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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>Notes about UPI video tape. 1 pg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10/02/1962</td>
<td>Report</td>
<td>Reaction comments about UPI Editor's meeting. 5 pgs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Re: UPI video tape

KNXT has tape available for showing - but of course will have to have advance notice (Dick Bower reported)

also - KRCA has a tape -- out of town now - but they are getting it back.

- so we will have two places to call upon.
TEXT OF NIXON-BROWN DISCUSSION AT NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF UPI EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS

OCTOBER 1, 1962

FAIRMONT HOTEL - SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

MODERATOR: Dr. O. Preston Robinson, Editor and General Manager, Salt Lake City Deseret News & Telegram

DR. ROBINSON: Ladies and gentlemen, we have here today two distinguished Americans who right now seem to disagree on many things somewhat violently but who, at least, have one thing in common. Later this fall they both want to be elected to the same job. I am sure this audience is reasonably well acquainted with the background of these two candidates. However, despite their differences there are still other things which they have in common; in their political experiences they both have enjoyed some important firsts or near firsts. When Pat Brown was first elected to the office of Attorney General, he was the only Democrat to hold an elective state office in California. As California's Governor, he is only the second Democrat to hold that high office during the twentieth century. As Vice President of the United States, Mr. Nixon was the first man west of Texas - I think that must have some significance - to hold that high office and the second youngest Vice President in our nation's history. He also was given more authority in that office than any other man, so despite their differences, they have some things in common. In fact, even the name Pat, which Governor Brown adopted, I think you may know that on one occasion he won first prize for a high school oration and ended with the stirring and unusual statement, "Give me liberty or give me death" and he was promptly dubbed "Patrick Henry Brown" and it stuck, but Mr. Nixon married his Pat. As you know, prior to this meeting, seconds to these contestants met and flipped a coin to determine not merely the weapons but who would fire the first shot. Mr. Nixon won and he decided to allow Governor Brown to shoot first. I am not sure whether this decision was made out of magnanimity or if Mr. Nixon believes Governor Brown to be a poor shot, or whether Mr. Nixon remembers from a previous well-known experience in an important political campaign that he can fight most effectively when he is wounded. It's a great pleasure for me and an honor to present Edmond Gerald Brown, Governor of the great state of California.

GOVERNOR BROWN: Mr. Chairman, delegates to this great convention, my distinguished opponent and my friends, at the very outset I would like to ask you all to put away your transistors. This campaign is tough enough without competing with the little World Series that we have to compete with during the forthcoming three days. Now, on my way down on the train this morning I made a very few notes on the back of an envelope. I hope that my opponent will not object to my using these few notes during this opening seven and a half minutes. My friends, within a period of sixty days, California will pass the state of New York in population. This factor I have known since I took office on the fifth day of January as the thirty-second Governor of the State of California. Every act that I have committed, every move I have made as Governor has been with the thought in mind that California would be the biggest state in the Union and would continue its growth over a period of years. The first thing that I had to do as Governor of this state was to assure the people of the state that they would have fiscal responsibility in their state government. My friends, they have had it. I inherited a deficit of sixty-eight million dollars from the previous administration and within six months, by reason of rigid economies and by reason of the insurance industries of the State of California agreeing to pay their taxes in April, rather than October, we ended the first six months of my administration with a balanced budget. -MORE-
We have had four balanced budgets since that time without any new taxes since the first new revenues that we had to have in the first six months. We have had two reductions of taxes, one of ten million dollars when we eliminated the prescription drugs, and this year when we conformed to the federal new statute on depreciation which amounted to fifteen million dollars for the business industries of the State of California. Next year I have committed myself to the fact of there will be no new taxes. We have done this in the face of the greatest growth and the greatest migration in the history of the entire world.

The second thing that I had to concentrate on was water. As the Attorney General of this state, I was in every major water case during the past eight years. I knew that without water, I knew with the sectional differences, that California could not grow, so I moved in the first six months to put over a water project, a bill of one billion seven hundred and fifty million dollars, committed the Tideland Oil revenues to the program. The people confirmed this water program of mine and we have moved ahead. California now can assure industry when they come in to Southern California or into Northern California or into the Valley, that they will have water. This is the greatest water project, the greatest engineering water project in the history of the world, and it's being done with California money and California credit.

The third thing that I want to talk about is education. I knew that the space age industries could not move into California unless they found the intellectual climate that they must have in order to do the work that they must do in the thirty-eight years ahead in this century. For that reason we pass the master plan of higher education. This is one of the greatest programs for planning curriculum and growth of higher education in this state and everyone that's watched it knows that it is a great program for the State of California and for the entire United States if they will only copy it. We started three new Universities of California. Six new State Colleges. We have given aid to the junior colleges for the first time in the history of this State. We firmed up elementary education because we knew that the youngsters have to have greater discipline, and despite the great growth, despite the fact they have had no additional State taxes we have cut the half-day sessions, we have cut them in half in the State of California.

In connection with law enforcement, it has been somewhat of an issue during this campaign. Chief Justice Warren, within the past three weeks, in dedicating a new courthouse said that California had the finest law enforcement in the entire United States, and J. Edgar Hoover in his report said that California was one of the few states in the union that had gone down in per capita crime in the entire United States. In addition to that, we have put into effect an Economic Development agency, a Consumer Counsel and a Fair Employment Practices Commission that is an example to the entire United States— I might say at this time of peril, to the entire world. We have made great break-throughs in all of these things, my friends. It's now necessary to push ahead based upon the foundations we have laid during the past four years. I regret to say that my opponent in his campaign for almost a year has discussed nothing but gloom and doom and generalities and personalities. He stated that this State is on the way to the rocks. I tell you that we are on the way to the stars and I want to be the navigator for the next four years.

