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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 6, 1984

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO EUREKA COLLEGE STUDENTS AND FACULTY

Reagan Physical Education Center
Eureka College
Eureka, Illinois

3:44 P.M. CST

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Grunwald, thank you very much. Governor Thompson, President Gilbert, distinguished guests here, the faculty, the administration, trustees who might be present, fellow citizens, and students of this wonderful college, I want you to know that this has been a day that -- if I said, Neil, you wouldn't know who I was talking about -- my brother, Moon, and I will long remember.

It's a day of warmth and memory, a day when the good things that have happened in our lives all seem very close and very real again. We've just come from Dixon, where I attended my biggest birthday party ever. It was the 34th anniversary of my 39th birthday. (Laughter.) And I had what every man who has that many candles on his birthday cake needs around him, a large group of friends and a working sprinkler system. (Laughter.)

And now we're here for Eureka's birthday. Legend has it that after Ben Major led a wagon train here, he sunk an axe into the first tree he felled and said, "Here we'll build our school." And that was, as you've been told, more than 129 years ago. And just to end any speculation going on among the undergraduates, no, I was not a part of that original wagon train. (Laughter.)

It's always wonderful to return to Eureka. People ask me if I'm looking back at my college years, if I could remember any inkling that I would someday run for President. Well, actually, the thought first struck me on graduation day when the President of the college handed me my diploma and asked, "Are you better off today than you were four years ago?" (Laughter. Applause.)

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Besides coming back to Eureka is also a great temptation. Sitting in a college audience can sometimes be dangerous duty. Something about your youthfulness and the bright, fresh hope it symbolizes makes guest speakers, like myself, very free with their reminiscences and very reluctant to sit down.

You've heard, I'm sure, that I like to tell an anecdote or two. Well, life not only begins at 40, so does lumbago and the tendency to tell the same stories over and over again. (Laughter.)

But, I promise I'll try to be brief today, so rest easy. You're lucky. I have to be in Nevada tonight. But I don't want to miss this opportunity to share with you some thoughts on the changes that have happened to America in the fifty-odd years -- and some of them were odd -- since I left this campus. And to offer too some thoughts on how we can shape those changes to serve the cause of human freedom, to inspire, not burden, those who come after us. I can't think of a better occasion for such reflections.

In addition to Founder's Day here in Eureka, we're also marking the first in a series of speeches sponsored by Time magazine to commemorate its 60th anniversary. For 60 years, Time has lived up to what Henry Luce and Briton Hadden envisioned when they founded the magazine in 1923: a weekly digest of news, put together with much more care and perspective than is usually possible under the deadline pressure of daily journalism.

Well, if it's important for news organizations like Time to keep in mind the value of perspective, you can imagine how important it is for those of us in public life to remember that proximity to daily events can be as much a handicap as an advantage in understanding their meaning.

And that's what struck me when I was thinking about what I wanted to say here today: the ease, the unknowing grace with which my generation accepted technological and political changes that so radically transformed our world. We didn't know then that ours was to be one of those infrequent generations that would preside over a great transition period. We went in a single lifetime literally from horse and buggy to space travel.

In 1932, for example, I graduated from Eureka and landed a job in radio. Though I didn't realize it at the time, I had become part of the communications revolution that was shrinking the dimensions of my world even more than radio's successor, television, would shrink your own. Already my generation's sports idols, celebrities, newsmakers, and heroes had come in large measure from the world of radio. It seemed a perfect career choice.

Yet if I'd only stopped to think about it, I would have remembered back in my boyhood days, just a few short years before, when my friends and I followed our neighborhood genius around town in Dixon trying to pick up radio signals with his jerry-rigged crystals, aerial and headphones. Can you

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imagine our sense of wonder when one Sunday afternoon, down by the river there in Dixon, we heard the sounds of radio for the first time, an orchestra playing over KDKA several hundred miles away in Pittsburgh?

And yet it took only a few years for that sense of wonder to dissolve. Radio, which was heard in only 60,000 households in 1922, was heard in almost 18.5 million households by 1932, my graduation year.

By that time, of course, the market had crashed, the depression years were upon us and over those radio sets now sitting in every parlor and living room in the nation came the rich, reassuring tones of Franklin Roosevelt. All of us who lived through those years can remember the drabness the depression brought. But we remember, too, how people pulled together, that sense of community and shared values that belief in American enterprise and democracy, that saw us through.

It was that engrained American optimism, that sense of hope Franklin Roosevelt so brilliantly summoned and mobilized.

It was a time of economic emergency and there seemed a certain logic to arguments that the national government should take on to itself new and sweeping prerogatives. In the grip of that emergency, many of us could not see the enormous and sometimes harmful, oftentimes harmful political changes, that this expanded role for the government would bring.

Once again, as I look back, the rapidity of that political change was astonishing as the change brought by new technology. At the start of that era, government collected in taxes a dime out of every dollar earned. Two thirds of that dime went to state and local governments, with only one third to Washington. Today, government at all levels is collecting more than 40¢ out of every dollar and the proportion is completely reversed, with two thirds of that going to the federal government and only one third for state and local governments.

My generation was a bit surprised to realize that the federal government, called upon in an economic emergency, was becoming an obstacle to economic progress. In addition to damaging the autonomy of local and state governments, usurping the rights of the people, the public sector had grown so large it was consuming our national wealth, discouraging energy and initiative and suffocating the spirit of enterprise and resourcefulness that had always been at the heart of America's economic miracle.

In the depression years and their aftermath, we forgot that first founding lesson of the American Republic: That without proper restraints, government the servant, becomes quickly government the master. I call it an American lesson, but, actually, it's much older. Cicero believed that the budget should be balanced, the treasury should be refilled, the public debt should be reduced, the arrogance of officialdom should be tempered and controlled. And since that time, many nations that failed to heed the words of that wise Roman have been brought to their knees

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by governments that borrowed and taxed their citizens into servitude.

But some peoples, like our founding fathers, revolted under such oppression. No one would understand better the danger of unchecked government power than those men. "I am not a friend to a very energetic government. It is always oppressive.", Jefferson said.

---I remember quoting a few of these warnings long after I had left radio for films, television, and after dinner speeches. And by that time, this reform New Dealer could add one of his own; that a government agency is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth. And yet even as the decades of the '50s and '60s went by, and more Americans shared my concern, government grew like topsy. In the decade of the '70s, federal spending tripled, taxes doubled, and the national debt reached almost a trillion dollars. Government bureaus, agencies, and employment rolls kept multiplying. It had become too easy for politicians to promise more, to win more; to spend their way to election victories.

Fortunately, that juggernaut of big government has now been slowed. During the last three years, we've brought skyrocketing spending back to earth and reduced that enormous momentum toward big government. It wasn't easy, but measure the results by our ability to achieve what people once said was impossible. Federal spending growth has been cut by more than half. Government regulations have been cut by more than a quarter. And taxes on working Americans have actually been reduced and indexed to the rate of inflation. A working family earning \$25,000 has \$1,500 more in purchasing power today because of the cut in taxes and the lowered rate of inflation.

Today economic recovery is in full swing. But I hope we can use these moments of reflection today to understand the hard lessons we've learned since the Depression about the growth of government. We need some basic reforms that will protect us against government's all too powerful tendency to grow and grow.

For one thing, it's time for the federal government, in the best federalist tradition, to learn something from successful experiments in the state and local laboratories of governments. The evidence from states and many municipalities is overwhelming. The Executive Branch needs a powerful weapon to cut out porkbarreling and special interest expenditures buried in large, catch-all appropriation bills. It is time the Congress gave the President the authority to veto single-line items in the federal budget, as governors can do in 43 of our 50 states. (Applause.)

And, second, politicians at the national level must no longer be permitted to mortgage your future by running up higher and higher deficits. The time has come to force government to live within its means. And I repeat my call today

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for making a balanced budget a constitutional amendment. (Applause.)

When the constitution was ratified, Thomas Jefferson voiced a regret that it did not contain a clause prohibiting the federal government from borrowing.

And finally, our tax system is now a nightmare of tangled requirements and twisted priorities. The American people want and deserve a tax code that is fair, rewarding and simple enough to be understood by someone other than an army of green-shaded accountants and lawyers. (Applause.)

Now -- you know, I've been told Einstein had to have help filling out his 1040. (Laughter.) But now, in addition to the technological revolution marked by inventions like radio, and the political revolution brought on by the sweeping new scope of federal power, there has been an additional development worth noting. That is the emergence of America's international role. Our sudden designation as the champion of peace and human freedom in the struggle against totalitarianism.

We didn't seek this leadership. It was thrust upon us. In the dark days after World War II when much of the civilized world lay in ruins, Pope Pious XII said, "The American people have a genius for splendid and unselfish action. And into the hands of America, God has placed the destinies of afflicted humanity."

Throughout World War II and most of the post-war era, though the adversaries changed -- from Hitler to Stalin -- there was still basic agreement on the moral imperative of defending freedom and the self-evident differences between totalitarian and democratic governments.

But that broad consensus of the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy years began to break down in the 60's and 70's. Partly in response to the Vietnam tragedy, an era of paralyzing self-doubt ruled out just and legitimate uses of American power. Even acts of self-defense.

The consequences of America's retreat were not long in coming. All of you can remember a few years back when the tragedy of the Iranian hostages was fresh in our minds; when around the world, especially in Afghanistan and Central America, Soviet expansionism proceeded unchecked; when our defenses had declined dramatically, and some nations thought they could threaten or harm the United States with impunity.

We've changed this. We're trying to see to it that American citizens -- and it doesn't matter whether they're Navy pilots in the Gulf of Sidra or medical students in Grenada -- can no longer be attacked or their lives endangered with impunity. (Applause.)

You know, Jeane Kirkpatrick, our Ambassador to the United Nations has a wonderful story to explain how fundamental this reversal has been. She says that when she arrived at the U.N. someone asked her what would be different about our administration's foreign policy.

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"Well," she said, "We've taken off our 'Kick Me' sign."

And she was asked, "Does that mean if you're kicked, you'll kick back?"

"Oh, not necessarily," she replied. "But it does mean that if we're kicked, at least we won't apologize." (Applause.)

Yet, it goes beyond just self-defense. When I spoke to the British Parliament a year and a half ago, I said our cause was human freedom; and so it has been: in Europe, in Lebanon, in Central America. We've tried to bring a new honesty and moral purposefulness to our foreign policy, to show we can be candid about the essential differences between ourselves and others while still pursuing peace initiatives with them.

As I've said before, the democracies have their own serious injustices to deal with. But this should not prevent us from making the crucial moral distinctions between pluralist systems which acknowledge their own wrongs and shortcomings and systems that excuse their defects in the name of totalitarian ideology.

Our willingness to speak out on these distinctions is the moral center of our foreign policy. For us, human freedom is a first principle, not a bargaining chip. To fail to publicly enunciate the differences between totalitarian and democratic systems of government would be to forsake this moral high ground.

Peace remains our highest aspiration -- (applause) -- and that's why arms control isn't enough. Arms reduction is our goal. And may I interject right here -- (applause) -- I, a few years ago, stood in this exact spot and made the announcement then that we were going to ask for arms reduction meetings with the Soviet Union to reduce the number of strategic nuclear weapons we both held. But then, as we have tried to communicate to the people of the Soviet Union, would it not be better to do away with nuclear weapons entirely? I think our new realism is an important means to this end.

