a possible ten-year jail sentence would be significantly deterred by a possible twenty-year sentence. And it is surprising that the Reagan program paid virtually no attention to the necessity of improving crime-prevention methods beyond this hoped-for increased deterrence. The Governor even vetoed a bill passed by the legislature (introduced by Democrat Robert Crown) which would have required cities and counties (with matching state funds) to pay the cost of equipping their policemen and sheriff's deputies. At present, many officers must pay for items such as raincoats and guns, out of their own pockets. (*LA World-Examiner*, May 20, 1967). The reason for the veto, apparently, was that it would have been costly.

In fairness to Governor Reagan, one of the six points of his crime program does deserve special mention. The Governor's description of it was humane and libertarian;

We recognize that from time to time persons are arrested unjustly or as victims of circumstances. Yet, despite their innocence, they must live the remainder of their lives with a public police record. We are offering a comprehensive legislative approach that will provide relief for such persons while, at the same time, preserving such records for use by law enforcement agencies and other authorized persons. (*Press Release*, Jan. 16, 1967).

## VIETNAM: a big athletic contest

Governor Ronald Reagan regularly shuns "labels" as being divisive and imprecise. But one label he both earns and accepts, is "hawk":

"I am a hawk," he said in discussing the Vietnam war. He said he is "critical of the fact that the military is not consulted enough on targets which should be bombed in North Vietnam." He declared "it's time we end the war," and expressed belief that an earlier intensification of the bombing would have brought the Communists to the negotiating table. (San Francisco *Chronicle*, Sept. 20, 1967.)

This statement is entirely consistent with the Reagan philosophy of government but rather surprising in view of the Reagan style, which opts whenever possible for ambiguity. Every other Presidential prospect has been careful to steer clear of any clear designation, whether as hawk or dove.

But Reagan's closest similarities to Barry Goldwater in both style and substance come in the area of foreign policy — bold, simplistic, straight-forward and expressing a dangerous faith in military solutions and in the absolute wisdom of military leadership.

The concept of a "limited war" is an anathema to Ronald Reagan. You can't negotiate with evil. You don't combat evil with half-way measures. And you certainly mustn't "appease" it. The only way to deal with such an enemy is with a massive application of power and "technology." Pacification and economic development are clearly secondary and virtually unmentioned in all of Reagan's discussions of foreign policy:

"Isn't it time that we either win this war or tell the American people why we can't? Isn't it time to recognize the great immorality of sending our neighbor's sons to die with the hope we can do so without answering the enemy too much?"

\* \* \*

"The war in Vietnam must be fought through to victory; we have been patient too long."

\* \* \*

"Stop the bombing and we will only encourage the enemy to do his worst."

Referring to North Vietnam as "a little, 16th rate, water-buffalo kind of country," Governor Reagan called for "whatever action is necessary to end this war as quickly as possible." But he did not say what a new President might do. (New York *Times*, Dec. 8, 1967)

\* \* \*

"Our great strength in the world is technology. This is our most potent weapon. We should ask our best brains how we should handle such hot spots as Vietnam instead of using the foot soldier." (San Francisco *Chronicle*, Sept. 14, 1967)

This turn-it-over-to-somebody-else theme expressed

in the last quotation is a precise restatement of the Goldwater position in 1964 ("I would turn to my Joint Chiefs of Staff and say, 'Fellows, we made the decision to win. Now it's your problem.'") Thus, on September 30, 1967, the Sacramento *Bee* reported that Governor Reagan had even gone so far as to say that if the military leaders should advise the invasion of North Vietnam, "then I would be for that."

The Governor himself recommended other kinds of escalation in a November 11, 1967 Veterans Day speech:

Governor Ronald Reagan of California said last night that U.S. should consider the invasion of North Vietnam with an "Inchon-type landing."

Reagan called for further escalation of the war including the possible blockade of the Port of Haiphong and opposed plans for utilizing the UN as a peace-seeking organization to end the war in Vietnam. (San Francisco *Examiner*, Nov. 12, 1967)

Perhaps Reagan's least plausible foreign policy theory was a curious new twist on the President's "credibility gap," which he expressed on ABC's *Issues and Answers* (the same forum on which Goldwater raised the hue and cry of using tactical nuclear weapons to defoliate the rain forests three years earlier). The Sacramento *Bee* (Oct. 23, 1967) and the Los Angeles *Times* (Oct. 16, 1967) reported the following:

"I have a feeling that we are doing better in the war than people have been told. The corner may have been turned. We may be winning. . . ."

Expanding on this theme, the governor said that in "reading between the lines," and in talking with persons who have been in Vietnam, he has gotten the impression that the corner may have been turned. (*Times*)

\* \* \*

"Possibly we will be told when it is politically advantageous for the administration to tell us" how well we're doing in Vietnam. (*Bee*)

These statements caused pundit Arthur Hoppe, of the San Francisco *Chronicle*, to observe that Reagan had the right idea but didn't go far enough. The war isn't going better, Hoppe suggested, it has already been won, and the modest LBJ is merely trying to figure out a way to tell the people that it's over.

The July 10, 1967 issue of *Newsweek* contained a cut-and-paste job of Reagan's views on Vietnam; the following excerpts summarize his views:

Evidently, we are not hurting them. I don't think anyone would cheerfully want to use atomic weapons. But the last person in the world that should know we wouldn't use them is the enemy. He should go to bed every night afraid that we might.

\* \* \*

I haven't declared war on Vietnam here in California, although if the President asked us to, I'd be very happy to comply. I don't have a foreign policy; the State doesn't. . . .

\* \* \*

I think you have to call this a full-scale war. I think the way to win a war is to win it.

In his book, *The Blast of War*, former British

Prime Minister Harold MacMillan observed that the United States likes to win wars like an "athletic contest, without worrying about what happens afterward." For Ronald Reagan, the war in Vietnam is one athletic contest he'd like to "win" very badly—apparently, no matter what the consequences. At times, he has shown an almost puerile insistence on unambiguous victory:

And what has happened to the warrior skills that came to Americans from experience in wars—experience unwanted and unsought, but unmatched nonetheless? We Americans have had one general and continuing experience outside our waters these past 50 years. It is the experience of fighting wars, and trying to prevent wars. And yet, at this dismal juncture, somehow we are unable or at least unwilling to bring to terms, or force to an armistice, a ramshackle water buffalo economy with a gross national budget (sic) hardly equal to that of Pascaguala.

What has gone wrong? What has happened to our knowledge of politics and power? (*Veterans Day Speech*, November 11, 1967).

It should be noted that even the Citizens Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam (including former Senator Paul Douglas, former Presidents Eisenhower and Truman, and General Omar Bradley—none of them particularly noted for their "soft" lines), have called for a "mutual de-escalation of the conflict," and emphasized the "limited objectives" of the US, asserting that the American goal is "not military victory but peace with freedom for South Vietnam." After citing the above statements, Peter Lisagor (*New York Post*, January 16, 1968) went on to write:

In an obvious thrust at those favoring "unleashing" air power, the group said that "in this age of nuclear weapons, we need a better alternative to surrender than a full-scale war."  
"Our effort is limited, and thus, our patience must be great."

As a man who apparently sees no alternative to surrender other than full-scale war, Ronald Reagan may well have isolated himself in a position on the Vietnam War supported only by the most militant of hawks. The war issue and questions of foreign policy in general are thus the areas where Reagan is weakest on a national forum. His "common sense" views are here untempered by experience. His usual skepticism for the advice of the "experts" deserts him when the experts are military men. His usual prudence in avoiding labels also evaporates. However effective he may be on a domestic platform, he probably cannot maintain credibility on questions of foreign policy.

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## DISSENT: an ugly word

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Not surprisingly, in view of the Governor's approach to Vietnam, he takes a "hard line" against those who demonstrate against the war. Reagan's position on such demonstrators ranges from insult (questioning

their masculinity, for example: he likes to tell of demonstrators he saw in California carrying "make love, not war" signs, adding that from the looks of them, I didn't think they were capable of doing either—Bridgeport, Conn. *Post*, Dec. 8, 1967) to rather extreme policy positions, such as declaring war so that protesters could be convicted of treason. The Governor has based his opposition to the demonstrators on the theory that they are "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." The following press reports give examples:

Reagan said if the nation were formally at war, the anti-war demonstrators who defied policy orders could be punished for treason.

"There would be plenty of laws to cover them if we were technically in a state of war."

He said he "certainly" would not suggest such sanctions be used against peaceful demonstrations.

He said press reports of his view left him a little "impatient." (*LA Times*, UPI, Oct. 29, 1967)

\* \* \*

"Of course you have to have freedom of speech but once you have committed some young men to fight and die, freedom of speech must stop short of lending aid and comfort to the enemy."

He maintained that "when demonstrations attempt to interfere with shipment of men and supplies to the war, as some of those here did last summer, then you are lending comfort to the enemy and there is an ugly word to describe it." (*Los Angeles Times*, March 12, 1966)

Defenders of the Governor have said that he applied his implicit charge of treason only to *illegal* demonstrations. Yet he has frequently failed to make a distinction between legal and illegal dissent. He even went so far as to oppose the placing of Proposition "P" on the ballot in San Francisco for the 1967 election (Proposition "P" called for an immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.) He didn't just urge a "no" vote, he said it shouldn't even be on the ballot. Why? Because "it might give aid and comfort to the enemy." (*Sacramento Bee*, Oct. 31, 1967; and *San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 2, 1967)

In fairness to Governor Reagan, it must be said that he has passed up some opportunities to be absolutely anti-libertarian in this area. One example was when, typically, he came down squarely on both sides of the question of drafting the protesters:

"Emotionally, I could go along with General Hershey," he said, "and I understand how he feels. But rationally and intellectually, I can't go along with using the draft to punish people." (*Hartford Times*, Dec. 5, 1967)

To his credit, the Governor has also said he is opposed to the draft system in peacetime, but he has indicated that he opposes its abolition now, during a time of war, however undeclared. (*New Haven Register*, Dec. 4, 1967)

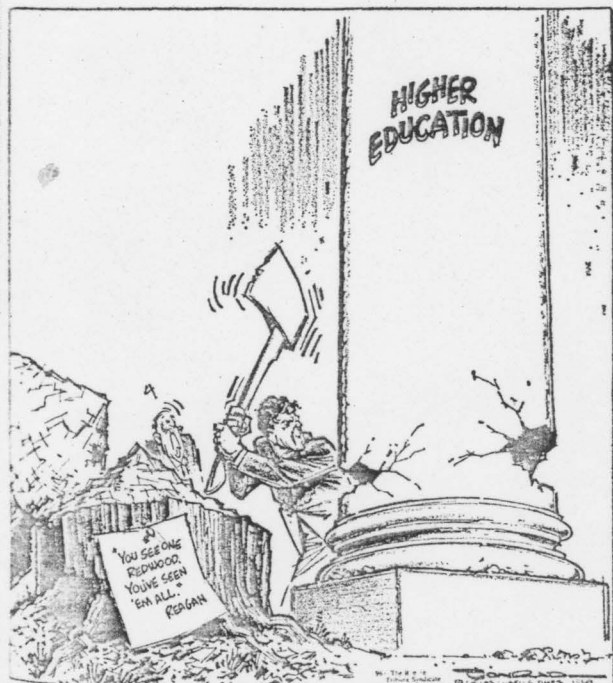
Finally, it should be noted that the Governor does not always issue a blanket denunciation of all dissenters. A notable instance was his humane willingness to argue with a young dissenter at the Los Angeles Airport on Thanksgiving Eve 1967. There he showed that how

ever shrill his remarks on group dissent may be, in the last analysis, he is personally tolerant of the individual's right to express views contrary to those of the majority.