Thank you very much.
I appreciate the opportunity that has been provided by United Press International to Governor Brown and myself to appear before this distinguished audience and before millions on television and radio, and I trust that our experience today may make it possible for us to get together again in joint press conferences and in face-to-face debates because I believe that such appearances do serve a very useful purpose in first acquainting the people with the issues and also in acquainting the people with the candidates. I think there is a little of the latter needed. I recall a little experience I had up in the little town of Susanville, California, a few days ago. I was over in a shopping center shaking hands. A small boy spotted me, walked up to me, looked at me for a moment and said, "Are you the President?" I said, "No, Mr. Kennedy is the President." He said, "Are you the Vice-President?" I said, "No, Mr. Johnson is the Vice-President." By that time I was feeling a little let down. Then his next question reassured me because he asked: "Are you the Governor?" He didn't know Brown either. I can assure all of you here that through the medium of this broadcast on television and radio and this report taken by the newspapers of this state and nation, the people of this state will know Mr. Brown, they will know me. And they will know better where we stand and where we differ.

He has presented his case eloquently. Like Abraham Lincoln, he did make some notes on the back of an envelope and he provided himself very well during the course of his own delivery.

I obviously differ, and I present those differences as constructively and effectively as I can today. I think California needs new leadership. I think it needs new leadership first because I do not believe that we can afford four more years of the cost of government which has been imposed upon the people of California by the Brown administration.

Today, we have the most costly state government in America. Our taxes are the highest in America. We can't blame this on increased population because government expenses have gone up three times as fast as population and taxes have gone up three times as fast as population, and as far as balanced budgets are concerned, we find that the only reason we have them is that the Brown administration has imposed a billion dollars over four years in new taxes on the people of California.

Now this is the record of the past. What does the future hold? Will the future hold the promise that there will be no new tax increases if the Brown administration goes back into office? But also the future holds the promise of carrying out the democratic platform as adopted by its State's Central Committee. I have had that platform and crossed it out. It will cost a minimum of one billion three hundred sixty million dollars over four years.

Now we can't do both. We cannot keep the promise that has been made by Mr. Brown not to raise taxes, and still keep the promises contained in the platform, and so the choice is clear; his re-election will mean either a raise in taxes or reneging on the promises he has made in his platform. That is why I say we need to cut government expenses.

I have offered a constructive program which will cut fifty million dollars without cutting any essential service of the State of California. I believe that this choice is one that the voters will want to make on election day.

The second reason I think that California needs new leadership is because we have to have leadership that will provide a million new jobs for the increasing population of this State and for the unemployed which now amounts to 380,000 in the State of California.

Which man can do it the best? Well, the record again runs against the Brown administration. Unemployment from August, 1959,
to August, 1962, went up three times as fast as did population in California. This is the Brown record. We find today that the rate of growth in California is only one-half as great as is necessary to provide the million new jobs in four years that we need. We find that California, over the last nineteen months, has been ninth among all the states of the nation in the number of new businesses. We find that New York, our major competitor, has gotten three times as many new plants in the last nineteen months as has California. We find that 41 industries have either left California or have curtailed their activities in the past three years of the Brown administration. Now, who can do something about this trend? Obviously I don't think my opponent can, because he ignores the problem. He says everything in effect is fine. I believe that we need new leadership, and I believe that my leadership can provide the new investment that will produce jobs for Californians. It will provide it, first, because my fiscal policies will give assurance to any potential investor that he won't be sandbagged by higher taxes if he comes into this State. It will provide it, second, because my philosophy of government is that it will give assurance to any potential investor that will have gone ahead rather than be harrassed by a point the government makes to State Bureaus and agencies, and it will be provided, third, because I have a policy, a program, a crusade of new business investment which will have California lead as a nation in opportunity for new business investments.

Mr. Brown has made reference to law enforcement. I am glad to accept that challenge. I wish it were not necessary for me to state that the facts are these: California is first in crime in all the states. More crimes are committed in California than in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania combined. Crime has gone up four times as fast as population in the 3½ years that Mr. Brown has been Governor of this State. He says, and he offers no program to deal with this situation. We have a vital difference of opinion. The blame cannot be placed on local law enforcement officials, as he has tried to place it. It rests squarely on the Governor of this State for failing to back the legislation that was necessary, for failing to give leadership by his executive actions. Our difference on capital punishment points up the differences in our approach to this problem. He believes it should be abolished. I believe we have to have it. Much as I regret, as he does, the necessity to take a life. But California is first in crime. We must have capital punishment to deal with it.

And now, finally, I come to the last point. I want California as the first State to lead the nation, but I want California as the first State to lead it not just in population, but to lead it in opportunity. I want California to be the leading opportunity in all of the United States. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: Thank you, Mr. Nixon.

For our radio and television audience I should like again to just reiterate a bit the ground rules. We have time limits on the answers and on the responses which we will enforce. Questions cannot go outside of the California issues or the effect of those issues upon national politics.

I believe the first question will be asked of Governor Brown. Where do I see that question? Here is one right over here.

Will you please state your name for affiliation?

