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MONITOR

*The Voice of Industry in
New York State...since 1914*



MARCH 1963

PLEADER FOR ACTION NOW
(pages 1 and 4)

A Time for Choosing

by RONALD REAGAN

The time for choosing — to shape our own destiny or abdicate to those who are doing it for us — is now. What is happening — and our hard choices — are set forth in this powerful statement by the author of *OUR ERODING FREEDOM**

Early in this century a President who served in a time of easy going, with no crisis to underline his name in history, revealed something of the gift of prophecy. He said, "A revolution is taking place which will leave the people dependent on government. Finding markets will develop into fixing prices and finding employment. Next step will be to furnish markets and employment or in default pay a bounty or dole. Those who look with apprehension on these tendencies do not lack humanity but are influenced by the belief that the result of such measures will be to deprive the people of character and liberty."

Good People Stand Confused

Today those who "look with apprehension on these tendencies" are not only charged with "lacking humanity" but are, more often than not, assailed as reactionaries and right-wing extremists. Many people of good will stand confused in the highly emotional atmosphere which colors the exchange of charge and countercharge.

The world today is faced with a choice between totalitarianism and freedom. All of us are conscious of the threat of the bomb. Speaking for the enemy Lenin said "If it should become necessary to kill three quarters of all the people in the world it would be worth it if the remaining one quarter were commu-

nist." This kind of threat is easy to understand. Not so simple is the relating of our domestic difference to the world struggle.

We have come to a time for choosing and we should recognize that two contrary philosophies divide us. Either we believe in our traditional system of individual freedom with constitutional limits on the power of government, or we abandon the American Revolution and confess that an intellectual elite in some far distant capital can plan for us better than we can plan for ourselves.

Asked how long our Republic would endure, James Russell Lowell, when Minister to England replied, "It will last just so long as the people retain the ideas of the men who created that Republic." What were those ideas? Very simply — you and I have God-given rights, among them freedom and the ability to determine our own destiny. Government's only excuse for being is to see that no individual or group in our midst and no outside aggressor can take this freedom from us. Government is a watchdog, not a cow to be milked.

There have only been a few moments of freedom in all man's his-

tory and most of those moments have been ours. But freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction. We can pass it on to our children only if we are determined to defend it and cherish it. The late Judge Learned Hand said, "Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women. When it dies there no constitution, no law, no court can save it."

Lose by Our Own Acts

From our Nation's beginning we have been warned that freedom can be lost inadvertently by our own acts. A more recent warning was voiced by Nikita Khrushchev when he told the Rumanian railway workers, "I am convinced that tomorrow the red flag will fly over the U.S., but we will not fly the flag. It will be the Americans themselves."

Today under the unremitting pressure of the cold war there is a widespread belief that all the problems of human need can be solved by government. We are told that our traditional system of individual liberty is incapable of solving the complex problems of the twentieth century — we must have a government-controlled and planned economy. Howard K. Smith (rather prominent lately for T.V. activities) has written, "The market mechanism and the profit motives have outlived their usefulness . . . The dis-

*OUR ERODING FREEDOM by Ronald Reagan, appeared in MONITOR of March, 1961. Acclaimed throughout the nation, more than 50,000 reprints have been sold—and may still be obtained from MONITOR.

tribution of goods must be effected by a planned economy. The profit motive must be replaced by the incentives of the welfare state."

Do Not Stand Firm

A U.S. Senator has said "The Soviet experiment in socialism is no more radical for these times than was the American Declaration of Independence in the time of George III." And White House advisor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. writes, "There seems to be no inherent obstacle to the gradual advance of socialism in the U.S. through a series of new deals" . . . He sees the cold war disappearing, "through a peaceful transition into a not undemocratic socialism." In other words, we will not stand firm for a choice between our free system and communism but will move to the left and the Communists, losing their fear and mistrust, will come to the right or, as the poet Frost said on his return from Moscow, "Communism is coming down to socialism and we are coming up from capitalism." (I challenge his directions).

What this really means is that we tell a billion of our fellow humans now enslaved behind the Iron Curtain, to give up their hopes of freedom because we've decided to get along with their slave masters.

What of this choice they would offer us as a means of escaping the bomb? True the Socialists are enemies of the men in the Kremlin—but only because they believe these ruthless men have brutally perverted the teachings of Karl Marx. The Socialists themselves are still dedicated to the abolition of private property, the free economy—indeed, freedom itself as we have known it. And they are not unaware of the tide running in their favor. A member of the English Fabian Socialist Society has written, "Of course we don't want a Russian victory—but we don't want an American victory either." They see their Utopian dream coming true through the efforts of Americans who only advocate the liberal welfare philosophy. Now let me make it plain—I don't think the overwhelming majority of liberals would knowingly support a

socialist or communist takeover. I believe they are sincere, patriotic and motivated by the most humanitarian ideals. It would be immoral and foolish to infer otherwise. But it would be equally foolish to let them have their way without opposition. If someone is setting fire to the house it doesn't make much difference whether he is a deliberate arsonist or just being careless with matches—the end result is the same.

Plutarch said, "The real destroyer of the liberties of the people is he who spreads among them bounties, donations and benefits." Thomas Jefferson predicted future happiness for the people if, "We can prevent government from wasting the labors of the people under the pretense of taking care of them."

Those who see only government as an answer to human misery, should ask themselves, what happens to freedom when the executive branch of government can use the power granted it by the people, and the tax money collected from the people, to coerce the people. Government tends to grow. Government programs take on a weight and momentum of their own, and they assume an immortality that gives them life beyond the duration of the emergency that brought them into being. We see today a permanent structure of government so big and complex it is almost beyond comprehension and beyond the control of Congress.

The Rural Electrification Administration is an example of this seeming immortality. Twenty-five years ago to live on a farm was to be without the advantage of electricity. The Rural Electrification Administration was created and, together with public and investor owned utilities, it has brought about the almost complete distribution of electricity to rural areas. Ninety-eight percent of the farms in America have power. But Rural Electrification Administration does not go into retirement or even settle back to a minor role of supervision now that the job has been accomplished. This year its budget went up another \$170

million to almost a half billion per year.

Our government today is engaged in operating and running more than 17,500 businesses covering 47 different lines of activity. These businesses operate tax-free, rent-free and dividend-free. They compete openly with our tax-paying citizens and in the process, each year, they lose almost as many billions of dollars as are collected by the Federal government from all of the personal income tax.

But some tell us that government spending is a necessity. That in this near theory of government it is government spending that stimulates the economy and brings about growth and prosperity. Well, let's take a look at some of this government spending and what a stimulant it's been. There has been no greater spending in any single area of the United States than has been done over the last couple of decades by TVA—The Tennessee Valley Authority—the great power trust of our government. And yet in the 169 counties of that area, in spite of all this spending, the Labor Department declares that 50 percent more of those counties are permanent areas of poverty, distress and unemployment.

