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SHELL
FOR GOVERNOR

Shell file

FULL TEXT OF SPEECH

BY

JOSEPH C. SHELL

Sports Arena Rally
May 23, 1962
8:00 P.M.

FROM: JACK GERMAIN and JAN LOTZ
NEWS ROOM
2942 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES 5, CALIFORNIA

DU 5-0091

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Tonight we are taking part in the rebirth of the Republican Party!
A rebirth which will mean victory in June -- and victory in November!
A rebirth which will mean a greater future for all the people in
California.

Several months ago there were few who would admit we had a chance in
this election.

Today, there are very few who would ^{deny} dare to say that we will not win!

We have witnessed -- throughout our State -- a political explosion virtually
never before seen
unprecedented in the history of California.

This surge -- this mighty groundswell of political action -- has confounded
the experts. It has caused anguish among the would-be political bosses. It is the
beginning of a new day in the political history of this State.

What is taking place this year in California is more than just another
election which comes along every four years.

- It is more than simply the election of one man.

It is the changing of the old guard for a new and dynamic and responsive
leadership.

It is the surge to override the hacks and the hangers-on.

These are times which call for a breakthrough to greatness. Working together, we who are young in heart and strong of purpose will make that breakthrough.

We shall win the victory.

We shall win on June the fifth.

We shall win on November the sixth.

You here tonight -- and the thousands upon thousands throughout the State who are with us -- are part of the new Republican Party. Part of a new breed of men and women who want a strong, clean, honest political movement. ~~Part of that large discontented group who want~~ ^{Every repub} a party free of rigged deals and closed slates; free from the excess baggages of past commitments and political skeletons.

In writing about the future of our party, President Eisenhower said that Republicans "should look forward, not backward." I agree. And, at such a time and in such a situation, we cannot afford to hitch our fortunes to falling stars. When victory is our goal, we cannot look upon the governorship of California as a consolation prize.

President Eisenhower also wrote that "one of (our) most formidable tasks is to build at the local level a far better organization than we have now." I agree.

Today, in this campaign of ours, we have over 140 working headquarters in the towns and cities and counties throughout the State. This is truly building the party at the local level. This is building at the grass roots -- the true source of strength for any successful political party.

It has been built -- not through taking want ads in newspapers asking for help, as Richard Nixon has done. We have done it through spontaneous, enthusiastic and overwhelming volunteer support.

By building from the grass roots up -- we will elect not only state-wide officers, we will also elect assemblymen, state senators and congressmen.

California Republicans can no longer afford the luxury of king-makers and

absentee political landlords. We can no longer allow our party to remain in the grasp of men who would use the party as a tool for their personal ambitions.

The fiasco of 1958 is a prime example. It cost us heavily.

This must not happen again.

This year, 1962, can be a turning point for the Republican party in California. We can turn from defeat to victory. We can do this if we will charge ahead with a new, clean, and dynamic leadership . . . a leadership which is unincumbered with past defeats; a leadership which is uninhibited about the future; a leadership which is unmortgaged with promises and deals.

Our ultimate goal this year is November 6th and victory over Pat Brown.

Mr. Brown has expressed a willingness to run on his record. And he will!

He must answer to the people for his indecision on the Chessman case. He must answer to the people for the continued increase in crime and narcotics. He must answer for increased taxes which are cutting such a large chunk out of our wages and pension payments. He must answer for the increase in the number of unemployed.

And, that's a lot to answer for: but he must. And he will.

But tonight, and in the days immediately ahead, we Republicans are engaged in a primary contest. My opponent -- at this time -- is not Pat Brown: my opponent now is Richard Nixon.

Therefore, I shall concentrate the balance of my remarks this evening to the race between myself and Mr. Nixon.

I am convinced that I am the only one who can beat Pat Brown in November.

The polls show it. The Democrats know it. The press has reached the same conclusion. And, Richard Nixon realizes it. His attempt to use the party machinery for his own campaign purposes; his resort -- during the past week -- to smear tactics attest to his desperation.

I must say to you, in what may seem to some to be unpleasant candor, that nothing solidifies the Democratic voters like the name and the thought of Richard Nixon.

This is not a matter of opinion. This is, unfortunately, a matter of fact and of record.

~~Richard Nixon is a loser.~~

His billboards read, "Win With Nixon" but many Republicans have good reason to give that board a cynical stare.

Let's look at the record.

In 1954, Richard Nixon attempted to carry the fight in the campaign for congressional seats. That year Republicans lost seats.