I am Miss Jane Stretch, Courier Post from Camden, New Jersey. Governor, I read in the East that Mr. Nixon opposes allowing speakers on University campuses who have taken the Fifth Amendment on questions regarding Communist affiliations. Reports in dictate that there is a basic difference between you. Is it correct to assume that you believe Communists should be allowed to speak on University campuses even though they have failed to register under orders from the Supreme Court and the Attorney General of the United States.

-MORE-
GOVERNOR BROWN: No, that is not a fair conclusion to be drawn from any statements that have been made. The University of California and the Board of Regents have adopted a rule that no Communist or subversive should speak on the campus of the University of California.

I believe the President of the University and the fine Board of Regents composed of people like Mrs. Hearst and Mrs. Chandler can well take care of the speakers on the campuses of the University of California, and I agree with their position with respect to people that have taken the Fifth Amendment. I think that has to be decided on the individual speaker. Communists and subversives or people who fail to register as Communists should not be permitted to speak on the campus, but to censor anyone else is something I am willing to leave to the Board of Regents. Mr. Nixon has made a statement that he will issue an executive order banning anybody who has taken the Fifth Amendment from speaking on the campus of the University. The Governor of the State of California has no such power. The Board of Regents are an independent agency and I don't believe in political control of the University of California in any shape, form or manner.

CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: Mr. Nixon, do you care to pass or do you wish to make a reply?

MR. NIXON: The Governor of the State of California is a member of the Board of Regents and can give leadership as Governor and as a member of the Board of Regents. I believe that any individual who refuses to cooperate in exposing the Communist conspiracy aimed against this country by refusing to answer questions when asked about Communist activities, questions put by Legislative Investigating Committee or by a Grand Jury should not be given the dignity of a forum on a tax-supported institution in the State of California.

I believe that as far as our Universities are concerned, we find that over the past four years there have been eight occasions in which individuals who have refused to answer questions by Legislative Committees and by Grand Juries have appeared on tax-supported institutions in the State of California.

My views on this are not because I want to deny freedom of speech, but because I am for it. I believe that it is essential for us to recognize that the Communist conspiracy is dedicated to deny freedom of speech every place in the world, and I think it is vital that in this particular period when the United States finds it is threatened all over the world by more activity on the part of Communists, that we back up our law enforcement agencies and our legislative committees by not dignifying an individual who refuses to answer questions on the grounds of self-incrimination when they are investigating such activities.

CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: The next question will be asked of Mr. Nixon. (A. W. Bramwell of Chico Enterprise Record) Mr. Nixon, a little over two weeks ago, raised this point on college campuses in a speech in Chico. Now I think the point has been made by the Governor that this would impair academic freedom and that he would be "boss" of the campus. I would like to ask Mr. Nixon how he thinks this would affect the academic freedom, if it would impair, and what he would do to perfect that particular part of it.

MR. NIXON: Academic freedom to me means the freedom to bring under the campus of our great universities and colleges individuals who have different points of view. If an individual, for example, complies with the laws of the land, if he registers with the Attorney General of the United States as the agent of a foreign government, I would defend his rights to appear under the proper auspices in a tax supported institution in this nation and in this state, and I would defend it because I want our people to have the opportunity to
be exposed to all points of views, even unpopular points of views. But what is involved here is defiance of the law of the land. What is involved here is defiance of the legally constituted investigating agencies of this nation. I have experience in this field. I know how hard it is to get information when we are attempting to expose and when we are attempting to find espionage against the United States of America. And when you give aid and comfort to witnesses who defy committees of the Congress, to witnesses who refuse to testify before Grand Juries, all you do is make the job of those committees under those Grand Juries much harder. I say that as far as our Universities are concerned that the least they should do in cooperating with the committees of Congress and the Grand Juries of this nation that are investigating Communist activities, the least that should be done is to deny such individuals who refuse to so testify the dignity of a forum in the great universities in the State of California.

CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: Governor Brown, do you wish to respond?

GOVERNOR BROWN: The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution is part of our Bill of Rights. I cannot envision all of the situations where a person might use the Fifth Amendment. He might do it under advice of counsel and be completely free of any subversion or any Communism. I believe that the University of California and Doctor Clark Kerr is as competent as I am to judge whom those students should hear. I agree with Doctor Clark Kerr when he says that students should be made safe for ideas, not ideas safe for the student. I don't know whether the person who takes the Fifth Amendment would be the president of General Electric or some other person, in connection with an anti-trust case, and to bar everyone from the campus from speaking merely because he has taken his constitutional rights is something that I do not agree with. I don't want any Communists speaking on the campus. I don't want them to use that as a platform to spread their poison. But to go as far as Mr. Nixon wants to go is to go much further than I desire to go.

CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: The next question is directed to Governor Brown.

MR. HOUGHTELING: Mr. Houghteling of the Sunnyvale Standard. You have listed a variety of things that you have done in the past three and a half years. Which was the most difficult program of these to achieve, Governor Brown?

GOVERNOR BROWN: I think the most difficult program, and probably the most important in retrospect, was putting over this Water Program. For a period of eight years I was engaged as the Attorney General in every major lawsuit in this state - Arizona versus California, Ivanhoe Irrigation District versus all persons, Rank versus Crew. I won the election four years ago by a million votes plurality. I knew that to resolve their sectional differences I would have to use all the muscle of that one million votes plurality to bring the North and the South and the mountains and valleys together. And we did. It was the toughest fight I have ever had, either in my private or my political life, but I knew that it had to be done during the honeymoon of my campaign, of my administration as Governor of this state, and I do think that California could not grow if we had not moved ahead with the Water Program in this state.

