

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
White House Special Files Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
58	3	09/08/1962	Newsletter	'Pat' Brown: California's Most Expensive Governor. Criticizes the governor for not doing enough to stop the threat of communism. 4 pgs.
58	3	09/27/1962	Letter	To Robert A. Crandall, Editor of the San Diego Independent, from H.R. Haldeman. Re: Nixon's appearance in San Diego on the 12th. 1 pg.
58	3	09/24/1962	Letter	To H.R. Haldeman, from Rocky Jordan. Re: an article about Nixon's visit to San Diego. 1 pg.
58	3	09/13/1962	Newspaper	San Diego Independent. Comments on Nixon's visit and his campaign strategy. 1 pg.
58	3	09/20/1962	Letter	To Rocky Jordan, from H.R. Haldeman. Re: Nixon's visit to San Diego and an article about it. 1 pg.
58	3	09/18/1962	Letter	To Bob Haldeman, from Rocky Jordan. Re: Nixon's visit to San Diego and an article about it. 1 pg.

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58	3	09/27/1962	Letter	To Robert A. Crandall, from H.R. Haldeman. Re: September 13th issue of the San Diego Independent. 1 pg.
58	3	09/14/1962	Memo	Bob Haldeman and RN. Re: George Todt's column in the September 9th Herald Examiner. 1 pg.
58	3	09/10/1962	Memo	To Bob Haldeman from Richard Nixon. Re: George Todt's column in the September 9th issue of the Herald Examiner. 1 pg.
58	3	n.d.	Photograph	A picture of Governor Brown and one of Challenger Nixon, with brief descriptions. 1 pg. 2 copies.
58	3	n.d.	Newsletter	Discussing the "Who's Who" of the Brown and Nixon campaigns. 1 pg. 2 copies.
58	3	n.d.	Newspaper	"Nixon boosted for presidency". Discussing the possibility of him running for president in the future. 1 pg.
58	3	08/27/1962	Memo	To Rose, from Sammy. Re: campaign leaders and contributors. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
58	3	07/30/1962	Newsletter	San Gabriel Valley Daily Tribune. Comments on the current race, and the campaigns of Brown and Nixon. 1 pg.
58	3	07/30/1962	Memo	To Al Moscow, from Bob Haldeman. Re: Don Carpenter's editorial - Montrose Ledger. 1 pg.
58	3	07/30/1962	Letter	To Rodney W. Rood, from H.R. Haldeman. Re: Don Carpenter's editorial in the Montrose Ledger. 1 pg.
58	3	07/25/1962	Letter	To H.R. Haldeman, from Sue Black. Re: Ledger and Carpenter. 1 pg.
58	3	07/31/1962	Letter	To Mrs. David A Black, from H.R. Haldeman. Re: Carpenter's editorial in the Montrose Ledger. 1 pg.
58	3	07/22/1962	Newspaper	Don Carptener's editorial. "Mostly Political". 2 pgs.
58	3	n.d.	Newsletter	Talks about Nixon alienating some important members of the GOP. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
58	3	06/26/1962	Newspaper	Nixon's thoughts on Kennedy's current military actions. 1 pg.
58	3	n.d.	Newspaper	"Nixon for Governor". Discusses strategy.
58	3	06/19/1962	Newspaper	"A Democrats Appeal to Shell". J.O. Browder. 1 pg.
58	3	n.d.	Newspaper	"Affairs of State". Henry C. MacArthur. 1 pg.
58	3	04/23/1962	Report	Various articles about Nixon's campaign. 11 pages.
58	3	05/14/1962	Newspaper	Evening Outlook. Series of numerous articles about the campaign and the governor race. 8 pages.

'Pat' Brown: California's Most Expensive Governor

By OLIVER CARLSON

LEOPARDS CAN'T CHANGE their spots. But politicians do—or at least they try. Such is the case with Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown of California, who has suddenly discovered that the voters of this state are allergic to political pink.

Just 90 days before the fatal day which is to determine whether he or Richard Nixon gets the nod from the California electorate to be captain of this ship of state, Pat Brown announced that he disagrees with his strong right arm, the California Democratic Council, on such matters as recognition of Red China and abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Now, mind you, he is all *for* CDC. Its members are fine, patriotic citizens. They have every right to advocate the above-mentioned extreme measures, as well as abolition of the loyalty oath for teachers and state employes. And he, Pat Brown, in the true spirit of Voltaire and Jefferson, will defend to the death their right to advocate such unpopular measures. His deep voice throbs with emotion and righteousness as he denounces communism *abroad* and defends civil liberties *at home*.

It becomes difficult to equate Brown's vehemence against the local John Birchers with his utter silence over the past four years concerning the activities of our local Communists and fellow-travelers. The repeated warnings issued by J. Edgar Hoover (and reiterated by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy) about the internal danger of communism leave Brown cold.

These belated statements by Governor Brown aren't fooling many voters. To the cynical CDC crowd, his action appears to be good election tactics and may even have been suggested to him by one of them.

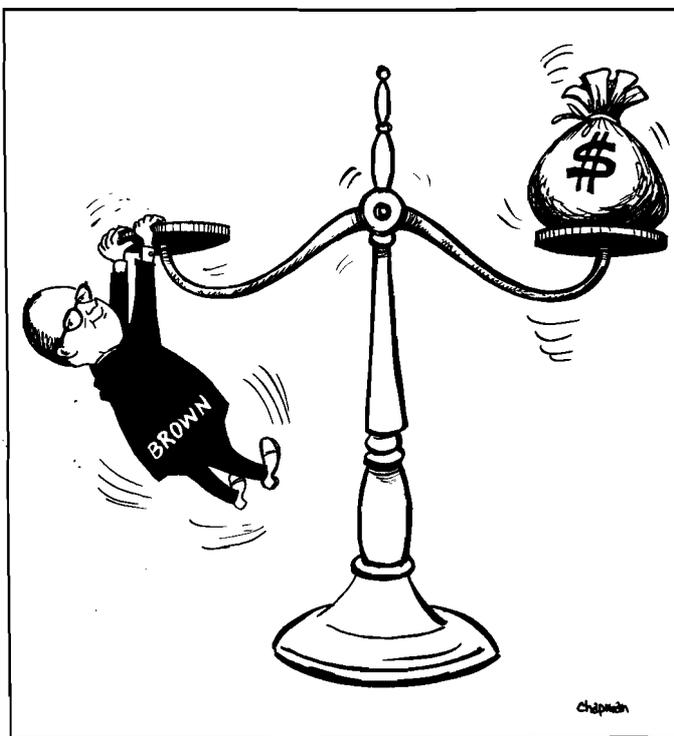
Politically literate and sophisticated Democratic and Republican voters insist Pat Brown believes that a deep voice means deep thought, and that a labored and long-winded speech is necessarily logical and learned.

In 1961, a subcommittee of the California State Senate issued a carefully-documented 204-page report about Communist and other un-American activities on California college campuses. Governor Brown blasted the report as a "hit and run affair."

"I think," said the Governor, "it makes blanket charges against our schools, worded in language which could be misunderstood."

To cap the climax, Brown said the report was able to name only one Communist in the schools after 33 years! He added that he was quite familiar with what went on at our colleges and universities, but had never found any evidence of Communist activity.

"...AND THAT'S WHAT I CALL A SOUNDLY BALANCED BUDGET!"



IT IS HARD TO BELIEVE that the man who served as district attorney for San Francisco, as attorney general for the state, and finally as governor of California, could be so blind. Was the Communist-led and inspired riot at the time of the House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings in San Francisco two years ago just an illusion, or the concoction of some cub reporter?

Brown is equally oblivious to other evidences of Communist activity. Were the leaders of the AFL-CIO dreaming when they refused membership to Harry Bridges' Longshoremen's Union because it was Communist-dominated? Was the long and bitter struggle with the Communists in the motion picture industry just the figment of someone's fevered imagination? Was the National Lawyer's Guild, to which the Governor belonged for so many years, just a good American organization, or was it a Communist-front organization, as listed by the attorney general of the United States?

Nearly all our elected representatives are aware of the Communist problem in our midst—but not Pat Brown. Every law enforcement officer is aware of it—but not Pat Brown. Every college president, every school superintendent is doing what he can to make our young people

Harry Bridges Maneuver in Offing?

A very slick political maneuver, just told by very reliable sources, is now under consideration by Harry Bridges to help Governor Brown. Of course, it will be denied, and the publication of this article may prevent it.

Here is what is contemplated: Bridges will issue a statement indicating he may support Nixon for governor in the November elections.

Harry Bridges knows full well that his endorsement of any candidate is equivalent to the kiss of death so far as the great mass of both Democratic and Republican voters is concerned. Bridges' own true followers, who are as cynical as he, will understand what he is trying to do.

