

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>
64	10	04/28/1962	Report	Nixon For Governor Speakers' Manual, 1962. Nixon for Governor State Campaign Headquarters. Cover page and letter. Letter from Dick Nixon to "Friend" re: letter of appreciation. 2 pages.
64	10	04/1962	Report	Nixon For Governor Speakers' Manual, 1962. Nixon for Governor State Campaign Headquarters; "Forward" tab. 2 pages.
64	10	04/1962	Report	Nixon For Governor Speakers' Manual, 1962. Nixon for Governor State Campaign Headquarters; "Instructions" tab. 4 pages.
64	10	04/1962	Report	Nixon For Governor Speakers' Manual, 1962. Nixon for Governor State Campaign Headquarters; "How Can I Help?" tab. 3 pages.
64	10	04/1962	Report	Nixon For Governor Speakers' Manual, 1962. Nixon for Governor State Campaign Headquarters; "I'm For Nixon Because" tab. 3 pages.
64	10	04/1962	Report	Nixon For Governor Speakers' Manual, 1962. Nixon for Governor State Campaign Headquarters; "Voters' Calendar" tab. 1962 California, Voters' Election Calendar. 3 pages.

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64	10	04/1962	Report	Nixon For Governor Speakers' Manual, 1962. Nixon for Governor State Campaign Headquarters; "Biographical Material" tab. Interesting notes about Dick Nixon's Background. 12 pages.
64	10	04/1962	Report	Nixon For Governor Speakers' Manual, 1962. Nixon for Governor State Campaign Headquarters; "1960 California Returns" tab. How the people of California voted for Dick Nixon in 1960. 4 pages.
64	10	04/1962	Report	Nixon For Governor Speakers' Manual, 1962. Nixon for Governor State Campaign Headquarters; "Announcement For Governor" tab. Statement of Candidacy by Nixon at press conference, Los Angeles, September 27, 1961. 5 pages.
64	10	04/1962	Report	Nixon For Governor Speakers' Manual, 1962. Nixon for Governor State Campaign Headquarters; "Fair Campaign Practices" tab. Excerpts from a letter to LA County Central Committee Chairman and at the Lincoln Day Dinner. 3 pages.
64	10	04/1962	Report	Nixon For Governor Speakers' Manual, 1962. Nixon for Governor State Campaign Headquarters; "State Government" tab. Remarks of Richard Nixon on experience, participation, and the role of state and federal government. 7 pages.
64	10	04/1962	Other Document	Excerpts from Town Hall Talk, April 24, 1962 - Richard M. Nixon. Addresses federal involvement in Ca. redevelopment, the National Defense Education Act, California's economic situation, need for state constitutional reforms. 3 pages.

NIXON FOR GOVERNOR  
SPEAKERS' MANUAL

1962

NIXON FOR GOVERNOR STATE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS  
3908 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles 5 · DUnkirk 5-9161

RICHARD NIXON

April 28, 1962

Dear Friend:

I am delighted that you are going to be one of our speakers in the vitally important campaign that lies ahead, and I want you to know how much I appreciate your effort.

Of all the jobs to be done, getting our message across to every voter in California is top priority. I intend to do everything I possibly can -- but this will not be enough. No matter how effective our message may be, no matter how forceful the case we present for vigorous new leadership in Sacramento, it will do us no good unless we have a legion of spokesmen. That is where your efforts will count.

The material in this manual will give you some of the ideas and the ammunition you need. My campaign staff is at your service.

Thank you for your help and may we have great success on the campaign trail.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Dick Nixon". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "Sincerely,".

FORWARD

This Speakers' Manual has been prepared in looseleaf binder fashion so that you can insert additional materials as they are sent to you by headquarters and because it is felt you will want to include materials of your own choosing which are particularly pertinent to your campaign efforts in your part of the state.

If, at any time, editorials, columns, endorsements, local polls, etc., appear which you believe would be helpful to other speakers in other counties, please send a copy to state headquarters immediately. Only in this way, can such materials be widely and quickly distributed.

In addition, you may have suggestions for items of general value to be added to the manual. These may be your personal suggestions or suggestions developed as a result of questions asked you by people you address. All suggestions are welcome. But we can enable others to use your ideas only if you tell us about them.

As you know, many more issues will be developed as the campaign progresses. You will be kept informed regularly about them as they are presented.

In every campaign, timing is important and statements must be released when they make news.

**INSTRUCTIONS**

## INSTRUCTIONS

### I PRELIMINARY

When an organization asks you to speak on behalf of Dick Nixon, it is important that you make the best presentation possible. The following recommendations are set down to help you do that.

Find out in advance:

1. The correct name of the organization.
2. The time and location of the meeting (exactly how to get there if meeting is distant from your home or place of business).
3. Brief history and purposes of sponsoring organization.
4. Kind of meeting, i.e., formal or informal; home or meeting hall; tea, dinner, coffee hour; seminar, debate, forum, etc.
5. Total time allotted to you including speech and question and answer period or, if formal speech is not scheduled, time for each presentation if debate, panel, or other presentation.
6. Your position on program.
7. Names and titles of other speakers (if any) and their positions on programs.
8. Names of President, Hostess, Program Chairman and Presiding Officer.
9. Will lecturn be provided or will you stand behind table, be seated, etc.
10. Anticipated size of audience, age, sex and interests of its members.

### II PREPARING YOUR SPEECH

1. Know how to choose your subject, then
  - a. Know your subject.
  - b. Know how to attack.
  - c. Know how to defend.

2. Remember these ingredients for effective speaking:
  - a. The fewer issues the better.
  - b. Speak of Dick Nixon's record and his stand on issues rather than of the attacks on them.
  - c. Clear structure
    - introduction
    - body (contains proof)
    - conclusion
  - d. Humor.
3. Remember that Dick Nixon will be the prime target of all California Democratic office seekers, their supporters, and numberless Democrats who are appointees and legislators from Washington, D. C. and from other states.

### III GIVING YOUR SPEECH

1. Speak from notes or memorize what you have to say but do not read your speech.

There is only a handful of capable "reader-speakers" in the entire country today.
2. Communicate visually with your audience.
  - a. Reinforce what you are saying with smooth body movements.
  - b. Remember that eye contact with your audience is necessary.
  - c. Avoid distracting body motions such as taking off and putting on your glasses, "hacking," unsmooth motions of your hands, maintaining a disconcerting eye level above the heads of your audience, etc.
3. Develop your own effectiveness.
  - Do not imitate the style of other speakers.
4. Be sure to study the section of this manual which lists some of the things members of your audiences can do to help in the campaign and tell your audiences what they are.

5. If the program schedule calls for time for a question and answer period, (and you should prepare for it even if you have to cut short your formal speech) be sure the audience knows. If the Program Chairman is not wise enough to "plant" a question or two as a warm-up, you should have an additional comment in reserve which you might phrase in the way of a question to yourself to start the ball rolling. (Example: "Many Californians have asked me what they can do to help Dick Nixon to be elected Governor.")