People could not come in to Los Angeles and invest money because in 1970 or 1971, without the resolution of the Water Program, they just couldn't invest their money.

I think that this is the toughest fight that I have had and I really feel that despite master plan of higher education, despite the Fisher Bill and Senate Bill 57, a connection with firming up elementary education, the Water Program is the most important thing that has been accomplished and the toughest fight that I have had.
MR. NIXON: When Mr. Brown was campaigning for the Water Program he very effectively and fairly pointed out that it was not a Democratic Program, but that it was a California Program. He pointed out that the water program began under a Republican Administration, that of Earl Warren, and was worked for under both Republican Administrations of Warren and Knight. He gave particular treatment to a Republican, Mr. Harvey Banks, who was the first Director of Water Resources in his administration. Water is bipartisan in California. Governor Brown gets credit for the leadership that he gave here, but there are others who deserve credit too, and I can point to a wire in my file in which he very generously gave me the credit for the deadlock in the rules committee for the San Luis Project which the President of the U.S. just recently dedicated. I would add one other thing with regard to the previous question. Governor Brown made a comment to the point that the President of General Electric might plead the Fifth Amendment— he distorted completely what I said. I made it clear that the Fifth Amendment pleaders were those who would be barred because they refuse to answer questions about Communist Activities and only on those activities.

CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: The next question will be directed to Mr. Nixon.

JERRY BROWN: My name is Jerry Brown, Oceanside Blade Tribune. Mr. Nixon, in a speech in Phoenix, Arizona, October 15, 1960, you said if the time comes when I am not proud of my party and proud of the candidates I am running with, then of course the thing for me to do is get out of the party. Now my question is, "Are you proud of the John Birch Society Members, Congressmen Rousselot and Hiestand who are seeking re-election on the Republican ticket and what are you doing to oppose their re-election?"

MR. NIXON: I have stated my position with regard to the John Birch Society long before Mr. Brown made it a political issue. That position has not changed and I have re-stated it on several occasions, as you, sir, are well aware. As far as endorsements of any candidates are concerned, I have made it clear that I am not endorsing any candidates for Federal office.

I am running for state office, and, in the California tradition, I am campaigning only for and with the candidates for state office in the State of California. Now in that connection, I would like to put a question to Governor Brown. On his ticket, not for Federal Office but for State Office, are two candidates, O'Connell and Burton, who helped to lead the riots against the Committee of Unamerican Activities when it met here in San Francisco. Does he endorse these candidates? Does he endorse them in view of his statement recently that he approved of the Committee on Unamerican Activities and did not agree, he said, with the opposition to that committee of the Democratic Council of California which has endorsed him.

CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: Mr. Brown, do you wish to respond to that question because it is outside of the rules.

GOVERNOR BROWN: I think Mr. Nixon probably knew it was outside of the rules. We agreed not to ask each other questions, but I will be very happy to answer his questions anyway. The situation with respect to the John Birch Society is one that Mr. Nixon stated early in the campaign. Whether he did it first or I did first, is unimportant, and he stated he would repudiate any candidates that were members of the John Birch Society. When he found out that Murray Chotiner and some of the other people that are now supporting him thought it was bad politics, he has retreated from that position unless he'd like to change it today.

- More-
If there are any members of the John Birch Society in the Democratic party, I would repudiate them. We see what General Walker is doing down there in Mississippi at the present time and it imposes a great danger to the democracy of our country. Any organization that has within it a man, a president, that will say that the President of the United States is a conscious agent of the Democratic party is something the Democrats themselves would like to repudiate.

Now, with respect to Mr. O'Connell and someone else, a Mr. Burton, was it? Is that who you are referring to?

MR. NIXON: I would think, sir, you would know who the members of your own ticket are, sir.

MR. NIXON: Sir, may I have just one moment. I figure Governor Brown does not want to leave on the record his suggestion a moment ago that there was a repudiation of the Democratic party. You misstated yourself sir, you meant a repudiation of the Communist party.

GOVERNOR BROWN: A repudiation of the Communist Party and the John Birch Society, that's correct. Thank you for correcting me.

I would like to know who you are referring to in connection with the two people that you now alleged led a riot here in San Francisco.

MR. NIXON: Assemblymen Burton and Assemblyman O'Connell.

GOVERNOR BROWN: Now without... I'm not here to defend anyone in the State of California or anyone else. I am sure Mr. Burton and Mr. O'Connell can defend themselves.

Let me say this, Mr. Burton and Mr. O'Connell are Assemblymen from San Francisco. Both of them have been up there in Sacramento and they have been fine, excellent legislators in the State of California.

They have led the fight for the blind and the lame and the Aged in California.

I haven't agreed with everything that they -- every position they have taken - any more than I agree with every position that any of the other Senators or Assemblymen have taken. But, I will say this, I am unequivocally supporting both Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Burton.

CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: Governor Brown, I think we have probably exhausted that question at the moment.

The next question will be directed to Governor Brown.

I have a questioner over here on the right hand side. Wait for the microphone, please.

MR. FRED SPEERS: Mr. Fred Speers of the Escondido Daily Times Examiner. My question is directed to Governor Brown.