Five Supporting the Sixth

There are today over two and one-half million Federal employees. In 1942, there was one top-salaried executive among them for every eighty-nine government employees. Today there's one for every seventeen. Now I don't mean that this should be taken as a blanket indictment of all those who serve the public in positions of government trust. As a matter of fact, the many fine public servants employed at all levels of government are the first to suffer from this unwarranted growth of government. All too often they're denied a fair return for their labor because of the necessity of

Long one of Hollywood's most vigorous public-minded citizens, television and motion picture star Ronald Reagan tenaciously has fought Communism and other influences harmful to the entertainment industry and our historic American values. He has been a director of the Screen Actors Guild since 1941, served as its president for five and a half years starting in 1947, and was again elected president of the group in 1959. He graduated from Eureka College in Illinois with an A.B. degree in economics and sociology and was a sports announcer before being signed by Warner Bros. Studios. Still an avid sports enthusiast, Mr. Reagan owns and operates "Yearling Row," a San Fernando Valley breeding farm for race horses.



employees, with duplication and with waste. Ex-Secretary of Commerce Hodges recently received front-page attention when he said that he could run the Department of Commerce with ten percent fewer employees than were now in that department. And one month later he'd added 1600 new employees.

At this moment for every six people earning a living in the United States, one is employed by government. Every five of us earning a living are paying the full salary of a sixth employee. Today there are 48 million Americans receiving some direct cash payment from government and 38 million of these are receiving it from the Federal government. Federal welfare spending in the last ten years has multiplied and increased eight times as much as the increase in population. Now, in the District of Columbia, in the shadow of the Capitol, they are investigating the recipients of public welfare. Of the people interviewed so far, 58 percent have been found to be receiving public welfare dishonestly.

Hallmarks of Socialism

Last May speaking on NBC, the well known American Socialist Upton Sinclair said, "I don't think we've ever been as near socialism as we are at this hour. I'm satisfied to call it progressive or advanced democracy, or whatever you please."

Recently John Kenneth Galbraith, our Ambassador to India, addressed an Indian audience. He told them that under their socialist government they had only managed to nationalize thirteen to fourteen percent of their economy. And then he boasted that in America already one fifth of the industrial capacity of our nation is planned, fully controlled and disposed of by government. A government may be the most benevolent, the most well-meaning in the world, but when it attempts to control the economy and operate the production of a nation, it must eventually use coercion and force to achieve its purposes.

Under "Urban Renewal" we have seen protection of the ownership of private property diluted until today "public use" is whatever government planners decide it shall be. The Cleveland Plain Dealer reported that the Federal Housing Administration stopped the construction of an eight million dollar apartment building because it might compete

for tenants with a nearby Urban Renewal program.

I am convinced that tomorrow the red flag will fly over the U.S., but we will not fly the flag. It will be the Americans themselves. — Khrushchev

Since 1933, the Congress of the United States has passed laws governing us that fill eleven thick volumes. At the same time, the agencies and bureaus of the government have passed regulations controlling us that fill fifty-nine such thick volumes. Many of these regulations permit agencies to bring a citizen before the agency for punishment. Many of them are "final and not subject to review by any courts." We have virtually lost the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution — our protection against search and seizure. How many of us realize that today Federal agents can invade a man's property if they suspect him of violating a regulation—not a law, a regulation—and they can impose a fine without a formal hearing, let alone a trial by jury? And if a fine isn't paid, they can seize and hold his property or sell it at auction to enforce the payment.

Last summer a man in New York State—a dairy farmer by the name of Stalker—found his cows weren't giving enough milk to satisfy his customers needs. He went into the market and bought cream in twenty-quart containers to augment his supply. He has been fined \$21,000, the fine not subject to review by any court. The fine? Because he violated a regulation of the dairy program that said in buying the cream he shouldn't buy it in anything larger than two-quart containers.

In the South a farm valued at \$300,000 is sold at auction by the government for \$60,000 to enforce payment of a penalty for violating a rice-planting quota.

A boy with a five-acre cotton allotment overplants by a fraction of one acre. His penalty is \$52, but in the meantime weather destroys his crop so he plows it under and joins the Navy. The Government spent \$61 sending a man to San Diego to collect the \$52.

It's no wonder farmers are in trouble. One bulletin takes 750 words to define a farm and another 700 words to explain how to apply the definition. Try this on for size —

Cotton MO bulletin + Handbook 501 (Rev. 3). 722.2 Definitions as used in 722.1 to 722.51 and in all documents and forms in connection therewith. Unless the context or sub. matter otherwise requires the following terms shall have the following meanings and the masculine shall include the feminine and neuter genders and the singular shall include the plural . . . Well, you know, if exciting reading like that catches on—television's going right out the window!

We've Had 30 Years

We've had thirty years to see the connection between subsidy and control; thirty years in which our government has invaded a section of our economy — the agricultural area — trying to control the production of a surplus. Today the surplus is bigger than ever and so is the program. We've paid a billion dollars to farmers not to plant. We've spent four billion dollars paying them to fertilize and telling them how to increase the crop yield per acre. In ten years, the farm support program has cost the Americans twenty-six billion dollars in an effort to control this surplus — surplus? — and yet in that same period we have imported farm products from foreign countries valued at forty-two billion dollars. Each year we pay enough for not growing wheat to buy eight loaves of bread for every person in America every day of the year.

Recently a reclamation project was dedicated that's going to take water from the west slope of the Rockies and tunnel it through to the east slope. It's the Arkansas Frying Pan Reclamation Project. It will prorate out at a cost of \$296 for every acre irrigated. But there's a government agency standing by waiting to pay them \$40 an acre not to plant the land after they get the water. In Blair, Nebraska, the country club had fourteen acres of ground it didn't need, leased it to a neighboring farmer who planted corn. Now they've decided to enlarge the golf course so they took the fourteen acres back and the government sent the country club a check for \$288 for taking corn land out of production.

In the past three years six government agencies have spent upward of thirty-five million dollars telling poultry raisers how to increase egg production. At the same time a seventh government agency has spent twelve million dollars buying sur-

plus eggs. We adopt a feed grain program to protect the family farmer and some of the family farmers we are saving—well, the Louisiana State Penitentiary gets \$45,000 a year from this program, the Waterloo, Iowa, airport \$5,800 and the Kearny, Nebraska airport \$6,700. The city of St. Louis is a family farmer to the tune of \$12,000 a year.