#### IV AFTERWARDS

1. Write "thank you" notes immediately to those presiding at the meeting (and the hostess if the meeting was held in a home).
2. Complete the Speakers' Bureau report form about the meeting which you have addressed and forward it as quickly as possible to the Speakers' Bureau.
3. If anything occurred at the meeting which should be made known to the campaign organization immediately, please do so. Do not wait to incorporate it in your written report.
4. If persons at the meeting tell you they want to help Dick Nixon, take their names and addresses and give them immediately to the campaign organization so that they can be contacted and put to work.

**HOW CAN I HELP?**

"WHAT CAN I DO TO HELP?"

You have joined our candidate on the battle line of his campaign. Every day from now through November 6, over a cup of coffee at the corner drug store - creamed chicken and peas at lunch, or -- creamed chicken and peas at night, you're going to be talking "people-to-people" about Dick Nixon. Whether it's one person or a thousand, they want to be asked to help. We need them. Tell them so. But you need to do more than ask them to help. You need information about what they can do.

Here it is.

1. Address and/or stuff envelopes at their community centers. Be sure to give them the name and address of the person in charge of volunteers and his phone number. Repeat it slowly so that it can be written down.
2. Insert telephone numbers on precinct sheets or lists to have them ready for telephoning to GET OUT THE VOTE FOR NIXON ON ELECTION DAY.
3. Have a NIXON NIGHT in their homes to discuss the campaign, the candidates, and the issues, and distribute campaign materials or build such a gathering around a particular TV campaign program followed by discussion. (You might suggest that they get their friends to have a NIXON NIGHT, too. Campaign literature, buttons, etc., are available at their community center.)
4. Do precinct work. Every block in every California town needs a worker. We need them.
5. Get out their Christmas card lists, membership lists of organizations to which they belong, and write all these people in California - and their relatives - urging them to VOTE FOR NIXON.
6. Give financially to the campaign - pennies or dollars.
7. Young women can be "Nixonettes," or precinct workers or recruit their friends as telephoners or baby sitters on Election Day. Young men can help Dick Nixon by putting windshield and bumper stickers on cars in shopping center and other parking lots (after receiving permission!) or drive voters to the polls or do precinct work.
8. Get 10 people to talk about and work for Nixon.
9. Make sure their neighbors on both sides and across the street have literature about Nixon and stickers for their cars.

10. Recruit other people to volunteer whatever time they can to work at headquarters or at home.
11. Serve on a committee for Nixon with other people in their profession.
12. Show their support for Nixon through public use of their names.
13. Tell the Nixon story to organizations to which they belong.
14. Impress on their friends the importance of each INDIVIDUAL VOTE - at the June Primary as well as the November General Election. Elections have been lost by 1/2 vote per precinct!

**I'M FOR NIXON BECAUSE**

I'M FOR DICK NIXON BECAUSE:

Since the earliest days of his public service almost 16 years ago, he has honorably and tenaciously fought communists here at home and abroad. He is the prime target of the communists. As Governor, he will lead us in responsible means to know them and defeat them.

Dick Nixon knows that Californians resent machine-boss politics and he has pledged that there will be no boss rule imposed in his administration.

California is for Dick Nixon...and he's for California. In every one of his campaigns -- 1946, 1948, 1950, 1952, 1956 and 1960 -- his fellow Californians showed their love and admiration for him by carrying the state for him. It takes hundreds of thousands of Democrats and Independents to do that.

Dick Nixon is a man whose heart is in public service and who believes that the most exciting and challenging position in which he can serve is as the Governor of California.

Dick Nixon wants to, and, as Governor will know how to, help us make California first in education, first in culture, first in law enforcement, first in urban development, first in housing and employment opportunities for all Californians, first in the quality of top-rate people in state government, first in government efficiency, first in opportunity, and a proud example for all the people of America.

He believes that California needs a governor in the great independent tradition of California governors, and if elected, he intends to be that kind of a governor.

Dick Nixon is proud of his record of fourteen years of public service to the people of California and thinks that experience will help the next Governor of California serve the people of his state better. He knows that decisions made in Washington, D. C., and in foreign capitols around the world influence our welfare here in California -- defense contracts, civil defense, natural resources, highways and transportation systems, agriculture, urban renewal, water, power, narcotics control, taxes, etc.

He believes in the state loyalty oath.

He believes in capital punishment as the only and ultimate deterrent against the rapists, murderers, and others who terrorize the people of our state.

He is a man who refuses in this campaign, as he did in every one previously, to campaign against other Republican candidates in the Primary election, but, instead, is directing his campaign against the Democratic candidates who may be our opponents in the final

election. He knows that in California a Republican can win only by securing the support of hundreds of thousands of Democrats and Independents as well as Republicans. He knows that bitter personal feuds in the Primaries in the past have destroyed the chances for success in the final election of Republican nominees.

**VOTERS' CALENDAR**

1962 CALIFORNIA  
VOTERS' ELECTION CALENDAR

PRIMARY ELECTION DAY..... June 5

Last Day to Register for General Election.....Sept. 13

GENERAL ELECTION DAY.....Nov. 6

Absentee Ballot -- Primary Election. Apply to your own County Registrar of Voters May 7 to May 29, inclusive. Absentee Ballots must be returned to the Registrars' Office not later than June 2.

Absentee Ballots -- General Election. Apply October 8 to October 30, inclusive. Absentee Ballots must be returned to clerk not later than November 3.

To REGISTER TO VOTE a person must be at least 21 years of age and a resident of

California for 1 year prior to date of election  
County for 90 days prior to date of election  
Precinct for 54 days prior to date of election

TO VOTE a person must register or re-register if he has lost, or does not have, the right to vote for any of the following reasons:

1. Voter desiring to change Party affiliation on official registration records. In a Primary Election a voter may vote only for the party under which he is registered. In a General Election he may vote either Party, regardless of how he is registered.
2. Did not vote in 1960.
3. Newly moved into the State, County or Precinct. Many votes are lost each election because voters fail to re-register when they move from one address to another address.
4. Change of name by marriage or other legal procedure.
5. New voters, reaching the age of 21 years prior to election day, may register before registration closes.

OFFICERS TO BE VOTED UPON

State Offices

Governor	Secretary of State
Lieutenant Governor	Controller
Attorney General	Treasurer

Four Members of the State Board of Equalization - one from each equalization district.

Congressional Offices

One U. S. Senator - 38 Representatives in Congress

Legislative Offices

20 State Senators (even-numbered districts)

80 Assemblymen

Judicial Offices

Judges of the Superior Court  
where terms expire or vacancy occurs.

SCHOOL OFFICE

Superintendent of Public Instruction

In addition, there are over 900 million dollars in bond issues and several initiative and referendum measures.

**BIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL**

INTERESTING NOTES ABOUT DICK NIXON'S  
BACKGROUND

Dick Nixon was born in Yorba Linda, California on January 9, 1913. He grew up in nearby Whittier, a town that was regarded as a "Quaker Community." There he learned habits of hard work and thrift, a respect for his fellow man regardless of race or creed, and a deep respect for the rights of individuals. An unswerving devotion to the truth wherever he found it, and to personal integrity, also became part of his Quaker heritage.