## ON CAMPUS: meet force with force

Ronald Reagan's struggle with the academic community has been carried out on two fronts: against the (disruptive) students, one of his favorite campaign targets; and against the administrators, in his battle to cut costs.

The opening volley was fired almost immediately upon Inauguration, with the dismissal of Clark Kerr. Despite widely held belief to the contrary in liberal circles, Reagan did not actually instigate the firing of Kerr, although Reagan and his two appointees to the board of regents did cast their votes for dismissal. But they did not have enough votes to effect the dismissal without support from several other regents appointed by former Governor Brown. Many observers believe the move to oust Kerr may have come as a surprise to Reagan, who would have preferred to delay such a showdown until a more fortuitous time. But the Governor cannot be absolved of all or even a large part of the responsibility, since his tireless (and effective) campaigning on the issue of campus demonstrations and allegedly weak administration from Kerr was clearly one of the most decisive elements in creating an atmosphere and setting the stage for Kerr's dismissal.



"You see one campus, you've seen 'em all . . .!"

The well-publicized demonstrations and disturbances on various state college and university campuses in the past year produced a response from Reagan virtually indistinguishable from his attitude on "crime in the streets" and racial disorders: that is, to treat the disruptive students like any other criminals or rioters, with a massive application of force.

In a December 7, 1967 press release, Governor Reagan spelled out his views in detail, with a four-point program to "preserve law and order" on the campus. The basic thrust of it was that a campus was not different from any other place, and the police should be called in at the earliest possible moment. The last paragraph of the release summed it up nicely:

We must restore confidence in the ability of our educational institutions to maintain the same standards of conduct which apply to the rest of society and to eliminate disorderly interference with academic pursuits.

What the Governor failed to mention was that he would also have to "restore confidence" in the ability of his educational institutions to provide a good education and racial dignity for minorities — especially blacks — before he could reasonably expect the disruption to stop.

An incident at San Jose State last fall typified Governor Reagan's attitude on this matter. In response to what black students considered to be rampant racial discrimination on campus, a group of black militants, both on campus and off, threatened violent disruption of a football game if it were played as scheduled (among their complaints was discrimination on the football team). Tension on the campus had reached monumental proportions, and there was little doubt in anyone's minds that if the football game were played, large scale violence and probably bloodshed would most likely result. The President of the College, Robert D. Clark, and even State Commissioner of Instruction Max Rafferty conceded that there was racial discrimination on the campus.

Consequently, President Clark cancelled the game, put all the sororities and fraternities on probation, and created an ombudsman to investigate and fight on-campus discrimination. Clark stressed that the game had to be called off because of the very real threat of violence from off-campus, not from his students.

Reagan and Rafferty were fit to be tied. "If I had to ask the President to call in the whole US Marine Corps," Rafferty proclaimed, "that game would have been played. I wouldn't have submitted to it. This is no good. I don't like blackmail."

Reagan's words were a little more modest, but his position no less extreme: "I feel it was yielding to the threat of force. It was appeasement. . . . (I believe in) calling out the necessary force and law enforcement."

In the heat of the dispute, the most moderate voice was heard from Victor Lee (a white), president of the Associated Students at San Jose State: "It seems to me that any step to avoid violence or possible arson is definitely wiser than risking it." (*San Francisco Chronicle* and *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 27, 1967)

Between the Governor's attitude toward campus

dissent and demonstration and his financial policies on education, Reagan very quickly became one of the least popular figures on California's college and university campuses. His presence in the Governor's chair is given as the reason for the refusal of a large number of academics to take jobs in the California educational system. The reason: Reagan stresses repression of any disturbance without treating the underlying causes—and often without even discussing the real grievances of students, faculty and administration.

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## APPOINTMENTS AND ADVISORS: at ease with business

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Governor Ronald Reagan's appointments and staff can be characterized neither as extremely bad nor as extremely good. Some of them are broadly experienced, and many (especially his personal staff) are bright, young and aggressive. But one generalization can be made: Governor Reagan likes to stick with his own kind, and very rarely ventures out into a field with which he is unfamiliar to find an appointee. Consequently, there is a heavy reliance on businessmen and conservatives, even in areas where they are tainted by past controversies.

It came as no surprise, then, that Governor Reagan named Albert C. Beeson, a management leader, to head the California Department of Industrial Relations—a post usually reserved for labor spokesmen or at least men who are neutral between business and labor. Mr. Beeson was a member of the NLRB under President Eisenhower and his pro-business posture had created quite a storm in the US Senate before ultimate confirmation. (*LA Times* May 5, 1967)

Reagan also appointed a businessman, William C. Hern, as Labor Commissioner. (*LA Times*, Feb. 19, 1967). Critics called the appointment part of a general policy of choosing "foxes to guard the chicken coop."

Pro-business Reagan appointees on the State Division of Industrial Accidents and Workmen's Compensation Appeals Board provoked considerable controversy when they claimed last summer that the Workmen's Compensation policy had been "too liberal," and cut it back sharply. Millions of dollars were thus saved to the employers, but at precisely that cost to the employees—and perhaps ultimately to the taxpayers of the state, should disabled workers be forced onto the welfare rolls. (*LA Times*, July 20, 1967)

◆ The Governor also apparently felt at ease with real estate magnates. He named Peter R. Johnson of San Francisco, the president of a real estate investment firm, to head the Division of Fair Employment Practices, which is charged with enforcing California's open housing law. (*Oakland Tribune*, April 11, 1967)

He also nominated Burton E. Smith, an ardent supporter of the controversial Proposition 14 and opponent

of open housing, as Real Estate Commissioner. (*SF Chronicle*, March 24, 1967). Smith was only approved after several days delay in the State Senate because of his open housing position. (*Oakland Tribune*, March 28, 1967)

Governor Reagan ran into even more trouble in the State Senate over a nominee for the State Board of Education. William J. McCandless, an ardent follower of arch-conservative State Superintendent of Public Instruction Max Rafferty, had aroused heated controversy in his own local school district in Orange County by an uncompromisingly pro-school prayer posture long after the US Supreme Court had declared prayers in public schools unconstitutional. When the Senate balked at his nomination to the State Board of Education, his name was withdrawn. (*Sacramento Bee*, Feb. 14, 1967, Feb. 24, 1967)

To his credit, Governor Reagan has not excluded Negroes, or at least a Negro, from his major appointees. He appointed James E. Johnson as the first Negro Director of Veterans Affairs. But it should be noted that Johnson, a self-professed "conservative," could hardly be described as a "soul brother" to most of California's blacks, and is in no way an exception to Reagan's pattern of appointments. Johnson startled more than a few observers by a tolerance of the John Birch Society unmatched by many of Reagan's white appointees: "I don't hate their philosophy. The people I met were Christian people, and we went to church together." (*SF Chronicle*, May 9, 1967)

One of the closest Reagan advisors, on an informal basis (he is neither an appointee nor a paid staff member), is millionaire oilman Henry Salvatori—an early Goldwater supporter and one of Reagan's first and heaviest financial contributors for the gubernatorial campaign. A self-professed "moderate to liberal" on domestic affairs, Salvatori's real political philosophy may be understood more precisely in light of the following excerpt from an interview reported in the *Sacramento Bee* (Mar. 5, 1967):

"I consider myself a conservative on foreign policy," he said, explaining why he supported Dr. Fred Schwarz and the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade and organized the Anti-Communist Voters League. "But on domestic affairs, I consider myself moderate to liberal. I'm for the graduated income tax. I've never accused the State Department of treason. I've said the State Department has unwittingly followed the Communist line, but I've never accused it of treason. Only the extremists do that."

By his own estimation, Salvatori meets with Governor Reagan at least weekly, phones often, is consulted on major matters, and set up the screening committee to select the top twenty key men in the administration.

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*Ronald Reagan: Here's the Rest of Him* was written and researched for the Ripon Society Governing Board by Michael C. Smith and reviewed by members of the Ripon Society's Los Angeles Chapter. Reprints are available at \$1 each (\$50 per hundred).

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# ENTERPRISE: Charge Newsweek

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In our April issue we criticized Mr. Nixon for not having responded constructively to the Report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders. The Report endorsed private sector initiatives in the cities, the use of tax credits and the need for community programs. These things, we said, surely reflected Mr. Nixon's thoughts. Why didn't he say so?

Well, on April 25 and May 2 he did say so. In two radio speeches entitled "Bridges to Human Dignity," he urged black capitalism, private sector involvement and a new economic program for the nation's ghettos. He followed with a speech calling for a "new alignment" in American politics that would include, among others, "black militants" and "new liberals." This trilogy of speeches, coming in the wake of Mr. Nixon's strong behind-the-scenes stand in favor of the open housing provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, gave the former Vice-President's campaign the intellectual spark and the appearance of social concern that it had sorely lacked.

Regrettably, the speeches place disproportionate emphasis on tight spending limits; it is unlikely that our cities can be saved at the rock-bottom prices which Mr. Nixon advertises. Nor should speeches on "human dignity" ignore the importance of more adequately enforcing civil rights laws now on the books. But these points notwithstanding, the Nixon speeches do point to important forces for change both in the ghetto and in the business community.

The ghetto is beginning to be affected by a new breed of leaders, often well-educated and well-employed, but still imperfectly accepted in the white world. In disillusionment they have turned back to their own communities, where they now perceive superior opportunities for leadership, for investment and for service. They will soon be joined by the veterans of Vietnam and by an increasing number of black college graduates, all of whom will provide the ghetto with grassroots leadership that did not exist at the beginning of this decade. Republicans who want to build a new coalition in the nation's predominantly Democratic—and increasingly Negro—urban areas can ally themselves with the new black leaders by offering them the chance for ownership and self-help in the ghetto.