In 1958 he again attempted to lead the congressional campaign. Again Republicans lost seats.

Richard Nixon lost in 1960.

In that year, 1960, while incumbent Republican congressmen here in California piled up an aggregate plurality of more than 200,000 votes, Richard Nixon managed to squeak through California -- his home state -- with a margin of only 35,000 votes.

Richard Nixon would find it difficult -- if not impossible -- to pull the 20 percent of the Democratic votes necessary to win in November.

On the other hand, in the months preceding April 12 -- the cut-off date for registration in this primary -- thousands upon thousands of California Democrats switched their registration so that they could vote Republican and vote for me in the ~~primary.~~

They did this, not because of any personality cult, but because they believe in what I stand for and they know that I can be trusted to do what I say I will do.

As to the claim that many of these thinking Democrats switched registration so that they could sink Richard Nixon in the primary, let me cite two facts which plainly refute that argument:

First, it was not until recently -- after the closing of primary registrations -- that it became evident to the "experts" that I could win this primary. The Democrats who switched did so early in the year -- at a time when there seemed to many that there was little chance of primary victory. They were impelled by

conviction -- ~~not expediency or political trickery.~~

Second, anyone who thinks that the Democrats in this State -- or other parts of the country -- have been waging a rough and tough campaign against Richard Nixon fails to realize what's in store for Richard Nixon and the Republican party should he manage to win the primary.

California would then become a pawn in a national political power -- struggle. The full weight of the Kennedy administration would be brought into play -- and the best interests of the people of this State would be lost in the clouds of smoke and dust.

Jack or Bobby least reluctant - remember Steel & Brough
You may think that I am being unduly harsh in citing these facts. I am only being frank. I want the Republicans to elect a governor in November. ~~I know that I am the only one who can be elected.~~ I know I am the only one who can beat Pat Brown.

I suggest that it is important for Republicans to face these facts of political life and face them now -- rather than to try to ignore them and be forced to suffer a political hangover on November 7th.

Next, I must say to you in all humility, but also in complete honesty, that I believe I am the only one who can unite the party after the primary election.

I say this not with any implication of pique or petulance: I state it as a fact.

Because of the unfortunate way in which Richard Nixon has conducted this campaign -- as well as the unfortunate way he conducted his presidential campaign in 1960 -- he has alienated a large block of Republicans in this State.

Certainly some of these unhappy Republicans would support him in November should he manage to win the primary. But, a large number of Republicans would not vote for Richard Nixon -- and, also, a sizeable part of those who might vote for him would not get out and work for him ... would not get out and work for him in the way Republicans must work to win. |

Whether we like it or not, Republicans are the minority party in California. We cannot hope to win if our ranks are split by defection or disaffection. To win in California, a Republican candidate must not only pull at least 20 percent of the Democratic vote, he must also win virtually the solid support of his own party.

Richard Nixon cannot do that. I know I can.

My victory on June the 5th will be such a tremendous political explosion that it will not only push us into the governor's office, it will sweep legislative and congressional candidates into office as well.

You may ask why I believe those who support Richard Nixon now would support me after the primary.

I can give you what I consider to be several compelling reasons:

First, many of those now working for Richard made their commitments to him before they realized I was the only Republican who could beat Pat Brown. These people want to win in November. They will come with us. As a matter of fact, a great number of them have already come to this conclusion and have already switched to us -- before the primary.

Second, many of Richard Nixon's primary supporters are with him now out of a sense of loyalty from past associations and past campaigns. Loyalty is a fine attribute and I respect these people for it. But I also believe that after this primary is over, they will have paid their debt to Richard. They will then be perfectly comfortable in joining us in our drive to victory in November.

Third, and perhaps most important, these good people who are now working for Richard Nixon -- ~~and there are many fine people among his volunteers~~ -- will join with us because they know I will offer a clear and honest choice in November.

Thinking Democrats and Republicans -- alike -- are looking for such a clear-cut choice. They want candidates to stand up and be counted on the issues. They are tired of "me-too-ism" and fence-straddling. There will be no midnight trips to Manhattan for me.

I believe I am the better candidate because I know this State. I know its people. I know its problems and what must be done to meet them and to solve them.

I am more concerned with California than Cuba.

I am more concerned about the Muslim problem in Los Angeles than trouble in the Congo.

It is true that Richard Nixon has had political experience. He was well-trained for the Presidency. I worked hard for him in 1960 -- and in 1952 and 1956, as well.

