



GOV. EDMUND G. BROWN—THE INCUMBENT

What Makes You Best Qualified?

Q. Why do you believe that you are the best qualified candidate for governor?

NIXON: Well, I think that as California becomes the first state in the nation, that we have an opportunity to lead the nation in the quality of our state government. I also think that California, which is out here on the true frontier, should lead this nation in a direction which will strengthen America at this point.

Now, I believe that I can attract to Sacramento—and I intend to do this—first-grade, first team personnel of the highest quality.

Second, I feel that, with a very few exceptions, the present quality of state personnel and administrators has reached one of the lowest ebbs in the state's history. But with this new team we can set an example in the field of law enforcement and crime prevention where we can reverse the present trend; and we can set a standard with regard to efficiency of government in which we will lose the rather doubtful distinction of being first in taxes and per capita tax burden; and, third, that California can set an example of greater opportunity.

I feel that the greatest need in America today is for more emphasis on opportunities and for the development of individual creative voluntary effort and private enterprise. I think that we have gone too far in the direction of turning our problems over to government to handle, where we can handle them in our private capacity, and I think we have gone too far in the direction where a problem has to be handled by government or turning to government in Washington to handle it rather than doing it at home.

I believe that California should give leadership, as it becomes the first state in the nation, of, first, a strong, efficient state government; and, second, one in which, rather than turning to Washington when we have problems, we will attempt to handle those problems at home.

Education is an excellent example here. My opposition to federal aid to education is not because I am against education or more emphasis on it, but because I believe we ought to handle it at home.

And third, above everything else, I believe California should be an example to the nation of having welfare programs to take care of all those in need, but that, at the same time, puts primary emphasis on providing greater opportunity for individual and private enterprise. And this I think the nation needs to hear.

This is what I have always believed and practiced as a public official, and I believe I can put in this philosophy as Governor of California for the benefit of the people of this state.

BROWN: I think I am the best qualified candidate for Governor because of the most progressive record in the history of this state. We have given the people of the state of California an excellent business climate, assisting in bringing in more new business than at any time in the history of this state. We have created more jobs by this same business climate in appointments. The Corporation Commissioner, the Savings and Loan Commissioner, the Insurance Commissioner, the Banking Commissioner and the Real Estate Commissioner are all people who understand business and do not kick people around, because they understand the problems of the business man, but yet they have been alert to the protection of the citizen of the state.

We have had four balanced budgets. In the last three years we have reduced taxes \$25 million. In public education we have built three new campuses and six new state colleges. We have given the first aid to the junior colleges. We have increased the scholarships and firming up the educational curriculum.

The water program I have already mentioned, and I think it will go down in history as the greatest single achievement in this century by any state government. We have moved with courage in the conservation of human resources, in our programs for the aged, the mentally ill, the crippled and the blind. We have moved ahead with a master plan for recreation and beaches and parks.

In every sector of proper governmental activity, California is first.

I, as Governor, would of course take the blame if conditions were not good, but I must, by the same token, take credit for the tremendous achievements of the past four years. My seven years' service as district attorney, plus eight years as attorney general and four years as governor, give me a particular knowledge of state government. I see no reason because a man would like to enter the national political scene again that my contract should not be renewed for another four years.

How Brown And Nixon

Is Welfare Cost Nearing a Peak?

Q. Can a welfare state continue to expand indefinitely, and, if not, where can the brakes be applied?

BROWN: I don't like the use of the word "welfare state." I think that is a loaded word. I think you have to take each social welfare program and look at it objectively. I think that unemployment insurance, old age security, disability insurance, aid to the needy children are all good programs, and I think that generally they are well administered. I think the thing that the state must do is to be sure that chiselers are eliminated from these beneficent programs and that they are operated efficiently and humanely.

I don't believe in any socialistic state, nor do I believe in the government moving into things that are essential parts of our free enterprise system. But I think that the programs adopted by the federal government and the state are generally good, and I know of no member of either the Republican or the Democratic Party that would favor the repeal of any of the social welfare statutes, either federal or state.

I would call to your attention that we have liberalized some of these programs in accord with the cost-of-living increases in our state, and we have done it without increase in taxes.

NIXON: The time to apply the brakes is now. A welfare state cannot continue to expand indefinitely, because in the final analysis we have got to recognize that the state can only spend for welfare what people who are not on welfare produce.

When you get to the point where the greater portion of people are on welfare compared with the producers—those who are not on welfare—then the welfare state breaks down. In my view that is one of the reasons why I believe that, overall, reform is essential in the aid to needy children program, which is a scandalous fraud because here is where, in the name of welfare, we weaken the character of the people.

Q. Are welfare frauds a significant waste of public money, and, if so, what can be done to curb them?

NIXON: They are. I have pointed out that with better administration some legislation changes in the aid to needy children program could save \$25 million.