Nixon, quite naturally, will say he doesn't want Bridges' support. Brown, taken off the hook by Bridges, can then insist that Nixon "is up to his old, dirty tricks," "making secret deals with the ultra-Left while pretending to fight them," etc., etc. etc.

aware of the Communist threat—but not Pat Brown. No belated statement about Red China will wash his blind spot away.

THERE ARE THOSE who classify Brown as one of the *genus politicus equivocatus*, or as one Democratic legislator phrased it, "He does not prevaricate—he just circumvents unpleasant or unpalatable facts."

This can best be illustrated by his position on the current state budget which, he maintains, is "the fourth consecutively soundly balanced budget transmitted to you by this administration." Over, and over, and over again, Governor Brown has kept telling the people of California how, by careful housekeeping, he is giving them a "soundly balanced budget."

But what are the facts? Anyone who wishes can examine the printed copy of the state budget. On page A-3 we get the following information (as prepared by the Governor's own staff): For 1960-61, there was an *actual* deficiency of \$187,194,000. That is to say, current expenditure exceeded current income by nearly 200 million dollars. For the 1961-62 budget year, the *actual* deficit was estimated to be \$132,382,000. And for the current budget year of 1962-63, the *actual* deficit is projected to amount to approximately \$92,000,000.

If my arithmetic is correct, this means an actual deficit of \$411,576,000 in three years—a sum which must be paid by the taxpayers of California. Here, without a doubt, is the worst financial record of any governor of this state in its entire history.

How then, you ask, can Brown claim to have a "soundly balanced budget?" Doesn't he read the figures? Or doesn't he understand what he reads?

Brown accomplished this feat of mathematical legerdemain by counting in money from bond issues which have been authorized, but not yet sold. Governor Brown keeps reminding us that he is a liberal—and liberal he is, with other people's money.

By his own curious logic he insists his is an economy-minded administration. Dollar costs, he admits, have risen, but not enough to compensate for increased population and the devaluation of the dollar. Let us look closer into this.

California's population has increased approximately 15 per cent since Pat Brown became Governor four years ago. The dollar was almost stable during 1959-60. It has depreciated a little since Kennedy became President. But total expenditures by the state of California have increased 47 per cent under Brown's administration.

The number of state employes has risen from 98,000 to 129,000, or approximately 30 per cent. In 1945, 39,500 state employes were needed to service the 8,303,000 people of California. Now, Brown needs 129,000 state employes—or more than three times the 1945 figure—for a population which has slightly more than doubled. And there is no end in sight. He and his power-hungry administrators are building up a bureaucracy that puts that of all other states to shame.

We, the taxpayers of California, have the dubious honor of paying the highest *per capita* tax (\$144.79) in the entire history of our state and the still more dubious honor of the highest *per capita* spending by any state in the nation.

IT IS THIS aggravated tax situation which is causing many industries concern with respect to future expansion plans. Should they move elsewhere where the tax bite is lower, or should they stay on, hoping that the voters of California will put an end to an administration of spend and spend, and tax and tax? This is no academic problem. Nor can it be talked away by Brown's stultiloquence, which one businessman described to me as "thicker and more penetrating than our heaviest smog."

Brown has been very touchy on the subject of a "bad business climate" in the state over which he presides. He has even engaged in a debate of sorts with Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York on the relative merits of the business climate in California vs. that of the Empire State.

But even his own Director of Employment, Irving H. Perlus, testifying last spring on a bill to expand unemployment insurance to 39 weeks, stated: "A vicious cycle of higher taxes because of a larger population is creating a bad business climate that could discourage new industry and business from coming to the state."

Assemblyman Harold K. Levering told me months ago: "I have in my files letters of solicitation to many California manufacturers to consider moving their plants (or expansions thereof) to other states. These letters set forth the advantages of other states over California for plant construction and expansion. These communications come from Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Mississippi, Nebraska, Ohio, Texas, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Tennessee and many others."

"Further," added Assemblyman Levering, "I have a list of 23 manufacturers who in the past two years have moved to other points because of the ever-worsening climate for business." He added that he knew of 18 other companies that had gone out of business.

THE ONE BRIGHT LIGHT on the economic front is the vast California Central Valley Water Project, for which the people of this state authorized an unprecedented \$1.65-billion bond issue two years ago. The project will take at least ten years to complete. It will reclaim swampy lands in the north and parched lands in the south. It will give added impetus to cities, towns and a multitude of industries in southern California where the need for water is so great. It will give us more hydroelectric power. It will give us new man-made lakes and recreational areas. It will be a boon to the whole state.

Governor Brown claims this as his greatest achievement—as indeed, it would be if it were really his. The mass of newcomers to California may be taken in by Brown's claims—but not the oldtimers. They know—as the record will show—that the plans for the Central Valley project were originally developed over 10 years ago by a Republican engineer, serving under a Republican governor. They know that the issue was always one that had bipartisan support. They know that, even in the push for the big bond issue of two years ago, Governor Brown played no more important a part than did scores of other distinguished citizens, Republicans and Democrats alike.

Certainly no power-hungry group of bureaucrats could ask for a larger and juicier melon than the California Central Valley project. Think of the jobs to be handed out. Think of the opportunities to make speeches as each new segment is begun or completed and the chance of taking full credit for what is being done!

This Governor Brown understands especially well. So do his top advisors and department heads, particularly William E. Warne, his administrator of natural resources for the State of California.

Warne's record on the public payroll goes back to the beginning of the Roosevelt Administration 30 years ago. He started out as a publicity writer for the Department of the Interior, but learned quickly how to campaign for larger and ever larger expenditures of public money for government-owned hydroelectric and irrigation projects. He moved up the bureaucratic ladder with ease and rapidity, soon becoming assistant secretary of interior. His specialty was dam building.

Reader's Digest, in its issue of February, 1957, told a devastating story of Warne's public career under the title, "How Not to Handle Foreign Aid." The article told how Warne as an Interior official wasted over \$60 million of public money in a series of hurry-up dams: "There isn't enough available water in the Rio Grande to fill the reservoir created by one of these dams. Another contains water so salty that to date it has not been put to crops."

With this enviable record behind him, Mr. Warne moved on to bigger things. In 1951, he was sent to Iran to help rebuild its economy.

The long story of how nearly \$300 million of American taxpayers' money was squandered by Warne is one of the sorriest chapters in our whole foreign aid program—and must be read in full to be appreciated.

This is the man Governor Brown picked to administer the Department of Natural Resources, and with it the development of the Central Valley project. Brown turns a deaf ear to anyone who criticizes Warne. Nixon, on

the other hand, has said that if he is elected governor, one of his first official acts will be to fire Warne.

TO TREAT of Governor Brown's vacillations, hesitations, saying this today and the opposite tomorrow, requires a book, not a short article. But his woeful record on narcotics, on reapportionment and a host of other major California problems are on the record and cannot be denied or excused away.

To me, one of the least known and least publicized of his proposals is, at the same time, one of the most significant to show the workings of his mind. On April 14, 1961, Governor Brown proposed that the State of California hire its own textbook writers and go into the publishing business whole hog. At a press conference following this announcement, the Governor was asked if he didn't think having paid state employes write school textbooks which were compulsory reading in the public schools might be an invasion of the private enterprise system.

"I don't think so," replied Brown. "I don't see any invasion. I want to get the best textbooks at the cheapest price."

This is the only case I know of in which Brown is concerned with cheapness of price. And this is probably the one case where cheapness of price should be no criterion at all. Does—or doesn't Governor Brown know that every potential pip-squeak dictator makes it one of his first orders of business to have the school textbooks written by his employes? Does he know that Castro has done exactly that? So did Trujillo. And Peron. And Nasser. Hitler did it. Mussolini did it. Stalin did it. Mao Tse-tung did it. Huey Long tried to do it in Louisiana 30 years ago.

The idea of harnessing a stable of pliable and subservient press agents and public relations men to a polit-

'Pat' Brown's Record on Crime

The State of California just can't afford another four years of Pat Brown's "war against crime."

In 1954, at the end of Pat Brown's first term as attorney general, the crime rate for major crimes—e. g., murder, forcible rape, robbery, burglary, assault, auto theft, etc.—was 1,066 incidents per 100,000 population. At the end of his second term as attorney general, in 1958, it had risen to 1,412 cases per 100,000.

By the end of 1960, after Brown had served as governor for two years, the figure has leaped upward again to 1,976 crimes per 100,000 population. There is every indication that the upward trend is still continuing.

California has the dubious honor of leading all major states in the number of major crimes. Comparisons for 1960 (major crimes per 100,000 population) looked like this:

Pennsylvania	688	Texas	1,177
Ohio.....	769	Michigan	1,230
New York.....	1,045	Illinois.....	1,440
CALIFORNIA		1,976	

California's increase in crime in 1960 over 1959 was 21 per cent as against a nationwide increase of 14.2 per cent, according to the FBI. Governor Brown's friend and successor as California attorney general, Stanley Mosk, disputes the FBI, insisting the state's crime rate went up only 19.4 per cent between 1959 and 1960.

ical administration is already old stuff with us. But we can take or leave their handouts and accept or reject their interpretations. Furthermore, their statements can be challenged by other writers and commentators. But if the textbook writers are beholden for their jobs or royalties to any political party or administration, the way is open for political pressure on the writers. A great deal of damage to teachers and pupils might be done before the public was sufficiently aware of what was happening.