As a boy Dick Nixon worked in the family store, delivered groceries, and sold gasoline and so helped to put himself through school.

#### EDUCATION

Nixon attended the public elementary school in Yorba Linda, California, until his parents moved to Whittier in 1922. He completed his grammar school education there. He graduated from Whittier High School in 1930 at the age of seventeen.

He maintained an "A" average through high school. He won the Constitutional Oratorical Contest, an interscholastic public speaking competition, three years running.

On graduating from high school Nixon won the California Interscholastic Gold Seal Award for scholarship. He also won the Harvard Award as "best all-round student," which entitled him to a scholarship at Harvard University. Unable to accept, Nixon chose Whittier College.

At Whittier Dick maintained a high academic standing while prominent in extra-curricular activities. He was graduated second in his class. He was President of his Freshman class, Vice President of the Student Body in his Junior year, and President of the Student Body in his Senior year. He was associate editor of the student newspaper. He represented Whittier in more than fifty intercollegiate debates and won most of them.

After graduation from Whittier, Nixon went to Duke University Law School in North Carolina on a scholarship. He was graduated from Duke in 1937, at age twenty-four. He stood third in his class and was elected to the Order of the Coif, an honorary law fraternity. Dick Nixon was elected President of the Duke Bar Association and served as a member of the staff of the Duke Law Review.

## CALIFORNIA LAWYER

Nixon passed his bar examination in November, 1937, at age twenty-four. He went to work for the Whittier law firm of Wingert and Bewley and, about a year later, was made a member of the firm. The firm name became Bewley, Knoop and Nixon.

From 1937 to 1942 Dick practiced law in Whittier and served as Assistant City Attorney. At that time it looked as though a career as a small town attorney might be in store for him. Dick liked trial work but disliked divorce cases. When these came his way he often managed to reconcile the litigants.

## WAR TIME SERVICE

In January, 1942, Nixon went to work for the U. S. Office of Emergency Management, later the Office of Price Administration in Washington, D. C. Here he gained an understanding of the problems of Federal-local relations and at the same time crystalized a strong dislike for centralized economic direction.

In August, 1942 Nixon was commissioned a Lieutenant (j.g.) in the Navy and, after indoctrination at Quonset Point, Rhode Island, was assigned first to duty in Iowa and then, in May, 1943, to the South Pacific with the South Pacific Combat Air Transport Command.

He served on Guadalcanal, Bougainville, Vella Lavella, and Green Island and won two South Pacific battle stars. He received a Letter of Commendation from the Commander, South Pacific Area and South Pacific Force for "meritorious and efficient performance of duty as Officer in Charge of the South Pacific Air Transport Command."

After fifteen months overseas Nixon was transferred to the Fleet Air Wing at Alameda, California and later, the Navy Bureau of Aeronautics in Washington, D. C. At the end of the war he was engaged in negotiating the termination of Navy contracts with aircraft manufacturers in Baltimore, Maryland. For his performance on this assignment Nixon received a second Letter of Commendation.

He was released from active duty as a Lieutenant Commander in March, 1946.

## FIRST CALIFORNIA VICTORY - 1946

In 1946, after the war, an unusual event started Dick Nixon on his political career.

A committee of one hundred citizens had formed in the old Twelfth Congressional District of California for the purpose of seeking out

the best qualified man they could find to run for Congress against the incumbent, Jerry Voorhis. They found Dick Nixon.

After interviewing and rejecting eight applicants the Committee decided, well in advance of the primaries, that Dick Nixon was their man. They persuaded him to make the race, and they successfully mobilized a unified effort in support of their choice.

In this 1946 campaign Dick worked hard and was elected with about 15,000 votes to spare. He studied the issues and mastered his points of disagreement with his opponent, Jerry Voorhis. He challenged Voorhis, who had been in office ten years and was considered unbeatable by many, to a series of debates. The two contestants actually met on the same platforms in a series of discussions on the issues in all parts of the District. Republicans, Democrats, and Independents packed the high school auditoriums to hear the candidates match their wits, their principles, and their ability to put their ideas across.

At the start of the campaign few observers gave the young challenger much of a chance to beat the "Champ." When Nixon won his party's nomination (with a popular vote of about 7,000 below the incumbent's total), his supporters thought he had done well, but they didn't expect him to be able to win the general election.

But Nixon's views on the issues, expounded dramatically in the colorful debates where the two candidates could be compared in action, convinced the people of the Twelfth District that Dick Nixon was the man they wanted. When the votes were counted in November he was ahead by 15,000. He had won the nod from thousands of Democrats as well as Republicans.

#### SECOND CALIFORNIA VICTORY - 1948

Dick's extraordinary work as a freshman Congressman won him immense popularity in his home District. In 1948 he scored a smashing victory.

He was nominated by the Democrats as their candidate for Congress as well as by the Republicans of his District!

In other words, the majority of the Democrats, as well as the Republicans wanted Dick for Congress!

The state laws at that time permitted candidates to file on both tickets, and they usually did so under the old cross-filing law. Sometimes they "won" in the primaries by being nominated by both parties.

#### THE HISS CASE:

It was during his second term in the House of Representatives that Richard Nixon became involved, as a result of his membership on

the House Un-American Activities Committee, in the explosive and fateful issue of Communists in Government.

The issue was dramatized in the case of Alger Hiss, an important Government official, a man who enjoyed the confidence of many people in high places and a person who seemed to many to be above suspicion.

As a lawyer Nixon had had experience in judging the veracity of a witness. Now he became convinced that Hiss was lying about his alleged Communist connections.

Of course, Dick Nixon was fully aware of the risk to his own political career which was involved in questioning the loyalty of Hiss. It would not be enough to be right. He would have to be able to prove that he was right. There was an easy way out. He could have assumed, as many others did, that a man of Hiss' prominence could not possibly be tainted with Communism.

Dick Nixon took the hard way. He had a duty to pursue the facts, and he responded to that duty. Personally, carefully, and almost alone he persisted in drawing out the evidence. Ultimately, Hiss was convicted of perjury. As President Herbert Hoover said to Nixon: "The conviction of Alger Hiss was due to your patience and persistence alone."

### THIRD CALIFORNIA VICTORY - THE SENATE - 1950.

By 1950 Dick Nixon's popularity had reached new heights. It was no longer confined to his home congressional district; it had spread throughout California. Nixon was the logical candidate of his party to run against the veteran Sheridan Downey for the office of U. S. Senator from California.

After Dick Nixon had announced for the race, Senator Downey withdrew as a candidate. Conservative Democrat, Manchester Boddy, and Congresswoman, Helen Gahagan Douglas engaged in a bitter primary contest for the Democratic nomination. Representative Douglas won, but not until after she had been identified up and down the State by her Democratic opponents as being on the lefthand margin of the Democratic Party.

Thus, Dick Nixon was again confronted, as he had been in his first race for Congress, with a clear cut contest between his own concept of constitutional government and free enterprise and the "let the government do everything" concepts of that day. The campaign was a hard fought one, along these established lines. In November, 1950, the people of California chose Dick Nixon as their new Senator.