Plan for Complete Control

Only 20 percent of the farm economy is in this program of regulation and subsidy. Eighty percent of farming is still out in the open market, governed only by the laws of supply and demand. Most farmers believe today and have testified that they believe farming should be returned to this free competitive system. But government never admits that it can be at fault and so the government revealed what its thinking was as it suggested a cure to the farm mess in the Omnibus Farm Bill defeated last year by Congress.

The 80 percent of free farming should be brought into the program with the 20 percent and to that end they demanded a program requiring a Federal license for the planting, the harvesting and distribution of all the 256 agricultural products in this nation. This program would have meant that even a housewife couldn't have planted a backyard garden without getting a Federal license before she put the seeds in the ground.

In the same bill they asked for the right to fine and imprison farmers who would not keep books as prescribed by the Federal government. The Secretary of Agriculture asked for the right to buy farms at his discretion through condemnation, forced buying, and to resell them to private individuals if he so chose. They also asked for the right to turn over all food surplus and the receipt of the sale of all such surplus to the United Nations.

Now we have a Depressed Areas Bill and we see more government red tape unfurl. There's a little town in Central California, an agricultural community, that has just established a record for prosperity—that is, by virtue of retail sales and personal bank deposits—but under this new bill the government has declared it a depressed area. It seems that in the summertime in this agricultural community a canning company opens to can the vegetables. Some of the housewives get a few weeks work

there and pick up some fall spending money. Then someone pointed out that after the canning company closed they were eligible for unemployment insurance so they've been doubling their take. Now they're depressed because, under this bill, the Labor Department determines depressed areas on the basis of applications for unemployment insurance. Now they're really going to be depressed because the entire prosperity of the community depends on importing migrant farm pickers—crop pickers—every spring and they cannot do this under the Depressed Areas Bill so they have a committee in Washington asking that they be declared undepressed and the government says "lie down and be depressed!"

The real destroyer of the liberties of the people is he who spreads among them bounties, donations and benefits.

— Plutarch

On the international scene we find the same pattern of uncontrolled and unreasoning growth. We set out to help nineteen war-ravaged countries. Today we are helping 97 and we have spent over a hundred billion dollars.

I think that Christian charity — charity of the God of Moses — requires that we should share of our superfluous goods with our needy neighbors, but I don't think it requires us to go into debt to see that he has an egg in his beer. Dr. Howard Kershner, speaking to the Prime Minister of Lebanon recently, reported a conversation in which the Prime Minister said that his little country had balanced its budget every year, had no debt, no deficit, no inflation and had increased its gold holdings from twenty million to a hundred seventy million dollars. When he had finished, Dr. Kershner said, "Mr. Prime Minister, my country hasn't balanced its budget in 26 out of the last 32 years. Our debt is greater than the combined debt of all the nations of the world. We're losing gold so fast that the very stability of our currency is in danger. We have chronic inflation. Do you think that under these circumstances we should continue to give your country millions of dollars each year?" And the Prime Minister said, "No, but if

you're foolish enough to do it, we're going to keep on taking the money."

While Congress debated lending \$100 million to the United Nations our State Department gave the United Nations \$217 million out of aid funds and the United Nations used a part of that money to pay the dues of other nations in the United Nations. One of the countries we helped in this way — Castro's Cuba. Government outside of its legitimate duties does nothing as well or as economically as the private sector of the economy.

Sky-Soaring Costs

No one would challenge the fine purpose or noble goal of the "Peace Corps." Indeed we've proven this over a long period of years with our support of missions to every corner of the world. One such endeavor sponsored by a religious order sends volunteers abroad and cost of training and maintenance is \$900 a year for each volunteer. The Peace Corps started at a prorated cost of \$9000 per volunteer and already that cost has gone to \$22,000.

All of us, I'm sure, accept our responsibility for those less fortunate. Who among us would not agree that no one, regardless of age, should be denied medical attention because of an inability to pay? Yet the advocates of "Medicare" answered all arguments against this plan with the charge that their opponents were against the humanitarian goal. This is nothing less than dishonest evasion of legitimate debate.

With all of us agreed on the necessity of solving the problem shouldn't we begin by determining the extent of the problem? A great social revolution has taken place almost unnoticed in this last decade. Today more than 136 million Americans have some kind of medical or hospital insurance. This is an increase of four million just since last year and it includes more than 50 percent of our senior citizens. Nine percent of the population is over age 65. This nine percent can't be entirely destitute because they receive eight percent of all the personal revenue in the United States. As nearly as can be determined not quite ten percent of this age group would be unable to meet medical expenses of \$500 or more.

Under the recently adopted Kerr-Mills bill one state is meeting its problem in a highly satisfactory manner. Public funds are used to

buy insurance in Blue Cross with the premiums paid in full or in part, depending on the individual's needs. Thus a patient can choose doctor or hospital and there is no way to tell whether his insurance was provided by himself or by public funds.

In spite of this, supporters of Medicare insist the only solution for the needy ten percent is a compulsory program of government insurance covering all citizens — even those now insured and those possessed of great wealth or ample income. They advance Social Security as a proven example of compulsory government insurance and one capable of carrying the added burden of Medicare. Surely then they can't object if we examine this proven example.

No responsible person would suggest that our senior citizens who reach their non-earning years without savings or pensions should be denied a livelihood. You and I have been told that we and our employers are paying into a fund and that someday we will call upon this, our own money, to see us through. A hundred million pieces of literature, published by Social Security since 1939, tell us that this is an insurance program, but the Supreme Court has ruled that it is not an insurance program and that the dues are not insurance premiums but a general tax for the use of the government—and the government has used that money. There is no fund in the accepted sense of such terms.

Depriving Our Sons

An actuarial expert of Social Security has admitted that, as of this moment, Social Security is 298 billion dollars in the red. We pass this fiscal irresponsibility on to our sons — not to an unborn generation — because the young man going into the work force at an average salary will find that he and his employer are today paying in a dollar and sixty-nine cents for every dollar he can hope to receive back in benefits. That same amount of money would buy him an insurance policy paying \$220 a month when he reaches age 65, instead of the \$127 he will get from the compulsory government program.

Early in this century a great labor statesman, Samuel Gompers founder of the A.F.L., described government social insurance as a "menace to the rights, the welfare and the liberty of the working man."

Can we take the risk out of living without denying the freedom of choice? A national labor paper recently carried this banner on its front page, "The time has come to put into effect a single integrated Federal system guaranteeing cradle-to-grave security against the hazards of illness, disability, work injury and old age." Adolph Hitler said his National Socialism would give every German "freedom from want and cradle-to-grave security." More than a hundred years ago the Constitution of every slave state in the South specified that masters must provide adequate housing, food, medical care and old age benefits for all slaves. The only way they could lose security was by becoming free.