In the business community, meanwhile, there is a growing desire to do something about the cities. Some firms—notably in law, banking, finance, insurance, communications and advertising—are locked into the central cities by the nature of their business. Others see in the challenge of the urban crisis a way to improve their recruitment of young executive talent, to refurbish their corporate images and to reassert the social role of the private sector. Ameri-

can business is beginning to see its stake in improving the lot of the urban poor.

The ground has thus been prepared for a new partnership between resourceful black militants and enlightened white executives. Mr. Nixon is not the first to point this out, but he is the first to say it big on a national platform. For this he deserves high praise.

\* \* \* \*

Would that Mr. Nixon's other recent statements were equally astute and judicious. But on what evidence did he base his contention that student demonstrations at Columbia were part of a radical battle plan to take over the nation's universities? The Dean of Columbia took time out from counteracting the demonstrations to brand Mr. Nixon's version of the events as know-nothing and irresponsible.

And surely, Mr. Nixon cannot expect "new liberals" and "black militants" to applaud his attempt to link the rise in the crime rate with recent Supreme Court decisions protecting individual rights in criminal proceedings. As a lawyer, he must know that other factors are responsible for increased crime: more autos, for instance, have meant more auto theft; lavish merchandizing displays have meant more shop-lifting; a shift in the population structure toward arrest-prone groups—youth, urban non-whites—have meant a natural increase in crime; a lack of gun and weapons control has enabled the level of violence to escalate; more effective changes in procedures for reporting crimes since 1959 have somewhat inflated statistics; and surely a few long-term social forces are also at work. Why pin the rap for all this on the Supreme Court?

A note on page 35 of this issue describes how a group of lawyers, by guaranteeing the kinds of police procedures that Mr. Nixon attacks, actually helped to reduce the level of violence in Philadelphia slums last summer. They showed how procedures that safeguard the rights of the individual may well have the effect of improving police-community relations in urban ghettos (where 90% of male Negroes are arrested at one time or another).

Mr. Nixon should take pains to revise his statements on the Supreme Court well before the nominating convention in Miami. For if nominated, he cannot expect his Democratic opponent to be as respectful of his lapses as Governors Romney, Reagan and Rockefeller, who have been loath to scratch the icon of party unity. Nor can he expect "new liberals," "black militants," "new Southerners" or even "old Republicans" to join a "new alignment" whose leader cannot decide how closely to align himself with his own better instincts.

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VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan

DISC #8

SIDE "A"

- |    |                         |      |
|----|-------------------------|------|
| 1. | London #1               | 3:12 |
| 2. | London #2               | 2:57 |
| 3. | London #3               | 2:42 |
| 4. | Regulations-New Wave #1 | 3:10 |
| 5. | Regulations-New Wave #2 | 2:57 |
| 6. | Farm Workers Union      | 3:15 |

SIDE "B"

- |    |                             |      |
|----|-----------------------------|------|
| 1. | No Time To Confuse          | 3:08 |
| 2. | Vietnam                     | 3:10 |
| 3. | Land Use                    | 2:32 |
| 4. | Peace                       | 3:14 |
| 5. | Government: Big vs Small #1 | 3:05 |
| 6. | Government: Big vs Small #2 | 2:58 |

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VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "London" - No. 1)

As the foreign correspondents say on the national news, I'm speaking to you from London, England. While here, I've had the honor of addressing the Pilgrim Society on the occasion of its annual dinner.

The Pilgrim Society was founded many years ago to perpetuate the relationship between the U.S. and Great Britain and to recognize our common heritage. In view of our relationship, you might say the Society is dedicated to bridging a national generation gap.

This way of ours, this system of government "by the people" had its beginnings in England. In drawing up the U.S. Constitution, our founding fathers had very much in mind the Magna Carta, as well as much later writings and thoughts of two Englishmen: Edmund Burke and Adam Smith. From this heritage they evolved the Constitution, which did not go unnoticed by perceptive men in England.

One of Britain's greatest statesmen described our Constitution as "the most remarkable political advance ever accomplished at one time by the human intellect".

Some 70 years after the adoption of the Constitution, Lord Acton said of its authors, "They had solved with astonishing ease and unexampled success two problems which had heretofore baffled the capacity of the most enlightened nations. They had contrived a system of federal government which prodigiously increased national power and yet respected local liberties and authorities, and they had founded it on the principal of equality without surrendering the securities of property and freedom."

I appreciated the opportunity to meet with the Pilgrim Society and to be reminded of things about our nation we tend to forget in the everyday bustle of life.

How often, for example, do we remind ourselves that our Constitution is truly a unique document? Why, we've even let it be weakened — chipped away by legislation and court decisions.

A few years ago one of our Senators, possessed of a more erudite education than most of his colleagues, dismissed the Constitution as QUOTE — "designed for an 18th Century agrarian society far removed from the centers of world power" — UNQUOTE.

He'd better take another look, and so had all of us. There are almost as many constitutions as there are nations, and most of them I guess include some of the same guarantees we find in ours. The Soviet Union's constitution, for example, promises the right of peaceful assembly, free speech and so on. (I won't go into whether they've kept those promises.) But, some students looking at this similarity ask "what's the fuss all about — why do we think we're different?" The answer is so simple it's easy to overlook. Yet, it tells the whole story. In those other constitutions those guarantees are privileges granted to the people by the government. In ours, they are declared as rights, ours by the grace of God. We're born with them and no government can take them away without our consent.

The greatest good for the greatest number is a high-sounding phrase, but it's unconstitutional. It means 50 per cent of the people plus one can do what they like to 50 per cent of the people minus one. Maybe that goes in Russia, but not in the U. S.

VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "London" - No. 2)

I'm still in London and still enjoying that special look at America one gets when one is far from home.

Yesterday I spoke of our Constitution — the contract between us and our government, making it plain that government exists only through our voluntary sufferance. On our part, we agree to take whatever collective action is necessary if ever one of us is unjustly denied his constitutional rights wherever in the world he may be.

Some suggest that it's foolish to risk the safety of the majority to rescue one or a dozen or even a few hundred. If we accept that, we sell out the rights of all of us.

Perhaps we should follow the example set for us 135 years ago when our nation was young; so young it wasn't taken very seriously by the great powers of Europe.

It seems a young Hungarian revolutionary who had participated in an attempt to free his country from the rule of the Austrian Emperor had fled to America to escape execution. He took out his first naturalization papers and became an importer by trade. His business took him to a seaport on the Mediterranean. There happened to be in the harbor a large Austrian warship. And, as fate would have it, Koscia (for that was his name) was recognized, kidnapped and taken aboard the warship.

Koscia's manservant had been told what our flag looked like. Pacing up and down the waterfront he saw an American flag. It flew from the mast of a tiny war sloop. He went aboard and told his story to the commanding officer, Captain Ingraham. Together, they went to the American Consul. When the consul learned that Koscia had only taken out his first papers and hadn't yet been sworn in as a citizen of the United States, he decided he was relieved of any responsibility for the man. Captain Ingraham had a different idea.

He went aboard the Austrian warship and demanded to see the prisoner. The Austrian Admiral, somewhat amused by all this, had Koscia brought on deck. Captain Ingraham asked Koscia one question: "Do you seek the protection of the American flag," he said. "Yes," Koscia replied.

Going ashore, the Captain told the Consul what he had done and what he intended to do. Meanwhile, two more Austrian warships had entered the harbor. Captain Ingraham sent a message to the Austrian Admiral to the effect that any attempt to leave with "our citizen" would be resisted with "appropriate force". He indicated he would expect a reply by four o'clock that afternoon.

As the hour neared he ordered the guns rolled into the sally ports. One tiny sloop against three men-of-war. Still no response. So he ordered the gunner to prepare to light the fuses. Suddenly the lookout shouted, "They're lowering a boat!" Thus, Koscia was delivered to the American ship.

Captain Ingraham went below and wrote a letter of resignation. In it he said, "I did what I thought my oath required, but if I have embarrassed my government, I hereby resign from the U.S. Navy." His resignation was rejected on the floor of the Senate, with these words, "This battle that was never fought may turn out to be the most important battle in our nation's history." And that's why there's been a U.S.S. Ingraham in our Navy ever since. I hope there always will be.

VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan

(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "London" - No. 3)

This is the time of year when winter isn't quite ready to loosen its grip on London, but still the daffodils are up all over Hyde Park and even a few rays of sunshine are enough on a Sunday afternoon to bring out throngs of strollers.

A lively debate is going on here over the national referendum vote to be taken in June on whether or not Britain should remain in the Common Market, the European Economic Community.

It has been two years since Britain joined the Common Market. Since then, arguments over its continued participation have intensified. A strong strain of isolationism has developed here not too unlike what we've found in the United States in recent years, and most of it comes from the political far left.

The Conservative Party, for the most part, favors Britain's continued participation in the Common Market, though at least one prominent conservative journalist is urging Tories to vote "no" in the referendum on the purely tactical grounds that its defeat would bring down the Labor government sooner.

Former Prime Minister Harold Macmillan summed up the thinking of many when he said in a recent speech, QUOTE — "I do not think everyone has quite realized that what the referendum is about has to do with something which I cannot find in our history: to denounce unilaterally a treaty we signed two years ago. We used to stand for good faith. That is the greatest strength of our commerce overseas. And we are now being asked to tear up a treaty into which we solemnly entered." — UNQUOTE.

Some observers here believe that no matter how the referendum turns out, the results will only deepen the split in Labor's ranks. It has a bare majority of one vote in the House of Commons, though voting and attendance patterns of some splinter party members usually boost this by a few votes on any given issue.

Failure by Labor to heal the breach in its ranks might lead to elections as early as this fall, some say. If so, Britain may get its first woman Prime Minister in its more-than-900-year history. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, the new leader of the Conservative Party, is a woman of charm and poise and also strength. She's a conservative Conservative with the courage of her convictions. The British like their politicians to stand for something and she does. In a recent nationwide poll she was named as the country's most popular political figure.

Only time will tell if Mrs. Thatcher is to become the Prime Minister. Meanwhile, though, the Tories in Parliament are closing ranks over the Common Market issue. Former Prime Minister Heath, recently defeated as leader of his Party, may be down but is not out, as he showed in a vigorous speech to the Young Conservatives Conference, when he warned that Britain outside the Common Market would be an isolated country.

The debate over isolationism versus Common Market participation has a familiar ring to my American ears. It reminds me of our own debate over whether we should have honored our Paris Accords commitments to our Southeast Asian allies. In that debate, the isolationists in Congress won. That's one victory that may yet turn to ashes in their mouths.



VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan

(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "Regulations — New Wave" — No. 1)

Murray Weidenbaum (pr: WEE) is a former assistant secretary of the Treasury now director of the Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University of St. Louis. In a recent speech in our nation's capital, Dr. Weidenbaum had bad news for all Americans: a "new wave" of American regulation threatens to raise prices indiscriminately and drive small businesses into the ground.