For example, a recent study showed that in 44 per cent of the cases where aid to needy children was granted on the ground that the father had deserted, there was no investigation whatever to find out where the father was and to put him to work.

It is this kind of practice that encourages immorality, it encourages desertion, and it also costs money. And I want to emphasize that to me the greatest cost to the state, and frankly to the nation, in these welfare frauds in this program, is not in money. It is the cost in character, the fact that we set such a bad example to the younger people coming up, that you can get more money by not working than working, and you can in effect be rewarded by deserting your family and then becoming a midnighter.

If I am elected I would order an immediate investigation of welfare practices.

First, you have got to bring in a top administrator in the board of welfare, and I will bring in a top administrator, one who is concerned with welfare, but one who also is concerned about seeing that only those who are entitled to it receive it.

I would then ask for recommendations to be made by him and his staff as to administrative and legislative provisions that are necessary to tighten the loopholes.

I want to emphasize here that this, I recognize, is an issue that politically I should avoid. I feel that this is one issue, however, which has to be taken on in California, as well as in the rest of the nation, and what I want to see in California is for us to have for the aged and the blind and the handicapped and the needy children the best welfare program in the nation. We are for welfare, but what we have to do is to draw the line between those in need and those able-bodied people who basically are chiselers, and that is what I am trying to get at.

BROWN: There are unquestionably frauds in all of the welfare programs, but the social welfare workers are now being trained under statutes adopted by the Kennedy administration and by our Administration seeking to rehabilitate people on the welfare rolls rather than merely delivering checks to them.

In addition to that, as attorney general of California, in the aid to needy children program, which has been the most criticized and the one that has the greatest potential for fraud by fathers who refuse to support their families, in that program we have set up a state central clearing house to find fathers who leave their families; and, in addition to that, we have set up in most of the district attorneys' offices in most of the counties of the

A TRIBUNE SYMPOSIUM

As a service to voters throughout California, The Tribune presents here the views on major issues expressed by the two top candidates for Governor.

state special investigative units that work to eliminate fraud in these cases. This was done while I was attorney general of the state.

I don't believe that fraud in the welfare programs is significant, but I do believe that the authorities, both social welfare and policing agencies, must be constantly alert to eliminate it. I think the Cobey bills, passed with my help in the 1961 session, will go a long way to eliminate fraud in the aid to needy children program.

The Death Penalty

Q. Should capital punishment be abolished, and, if so, what would be the alternative?

BROWN: In the four years I have been governor, 31 men and one woman have been executed. I don't know of any other state that has executed that many people in that period of time. I have tried as attorney general to eliminate some of the post-appellate procedures that have delayed the execution of the death penalty to the point where it is no longer, in my opinion, any deterrent.

In my opinion, life imprisonment at hard labor in a tough penal institution would produce more expeditious trials, produce more pleas of guilty, and would act as a deterrent, in my opinion certainly, and quickness of punishment is a greater deterrent than severity of punishment. I therefore favor the abolition of the death penalty and the substitution of life sentences without possibility of parole.

There should be more drastic penalties than are now invoked. At the present time a great many death penalties are handed out because a prisoner today can be paroled at the end of eight years, even though he has a life sentence, and this certainly is much too easy on these brutal murderers and killers.

NIXON: The answer is no, so therefore there is no alternative. Capital punishment in my opinion should be extended in one area. I think the death penalty should be provided for what I would call the big-time dope peddler.

Now, I would like to point out my general feeling with regard to capital punishment in case there is an extended comment by my opponent. I have talked at great length to J. Edgar Hoover about capital punishment, and, like most people in this field who have dealt with it, he is for it. But there is a distinction between what would be called the crimes of passion and the crimes in which pure mercenary motives are involved.

When you have got a crime involving an emotional reaction—somebody going out to kill somebody else because he is angry, capital punishment may not be a deterrent. But, on the other hand, where an individual is committing a crime solely to get money, the greater the risk he takes, the less likely he is to commit the crime.

The best example that I have is of kidnaping. Kidnaping is not a crime of passion. It is a crime where individuals, in order to get money, are guilty of this crime. Once the death penalty was applied in a case of kidnaping, as Hoover pointed out, it became virtually extinct in the United States because people figured it isn't worth it. If they are going to be in a criminal career, they will go to something else.

I think big-time dope peddling is in the same category. The big-time dope peddler is peddling his stuff, corrupting our young people as well as the adults, solely for money. And I think that if we say, "If you do this you are running the risk of losing your life," that it is going to really curtail his activities. So that is why I feel that way.

Separate Interviews

The Tribune conducted special, separate interviews with Gov. Edmund G. Brown and his Republican rival Richard M. Nixon. No limitation was placed on the length of the answers given to identical questions and their responses appear on these two pages.