Just as important, it reestablishes the basis of that broad foreign policy consensus that existed in the pre-Vietnam era when we understood the moral imperatives of defending freedom and the importance of taking totalitarian powers seriously.

I've heard mentioned an observation by a distinguished French intellectual, Jean Francois Revel, on this point. Mr. Revel points out that some people are embarrassed to call the struggle between democracy and totalitarianism by its own name and prefer euphemisms like the "competition between East and West" or "the struggle between superpowers."

And here I want to point out that the political revolutions we've seen in America in domestic and international policy are only a reflection of a deeper trend: a trend that directly concerns the world that you have been part of here at Eureka, the world of ideas.

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There has been a dramatic turnabout among the intellectuals. For most of my adult life, the intelligensia has been entranced and enamored with the idea of state power, the notion that enough central authority concentrated in the hands of the right-minded people can reform mankind and usher in a brave new world.

Well, I remember hearing one commonly-held view of the Roosevelt era -- that all societies were moving toward some modified form of communism.

Well we know now that the trend in America and in the democracies has been just the other way. In the political world, the cult of the state is dying. So too, the romance of the intellectual with state power is over. Indeed, the excitement and energy in the intellectual world is focused these days on the concerns of human freedom, on the importance of transcendent and enduring values.

In economics, for example, as the recent Nobel Prizes to Fredrick von Hayek, Milton Friedman, and George Stigler attest -- the free market is again becoming the focal point. In political philosophy, a whole generation of intellectuals led essentially by French thinkers like Revel, Jean Marie Benoit, Guy Sorman are rejecting the old cliches about state power and rediscovering the danger such power poses to personal freedom. Russian intellectuals ranging from majestic figures like Alexander Solzhenitsyn to noble crusaders like Vladimir Bukovsky have brought new attention to the horrors of totalitarian rule and to the spiritual desert that is communism.

Here in America, this revolution has been spear-headed for 30 years by intellectual presences like William F. Buckley's National Review. It's been supplemented recently by what's called the "neo-conservative" revolution led by Irving Kristol, Midge Decter, Norman Podhoretz, and others.

In many ways, this counter-revolution of the intellectuals was predated by one of the most vivid events of my time, an event whose meaning is echoed in today's disenchantment with communism.

It involved, coincidentally, an editor of Time Magazine, Whittaker Chambers, who in public testimony in 1948 named former high U.S. government officials as spies. He was not believed at first. But the inexorable power of the truth was slowly felt and overwhelming evidence led a jury to convict one of those former officials of perjury.

In Chambers' autobiography, Witness, he added a sequel. Chambers marked the beginning of his personal journey away from communism on the day that he was suddenly struck by the sight of his infant daughter's ear as she sat there having breakfast. And then, he said, he realized that such intricacy, such precision could be no accident, no freak of nature. He said that while he didn't know it at the time, in that moment, God -- the finger of God had touched his forehead. And that is why Chambers would write that faith, not economics, is the central problem of our age -- (applause) --

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and that the crisis of the Western world exists to the degree in which it is indifferent to God." The Western world does not know it, but it already possesses the answer to this problem, he said, but only provided that its "faith in God and the freedom He enjoins" is as great as communism's belief in material power."

Chambers' story represents a generation's disenchantment with statism and its return to eternal truths and fundamental values. And if there is one thought I would leave with you today, it is this: For all the momentous change of the last 50 years, it is still the great civilized truths, values of family, work, neighborhood and religion that fuel America's technological and material progress and put the spark to our enduring passion for freedom. (Applause.)

We're lucky to live in a time when these traditional values and faith in the future, this sense of hope has been re-awakened in our country. Yet, we have so much more to achieve, from assuring continued economic growth to developing space, America's next frontier, to keeping the peace and extending the borders of freedom. You in this room can play a personal part in these next chapters of human progress.

Now, I know you have a sense of excitement about all of this and that's why it strikes me as odd that some people say today that college students are too conservative. I think the truth is that you've discovered early in life what it took another great American writer, Scott Fitzgerald, many tumultuous years to discover. Toward the end of his life he would write to his daughter in college about the importance of what he called the fundamental decencies.

"My generation of radicals and breakers-down," he said, "never found anything to take the place of the old virtues of work and courage and the old graces of courtesy and politeness." (Applause.)

I hope you'll remember that. And something else F. Scott Fitzgerald said, that America is "a willingness of the heart." In the past half century, America has had its flirtation with statism, but we're returning now to our roots: Limited government, the defense of freedom, faith in the future and in our God. With these values as guides, the future can be even more breathtaking than the last 50 years because it will hold out not only the promise of sweeping improvements in mankind's material conditions, but progress in the spiritual and moral realm as well. And that's why I hope that 50 years from now should Time Magazine ask you for your reflections you'll be able to recall an era exciting beyond all your dreams. Believe me, there are great days ahead for you, for America and for the cause of human freedom.

Thank you very much. God bless you. And may God bless this campus 'neath the elms. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

4:09 P.M. CST

(Dolan) ~~PEE~~
February 1, 1984
5:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TIME MAGAZINE PROGRAM AT EUREKA COLLEGE
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1984

This has been a day that Neil and I will long remember, ^{stet} ~~a~~ ^{one} day of warmth and memory, ~~a day~~ ^{stet} when the good things that have happened in our lives all seem very close and real again.

We've just come from Dixon where I attended my biggest birthday party ever, ~~and~~ I had there what every man who has 73 candles on his birthday cake ~~should have~~ ^{needs} around him: a large group of friends and a working sprinkler system. And now we're here for Eureka's birthday. Legend has it that after Ben Major led a wagon train here, he sunk an axe into the first tree he felled and said, "Here, we'll build our school." That was more than 129 years ago and just to end any speculation ^{stet} ~~going on among~~ ~~the undergraduates~~: No, I was not part of the original wagon train.

It is always wonderful to return to Eureka. People ask me ¹ ~~can remember ever thinking~~ ~~of~~ ~~running~~ ~~for~~ ~~president~~ ~~if~~ ~~looking~~ ~~back~~ ~~at~~ ~~my~~ ~~college~~ ~~years~~, ~~I~~ ~~can~~ ~~remember~~ ~~any~~ ~~inkling~~ ~~of~~ ~~my~~ ~~present~~ ~~position~~ ~~that~~ ~~I~~ ~~would~~ ~~someday~~ ~~run~~ ~~for~~ ~~president~~. ^{that I would be in} ^{my first} ^{stet} Actually, the thought first struck me on graduation day when the president of the college handed me my diploma and asked: "Are you better off today than you were 4 years ago?" ~~No, really, I guess I first~~ ~~started thinking about the presidency when I was washing dishes~~ ~~over in the girl's dormitory . . . there I was . . . night after~~ ~~night . . . staring into the oval soap dish. (~~ ~~But the truth is I~~ ~~never did think I would end up in the most prestigious job in the~~ ~~free world and -- come to think of it -- I'm still not the coach~~ ~~of the L.A. Raiders.)~~ ^{stet}

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works

Besides being wonderful, coming back to Eureka is also a great temptation. Sitting in a college audience can sometimes be dangerous duty -- something about your youthfulness and the bright, fresh hope it symbolizes makes guest speakers like myself very free with their reminiscences and very reluctant to sit down. And I guess you've heard that I like to tell an anecdote or two.

I do promise to be brief today, ^B but I don't want to miss this opportunity ~~-- perhaps the last one I will have before the demands of this political year grow too pressing -- to share with you some thoughts on the changes that have happened to America in the 50 years since I left this campus. And to offer too, some thoughts on how we can shape those changes to serve the cause of human freedom -- to inspire, not burden those who come after us.~~

I can't think of a better occasion for such reflections. In addition to Founder's Day here at Eureka, we're also marking ~~today~~ the first in a series of speeches sponsored by Time Magazine to commemorate its 60th anniversary. For 60 years, Time has lived up to what Henry Luce and Britton envisioned when they founded the magazine in 1924: a weekly digest of news put together with ~~much~~ ^{great} more care and perspective, ~~than is usually possible under the deadline pressure of daily journalism.~~

Remembering Well, ~~if it's important for news organizations like Time to keep in mind the value of perspective, you can imagine how important it is for those of us in public life, to remember, as James Reston once suggested, that ^{being close} proximity to daily events can be as much a handicap as an advantage in understanding their meaning.~~

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And that's what struck me ~~when I was thinking about what I~~ⁱⁿ
~~wanted to~~^{world} say here today: the ease ~~the unknowing~~^{and (S40)} grace with
 which my generation accepted technological and political changes
 that so radically transformed our world.

In 1932, for example, I graduated from Eureka avid for a
 career in radio, ~~though I didn't know~~^{wasn't realize} ~~at the time~~, I would
 become part of the communications revolution that was shrinking
 the dimensions of my world even more than radio's successor,
 television, would shrink your own. Already my generation's
 sports idols, celebrities, newsmakers, and heroes had come in
 large measure from the world of radio, ~~so~~^{It} seemed a perfectly
~~understandable~~ career choice. ~~Yet~~^Q if I had only stopped to think
 about it, I would have remembered boyhood days a few short years
 before when my friends and I followed our neighborhood genius
 around town trying to pick up radio signals with his jerry-rigged
 crystals, aerial and headphone. Can you imagine our sense of
 wonder when, one Sunday afternoon, down by the river in Dixon, we
 heard the sounds of radio for the first time -- an orchestra
 playing over ~~KDSA~~^K several hundred miles away in Pittsburg?

Yet it took only a few years for ~~that sense of wonder to~~^(cfet)
~~dissolve~~, and radio -- so exotic in the 1920's -- ~~had~~^{to} become
 commonplace by ~~the time of~~ the 30's when I was in college.
 Indeed, by 1934 _____ million radio sets a year were being
 manufactured.

By that time of course, the market had crashed, the
 depression years were upon us, ~~and~~^(7re) over those radio sets, now
 sitting in every parlor and living room in the Nation, came the
 rich, reassuring tones of Franklin Roosevelt. All of us who

note

lived through those years, can remember the drabness the depression brought, ^{but we} remember ~~too~~ how people pulled together, ^{their} ~~that~~ sense of community and shared values, ^{and their} ~~that~~ belief in American enterprise and democracy ~~that~~ saw us through. It was that ingrained American optimism, that sense of hope Franklin Roosevelt so brilliantly summoned and mobilized.

It was a time of economic emergency, and there seemed ~~a~~ ^{a certain} ~~certain~~ logic to arguments that the national Government should take on to itself new and sweeping prerogatives. In the grip of that emergency, many of us could not see the enormous and oftentimes harmful political changes that this expanded role for the Government would bring.

Once again, as I look back, the rapidity of that political change was as astonishing as the change brought by technology. At the start of that era, government was consuming a dime of every dollar earned; two-thirds of that money was going to State and local governments with only a third to Washington. Today, government is collecting 44 cents from every dollar and the proportion is completely reversed, with two thirds of that money now going to the Federal Government.