This new wave of regulation includes such agencies as the Environmental Protection Agency, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. All of these agencies were set up to accomplish laudable goals: who among us would object to protecting the environment, preventing discrimination, or improving safety conditions for our workers? Indeed, who among us is not in support of such goals?

Unfortunately, however, these agencies are so devoted to these particular goals that they pay little heed to what they do to the efficiency of business or to keeping prices low. The forest of a healthy economy, high employment and low prices is lost for the tree of, say, workers safety. Of course, we want safe working conditions but an agency like OSHA is thus all too likely to pursue its mandate to the ultimate which is: you can make a worker completely safe by taking away his job and the safest factory or mill is one that's closed down.

I'm really not exaggerating. There are now 5,146 different types of approved government forms. Last year, businesses and individuals spent 130 million man-hours filling them out and this adds some \$50 billion to the cost of doing business — which means to the prices we pay.

Consider a small businessman who must provide an OSHA-approved exit in his office or plant.

What is an exit? The dictionary says it is — quote — "a passage or way out" — unquote. You have to admit those five words describe it for anyone who understands English. But the language of bureaucracy is not that precise. Here is the way the OSHA manual defines an exit. Quote — "that portion of a means of egress which is separated from all other spaces of the building or structure by construction or equipment as required in this subpart to provide a protected way of travel to the exit discharge" — unquote.

Now that's 39 words but OSHA says to grasp that definition, you have to know the definition of "a means of egress". And their glossary supplies the answer — quote — "a continuous and unobstructed way of exit travel from any point in a building or structure to a public way and consists of three separate and distinct parts: the way of exit access, the exit and the way of exit discharge. A means of egress comprises the vertical and horizontal ways of travel and shall include intervening room spaces, doorways, hallways, corridors, passageways, balconies, ramps, stairs, enclosures, exits, escalators, horizontal exits, courts, and yards" — unquote.

And after all that, the small businessman realizes that he still doesn't know what an exit is, because, as Dr. Weidenbaum points out, OSHA has been unable to supply a definition of exit that does not contain the word exit. Webster uses five words, OSHA uses 39 and then another 74 trying to tell you what the 39 said.

VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan

(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "Regulations — New Wave" — No. 2)

Yesterday I discussed a recent speech by Dr. Murray Weidenbaum concerning a "new wave" of regulation that threatens to bankrupt small business and raise prices for American consumers. Dr. Weidenbaum pointed out that small business is reeling under a mountain of paper work and is finding it impossible to determine what it is the new regulators really want. But there are other problems as well.

They stem from the narrow focus of each of the new agencies. Some of their mandates contradict not only a healthy economy and low prices, but each other. Since each of the new agencies cares only about its own legal role, the larger picture is invariably lost.

For example, Dr. Weidenbaum tells us the Occupational Safety and Health Administration — OSHA — requires backup alarms on vehicles at construction sites. Nothing wrong with that but then OSHA says the workers at those sites have to wear earplugs for protection against noise pollution which means they can't hear those required alarms if they ring. Here is a single agency pursuing two worthy but contradictory goals. Which one does the small businessman choose to follow?

Then there is the case of a woman who wants to legally wash her children's pajamas in New York State. That sounds like a pretty fundamental freedom but the Consumer Product Safety Commission says the only way you can legally wash pajamas without washing out fireproof materials — which are required by the same Commission — is to do so with phosphate detergents. But in 1973, in a move against water pollution, New York made it illegal to use phosphate detergents. So Mama has to choose between fire hazard to her child or committing an act of illegal laundry.

The hidden costs of this new wave of regulation are immense. I've already mentioned the enormous cost of the paper work alone. There is also the cost of the bureaucrats themselves, more than 63,000 at a cool two billion dollars a year. And there is the cost to the public in the decline in new technological improvements. The longer it takes for a new product or invention to win government approval, the less chance that a business will ever find it advantageous to market the product or utilize the invention. This is already evident in the decline of new drugs and medicines because of the Drug Administration regulations.

Most of all, these regulations increase the cost of producing a product to the point where, often, only big business can stay in the field. When a business has three or four employees, and has as many forms to fill out as a firm with three or four thousand, you know who's going to go under. The result is less competition, bigger business, and higher prices.

Dr. Weidenbaum's conclusion on the new wave of regulations says it all — quote — "No realistic evaluation of the practice of government regulation . . . fits the notion of benign and wise officials making altogether sensible decisions in the society's greater interests. Instead, we find waste, bias, stupidity, concentration on trivia, conflicts among the regulators, and, worst of all, arbitrary and uncontrolled power . . ." — unquote.

VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "Farm Workers Union")

The United Farm Workers Union under the leadership of Cesar Chavez is urging Americans across the nation to boycott California grapes, and particularly one California winery. This company, one of the first to sign up with the Union, found this relationship an unhappy one so did not renew when the contract expired; hence, the boycott and a national propaganda assault.

For 25 years, I was an officer and six-times President of a union in the motion picture industry. In fact, I led the first strike our Union was ever forced to call. I figured I'd better give this biographical note so there'd be no question about my belief in the right of workers to organize and to strike if necessary.

The entire history of the effort to organize farm workers has been so distorted in recent years and emotions have reached such a pitch it just seems like a good time to recite some facts.

In the first place, I've always believed that organized labor begins with the workers in one industry choosing to organize or to affiliate or not affiliate with a union and making their choice by secret ballot thus eliminating any possibility of coercion or undue influence. During my time as Governor, I proposed such a solution to the farm worker problem in California offering full state aid and even suggesting the ministerial association to insure honesty in the balloting. All parties to the dispute said, "yes" except Mr. Chavez's union. No reason was given for the refusal except that one of his staff did say something about farm workers not being informed enough to make such a decision for themselves.

At the moment, the attack centers on the Gallo Company. There is no point in reciting all the charges of slave labor conditions and worker exploitation. However, one example is a widely heralded photostat of a paycheck to a Mr. Gonzales for \$1.10. Mr. Gonzales did receive such a check — for three days work. But, he and his family had been occupying a Gallo house prior to his starting work. His gross pay for the three days was \$75.62. The check was for \$1.10 because of deductions for rent, utilities, social security, state disability, a returnable clean-up deposit, and Union dues. Mr. Chavez's union uses the check off system to collect its dues as payroll deductions, so they must have known that. Mr. Gonzales' next two weekly checks were for \$159.80 and \$125.79, plus a \$13.00 refund he received because of an error in the utility bill deductions in that first check.

The Gallo Company employs 199 year-round workers plus 300 extras hired for the harvest season. The full-time employees averaged \$8000 a year in 1974 and they've had a raise for 1975. The part-time harvest workers earn as much as \$9.00 an hour. The package of fringe benefits is unusual — in fact, higher than for any other farm workers, and it applies to both permanent and temporary employees.

The package includes a paid pension plan, paid vacation, paid holidays, premium paid overtime, paid life insurance, paid unemployment insurance and health insurance, including major medical insurance for the entire family with the doctor of their choice. Any worker qualifies for all of this after only 80 hours work in any one month. This entire package is far more than the U.F.W. Union negotiates for its members.

So, enjoy, have a grape!

VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "No Time to Confuse")

Recently on these broadcasts I talked about a little book issued by the Institute for Contemporary Studies in San Francisco.

The book is called No Time to Confuse and it takes apart pretty thoroughly some widely-held notions about the role the federal government should play in finding, developing, allocating and setting the prices of America's energy resources.

It also looks with a jaundiced eye at the inability of many of our so-called energy experts to keep their eye on the need to provide ample energy for American needs at reasonable prices both now and in the future.

No Time to Confuse really is a critique of a three-year, four million dollar Ford Foundation study called A Time to Choose America's Energy Future.

That study, the 10 authors of No Time to Confuse conclude, is no more than a ringing call for Americans to turn out the lights, not only the electric lights but also the lights of freedom — freedom of choice, freedom to use personal resources as one sees fit and freedom to keep the fruits of one's labor.

They are not quite that blunt, the 10 economists and political scientists who write No Time to Confuse, but their message comes through loud and clear.

And that message is that a lot of America's leaders today have it backwards. Instead of being willing to sacrifice in the cause of individual freedom, they would have you and me — all of us — sacrifice our freedom in the name of that great socialist god — government planning.

The words "government planning" of course, are no more than a euphemism for "Government knows best". "Government" being a little group of self-annointed experts who view themselves as the masters, not the servants, of the people.

Government knows best in Russia. It knew best in Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy where the price for making the trains run on time was freedom. For in civilized countries wherever freedom is limited it is limited by one major tenet: Government knows best.

As Professor Arman Alchian, one of the authors of No Time to Confuse, notes — quote — "It is no accident that the strongest appeals for political action — make that read government controls — in the present situation are made by the strongest opponents of free-enterprise activity; those who would prefer to cripple the process of voluntary exchange through market prices." — unquote.

Now, whether we like it or not a great deal of our freedom as Americans is tied to the free market and our competitive free enterprise system.

Every time government adds a control it takes away a little more of our freedom of action; our freedom of choice. Yet, as Professor William H. Riker, in his look at the ideology of the Ford report points out, that report believes that the federal government should set up an Energy Policy Council that would set mandatory guidelines at the federal level. That, Riker notes, adds up to imposing a dictatorial policy-maker over all Americans.

And don't say it can't happen here. It's already begun. Government controls are fast becoming a way of life in America and can only get worse unless we, the people, rise up and demand that big government, once and for all, get off of our backs.

No Time to Confuse, incidentally, is something every believer in free enterprise should read. If you'd like a copy, drop me a line care of this station and I'll send your letter along to the Institute for Contemporary Studies.

VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "Vietnam")

A debate has already begun whether the communist forces in Vietnam will eliminate great numbers of people in the lands they have captured.

Those who have been most vocal against helping the South Vietnamese in their fight to remain free pooh-pooh the idea and call it scare talk. Some of them I'm sure are aware they won't have to eat their words. With a surrender will come a lowering of a curtain around the entire area. We'll hear only what the conquerors want us to hear. There will, of course, be escapees, or correspondents who'll wait until they are safely out before telling us of atrocities they've witnessed. But like with the great slaughter in Red China, there will be a reluctance on the part of many to believe these stories. It's easier not to believe them. And so the debate will never be resolved. The only losers will be the human beings who will be executed behind the curtain of silence.

Sometimes it seems the Europeans are more realistic about these things. They are already getting the word. A diplomatic report to France puts at 3600 the figure of those already put to death in one town alone in the central highlands taken by the communists a few weeks ago. Who were those executed and why? Well, the usual types the conquerors will already have earmarked when they arrive — South Vietnam civil servants, former employees of American companies or of our military.