In this contest Nixon won with a plurality of about 680,000 votes, although Democrats outnumbered Republicans in California by about

three to two. It is evident that hundreds of thousands of Democrats voted for Dick Nixon and against Douglas.

#### EISENHOWER AND NIXON - 1952

After only two years in the Senate, Dick Nixon was involved in another campaign. This time it was a national campaign and as candidate for Vice President of the United States.

He had made such a fine record as a moderate, progressive Republican, as an articulate spokesman for his point of view, and as a scrapping, votegetting campaigner - the like of which his Party hadn't seen in years - that nominee Eisenhower put the name of Dick Nixon at the top of the list of those he would like to have for a running mate. The team of Ike and Dick was formed. In 1952 Dick was elected Vice President.

It was the first time in nearly a quarter century that a Republican had been elected to office in nation-wide balloting; Ike and Dick broke the long adverse record.

#### A NEW KIND OF VICE PRESIDENT:

As Vice President of the United States Dick Nixon continued to set new precedents. President Eisenhower liked him and trusted him, not only in political matters on which he has been regularly consulted, but on matters of National Policy.

"In the last four years you have brought to the office of Vice President a real stature that formerly it had not known;...you have worked tirelessly and effectively to interpret to the people of America - and to forward - the policies of this Administration. For all of this I am personally indebted to you..."

#### PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, 1956

The President named Dick Nixon a regular member of the Cabinet. At Cabinet meetings he sat across the table from the President. He always participated as a member of the Cabinet. He presided when the President was absent.

Vice President Nixon was, by statute, a member of the National Security Council. Here, too, he presided over meetings in the absence of the President. Dick Nixon was made Chairman of the President's Committee on Government Contracts and Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth.

President Eisenhower also called on Dick Nixon for a series of nine important missions abroad. As Vice President he traveled more than 150,000 miles as the President's representative.

In 1953 he went to the Far East, in 1955 to Central America. In 1956 he went to Brazil for the Presidential inauguration, to Asia, and to Austria and Germany to study the Hungarian Refugee problem. In 1957 he made his trip to Africa and Italy, and in 1958 came his trip to South America.

On this last trip, in Caracas, Venezuela, the motorcade in which Dick and Pat Nixon were traveling was stopped and attacked by a Communist inspired mob. The great personal courage and the cool good judgment which Dick Nixon showed when Pat's life and his were in danger, won him many admirers. After the South American trip the House of Representatives commended Nixon for "his courageous and dignified conduct."

In August, 1959, the Vice President went to Russia to open the American Exhibition at Moscow. This was the occasion of his famous debates with the Premier of the U.S.S.R., Mr. Khrushchev.

The Vice President's trip to Moscow and to Poland won him wide respect and admiration.

The jobs that the Vice President held in the Executive Branch (which were in addition to his duties as Presiding Officer of the Senate) gave him a wide understanding of the critical areas of national administration, and of the impact of national administration on state and local affairs.

His service in the Cabinet made him familiar with the problems of administering the Executive Branch.

His Chairmanship of the President's Committee on Government Contracts gave him a continuing role in the drive of the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration to secure equal civil rights for all, and to eliminate differences in the treatment of U.S. citizens based on differences of race or creed.

His Chairmanship of the Cabinet Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth put him in the forefront of the Administration effort to promote maximum sustainable economic growth with price stability and, therefore, the nation's domestic well-being.

#### THE STEEL STRIKE:

Dick Nixon, working with the Secretary of Labor, got the steel strike settled. He got it settled on a basis that satisfied both labor and management and was fair to the public.

This is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable and creditable accomplishments of recent years.

- \* This strike had taken a bite out of U. S. production and economic growth half as big as the bite taken by the entire recession.
- \* Everybody wanted a settlement, but labor-management attitudes had hardened. Although the cooling-off period was drawing to a close, no meeting of the minds was in sight.
- \* Costly resumption of the strike or emergency legislation or both seemed to be in prospect.
- \* At the express direction of President Eisenhower, Nixon undertook to bring about a settlement. The Federal Mediation Service had tried long and hard to bring the disputants together, but negotiations had bogged down. New ideas were needed.
- \* Dick studied the facts objectively and came up with a new proposal which both sides found satisfactory.
- \* Mr. Roger Blough, U. S. Steel Chairman, said this proposal was "perhaps the only one possible for both sides to accept." Mr. Blough estimates the increase in average annual earnings for employees would be 3.75% per year. This was less than the Aluminum settlement of 5.2% or the Can settlement at 4.5% or the Kaiser Steel settlement at 3.82%. It was well below the 8% average in prior steel settlements.

As James P. Mitchell, Former Secretary of Labor, said:

"Without the Vice President we would not have had a settlement."

NIXON AND LODGE - 1960

In July of 1960 at Chicago, the Republican National Convention nominated Dick Nixon, by acclamation, for the office of President of the United States, and Henry Cabot Lodge for the office of Vice President. Dick campaigned in every one of the fifty states--the only time a Presidential candidate ever appeared in all the states of the union. He was defeated for the Presidency by the narrow margin on one-tenth of one per cent of the popular vote in the closest campaign in the history of our country. Although the electoral vote favored Kennedy by 303 to 219 for Nixon, with 15 electoral votes for Senator Harry Byrd, yet Dick Nixon won a majority of the states, twenty-six, including California. Dick Nixon maintained his string of election victories in his native state.

As Vice President, and President of the Senate, Dick presided over the counting of the electoral ballots that made his opponent, John F. Kennedy, President of the United States. When the record was complete, Dick Nixon told the Joint Session of Congress:

"This is the first time in 100 years that a candidate for the presidency announced the result of an election in which he was defeated and announced the victory of his opponent. I do not think we could have a more striking and eloquent example of the stability of our constitutional system and of the proud tradition of the American people of developing, respecting, and honoring institutions of self-government.

"In our campaigns, no matter how hard fought they may be, no matter how close the election may turn out to be, those who lose accept the verdict and support those who win."

As in Whittier, California, so in Washington, D. C., his respect for the Constitution of the United States and for government according to law remained paramount.

Following his very narrow defeat for the President of the United States, Dick Nixon made the decision to return to his native state to practice his profession as Counsel to the firm of Adams, Duque and Hazeltine. He accepted a contract with Doubleday and Company to write a book on THE SIX CRISES in his life and made an agreement to write a nationally syndicated column on national and international affairs.

Despite these obligations and the unprecedented financial reward they brought to the Nixons, the old urge to serve in a public capacity could not be quelled. Deeply ingrained in the philosophy of Richard Nixon is the idea that no American should leave behind him only an estate - he must also leave a record of devotion to the cause of freedom.

In September of 1961 he decided to implement his conviction that the United States could not survive without the successful, vigorous administration of each of the fifty sovereign states. Dick Nixon announced his candidacy for the Governorship of California.

## DICK AND PAT

No account of Richard Nixon's career would be complete without the story of Pat Nixon, his wife.