Hold on, my friends, to the Constitution of the United States of America and the the Republic for which it stands. Miracles do not cluster. What has happened once in six thousand years may never happen again. Hold on to your Constitution for if the Constitution shall fall there will be anarchy throughout the world.

— Daniel Webster

Always the central government seeks new areas for its participation. With our system based on government at the local level we have created the greatest public school system in the world. At the moment this system is beset by problems aggravated by the increase in population, inflation and the halt in building during the War years. Suddenly we are told that only Federal aid will solve our problems. This is, of course, the familiar cry and is based on the idea that money provides the answer to all problems. If this is so — has the Federal government found some new supply other than our pockets? And if the government increases the amount it takes from those pockets, is it not decreasing the amount left for local taxation and voluntary contributions to private educational institutions?

Here again we look at the actual problem and find it isn't in the dire emergency class some would have us believe. In the last ten years we've increased spending on schools at the local level one and a half times as much as our personal income has increased. Less than one percent of our school districts have reached the limit of their bonded indebted-

ness. Since 1959 we have increased the average teacher's salary from \$3200 to \$5400 a year and we've reduced the ratio of pupils per teacher. At the height of the debate we were told we must start a crash program to build 60,000 classrooms a year for the next ten years and then discover we've been building 70,000 classrooms for each of the last five years.

Plan for Federal Control

During all of the debate there was denial that Federal control was ever to be a part of Federal aid, and then Congress discovered a book already printed for use in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare called, *A Federal Education Agency for the Future*. The plain truth is that Federal control and a nationalized curriculum and school system is the unquestioned end result of Federal aid to education.

Professor Alexander Fraser Tytler, a noted historian, wrote "A democracy cannot exist as a permanent form of government. It can only exist until the voters discover they can vote themselves largess out of public treasury. From that moment on the majority always votes for the candidate promising benefits from the public treasury with the result that democracy always collapses over a loose fiscal policy always to be followed by a dictatorship."

Unfortunately the Professor was not writing a prophecy which we could choose to ignore. When he wrote this we were still a colony of Great Britain, and he was writing to explain what had destroyed the Athenian Republic more than 2000 years ago. We are running out of time. We are in about the same position as the man who had a complete physical examination and said to the doctor, "I can take it — give it to me straight. How much time have I got?" The doctor said, "Well let me put it this way — eat the best part of the chicken first!"

This year we have projected another dollar deficit. Interest payment on the debt calls for \$18,000 every sixty seconds, twenty-four hours of the day, day-in-day-out. But that's only the part showing above the surface. Already in legislation enacted into law, our government is obligated to pay out one and a quarter trillion dollars. This is an amount equal to four times the assessed valuation of all the real estate and all the tangible property in this country.

(See TIME FOR CHOOSING Page 18)

'Lyons Carpetbagger' Talks About Conservative Beliefs

Here Is Text of Address

By Ronald Reagan

(There has been a lot of talk in behalf of gubernatorial Democratic Candidate John J. McKeithen that Republican Candidate Charlton H. Lyons has so-called "Carpetbaggers" working for him—these "Carpetbaggers" being Jim Martin of Alabama and Ronald Reagan of California. Of course such political attack is ridiculous, for both men are ex-Democrats who left the Democratic Party to join the GOP when the Democratic Party began swinging leftward Mr. Martin ran for United States Senator as a Republican in Alabama two years ago and came within a few votes of defeating liberal Democratic Senator Lister Hill, who has been in Congress since shortly after World War I. Mr. Reagan also was born and reared as a Democrat until he saw his Party turning socialistic and switched to the Republican ranks. Mr. Martin has spoken twice in behalf of Mr. Lyons—at Shreveport and New Orleans. Mr. Reagan spoke at Lafayette. A recording of his speech was presented in Shreveport, Monroe and other cities. So that people of North Louisiana may know just what kind of "Carpetbaggers" support Mr. Lyons, The Times presents the text of Mr. Reagan's speech herewith—a speech that perhaps could not be excelled by any North Louisianian in its sound and solid conservatism.)

By RONALD REAGAN

For most of my adult life I was a Democrat. Born and raised a Democrat. I, too, came to the moment of discomfort with the party that I had grown up with—the realization that I could no longer lend support or go down the line with them. For those of you who have made this decision, understand something of the emotional wrench that accompanies such a decision. It was strange to me to find out at the moment of parting, what an ingrained loyalty there is, and how very difficult it is to sever the ties and to walk away from that party and turn to the party which you have always opposed. But, don't believe that any person, recognizing what is going on in America today, can legitimately do anything else.

It's time we ask ourselves if we still know the freedoms that were intended for us by the founding Fathers—those men who created the only true revolution that has ever taken place in man's history. Here was the only evolution that didn't just exchange one set of rulers for another set of rulers. Here, for the first time, we lighted a torch, two hundred years ago, that brought hope to the downtrodden of all the world because we said, at that we had found a more benevolent ruler, but here, for the first time, we have decided that

the nearest thing to 'eternal life' we will ever see on this earth. But when those in power, aid and abet this growth and believe in it, then we run the risk of reaching a point of no return where even a victory at the polls will make no change in government policy; then indeed, freedom is gone.

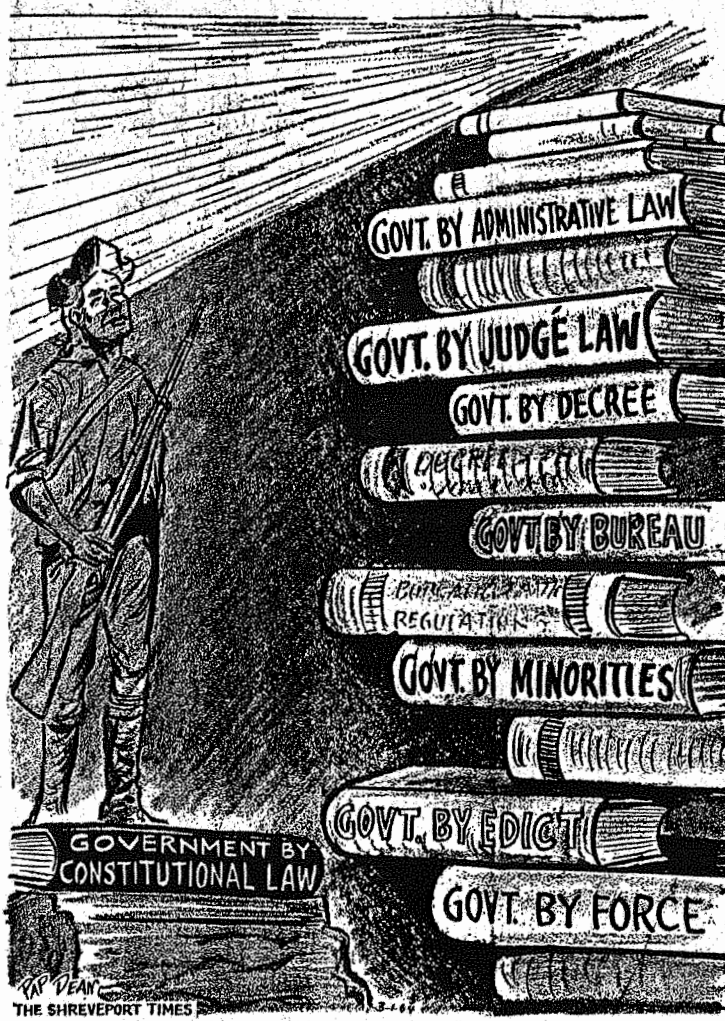
How close have we come? Well, while Congress was debating a year ago to find out whether you and I wanted to lend a hundred million dollars to the United Nations, the State-Department, without asking anyone's permission, gave the United Nations 217 million dollars of our money and they used that money, part of it, to pay the delinquent dues of Castro's Cuba.