Why should this surprise anyone? In the library of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University you can see the Gestapo book listing by name the 10,000 Englishmen who were to be executed when the Nazis invaded England in World War II. Dictators have a very practical idea — eliminate anyone who has the potential to be a leader and who, therefore, could make trouble. And above all, strike terror to the hearts of the rest.

In Rome, the Jesuit Society has been notified that the Vietnamese Catholic Bishop of Fa Lat has been executed. Why? He was a Bishop, wasn't he? The refugees add to the mounting horror with stories of wholesale slaughter of local police and government officials. They report that captured soldiers are tied together in bundles and killed with a single grenade.

The London Daily Telegraph carries similar dispatches and adds — quote — "a minimum figure of a million executions in the whole of South Vietnam if the communists take over does not seem far-fetched and it could be much higher." — unquote. Let's see, a million in a country of 19 million. To give you an idea of what that means — if it were our own country, that would be the same as executing between 11 and 12 million Americans.

The horror mounts in the dispatches to European capitols. To discourage the people from fleeing the communist advance, one report tells of Viet Cong driving Russian-built trucks at high speed over and through crowds of refugees. Others were shelled by artillery.

One of Britain's leading experts on Vietnam, P. J. Honey, has written: — quote — "No matter how the U.S. Congress may rationalize, no matter how communist apologists in the free world may argue, no matter what conciliatory promises Hanoi or Liberation radio stations may broadcast, a communist victory in South Vietnam will result in killings on a vast scale." — unquote.

Meanwhile, we still have 1300 men listed as missing in action over there. That was only one of the cease fire terms violated by Hanoi.

VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "Land Use")

In 1974, the previous Congress — specifically the House of Representatives — rejected a Federal bill to require the states to adopt land use planning. The bill had influential support, and its defeat was a surprise given the so-called Watergate climate of last year. The explanation was an impassioned public outcry against this new form of Federal coercion.

Now, Congressman Udall of Arizona, one of the principal sponsors of last year's defeated bills, is back with a new version. In order to avoid some of last year's objections, he has made some changes. Last year's bill would have cut off Federal airport, highway, and conservation aid to states that failed to adopt Federally approved land use plans. This year's bill would not do that. In addition, the new bill pays a little more attention to the understandable concerns of a group of America's most important efficient producers — our farmers.

All Mr. Udall wants to do is to provide a half billion — that's billion spelled with a B - 1/2 billion dollars in funds over the next six years to set up state planning councils. There's just one catch. The states don't get the bulk of their money until and unless their plans win the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

Well, no one would deny that Federal bribery is preferable to Federal blackmail. But why, in this matter so clearly better suited to handling by state and local governments, are we talking about Federal intervention at all?

With all the issues we the voters have to take into account when we elect an American President, why should we add the issue of state land-use planning? Isn't the election for Governor more likely to be relevant to an issue of this sort? Why, for example, should the voters of New York help to settle the land use problems of Hawaii, and vice versa?

Our governors and state legislatures may be far from perfect — I know this all too well — but when it comes to deciding the future of their land, I think most Americans would prefer a statewide decision to one blueprinted by a Washington Bureaucrat in the Federal administration.

You could even go a step further, and many citizens will. The mayor and city council are in a better position to make sensible land-use decisions than is the governor and the legislature. In simpler days, this was known as local zoning.

Zoning is not a perfect process. It has winners and losers. But it permits the average American to attempt to protect his property in understandable human terms. Unless and until we want to replace our nation of small land-holders with one in which all property is ultimately vested in the state, we'll do well to keep rejecting land-use planning at the Federal level.

VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "Peace")

While in London, I had an opportunity to visit with various government officials including those concerned with foreign affairs. Inevitably, the conversation turned to the world situation and how to maintain peace. And just as inevitably, the Soviet Union was automatically accepted as the possible threat to peace, just as 40 years ago it was Nazi Germany that loomed as the storm cloud on the horizon. And, of course, that storm cloud did eventually fill the sky and rain fire on all the world.

The leaders of that generation saw the growing menace and talked of it, but reacted to the growing military might of Germany with anguished passiveness. Will it be said of today's world leaders as it was of the pre-World War II leaders, "they were better at surviving the catastrophe than they were at preventing it"?

World War II did not happen because the nations of the free world engaged in a massive military build-up. In most countries, including our own, "too little too late" described the reaction to the Nazi military colbossus.

What does it take for us to learn? On every hand here and abroad when the suggestion is made that we strengthen the military capability of Nato, the reply is that it's not politically expedient to increase spending for armaments because the people are against it. Our own Congress which is willing to run an \$80 billion deficit for every kind of social experiment screams long and loud for reduction of the budget for defense. But have any of the political leaders laid the facts out for the people?

Of course, the overtaxed citizenry in Europe and America want government spending reduced. But if we are told the truth, namely that enough evidence of weakness or lack of will power could tempt the Soviet Union as it once tempted Hitler and the military rulers of Japan, I believe our decision would be in favor of an ounce of prevention. Certainly we haven't forgotten that after World War II the Japanese told us they decided on war when they saw our army staging war games with wooden guns. They also took note that one month before Pearl Harbor Congress came within a single vote of abolishing the draft and sending the bulk of our army home.

It has recently been revealed that for 12 years a behavioral scientist at the University of Hawaii has headed up a team of distinguished colleagues in a federally-funded, computerized study of international behavior. Summed up in one sentence, they have learned that "to abdicate power is to abdicate the right to maintain peace".

The study focused mainly upon Red China, Russia and the United States. Every bit of data from trade to tourism — from threats to treaties — was fed into the computers. The findings prove conclusively that what Lawrence Beilenson wrote in his book, "The Treaty Trap", is true. Nations that place their faith in treaties and fail to keep their hardware up don't stick around long enough to write very many pages in history."

According to the report — quote — "It is not equality in power that reduces hostility and conflict. Rather it is power dominance or submission. Peace is purchased by making yourself stronger than your adversary — or by dismantling power and submitting to one's enemies." — unquote.

Power is not only sufficient military strength, but a sound economy, a reliable energy supply and credibility — the belief by any potential enemy that you will not choose surrender as the way to maintain peace. Thomas Jefferson said, "the American people won't make a mistake if they are given all the facts."

VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "Government : Big vs. Small" — No. 1)

One of the most frustrating feelings for the average man is that of helplessness as he attempts to deal with government that seems ever to grow bigger and more centralized. He watches in near helplessness as Big Brother determines more and more what is best for him and at the same time grows more distant.

The average citizen throws up his hands in dismay whenever he contemplates the possibility of having to deal with the federal government, the state government or even the governments of most large cities.

The saying that "you can't fight city hall" is usually an understatement. Most of the time you can't even find who it is in city hall you want to fight.

Bigness in itself is no sin, but nevertheless in this country we've always tried to see that nothing got so big it became unmanageable.

For that reason we have anti-trust laws aimed at keeping bigness in business and industry from becoming all encompassing.

Unfortunately, on another front — organized labor — we've done nothing to stop unions from getting so big and powerful they become the masters rather than the servants of their members and often pose a threat to the stability of our entire economy.

And on still another front — government — we've voted into office year after year legislators and executives who push for bigger more powerful government and more, and more centralized, authority, all in the name of doing what is best for the people.

So while we don't like it, we must admit that much of the fault is our own. We've complained about big government but then we've voted for it.

One reason probably is that many voters have fallen for the old line that small government is ineffective, is unable to deal with our problems, is inefficient and is expensive. We've been told that only big government, with its accompanying high salaries, attracts competent managers and honest legislators.

Well, don't you believe it.

One of the things we did in California in 1973 was to put to work a task force to study the possibility of local government reform; to see if, in fact, we could get better, more responsive government by consolidating some of our very small units of government.

We had seen a 1966 study by the Committee for Economic Development which, in brief, advocated fewer and larger governments, reduction of duplication and overlap and provision of one visible center of authority. And on the surface that looked pretty good. If by consolidating governments you can make government more effective and more responsive to the citizens' needs than that's the way to go.

But our task force refused to take that 1966 study as gospel. Instead it began its study from scratch and after nearly a year's work this is what it found — I quote — "A system of highly flexible and independent local government units is as capable or more capable of providing the quality of service that people expect than is a centralized and consolidated government system." — unquote.

It goes on to say that consolidation of local governments would actually "produce a system less likely to provide public services of a quality and at a cost that suit the diverse preferences" of the average citizen. In other words, bigger, when it comes to government, isn't necessarily better or cheaper.

The next time someone tells you that consolidated government or regional government is the only way to go, just remember that song from Porgy and Bess: "It ain't necessarily so".



VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan

(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "Government: Big vs. Small" — No. 2)

Yesterday I discussed a study on local government reform which must have confounded the liberal establishment wherever it was read because it gave the lie to that old saw that only big government can meet the needs of the people.

The study to which I refer was done, I must admit, by a task force I appointed in 1973 when I was still Governor of California. It was — and is — one of those rarities, a study done by a group of independent experts that came up with answers totally contrary to the conventional wisdom of our day.

Some of those answers it found are worth repeating because they reflect feelings the average man finds difficult to express and when he does express them finds all too often that those in authority will not listen.

For instance, the study found that the average citizen's satisfaction with government increases as the size of the governmental unit gets smaller. He also found that there is a strong desire among the people for decentralizing governmental authority and responsibility.

In large central cities there is also a significant demand for some form of neighborhood organization to affect the delivery of public services. "Power to the people", it seems, is more than just a radical slogan; it is also a need felt by many good citizens.

The study also finds that there is a strong preference by citizens toward maintaining the autonomy of local governments and that they want to decide the structure of their local government at the ballot box rather than through the legislature or even through appointed local officials.

Our study also took a look at local government reform in socialist Sweden where they reduced the number of local governments from 2,500 to 250. They found that these things resulted:

Voter participation in local elections declined.

Citizen participation in volunteer civic and service organizations declined.

Local elected officials began to differ markedly from the bulk of their constituents and tended to follow "the dictates of their consciences" rather than the wishes of their constituents. And, finally, the resistance of elected officials to spending programs decreased.

It is all quite reminiscent of what's been happening here in America in recent years as government has grown bigger and more powerful. Here, too, voter participation has been declining. Fewer and fewer people are taking an interest in volunteer activities — it is easier to let the government do it. Too often our elected officials cease to represent us and, instead inflict their views on us. And, finally, you may have noticed, the bigger government gets, the bigger a chunk of our income it takes and the more it spends on your behalf whether you want it or not.

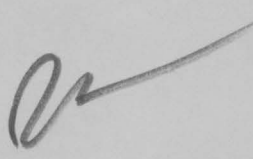
A little bit of Sweden, it appears, is like a little bit of knowledge — it can be a dangerous thing to our heritage of keeping government close, responsive and responsible to the people.