Mrs. Nixon was born in Ely, Nevada in 1913. Christened Thelma Ryan, her Father nicknamed her "Pat". The family moved to a small farm near Artesia, California, while Pat was still a baby. There the Ryans raised vegetables on a ten acre "ranch." Pat remembers that she "worked right along with my brothers in the fields."

Her Mother died when Pat was twelve, and for five years she had charge of the Ryan household. Her Father died when she was seventeen. After that Pat Ryan was on her own.

For a year after her Father's death she worked in a local bank; then she drove East with relatives and took a job in a hospital near New York. Returning to Los Angeles at nineteen, she studied merchandising at the University of Southern California, working vacations and holidays at Bullock's - Wilshire store. Occasionally she made some extra money doing bit parts in the movies.

After graduation Pat wanted to be a buyer for a big store, but the offer of a teaching job paying \$190 a month in the Whittier High School was too attractive to turn down; so Pat came to Whittier.

Here she met Richard Nixon. They tried out for parts in a Little Theatre play and won the two romantic roles. Wasting no time, Dick proposed to Pat the night they met. But Pat was in no hurry. Dick courted her for two years before they were married in June, 1940.

Pat and Dick are both experienced in making their own way. During the war, Pat often took jobs to supplement the family income. As a California Congressman's wife, living in a two bedroom apartment in Virginia, she was cook, laundress, maid, seamstress, and baby sitter for the household - with no outside help.

Vice President and Mrs. Nixon had some help at their home in Washington, but it still took a good deal of doing on Pat's part to make ends meet. A Vice President has no allowance for "quarters" or for entertainment expenses. All of this comes out of his salary. (The Vice President's "expense allowance" from the government is only for expenses incidental to official activities.)

The Nixons have two daughters, Tricia, 16, and Julie, 13. Every effort has been made to give the girls a normal life despite their Father's rise to fame and their Mother's determination to stay by his side and compensate for all the difficulties of public life on a limited budget. Recently, in Fresno, the girls made their official political debut when they insisted on joining their famous parents in a receiving

line. As much as they sometimes long for a private family life of their own, both Tricia and Julie appreciate the dedication of their parents to public duty. They also appreciate the importance of other values.

Today in Los Angeles, Dick Nixon and his family regularly attend Protestant services in their neighborhood. Currently they attend the Westwood Community Methodist Church.

ELECTION RESULTS IN 1950

In 1950 Dick Nixon ran for the United States Senate seat being vacated by Senator Sheridan Downey.

California then had twenty-three Congressional Districts and 5,007,017 registered voters. Of these voters, 3,062,205 were Democrats and 1,944,812 were Republicans.

The young Congressman was up against a new problem with a registration of three to two against his party. Nevertheless, he won that race by a margin of 680,847 out of 3.7 million votes cast.

The results of that election were:

	<u>Nixon</u>	<u>Douglas</u>	<u>Other</u>
General election	2,183,454	1,502,507	354

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These election results show that Dick Nixon was able to win the support of Democrats in very large numbers in his statewide campaign very much as he had been able to do in his home Congressional District. Only on this assumption can his margin of victory be explained in California where the registration was then three to two Democratic.

His total vote of 2.2 million actually exceeded the total Republican registration of 1.9 million.

About 800,000 Democrats voted for Dick Nixon in this election. If we assume that the turn out was 74% and that Nixon got 90% of the Republican vote, there would be 880,000 Independent and Democrat votes required to make up the total actually polled.

This would imply that one California Democrat voted for Dick Nixon in 1950 for every two that voted for Douglas.

**1960 CALIFORNIA RETURNS**

HOW THE PEOPLE OF CALIFORNIA

VOTED FOR

DICK NIXON

IN

1960

In 1960 the Republican registration in California was 40.52% of the total registration. Yet Dick Nixon carried California against John F. Kennedy by 50.27%. In every California county Nixon's vote exceeded Republican registration. He won support from Democrats throughout the state.

SM-22

COUNTY	1960			1960		
	Nixon	Kennedy	Nixon's % of Tot.	Registration - Gen. Elec. Rep.	Dem.	Rep. %
<u>Northern Calif.</u>						
Alameda	183,354	217,172	45.77	172,341	281,384	37.98
Alpine	132	40	76.74	132	78	62.85
Amador	2,175	2,690	44.70	1,875	3,634	34.03
Butte	20,838	15,163	57.88	18,288	22,752	44.56
Calaveras	2,820	2,509	52.91	2,438	3,763	39.31
Colusa	2,497	2,348	51.53	2,190	3,372	39.37
Contra Costa	82,922	93,622	46.96	75,038	122,057	38.07
Del Norte	3,024	3,225	48.39	2,740	4,715	36.75
El Dorado	6,065	6,175	49.54	5,293	8,883	37.33
Fresno	57,930	72,164	44.52	46,696	101,751	31.45
Glen	3,911	3,410	53.42	3,460	4,800	41.88
Humboldt	18,074	20,391	46.98	17,425	27,012	39.21
Kings	6,991	9,439	42.55	5,280	13,475	28.15
Lake	4,176	2,897	59.04	3,830	4,308	47.06
Lassen	2,365	3,472	40.51	2,033	4,771	29.87
Madera	5,869	8,126	41.93	4,789	11,443	29.50
Marin	37,620	27,888	57.42	36,633	32,619	52.89
Mariposa	1,599	1,338	54.44	1,369	1,985	40.81
Mendocino	9,301	9,476	49.53	8,796	13,286	39.83
Merced	11,990	15,545	43.54	10,085	21,091	32.34
Modoc	1,839	1,691	52.09	1,578	2,428	39.39
Monterey	33,428	25,805	56.43	28,769	36,966	43.76
Napa	15,125	13,499	52.84	13,793	18,495	42.71
Nevada	5,419	4,633	53.90	5,245	6,404	45.02
Placer	10,439	13,304	43.96	9,506	17,401	35.32
Plumas	2,015	3,333	37.67	1,916	4,363	30.51
Sacramento	84,252	109,695	43.44	78,189	140,134	35.81
San Benito	3,056	2,876	51.51	2,835	4,079	41.00
San Francisco	143,001	197,734	41.96	139,299	253,236	35.48
San Joaquin	48,441	42,855	53.05	39,248	63,711	38.12
San Mateo	104,570	97,154	51.83	99,377	119,014	45.50
Santa Clara	131,735	117,667	52.82	121,242	145,043	45.53
Santa Cruz	24,858	16,659	59.87	22,728	23,609	49.04
Shasta	9,462	14,691	39.17	8,768	18,367	32.31

