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I do promise to be brief today; 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.

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 Britton Hadden ~~Britton~~ envisioned when they founded the magazine in 1924: 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, as James Reston once suggested, 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.

In 1932, for example, I graduated from Eureka avid for a career in radio. I didn't realize 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. 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 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 KDKA several hundred miles away in Pittsburg<sup>h</sup>?

Yet it took only a few years for that sense of wonder to dissolve; and radio -- so exotic in the 1920's -- had 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 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, <sup>G</sup>overnment 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, <sup>G</sup>overnment 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 my generation was a bit surprised to realize that the Federal Government, called upon in an economic emergency, was becoming now 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. This is an American lesson, but, actually it's much older: <sup>↗</sup>"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 <sup>his</sup> ~~that~~ time, many nations that failed to heed the words of that wise Roman have been brought to their knees by governments borrowed and taxed their citizens into servitude.

But some peoples, like our Founding Fathers, revolted under such oppression. No one understood 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 sometimes speeches 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 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 70s, Federal spending tripled, taxes doubled, and the national debt      a trillion dollars. Government bureaus, agencies, and employment rolls kept multiplying and one program,

(Dolan)

February 1, 1984

7:00 p.m. → SS

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

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We've just come from Dixon where I attended my biggest birthday party ever. I had what every man who has 73 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.

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food stamps, even managed to grow by an incredible 16,000 percent.

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 slowed 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 than if taxes and inflation had remained at their 1980 level.

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 those 43 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.

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. 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 the 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 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 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 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 forsake 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 only when the Soviets realize their counterparts in negotiations have no illusions about their system and its intentions, do they settle down to 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 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 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 one member of the Roosevelt administration writing about the commonly-held 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 example, 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, 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.

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 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 him.

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 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 recite the Chambers story for its historical importance and because it represents the story of a generation's disenchantment with statism and its return to 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 provide the spark for 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. It's one reason why I'm looking forward to a few more years in Washington. We have so much more 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 day 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.

Thank you very much, God bless you and may God bless Eureka.

(Dolan)

February 1, 1984

5:00 p.m. ~~Staff~~ - Research of  
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But some peoples, like those who founded the American Republic, 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.

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government. Let's resolve to bring about some basic reforms, reforms that will build into our constitutional system additional safeguards against Government's all too powerful tendency to aggrandize itself.

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 the American people a tax code that is simple, direct, and capable of being understood by someone other than an army of greenshaded accountants and hungry tax lawyers.

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 much worth noting. That has been the emergence of America's international role and our sudden

designation as the champion of 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

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 Soviet system and its ultimate intentions 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 *deal* 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 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 <sup>communism</sup> the God that failed ~~communism.~~

It involved, coincidentally enough, an editor of Time Magazine, Whittaker Chambers, who in public testimony in 1948 named high Government officials ~~including Alger Hiss~~ as spys. He was not believed at first, <sup>but</sup> 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 <sup>one of those banner officials</sup> 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 "one of the most important autobiographies of our time."

<sup>marked the keying of</sup>  
Important because Chambers ~~related~~ his personal journey away from communism by <sup>on the</sup> noting ~~that one~~ day he was struck by the intricacy of his infant daughter's ear, 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.~~ *him.*

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 ~~recite~~ the Chambers story here not only for its historical importance but because -- in microcosm -- it 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 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, this faith in the future, this sense of hope, has been reawakened in our country. It's one reason why I look foward so much to 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 <sup>day</sup> ~~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.

(Dolan)  
February 1, 1984  
2:00 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, 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, and I had there what every man who has 73 candles on his birthday cake should have 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?" 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.



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; 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 more care and perspective than is usually possible under the deadline pressure of daily journalism. ~~And now Time has decided to sponsor a series of speeches by those of us newsmakers who've been on their covers.~~

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 proximity to daily events can

be as much an 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.

In 1932, for example, I graduated from Eureka avid for a career in radio; though I didn't know it 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 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 KDDA several hundred miles away in Pittsburg?

Yet it took only a few years for that sense of wonder to dissolve; and radio -- so exotic in the 1920's -- had 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 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 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 began to realize that the Federal Government, brought to the fore 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 ~~is~~ the servant, becomes quickly Government ~~to~~ the oppressor. I say, of course, that this is an American lesson but 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 words of that wise Roman have been brought to their knees by governments that ran up their debts and then taxed their citizens into servitude when the bills came due.

But some peoples, like those who founded the American Republic, 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 ~~out~~ working ~~some~~ <sup>somebody</sup> ~~nights~~ 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 see on this earth. Yet even as the decades of the 50's and 60's went by and an increasing numbers of Americans shared my concern, Government grew like topsy. In the 70s, Federal spending tripled and taxes doubled, the national debt went up by

X 260 percent --~~from~~<sup>to</sup> 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.

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 has been reduced by \_\_\_\_\_, Government regulations have been cut for an annual savings of \_\_\_\_\_ manhours and taxes on working Americans have actually been reduced and indexed to the rate of inflation.

Today the economic recovery is in full swing. But let's use these moments of reflection today to understand the hard lessons