We've already lost a lot of that heritage. Only we, the people, can make sure that we don't lose it all.

VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan

DISC #9

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**VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan**  
**(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "The Amazing DeBolts")**

To look at Dorothy DeBolt, an attractive, slim, well-dressed Piedmont, California woman, you'd never expect her to be the mother of 19 children, but she is.

That's right. She and her husband Bob have 19 children, 13 of whom are adopted or under their legal guardianship.

It all began when Dorothy, as a young widow, moved her family of seven (including two adopted Korean boys) from the California Gold Rush country to the San Francisco Bay Area. Active musically, they performed for local groups and on national television.

Five years ago, Dorothy and Bob DeBolt were married. His 11-year-old daughter joined the family. Dorothy began speaking to women's groups about the special joys of adoption, and the family's interest moved more and more toward what they call "special kids" — those children which adoption agencies once considered "unadoptable". These are the kids with physical handicaps, many from birth; those from racially mixed marriages; and those who have been "battered" by parents.

Today, if you walk into the DeBolt home, you'll find everything tidy and outside a neatly trimmed garden, including a large vegetable plot. The boys and girls — all ages, races and with a variety of physical handicaps — pitch in to help each other and to share family chores. Overall, the sense of warmth, love and mutual respect is tangible.

Newest arrivals to the DeBolt family are two girls from a Saigon orphanage, one of whom was in that C-5 evacuation air crash. The other girl was on one of the last planes out of Vietnam.

About her brood and all the "special kids", Dorothy DeBolt says, "The child who is handicapped, be it mentally or physically, is possessed of a certain spark, perhaps a compensating factor put there by God. Whatever it may be, if we, the so-called 'normal people' will nourish that spark, we will discover that not only the lives of the children, but our own are immeasurably enriched."

As if rearing this big, diverse and very happy family wasn't enough, the energetic DeBolts have created a foundation, Aid to Adoption of Special Kids, which they call AASK. AASK isn't an adoption agency. Instead, it promotes the adoption of such children, and it works to change the conventional attitudes which still prevail among many adoption workers, that these children are "unadoptable". The Foundation also underwrites special costs for adoptive parents and special kids, such as modification of the home for special equipment; therapy; attorneys' adoption fees, and so forth.

There is no lack of youngsters to be adopted, says Mrs. DeBolt. In 1970, the last year for which statistics are available, there were 60,000 adoptable children in the U.S., many in the "special kid" category — physically handicapped, older children and those from racial minorities.

At a time when some people think you should be able to terminate a pregnancy with the ease with which tonsils are removed; and a time when some public officials have forgotten the words on the base of the Statue of Liberty when it comes to opening our land to Southeast Asian refugees, the remarkable DeBolts stand as a shining example of that spirit of compassion and generosity which has marked America for generations.

VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "The Washington Media")

Washington bureaucrats build pyramids of regulations which greatly affect our lives and business practices. Those with the most direct effect on us are those operating in the so-called regulatory agencies.

They exercise both legislative and judicial powers to such an extent that some call them the Fourth Branch of Government. When it comes to violations of their regulations, they are prosecutor, judge and jury all in one.

Occasionally, though, these regulators do strike a course that upholds competition and a freer market economy. Such a case was one Federal Communications Commission's decision concerning the joint ownership of broadcasting facilities and newspapers. The FCC rules that when the ownership of a radio or television station is transferred — and only when it is transferred — there must be a separation of the newspaper and broadcast ownership in the same market. With this rule they hoped to increase the diversity of media voices, though the process would obviously be a slow one.

Currently there is a case before the FCC which will test this rule. The Washington Star seeks to sell effective control of both the newspaper and its TV and radio affiliates. The new owner must therefore get a waiver from the FCC of its rule if he is to continue ownership of all three media. Observers in Washington are speculating whether the regulators will have the fortitude to stick by their ruling in the face of pressure from the liberal-oriented press. Most commentators in the Washington press and in the broadcasting trade press are predicting that the FCC will give in and permit transfer of control over all the Washington Star's properties. Oddly, this case isn't one of an ailing media property finding only a single buyer, for there is an alternative bidder, John P. McGoff, a Michigan publisher, who is seeking to buy the newspaper only, without the broadcast properties.

There's wide agreement, I would suppose, that our nation's capital city — and thus the nation — would best be served by having two competing newspapers in Washington, D.C., especially two papers with strong, alternative views. Unhappily, under current management, the Star appears to be drifting toward the liberal-leaning cast of its competitor, the Post. If the FCC waives its multiple-ownership rule, it is likely that Washington will end up with two newspapers still, but only a single media viewpoint.

What confounds many observers in the Washington Star case is the apparent lack of any sound philosophical basis for the FCC to waive its rule. It is particularly puzzling since an experienced publisher stands ready to make a bid for the Star and operate the newspaper independent of any other media interests in the Washington area.

Wherever we live, this is a case of interest to all of us. It's important that we have two divergent and vigorous voices represented in the nation's capital city, especially in its newspapers. Will the regulators of the FCC in Washington have the courage of their convictions? We'll soon find out.

VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "Italian Bureaucracy and the U. S. Treasurer")

On an earlier broadcast you may have heard me say that if we in the United States doubled our troubles we'd still be better off than most any other country in the world.

It's probably true even when it comes to the bureaucracy. Though I've given some examples of mind-boggling bureaucratic inefficiency here in the United States, the world's championship, apparently, rests with Italy, but the Italians are working hard to lose it.

For generations, Italy has been adding bureau on top of bureau on top of bureau. There are now nearly 60,000 separate government agencies, each with its own head man — one for every 900 Italian citizens!

Jurisdictions overlap, civil service jobs are treated as lifelong sinecures, and once an agency is created it seems to go on forever, despite the end of its usefulness.

The Welfare Agency for the Veterans of the Garibaldi Campaigns is still in operation, despite the fact the last campaign ended 115 years ago. There is also the Commission to Aid the Victims of the Eruption of Mt. Vesuvius, the Assistance Board of Midwives and the Agency to Administer Relief Funds from the United States After World War II, which still has 30 employees in 10 rooms of a Roman palace even though relief stopped years ago.

Finally, after seven years working on it, the Italian parliament has passed a law designed to prune some of the deadwood and, it hopes, bring new efficiency to the remaining agencies. The law provides that a new commission will, over the next three years, mark for extinction those agencies which are no longer needed, such as some of the ones I've mentioned.

But we have in the U.S. at least federal office that is about as superfluous as some of those Italian government bureaus. It's the Office of the Treasurer of the United States. As you probably know, the Treasurer is the person whose signature appears on all our currency. Traditionally, for the last two decades or so, the Treasurer has been a woman. That signature on the dollar bills, by the way, is itself only a tradition. It isn't required by law.

Until a year ago, the Treasurer of the United States did have something other than this ceremonial function. The Office had the responsibility of keeping track of the federal checking account, but Congress has now shifted that duty to the new Bureau of Government Financial Operation.

What does the Treasurer do now? Her days are spent giving speeches in support of savings bonds and, according to a recent newspaper report, to "communicate the programs and policies" of the Administration.

As for signing her name, when the current occupant, Mrs. Francine Neff came aboard, she provided samples of her signature to the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. They selected the one they liked, and that was that. It's been on your folding money ever since.

The Treasurer's salary is \$36,000 a year and she has a staff of six, including a press secretary and a private secretary. They help her organize and publicize her speaking schedule. The rest of her time, she says, is spent autographing dollar bills that people send to her.

Now I have no quarrel with the Mrs. Neff herself, but in the face of an incredible federal deficit budget somewhere between \$60 and \$80 billion, you have to start trimming somewhere. Do we really need a \$36,000-a-year lady to sign dollar bills and tub-thump for savings bonds and the President? And does she need six people to help her? Maybe we should ask the Italian Commission on Superfluous Commissions to come over and give us a recommendation.

VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "United Nations")

Probably only those who lived through the horror of World War II can know how much hope we invested in the United Nations. The greatest blood-letting man had ever known was finally ended and most cynical believed that this time we might have a peace that wouldn't lay the ground work for another war.

We were happy to pay a major share of funding the new world organization that would (we hoped) outlaw war.

We were just beginning to enjoy peace when North Korea crossed the 38th Parallel in an unexpected, unprovoked and brutal assault that almost drove Americans based in South Korea into the sea.

This was the first test of the United Nations and they responded. The war in Korea was fought under the United Nations flag. True, Americans did most of the fighting while Russia took a walk — proving that ideology is thicker than water. The Soviets didn't exactly stay out of the Korean action. Our air-men fought against MIG fighter planes and our ground forces were killed by Russian-made weapons.

Under the UN flag, of course, it wasn't a war. It was a "police action" and so it was fought to no conclusion. The aggressor wasn't punished, he just wasn't allowed to win. But then neither were we. It was a new experience for a nation that had never lost a war. We didn't lose that one, I suppose — just some 50,000 fine young men.

Not too many years later, the show opened again in a different theatre — Vietnam. This time, there was a difference. The United Nations wasn't having any of it. Several times we suggested that Vietnam really was their problem. The answer was "no". So we went it almost alone.

The UN never got around to explaining why this wasn't a legitimate peace-keeping chore for them. Nor have they explained why they turned us down when the North Vietnamese violated not only the 1973 cease fire but also the Geneva Convention concerning the treatment of prisoners. By its charter, the UN is obliged to "promote universal respect for and observance of fundamental human right". There's more. Around the first of April, we asked for UN help in evacuating refugees. Again, they said, "no".

Hanoi, meanwhile, played a cruel game of cat-and-mouse. First, they denied any knowledge of 1300 Americans missing in action. Then, a year ago, they returned the bodies of 23 service men they admitted had died in their prison camps. More recently, they inexplicably informed Senator Kennedy's office that they did have a list of the missing after all. Now they've released the names of three more they claim were killed in action.

Senator Domenici of New Mexico has authored a resolution which calls for the United Nations to produce an accounting of service men missing in action or we reduce our payment from 25% of the UN budget to 10%.

Why not?

VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "Red Sea")

You may have thought that the Soviet Union had enough to celebrate with the conquest of Indochina and the recent leftward tilt of Portugal. If so, you'd be wrong. Political developments in the Middle East and near the vital Horn of Africa could give the Soviets military control of the major commercial passage between Asia and Europe.

There are three pieces to the puzzle. The first is the imminent reopening of the Suez Canal, which will greatly reduce the time it takes the Soviet Union to get its ships into the Mediterranean. With the canal open, the Red Sea becomes the naval gateway to Europe.

But the Red Sea itself is difficult to enter at its opposite, or southern, end. A power which can control the Gulf of Aden (Ay-den) can prevent traffic into the Red Sea, and thus close off the shortest link between Asia and Europe. Shipping which does not utilize the Red Sea and Suez Canal has to go all the way around the Cape of Good Hope at the southern end of Africa.