SM-23

SM-24

COUNTY	1960			1960		
	Nixon	Kennedy	Nixon's % of Tot.	Registration - Gen. Elec. Rep.	Dem.	Rep. %
<u>Northern Calif.</u>						
Sierra	576	647	47.09	584	905	39.22
Siskiyou	6,297	8,245	43.30	5,830	10,984	34.67
Solano	18,751	26,977	41.00	15,480	36,143	29.98
Sonoma	34,641	29,147	54.30	32,277	39,909	44.71
Stanislaus	30,213	30,302	49.92	26,712	41,995	38.87
Sutter	7,520	4,379	63.19	5,890	7,451	44.14
Tehama	5,522	5,483	50.17	4,957	7,479	39.86
Trinity	1,418	2,262	38.53	1,394	3,329	29.51
Tulare	29,456	24,887	54.20	24,002	38,240	38.56
Tuolumne	3,691	3,781	49.39	3,190	5,623	36.19
Yolo	10,104	12,395	44.90	9,399	16,090	36.87
Yuba	<u>5,293</u>	<u>4,882</u>	<u>52.01</u>	<u>3,962</u>	<u>7,756</u>	<u>33.81</u>
	1,234,757	1,331,983	48.10	1,126,901	1,756,333	39.08
<u>Southern Calif.</u>						
Imperial	10,606	9,119	53.76	8,464	14,918	36.19
Inyo	2,962	2,443	54.80	2,639	3,535	42.74
Kern	52,800	51,440	50.65	39,454	80,560	32.87
Los Angeles	1,302,661	1,323,818	49.59	1,165,002	1,742,190	40.07
Mono	912	457	66.61	799	760	51.23
Orange	174,891	112,007	60.95	153,915	154,373	49.92
Riverside	65,855	50,877	56.41	61,474	69,197	47.04
San Bernardino	99,481	90,888	52.25	84,660	128,256	39.76
San Diego	223,056	171,259	56.56	199,260	235,259	45.85
San Luis Obispo	17,862	14,975	54.39	16,660	22,505	42.53
Santa Barbara	38,805	29,409	56.88	36,222	38,018	48.79
Ventura	<u>35,074</u>	<u>35,334</u>	<u>49.81</u>	<u>30,951</u>	<u>49,436</u>	<u>38.50</u>
	2,024,965	1,892,026	51.69	1,799,500	2,539,007	41.47
Statewide Totals	3,259,722	3,224,009	50.27	2,926,401	4,295,340	40.52

**ANNOUNCEMENT FOR GOVERNOR**

STATEMENT OF CANDIDACY BY RICHARD NIXON  
AT PRESS CONFERENCE  
STATLER HILTON HOTEL, LOS ANGELES  
SEPTEMBER 27, 1961

Since my return to California I have had an opportunity to see first hand some of the problems of this State and of its government in Sacramento. I have reached some conclusions about those problems and those conclusions can be summed up in a sentence: The Government, the State House in Sacramento, is in a mess and somebody has to clean it up.

We find today that our government expenditures in this State are the highest in the nation, and the efficiency of state government is among the lowest. We find that law enforcement in the State of California is below the national average. We find that education has been short-changed, and most important of all, we find that the jobs that are necessary to provide employment for the 250,000 new job applicants that come into this State every year are not keeping pace with the new increase in population.

These are complex problems. They are difficult problems. And I have reached the conclusion, as I know not only many Republicans but many Democrats and Independents in this State have reached, that the amiable but bungling man who presently is the Governor of this State cannot clean up this mess for which he is partially and, in many instances, substantially responsible.

California needs a new Governor. It needs a new leader. And among the attributes that new Governor and new leader must have, in my opinion, are these:

He must be a man, first of all, who is strong enough in his own right that he can be independent of any pressure group and can always speak and act for all the people of this State.

He must be a man who is strong enough and who is respected enough to attract into state government men and women of the very highest caliber to take the posts that are there to be served and to be handled.

And finally, and most important of all, the next Governor of this State must be a man who will devote not part but all of his energies to this job. He cannot do as Governor Brown did: be elected Governor, and then within six months, start running for the Presidency of the United States of America.

That is why tonight I have two decisions to announce to the people of California and to the people of this nation.

First, I shall not be a candidate for President of the United States in 1964.

I shall be a candidate for Governor of the State of California in 1962.

In making this announcement, I base it on several circumstances, a few of which I would like to share with this group tonight. First, there is a selfish reason: I often hear it said that it is a sacrifice for men or women to serve in public life. For me, I have found it to be the other way around. On my return to private life, I have found that, from a salary standpoint, the income has been beyond anything I could ever have dreamed. And I have found, of course, other things in private life that are very attractive. But after fourteen years as a Congressman, as a Senator, and as Vice President of the United States, I find that my heart is not there -- it is in public service. I want to be in public service. And I have concluded that, as far as my present opportunities to serve are concerned, the most challenging, the most exciting position that I can seek, and in which I could serve, next to being President of the United States itself, is to be Governor of what will be the first state of this nation.

I also have reached this conclusion, because I believe that I will be able to unite the members of my own Party, attract members of the Democratic Party, and independent voters in sufficient numbers, as I have on the five previous occasions that I have been a candidate for public office in this state -- sufficient numbers to win.

And then, I have, in conclusion, this one thought to leave with the people of this state and the people of the Nation, for that matter, because they have a stake in what happens in California -- a conclusion with regard to what I will try to work for as a candidate and what I will try to work for as Governor of this State. California in 1963 or 1964 will be the first state of this nation in population. I want California to be the first state of the nation in education, not only in quantity, but in quality. I want it to be the first state in law enforcement, and not in crime. I want it to be the first state in our urban development, in the beauty of our cities, our parks and our beaches. I want it to be the first state in the quality of top-rate people we bring into government and not in the quantity of second-raters for which we make government jobs.

I want it to be the first state in efficiency of government, and not in waste. And above everything else, I want California to be the first state in opportunity -- opportunity for all and not first just in hand-outs.

I was born in this state. My wife and I grew up here, were educated here, were married here. I am proud of being a Californian. I look forward to the opportunity of running for office and for becoming the Governor of this State.

In the campaign just a year ago we heard about the new frontiers for America. California is the frontier and I want the first state of this nation to be a proud example for all the people of America. It is in that spirit that I announce tonight my intention to seek the Governorship of the State of California.

SAMPLE OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FROM  
PRESS CONFERENCE OF RICHARD NIXON  
STATLER-HILTON HOTEL  
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA  
SEPTEMBER 27, 1961

NO SLATE

Q. Have you decided on a lieutenant governor and the rest of your slate?

A. I have not decided on any slate and there will be no slate. Californians resent machine-boss politics. They resent the fact that the Brown administration has fallen into the error of attempting to impose that kind of boss rule on California. We don't want any part of it in any administration in which I have a part and the time to begin is now. There will be no slate for state offices and no deals or trades of any kind as far as I am concerned.

ATTITUDE TOWARD OTHER GOP CANDIDATES IN PRIMARY

Q. Will you engage in television debates against members of your party in the primary?

A. I have no quarrels with members of my own party, and I will not debate with them. I will have only good things to say about them because any one of them might become the candidate, and I don't want to say anything in the primary that I would have to take back in the final.

JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Q. Will you accept support from the John Birch Society?