Governor Brown is a kind and genial man who loves his fellow men and craves their applause and affection in return. But his proposal on state-employed textbook writers seems to me a dangerous turn of mind—completely out of tune with our American concept of public education. We want schools which afford our children and teachers the widest variety of the best material available. We can do without textbooks produced by state hirelings.

NOTHING BRINGS such a quiver to Governor Brown's voice as his discussion of crime. He assures his audiences that he knows crime's dangers to young and old far better than his Republican opponent. For two full decades, he tells us, either as district attorney for the City and County of San Francisco, as attorney general for the State of California or as governor of California, he has ever been in the forefront in the fight against crime.

That he has held these key positions, no one can deny. But his record in fighting crime—well, that's something else again. Let's just look at that record.

Six years ago former Governor Goodwin Knight called for a special session of the State Legislature to deal with dope traffic. Knight urged tighter and tougher narcotics legislation. **PAT BROWN, THEN ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, OPPOSED IT.**

During Brown's tenure as attorney general, public pressure for action against organized crime grew so great he appointed Alvin H. Goldstein to survey the extent of crime in California. Goldstein did a thorough job, one that was not completed till about the time Brown moved upstairs to become governor.

When the demand arose that the Goldstein report be published, it was learned that Governor Brown had refused to permit its release. This he has never ex-

plained. Could it be that he didn't want the people to know such things as (these are from the report):

"In California, racketeers are most active in the traditionally lucrative fields of bookmaking and narcotics."

"Tijuana and Mexicali are sad examples, and have their negative influence on life in California. There is no doubt the border points are ports of entry for narcotics, and it is notorious that the Mexican Government is not effectively enforcing its narcotics laws."

True, the vicious narcotics traffic can best be strangled if the Mexican-California border is tightly guarded. But Governor Brown wants it kept wide open. Why?

Three years ago Governor Brown made it clear that he wanted (1) to retain the power of the court to grant probation to any narcotics first offender, including anyone convicted of selling narcotics to a minor; (2) no repeal of the Priestly decision, which requires an informant's identity to be revealed; and (3) no modification whatsoever of the search and seizure laws with the exception of those dealing with autos. (Why this concern about auto thefts—but not poison peddlers?)

Newspapers and radio commentators up and down the state, meanwhile, were telling the people what was going on, and public opinion hardened against narcotics peddlers. When this became very obvious, Brown began switching his position—at least publicly.

State Senator Edwin Regan had authored a bill to make narcotics enforcement more effective, and penalties stiffer. What did Governor Brown do about it? He sent his clemency secretary, Cecile Poole (recently appointed US district attorney in northern California by President Kennedy), to battle for him (Brown) to emasculate Regan's bill. Under the combined Brown-Poole pressure this was done—and to such an extent that Senator Regan refused to allow it to go to the Senate floor. Governor Brown then had the audacity to express surprise and disappointment at Regan's action.

A fairly strong bill, the Regan-Dills measure was passed finally by both Senate and Assembly. Brown switched, signed the bill, and now goes up and down the state taking credit for it.

WILL PAT BROWN be re-elected in November? Are we to have four years more of his "soundly balanced" budgets? Four more years for his inflated state bureaucracy to grow larger and more arrogant? Four more years for the vital Central Valley Water Project to be made a political football by Warne? Four more years so Brown can try to put over his textbook-writer deal? Not if the voters really know his record. I think Richard Nixon summed it up better than I can. Speaking in Sacramento last April he said:

The seeds of special interest politics were planted by New Dealers and nurtured along by the New Frontier. But Governor Brown, now a willing puppet of the left-wing CDC, has brought it to full bloom right here in California—weeds and all. The choice is between standing pat for four more years of incredible indecision and bungling or moving ahead with the decisions for progress California needs.

Oliver Carlson, a well-known writer on California politics, is the author of "Your Pink Slip Is Showing, Mr. Brown: The Truth About Knowland's Opponent," HUMAN EVENTS, October 6, 1958.

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Name

Street

City Zone State

September 27, 1962

Dear Mr. Crandall:

Rocky Jordan has just sent me the September 13th issue of the San Diego Independent. I certainly want to thank you for your excellent treatment of Dick Nixon's appearance down there on September 12th. The story is great, as is the picture.

Rocky also mentioned the good advance publicity you gave the luncheon.

We do appreciate your help, and I am passing the clipping along for Dick Nixon to see. He too will be grateful.

Many thanks, and best regards.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

Mr. Robert A. Crandall
Editor
San Diego Independent
348 West Market Street
San Diego, California



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September 24, 1962

Mr. H.R. Haldeman
Campaign Manager
NIXON FOR GOVERNOR
3908 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles 5, California

Dear Bob:

I guess it would be helpful if you read the article.
Sorry.

Sincerely

Rocky Jordan
Account Executive

RJ/seh
9/24/62

Independent

Your Hometown Newspaper—Established 1926

348 W. MARKET, SAN DIEGO 1, CALIF.—BE 2-3841

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M S E THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1962



RICHARD NIXON

Nixon Pledges 'Finish Fight'

Before a cheering, enthusiastic crowd that included Democrats as well as Republicans, Richard Nixon yesterday launched typical fighting campaign designed to carry him to the state's top executive office.

Blasting one hole after another in Governor Edmund G. Brown's "inept administration," Nixon pledged a return to "financial sanity" if he is elected governor in November.

The hard hitting talk, delivered before an overflow crowd in the Palm Room of the U. S. Grant hotel, represented Nixon's statewide kickoff of an election drive that will continue without letup right to the moment voters go to the polls, he said.

Looking fit and trim for the campaign, Nixon was here yesterday San Diego from the instant his plane touched down at Lindbergh Field until his departure a short time later.

The warmth of the local outpouring encouraged GOP leaders here to predict a Nixon sweep in San Diego this fall that may turn the tide of the election.

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September 20, 1962

Dear Rocky:

Thanks very much for
your letter of September 18th.

Glad to hear about your
success with Bob Crandall, but you
failed to enclose the article. We'll
certainly be happy to write him, but
I would like to see what he wrote,
of course.

We appreciate your help,
Rocky.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

Mr. Rocky Jordan
Barnes Chase Advertising
3211 Fifth Avenue
San Diego 3, California

File: Area File - San Diego
x date



September 18, 1962

Mr. Bob Haldeman
Nixon for Governor Committee
3908 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles 5, California

Dear Bob:

It was nice to see you again, though the dictates of politics sure made it an extremely brief meeting.

I was working on publicity for the September 12th luncheon and in so doing wound up spending quite a bit of time with a fellow named Bob Crandall who is editor of the San Diego Independent. Reason for the time - he's an ardent Democrat and we've had terrible press relations with his paper.

As a result of our efforts he gave us some nice publicity beforehand and then made quite a personal effort to have an article on the lunch appear in his Thursday edition. I've enclosed the article which is an amazingly kind piece of reporting compared to his previous treatment of Republicans.

It would be of great benefit if you could send him a complimentary letter over Mr. Nixon's signature.

In the event you haven't heard of the Independent, it's a throw-away on Thursday and Sunday but they throw 152,000 of 'em and it's well read as a shoppers guide.

I'll apologize again for the lack of press space at the lunch and at the same time assure you it will be different next time.
Good luck.

Sincerely,

Rocky Jordan
Account Executive.

P.S. Robert A. Crandall
Editor, SAN DIEGO INDEPENDENT
348 W. Market Street
San Diego, California

RJ/seh

September 27, 1962

Dear Mr. Crandall:

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Many thanks, and best regards.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

Mr. Robert A. Crandall
Editor
San Diego Independent
348 West Market Street
San Diego, California

RN

9-14-62

Bob Haldeman

George Todt's column - Sept. 9th - Herald Examiner

This has been reprinted and is going out to the key campaign leadership list. Copies are also being provided the Finance Office to include in their next mailing.

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

N i x o n f o r G o v e r n o r

To: **Bob Haldeman**

Date: **September 10, 1962**

From: **RN**

Subject: **George Todt's column - Sept. 9th, 1962 (Sunday) - Herald Examiner**

Distribution:

**I want the George Todt column from Sunday, September 9,
sent out at least to our special mailing list.**



GOVERNOR BROWN has formed a staff that includes two former U.S. Cabinet members.



CHALLENGER NIXON is counting on many volunteers from the 1952, 1956 and 1960 staffs.