So ~~it came as something of a shock~~ when my generation ^{was a bit surprised} ~~began~~ to realize that the Federal Government, ^{called upon} ~~brought to the fore~~ in an economic emergency, ^{now} was becoming an obstacle to economic progress. In addition to damaging the autonomy of local and State governments and usurping the rights of the people, the public sector had grown so large it was consuming our national wealth, discouraging energy and initiative and suffocating the

spirit of enterprise and resourcefulness that had always been at the heart of America's economic miracle.

In the depression years and their aftermath, we forgot that first, founding lesson of the American Republic: That without proper restraints, Government the servant, becomes quickly Government the ~~oppressor~~ ^{master}. ~~I say, of course, that~~ ^{It's} This is an American lesson, but, ~~it is~~ ^{it is} actually much older, ~~than that~~: "The budget should be balanced, the treasury should be refilled, the public debt should be reduced, the arrogance of officialdom should be tempered and controlled," Cicero wrote in B.C. And since that time, many nations that failed to heed ^{the} ~~the~~ words of ~~that~~ wise Roman have been brought to their knees by governments that ~~ran up their debts~~ ^{borrowed} and ~~then~~ taxed their citizens into servitude, ~~when the bills came due.~~

But some peoples, like ~~those who founded the American Republic~~ ^{our Founding Fathers,}, revolted under such oppression. ~~That's why~~ no one understood better the danger of unchecked Government power than those men: ~~"The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the power of all departments in one," George Washington wrote about Government's tendency to grow, "and thus to create . . . a real despotism."~~

"I am not a friend to a very energetic Government, it is always oppressive," Jefferson said.

I remember ~~now~~ quoting a few of these warnings, long after I had left radio for films, ~~and~~ television and ~~was working~~ ^{speeches} sometimes [^] on the rubber chicken circuit. And by that time this reformed New Dealer could add one observation of his own: that a Government agency is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever

part in

see on this earth. Yet even as the decades of the 50's and 60's went by, and ~~an increasing~~ ^{more} numbers of Americans shared my concern, Government grew like topsy. In the 70s, Federal spending tripled, ~~and~~ ^{and} taxes doubled, ~~the national debt went up by 250 percent~~ ^{scared} -- ~~from 382 billion to more than a trillion dollars. We were paying more in a single year's interest on that debt than it had taken to run the whole Government 20 years earlier.~~ Government bureaus, agencies, and employment rolls kept multiplying and one program, food stamps, even managed to grow by an incredible 16,000 percent.

~~You can see how easy it had become for politicians to promise more to win more; to spend their way to election victories; because, after all, they weren't going to be around when the bills came due; it wasn't their future they were mortgaging -- it was yours.~~

We refused to pay this, only worse

Fortunately, that juggernaut of big Government has now been slowed. During the last 3 years, we've brought skyrocketing spending back to earth and, ~~for the first time~~, slowed that enormous momentum towards big Government, ~~built up over five decades~~. It wasn't easy but measure the results by our ability to achieve what people once said was impossible: ~~the growth of~~ ^{Federal spending}

~~Federal spending has been~~ ^{cut by more than half;} ~~Government regulations have been cut~~ ^{by more than a quarter;} ~~for an annual savings of~~ ~~manhours~~ and taxes on working Americans have actually been reduced and indexed to the rate of inflation.

~~Today,~~ ^{A working family earning \$25,000 has \$1,500 more in purchasing power than if federal inflation had remained at their 1960 level,} the economic recovery is in full swing. But ~~let's use~~ ^{let's use} these moments of reflection today to understand the hard lessons we've learned since the depression about the growth of

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government. ~~Let's resolve to bring about~~ ^{We need} some basic reforms, ~~reforms that will build into our constitutional system~~ ^{protect us} additional ~~safeguards~~ against Government's all too powerful tendency to ~~aggrandize itself~~ ^{grow and grow.}

For one thing, it's time for the Federal Government, in the best Federalist tradition, to learn something from successful experiments in the State and local laboratories of governments. The evidence from those 43 States and many municipalities is overwhelming: The Executive Branch needs a powerful weapon to cut out ~~the~~ porkbarreling and special interest expenditures buried in large, catch-all appropriation bills. It's time the Congress gave the President the authority to veto single-line items in the Federal budget.

And, second, politicians at the national level must no longer be permitted to mortgage your future by running up higher and higher deficits. The time has come to force Government to live within its means; and I repeat my call today for making a balanced budget a constitutional requirement.

And finally, our tax system is now a nightmare of tangled requirements and twisted priorities. ~~It's time the Congress acted; it's time they gave~~ ^{want and desired} the American people a tax code that is ~~simple, direct, and capable of being~~ ^{fair (rewarding) and simple enough to} understood by someone other than an army of greenshaded accountants and ~~hungry tax~~ lawyers. note

Now in addition to the technological revolution marked by the inventions like radio and the political revolution brought on by the sweeping new scope of Federal power, there has been an additional development ~~very~~ ^{is} much worth noting. That ~~has been~~ the emergence of America's international role and our sudden

designation as the champion of ^{peace and} human freedom in the struggle against totalitarianism.

Throughout World War II and most of the post-war era, there was broad public consensus on this point. Though the adversaries changed -- from Hitler to Stalin -- there was still basic agreement on the moral imperative of defending freedom and the self-evident differences between totalitarian and democratic governments.

But that broad consensus of the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy years began to break down in the 60's and 70's. Partly in response to the Vietnam tragedy, an era of paralyzing self-doubt ruled out just and legitimate uses of American power, even acts of self-defense.

The consequences of this America's retreat were not long in coming. All of you can remember a few years back when the tragedy of the Iranian hostages was fresh in our minds; when around the world, especially in Afghanistan and Central America, Soviet expansionism proceeded unchecked; when our defenses had declined dramatically; and some nations thought they could threaten or harm the United States with impunity.

We've changed this. We're trying to see to it that American citizens -- and it doesn't matter whether they are Navy pilots in the Gulf of Sidra or medical students in Grenada -- can no longer be attacked or their lives endangered with impunity.

You know, Jean Kirkpatrick, our Ambassador to the United Nations, has a wonderful story to explain how fundamental this reversal has been. She says that when she arrived at the United

Nations someone asked what would be different about a Reagan Administration's foreign policy.

Well, she said, "We've taken off our 'Kick Me' sign."

She was asked: "Does that mean if you're kicked, you'll kick back."

"Not necessarily," she replied, "but it does mean that if we're kicked, at least we won't apologize."

Yet, it goes beyond just self-defense. When I spoke to the British Parliament a while ago, I said our cause was human freedom; and so it has been: in Europe, in Lebanon, in Central America. We've tried to bring a new honesty and moral purposefulness to our foreign policy, to show we can be candid about the essential differences between ourselves and ~~our~~ ^{others} ~~adversaries~~ while still pursuing peace initiatives with ~~these~~ ^{them} ~~adversaries~~.

As I have said before, the democracies have their own serious injustices to deal with, but this should not prevent us from making the crucial moral distinctions between a system which acknowledges its own wrongs and shortcomings and a system that excuses such defects in the name of revolutionary violence.

Our willingness to speak out on these distinctions is at the heart of American foreign policy, indeed ^{it} forms its moral center. For us, human freedom is a first principle; not a bargaining chip. To fail to publicly enunciate the differences between totalitarian and democratic systems of government would be to foresake this moral high ground. Equally as important, it would persuade the Soviets we are once again in the grip of self delusion about their intentions. This would only tempt them to

exploit the negotiating process rather than cooperate with us in reaching verifiable and mutually beneficial arms agreements.

It's time we realize that candor about the Soviet Union and its international activities, far from hindering the peace process, ultimately enhances it. History has shown that ~~it is~~ only when the Soviets realize their counterparts in negotiations have no illusions about the ^r~~Soviet~~ system and its ~~ultimate~~ intentions, ^{do} that they settle down to ~~the hard business of~~ serious negotiations.

So I think you can see we have come a long way from the days of "inordinate fear of communism." I think our new realism about the Soviets is a reestablishment of the broad national consensus on this point that existed in the pre-Vietnam era; I think we understood again the moral imperatives of defending freedom and the importance of taking totalitarian powers seriously.

You know, Ambassador Kirkpatrick likes to mention an observation by a distinguished French intellectual, Jean Francois Revel, on this point. Mr. Revel points out that some people are embarrassed to call the struggle between democracy and totalitarianism by its own name and prefer euphemisms like the "competition between East and West" or "the struggle between superpowers," as if the superpowers were politically and morally equivalent.

And here I want to point out that the political revolutions we've seen in America in domestic and international policy is only a reflection of a deeper trend; a trend that directly concerns the world you have been part of here at Eureka, the world of ideas.

There has been a dramatic turnabout among the intellectuals. For most of my adult life, the intellegentsia has been entranced and enamored with the idea of State power, the notion that with enough centralized authority, concentrated in the hands of the right-minded people, mankind can be reformed and a brave new world ushered in. I remember ~~Harold Ickes, Franklin Roosevelt's~~ ^{how one member of the} ~~Administration writing~~ ^{Secretary of Interior,} writing about the commonheld view of his day that all societies were moving towards some forms of communism.

Yet we know now that the trend in America and the democracies has been just the other way. In the political world, the cult of the state is dying; so too the romance of the intellectual with state power is over. Indeed the excitement and energy in the intellectual world is focused these days on the concerns of human freedom, on the importance of transcendent and enduring values.

In economics, for exmample, as the recent Nobel Prizes to Fredrick Von Hayek and Milton Friedman attest, the free market is again the focal point. In political philosophy, a whole generation of intellectuals led especially by French thinkers like Ravel, Jean Marie Benoit, and Guy Sorman are rejecting the old cliches about state power and rediscovering the danger such power poses to personal freedom. Soviet dissident intellectuals, ranging from majestic figures likes Alexander Solzhenitsyn to noble crusaders like Vladimir Bukovsky have brought new attention

to the horrors of totalitarian rule and to the spiritual desert that is communism.

Here in America, of course, this revolution has been spearheaded for 30 years by intellectual presences like William F. Buckley's National Review. It's been supplemented recently by the neo-conservative revolution led by Irving Kristol, Midge Decter, Norman Podhoretz, and others.

In many ways this counterrevolution of the intellectuals was predated by one of the most vivid and important events of my time, an event whose meaning is echoed in today's disenchantment with communism, ~~the God that failed.~~

It involved, coincidentally enough, an editor of Time Magazine, Whittaker Chambers, who in public testimony in 1948 named high Government officials as spys. He was not believed at first, but the inexorable power of the truth was slowly felt and aided by secret microfilms hidden away in a Pumpkin patch on Chambers farm, overwhelming evidence led a jury to convict one of those famous officials, Alger Hiss, of perjury.

But this trail, which riveted the Nation, was not the end to the Hiss/Chambers case. It had a majestic sequel: the story of the case written in Chambers' autobiography, Witness, a book the New York Times called it "one of the most important autobiographies of our time." ^{It was} Important because Chambers marked the beginning of his personal journey away from communism on the day he was struck by the intricacy of his infant daughter's ear, ~~Suddenly he realized~~ and the sudden knowledge that such design, such precision could be no accident. He said

he felt at that moment as though the hand of God had reached down and touched his forehead.