A. I am not going to accept support from any individual, or from any group which uses tactics in fighting political battles that I do not approve of. I think that J. Edgar Hoover in a statement last week end said something that all Americans should pay attention to. And that is that we must be on the alert against communism in this country, but that we must not fall into the error of assuming that anyone who disagrees with us is therefore a Communist or pro-Communist. As far as my credentials in this field of fighting communism are concerned, I don't think anyone can question them. I fought the Communists all of my political life, and they fought me. And I intend to continue to fight them; and further, I think there is something that can be done at the state level in the field of education, on the Communist issue, which is sensible, which is fair, and which is necessary which is not

presently being done. I will develop this during the course of the campaign.

But whether I am governor or as a private citizen I will always fight for the right of any individual to express his views on any issue. I will always fight against any individual who in my opinion is using tactics that are not American in their character.

#### CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Q. Mr. Brown has taken a very definite stand on capital punishment during his administration. Do you care to comment what your stand will be on that?

A. I emphatically disagree with Governor Brown on capital punishment. I respect him for his position. I know that he takes it honestly and sincerely. I think he is dead wrong. I believe that as far as this state is concerned, with the crime rate that we have, the rapists, the murderers, and the others who terrorize the people of the cities of this state, we have to have a deterrent, and I believe that the only deterrent is the ultimate deterrent, capital punishment, and I would oppose any attempt to change the California law in that respect.

#### PROMISES OF SUPPORT

Q. Do you have any promises of any support right now from labor, business or any other groups of people or individuals?

A. I have none. One of the things that I can offer to the people of California -- and this may be unprecedented in the history of a gubernatorial candidate -- is that because I have not announced my intentions until now and have not disclosed them to anybody, that I have no promises whatever for press support, for financial support, or for political support from anybody in California or from any group, from labor, from business, from education.

And as far as I am concerned, I am glad it is that way. As I have indicated earlier, California needs a governor in the great independent tradition of California governors, and if elected I intend to be that kind of a governor. And the chips will have to fall where they may. I will owe nothing to anybody and I can speak for and act for the people at all times.

## **FAIR CAMPAIGN PRACTICES**

FAIR CAMPAIGN PRACTICES

EXCERPTS FROM A LETTER TO  
LOS ANGELES COUNTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN  
JULIUS A. LEETHAM  
FROM RICHARD NIXON  
NOVEMBER 7, 1961

With regard to the principle of avoiding personal attacks on other Republican candidates, it has been my practice throughout the years I have been in public life never to campaign against other Republican candidates in the primary but always to direct my campaign against the Democratic candidates who may be our opponents in the final election. This is a practice I shall continue to follow in this campaign. I hope that Republican candidates for all offices in California will recognize that in this State particularly, where to succeed we must win the support of hundreds of thousands of Democrats as well as Republicans, we should always avoid the bitter personal feuds in a primary campaign which, in the past, have had the effect of destroying the chances for success in the final election of our Republican nominees.

PARTY UNITY

REMARKS OF  
RICHARD NIXON  
AT THE LINCOLN DAY DINNER  
OF THE SANTA MONICA REPUBLICAN CLUB  
MIRAMAR HOTEL  
FEBRUARY 9, 1962 - 8 p.m.

One of Lincoln's lessons for us today is that if this country is to have a two party system, each party must have room for people to disagree and yet remain united. How else can our opponents manage to embrace both James Eastland and Hubert Humphrey, Harry Byrd and Arthur Schlesinger and, when convenient, Pat Brown and Paul Ziffren.

Yet, they would like to slice up our party into small packages, labeled liberal, conservative, extremist, middle-of-the-roader, or moderate, ultra-conservative or...you name it and they have called us that.

It is the old trick of divide and conquer. And, we must not fall for it.

There is a great principle which unites us today and will carry us to victory because most of the people believe in it with us. We must not lose sight of that great principle, which is the heart of the Republican Party and which is the keystone of our American way of life.

Lincoln himself enunciated that principle when he said:

"The legitimate object of Government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all or cannot do so well for themselves in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, the Government ought not to interfere."

That principle has served America well for the past one hundred years and it stands well today. The principle which should unite the Republican Party today is the same principle of individual opportunity and enterprise that Lincoln espoused. That principle is now being reversed completely by the incumbents in Washington and in Sacramento who contend that wherever there is a problem we must look to the government first to solve it rather than to the individual. And on that issue we are united. On that issue we can win the election in November, because on that principle a majority of the people of California of both parties agree.

**STATE GOVERNMENT**

EXPERIENCE IN GOVERNMENT

REMARKS BY  
RICHARD NIXON  
AT THE  
SACRAMENTO PRECINCT WORKERS DINNER  
DANTE CLUB, SACRAMENTO  
FEBRUARY 16, 1962

I want to plead guilty to my experience in national and international affairs. I am proud of my record of fourteen years of public service to the people of California and to the people of the nation. Furthermore, I think that experience will help the next Governor of California serve the people of his state better.

California no longer stands on the shores of the Pacific in isolation. The decisions made in Washington, in London, in Paris, and in Moscow influence the welfare of the people of California--sometimes indirectly and sometimes directly--and I think the people of California want a governor who has knowledge of what is going on in the world, beyond the borders of our state--and not one who seems to think ignorance of and lack of interest in such subjects is something which is a desirable qualification for that office.

For example, defense plants account for 23 percent of all factory jobs in California. Missile and aircraft production provide 82 percent of all jobs in San Diego and 27 percent of all jobs in the Los Angeles and Long Beach area. It should be perfectly clear that anyone who is Governor of California must have experience with national defense matters. He must be able to keep abreast and judge the course of disarmament negotiations. He must know the meaning behind the announcements which come out of the Kremlin and foreign capitols across the world.

PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT

REMARKS OF  
RICHARD NIXON  
DINNER OF WHITTIER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE  
CELEBRATING MR. NIXON'S 49TH BIRTHDAY  
JANUARY 9, 1962

The last thing my mother wanted me to do was to get into politics because of the attacks a man in public life must undergo. But, I have no regrets for the decision I made 16 years ago. Too many people sit on the sidelines wringing their hands about what a dirty business politics is instead of getting into it themselves and cleaning it up.

Both our major parties need responsible leadership which will avoid the extremes of the far left and the far right. Radicals of the right and radicals of the left are a small minority in the nation. But their influence is far greater than their number because they are so active and so noisy. The answer to the crooks and the crackpots in politics is for responsible people, who make up the great majority in every community, to participate more actively in political affairs.

STATE AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

REMARKS BY  
RICHARD NIXON  
AT THE  
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN DINNER  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA  
NOVEMBER 13, 1961

There is almost no activity on the part of our state government that is not affected by Washington. Whether it is our welfare programs, highways, colleges and schools, airports, agriculture, water, power, urban renewal, narcotics control, civil defense, beaches and forests, taxes and economic growth -- all are connected in myriad ways to national programs or attitudes and cannot be understood, administered or made more effective unless they are approached with the broadest sort of vision and experience in these matters.

STATE ADMINISTRATION

REMARKS OF  
RICHARD NIXON  
BEFORE THE  
CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN ASSEMBLY  
SANTA MARIA, CALIFORNIA  
DECEMBER 2, 1961

The problem is twofold. We must maintain a high level of employment and economic expansion to provide jobs for our growing population. And we must provide for necessary state services for the growing population within a revenue structure which will not stifle this economic development. We can afford no administrative waste and no political padding of the budget.