—San Diego Union Staff Photos

Men Behind The Men In California's Election

By MORRIS LANSBERG, Associated Press Political Writer

As the California election draws to a close, the men behind the men are beginning to emerge. They are the men who have been working behind the scenes for months, often in secret, to help their candidates win.

Most of them were behind the scenes in the days before the election. They were the men who were working behind the scenes to help their candidates win. They were the men who were working behind the scenes to help their candidates win.

In a letter, the man behind the man was working behind the scenes to help his candidate win. He was the man who was working behind the scenes to help his candidate win.

On Nov. 3, the man behind the man was working behind the scenes to help his candidate win. He was the man who was working behind the scenes to help his candidate win.

The man behind the man was working behind the scenes to help his candidate win. He was the man who was working behind the scenes to help his candidate win.

BROWN

ROBERT BROWN, the man behind the man, was working behind the scenes to help his candidate win. He was the man who was working behind the scenes to help his candidate win.

BROWN, the man behind the man, was working behind the scenes to help his candidate win. He was the man who was working behind the scenes to help his candidate win.

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NIXON

ROBERT G. WELLS, the man behind the man, was working behind the scenes to help his candidate win. He was the man who was working behind the scenes to help his candidate win.

ROSEMARY MOOD, the man behind the man, was working behind the scenes to help his candidate win. He was the man who was working behind the scenes to help his candidate win.

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JR.
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PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
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SAN FRANCISCO
Los Angeles
Portland - Seattle

Palo Alto, Calif.
Times
(Cir. 31,521)

AUG 13 1962

Adela St. John speaks

Nixon boosted for presidency

By WARD WINSLOW

Adela Rogers St. Johns, stumping for Richard M. Nixon in Palo Alto today, scoffed at the idea of Californians insisting that if Nixon becomes governor he should be ruled out as a 1964 presidential candidate.

"I do not believe that if in 1964 there were a great need and the other 49 states wanted the governor of California as president that I as a citizen of California would go into a great snit over it," said Mrs. St. Johns, famed novelist and one-time White House correspondent.

"Just because (Gov. Edmund G.) Brown hasn't any chance" to reach the White House is no reason to penalize Nixon, she said, adding: "I don't see why there's any cause for chagrin if we have a man of presidential caliber."

Referring to Nixon's pledge not to run in 1964, Mrs. St. Johns said "I'm inclined to take his word. I think he said what he truly believed.

"But outside of Calvin Coolidge, has there ever been a man unwilling to do what the country wanted him to?"

OTHERS POSSIBLE

Asked about GOP 1964 presi-

that it was the first time anyone had suggested that to him.

Mrs. St. Johns also had a hand in persuading Nixon to write "Six Crises," currently a best-seller. Although he thanked her gracefully in his introduction, Mrs. St. Johns said that in person he teases that "You nagged me into it."

She revealed that she had planned to spend last weekend in Palo Alto coaxing another friend — Robert L. (Dink) Templeton — to head a publisher's pleas to write a book about his track coaching career. But Mr. Templeton was ill and died Tuesday.

Her brother Bogart was one of Dink's Stanford classmates, she explained, and she is the godmother of the Templetons' elder daughter.

Why is she, as a Nixon-for-president booster, eager to see him governor?

"I really and truly believe that Nixon is a great man."

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Nixon for Governor

To: Rose

Date: 8/27

Wppc

From: Sammy

Subject: Mailing

Distribution: Lole, ~~W~~, Doris, Dorothy, Lou Quinn, S. and J.

Mailed to 3,000 campaign leaders and contributors 8/27.

The San Gabriel Valley

DAILY TRIBUNE

An Independent Newspaper

Executive Vice President: A. Q. Miller
Advertising Director: M. Robert Clark

Managing Editor: Charles G. Volzer
Editorial Page Editor: Maurice Compton

MONDAY, JULY 30, 1962

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

BECAUSE OF its national implications, the gubernatorial contest between Democratic incumbent Edmund (Pat) Brown and Republican Richard Nixon the election in California is being watched very closely by politicians of both parties here in Washington. Both sides, of course, are already claiming victory. But there is an undertone of very serious doubt in Democratic prognostications.

The Democrats point to the polls, the latest of which gives Governor Brown 47 per cent of those polled, Mr. Nixon 44 per cent. Nine per cent are undecided. This would be bad news for the Nixon camp save for two facts. First, the polls have never been kind to Richard Nixon in his own state. In the 1950 senatorial race, they predicted a very close contest, but Mr. Nixon won by the thumping plurality of 600,000. In 1960, they gave the state to John F. Kennedy, but the Nixon-Lodge ticket squeaked ahead. Secondly, the polls are keyed to the entire potential vote in California, which is hardly a sound basis for predictions.

★

THE NIXON camp feels at this time that "the picture looks bright." Mr. Nixon and his aides have been examining the primary figures—when his stock was considerably lower than it is today and before the stock market crash had hurt many people. These figures indicate that of the two million Democratic votes cast in the primary, some 200,000 were blank on the top line. That number of people, this means, were opposed to Governor Brown and the other Democrats seeking the can-

didacy. Another 335,000 Democrats voted for the governor's three unknown opponents. In short, 28 per cent of the Democratic voters showed their opposition to Mr. Brown.

There are other grounds for Republican optimism. The split in the GOP between the conservative group and the moderates seems to be rapidly closing. There may be some doubts on the right as to the caliber of Mr. Nixon's conservatism, but now that the alternative is the all-out liberalism of Governor Brown, the conservatives are having some long second thoughts. And Mr. Nixon writes me that "there has been a very real show of unity since the primary." He is certain that this will increase "once the full impact of the large number of radical CDC Democratic candidates becomes known."

AS THE CAMPAIGN heats up, a party split may become a real Democratic problem—where it once plagued the GOP. Already, Governor Brown has been forced by Republican pressure to repudiate CDC positions. He stands by the CDC only in calling for the repeal of the Landrum-Griffin anti-racketeering law.

Governor Brown still accepts CDC help and praises this "diversity" in his party. But the GOP, which was egged on by the Democrats to embroil itself in the John Birch issue, is returning the compliment by pounding away at the CDC-regular Democratic axis. If Governor Brown dissociates himself

further from the ultra-liberals, he loses the support of the left. If he continues to embrace them, many Democrats can be counted on to vote for Mr. Nixon or to stay home.

★

THAT GOVERNOR Brown and the California Democrats believe all is not going well is evidenced by their pleas to the administration. Both Attorney General Bob Kennedy and the President have scheduled visits to the state — non-political, of course, but designed to pump up enthusiasm for the Brown ticket. The administration has also stepped up the number of defense contracts going to hard-hit industries in Southern California.

What the net effect of these moves will be is anybody's guess. In 1950, the voters did not take kindly to electioneering efforts on behalf of Mr. Nixon's opponent by President Truman, Mrs. FDR, and a bevy of Cabinet officers. A President's popularity, moreover, seldom rubs off on other candidates—as Mr. Eisenhower discovered in 1954, 1956, and 1958. Governor Brown has the advantage of a preponderant Democratic registration. Mr. Nixon needs 20 per cent of the Democratic vote to be home free. As the Oakland Tribune, former Senator Knowland's paper, remarked last month: "He may already have them."

In the last analysis it boils down to this: Man proposes, but the voter disposes. Which means that both Mr. Nixon and Governor Brown must run scared—all the way.

Al Moscow

7-30-62

Bob Haldeman

Don Carpenter's editorial - Montrose Ledger

Attached is a letter from Rod Rood and the editorial which appeared July 22nd in the Montrose Ledger. Will you please check this situation out and give me a report on our relations with Carpenter?

News -
Ed - etc.

July 30, 1962

Dear Rod:

Thanks very much for your
note of July 24th.

I certainly appreciate your
calling our attention to Don Carpenter's
editorial in the Montrose Ledger. I am
asking our press staff to check this out and
give me a full report on relations with
Carpenter. This situation definitely needs
some attention and will receive it.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

Mr. Rodney W. Rood
555 South Flower Street
Los Angeles 17, California

MRS. DAVID A. BLACK
1634 HIGHLAND AVENUE
GLENDALE 2, CALIFORNIA

July 25, 1962

Dear Mr. Haldeman:

I am enclosing a recent editorial and a not quite so recent news item clipped from the Montrose Ledger, Don Carpenter, Editor.

The editorial is the most recent of a series, usually along the same lines. One appears almost every issue of the Ledger, a twice a week paper. The news item I clipped about three weeks ago. This idea is not new to the Ledger, though this is the first and only time I've seen it in the news columns. The idea is usually expressed one way or another in the letters-to-the-editor column. You know, I'm sure, that the Ledger and Carpenter were 100% and still are.

Don't know what you can do but thought you ought to know.

Jue Black

Mr. East

July 31, 1962

Dear Mrs. Black:

Thank you so very much for your note of July 25th.