A year ago the Congress of the United States legislated into law a denial of foreign aid to any nation selling oil to Cuba. There were to be NO exceptions. In the first six months of this fiscal year, four nations selling oil to Cuba have received 145 million dollars.

Three years ago we started adding employees to the federal government. We've added 165,000. We now have two and a half million. The present budget calls for an additional 40,000. There are 90,000 separate, and often overlapping government bodies at the federal, state and local level.

The State of Indiana was checked recently to learn that

How Long Before Darkness?



KP DEAN THE SHREVEPORT TIMES

each year than the annual flood loss before the project was started. Ah, but the power! Waters impounded behind the dam: were to generate electric power; except that today, 80 per cent of the power produced is produced by steam generating plants. But then, we did get some navigation—a waterway. But most of the freight hauled on the waterway is coal being barged to the TVA steam generating plants.

The annual cost of simply maintaining the channel and

Now they've been helping him for 10 years; his wheat gets \$1.89 a bushel and he spends 36 cents a loaf for bread. The government set out to preserve the family farmer as a necessary institution and was so zealous in the task that it even declared your Louisiana State Penitentiary a 'family farmer' and they send it \$45,000 a year. At the end of 30 years of help, there are just half as many family farmers in America as when the government set out to preserve

country where there's no electricity.

We bought extra wives for Kenya government officials; we provided Halle Selassie with a two million dollar yacht.

In Bolivia they took our money and socialized the economy and increased the cost of living 250 per cent in one year.

In Brazil one-half of the federal budget is made up of our funds and we've just appropriated another half a million dollars to find out if they can't spend some more. When the President was opposing any cut in foreign aid and said it endangered our security, suddenly the fight was over and we discovered they still had 700 million dollars from last year's appropriation they hadn't spent yet.

And Foreign Aid Boondoggling

We have today in this country 18 1/2 billion dollars in gold and we don't own an ounce. Foreign dollar claims against our gold total 27.3 billion dollars right tonight. In the last four years 52 nations have bought seven billion dollars worth of our gold and all 52 nations are receiving foreign aid.

We are promised an 11 billion dollar reduction in tax reform, but our government openly and admittedly is following a policy of planned inflation which they say is necessary for prosperity. Under that plagued inflation, while they are giving us an 11 billion dollar reduction, they're reducing our purchasing power by 27 billion dollars.

We are FOR tax reform that has the courage to end the myth that there is any relationship between the progressive system of our personal income tax and proportionate taxation. Sumner Schlichter of Harvard said, if a visitor from Mars looked at our tax policy he would conclude it had been designed by a Communist fifth columnist to make free enterprise unworkable.

What have we done to the American dream with our so-called progressive income tax system? I couldn't speak to an audience of this kind without knowing that there were people present who have shared in that dream who believed that wealth in this country was denied to no one; that you could go round the corner and find the pot of gold. But people would be present who had given up that dream because the passing years have revealed it will not be fulfilled for them. They haven't really given up; they've reinvested that dream in

Our Social Security Fund A Fable

is here tonight, your candidate, Charlton Lyons, to strike a sensational blow for freedom, to assume a position of leadership in this country undreamed of by most of you within this state. But we are running out of time. Freedom has never been so fragile, so close to slipping from our grasp. We are faced tonight with the most evil enemy that has ever faced mankind in his long climb from the swamp to the stars. Our government, in the face of this enemy, follows a policy of accommodation. As we drift into a planned economy, they tell us the enemy will give up his fear and mistrust and grow more like us. Realizing his system won't work, he will become more like us and adopt the ideas of capitalism. Well, if this is true, then why in heaven's name every time that his system starts to break down do we bail him out of trouble and ship him wheat, rice and everything else he needs?

If it is better to be Red than dead, if there is nothing in life, nothing worth dying for in this world, when did this begin? Should Moses have told the children of Israel to live in slavery under the Pharaoh rather than dare the wilderness? Should Christ have refused the cross? Should those patriots at Con-

cord Bridge have failed to pull the trigger and fire the shot heard round the world? Have all the martyrs of history been fools? Did our honored dead in the past die in vain? You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We can preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on earth, or we can sentence them to take the first step into a thousand years of darkness. The thing that our well-meaning liberal friends refuse to recognize is that their whole reasonable 'let's talk this over' solution to the threat of the bomb is appeasement, and appeasement does not give you a choice between peace or war. It gives you only a choice between fight or surrender.

I commend to you the words of Winston Churchill who said to his own people when they were faced with a fiery trial, "If you will not fight for the right when you can without bloodshed; if you will not fight when your victory will be sure and not too costly, you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival."

There may be a worse case. You may have a fight when there is no chance of victory because it is better to perish than to live as slaves.

The Forum

The Forum is for readers' views on timely subjects. Letters must be courteous, factual, signed with name and address and may be edited. None will be returned.

(Continued From Editorial Page) mockery, useful only for propaganda, which would then be unnecessary, since we would be emulating our enemies.

Loyalty is a fine thing, Senator, but misplaced loyalty is folly; a good American's loyalty should lead him to seek the men best qualified to strengthen and uphold constitutional government and to administer the affairs of the state or the nation. I am a registered Democrat, but I am one of those Democrats who has seen a once great party fall into the hands of liberals and socialists (if there is a difference).

True, the Republican Party has its own liberals . . . and this brings us to the real issue in American politics today: not Democrat versus Republican, not Protestant versus Catholic, nor white against Negro—but conservatism versus liberalism, free enterprise versus socialism, freedom versus the path of eventual slavery.

If a Democratic nominee cannot stand on his own merits, without hiding behind a party label, then it is the duty of every free American to vote for

immediate action, and it should be of great significance that we have in the editor of The Shreveport Times a man who does not fear the giant of his own world.