That is why Chambers would write ~~in Witness~~ that faith not economics is the central problem of our age and that the crisis of the western world exists to the degree in which it is indifferent to God. "The western world does not know it, but it already posses the the answer to this problem," he said, "but only provided that its faith in God and the freedom he enjoins is as great as communism's faith in man alone."

I receite the Chambers story ~~here not only~~ for its historical importance ^{and} but because ~~in microcosm~~ -- it ^{represents} ~~was~~ the story of a generation's disenchantment with statism and it's return to fundamental values. And ~~I think~~ if there is one thought I would leave with you today it is ^{this!} ~~that~~ for all the momentous change of the last 50 years, it is still the great civilized truths, ~~those ingrained~~ values of family, work, neighborhood, and religion, that ~~still~~ fuel America's technological and material progress and provide the spark for our enduring passion for freedom.

We are lucky to live in a time when these traditional values ^{as} ~~this~~ faith in the future, this sense of hope, has been reawakened in our country. It's one reason why I ^{am looking forward to} ~~look forward to~~ ^{a few more years in Washington. We have so much more} ~~to do in the next 5 years~~ there is much to achieve: from balancing the budget, to putting up a space station, to keeping the peace, to extending the borders of freedom.

Now I know you have a sense of excitement about all of this and that's why it strikes me as odd that some people say today that college students are too conservative. I think the truth is

that you've discovered early in life what it took another great American writer, Scott Fitzgerald, many tumultuous years to discover. It was towards the end of his life he wrote to a daughter in college about the importance of what he called the "fundamental decencies."

"My generation of radicals and breakers down," he said, "never found anything to take the place of the old virtues of work and courage and the old graces of courtesy and politeness."

I hope you'll remember that, and something else F. Scott Fitzgerald once said -- that America is "a willingness of the heart." And I hope too that if 50 years from now Time Magazine should ask you for your reflections, you'll be able to recall that time the president spoke, and say how right he was when he predicted: There are great days ahead for you, for America and for the cause of human freedom.

RL you very much + God bless you + God bless America.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

30 January 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY DOLAN, BEN ELLIOTT, DICK DARMAN

FROM: KIMBERLY TIMMONS (K)

RE: RR's ideas for Eureka speech on 6 February

- o FDR's New Deal started the year after RR graduated from Eureka. Americans were experiencing the depths of the Depression and bureaucracy had to expand as an emergency measure.
- o FDR ran for office on a pledge to restore our constitutional rights--a government run by the people, not the other way around. (irony? contrast?)
- o One of FDR's leading cabinet members, Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes, said America was on its way toward a modified form of communism.
- o Industrial change--The development of the radio created a boom in America. RR remembers listening to the first sound of radio--an orchestra--on a Sunday afternoon. The station was several hundred miles away, KDKA in Pittsburgh, PA.
- o The radio industry had only been around a few years when RR became a sports announcer.
- o RR remembers his college years as particularly "drab". He mentioned that many people drove black cars because they were cheaper to buy than colored ones.
- o RR said that the crime rate was lower than ever during the Depression, hence, crime and poverty are not directly correlated. However, I don't think this can be substantiated as crime rates don't go back that far.
- o RR remembers the American people being united in their experience in the Depression.
- o During RR's college days, Government (Federal, state, and local) took 10¢ of every dollar. 2/3 of that 10¢ went to state and local government. Today, about 44¢ of every dollar goes to government, and 2/3 of this goes to the Federal government.

crime rate - Depression - darkness in the

(Dolan)

February 4, 1984

11:00 a.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TIME MAGAZINE PROGRAM AT EUREKA COLLEGE
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1984

This has been a day that Neil and I will long remember, a day of warmth and memory, a day when the good things that have happened in our lives all seem very close and real again.

We've just come from Dixon where I attended my biggest birthday party ever. It was the 34th anniversary of my 39th birthday. I had what every man who has that many candles on his birthday cake needs around him: a large group of friends and a working sprinkler system. And now we're here for Eureka's birthday. Legend has it that after Ben Major led a wagon train here, he sunk an axe into the first tree he felled and said, "Here, we'll build our school." That was more than 129 years ago and just to end any speculation going on among the undergraduates: No, I was not part of the original wagon train.

It is always wonderful to return to Eureka. People ask me if looking back at my college years, I can remember any inkling that I would someday run for president. Actually, the thought first struck me on graduation day when the president of the college handed me my diploma and asked: "Are you better off today than you were 4 years ago?"

Besides being wonderful, coming back to Eureka is also a great temptation. Sitting in a college audience can sometimes be dangerous duty -- something about your youthfulness and the bright, fresh hope it symbolizes makes guest speakers like myself very free with their reminiscences and very reluctant to sit down. You've heard, I'm sure, that I like to tell an anecdote or

two. Life not only begins at 40, so does lumbago and the tendency to tell the same stories over and over again.

X I promise I'll try to be brief today. Rest easy[^] you are lucky, I have to be in Nevada tonight. But I don't want to miss this opportunity to share with you some thoughts on the changes that have happened to America in the 50[⊖]odd years, and some of them were odd, since I left this campus. And to offer too, some thoughts on how we can shape those changes to serve the cause of human freedom -- to inspire, not burden, those who come after us.

X I can't think of a better occasion for such reflections. In addition to Founder's Day here at Eureka, we're also marking the first in a series of speeches sponsored by Time Magazine to commemorate its 60th anniversary. For 60 years, Time has lived up to what Henry Luce and Briton Hadden envisioned when they founded the magazine in 1923: a weekly digest of news put together with much more care and perspective than is usually possible under the deadline pressure of daily journalism.

Well, if it's important for news organizations like Time to keep in mind the value of perspective, you can imagine how important it is for those of us in public life to remember that proximity to daily events can be as much a handicap as an advantage in understanding their meaning.

And that's what struck me when I was thinking about what I wanted to say here today: the ease, the unknowing grace with which my generation accepted technological and political changes that so radically transformed our world. We didn't know then that ours was one of those infrequent generations that would

preside over a great transition period. We went in a single lifetime literally from horse and buggy to space travel.

In 1932, for example, I graduated from Eureka and landed a job in radio. Though I didn't realize it at the time I had become part of the communications revolution that was shrinking the dimensions of my world even more than radio's successor, television, would shrink your own. Already my generation's sports idols, celebrities, newsmakers, and heroes had come in large measure from the world of radio. It seemed a perfect career choice.

Yet if I had only stopped to think about it, I would have remembered boyhood days a few short years before when my friends and I followed our neighborhood genius around town trying to pick up radio signals with his jerry-rigged crystals, aerial and headphones. Can you imagine our sense of wonder when, one Sunday afternoon, down by the river in Dixon, we heard the sounds of radio for the first time -- an orchestra playing over KDKA several hundred miles away in Pittsburgh?

Yet it took only a few years for that sense of wonder to dissolve. Radio which was heard in only 60,000 households in 1922, was heard in almost 18.5 million households by 1932, my graduation year.

By that time of course, the market had crashed, the depression years were upon us and over those radio sets, now sitting in every parlor and living room in the Nation, came the rich, reassuring tones of Franklin Roosevelt. All of us who lived through those years, can remember the drabness the depression brought, but we remember too how people pulled

together -- that sense of community and shared values, that belief in American enterprise and democracy that saw us through. It was that ingrained American optimism, that sense of hope Franklin Roosevelt so brilliantly summoned and mobilized.

It was a time of economic emergency, and there seemed a certain logic to arguments that the national Government should take on to itself new and sweeping prerogatives. In the grip of that emergency, many of us could not see the enormous and oftentimes harmful political changes that this expanded role for the Government would bring.

Once again, as I look back, the rapidity of that political change was as astonishing as the change brought by technology. At the start of that era, Government collected in taxes a dime out of every dollar earned; two-thirds of that went to State and local governments with only one-third to Washington. Today, Government at all levels is collecting more than 40 cents of every dollar earned; and the proportion is completely reversed, with two-thirds of that going to the Federal Government and only one-third for State and local governments.

My generation was a bit surprised to realize that the Federal Government, called upon in an economic emergency, was becoming an obstacle to economic progress. In addition to damaging the autonomy of local and State governments and usurping the rights of the people, the public sector had grown so large it was consuming our national wealth, discouraging energy and initiative and suffocating the spirit of enterprise and resourcefulness that had always been at the heart of America's economic miracle.

In the depression years and their aftermath, we forgot that first, founding lesson of the American Republic: That without proper restraints, Government the servant, becomes quickly Government the master. I call it an American lesson, but, actually it's much older: Cicero believed that the budget should be balanced, the treasury should be refilled, the public debt should be reduced, the arrogance of officialdom should be tempered and controlled. And since that time, many nations that failed to heed the words of that wise Roman have been brought to their knees by governments that borrowed and taxed their citizens into servitude.

But some peoples, like our Founding Fathers, revolted under such oppression. No one would understand better the danger of unchecked Government power than those men: "I am not a friend to a very energetic government. It is always oppressive," Jefferson said.

I remember quoting a few of these warnings, long after I had left radio for films, television, and after dinner speeches. By that time, this reformed New Dealer could add one observation of his own: that a Government agency is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth. Yet even as the decades of the 50's and 60's went by, and more Americans shared my concern, Government grew like topsy. In the decade of the 70s, Federal spending tripled, taxes doubled, and the national debt reached almost a trillion dollars. Government bureaus, agencies, and employment rolls kept multiplying: It had become too easy for politicians to promise more to win more; to spend their way to election victories.

Fortunately, that juggernaut of big Government has now been slowed. During the last 3 years, we've brought skyrocketing spending back to earth and reduced that enormous momentum towards big Government. It wasn't easy but measure the results by our ability to achieve what people once said was impossible: Federal spending growth has been cut by more than half; Government regulations have been cut by more than a quarter; and taxes on working Americans have actually been reduced and indexed to the rate of inflation. A working family earning \$25,000 has \$1,500 more in purchasing power today because of the cut in taxes and the lowered rate of inflation.

Today economic recovery is in full swing. But I hope we can use these moments of reflection today to understand the hard lessons we've learned since the depression about the growth of Government. We need some basic reforms that will protect us against Government's all too powerful tendency to grow and grow.

For one thing, it's time for the Federal Government, in the best Federalist tradition, to learn something from successful experiments in the State and local laboratories of governments. The evidence from States and many municipalities is overwhelming: The Executive Branch needs a powerful weapon to cut out porkbarreling and special interest expenditures buried in large, catch-all appropriation bills. It's time the Congress gave the President the authority to veto single-line items in the Federal budget as governors can in 43 of our States.

And, second, politicians at the national level must no longer be permitted to mortgage your future by running up higher and higher deficits. The time has come to force Government to

live within its means; and I repeat my call today for making a balanced budget a constitutional requirement. When the constitution was ratified Thomas Jefferson voiced a regret that it did not contain a clause prohibiting the Federal Government from borrowing.

And finally, our tax system is now a nightmare of tangled requirements and twisted priorities. The American people want and deserve a tax code that is fair, rewarding and simple enough to be understood by someone other than an army of greenshaded accountants and lawyers.