Don Carpenter's editorial in the Montrose Ledger had been brought to my attention, but I do appreciate your thoughtfulness in writing us of your own concern. You will be interested to know that we have addressed a letter to Mr. Carpenter pointing out the inaccuracy of his statements, and in addition, some of our people in the area are planning to address "Letters to the Editor", objecting to and correcting the misstatements made in the editorial.

Thank you again for writing us, and best regards.

Sincerely,

H. R. Haldeman

Mrs. David A. Black
1634 Highland Avenue
Glendale 2, California

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Shell Votes Given Support

A "worried American" has sent pleas to conservatives throughout the state to vote for Joe Shell for Governor in the November General Election.

He is asking Republicans and Democrats who care for principals to defeat one-worldism and high spending and vote for conservative, constitutional government. He cited the election in the south when southerners in eight states declined to vote for Eisenhower or Stevenson and voted for Strom Thurmond. Stamped by writing in the name Joe Shell and placing the official stamp a person may vote for a true conservative for governor, he reminds.

Negro Homeowners

NEW YORK (UPI)—About 10 per cent of the Negro population in the United States do not own homes, compared with 60 per cent of the white population, says David D. ... demanded separate finances, and he set up as a by-product the surprising victory of a political upstart, Edmund Brown.

This parallel between Mr. Warren and his protege Richard Nixon doesn't surprise students of current political history, but it may hold a shock or two for novices who wonder how far the parallel extends into philosophy of government.

STRIKES AGAINST THE SCHOOLS

The chief topic of interest at last week's annual convention of the National Education Association in Denver was the multi-million dollar drive of the AFL-CIO to unionize teachers. If successful, spokesmen for the teaching profession predicted, the union effort could split the nation's teachers so badly that their strength

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Number of Others

Sumner or a number of others would have been acceptable to the old-timers.

When the name of Dr. Gaylord Parkinson of San Diego, was put forward, however, the reaction in several quarters was: "Who's he? I've never heard of him before."

Parkinson didn't endear himself to veteran legislators when he gave a cocktail party for non-incumbent GOP nominees recently. And he certainly didn't boost his stock with veteran political editors when he apparently limited distribution of his announcement of candidacy to a few select media.

From what we hear, Parkinson is "a nice guy" and is "well liked in San Diego."

What the old-time GOP'ers want to know is what he was doing for the party between 1962 when he was active in Rep. Bob Wilson's congressional campaign, and this year when he organized San Diego Republican Associates.

They seem to feel that a more seasoned campaigner should be picked for a post that leads to chairmanship of their party.

Passed Over Veterans

Recalling that Nixon passed over veterans in many areas and failed to avail himself of their savvy and energies in the primary, one veteran observed that the GOP nominee "is more interested in control than in experience."

Political observers elsewhere in the state have suggested that Nixon appears to be ignoring the prime necessity of welding together all segments of his party, not just luring back the Shellites.

They point to a notable lack of diplomacy in handling various factions of the Republican party and say that at a time when the outnumbered GOP needs the strongest kind of unity it seems bent on exactly the opposite.

All of which is music to Democratic ears.

The Demos have problems of their own, but the majority party is possessed of so much professional campaign talent that it can pull things together in such fashion that family squabbles are not generally of long-range importance.

BACK TO THE GROUND

Dick Nixon Alienates Some Old-Line GOPers

By DON THOMAS
Political Columnist

SACRAMENTO

Considering the difficulty he may have in wooing some of the old-line supporters back into the fold, it is interesting to note that Richard Nixon seems to be going out of his way to alienate another segment of the GOP not necessarily in the Shell camp.

Reportedly irate are some old-line GOP'ers who are veterans of many a campaign battle.

They did not take exception to Nixon's desire to replace Los Angeles County Republican Chairman Jud Leatham with his own man, Jack Drown, because Drown has been around the track many times. Nor did they lift an eyebrow at his insistence that Caspar Weinberger of San Francisco, assume state chairmanship of the party. After all, Weinberger, a former assemblyman, is now vice chairman and the advancement has been traditionally almost automatic, and he, like Drown, has been on the state campaign trail before and has demonstrated his competence.

But the hackles rose over the question of filling the No. 2 state spot now held by Weinberger and due to go to the Southland.

Assemblyman Bruce Sumner of Newport Beach, had been considered a logical front-runner—until the Nixon forces heard complaints that his progressive voting record would alienate some conservative Shell backers.



Bob FYI

Tuesday, June 26, 1962

Editorial 1

Nixon Urges Strong Stand

Addressing the annual convention of the California department of Veterans of Foreign Wars, former Vice President Richard Nixon urged a positive and vigorous attitude by the people of the United States to oppose the Communist conspiracy anywhere in the world. Mr. Nixon pointed out that this attitude must be effective both at home and abroad if the ambitions of the Kremlin and its associates are to be successfully contained.

In the field of foreign affairs, Mr. Nixon expressed general approval of the actions of President John F. Kennedy in sending armed forces to areas in which Communist conquest is threatened. He pointed out that only by convincing the Communist leaders that we mean business when we say we intend to defend the freedom of threatened countries are the Communists compelled to back down. He emphasized that the free world, led by the United States, must remain militarily strong in every way to check the prodding moves of aggression that are constantly being made by the Reds.

He declared that the idea of individual dignity, freedom and the right of citizens to determine their own course is one that is infinitely more attractive and widely desirable than the Communist doctrine of totalitarianism, and it is the imperative need of the times to develop means to get this idea into more areas of the world. He contended in his speech to the veterans that while the Peace Corps is an excellent project and should be supported, a great deal of good could be accomplished by churches, service clubs, veterans' organizations and similar groups in sponsoring overseas projects that will not only bring material benefits to the people in foreign lands but will carry them to the basic, worthwhile, sound and constructive

ideas that are embodied in the principles of freedom and democracy.

The conflict of the present age is a conflict of ideas, Mr. Nixon declared, and America must not flinch from this conflict.

Here at home, we must instruct ourselves, in a responsible manner, with the techniques and tactics of Communism so that we may oppose these techniques and tactics, rendering them invalid, without endangering the blessings of freedom and opportunity, initiative and individuality, that ensure the benefits of western civilization to the people of all levels of society.

He suggested courses of instruction in schools for both adults and youngsters in the tactics and techniques of Communism, courses taught by capable and competent instructors, so that the citizenry will be able to pierce the fog of misunderstanding and mendacity that is constantly being generated by the Communists in order to mislead the people to achieve their ends.

He urged support for legislative investigating committees such as the House Un-American Activities Committee and similar groups, praising the aims and efforts of these committees and calling for greater cooperation.

Mr. Nixon's address to the VFW here was concerned chiefly with the means by which the United States may gird itself for a greater effort to defend this nation and others of the free world from the Communist enemy. He offered many sensible and pragmatic ideas on how this may be done, but he warned, from his long experience in international affairs, that there must be no letdown in the vigilance against the Communist threat. There must be also, he said, a positive program to overcome it.

Nixon for Governor

George A. Brown, campaign manager for Joe Shell during the recent primary, today declared his support for Dick Nixon. He made the following statement in a letter to Roland Curran, coordinator for the Nixon for Governor campaign:

"Thank you for the very generous remarks concerning my handling of the Shell campaign. They were most gratifying. "Though it is probably unnecessary to state this, you and others connected with the Nixon campaign certainly know that you have my wholehearted support and I shall certainly encourage Shell's supporters to do likewise."

Curran said the Nixon organization was greatly pleased with Brown's cooperation, and his support will do much to restore party harmony in Kern County.

1962

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Editorial 1

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Our Readers

**A Democrat's
Appeal To Shell**

Editor: While it is not uncommon for mild quakes to follow political elections, the one following as an aftermath of the Republican primary is more jarring than might have been expected. . . . Mr. Shell made a truly remarkable showing on his first attempt at statewide election; however, his insistence now that he (the loser) dictate terms to Mr. Nixon (the winner) and that the latter either accede or else, evidences a juvenile precocity that I had only suspected from his campaign challenges.

In another time and place, I was faced by just such a situation as is presented to Mr. Nixon: I answered with a blunt "No!" While I was later defeated, if I were faced by the same thing again, I would return the same answer. In a statewide contest, Shell is a newcomer and in his newness, he accepts his very ~~name~~ showing as a personal tribute. He is wrong. He assumes further that he can throw his supporters this way or that. He is again wrong. The GOP primary was not an individual popularity contest as Shell must think; it was a genuine effort to select a candi-

conservative beliefs could win in November. If Shell persists in his present disruptive tactics, ~~he~~ will not only lose the faith of his former supporters but he will lose his stature in Republican ranks.

This coming November election is not a tilt between two individuals mounted on white chargers; it is a battle royal between conservatives who are determined to have factual government in California as opposed to sky-high incumbent liberals who seem to think anything goes. If this were not a people's battle vis - a - vis entrenched and complacent non-chalance, why would fighting Democratic conservatives join up? Because we want California (our state) listed among ~~and even at the top of the~~ rational rankings. That's "rational," not national.