But, Richard Nixon has had very little experience in the affairs of state government. And I suggest to you that when you are choosing a man to be governor you pick a man who has had experience ^{in Sacto} ~~at the state level.~~

For over nine years I have been a member of the State Assembly. For the last three of those years I was elected and re-elected Republican leader of the Assembly. During those years I have worked closely and constantly with other legislators. I have authored bills. I have served on important committees. And I have debated, pro-and-con, the issues of concern to the people of California.

When we are preparing to take a trip to Sacramento, ^{if not to Wash} ~~we would do well to travel with someone who has been there before. Someone who knows how to get there. Someone who knows his way around the Capitol.~~

~~The road to Washington may seem inviting to some -- but in this election our destination is Sacramento.~~

Ever since Richard Nixon first entered this primary race -- long after I had already declared, -- I have offered again and again to meet him in public debate. In this way we could air our views and our differences. The people have a right to this information.

I repeat that invitation tonight. I stand ready to meet with him anywhere, anytime, -- on radio, on television, or in public meetings.

So far he has refused to accept my invitation. He has, however, said he

would be willing to debate Pat Brown. His refusal to meet me and his willingness to meet Brown simply underscores his fear of debates: he is willing to debate the issues only against those he considers to be inept or weak-sisters, only when he thinks he has a chance of coming out at least even.

Throughout this campaign he has been playing a game of political "follow-the-leader." One week I discuss my program for rebuilding of the job and business climate; the next week he follows suit. One week I outline some of the details in my fight against crime and narcotics; the next week he can be expected to follow suit.

And so it goes: I lead -- he follows.

What Republicans want today -- and what California needs today -- is a leader, NOT a follower.

There are those who oppose party primary contests such as this one between Richard Nixon and myself. Some of these people are sincere, but, I believe, misguided. Some of them are primarily concerned with maintaining the old order of things.

I say to you, and to all Republicans everywhere, that the party which cannot stand a free and open primary has something wrong with it. Something inherently wrong that is more harmful than the possible strain of any primary race. If the day ever comes when the Republican party cannot engage in a vigorous, spirited primary contest -- fought out on the issues -- on that day the Republican party is not strong enough to win elections.

The purpose of the primary race is quite clear: it is to give party members an opportunity to pick the most qualified candidate. Those who would shy away from such contests -- those who try to slam the door on giving the people a choice -- either have something to hide, or lack confidence in their candidate's ability to win.

It has been said of me, during this campaign, that I am a conservative.

That is true: I am a conservative. I will be a conservative governor.

The necessity for a conservative governor has become a fact. We must rebuild and

conserve the economic strength of California.

The man with four or five mouths to feed and just so many dollars with which to do it is -- of necessity -- a conservative, no matter what he may call himself.

The many, many people who find themselves in the predicament of a family budget that won't balance, or a bank account that won't stretch, face up to the arithmetic of their problem every day.

Their future is being frittered away. Their future is being nibbled and nicked at by predatory politicians in marble palaces. Men with a tax-and-spend-and-elect mentality.

It is time that the State Government started living within our means. I will see that this is done.

I can accomplish this by cutting the waste and bureaucracy out of State government. I can accomplish this -- not by cutting out the necessary functions of government -- but by making sure that for every one of the taxpayer's dollars spent, a full dollar is received.

Let those who find this position extreme make the most of it.

But I shall challenge their criticism.

For I stand firm in the conviction that the people of California are sick and tired of being over-taxed, and over-burdened and under-mined by a bureaucracy which seems more concerned with piling up debt than in building up the economy.

This evening I have outlined for you -- frankly and honestly -- the reason I am in this race, the reasons why so many have joined in this campaign, and the reasons why I am confident of victory.

To those who have joined in this breakthrough to greatness for California -- my heartfelt appreciation.

To those of you who plan to vote for Richard Nixon, I respect your decision and hope you will join with us after the primary.

To those of you who have not yet decided, I urge you to ask yourself these questions and to put Richard Nixon and myself to this test:

have you been happy with the party leadership in this State during the last few years, or do you want a new and dynamic Republican leadership in the years to come?

who knows more about our State and the issues in this election and who is more qualified to debate these issues with Pat Brown?

who do you think will stand firm for what is best and who do you think is more apt to modify position for political expediency?

and, finally, who do you think has the best chance to beat Brown in November?

I sincerely believe that I am the candidate who best meets that test.

I ask for your support. I ask for your vote.

Join with me and hundreds of thousands of other Republicans. Join with us in this breakthrough to greatness.

Together we shall win the victory.

Together we shall build a great tomorrow....

...for our families, for our party, and for our California:

-- jcs --