Now in addition to the technological revolution marked by inventions like radio, and the political revolution brought on by the sweeping new scope of Federal power, there has been an additional development worth noting. That is the emergence of America's international role; our sudden designation as the champion of peace and human freedom in the struggle against totalitarianism. We didn't seek this leadership, it was thrust upon us. In the dark days after World War II, when much of the civilized world lay in ruins, Pope Pious XII said, "The American people have a genius for ^{splendid} great and unselfish ^{action, and} deeds. Into the ^{the destinies of} hands of America God has placed ^{an} afflicted ^{humanity} ~~man~~kind."

Throughout World War II and most of the post-war era, though the adversaries changed -- from Hitler to Stalin -- there was still basic agreement on the moral imperative of defending freedom and the self-evident differences between totalitarian and democratic Governments.

But that broad consensus of the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy years began to break down in the 60's and 70's. Partly in

response to the Vietnam tragedy, an era of paralyzing self-doubt ruled out just and legitimate uses of American power, even acts of self-defense.

The consequences of America's retreat were not long in coming. All of you can remember a few years back when the tragedy of the Iranian hostages was fresh in our minds; when around the world, especially in Afghanistan and Central America, Soviet expansionism proceeded unchecked; when our defenses had declined dramatically; and some nations thought they could threaten or harm the United States with impunity.

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X You know, Jean Kirkpatrick, our Ambassador to the United Nations, has a wonderful story to explain how fundamental this reversal has been. She says that when she arrived at the United Nations someone asked what would be different about our Administration's foreign policy.

Well, she said, "We've taken off our 'Kick Me' sign."

She was asked: "Does that mean if you're kicked, you'll kick back."

"Not necessarily," she replied, "but it does mean that if we're kicked, at least we won't apologize." X

Yet, it goes beyond just self-defense. When I spoke to the British Parliament a year-and-a-half ago, I said our cause was human freedom; and so it has been: in Europe, in Lebanon, in Central America. We've tried to bring a new honesty and moral

purposefulness to our foreign policy, to show we can be candid about the essential differences between ourselves and others while still pursuing peace initiatives with them.

As I have said before, the democracies have their own serious injustices to deal with, but this should not prevent us from making the crucial moral distinctions between pluralist systems which acknowledge their own wrongs and shortcomings and systems that excuse their defects in the name of totalitarian ideology.

Our willingness to speak out on these distinctions is the moral center of our foreign policy. For us, human freedom is a first principle; not a bargaining chip. To fail to publicly enunciate the differences between totalitarian and democratic systems of Government would be to foresake this moral high ground.

Peace remains our highest aspiration and that's why arms control isn't enough, arms reduction is our goal. But then, as we have tried to communicate to the people of the Soviet Union, would it not be better to do away with nuclear weapons entirely? I think our new realism is an important means to this end. Just as important, it reestablishes the basis of that broad foreign policy consensus that existed in the pre-Vietnam era when we understood the moral imperatives of defending freedom and the importance of taking totalitarian powers seriously.

You know, I've heard mentioned an observation by a distinguished French intellectual, Jean Francois Revel, on this point. Mr. Revel points out that some people are embarrassed to call the struggle between democracy and totalitarianism by its

own name and prefer euphemisms like the "competition between East and West" or "the struggle between superpowers."

And here I want to point out that the political revolutions we've seen in America in domestic and international policy are only a reflection of a deeper trend; a trend that directly concerns the world you have been part of here at Eureka, the world of ideas.

There has been a dramatic turnabout among the intellectuals. For most of my adult life, the intellegentsia has been entranced and enamored with the idea of state power, the notion that enough centralized authority concentrated in the hands of the right-minded people can reform mankind and usher in a brave new world. I remember hearing one commonly-held view of the Roosevelt era that all societies were moving towards some modified form of communism.

We know now that the trend in America and the democracies has been just the other way. In the political world, the cult of the state is dying; so too the romance of the intellectual with state power is over. Indeed the excitement and energy in the intellectual world is focused these days on the concerns of human freedom, on the importance of transcendent and enduring values.

In economics, for example, as the recent Nobel Prizes to Fredrick von Hayek, Milton Friedman, and George Stigler attest, the free market is again becoming the focal point. In political philosophy, a whole generation of intellectuals led especially by French thinkers like Revel, Jean Marie Benoit, and Guy Sorman are rejecting the old cliches about state power and rediscovering the danger such power poses to personal freedom. Russian

intellectuals, ranging from majestic figures like Alexander Solzhenitsyn to noble crusaders like Vladimir Bukovsky have brought new attention to the horrors of totalitarian rule and to the spiritual desert that is communism.

Here in America, this revolution has been spearheaded for 30 years by intellectual presences like William F. Buckley's National Review. It's been supplemented recently by what's called the "neo-conservative" revolution led by Irving Kristol, Midge Decter, Norman Podhoretz, and others.

In many ways this counterrevolution of the intellectuals was predated by one of the most vivid events of my time, an event whose meaning is echoed in today's disenchantment with communism.

It involved, coincidentally, an editor of Time Magazine, Whittaker Chambers, who in public testimony in 1948 named former high U.S. Government officials as spys. He was not believed at first, but the inexorable power of the truth was slowly felt and overwhelming evidence led a jury to convict one of those former officials of perjury.

In Chambers' autobiography, Witness, he added a sequel: Chambers marked the beginning of his personal journey away from communism on the day he was suddenly struck by the sight of his infant daughter's ear; when he realized that such intricacy, such delicate design, such precision could be no accident, no freak of nature; he said that while he didn't know it at the time, in that moment the finger of God had touched his forehead.

That is why Chambers would write that, faith not economics, is the central problem of our age and that "The crisis of the western world exists to the degree in which it is indifferent to

God." The western world does not know it, but it already possesses the the answer to this problem, he said, but only provided that its "faith in God and the freedom He enjoins" is as great as communism's belief in material power.

Chambers' story represents a generation's disenchantment with statism and its return to eternal truths and fundamental values. And if there is one thought I would leave with you today it is this: For all the momentous change of the last 50 years, it is still the great civilized truths -- values of family, work, neighborhood, and religion -- that fuel America's technological and material progress and put the spark to our enduring passion for freedom.

We are lucky to live in a time when these traditional values and faith in the future, this sense of hope, has been reawakened in our country. Yet we have so much more to achieve: from assuring continued economic growth, to developing space -- America's next frontier, to keeping the peace and extending the borders of freedom. You in this room can play a personal part in these next chapters of human progress.

Now I know you have a sense of excitement about all of this and that's why it strikes me as odd that some people say today that college students are too conservative. I think the truth is that you've discovered early in life what it took another great American writer, Scott Fitzgerald, many tumultous years to discover. Toward the end of his life, he would write to his daughter in college about the importance of what he called the fundamental decencies.

"My generation of radicals and breakers-down," he said, "never found anything to take the place of the old virtues of work and courage and the old graces of courtesy and politeness."

I hope you'll remember that, and something else F. Scott Fitzgerald once said -- that America is "a willingness of the heart." In the past half century, America has had its flirtation with statism but we are returning now to our roots: limited Government, the defense of freedom, faith in the future and in our God. With these values as guides, the future can be even more breathtaking than the last 50 years because it will hold out not only the promise of sweeping improvements in mankind's material conditions but progress in the spiritual and moral realm as well. And that's why I hope that 50 years from now, should Time Magazine ask you for your reflections, you'll be able to recall an era exciting beyond all of your dreams. Believe me, there are great days ahead for you, for America, and for the cause of human freedom.

Thank you very much, God bless you and may God bless this campus 'neath the elms.

A Letter from the Publisher

M file
x
reunion

The world's news events piled atop each other with bewildering rapidity last week. Their character was remarkably varied: ominous, reassuring, inspirational, showy, frustrating. The death of the leader of the Soviet Union was announced, with all its implications for the future of that socialist superpower and its troubled relationship with the U.S. In the face of more violence and political uncertainty in Lebanon, President Reagan acted to redeploy the Marines. For the first time, men floated freely in the heavens, breaking away from the shuttle *Challenger* to become human satellites. In Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, the XIV Winter Olympics opened with impressive pageantry, only to have events "whited out" by too much of a good thing: snow. In sum, it was a remarkable week for journalism and for TIME.

It began on Monday with a meaningful moment for the magazine, as President Ronald Reagan celebrated his 73rd birthday and the 129th anniversary of the founding of Eureka College, his alma mater, by giving an address at the Illinois campus. His subject: the need for a historical perspective in evaluating the changes that have transformed America over the past five decades. In the process, the President was inaugurating TIME's Distinguished Speakers Program, a series of lectures presented in connection with the magazine's 60th anniversary. The talks will be given by outstanding men and women of various disciplines and claims to fame who have appeared on TIME's cover.

In introducing the President at Eureka, Time Inc. Editor-in-Chief Henry Grunwald recalled the familiar debate in the academic world between those who believe history is made by individuals and those who think it is the result of abstract, faceless forces. Said Grunwald: "We at TIME have always sided with the former school. In that spirit, TIME started out by putting a person on its cover every week, and the mainstay of that cover is still people." Grunwald called the Distinguished Speakers Program a "logical extension" of this tenet, one that would put TIME cover subjects "in direct touch with the public whose lives they have affected, and especially in touch with young people." The addresses will be given twice a year at colleges or universities picked by the speakers, who will be drawn from the worlds of politics, government, science, religion and the arts. They will represent a wide range of political and philosophic views and, it is hoped, will provoke lively discussion and debate between the newsmakers and their student audiences.

President Reagan, who has been on 24 TIME covers, caught the spirit of the program and the challenge the speakers could offer their audiences when he said: "I hope that 50 years from now, should TIME magazine ask you for your reflections, you'll be able to recall an era exciting beyond all of your dreams."

Indeed, examples of the excitement of our times unfolded all week long. Within minutes of the predawn news of Yuri Andropov's death, TIME's editors were gathering to discuss the magazine's coverage and to deploy correspondents and photographers. In Moscow, Bureau Chief Erik Amfitheatrof, worried by the melancholy music on his morning radio but not yet knowing that a Soviet notable had died, prepared himself for a stressful day by a half-hour jog through the capital's slippery streets. His weekend turned into a marathon of interviews with Soviet and diplomatic sources about the possible successor to President Andropov.

On the receiving end of Amfitheatrof's reports were Associate Editor John Kohan and Reporter-Researcher Helen Sen Doyle in New York City, who worked together on both the main chronicle of events and an accompanying assessment of the Soviet military's strength and political influence. Kohan and Doyle are both fluent Russian speakers who have traveled and worked in the Soviet Union. They have spent more than 26 years between them studying that secretive country.

For a journalist, getting the story or pictures out of a war-torn nation can be as perilous as covering the war. So it was last week for Photographer Harry Mattison, on assignment for TIME in Lebanon. The Beirut airport was closed, making it impossible to ship film by air. All roads leading north, south and east were closed because of fighting. Finally the frustrated Mattison decided to walk some ten miles to the Israeli lines with the week's work of six photographers. Mattison is no stranger to the hazards of war: he covered vicious combat in El Salvador for three years.