It makes no difference what a party or group call themselves; if it is what it appears to be, a coalition of socialist entrepreneurs, organized labor, deluded minorities and starry-eyed visionaries, we conservative Democrats want no truck with it. And if Mr. Shell's supporters really believe in the conservative principles they espouse and will vote with us in November, THERE'LL BE SOME CHANGES MADE!

J. O. Browder,
Santa Monica.

AFFAIRS OF STATE

by Henry C. MacArthur



SACRAMENTO (CNS) — Instances of how the state of California, through laws enacted by the representatives of the people, continues to infringe on the rights of private citizens and property owners, keep cropping up as the state turns more and more to a government controlled unit.

One of the latest is the law prohibiting placement of advertising signs on private property where the signs can be seen from a public highway, without a tax on the signs.

The law was enacted, of course, at the behest of the lobby which is against outdoor advertising, and has been in effect for several years.

It came to public attention this year when the department of public works started tearing down political signs upon which the tax had not been paid, probably because the candidates the signs advertised didn't even know about its provisions.

Just Happened

If the department of public works were politically minded, which it denies, this would be a grand opportunity for it to tear down opposing candidate signs, as was claimed it did in one section of the state. A check, however, disclosed the claim was without substantiation, and the removed signs "just happened" to be all Republicans.

However, the uses to which the law could be put in the hands of less politically minded men than the members of the state highway commission, fall into insignificance when compared to the primary injustices of the law itself, which is an infringement on private property rights in this state.

Tax Measure

In the first place, the law was designed to beautify the high-

ways, and to eliminate discordant advertising. But if permits can be given for signing property along the highways, privately owned, then the purpose of the law is abused, in that it becomes solely a tax measure instead of an attempt to beautify.

Likewise, there is an injustice to the property owner. No doubt he has lost revenue from his property because people who do not wish to pay the tax would no longer erect signs and pay rental to the owner. In effect, this is a state ultimatum to a private property owner as to the uses to which he can put his property, in other words, another step toward the police state.

The law also is an abuse to a potential advertiser, who is taxed for displaying his product, no matter what the product is. The advertiser's costs are increased, and likewise, the cost of his product to the public is increased, for the ultimate consumer eventually pays the tax.

Bureaucracy

The law contributes to bureaucracy as well. There is insufficient revenue to pay for costs of enforcement, the department of public works says, which places an additional burden on the taxpayer for more employees on the government payroll.

The law also would operate to deprive some concerns from advertising. The wealthy concern might not mind the permit cost, but it could be a consideration in an advertising campaign set up on a shoestring. Thus, not all people are treated alike.

All in all, if the law attained its objective of beautification, it might be tolerable. But where all people are not treated alike, and the objective is not attained, the law falls in the non-tolerable class.

FROM THE SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER
BY JACK LOTTO
APRIL 23, 1962

REDS 'BURY' NIXON

The Communists "buried" former Vice President Richard M. Nixon this week.

At the same time, the Reds blew to life the long-dead Alger Hiss case.

They indicated they are going to push the Hiss espionage-perjury case as a campaign issue to turn a Nixon slip into a fatal political plunge.

And, the Communists jubilantly trumpeted that they expect Nixon to be killed politically in his campaign for the governorship of California.

The official Communist Party mouthpiece, "The Worker," told the comrades confidently:

"It is not unlikely that we can safely forget about Nixon after next November."

Nixon has been an archenemy of the Reds for nearly 15 years, since, as a freshman member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, he spark-plugged the investigation of Hiss.

The former State Department official was convicted of perjury in 1950, and given a five year prison term for denying he gave secret Government documents to a Red spy ring.

Nixon, inadvertently, provided the ammunition for the new all-out attack in his just-published book, "My Six Crises." He erred when he said the FBI found the typewriter which helped convict Hiss.

The mistake was jumped on by Hiss as supporting his contention of a "frame-up."

During Hiss' two trials, the FBI swore it never had possession of the machine. The defense found the old, battered typewriter and introduced it into evidence.

The Government then proved the incriminating documents were typed on it. Later, the defense claimed the typewriter was a Government "plant."

Allegations of "fraud by typewriter" were rejected by all the courts, up to the U. S. Supreme Court, in appeals for a new trial.

Said "The Worker":

"Richard Nixon made the mistake of putting his lies in a book. His lies about Alger Hiss, the Cuban invasion...are down in black

and white where opponents can pick them apart. And it may drive the final nails in the coffin in his political career.

"We'll begin with the lies about Hiss, which will haunt Nixon through the months of his gubernatorial campaign...Nixon lied about the most important evidence in the (Hiss) case...An innocent man was convicted. Nixon's lie cannot be brushed off as a mere 'researcher's mistake.'"

In view of the Communist statements and claims, this formal announcement by U. S. Attorney-General Robert Kennedy should be kept in mind:

"The claims made by Mr. Hiss and on his behalf regarding factual matters in connection with his conviction cannot be substantiated. All the pertinent files and records in the case have been reviewed carefully. This review confirmed that the FBI never had possession of the disputed typewriter."

FRANCIS AMENDMENT
REMARKS BY RICHARD NIXON
BEFORE THE
JUNIOR BARRISTERS OF LOS ANGELES
MAY 3, 1962

No one concerned with the security of our State and Nation can quarrel with the aims of the Francis Amendment, which is designed to combat the communist menace in California.

Governor Brown says this is "a very, very bad bill." He says, "I am against it in every way." I emphatically disagree with Brown. There is an urgent need for a more effective program to combat communism in California. Our State cannot stand pat on the communist threat. And we cannot tolerate a State Administration that substitutes smugness for action.

Unfortunately, there appears to be a fatal Constitutional flaw in the Francis Amendment. Because of loose drafting in Section 3, which allows a wide assortment of groups and individuals to designate subversives, the Amendment may inadvertently give the communists a constitutional escape hatch.

For 14 years in Washington -- as Congressman, Senator, and Vice President -- I dealt with communist-control legislation, and I know that the communists ferret out a legal loophole with the cunning of a rat after cheese. I was one of the sponsors of the Federal Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 and I saw how communist tactics hog-tied this in the courts for ten long years. If the communists could do this to a carefully constructed law, which was finally held constitutional by the Supreme Court in 1961, it is easy to see what a field-day they would have in attacking a piece of legislation with the potential defects of the Francis Amendment.

This is why I regret that I can neither sign or support the Francis Amendment in its present form.

My alternative in vigorously pursuing the fight against communism in California is this:

At the next session of the Legislature, I will present a first priority anti-communist program. Among its provisions: it will deny the use of tax-supported institutions for speeches by any individual who refuses to comply with Federal and State subversive control laws or refuses to testify before Grand Juries or legislative committees investigating subversive activities; it will stress hard-hitting enforcement of laws now on the books, including loyalty oaths; it will activate on a statewide basis educational programs on the tactics and strategy of communism on the school and adult levels; it will emphasize the teaching of teachers and the use of authoritative text-books to do this job.

On this issue -- fighting communism in California -- as on all issues, I aim to close the "leadership gap" in Sacramento. Under the next Administration, California will not stand pat; we shall move forward in solving our state's problems. In so doing we shall set an example for other states to follow.

Text of Water Policy Speech
by RICHARD M. NIXON
Irrigation Districts Association
Sheraton-Palace Hotel, San Francisco
12 p.m., April 26, 1962

One of the greatest challenges to the dynamic growth of California is that of water development. Potentially, there is enough water to meet all our needs. Our job is to redistribute it - fairly and equitably.

The history of water development in California is a long one. The credit belongs to no one man. Since the beginning of this century we have been developing water. We will continue to do so imaginatively and creatively.

The East Bay Municipal Water District, the Hetch-Hetchy system, the Owens River Aqueduct, the Metropolitan Water District, the Central Valley Project, the Imperial Irrigation District and the Coachella Valley County Water District all deserve mention as do many others. As a result of these programs we have some of the richest farmland in the world and the resources for a burgeoning population.

The state entered the water development picture in 1947 when the Legislature authorized a comprehensive study of all water resources, and from that study evolved the California Water Plan in 1957. The first step of the Plan that will eventually encompass many water programs was to be the Feather River Project.

Californians approved the financing of the Project in good faith. We must keep faith with them. It is only fair to tell the people of California that the \$1 3/4 billion price tag never will cover the costs of the program. This was known at the time but nobody wanted the responsibility of putting a \$2 billion bond issue on the ballot. So the situation was conveniently compromised. The truth of the matter is that no one can honestly say what the Feather River Project will cost, and we must face that fact.

Like the Feather River financing approach, the entire program has been a bipartisan achievement. Until recently water has been non-political, and properly so. It is much too vital for party credits. Although he was a Republican, Harvey Banks, former Director of Water Resources, served in two administrations. He handled the assignment as a non-political one.