JOSEPH D. I
335 Stoner Avenue.
Shreveport.

Likes the Alternative Lyons Offers for '64

Editor, The Times: I have been duly persuaded to cast my worthless vote for Mr. Lyons for governor. But it is one of vague expectations. Not a mouse in a trap.

This gentleman has, as I understand his promises, given a fairly tentative alternative in the event that something happens to upset the presidential program of Barry Goldwater. This substitute policy would be to fall back on free electors for whatever potentials the electoral college's consolidating authority might provide.

By constitutional law, the one and only means that state governments have, available, to invade the barriers of nationalized strongholds, or "protected arguments," is consolidated power of the electoral college. Unfortunately this institution is just

ing a living, one of the six is being paid by the other five—one is working for government. If we keep up the rate of increase of the last three years, by 1970, one-fourth of the total working force in this nation will be employed by government. No one knows what they all do. One Congressman found an answer. He found a fellow in Washington whose job is sitting at a desk. Documents come to his desk, he reads them, initials them, and sends them on to the proper agencies. One day, a document arrived there by mistake. He read it, initialed it, sent it on; 24 hours later it came back to his desk with a memorandum attached, saying "You weren't supposed to read this; erase your initials and initial the erasures."

Because so much has been done in the name of a humanitarian appeal, Welfare — Federal Welfare — in the United States has multiplied eight times as fast as the increase in population in the last 10 years. It is today 10 times greater than it was in the dark days of the depression when there was so much real need.

A judge in Los Angeles recently told me of a woman with seven children, pregnant with her eighth, who came to him seeking a divorce. Under questioning, he finally learned the reason for the divorce. Her husband was a laborer, earning \$250 a month. By divorcing him she could get an \$80 raise. She was eligible for \$330 dollars in the aid to dependent children program. Today, 48 million people in this country are receiving some form of direct cash payment from government. Thirty-eight million of those are receiving it from the federal government. During the depression, we passed a farm-home mortgage program; set up a bureau to lend money at low rates of interest so that tenant farmers could buy the homes in which they lived. Nothing wrong with that; except that today, the bureau is bigger than ever and now is lending money to build golf courses.

Government Would 'Solve All'

so, they seek the answer through government. Now, one thing plain. We must mupgn their motives. Most em are sincere; are mott by kindness. Let's turn our own for a definition of philosophy. Senator Clark, articulate spokesman from delphia, defines liberalism meeting the material needs e masses through the full of centralized govern-
ll, I don't know about you, disturbs me when a repre- tive of the people can refer e men and women, to you ne, as 'the masses.' There's e sign sound to this that none should approve. "The full of the central govern- " this is the very thing the ing Fathers sought to mini-
They know that govern- s the people. So you and e come to a time for choos-

ing a living, one of the six is being paid by the other five—one is working for government. If we keep up the rate of increase of the last three years, by 1970, one-fourth of the total working force in this nation will be employed by government. No one knows what they all do. One Congressman found an answer. He found a fellow in Washington whose job is sitting at a desk. Documents come to his desk, he reads them, initials them, and sends them on to the proper agencies. One day, a document arrived there by mistake. He read it, initialed it, sent it on; 24 hours later it came back to his desk with a memorandum attached, saying "You weren't supposed to read this; erase your initials and initial the erasures."

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Sacrosanct TVA Yields Little

Government has assumed such an omnipotence, it's believed today that so many things are beyond reproach. Let's turn to one that has almost the same sacrosanct quality as motherhood. Let's take up the problem of TVA.

Three and a half decades ago, this program was started as a flood control project. The Army engineers estimated that once every five hundred years it was possible that the Tennessee Valley might be totally flooded—660,000 acres covered by water. So, they fixed that problem. They made a permanent lake covering one million acres.

The interest on TVA indebtedness today is five times greater

we are to have prosperity. Then we learn that the labor department has listed over 50 per cent of the 169 counties in the TVA area as permanent areas of poverty, distress and unemployment.

The manual of the United States government lists by name every Congressman and Senator and all of the agencies and bureaus controlled by Congress. It takes 25 pages. When they start listing the bureaus and agencies under the executive branch, it takes 500 pages to list them. Since 1933, Congress has passed laws governing us that fill 11 thick volumes. In that same period, these bureaus and agencies have passed regulations governing us that fill 59 such thick volumes and most of those regulations are, quote, "final and not subject to review by any court."

Lowell Mason, a former anti-trust law enforcer of the Federal Trade Commission, says, "American business is being harassed, bled and even blackjacked under a preposterous crazy quilt system of laws."

There are so many that the government literally can find some charge to bring against any concern it chooses to prosecute.

"Are we any longer assured of our constitutional right to due process? We have lost our constitutional protection against search and seizure and yet, Supreme Court Justice Goldberg recently told the nation's judges and lawyers, 'put aside the discredited theories of the Constitution and support the Warren Court.' Farmers know how much of our constitutional freedom has been lost. Federal agents if they suspect a man of VIOLATING A REGULATION, NOT A LAW, A REGULATION, can invade his property without a warrant; can impose a fine without a formal hearing let alone a trial by jury, and can seize and sell his property at auction to enforce the payment of that fine. The farm program itself is a classic example of how government must resort to force and coercion whenever it attempts to control the economy.

One-fourth of farming in this country has seen a steady per capita decline in the consumption of its products.

One-fourth of farming is responsible for 85 per cent of the farm surplus.

THAT is the one-fourth of farming that is regulated and subsidized by the federal government. Three-fourths of farming governed only by the laws of supply and demand, has averaged a 21 per cent increase in the per capita consumption of everything that it produces.

If you were surprised when the wheat farmers voted last spring against Santa Claus, you might be interested in the story of one wheat farmer. Ten years ago he wasn't getting any help from the government. He was selling his wheat for \$2.05 a bushel and paying 20 cents a loaf for bread.

will be 100 million bushels bigger than it was in 1960. The feed grain program prorates out to \$43 for every bushel of corn we persuade them not to grow.

We irrigate desert land to reclaim it and put it in fruitful farm production; spend millions of dollars on this, but we spend 300 million dollars a year paying soil bank rent to take fruitful farm land out of production. We have one agricultural department employe for every 60 farmers. And still, they can't find out how 68 shiploads of grain on its way to Austria disappeared without a trace.

Property Rights Are Diluted

Meanwhile, back in the city, under urban renewal, private property rights have become so diluted that public ownership of interest is just anything that a few government planners decide it should be. They can condemn privately owned property and they can resell it to private individuals.

One man owning a large, rundown area in a key eastern city sold his run-down area to the government, to urban renewal, for several million dollars. Then, he submitted his own recommendation for how it should be refurbished and urban renewal sold him back his own property for 22 per cent of the purchase price.