But, he says of the gauntlet he ran last week, "There were nervous troops from three different militias and the Lebanese Army in the area. There was mortar and sniper fire all around. At one particularly bad moment on the way south, a Lebanese Army trooper shot into the ground at my feet to force me to turn back. I have rarely been so scared." He finally reached Israeli lines, south of Beirut, where he was able to place the film in friendly hands. He then turned around and retraced his steps, again through enemy fire.

For TIME's 20-member Olympics team in Sarajevo, getting the story was not life threatening, but difficult enough. This time the villain was nature. Snow, tons and tons of it, fell endlessly on the Yugoslav city, paralyzing communications, clogging roads, closing the airport, blurring the color in action-filled photographs and causing the postponement of event after event. Neither Eastern Europe Chief John Moody, who covered bobsledding, nor Associate Editor Tom Callahan, who wrote the week's main story, encountered major problems. Senior Correspondent William Rade-

maekers and Reporter Gertraud Lessing, however, braved treacherous slopes and icy winds of 100-plus m.p.h. to reach the Alpine-skiing sites, only to find that the competition had been called off. Correspondent B.J. Phillips, making her way around town in a Soviet-built Neva Jeep-type vehicle, was glad to be assigned to figure skating. "There is some advantage," she said, "in reporting one of the few winter competitions that take place indoors."

From Moscow to Beirut to Sarajevo, the week was simply memorable. Three weeks ago TIME announced that it was adding up to 100 "bonus" pages in order to handle 1984's very special journalistic demands. This issue contains 62 editorial pages, which ranks it among the magazine's largest issues ever. In it is the detailed, dramatic and colorful coverage made possible by the use of such bonus pages: extraordinary coverage in an extraordinary week.

John A. Meyers



Reagan launches TIME's Speakers Program

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DICK HALESTAD

Dixon's favorite son (and daughter-in-law) got a birthday fete from 4,000 townspeople

"There Are Great Days Ahead"

At his alma mater, Reagan puts forth a traditional vision

It has been more than half a century since Ronald Reagan lived in the flat, folksy precincts of north central Illinois. For the residents of his principal home town, absence has surely made the heart grow fonder. On his 73rd birthday last Monday, Reagan made his first stopover as President in Dixon (pop. 15,700). "I've never seen this town so happy," said Mayor James Dixon, a Democrat and great-great-grandson of Dixon's founder.

The President had a White House-catered lunch (salad, soup and pork) with First Brother Neil at one of their several boyhood homes and then flew to Eureka College, both brothers' alma mater. There, in the Reagan Physical Education Center, before virtually the entire 516-member student body, he inaugurated TIME's Distinguished Speakers Program. Twice a year, TIME will sponsor an address by one of its cover subjects at a college of his or her choice. The President began with four warmup jokes about his age ("the 34th anniversary of my 39th birthday"). In the course of 25 minutes Reagan discussed "the changes that have happened to America in the 50-odd years . . . since I left this campus." He quoted five historical figures, from Novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald to Pope Pius XII, and alluded to a dozen contemporary conservatives, from Economist Milton Friedman to Philosopher Jean-Marie Benoit. He also reiterated some familiar proposals—for a line-item budget veto, a balanced-budget constitutional amendment, and tax reform so that the system can "be understood by someone other than an army of green-shaded accountants." Following are excerpts from his remarks:

What struck me when I was thinking about what I wanted to say here today [was] the ease, the unknowing grace with which my generation accepted techno-

logical and political changes that so radically transformed our world.

Can you imagine our sense of wonder when, one Sunday afternoon, down by the river in Dixon, we heard the sounds of radio for the first time? Yet it took only a few years for that sense of wonder to dissolve. By 1932, my graduation year . . . the Depression years were upon us, and over those radio sets, now sitting in every parlor, came the rich, reassuring tones of Franklin Roosevelt. All of us who lived through those years can remember the drabness the Depression brought. But we remember too how people pulled together—that sense of community and shared values, that belief in American enterprise and democracy that saw us through. There seemed a certain logic to arguments that national Government should take onto itself new and sweeping prerogatives. Many of us could not see the enormous and oftentimes harmful political changes that this expanded role for the Government would bring. As I look back, the rapidity of that political change was as astonishing as the change brought by technology.

In the Depression years and their aftermath, we forgot that first, founding lesson of the American Republic: that without proper restraints, Government the servant becomes quickly Government the master. I call it an American lesson, but actually it's much older: Cicero believed that the budget should be balanced, the Treasury should be refilled, the public debt should be reduced . . . Yet even as the '50s and '60s went by, and more Americans

shared my concern, Government grew like Topsy. In the '70s, federal spending tripled, taxes doubled and the national debt reached almost a trillion dollars . . .

Throughout World War II and most of the postwar era there was still basic agreement on the moral imperative of defending freedom and the self-evident differences between totalitarian and democratic governments. But that broad consensus began to break down in the '60s and '70s. Partly in response to the Viet Nam tragedy, an era of paralyzing self-doubt ruled out just and legitimate uses of American power, even acts of self-defense.

We've changed this. We've tried to bring a new honesty and moral purposefulness to our foreign policy, to show we can be candid about the essential differences between ourselves and others while still pursuing peace initiatives with them. For us, human freedom is a first principle, not a bargaining chip . . .

For most of my adult life, the intelligentsia has been entranced and enamored with the idea of state power, the notion that enough centralized authority in the hands of the right-minded people can reform mankind and usher in a brave new world. [Now, however,] the cult of the intellectual with state power is over. Indeed, the excitement and energy in the intellectual world is focused these days on the concerns of human freedom.

This counterrevolution of the intellectuals was [presaged] by one of the most vivid events of my time. It involved, coincidentally, an editor of TIME magazine, Whittaker Chambers, [the late former Communist] who in public testimony in 1948 named former high U.S. Government officials as spies . . . [Later] Chambers

would write that faith, not economics, is the central problem of our age, and that "the crisis of the Western world exists to the degree in which it is indifferent to God." Chambers' story represents a generation's disenchantment with statism and its return to eternal truths and fundamental values.

It is still the great civilized truths—values of family, work, neighborhood and religion—that fuel America's progress and put the spark to our

enduring passion for freedom. With these values as our guides, the future can be even more breathtaking than the last 50 years, because it will hold out not only the promise of sweeping improvements in mankind's material conditions but progress in the spiritual and moral realm as well. And that's why I hope that 50 years from now, should TIME ask you for your reflections, you'll be able to recall an era exciting beyond all of your dreams. Believe me, there are great days ahead for you, for America and for the cause of human freedom. ■



VLAN ARON

At Eureka, an alumnus speaks

ship on the issues of war and peace."

Yet another question clouds the former Vice President's future: Can he generate a wider excitement over his candidacy? While he can rouse a hallful of supporters, Mondale is diminished by television, appearing too stiff and shrill. Reagan's presence, on the other hand, is magnified by a TV screen. Still, no other Democrat has inspired much voter emotion. "This is the most passionless campaign I've ever seen," says David Nagle, chairman of Iowa's Democratic Committee. "Nobody seems to care deeply about any of the candidates." New Hampshire Democrats seem equally bored, despite the quadrennial invasion of the candidates. Ironically, Mondale's big lead keeps enthusiasm down for him and for his rivals. Admits a downcast Glenn organizer in New Hampshire: "It's tough to get anyone excited if everyone has conceded first place."

For the other candidates, the time to generate some excitement of their own may be running out. Gerald Vento, Glenn's campaign manager, concedes that Mondale will win easily in Iowa but says Glenn could finish a strong second in New Hampshire. His man, Vento says, must do "extremely well" on Super Tuesday, March 13, when ten primaries and caucuses take place. Glenn will win in Alabama, he predicts, and must run "neck and neck" with Mondale in Georgia. Vento implies that a failure by Glenn to do so might just end his chances.

Hart and Cranston need third-place finishes in Iowa and New Hampshire to give them jumping-off points for the later primaries. Jackson hopes to run well in New Hampshire and then score an upset win in Alabama. McGovern is trying to hang on until the Super Tuesday primary in Massachusetts, where he thinks he can finish second. Askew is counting on a turnout of antiabortion voters to give him a respectable showing in Iowa, followed by a strong home-state vote in Florida three weeks later. As for Hollings, it will take a miracle to keep him in contention.

The Mondale planners are eager for a quick knockout. Says Fund Raiser Timothy Finchem: "Our concern is how soon we can put this thing away. It means a helluva lot in defeating Reagan." But not every Democrat is likely to simply bow out and join the Fritz blitz.

More than half of the delegates, moreover, would still have to be selected after mid-March, some in the larger states: California, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Some voters might resent a process in which the outcome has been determined before they have a chance to participate. Feeling disenfranchised, they might lose interest, stay home, or turn out to register protest votes that would only hurt their party's eventual nominee. An apathetic or divided party would not be in competitive trim for the race against a popular President. Walter Mondale may be riding high, but hurdles and hazards are ahead. —By Ed Magnuson. Reported by Sam Allis with Mondale, with other bureaus

The Front Runner Is Striding Out

A TIME poll shows more losses than gains for the other candidates

The camps of the underdog candidates have long argued that if people only knew more about their men, Walter Mondale's lead would dwindle. Not so, according to a poll done for TIME by Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc.* Between December and February, the number of undecided Democratic and independent voters declined from 26% to 14%. Those who said they would vote for Mondale increased from 34% to 50%, while no other candidate gained more than 1 point.

Asked whether Mondale would make an "acceptable" President, 80% of Democrats said yes. Of the other candidates, only Jesse Jackson showed an impressive in-

crease in acceptability, probably attributable to freeing Naval Aviator Robert Goodman from Syria. But half of the Democrats still find Jackson unacceptable.

For the rest, to know them is apparently to dislike them. Only 15% of Democratic voters now say they are unfamiliar with John Glenn, down from 28% in September. But the percentage of those finding Glenn acceptable stayed the same, while the percentage who found him unacceptable doubled. Most voters said no when asked if Glenn was a "dynamic and exciting candidate" or had "the kind of experience he needs to do a good job." Similarly, Democratic voters familiar with Gary Hart rose from 37% to 44% between September and February, yet his acceptability as a candidate did not increase, and his disapproval rating jumped sharply.

A majority (57%) think that Mondale has locked up the Democratic nomination. Only about one-third attribute Mon-

dale's lead purely to personal popularity. An equal number cited his strong campaign organization and his support from party leaders and interest groups. Mondale's wide name recognition serves him well: while 74% said they were "aware" that he is a candidate, only 59% were able to name Glenn without prompting, and only 15% could name Hart.

Mondale may be trouncing his Democratic opponents, but he trails President Reagan 51% to 41% among all voters. Reagan manages to siphon off 26% of Democratic voters, and independent voters favor him over Mondale by 62% to 26%.