I have been puzzled as to why you agonized so long over the execution of Caryl Chessman and yet you quickly reached a decision to proceed with the execution of Melvin Darling, a man that I understand many psychologists feel was mentally ill.

Are you now, automatically, rejecting pleas for reconsideration of the death penalty?
GOVERNOR BROWN: No, I am not - at all., I think I have stated my position time after time with respect to the death penalty. I have been a District Attorney and I've asked for the death penalty in the State of California. Since I have been Governor thirty-two people have gone to the gas chamber and a person went this morning at 10 o'clock,here in California.

My friend, I don't believe the death penalty should be a political issue. It is tough on a Governor to be the last stand between life and death in these cases. I don't know whether you would call it agonizing on everyone of these cases, but I will tell you this - every single one of these death penalty cases bothers me tremendously. I'm against the death penalty. I've never been for it.

I would substitute a long-term in prison at hard labor rather than killing another human being because frankly, I don't think it has doma a single solitary bit of good.

As governor of this state my first job is to protect the life and property of the people. I've taken an oath to uphold the laws of this state. A death penalty is one of them and in every single case, including the Chessman case, I have done exactly that.

MR. NIXON: I certainly respect Governor Brown's right to disagree with the people of California and with me on the death penalty, and he has expressed himself very eloquently in that respect.

I feel just as strongly in the other direction. No one likes to take the life of a guilty person, but you must compare the life of the guilty person with that of the lives of the hundreds of innocent ones which might be lost if there was not the deterrent of the death penalty.

I am for the death penalty, reluctantly, but I would extend it to big-time dope peddlers as well.

My experience and my analysis of the situation shows that the death penalty probably ended kidnapping in the United States.

I think that we have to have it in California, when we are first in major crime in America, and I will not stand for a position of getting rid of it.

CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: The next question is to be directed to Mr. Nixon, and there is one hand up right back there.

MR. BRADEN: My name is Tom Braden and I am from Oceanside Glen Tribune and I am going to ask you about the Hughes Tool Company loan of $205,000.

I wanted to ask you whether you as Vice President, or as a candidate for governor, think it proper for a candidate for Governor, morally and ethically, to permit his family to receive a secret loan from a major defense contractor in the United States?

CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: Mr. Nixon, you don't need to answer that question if you don't want to. I would rule it out on the basis that it is outside the issues of this campaign.

MR. NIXON: As a matter of fact, Dr. Robinson, I insist on answering it.

CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: All right, fine.

MR. NIXON: I welcome the opportunity of answering it.
Six years ago, my brother was in deep financial trouble. He borrowed $205,000 from the Hughes Tool Company. My mother put up as security for that loan practically everything she had – a piece of property, which, to her was fabulously wealthy and which now is producing an income of $10,000.00 a year to the creditor.

My brother went bankrupt six years ago. My mother turned over the property to the Hughes Tool Company. Two years ago at the Presidential Election, President Kennedy refused to make a political issue out of my brother's difficulties and out of my mother's problems, just as I refused to make a political issue out of any of the charges made against the members of his family.

I had no part or interest in my brother's business. I had no part whatever in the negotiation of this loan. I was never asked to do anything by the Hughes Tool Company and never did anything for them. And yet, despite President Kennedy refusing to use this as an issue, Mr. Brown, privately, in talking to some of the newsmen here in this audience, and his hatchetmen have been constantly saying that I must have gotten some of the money – that I did something wrong.

Now it is time to have this out. I was in government for four years as a Congressman, as a Senator, as Vice President. I went to Washington for 5 years with a car and a house and a mortgage. I came back with a car and a house and a bigger mortgage.

Now, he has a chance. All the people of California are listening on television. The people of this audience are listening. Governor Brown has a chance to stand up as a man and charge me with misconduct. Do it, Sir!

GOVERNOR BROWN: Mr. Nixon, in connection with the Hughes note, I have said nothing about it to anyone whatsoever, other than to ask some people as to why your campaign manager, when the note was first disclosed, stated that the note was made by someone else, and I wanted to know the facts in connection with that situation.

That's the only questions that I have asked of anyone in connection with this campaign, and I have no comment to make, other than that single fact – the fact that during the Presidential campaign some question was asked of you, I can't remember what it was, and someone brought that information to me. As a matter of fact, a member of the Republican Party. And I did pursue it and I did read the story in the Reporter Magazine, but until this moment I never said anything about it other than in casual conversation from time to time, in connection with reading a story in the Reporter Magazine.

CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: Thank you, Governor Brown.

The next question will be directed to Governor Brown, and there is one right here, Microphone Number Three.

MR. LESHER: Mr. Dean Lesher, Merced Sun Star, I don't happen to be a political advocate of yours.

Our Unemployment Insurance rate taxes has gone up from six-tenths or five-tenths of one per cent to two and six-tenths percent because of the squandering of the reserve by your administration.

Now, will you tell me whether or not that is calculated to build a good business climate in California?

GOVERNOR BROWN: My friend, when you make a statement that due to the squandering of my administration in connection with
Unemployment Insurance, you know that the laws with respect to Unemployment Insurance are made by the Legislature of the State of California. You do know that in the years '60 and '61 there was tremendous unemployment in the State of California. You know that the Unemployment Insurance takes care of people that are out of work, and you know that the State of New York has had a higher loss ratio than the State of California because they are both in the same category.