Somewhat, I just can't believe, and I'm not just being kind to you, that people in Louisiana should have to help us build a rapid transit system in Los Angeles so that Californians can get to work on time. By the same token, I don't think Californians should have to build a housing project for the people who live in New York.

None of us, I am sure would deny our responsibility for those less fortunate. We are indeed our brothers' keepers. And yet, when we question any of the grandiose schemes of government, we are denounced as being opposed to the humanitarian goal or purpose. We are told that we are always AGAINST things; we are never FOR anything.

Well, you know. The trouble with liberals, is not that they are ignorant, it's that they know so much that isn't so.

For example, we are FOR the idea that destitution should not result from unemployment by reason of old age. We are AGAINST the irresponsibility of those in charge of Social Security who continue to lie to the people when by their own admission, a congressional committee, that program is today 298 billion dollars in the red. They continue to tell us, as they have in a 100 million pieces of literature since 1939, that this is an insurance program; that you and I and our

more than 8 per cent but now taxes us 7 1/2 per cent, and that has two raises scheduled between now and 1968 that will bring it to 9 1/2 per cent of the payroll? Your sons.

The young man today in his twenties who goes into the work force at an average salary will find that he and his employer are paying in \$1.69 for every \$1.00 the government promises to give him back. If he had that same money in his own hands he could, today on the open market, buy a retirement insurance policy that would guarantee him \$220 a month at age 65 and the government promises him \$127, if he's lucky.

We are FOR putting this program on a sound actuarial basis, for introducing voluntary features.

We are FOR telling senior citizens that no one in this country should be denied medical care because of a lack of funds.

We are AGAINST forcing all citizens regardless of their need, into a compulsory government insurance program.

Today 145 million Americans, 78 per cent of our population, have some kind of medical or hospital insurance. We're increasing it at the rate of four million policy holders a year. This does not count the people now being cared for under the Kerr-Mills bill.

In almost every religious denomination we have contributed voluntarily to send missionaries and volunteers all over the world to do precisely what the Peace Corps has been organized to do. We are AGAINST its bureaucratic overhead, not against the Peace Corps. One religious order in America today can still send a volunteer overseas for \$900 a year; the Peace Corps prorates out at \$2,000 a year.

Now they tell us we should revive the Civilian Conservation Corps to help our young people, our drop-outs from school. You investigate the proposed program and it prorates out to \$7,000 for every young person we are going to help. We can send them to Harvard for \$3,000 a year. Of course, don't get me wrong. I'm not recommending Harvard as the answer to juvenile delinquency.

We are FOR defense, but we are AGAINST justifying every extravagance under the banner of defense. Since the Korean War, the cost of government has gone up 20 billion dollars a year and 17 billion of that is for non-defense spending.

We are FOR aiding our allies, by sharing of our material blessings with nations which share our fundamental beliefs.

We are AGAINST doling out money, government to government, and financing socialism all over the world. At the end of World War II we set out to help war ravaged allies. Now we're helping 107 and we've spent a billion dollars.

We bought 1,000 TV sets for a

and improved economic growth.

Well, let me use sports for an example of what's happened to that dream. Thirty odd years ago a fellow named Babe Ruth, in the typical American style, came out of an orphan's home and a reform school. He could hit 60 home runs a year and the Yankees gave him the highest salary ever paid in baseball, \$80,000 a season.

Thirty years go by and Roger Maris hits 60 home runs. There've been some changes in the value of the dollar, but more important, some changes in the rate of tax. If Roger Maris had received the same take home purchasing power Babe Ruth received and been able to pay his tax, his pay check would have had to read \$960,000 for the season.

I know, of course, that our administration speaks of economy. I know that many of you cling to your party loyalty. I know that you think perhaps you can stay in the Democratic party and reshape it to the image it once was. Well, have no qualms about disloyalty in leaving your party because your party long ago left you. The Democratic party is no longer the party of Jefferson, of states rights, of limited government and fiscal responsibility. Walter Reuther made no secret in labor circles a few years ago when he said he intended to get enough power in the political party to reshape that party into the image of the labor socialist party of England. And no one can deny how much he has succeeded.

Regardless of campaign oratory, a political party cannot cut the umbilical cord that binds it to the source of its power.

Well, you have a chance to do something about it. You have a chance by electing this man that

In Past Times

(FROM OUR FILES)

70 YEARS AGO
March 1, 1894—Democratic senators came out of caucus today just before the Senate convened, but apparently no progress was made in the dispute over changes in the Tariff Bill.

50 YEARS AGO
March 1, 1914—A German admiral said today that during the tense confrontations between German and U.S. naval warships in Manila Bay during the Spanish-American War, Admiral Dewey threatened to fire at any vessel that attempted to pass the American blockade without showing its colors. The German admiral quoted Dewey as saying that any such attempt would mean war.

25 YEARS AGO
March 1, 1939—The House of Commons tonight approved British recognition of Nationalist Spain by a heavy margin.

come forward and state this simple truth, then it is time for Louisiana citizens to look elsewhere for leadership — be it Republicans, States Rights or of another party as yet unborn.

JOHN W. SULLIVAN
421 W. McNeese
Lake Charles, La.

Centenary Incident Can Only Hurt City
Editor, The Times:
As a resident of Shreveport attending college in another city, I would like to take this opportunity to comment on the image of Shreveport as seen by people of other cities due to the recent unfortunate encounter between Centenary College students and certain officials of the city of Shreveport.

This occurrence can only hurt our city's image; but the degree of injury will probably vary, depending on what account of the incident people have received. Many people, unfortunately, will only have read the headlines of the newspaper articles and, therefore, will dismiss the incident as just another in a series committed by the college student, whom they consider to be the plight of the country. However, they will remember Shreveport and Centenary College, which Shreveport citizens are rightfully proud to have, as the scene of this so-called rioting.

The second of the two most important groups of observers will remember the city as it appeared to me through the articles, which seem most impressive. That is a city in which the police force lacks leadership and politicians can turn a mere expression of school spirit into fuel for a political campaign.

CHARLES MORRIS
Freshman at Louisiana State University
P. O. Box 20645
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, La.

Considers Qualities Of The Good Editor
Editor, The Times:
I wish to thank Mr. S. G. Sanborn, of Jacksonville, Texas for expressing his appreciation of the Shreveport Times editorial of February 22, 1964.

As a matter of fact, all editorials of The Times are most excellent. What could be better than the one "Mr. Lyons and His Carpetbaggers" in last Sunday's Times. I was especially pleased with the Editor's comments on Mr. Ronald Reagan and his reference to "Hollywood's Rat Pack". This editorial should be read by every voter in Louisiana.

I believe it is always in order to commend good editorials, for the person who writes them must be an unusual personality.