There is increasing evidence that the

RATING THE DEMOCRATS									
1 Whom would you prefer as the presidential candidate?	2 Are these candidates acceptable?						... or not?		
	Sept. '83	Dec. '83	Feb. '84	Sept.	Dec.	Feb.	Sept.	Dec.	Feb.
Mondale	28%	34%	50%	66%	70%	80%	22%	17%	12%
Glenn	26	18	18	58	54	57	14	20	28
Jackson	8	6	6	24	22	35	51	55	50
McGovern	5	6	3	42	43	43	39	36	43
Cranston	4	2	3	20	19	22	22	21	29
Hart	2	2	3	23	20	21	14	16	23
Askew	2	1	1	8	9	11	15	17	22
Hollings	1	1	1	7	10	10	15	17	26
Other	1	3	—						
Not Sure	23	26	14						

1 Asked of Democrats and Independents
2 Asked of Democrats only
TIME Chart

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gender gap is real; the President does not draw as well among women as he does among men. While he enjoys a 68% favorable rating among men, the figure for women is 55%. Among Republicans, Reagan is just as popular with women as with men (87%), but there is a gap of 16 points (52% vs. 36%) between Democratic men and women. When asked their objections to Reagan, more women (53%) give his opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment than any other reason. Fear that he will lead the country into war comes second (46%).

Among the population as a whole, Reagan is riding a wave of good feeling. More people (68%) say things are going well in the country than in any other period since 1977. At the same time, however, only 36% say they have a "lot" of confidence in future prosperity. Interestingly, the percentage citing excessive Government spending as their No. 1 concern rose from 6% to 14%. The only consolation for Reagan is that voters are even less sanguine about the Democrats' ability to cut the \$183.7 billion deficit.

*Based on a telephone survey of 1,000 registered voters taken from Jan. 31 to Feb. 2. The potential sampling error is plus or minus 3%.

Reagan, in Old Home on 73d Birthday, Asserts America's Self-Doubt Is Over

By FRANCIS X. CLINES
Special to The New York Times

EUREKA, Ill., Feb. 6 — President Reagan, sweeping through a birthday tour of his life and times, today proclaimed an end to an era of "paralyzing self-doubt" in the nation and a restoration of the "just and legitimate uses of American power."

"Some nations thought they could weaken or harm the United States with impunity," the President said in a speech here at Eureka College. "We've ended this." Reagan began his 73d birthday tour of his life and times, today proclaimed an end to an era of "paralyzing self-doubt" in the nation and a restoration of the "just and legitimate uses of American power."

"It's so easy to have faith in America," he said, preaching optimism on a crisp, sunny day in the snow-blanketed heartland where he was raised.

Some Protesters Seen

The day was pungent with Reagan memorabilia. The prairie-town setting of wintry beauty was overrun with the graphic trappings of modern political campaigning. Dixon offered a warm downtown welcome, though spiced with the handprinted signs of more than 100 protesters. "Reaganomics stinks," one read. "Reagan favors depression," said another. And, near the town arch's welcoming sign: "This is your worst movie."

But the basic mood was celebration and Mr. Reagan beamed in revisiting the roots of the patriotism that he has made his campaign trademark. "Believe me, there are great days ahead for you, for America, and for the cause of human freedom," he said.

Dixonites gathered at the high school gym sang as if in counterpoint: "Every heart beats true for the red, white and blue."

Mr. Reagan was jaunty in celebrating "the 34th anniversary of my 39th birthday." "I believe Moses was 80 when God first called him to public service," he said, smiling.

Then he added that Jefferson said Presidents should be judged by their deeds, not their years. "And ever since he told me that," Mr. Reagan added,

arousing laughter at Dixon High School, "I've stopped worrying. There are those who say I've stopped worrying."

The President capped his visit home with a nostalgic, partisan review of five decades of Federal history, from Franklin D. Roosevelt's reassuring voice on the radio to a "new realism" laid claim to by Mr. Reagan in his dealings with the Soviet Union.

"It re-establishes the basis of that broad foreign policy consensus that existed in the pre-Vietnam era when we understood the moral imperatives of defending freedom and the importance of taking totalitarian powers seriously," the President told the students and faculty here at Eureka College, his alma mater. He was graduated 52 years ago with a degree in economics and sociology.

A Younger Reagan, In Verse

Visitors who crowded into this area could note how the candidate's now familiar ebullience was in contrast to some verse written by a 17-year-old Ronald Reagan that was printed in the day's official souvenir program. The teen-ager's thoughts, titled "Life," concluded this way:

*We hang onto a jaded life
A life of sorrow and pain.
A life that warps and breaks us,
And we try to run through it again.*

Mr. Reagan's Eureka address, inaugurating a promotional program for Time magazine cover personalities, included campaign claims of having slowed the "juggernaut of big government." While the Democrats are holding Mr. Reagan directly responsible for the \$180 billion deficit in his 1985 budget proposal, the President took a different approach.

He Focuses on 'Desert'

"Politicians at the national level must no longer be permitted to mortgage your future by running up higher and higher deficits," he said.

His main campaigning focus was on the "spiritual desert that is Communism" and his emphatic insistence, more gently worded than past denunciations of the Soviet Union's "evil empire," on the United States's moral superiority over totalitarian governments.

"For us, human freedom is a first

principle, not a bargaining chip," the President said. "To fail to publicly enunciate the differences between totalitarian and democratic systems of government would be to forsake this moral high ground."

In contrast with earlier addresses, Mr. Reagan offered no blunt denunciations of Moscow. Instead, the President was pacific in tone, apparently reflecting his political strategists' counsel about countering Democratic attempts to exploit the peace issue.

Touching on 1980 Themes

"We've tried to bring a new honesty and moral purposefulness to our foreign policy," he said. "To show we can be candid about the essential differences between ourselves and others while still pursuing peace initiatives with them."

In saying he had reversed "America's retreat" in foreign policy, the President referred to some of his favorite 1980 themes, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the seizing in Iran of American hostages. He did not refer to the foreign event Democrats now consider his major weakness, the death of 241 American servicemen last October in Lebanon in a terrorist bombing.

"We're trying to see it that American citizens, and it doesn't matter whether they are Navy pilots in the Gulf of Sidra or medical students in Grenada, can no longer be attacked or their lives endangered with impunity," the President said.

"It strikes me as odd that some people say today that college students are too conservative," he said, complimenting Eureka students for having discovered early in life "the fundamental deencies" of work, courage, courtesy and politeness.

Throughout the day, Mr. Reagan struck his favored theme of the home-spun morality he finds in the nation. "Our greatest strength is not bullets or balance sheets," he told Dixon. "But the mighty spirit of free people under God." He emphasized the constant he cherishes: "We know we were never meant to be second best, and we never will be."

In remembering the "rich, reassuring tone of Franklin Roosevelt" on the



President Reagan, his wife, Nancy, and his brother, Neil, visiting the house in Dixon, Ill., where the President lived from 1920 to 1924.

radio, President Reagan quickly noted that he was now a "reformed New Dealer." In the grip of the Depression, he said, "many of us could not see the enormous and oftentimes harmful political changes" he contended had since been wrought by the Federal Government.

Dixon would have never evolved from a simple ferry stop to its present middle-class prosperity, the President

said, if the founding fathers "had to fill out environmental impact statements and report to regulatory agencies in Washington."

The President's day ended with one of the more abrupt cultural shifts imaginable, an evening flight from the frigid, rural charms of the prairie to the hermetic hotel world of Las Vegas, where he is to deliver a speech Tuesday to a trade group.

Campaign Notes

Ex-Mississippi Governor To Seek U.S. Senate Seat

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 6 (UPI) — Former Gov. William Winter, ending weeks of speculation, announced today that he would seek the Democratic nomination to oppose Senator Thad Cochran.

Mr. Winter, a 60-year-old lawyer whose term as Governor ended last month, had been urged by Democrats across the country to take on Mr. Cochran. Mississippi has been targeted by national Democrats as a key state in the effort to recapture control of the Senate, now divided 55-45.

In announcing the decision today, Mr. Winter called the Senate "the greatest lawmaking body in the world" and Senator Cochran, who is 46, "a most worthy opponent."

Representative David Bowen, who had been considered likely to run, stood by as Mr. Winter made his announcement and then announced he would not seek the nomination himself. "I do not think we need the two strongest Democratic candidates to oppose each other in a primary," the Congressman said.

Governor Winter had been studying the race for weeks, but his decision was a closely guarded secret until the announcement. He estimated it would cost \$1 million, perhaps up to \$2 million, to wage a successful campaign.

Mr. Winter, whose term was highlighted by passage of an ambitious educational reform program, was prohibited by the State Constitution from seeking re-election.

McGovern Says Lebanon Isn't Great U.S. Concern

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6 (Reuters) — George McGovern said today that Lebanon was not of great strategic concern to the United States and that Israel should be called upon to protect Lebanese independence.

In an interview with news agency reporters, the former Senator from South Dakota who is seeking the Democratic Presidential nomination said he thought the Marines in Lebanon should be withdrawn quickly, whether an international peacekeeping force was available to replace them or not.

"It is not an area of fundamental strategic significance to the United States," Mr. McGovern said. "I'd put that very low on the priority scale." He added, "It is a fundamental national interest to Israel."

Asked what would happen if radical Muslims loyal to Iran's Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini seized power in the vacuum of an American withdrawal, Mr. McGovern said he thought "the

New Center Moves Democrats From Machine Age to TV Age

By DUDLEY CLENDINEN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3 — Behind the brick facade of an unimposing house in northeast Washington is a Democratic weapon for the 1980s.

The Democratic Media Center, a

tube." Driven, he said, by the conviction of a visionary, when he became chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee three years ago, Mr. Coelho made a decision that drew fire from his colleagues.

Instead of pursuing the usual prac-

tion from county machine to video machine.

For two decades, as more and more people came to rely on television as their primary source of news, Republicans and Democrats alike came to rely more and more on professional consultants

Several years earlier, to bring the Democrats along the path, the Republican Party set up a studio in the Eisenhower Center where the Republican National Committee is housed. The support of an elder generation of powerful Democrats was required.

appearances and campaign promises to draw from, as well as a selection of professional announcing voices and sound effects. A computer can locate the desired background noise in about 15 seconds.

The center's first public effort

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S INSPIRATIONAL SPEECH TO HIS COLLEGE ALMA MATER IN EUREKA, ILL.

Returning to the roots of freedom

President Reagan made a major address last night at his college alma mater in Eureka, Ill. Highlights of the speech follow.

FOR those of us in public life, proximity to daily events can be as much a handicap as an advantage in understanding their meaning.

And that's what struck me when I was thinking about what I wanted to say here today: the ease, the unknowing grace with which my generation accepted technological and political changes that so radically transformed our world. We didn't know then that ours was one of those infrequent generations that would preside over a great transition period. We went in a single lifetime literally from horse and buggy to space travel.

In 1932 I graduated from Eureka and landed a job in radio. By that time of course, the market had crashed, the Depression years were upon us and over the radio sets came the rich, reassuring tones of Franklin Roosevelt. All of us who lived through those years, can remember the drabness the Depression brought, but we remember too how people pulled together — that sense of community and shared values, that belief in American enterprise and democracy that saw us through. It was that ingrained American optimism, that sense of hope Roosevelt so brilliantly summoned and mobilized.

It was a time of economic emergency, and there seemed a certain logic to arguments that the national government should take on to itself new and sweeping prerogatives. In the grip of that emergency, many of us could not see

'Faith in the future has been reawakened'

the enormous and oftentimes harmful political change that this expanded role for the government would bring.