We have tried to operate Unemployment Insurance just as fairly as we can, but in every Administration - Warren, Knight, and mine - there has been criticism of some of the alleged frauds in that case, but we do have a Fraud Bureau and we work just as hard to do it.

If you would favor the repeal of Unemployment Insurance I would disagree with you. But there has been no squandering of any kind, nature or description with respect to Unemployment Insurance or any fund in the State of California. We have given the toughest, tightest administration in this state, and, as a matter of fact, we saved twenty-seven million dollars a year in our annual budget, when the other administrations spent - saved twelve and fifteen million dollars a year.

I think that's the answer to your question.

VOICE FROM AUDIENCE: Go home Yankee.

MR. NIXON: Go ahead. I'm sorry for the interruption, - I can assure you, it wasn't a Dodger Fan.

I think the question here is not against Unemployment Insurance and let's make it clear that I am not either.

What is involved here is, of course, not just the past, but the future, and in the platform that Mr. Brown is running on is a provision for extending unemployment insurance benefits and for raising the benefits.

Now, the question is, where are you going to get the money?

Governor Brown has said there will be no increase in taxes. Is the cost of business to be increased in California to keep this campaign promise? Where are you going to get the money?

I don't ask the question except rhetorically today, because this is something we have to consider, as we consider this fund.

CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: The next question will be directed to Mr. Nixon.

Do we have a question? Right here in front. Will you bring up the microphone please, Microphone Number 3.

VIRGIL PINKLEY: Virgil Pinkley of the Associated Desert Newspapers.

Mr. Nixon, with a budget of roughly three billion dollars, or very close to it, if the State of California would encounter a deficit, would you apply the rules of private business and, if necessary make a five or ten percent cut right across the board, which would total, in a case of a ten percent cut, roughly 300 millions, or in the case of a five per cent cut, one hundred fifty million. To try and get at your fiscal philosophy, would you be willing to do as private business does and make an overall cut? How would you handle a situation of that nature?
MR. NIXON: Not only would I be willing and able to do it, but I would have to do it, because as distinguished from the Federal Government, the State of California cannot run a deficit. The State of California has to have a balanced budget, and if that situation should arise and there were no new taxes forthcoming it would be necessary to make the cut. Now, as far as cuts are concerned, they can be made without discharging any individual on Civil Service who is doing a good job, simply by applying the rule that as people lose jobs that their jobs will not be refilled. This is one way that can be accomplished.

A second area that I have discussed from time to time in this campaign is the area of welfare. Now, Mr. Brown disagrees with me on this. He pointed out recently that only one of ten people were chiselers in the welfare rolls. Well, taking his figure of one out of ten, which is the lowest figure I have seen, that would save 17 million dollars a year to get them off. And Mr. Cobley, a Democrat, a Senator from Merced, says that 50 per cent of the ANC people are chiselers. Let me say this in that connection, that the cost that concerns me as far as welfare is concerned is not the 27 million dollars that I believe can be saved by better administration, but the cost in character. I say that when the time comes when it is more profitable for a man not to work than to work, something ought to be done about the law. I say that when the time comes in our State, as it has in many counties, when it is better for an individual to leave his family than to stay with it, something ought to be done about the law. That is why I am for getting chiselers off the welfare rolls, and I believe that kind of a program is in the best interest of the aged, the handicapped and the blind. If we are going to maintain the highest standards in America for those who truly deserve these payments then we are going to have to get every chiseler off the rolls, and I have the political program to do it.

GOVERNOR BROWN: When Mr. Nixon speaks of getting the chiselers off the relief rolls, he is referring primarily to the mothers who have been deserted by their husbands. The fathers have left their children and the mothers have to take care of these children. We do have cases of illegitimacy and we have cases where they have had six and seven children. They are very difficult cases. They constitute a very small minority of the number of people that are receiving it. I think it's far better that we do that rather than go back to the orphan homes. We, under Jim Cobley, made a survey of the absent father situation, and we did find that there were things we should do. We found out the law was bad, and, as a result of the law, we administratively compelled the mother to take her relief in kind rather than respect to money. I do believe that the Social Welfare Department and the County Agencies are doing a good job, but it's not easy when you have a mother with six or seven children to try to eliminate them; and I never made any statement any place anywhere that one in ten was guilty of chiseling on relief.

Now, with respect to making across-the-board decreases, I certainly would like to do that in the event that there were not enough money to take care of the bills, but unfortunately we have -

MR. ROBINSON: Governor Brown --

MR. NIXON: Let him finish.

GOVERNOR BROWN: I just wanted to say that the money goes to people in penitentiaries and mental institutions, public health programs and things like that and you just cannot make an across-the-board cut. There are cuts that we are constantly making and constantly re-examine in government, and the 27 million dollars that we have saved every single year for the last three years in
our budget is a clear example of the economic administration that we have given California.

MR. ROBINSON: One other question and a brief answer. This gentleman right here.

LEONARD FINDER: Governor Brown, if the principles being discussed here are to have a national application in some instance, and you believe that the Republican Party should repudiate the Birch Society, with which I agree, of course, do you also believe that the Democratic Party should repudiate the members of the White Council, the Senators who do not conform to the National Democratic program in terms of civil liberties, and other Democrats who defy the Federal Government.

MR. ROBINSON: Make your answer short, Governor.

GOVERNOR BROWN: My answer to that one would be very short. They are not my kind of Democrat and if it's necessary to repudiate them I certainly would do it.