Two countries face onto the Gulf of Aden, one in Africa and the other in Asia, on the extreme southern tip of the Arabian Peninsula. These countries are Somalia and South Yemen. They are both newly independent Moslem countries, though South Yemen is Arab and Somalia predominantly Negro.

But these two vitally located countries also have one other thing in common: they are both close to being satellites of the Soviet Union.

South Yemen, with its British-built port of Aden, recently held a conference of its ruling National Front party. The major decisions all went in favor of the pro-Soviet faction headed by National Front Secretary-General Abdel Fattal Ismail, and against the more independent faction led by President Salem Robaye Ali. The party decided on a Popular Front-type merger with the Communists and the far-left Baath Party. It also decided to reject an offer of Arab aid financed by Saudi Arabia in favor of continued dependence on the Soviet Union.

The Arab offer was contingent upon the government's adoption of a policy more independent of Soviet wishes. Finally, the ruling party decided to redouble its efforts against the neighboring conservative sheikhdom of Oman, which is nearly as vital to access to the oil-rich Persian Gulf as South Yemen is to the Red Sea. To give an idea of how left-wing the government is already, South Yemen is the only Arab country which has persecuted the Moslem religion.

The situation in Somalia, the country that dominates the Horn of Africa, has gone even further, according to a report by the respected Institute for the Study of Conflict. The Institute found that — (Quote) — "The expanding Soviet presence amounts, on the evidence of factual reports from the country, to a process of gradual satellization." — (Unquote). The group estimates that there are 3600 Soviet nationals in Somalia, Soviet advisers in the office of the president, and KGB officers running the Somali police and, increasingly, the army. The Russians reportedly have unhindered access to both sea and air bases in the country.

We in the West continue to ignore events of this sort. But the Soviet push for power goes on and on.

**VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan**  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "Nuclear Power")

Today I'm going to talk about something going on in California because it could happen to all of us.

An overly excited group of Californians have formed a group called "People For Proof". And, if they have their way, we could see a halt to the building of nuclear power plants which are badly needed to provide us with economical, non polluting electrical power.

"People For Proof" wants to put an issue on the California June primary ballot in 1976 which will have the people voting to receive proof of safety, beyond any reasonable need, before any nuclear power plants can be built.

Now, everyone is for safety and I'm sure we wish our highways could be 100% safe, that people wouldn't slip in bathtubs and that we'd never have soup spilled down our back in a crowded restaurant. But there aren't any sure things in life except the old standbys, death and taxes.

Today, 48 nations besides our own are generating electricity at low cost by use of nuclear reactors. So far, there has not been one single accidental death caused by nuclear reactors.

How many tests are too many? The most recent one was made by the Atomic Energy Commission. It cost \$3 million and went on for two years. When you add up the number of distinguished consultants who were involved, it figures out to 50 man-years of effort.

Now, if you were at the race track and the handicappers told you the odds on a certain horse were 100 to 1, you'd figure his chances of winning were pretty slim.

Well, our experts in the nuclear power study have put the odds on a fatal accident occurring in a nuclear power plant at 300 million to 1. That makes it safer than all the other causes of accidental death put together. Put another way, it's about as likely as your being run over by a horse in your bathtub.

Now, the leaders in back of "People For Proof" know all this, which makes you wonder why they're bent on throwing another roadblock in the path of getting some badly needed electric power production.

Are they suggesting there must be an absolute guarantee of the complete impossibility of anything ever going wrong? The record so far is one of 100% safety and to repeat the odds again as given by the best experts in the field are 300 million to one. We don't start out in life with odds that good on making our three score and ten.

Now I know this is a California problem — at the moment. But this kind of group is as contagious as the Hong Kong Flu, so I thought you might like a warning.



**VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan**  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "Recession's Cause")

The present business recession, and the numerous hardships it has caused, has been with us long enough that we tend to forget how unexpected it was. Just last September, the Ford Administration was discounting the possibility of recession; the president of General Motors was predicting a five percent increase in 1975-model car sales, and a forecast by 50 eminent economists announced we were heading for a fourth-quarter economic upturn.

Not a single one of those 50 economists predicted what actually occurred: the worst economic slump in America since the Depression of the 1930's. In the last six months, industrial production has dropped nearly 13 percent and unemployment has risen 50 percent, to a figure higher than at any time since 1941. With an expanded worker market, there are two and a half million fewer jobs than there were six months ago.

If we're going to avoid a similar economic disaster in the future, we'd better understand how we got into this one. There is not a single member of our executive or legislative branches who should fail to read a survey by James P. Gannon that appeared in a recent edition of the Wall Street Journal, or at least this part of it; and I quote — "Extensive interviews with academic economists, business forecasters, corporate executives and other analysts across the country indicate that they are still sifting the debris of their shattered expectations for the answers. That process may go on for months or years, but the most important conclusion already is evident: the root cause of this recession was rampant inflation." — Unquote.

Let me repeat that last sentence: The root cause of this recession was rampant inflation. For some people — particularly some of our national policymakers in both the legislative and executive branch — this statement cannot be repeated often enough. Some of them are proposing budget deficits and monetary expansion which would cause a repetition of the inflation that got us into this trouble in the first place. In other words, they are taking the cause of the recession and adopting it as a cure. The result of such folly, this time, is all too predictable: a repetition of extreme inflation followed by extreme recession, probably in even more exaggerated form.

How did inflation cause the recession? Well, says Mr. Gannon and the analysts he interviewed, there were really two recessions. The first was a consumer recession, which in turn triggered the business recession we are now feeling. All through the high-inflation years of 1973 and 1974, says Mr. Gannon, (Quote) — "Consumers ran a losing race with prices . . . The working man's income just couldn't keep up with double-digit inflation. Real spendable earnings — take-home pay after tax and price increases are considered — fell 8.8 percent between November 1973 . . . and last month . . . consumers lapsed into a state of inflation-shock. Frightened and confused, they cut back spending, postponing purchases of things that weren't absolutely essential." — (Unquote) Because of this decline in demand, business belatedly cut back its production — which is the last part of the recession, the one that's been visible.

Have our policymakers learned the lesson of this recession — that the primary enemy is inflation — or will they cause a new bout of even worse inflation, and the consumer recession that will go with it? The price for ignoring history this time may be a depression.

**VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan**  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "Portugal")

On April 25, the people of Portugal sent a message to the left-wing military dictatorship that seized power a year ago. In Portugal's first relatively free elections in half a century, the well-financed Communist Party got little more than 12 percent of the vote. By contrast, the Socialist Party — an ally of such pro-western European parties as the West German Social Democrats and the British Laborites — led the voting with 38 percent of the total. The middle-of-the-road Portuguese Popular Democrats, or PPD, won 26 percent. The other party to surpass the five percent minimum for representation in the constituent assembly was the Christian Democratic Socialists, the only conservative party permitted to participate. It got seven percent. Thus, taking only those parties to be represented in the Assembly, 71 percent voted pro-NATO, compared to just 12 percent for the Communists. The message to the nation's military rulers couldn't have been clearer.

Whether they'll heed it is another matter. Long before the voting, the left-wing officers who have taken control moved to strip the Constituent Assembly of all but symbolic powers. It forced the leading parties to agree in advance to the Armed Forces Movement's version of a new constitution, and to at least five more years of military rule. In addition, the government moved to preempt many of the nation's policy options. They forced the centralization of the trade-union movement under Communist control, and nationalized such key sectors of the economy as steel, insurance, and banking without consultation with any of the parties. It's clear from the election returns that none of these moves would have won approval in a democratic parliament.

That's not all. The government turned over control of state television and all but one of the country's newspapers to the Communists. The Communists also control the militia and most of the local governments — the very bodies that were conducting the election. Several non-Communist parties were outlawed, and the non-Communist parties that remained legal were subjected to constant harrassment by leftist street hoodlums.

With all these factors at work the Portuguese electorate needed not only intelligence but courage to vote as it did. Out of six million, one hundred thousand eligible voters, five million, nine hundred thousand went to the polls. Information Minister Jorge Jesuino (Hayes-u-ino), one of the most left-wing of the ruling faction, had told the people to show support for the armed forces by voting blank ballots. He told the world press he hoped 40 percent would do so. Seven percent did. After the election, Jesuino said the people had shown civic duty but political immaturity in their vote for the pro-Western parties. For some people, maturity seems to equal slavery.

The people of Portugal have spoken. They have voted to reject Communism by inference and to stay in the Western alliance. It's up to the government to heed their word.

VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan  
(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "Government Computers")

A New Jersey newspaper recently reported a story that bears repeating. It begins with a familiar scene. A woman and her daughter-in-law having a mid-morning cup of coffee at the kitchen table. The woman's husband leaving to go down to the store for a few groceries. He's retired on a \$642 a month income as the result of serious injuries he has suffered, in addition to which he has that curse of the coal miner, black lung disease.

Just after his departure, the mail arrives. His wife opens a letter from the Social Security Administration. According to the news story, it was a good thing she was sitting down. Her daughter-in-law saw her alarm and asked, "What's the matter, Ma?" Her mother said, "It's Social Security — they want Pop's death certificate. They got him dead." "Don't tell him, he'll die of a heart attack," the daughter said.

Up to here, the story gets a laugh — but not for long. That \$642 monthly check has been reduced to \$281. You see, the declaration by Social Security that the head of the household had passed away wipes out the disability benefits to which he is legally entitled. After all, a dead man can hardly be eligible for disability payments.

The very much alive deceased and his wife (widow, according to Social Security) have since been patiently making periodic trips and phone calls to the Social Security Administration offices in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, trying to refute as Mark Twain once did, the report of his death which he described as "somewhat premature".

The officials, according to the news story, are sympathetic, courteous and a little bit embarrassed. They appear also to be unable to solve the problem. Heaven forbid they should tell a computer it goofed. The head of the Perth Amboy office refused to discuss the matter with the press. He said, "regulation number one forbids such a discussion". He did say, however, that administrative officials in Baltimore had been notified of the mistake and that every effort was being made to restore the victim to the ranks of the living. So far, they haven't suggested a trip to the Shrine of Lourdes.

One bright note — the family's financial plight has been eased a little. Social Security sent them a check for \$710 to cover the funeral.

**VIEWPOINT with Ronald Reagan**  
**(Reprint of a Radio Program entitled "Adoption")**

During my last two years as Governor, I did a weekly, one hour TV question-and-answer program. The questioning was done by high school students — a different group each week, chosen by the state's Department of Education. The program was entirely unrehearsed. I had no hint of what the questions would be and only met each class a few minutes before the taping began. The program was aired on the educational network and made available to our 1100 California school districts for closed circuit classroom use.