Indeed, those were the days -- before politics began to poison the water situation -- when the present Governor could truthfully declare:

"When I walked in as Governor of this State there were great pressures back and forth as to whether I should retain Harvey Banks as the head of the Department of Water Resources. But I had worked with him as Attorney General and I knew there wasn't a better water engineer in this State, and the water program of California as it moves ahead will be a monument to Harvey Banks."

We know, of course, what happened. The Governor lost the services of Harvey Banks, the man whom he praised for taking the Feather River Project to the voters so successfully. Until then, water was free from politics. I am determined to return it to that freedom.

Water also needs freedom from federal meddling. California's water developments prove that self-government at the local level is the best government. This is basic to my philosophy. Water projects already built are the best possible evidence of the effectiveness of local self-government. The vast irrigation works built by the irrigation districts, the municipal systems constructed by public agencies of one kind or another, and the works of private utilities all testify to the resourcefulness and achievement of local units. The job of the state should be to encourage this kind of achievement, not displace it with larger government. This philosophy should be basic to the state as well as to the federal government.

The function of the state is to guide and encourage local communities to help themselves. There is considerable criticism that local units are not getting the help they need. This can be cured only by a direct and able Director of Water Resources who has the confidence of his staff and the people in the communities which his department serves.

What is needed is not more layers of government -- but fewer. Getting rid of the present Governor's super-cabinet will be one of my first acts. Replacing the present water director with a man of Harvey Banks' calibre will be next.

At all costs, the counties of origin of the water must be protected. Present population distribution does not necessarily reflect the population of the future. There is enough water available, if properly harnessed, to serve all the people of the state. In the meantime, we must not make the same mistake in philosophy that the federal government makes when it tries to lay claim to all California water. We believe in the water rights of the counties of origin and of the original users. But unless our resistance to federal encroachment is extraordinarily vigorous, the question of protecting the rights of the counties of origin may well be merely academic.

In my opinion, as far as the Feather River Project is concerned, too much power has been vested in the Administrative branch of state government. The plan would be sounder if it contained more inherent checks than the Governor's vague promises to deal fairly with all sections of the state. Under the super-agency program of the present Administration, the Governor has virtual life and death power over the units of the Feather River Project and at the same time he has delegated that authority to an appointee who is not accountable to the people. The super-agency only dilutes the responsibility of putting the water program into effect. Besides these serious drawbacks, it adds a considerable burden of unnecessary expense.

Now let us examine federal participation. I favor it only to the extent necessary on legitimate grounds. Flood control is an example. California must seek and obtain its share of federal money for that. The same is true of federal projects which made water available to users who agreed to abide by federal restrictions.

But California should not enter into federal agreements which compel our people to adopt wholly artificial rules limiting their right to use state water. The 160-acre limitation does not satisfy our present farm economy. When Governor Brown went so far as to threaten higher water rates on farm holdings of more than 160 acres he showed a total disregard for the agricultural facts of life. The farmers who grow peaches, pears and other fruit crops could survive with 160 acres of irrigated land, but cattle ranchers, some row-crop growers and grain farmers would go broke. I am against the 160-acre limitation at all times and in all places where state water development is concerned. It is not suited to California. We should not accept it as a part of any agreement with the federal government. The fact that the Brown Administration implicitly recognized it in state contracts with water users reflects a gratuitous compromise of principles. The use of 160-acre or any acreage limitation on privately owned land is a step toward socialized agriculture -- with the manifesto being written in Washington.

There is still another aspect of speaking up for California. We should spare no effort in defending our water against claims of the federal government. The tempo of these claims has been growing steadily. So far, Congress has failed to enact the necessary laws to protect the states against these encroachments. In the Santa Margarita watershed, some 6,000 people have been hailed into court by the United States to hear the government claim that it had a "superior" right to the water supply of that river. This litigation has gone on for more than 10 years. It has been annoying, disheartening and expensive to the people. We should use every means to settle or end this litigation. If the federal government wishes to exert special claims to our water supply, it must pay for it, and not attempt to take that supply under the guise of sovereign rights. The Santa Margarita battleground stands as a prime example of the vigilance we must always exercise to resist the ungrounded assertion of alleged federal rights over ours on our own water.

More recently, the United States told the city of Fresno that it did not intend to follow the laws of California and that by reason of putting a dam across the San Joaquin River there simply was no more water available for people downstream. In making this claim, the U. S. Attorney General disclaimed any responsibility for what the Secretary of the Interior had done before, and concluded that when the United States acquired the territory of California from Mexico in 1848, the United States became the owner of all lands and all rights to use water within the territory.

These are only two instances of the broad claims being made by the United States. We must take the battle of preserving California's waters into the Congress and courts of the United States.

Let us look now at power development. We must not use a water project as a means of getting the state into the power business through the back door. On the Feather River Project, California will need more power than it can produce, and the private and local utility systems are ready, able and more than willing to provide the margin to pump the water over the mountains. In return, these same systems have agreed to purchase all the power which the state can produce along the power drops of the aqueduct and from Oroville Dam. Incidentally, I do not believe that dam can be built without the sale of the power at a fair market price as originally agreed. This is important to the final pricing of the water.

At the outset, the present Administration announced its policy to negotiate with the existing utility systems for the extra power needed to operate the aqueducts. Since the new Director of Water Resources has taken over, there has been an ominous change entirely in keeping with his past experience and performance which I have discussed at some length during this campaign.

The Power Committee, which was used by the former director to consult on all matters pertaining to power requirements, distribution, sale and exchange, has been strangely inactive. I will reactivate the Power Committee. There is talk of the possibility of constructing a nuclear plant to generate power needed for pumping. The amount of money available to build the water project will not be sufficient to do that job, too. There is no money available to build an atomic plant and it is not needed.

Now let us turn to the problem of prices. Some areas of this State are experiencing difficulty in contracting with the state for Feather River water. The problem arises because each area contracting with the state must repay that portion of the capital cost of the entire project which is charged to the area on the basis of proportionate use of the facilities. Some of the thirstiest areas are agricultural. They have modest valuations and some of them feel they cannot raise the necessary payments either through taxes or water charges to fulfill their obligations.

There are several possible approaches to the problem:

The first is to charge as much of the entire project to the general taxpayer of the state as is justified. For example, fish and wildlife, recreation, flood control, are some of the benefits which will come to the state as a whole. They should not be charged against the water user. The Legislature should be encouraged to find as many of these statewide beneficiaries as possible and to the extent that others benefit, the cost of the facilities should be reduced insofar as the direct water user is concerned.

In addition to bond proceeds, the state will be using money from the California Water Fund to pay for the Feather River Project. That fund is made up of moneys that come to the State of California through its oil, gas and mineral reserves. As the matter now stands the water users must repay all capital costs with interest. This includes interest on the California Water Fund, even though there is no requirement that the state itself pay interest on that money. Consideration should be given to the possibility of waiving that interest. It would help the rural areas, but it would also benefit the metropolitan areas because the reduced interest charge would apply to all contracting agencies.

The contract with the state is flexible insofar as postponing payments is concerned. Inasmuch as the land to which this water is delivered will increase in value, the principal payments of each contracting agency should be delayed long enough to permit the increased value to be reflected. This will delay the day of payment, not excuse it.

Each area must be encouraged to search broadly and deeply its own financial resources. There is an understandable tendency to throw the expense

of a project to somebody else, particularly to the state. But the local area must act boldly and imaginatively in its own behalf, and extend itself fully in order to contract for water from the state project.

If the estimates for California's growth hold up, and we have every reason to think they will be exceeded, the demands on our water supply will require increasingly imaginative planning.

Just as the Feather River Project and other units in the California Water Plan were planned by past administrations almost 20 years ago, so it is up to us to lay out a resourceful plan for the generations to come. Here are some of the things we should be doing now for the sake of our people, and farms and industries of tomorrow:

We should be working now at full throttle to develop the financial means for implementing the next stage of the California Water Plan. That means that the great seasonal surplus waters of the Northwest, the Mad, Eel, Trinity and others, must be diverted into the Sacramento River and through the Delta for distribution into other parts of the state. Our experience with the Feather River Project indicates that finance is the key to water development. We must give our immediate attention to that task.

All water resources development must be envisioned with a view to their incidental use for flood control, fish, wildlife and recreation. There is an ever-growing demand on our recreational facilities with the growing numbers of people coming to our state. Imaginative planning can accommodate, at least to some extent, the wholesome outdoor recreation of our people. The costs of these programs must be borne by the people generally, not by water users specifically.

Waste disposal is equally as important as water supply. In some ways it is even more important because one community's disposal may be another community's supply. As our communities grow, problems of water quality become even more important. Many of our ground water basins are the basic sources of supply for million of people. These basins must be kept pure so that their function may be continued. Salt water intrusion must be stopped. This program requires intimate cooperation and coordination between the innumerable local agencies charged with this responsibility, as well as the state agencies that are designated to oversee the area-wide problem.