MR. ROBINSON: Mr. Nixon, a short response.

MR. NIXON: I also would hope that Governor Brown would take the same position with regard to Speaker Unruh's resolution which was defeated in the Democratic State Central Committee which would have denied membership in the Democratic Party organization to any members of the Communist Party. He has opposed that resolution - I think he should support it unequivocally just as he denies membership to the Birch Society.

MR. ROBINSON: Thank you very much, Mr. Nixon.

We have time now for two closing statements from the gentlemen. First, we will hear from Mr. Nixon for two and a half minutes.

MR. NIXON: I have appreciated the opportunity to appear with my distinguished opponent and fellow Californian, Governor Brown, on this program.

I would like to make my closing statement in terms of, perhaps, a personal note. I am very proud, as I know Governor Brown is, of my party and of my service to my State and to my Nation. I want to win this campaign. I have never lost California. I am not taking the easy road to win it. It's much easier to promise everything to everybody. It's much easier to say to people, "Don't worry about your problems, Government will take care of them, and particularly Government in Washington, D.C." But I see our State at a moment of destiny. California is the first State in the Nation. I want it to lead the nation. I think California has a message for the nation that the nation needs to hear, and this is the message I want it to be:

Let California say, "What can Washington do for us?"

No!

Let us say, "What can California do for the nation?" Let California, by her example, put our faith in individual and private enterprise rather than turning to bigger and bigger government which is the wrong way to progress.

Let California say, "Before we turn to the Government in Washington for the solution of our problems, we are going to solve our problems here in California."

- More -
Let us remember with Thomas Jefferson that concentration of power in one body is the greatest danger to liberty and the rights of man and let us, by our policies in California, welcome those thousands that come into this State every week, every year, with these words. In effect -- let us not say, "Come and get it - it's free." But let us, on the other hand say, "Come and earn it. We in California offer you the best jobs, the highest wages, the greatest opportunity in America."

That is the kind of government I want California to have; and if California gives that kind of example to the nation, America will lead the world."

GOVERNOR BROWN: At the beginning of this discourse, Mr. Nixon gave some figures with respect to the situation here in California. I have in my hand a business report from the Financial Editor of the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner. This is what it has to say: "California's credit position in the New York Bond market, a variable of major importance to growth and development of the State, was evaluated as excellent last week by Wall Street financiers. In a survey conducted by the Herald-Examiner in New York among leading bond houses, investment banking firms and powerful sources of secondary financing, top executives declared the State's borrowing power is strong and solid." They then go on, "Such an evaluation by management spokesmen from big New York bond houses amounts to certification that California State Government has been operated by recent administrations upon sound business principles and practice."

Now, not to give the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner all the publicity, I have the Los Angeles Times here and this is what it has to say with respect to growth in California: "Do you know that the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area soon will pass Chicago as the second largest industrial center in the United States, that California is destined to surpass New York before the end of the year as the nation's number one industrial state".

That looks to me like California is doing a pretty good job with respect to its business climate, my friends.

I entered the Governor's office after eight years as the Attorney General. I entered it after being the lawyer for two Republican Governors and representing 300 boards and commissions. I knew exactly where I was going as Governor of this State and the things that I have asked a Democratic Legislature for they have given me in nine out of the ten cases that I have asked for. California is in excellent shape. It's in good shape.

Now, I want the people to know that the statements of Mr. Nixon that would be downgrading our State are just not true. California is in excellent shape, or we could not meet the problems of growth without new taxes, and I have made a pledge that there will be no new taxes next year, my friends.

Thank you very, very much.

I just asked Mr. Nixon whether we couldn't take a moratorium for one day and go to the ball game.

MR. NIXON: Since he asked me a question, I am going to ask him one:

"Who are you going to root for?"

GOVERNOR BROWN: I'm going to take the Fifth Amendment, my friend.

(Conclusion of meeting)
I have made mistakes, but I am an honest man. And if the Governor of this state has any evidence pointing up that I did anything wrong in this case, that I did anything for the Hughes Tool Company, that I asked them for this loan, then instead of doing it privately, doing it slyly, the way he has--and he cannot deny it--because newsmen in this office have told me that he has said, "we are going to make a big issue out of the Hughes Tool Company loan."
The following are reaction comments from prominent Californians regarding the joint appearance of Richard Nixon and Edmund G. Brown before the UPI Editor's Meeting in the Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco, Monday, October 1, 1962.

CASPAR WEINBERGER, Chairman, Republican State Central Committee:

"The joint appearances of Richard Nixon and Governor Brown on television, yesterday and today, demonstrate why Governor Brown has refused to accept any form of face-to-face debates with Mr. Nixon. Mr. Nixon's marked ability to answer any questions concerned with State problems and his willingness to disclose fully his view were in clear contrast to Governor Brown's bland assurances that everything was all right in 'this best of all possible worlds.'

"Governor Brown has apparently been instructed by his party campaign staff to repeat over and over again that 'all is fine in California, and has been since I took over in 1959.'

"It is high time that some of the major problems in California are attacked by our most capable public official, Richard Nixon. The people of California are entitled to something more than the pathetic display of public relations techniques which Governor Brown offers as a substitute for coming to grips with the real problems: taxation, welfare, spending better and less government for our biggest state.

"It's time we tried brains for a change, and yesterday's debate should convince everyone that in Mr. Nixon's candidacy, we have an opportunity to do just that."