The state's administrative machinery needs a drastic overhaul--a basic one, and not just frosting on the same stale cake. There are now more than 350 agencies, commissions, committees, departments and councils which report directly to the Governor. This is obviously an impossibility, and has led to empire building, bungling bureaucracy, waste and inefficiency. Governor Brown has heralded his "agency" plan as the answer to the problem of administrative chaos. But his solution is to create 8 super agencies, 4 of which have already come into being. These are simply superimposed on the existing structure. Nothing is trimmed--nothing is saved. And new super directors get \$25,000 a year each, plus staff, and every one of them a "political plum". This is not a partisan view of the bungling bureaucracy in Sacramento. Hundreds of thousands of Democrats agree with one of Brown's key associates, Bob McCarthy, who resigned as Director of Motor Vehicles in disgust. He said one of his main reasons for doing so was that "during the past two years, more than \$4.5 million has been saved in the operation of this department with no support whatsoever from you. Leadership on your part could have saved the people of California additional millions of dollars in the operation of other state departments." McCarthy described the administration of Governor Brown as a "spineless administration that lacks courage and principle."

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE STATES

REMARKS OF  
RICHARD NIXON  
BEFORE THE  
CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN ASSEMBLY  
SANTA MARIA, CALIFORNIA  
DECEMBER 2, 1961

California will soon become first in population in the nation. I say it is time to mount a crusade in this state for new leadership to see to it that California will not also be first in crime, first in high taxes, and first in bungling bureaucracy.

In 1960 I had the opportunity to campaign throughout the length and breadth of our 50 sovereign states. And I found that they aren't so sovereign any more. It is impossible to build a strong, virile Republic without strong state governments. Our state government is drifting into a position of absolute subservience to national government. The hard job is in the state houses of 50 states with the Constitutional obligation to maintain--or regain--their sovereignty. That job must be done. I believe that the job can best be done by a Californian who has had national and international experience and sees the dangers of centralized government clearly.

We are fighting a battle of survival for the Republic. We can best fight it at the state level by making state government vigorous and strong and independent.

It is clear that what is involved in this contest is the single question: "When we have a problem, where do we look for the solution?" My answer--underscored by my votes and conduct in 14 years of public life--is that we look first to the individual citizen. If the task is too great for the individual or his family, we turn next to our private or non-governmental institutions. If private groups cannot do the job we turn to local government--to our cities and towns and special districts. Only if the level of government closest to the people fails in its task, or lacks the resources, do we turn to the higher level of government.

LEADERSHIP AND QUALITY OF GOVERNMENT

REMARKS BY  
RICHARD NIXON  
MARYSVILLE COMMUNITY DINNER  
FEBRUARY 14, 1962

We need the best brains available in every field without regard to partisan affiliation--agriculture, business, labor, transportation, and water supply--to help make California the first state in the Union, not only in population but in the efficiency and quality of our state government.

EXCERPTS FROM  
TOWN HALL TALK  
APRIL 24, 1962  
RICHARD M. NIXON

I believe the education of our children, the water resources of our state, our immediate business and employment situation are at least of equal importance to me and my family and to you and yours as any actions taken by our federal government.

And I have been moving across our state making this point, emphasizing that the people of California must become aware of federal encroachment upon our state domain and beware of what is happening to our ship of state.

Walk just a few steps from the Biltmore Hotel here in Los Angeles and what do you see? You will see signs designating the Bunker Hill redevelopment project - with the costs of land acquisition and clearance underwritten by federal loans and grants. What you will not see and probably do not know is that federal rules and regulations govern the size of the signs and the size of the lettering on those signs.

The National Defense Education Act, a praiseworthy effort in its objective, by itself, has triggered in a mere three years' time a major shift in emphasis in our public schools toward an intensive concentration on science, mathematics and language study. How did the federal government do this? By legislating that any state or local school board wanting a share of federal funds under this Act must accept federal curriculum control and federal definition of what is and what is not important to teach in our local schools. There are many more examples that could be cited. But the point would be the same in any case. Whoever pays the bill calls the tune.

Just so long as our states and cities abdicate their traditional responsibilities to Washington, D.C., there will be federal bureaucrats ready and eager to take over. This is a vast understatement. There will be federal bureaucrats not only ready and eager - but convinced that they know what is best for all of us. Whenever our states and cities leave unfilled a vacuum of public service, the federal government will seize on the opportunity to move in. It will take a high degree of both skill and experience for our state and local leaders to detect these devious threats to local autonomy, and then move vigorously to thwart them.

The challenge to state leadership here in California is just about twice as great as it is anywhere else. First of all, California is a state-on-the-move. Soon to be number one in population, its people will never settle for less than the best in any major field of human activity, economic, social, or cultural.

Then, too, California is entering a period of tough competition with other states and other areas of the country. This competition ranges over the whole sweep of public and private affairs and involves everything from attracting the best young scientists and technicians to attracting a steady flow of new business and industry. It involves retaining a fair share of defense contracts, awarded on merit, and maintaining our world-wide markets for the incredibly varied produce of California's farms and factories. Unless we provide more and better incentives, richer and more widely-shared rewards for the creative enterpriser, the competition will leave us behind.

To complicate the problem and compound the challenge, California labors under one of the nation's most archaic constitutional systems - and this is a barrier to growth and progress in every other field. For the next Governor of this State, there can be no more urgent assignment than to lead the fight for at least four major constitutional reforms.

First is a complete, top-to bottom overhaul of the present hornet's nest of more than 350 swarming independent and semi-independent commissions and bureaus and agencies and departments that comprise the executive branch of state government. It is not enough to take a piecemeal stab at the problem and certainly not one that deliberately flies in the face of legislative recommendations, nor one that simply piles a new layer of super-agencies on top of all the others. What we need is a statesmanlike reorganization of the Governor's office to provide the people of California more and better services, with solid accomplishment to show for every tax-dollar spent.

Second is the institution of annual legislative sessions in which proposals can carry over from one year to the next without being subject to stop-and-go consideration and to the Governor's arbitrary "special call" during the off-year budget session. Annual sessions would permit long-range committee investigations in depth, with no danger of simply putting off major issues two years at a time or until the next "regular" session rolls around.

Third is the need to "unfreeze" that 2/3rds of the annual state budget which now is not subject to review or control by the legislature. In the current budget of \$2.9 billion only a little over \$900 million is subject to the legislature's will. Only by defrosting the mandatory appropriations and earmarked funds in our state budget can we adopt new sound and responsible fiscal policies, and then to follow through on them. Only this way can we plan and carry out long range programs in fields as varied and vital as highways and freeways, public education, and public welfare.

And fourth on the list of constitutional reforms, is Senate reapportionment to give a vigorous legislative voice to every county and every area of the State.

These reforms are needed. Good institutions are no guarantee of good government. But bad ones can impose an impenetrable barrier. Each of the four reforms that I have proposed would rid this State of some hangover from the past which has long since outlived its usefulness. These reforms would clear the way for good men with good ideas.