Tribune staff members participating in these exclusive interviews with the two contenders were Assistant Editor Paul Manolis, Political Writer Don Thomas, Special Writer Dave Hope and Assistant City Editor Herb Michelson.



Nixon faces issues and Tribune writer-editor panel as gubernatorial campaign reaches home stretch

State Budget Cuts Possible?

Q. Can there be any substantial cuts in the state budget?

NIXON: In addition to the welfare area, where the aid to needy children can be cut \$25 million, I have these other provisions:

First, a \$15 million cut in addition to that can be made by cutting out the super agencies, which I would do by getting rid of the 850 new positions that Brown added to his last budget, and through other personnel reductions. Personnel reductions I am speaking of now are other than the career people. I want to make it clear that I, of course, am not talking about discharging career people. Civil Service people. I am talking now about the political appointments.

Now, beyond that, a recent study of the use of state office building space indicates that in our state office buildings, as compared with private industry, the amount of space per employee is about 40 per cent greater. I have made a study of this among those in private industry who have worked on efficiency, and they believe that a saving of as much as \$30 million can be realized by making more adequate use of our space.

I believe, too, that very substantial personnel cuts can be accomplished without working any hardship on state employees, because the way you do it is simply through taking the normal attrition of approximately 15 per cent a year and not refilling positions when they become vacant. That will be the way it will be done rather than discharging people who are on the job and want to stay.

BROWN: I think the reorganization of state government will permit cuts in the budget of the state. But when you are talking about a state that is growing as fast as California, with a mandatory \$40 million increase in the state public school budget every year by reason of 200,000 more youngsters entering our schools, I don't see how there could be any significant reduction in the budget. I think that the state employees working with department heads have made California the most efficiently run government in the United States, plus a fine public Civil Service system operated by a non-political State Personnel Board.

Q. Is the use of bond issues to balance the state budget a sound fiscal procedure?

BROWN: We don't use bond issues to balance the budget. We use bond issues to invest in the future of this state. California can no more build a great water project that will last for 150 years out of current tax revenues than the Pacific Gas & Electric Company can build a gas line from Canada to San Francisco out of current rates. They do it by issuing bonds or debentures, and the state does the same thing.

California is now building three new universities and six new state colleges. These are investments in buildings and land which have a real monetary value and produce wealth. It would be fiscal irresponsibility of the worst kind to tax the present day taxpayers to build these things that must be built now, because they will be used by children yet unborn.

NIXON: Not to balance the budget, no. I think that it was not sound to run this year approximately an \$87 million deficit and then in effect to borrow the money to make up the deficit. The use of bond issues on a proper basis where schools or parks and so forth are for the generations ahead, and spreading that cost over the years ahead, certainly is justified. But I believe we have gone too far in the direction of borrowing from the future in order to build for the present, and we are going to turn more to the principle of pay as you go.

For example, to show the problem, we are in this terrible dilemma with regard to 1-A (the school construction ballot proposal), and, putting it bluntly, if 1-A is not passed, taxes have to go up. Because if 1-A is not passed there will be an \$87 million deficit in the school, state college, and university building program. And, frankly, no governor can short-change young people, and I would certainly not short-change them; so that is why I have urged that 1-A not be a political issue, that it be passed, but the people of California should not be put in this position again, where in effect they have a gun at their head and they cannot look at a bond issue in terms of its merits over the long haul, but have to pass it because of the fact that the budget otherwise will be unbalanced.

Lieutenant Governor

Q. Should the lieutenant governor be given more important assignments?

NIXON: Yes, because the lieutenant governor candidate is a man of extraordinary administrative ability. Lieutenant Governor Christopher will be given two specific assignments. One will be as top trouble shooter for efficiency in government. He will have a year-round assignment to see where cuts in the costs of government can be made while not reducing services.

Second, he will have an assignment similar to that I had as Vice President, as chairman of a governor's council on equality of opportunity. This is apart from the FEP (Fair Employment Practices) law, which acts only on a complaint basis. Here is an affirmative approach to job opportunities in which we will set up a governor's council made up of top representatives of business, employers, labor and education, and they will have the responsibility of attempting to make progress in these fields toward providing additional job opportunities, providing training for individuals who lose their jobs because of automation, and also, above everything else, providing the opportunity for promotion for those who are qualified. Christopher will have that responsibility.

BROWN: The Lieutenant Governor of California is a member of the State Lands Commission; he is a member of the Toll Bridge Authority; he is a member of the Board of Regents of the University and the Board of Trustees of the state colleges, and he presides over the Senate. In addition to that, he acts in the place of the Governor whenever the Governor is not present.

Lieutenant Governor Anderson during my incumbency has been a member of the Governor's Council, and he has cooperated with me in every possible way. I think that being an active member or these very important boards and commissions, plus his duty as the presiding officer of the Senate, is sufficient at the present time.