For me, I have to say, it was exciting and most enjoyable to meet these young people and to discover what concerned them about government and current issues. Several times, the subject got around to abortion and why the Government of California opposed abortion on demand.

One day, a pretty, fresh faced young lady, intelligent and sincerely concerned, asked me if abortion wasn't preferable to making a young, unmarried girl have a baby she didn't want and which would, therefore, grow up unloved and probably turn out to be a criminal. I gave an answer which apparently she hadn't considered. I told her there were literally millions of people in this country who wanted but could not have children and who waited eagerly — sometimes for years — to adopt the baby she had described; that such a child would not be unloved — very much the opposite was true.

There were always some raised hands and unanswered questions after the cameras were turned off and I always tried to stay around to answer them even though we were no longer on the air. This day, another equally attractive girl had her hand half raised. I called on her but she didn't have a question. Instead, she said, "I am adopted. I think a great deal of my folks and I think they feel the same about me." And then she added this unforgettable line, "I'm glad no one killed me."

I've just finished reading about the young mother in Columbus, Ohio who is dying of cancer. She has three handsome, lovely children: Sheri, age 12, Joey, who is 10 and another daughter, Amber, 6. There is no question about the love in this family. The mother made her situation known through the press. She wants someone who will take her children — keep them together and, most of all, love them.

The story I've just been reading quotes a spokeswoman for the hospital where the 32 year old mother is dying. She says: "This is the first time anything like this has ever happened. We were totally unprepared." They have had to call in volunteers to handle the flood of mail from couples who want to take in her children. They are not unwanted nor will they be unloved.

God Bless America!



# REAGAN

## for President

**CITIZENS FOR REAGAN**  
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Dear Fellow American,

The Reagan for President campaign is under way!

Millions of Americans have been anxiously waiting to hear this great news. They know that Ronald Reagan is the one American statesman who can set the nation on the path to peace, prosperity, and freedom.

He has firm and definite solutions to our welfare mess, to rising crime, runaway taxes, crippling inflation, and our out-of-control federal bureaucracy.

Ronald Reagan believes in the wisdom of our founding fathers...limited constitutional government, maximum freedom for the individual, and a healthy, growing, unfettered free enterprise system.

He wants to restore our weakened military posture, and he is determined to stand up to the threat of Communist imperialism.

Ronald Reagan is proud to be an American. You will be proud to have Ronald Reagan as your President.

Now is the time. Today. Join the march for America. Help put Ronald Reagan in the White House!

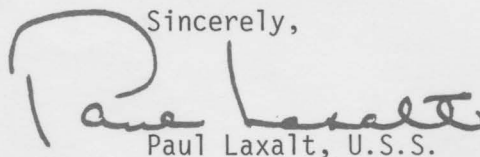
Make no mistake about it...liberal candidates have already amassed huge war chests for their 1976 Presidential drive. They plan to spend whatever is necessary to continue the policies of big spending, high taxes and increasing government control. Of course, they are aided in their efforts by liberal members of the news media.

This is our chance! Today...send your absolute maximum contribution to the Reagan campaign. Consider what your contribution will mean to the future of our nation. \$10, \$100, or \$1,000--we need your check immediately!

We urgently need hundreds of thousands of dollars to pay for printing, postage, staff salaries, TV & radio, rent, etc.

The future of freedom in America rests in our hands. Don't lay this letter aside! Send your generous contribution today.

Sincerely,

  
Paul Laxalt, U.S.S.



P.S. With your help, we are going to win!

If you receive more than one copy of this appeal . . .  
Please understand that we are using many mailing lists in  
this important project and that occasional duplications  
will occur. Won't you share any extra copies you receive  
with a friend? Thanks for your understanding and con-  
tinued support.

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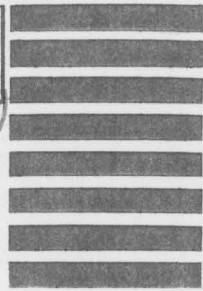
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# "THE SPIRIT OF '76!"

**SEND YOUR CHECK TODAY.**

Are you interested in helping to form citizen committees in your community?  
If so, please indicate and note your political position \_\_\_\_\_

*Individual political contributions are tax-deductible up to a total of \$25.00 per year.*

I want to help the "Citizens for Reagan" committee put Ronald Reagan in the  
White House.

My contribution is enclosed:

\$1,000    \$500    \$100    \$50    \$25    \$\_\_\_\_\_ Other

***Make all checks payable to Citizens for Reagan and return in this pre-paid envelope.***

In accordance with federal legislation, we are not able to accept either (a) any corporate checks whatever, or (b) any personal contributions over \$1,000. A copy of our report will be filed with the Federal Election Commission and will be available for purchase from that office in Washington, D.C.

This federal statute requires us to request the following information from you:

**OCCUPATION** \_\_\_\_\_

**BUSINESS ADDRESS** \_\_\_\_\_

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PAUL LAXALT  
NEVADA

*Reagan  
file*

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Fellow American,

The Reagan for President Campaign is going very well, but faces a very difficult situation.

The Ford-Rockefeller team is campaigning intensely around the nation and especially in the nation's first Presidential Primary state, New Hampshire.

Although neither the President nor the Vice President were selected by their Party nor elected by the people, they have successfully taken advantage of their positions.

Already they have amassed hundreds of thousands of dollars for their primary battles, and there is no doubt that thanks to the Rockefeller influence they can raise literally millions more.

Ronald Reagan has received a very warm reception to his speeches across the country and I can tell you as a loyal supporter that in the very near future he will explain to the nation why he is running for President.

But Ronald Reagan has a problem. Funds are very tight.

He has no "sugar-daddies" bankrolling his campaign, but must count upon the loyal support of thousands of Americans such as yourself.

Due to the distortions of the biased news commentators, Ronald Reagan must have hundreds of thousands, even millions of dollars for TV time so that he may speak directly to the American people.

He will tell them that as Governor of California he was successful in:

- reducing the number of individuals on welfare rolls by 400,000, while at the same time those truly needy individuals received a 43% increase in benefits!
- creating and returning an \$850 million surplus to the California taxpayers
- keeping the size of the California state government constant
- originating and signing a massive tax relief bill which resulted in a \$378 million saving to California's property owners and a \$110 million saving to renters.





Ronald Reagan can and will provide the leadership this nation needs so desperately, but he must have your support today!

Money is needed immediately for the fast approaching primary battles in New Hampshire and Florida. Thousands of dollars are needed for postage, campaign staffs, printing, advertising, etc.

Ronald Reagan needs your dollars today!

The Reagan Campaign is truly a campaign of the people. It will take a total commitment and the tireless efforts and personal sacrifice of thousands and thousands of Americans if we are to be successful in electing Ronald Reagan as President of the United States.

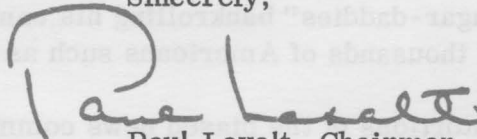
Send your contribution to Ronald Reagan today...\$20, \$50, \$100, or as much as \$1,000 is needed immediately!

With your support and faith and work I know we will carry the day for freedom.

The Reagan Campaign may just be the most important election of your lifetime. This time...before it is too late for our nation...make your total commitment...help elect Ronald Reagan President of the United States!

Please send whatever you possibly can...today!

Sincerely,



Paul Laxalt, Chairman  
Citizens for Reagan

PL/kme

P. S. Send the enclosed post card or your personal letter to Ronald Reagan letting him know you support his Presidential campaign and please return your contribution in the enclosed envelope today. Thank you.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

From: Robert T. Hartmann

To: Owen

Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Time \_\_\_\_\_ a. m.  
p. m.

Let's get  
original  
Mc Clatchey  
story



### No Decision Until Fall

# Ruling on Tapes Delayed

The constitutionality of the law giving former President Richard M. Nixon's White House tapes and documents to the government will not be resolved by a special three-judge federal panel until at least this fall, according to papers filed in U.S. District Court.

Attorneys for Nixon, the government, the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press and other parties in the case yesterday suggested a schedule to the panel that would have the judges hear oral arguments on the constitutional questions in late September. The

panel then would have to prepare a written finding on the claim by Nixon that the law is unconstitutional and that the materials belong to him.

Whichever way the panel rules, its decision is expected to be appealed to the Supreme Court, which would delay resolution of the issue further.

**NIXON HAS ARGUED** that the law, the 1974 Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act, is unconstitutional on 10 grounds.

Nixon contends that making the tapes and other

materials government property would, among other things, violate the separation of powers doctrine by interfering with presidential duties, violate the concept of presidential privilege, abuse the government's right of eminent domain, violate Nixon's right of privacy and intrude on privileged communications between him and his wife, attorney, minister and doctor.

While the court battle continues, the General Services Administration, which has custody of the Nixon presidential materials, has asked U.S. District Judge Aubrey E. Robinson Jr. for permission to transfer 262 boxes of the materials from the Old Executive Office Building and the National Archives Building to the National Records Center in Suitland.

**ANOTHER** federal judge last October ordered the materials to remain where they were pending resolution of the legal battle, but GSA said yesterday that that space is now "urgently needed for on-going government business."

GSA added that "When the materials were originally placed at the current locations, it was not anticipated that they would remain there for more than a few weeks."

The request by GSA stated that the security at the Suitland center is at least equivalent to that at the present locations and that the materials to be moved are "believed to be of the lowest possible sensitivity." — David Pike

## Open '76 Convention Suggested by Regan

Associated Press

Former California Gov. Ronald Reagan has suggested that Republicans hold an "open" 1976 nominating convention unless President Ford develops overwhelming national support by then.

In an interview with Leo Rennett of the McClatchey Newspapers, Reagan yesterday indicated he doubts that Ford will gain that level of support.

He said he has made no decision on whether he would challenge Ford for the Republican nomination, saying he will do so only if he finds in the next six months "a lack of deep support for the President and an indication that people want wider choices."

**HE SAID** "I cheered like hell" for Ford's handling of the Cambodian capture of the freighter Mayaguez and praised the President's proposal to ease federal regulation of major industries.

But Reagan criticized Ford for signing the tax cut bill and accepting a large federal deficit, charging both the President and Congress are concentrating on unemployment and neglecting the greater threat of inflation.

gestions made last week by former Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, a close friend of Ford, that the GOP have an open convention for the vice presidential nomination only.

**"LAIRD LOVES** to play political games — sometimes with tongue in cheek", he said. "I see no merit at all in his suggestion and I'm not interested."

Noting Republicans face an "unusual" situation with Ford serving as an appointed, not elected, president, Reagan said the convention should be open for both GOP spots unless there is a national "wave of applause" and "total satisfaction" with the President.

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