ROBERT H. FINCH, Mr. Nixon's Representative in Negotiations For a TV Debate:

"After watching the joint Nixon-Brown press conference on television I can well understand why the Governor wanted no part of the proposed debates between the candidates. Every Californian watching the UPI program must be impressed by the sharp contrast between Dick Nixon's clear and realistic presentation of the issues and Governor Brown's pathetic..."
efforts to defend his weak administration.

"Dick Nixon is clearly on the road to Sacramento and Californians saw today that in Dick Nixon they will have a Governor of whom they will be proud."

HAROLD LEVERING, Assemblyman:

"Governor Brown failed completely to answer Dick Nixon's declaration that government expenses and taxes have risen three times as fast as the population in California during the current administration.

"By so doing, the Governor admits the validity of charges that his is the most costly and inefficient government in the United States.

"When Brown gets cornered he simply does not tell the truth—he ducks the issue. In my opinion, he is the worst governor this state has had in this century.

"He is so naive he does not know the facts of his own administration."

LOYD WRIGHT, SR., Former President of American Bar Association & 1962 Candidate for U.S. Senator:

"Governor Brown put on the strangest performance for a party leader that I have ever seen.

"Each time he had a slip of the tongue, he mixed up the Democratic Party with the Communist Party.

"He spoke like a man with a guilty conscience and probably owes an apology to the Democrats of this state."

JOSEPH MARTIN, JR., San Francisco Republican National Committeeman for California:

"Pat Brown has given another public demonstration of his most prominent characteristic—instant indecision.

"His answers to questions asked him by UPI editors were pitifully verbose and confused. He demonstrated a complete lack of comprehension of the many serious problems confronting California as the result of four years of Brown misrule."

DR. GAYLORD PARKINSON, Vice Chairman, State Central Committee:

"Governor Brown's attack on Mr. Nixon will hardly convince Californians that it is a disgrace to have run for President of the United States."
"The more he decries Richard Nixon's stature and international fame the more voters will decide that the man who almost became President should become Governor of the First State in the Union."

JUD LEETHAM, Chairman, L.A. County Republican Central Committee:

"Now it is easy to see why Governor Brown does not want to meet Mr. Nixon face-to-face in a debate; the governor simply cannot defend his pitiful record in office.

"Mr. Nixon, on the other hand, has the facts and figures—and the courage—to tell Governor Brown that the governor is trying to mislead the people when he makes boasting claims of successes in every phase of his administration."

MRS. PATRICIA HITT, Republican National Committee Woman For California:

"Governor Brown displayed for all Californians to see today the indecision, hedging and 'fuzzy' thinking he has become famous for.

"He backed away from every tough question put to him, and to the problems of law enforcement, welfare and others, he kept saying, 'It isn't easy.'

"Of course such problems are not easy—but we want solutions, not whining."

A. WAYNE GRIFFIN, Civic Leader & Past President of Hollywood Bowl Association; Chairman of Southern California Democrats for Nixon:

"This joint appearance demonstrates the calibre of the two men. Richard Nixon looked like and spoke like the kind of executive Californians want in Sacramento.

"In contrast Brown bumbled along, appearing like a man running once again for district attorney. His remarks demonstrated his lack of knowledge in depth of all the problems of California.

"I am more convinced than ever that Brown is not the man for the Governorship."

PAT McGEE, Candidate For State Senate From Los Angeles:

"I was amazed that Governor Brown claimed to have solved the water problem of California.

"The erection of a dam and the digging of a ditch do not solve the water problem of Southern California."

-MORE-
"The rights of the counties involved in the water program still must be adjudicated and until these rights are established, Southern California will not be assured a continuous supply.

"Governor Brown should not inject politics into the water problem at this time while serious questions still remain on the future development of our water program."

MRS. GLADYS O'DONNELL, Vice Chairman, Republican State Central Committee:
"If the voters could go to the polls tomorrow, after today's UPI debate, Richard Nixon would win by a million votes. The impression he made, with his command of the facts on California government, was tremendous."

HARRY KEATON, President, California Young Republicans & Labor Attorney:
"The view of Richard Nixon and Pat Brown on the same platform at the same time has given this election to Nixon. No wonder Brown is afraid to debate. The objective voter seeing the calibre of these two men cannot help but choose the greater man for the great job ahead in Sacramento."

JIM WOODS, President of Woods Construction Company & Prominent Negro Leader in Los Angeles:
"From a minorities' point of view, we need a change in leadership in Sacramento. The Democrats take the Negro for granted, and have made a lot of promises they have not kept.

"As for Governor Brown's claims about employment, the jobs available to Negroes are only a drop in the bucket in relation to our needs."

THOMAS D. SHEPARD, Councilman, 3rd District, Los Angeles:
"Richard Nixon demonstrated that he can handle tough problems far better than Governor Brown. The Governor sounded like a school boy debater insisting that California had the best of everything and refusing to recognize that any problems exist. It was hardly convincing in view of the statistics and hard, cold facts cited by Dick Nixon.

"You have got to recognize a problem exists before you can hope to solve it."
RAYMOND A. DORN, Pasadena Businessman & President of Tournament of Roses:

"It is a relief, for once, to hear a decisive program outlined for California's economic future, such as Richard Nixon did today. "In times of need, he would trim his capital outlay, just as any good businessman must do. He would end the charity frauds, and hold the tax line—not just talk about it, as the present administration has done."

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10/2/62