The imminent threat of water pollution is not only local. It is statewide, and even national. The federal government is moving into the picture in a big way. California, if it is to manage its own water supply and disposal system, must give priority attention to the business of water quality and disposal. It is a problem readily overlooked or shoved into the background because the far reaching consequences of pollution and contamination cannot always be seen immediately. I would propose legislation that will bring water quality control into the forefront as one of our most pressing problems.

We should not dismiss the possibilities for the future in the conversion of sea water. The blunt truth of the matter is that we may well need

both the water from the California Water Plan and converted saline water. Desalting research should be encouraged in every way possible. This must go on at the same time as we are developing our fresh water supplies. In the case of sea water, we have a supply that is inexhaustible. Another thought to keep in mind is the amount of brackish water that has invaded our underground water tables. That, too, will eventually have to be converted. Saline water conversion research must be pressed forward with honest diligence not as a substitute for the California Water Plan but as a very necessary adjunct. Here, too, I find myself in substantial disagreement with the philosophy of the present Director of Water Resources. He was willing to see the small research appropriation for desalination of water go down the drain in this year's budget.

Whole civilizations have been buried under the dust of parched lands. New ones rise up where there is water. This is California -- rising as the giant among the 50 states.

California's population will pass the 20 million mark by 1970.

This is why our water must be harnessed to the fullest possible extent. This is why we must learn to tap the ocean economically and sift the work of our scientists and the ideas of our dreamers for new breakthroughs. This is why we need top leaders in state government -- leaders who will keep politics out of water.

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EDUCATION
EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS OF
RICHARD NIXON
BEFORE THE
CALIFORNIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
AND THE
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
AMPASSADOR HOTEL, LOS ANGELES
SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1962

Between the eighth and twelfth grades one out of every four pupils drops out of school and goes out into the labor market unprepared and short-changed on his education. In terms of unemployment, juvenile delinquency and the state's welfare programs, this is "social dynamite." It cannot and it should not be glossed over. So long as we have our over-crowded classrooms and our high rate of student drop-outs, we cannot say California has the kind of education system which the first state in the nation deserves.

* * *

We must remember that a majority of our children do not go on to colleges and universities. We must recognize more adequately the needs of students who want vocational training. Our California junior colleges are coming into the forefront in filling specialized educational needs. They also are expected to take in some 50,000 additional students who otherwise would attend private and public colleges and universities. For this task, the junior colleges have been promised greater state aid -- a commitment which has been substantially unfulfilled to date. It is essential that we fully emphasize their importance and their high standing in the educational community.

* * *

Our education headaches are not about to be finally resolved. The crest of children to be educated is yet to be reached. The total public school enrollment is 3,825,000 -- double that of 1950 and as great as the state's entire population a few short years ago. By 1970 the number will jump to five million. We cannot limit our perspective to the decade ahead. We must build a philosophy of education that will serve as a sturdy framework for our educational giant for many years to come.

* * *

We educate American children for a different purpose and to a different end than the communists. We should not push the panic button with each new communist achievement. We are educating free citizens to live in a free society. We don't, at about the tenth grade, test our children and send the rejects off to the factory or to the mines in Siberia. There is no American equivalent to Siberia to swallow up all but the brightest students. We educate children to earn their livings in a free and competitive society. We also educate them to be well-rounded people. Further, we have a responsibility to our children which goes far beyond the needs of a communist society. We are educating our future voters and leaders and opinion makers.

EDUCATION
EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS OF
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BEFORE THE
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SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1962

California is near the bottom of the list among the 50 states in numbers of students for each teacher in our elementary and secondary public schools. With the exception of six other states, California has the most crowded classrooms in the nation. Because of such overcrowding, more than 90,000 students attend half-day, split sessions.

The solution lies in increasing the number of teachers in California and using our school buildings to greater purpose, so that we can arrive at an improved pupil-teacher ratio. This would in itself improve the working conditions of our teachers.

Beyond this, teachers should be relieved of non-teaching duties insofar as possible.

* * *

The recommendations of our teachers should be given the highest priority in any assessment of our education needs and any assessment of where our money should be spent.

* * *

We must make sure that the state receives the maximum educational benefit from every dollar it spends for educational purposes. There is a drastic need for a thorough-going review of our present method of distributing state aid toward the end of increased equity and effectiveness -- not only for the children but for the taxpayer.

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There is no doubt that we need more classrooms. For this reason, I urge support for the two state bond issues proposed for the construction of new school, college and university buildings. These include the \$200 million bond issue for state construction. More than 80 percent of this capital outlay bond issue will go for construction at the University of California and the state colleges.

Properly drawn, local school bond issues also deserve support. Our general policy should be to pay our bills as we go along. But in our present fiscal situation created by higher spending throughout our state government, schools that will be used many years into the future must be financed on a time-payment plan. As in buying a car, we would rather pay cash, but when we cannot afford it, we are forced to finance our purchases, even if it costs us more.

It is inconsistent and wrong to oppose federal aid to education, and then vote against the local and state bond issues or other funds needed to support a top-quality, locally-controlled school system. There is in the final analysis only one effective answer to the pressures for vastly increased federal aid and the threat of federal control. Our states and local school districts, and all responsible citizens, must assume the burden of responsibility for adequate support. The most effective way to avoid dictation on education from Washington is to do a better job of meeting the needs of education at home.

THE POWER OF GOVERNMENT
EXCERPT OF REMARKS BY
RICHARD M. NIXON
31ST ANNUAL YOUTH BANQUET
PASADENA JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
APRIL 24, 1962

The impact of the federal government on every aspect of the American economy is direct and immediate, and it runs deep. The amount it spends and the rate of spending, the bite and distribution of taxes, federal deficits and surpluses all set the framework for personal spending and saving and for basic decisions by private management.

There could be no more dramatic demonstration of this fact than last week's controversy over the price of steel. Without getting into the merits of the situation from this distance, the longrun lesson still is clear. The federal government has a near-controlling voice in wage-price decisions, and it has the power to back up its views in no uncertain terms.

There is a parallel lesson for every one of America's towns and cities and states. By its command over powerful media of public communication and over the public purse-strings, the federal government is also in position to move into areas of public policy traditionally reserved to our states and local communities.

The events of last week thus raise with unmistakable clarity the overriding issue of the Federal government's impact not only on economic decisions but also on the far broader area of local and private autonomy. The controversy over steel prices, and the way in which that controversy was settled, sharpens the basic question of self-government in America -- and certainly not least in California, the bellwether of growth and progress among all the fifty states.

It does no good to deplore encroachments on local liberties or to view with alarm the future of our freedom as private citizens. The only answer that will make any real difference in the longrun is effective action -- the actual record of performance chalked up by our cities and states and by private and voluntary groups and organizations. If they do the jobs the American people want done and provide necessary public services, then the opening wedge for federal encroachment will be blocked off.

Effective action means, first of all, vigorous and creative local and state government. And this, in turn, depends on top-quality candidates for all offices at every level. It means candidates, and public officials, who have the skill and experience and drive to speak up and stand up for state and local autonomy and not cave in whenever the federal government offers tempting handouts. In no areas of public concern is such local initiative more vital than education and urban development, close as these are to our day-to-day way of life and to the development of tomorrow's citizens.

Effective action means, also, leadership by private business and private organizations in many fields and professions. To the extent, for example, that our free medical profession moves forward in the development of private and voluntary health plans, just to that extent can we hope to avoid irresistible pressures for a compulsory federally-controlled system -- with all its consequences for the quality of medical care in this nation.

Effective action means, finally, an intensive campaign of public information and education. The blunt fact is -- as Commerce Secretary Hodges pointed out in his speech at Los Angeles last week -- that most of the American people are utterly uninformed about the nature of a free economy, about its operating procedures, and about the central role of fair profits in such a system. Fewer than 5 per cent of our adult citizens have ever had so much as a one-year high school course in economics. And in a recent poll of college students, 60 per cent thought that profits were, in general, a bad thing. The dramatic significance of such misinformation can be seen in the confused public reaction to the steel controversy. It can be seen in the curious notion that a 10 cent an hour increase in "fringe benefits" is automatically non-inflationary -- that it does not, like a regular and open wage increase, raise industry costs at the same time and by the same amount.

America's competitive economy -- and America's freedom -- cannot afford this sort of basic misinformation.

These are all forms of action in which Chambers and Junior Chambers of Commerce can and must undertake roles of special responsibility. As local business and professional leaders, Chamber members know the facts. They recognize the dangers. And they are in position to take effective counteraction. Their longtime record in philanthropy and public service is a distinguished case-in-point. For the future, this record must be tremendously multiplied -- if the concept of self-government is to have more than historic interest in the annals of a free society.