Once again, as I look back, the rapidity of that political change was as astonishing as the change brought by technology. At the start of that era, government collected in taxes a dime out of every dollar earned; two-thirds of that went to state and local governments with only one-third to Washington. Today, government at all levels is collecting more than 60 cents of every dollar earned; and the proportion is completely reversed, with two-thirds of that going to the federal government and only one-third for state and local governments.

My generation was a bit surprised to realize that the federal govern-

ment, called upon in an economic emergency, was becoming an obstacle to economic progress. In addition to damaging the autonomy of local and state governments and usurping the rights of the people, the public sector had grown so large it was consuming our national wealth, discouraging energy and initiative and suffocating the spirit of enterprise and resourcefulness that had always been at the heart of America's economic miracle.

In the Depression years and their aftermath, we forgot that first, founding lesson of the American Republic: That without proper restraints, government the servant becomes quickly government the master.

I remember quoting a few of these warnings, long after I had left radio for films, television and after-dinner speeches. By that time, this reformed New Dealer could add one observation of his own: that a government agency is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth. Yet, even as the decades of the '50s and '60s went by, and more Americans shared my concern, government grew like Topsy. In the decade of the '70s, federal spending tripled, taxes doubled, and the national debt reached almost a trillion dollars. Government bureaus, agencies, and employment rolls kept multiplying. It had become too easy for politicians to promise more to win more; to spend their way to election victories.

Fortunately, that juggernaut of big government has now been slowed. During the last three years, we've brought skyrocketing spending back to Earth and reduced that enormous momentum toward big government. It wasn't easy but measure the results by our ability to achieve what people once said was impossible: Federal spending growth has been cut by more than half. Government regulations have been cut by more than a quarter. And taxes on working Americans have actually been reduced and indexed to the rate of inflation. A working family earning \$25,000 has \$1,500 more in purchasing power today because of the cut in taxes and the lowered rate of inflation.

Today economic recovery is in full swing. But I hope we can use these moments of reflection today to understand the hard lessons we've learned since the Depression about the growth of government. We need some basic reforms that will protect us against government's

all too powerful tendency to grow and grow. For one thing, it's time for the federal government, in the best federalist tradition, to learn something from successful experiments in the state and local laboratories of government. The evidence from states and many municipalities is overwhelming: The executive branch needs a powerful weapon to cut out porkbarrelling and special interest expenditures buried in large catch-all appropriation bills. It's time the Congress gave the president the authority to veto single-line items in the federal budget as governors can in 43 of our states.

And, second, politicians at the national level must no longer be permitted to mortgage your future by running



President Reagan holds a special ceremonial key to his boyhood home in Dixon, Ill. before he and the First Lady entered the house yesterday. He was honored on his 73d birthday in Dixon before going on to make a speech at his alma mater in nearby Eureka.

a tax code that is fair, rewarding, and simple enough to be understood by someone other than an array of green-shaded accountants and lawyers.

Now in addition to the technological revolution marked by inventions

'We forgot the first lesson of the American Republic'

like radio, and the political revolution brought on by the sweeping new scope of federal power, there has been an additional development worth noting. That is the emergence of America's international role; our sudden designation as the champion of peace and human freedom in the struggle against totalitarianism. We didn't seek this leadership; it was thrust upon us.

'The juggernaut of big government has been slowed'

up higher and higher deficits. The time has come to force government to live within its means; and I repeat my call today for making a balanced budget a constitutional requirement. And finally, our tax system is now a nightmare of tangled requirements and twisted priorities. The American people want and deserve

Partly in response to the Vietnam tragedy, an era of paralyzing self-doubt ruled out just and legitimate uses of American power, even acts of self-defense.

The consequences of America's retreat were not long in coming. All of you can remember a few years back when the tragedy of the Iranian hostages was fresh in our minds; when around the world, especially in Afghanistan and Central America, Soviet expansionism proceeded unchecked; when our defenses had declined dramatically; and some nations thought they could threaten or harm the United States with impunity.

We've changed this. We're trying to see to it

'Too easy for politicians to spend their way to election victories'

that American citizens — and it doesn't matter whether they are Navy pilots in the Gulf of Sidra or medical students in Grenada — can no longer be attacked or their lives endangered with impunity. Yet, it goes beyond just self-defense. When I spoke to the British Parliament a year-and-a-half ago, I said our cause was human freedom; and so it has been: in Eu-

ropa, in Lebanon, in Central America. We've tried to bring a new honesty and moral purposefulness to our foreign policy, to show we can be candid about the essential differences between ourselves and others while still pursuing peace initiatives with them.

Our willingness to speak out on these distinctions is the moral center of our foreign policy. For us, human freedom is a first principle, not a bargaining chip. To fail to publicly enunciate the differences between totalitarian and democratic systems would be to forsake this moral high ground.

Peace remains our highest aspiration and that's why arms control isn't enough; arms reduction is our goal. But then, as we have tried to communicate to the people of the Soviet Union, would it not be better to do away with nuclear weapons entirely? I think our new realism is an important means to this end. Just as important, it re-establishes the basis of that broad foreign policy consensus that existed in the pre-Vietnam era when we understood the moral

'Freedom is a first principle, not a bargaining chip'

imperatives of defending freedom and the importance of taking totalitarian powers seriously.

And here I want to point out that the political revolutions we've seen in America in domestic and international policy are only a reflection of a deeper trend: a trend that directly concerns the world you have been part of here at Eureka, the world of ideas.

There has been a dramatic turnaround among the intellectuals. For most of my adult life, the intellectual has been entranced and enamored with the idea of state power, the notion that enough centralized authority concentrated in the hands of the right-minded people can reform mankind and usher in a brave new world.

We know now that the trend in America and the democracies has been just the other way. In the political world, the cult of the state is dying; so too the romance of the intellectual world is focused these days on the concerns of human freedom, on the importance of transcendent and enduring values.

Here in America, this revolution has been spearheaded for 30 years by intellectual precursors like William F. Buckley's National Review.

It's been supplemented recently by what's called the "neo-conservative" revolution led by Irving Kristol, Midge Deeter, Norman Podhoretz and others.

If there is one thought I would leave with you today it is this: For all the momentous change of the last 50 years, it is still the great civilized truths — values of fami-

'The cult of the state is dying'

ly, work, neighborhood, and religion — that fuel America's technological and material progress, and put the spark to our enduring passion for freedom.

We are lucky to live in a time when these traditional values and faith in the future, this sense of hope, has been reawakened in our country. Yet we have so much more to achieve: from assuring continued economic growth, to developing space — America's next frontier — to keeping the peace and extending the borders of freedom. You in this room can play a personal part in these next chapters of human progress.

Now I know you have a sense of excitement about all of this, and that's why it strikes me as odd that some people say today that college students are too conservative. I think the truth is that you've discovered early in life what it took another great American writer, F. Scott Fitzgerald, many tumultuous years to discover. Toward the end of his life, he would write to his daughter in college about the importance of what he called the fundamental deonities.

"My generation of radicals and breakers-down," he said, "never found anything to take the place of the old virtues of work and courage and the old graces of courtesy and politeness."

I hope you'll remember that, and something else F. Scott Fitzgerald once said — that America is "a willingness of the heart." In the past half century, America has had its flirtation with statism but we are returning now to our roots: limited government, the defense of freedom, faith in the future and in our God. With these values as guides, the future can be even more breathtaking than the last 50 years because it will hold out not only the promise of sweeping improvements in mankind's material conditions but progress in the spiritual and moral realm as well. And that's why I hope that 50 years from now, you'll be able to recall an era exciting beyond all of your dreams. Believe me, there are great days ahead for you, for America, and for the cause of human freedom.

REAGAN HAILS NEW ERA OF U.S. PRIDE & POWER

'faith in the future'

By NILES LATHAM
Bureau Chief

EUREKA, Ill. — President Reagan yesterday declared that the U.S. has emerged with power and confidence from "an era of paralyzing self-doubt" growing out of Vietnam that threatened American lives abroad.

In a speech to students at Eureka College, his alma mater, Reagan charged that the tough foreign policy under Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy "began to break down in the 60s and 70s," forcing America into "retreat."

As a result, he said, "our defenses had declined dramatically and some nations thought they could threaten or harm the United States with impunity."

He specifically referred to the Iranian hostage crisis and the growth of "unchecked Soviet expansionism" in Afghanistan and Central America.

But under his administration, Reagan declared, "we've changed this."

"We're trying to see to it that American citizens — and it doesn't matter whether they are Navy pilots in the Gulf of Sidra or medical students in Grenada — can no longer be attacked or their lives endangered with impunity."

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"We're trying to see to it that American citizens — and it doesn't matter whether they are Navy pilots in the Gulf of Sidra or medical students in Grenada — can no longer be attacked or

their lives endangered with impunity."

The President said he had re-established "the basis of that broad foreign policy consensus that existed in the pre-Vietnam era" — a time, he said, "when we understood the moral imperatives of defending freedom and the importance of taking totalitarian powers seriously."

"We've tried to bring a new honesty and moral purposefulness to our



THIS is President Reagan's new ride in the plush limo, complete with interior fluorescent lights to cheer up the President. As hundreds of people lined the streets in Dixon, Ill., Reagan took his first ride in the plush limo, complete with interior fluorescent lights to cheer up the President. The car has had the roof widened and protected.

Armored limo for the Prez

Highlights of Reagan's speech

See Page 33.

foreign-policy, to show we can be candid about the essential differences between ourselves and others while still pursuing peace initiatives with them."

The President said that under his leadership, the nation is returning to "our roots —

limited government, the defense of freedom, faith in the future and in our God."

"With these values as guides, the future can be even more breathtaking than the last 50 years."

Although Reagan is a declared candidate and his speech here had definite political overtones, White House aides said his trip was classified as "official," meaning the cost will be paid by the taxpayers.

Praise for small-town America

By NILES LATHAM
DIXON, Ill. — President Reagan praised the spirit of small-town America yesterday when he returned to his boyhood hometown on his 73d birthday.

The President toured his old home and was welcomed with a parade and an eight-layer cake.

Then, in remarks prepared for delivery in the Dixon High School gym, he spoke of the values that pulled this northern Illinois town of 18,000 through hard times and of America's "zeal for life and laughter."

"We look forward to the future," the President said. "We know we were never meant to be second best. And we never will be."

Declaring, "It's so easy

to have faith in America," he noted how Dixon was built as a ferry crossing of the Rock River and took a potshot at government regulations.

"I must say if [founder John] Dixon had to fill out environmental impact statements and report to regulatory agencies in Washington, Dixon would probably still be known as Dixon's Ferry."

"And our town might never have seen people like John Deere and the Walgreens, people with ingenuity, audacity and vision."

"We want to give today's pioneers the same chance Father Dixon had."

The reason I came



...ent outside his boyhood home in Nancy and his brother Neil.

Continued on Page 58

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 4, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BEN ELLIOTT ^{BE}

SUBJECT: Remarks for Trip to Dixon, Eureka, & Las Vegas

Attached are your remarks for Dixon, Eureka, and Las Vegas. Research could not verify the quotations by Cicero on page 5, paragraph 2, and Harold Ickes on page 11, paragraph 1, so we retained the thoughts but modified the language.

Also attached with your education speech is the pamphlet you will show the audience during the speech. It's noted on the teleprompter when to hold it up.

Thank you.