Today we are living in an age when daily there are many haters to be bridged and increasing acceleration in the demands for

at least, protect local interests from being called "out" by pure, oratorical score keeping.

NED CUSHMAN
142 Hamilton,
Shreveport.

Association Disavows Favoring Mental Site
Editor, The Times:
It is the responsibility of this Association to move the community to assume its responsibility in meeting the needs of those who are mentally ill and/or emotionally disturbed. Since its primary responsibility is of an education nature we have never concerned ourselves with specific issues (geographical location of Mental Health Out-Patient Center), etc.,

This Association does not have any recommendation to make to the geographic location of Center.

It is gratifying to note that a free press, without any economic or political pressure, can fulfill its responsibility to the community, evidenced by your editorial of February 21, 1964, entitled "Quit Backing Over the Health Center."

A. D. MURRAY
President, Caddo-Bossier Chapter
La. Mental Health Assn.
Shreveport.

Dislikes McKeithen's Change Since Run-off
Editor, The Times:
What has happened to meek, mild mannered Mr. McKeithen? Before the second primary the world was fighting against him. Now he seems to be sitting on top of the world. Now that he has the governorship "in the bag" I hear no earnest plea "to please help him."

He has unmasked himself to be the politician he has been all along. I have been lied to and stolen from by politicians years, and frankly I am sick tired of it.

Mr. McKeithen has stated he will not announce his support of Barry Goldwater for President. Just who will he support? "Me Too" Nixon or perhaps Rockefeller or maybe that Westerner, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. McKeithen knows full well he cannot smear Mr. Lyons, so he has stooped to use misleading statements and innuendos. He knows Mr. Lyons would have nothing to do with Liz Taylor or Richard Burton, but he would have many ignorant voters believe Mr. Lyons would associate with such people. I believe this is indicative of the kind of governor Mr. McKeithen would make. Is Mr. McKeithen afraid to debate with Mr. Lyons? What could he lose—
the election?
ROBERT MARLOWE
520 Spring
Shreveport.

"A TIME - for - CHOOSING"

By Ronald Reagan

Ronald Reagan is no stranger. Through the media of the movies, radio and television, we have acquired a great respect and admiration for him and his work.

In addition to his fame as an actor, Mr. Reagan has gained the admiration of business men and the gratitude of American citizens all across the country through his outstanding example of courageous leadership as President and chief spokesman of the Screen Actors' Guild. He is a champion of private enterprise and very much interested in preserving the original intentions of this country's Constitution.

I think it is time to ask ourselves if we still know the freedoms intended for us by the creators of the only true revolution that has ever taken place in man's history. Here in this country our revolution was the only one that did not merely exchange one set of rulers for another set of rulers. We lighted a torch 200 years ago that said to the down-trodden of all the world, not that we had decided on a more benevolent ruler, but rather that for the first time man had decided his rights were sovereign and government could do only those things permitted by the people.

Mankind has known only a few moments of freedom in all the long climb from the swamp to the stars, and most of those moments have been ours. Strangely enough, all of them have been under a system of private ownership and capitalism. But freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction. The late Judge Learned Hand said, "Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no court, no law can save it."

I think we have come to a time for choosing. Two contrary philosophies divide us in this land of ours. Either we believe in our traditional system of individual liberty, or we abandon the American Revolution and confess that an intellectual elite in a far distant capital can plan our lives for us better than we can plan them ourselves.

In our adult lifetime we have seen the government lay its hands on health, housing, farming, industry, commerce, education, and communications. In so doing, regardless of good intentions, it has created a permanent structure of government which has become so big and so complex that it virtually entraps the President and the Congress, regardless of the party in power.

There are today 2½ million federal employees, and the present budget calls for an increase of 40,000 this year. If the present rate of increase continues, in six short years one-fourth of the total work force of the nation will be employed by government.

There is a seeming indestructibility to government agencies. A government bureau is the nearest thing to eternal life on this earth.

This brings us to the most serious threat to freedom: the extent to which policy is determined by these permanent bureaus rather than by those we elect to office with our ballots. In 1962, while Congress was debating whether to lend the United Nations \$100 million to bail it out of its financial difficulties, the State Department, without asking anyone's permission, handed the UN \$217 million, part of which was used to pay the delinquent dues of Castro's Cuba.

In 1962, Congress passed a law prohibiting our foreign aid bureaus and agencies from giving aid to any nation selling oil to Cuba. Yet, in the first six months of 1963, four nations selling oil to Cuba had received \$145 million.



Government programs usually start with humanitarian goals and in answer to some great emergency. To question the extent of the crisis or the suggested cure is to be charged with being opposed to the noble motive. This is a dishonest evasion of legitimate debate. It is possible to fulfill our responsibilities to a needy neighbor, to be our brother's keeper, without totally replacing human compassion with the coercion of taxation.

Could any of us be charged with being opposed to the noble purpose of the Peace Corps? Since the inception of this country we have, through our various religions, contributed voluntarily to send missionaries to every corner of the world, so of course we are not opposed to the noble purpose. One religious order today can send and keep a volunteer overseas for one year for \$900. What we object to is that the Peace Corps prorates at \$9,000 for each volunteer per year.

A young man going to work today, earning an average salary in his early 20s, will find that he and his employer are now paying to Social Security \$1.69 for every dollar the government promises to give him back. He can go into the open market today with the same amount of money and buy a retirement insurance program that will guarantee him \$220 a month at age 65. The government promises him \$127.

Are we suggesting that we suddenly deny a generation of senior citizens an income? No. But is it beyond reason that we should look at this program and see where it can

A TIME FOR CHOOSING *(continued)*

be put on a voluntary basis; where people who can buy a better deal from private industry should be allowed to do so; and where those of us who can take care of our brothers in need when the time comes, should ask them to participate in the program in the meantime and contribute toward their own welfare?

One-fifth of our total industrial capacity is fully controlled, planned or owned by government. One-fourth of all the construction in this nation is done by government. One-third of all the mortgages in this country are financed or guaranteed by agencies of the federal government. The interest on our national debt takes the entire personal income tax paid by 41 million Americans reporting earnings up to \$6,000 a year, but our real debt in legislation already enacted into law is in excess of \$1¼ trillion! This is greater than the assessed valuation of all the real estate and tangible property in the U.S.

The problem is not that liberals are ignorant; it is that they know so much that is not so. History tells us that as a country approaches a tax burden of 20%, evasion begins and breaks down respect for law and order. Economists claim that our country is so solid it can afford a rate of 25%, but no nation in history has ever survived a tax burden that reached a third of its national income. Today, 35¢ out of every dollar earned in this country is the tax collector's share; 24¢ goes to the federal government, leaving 11¢ to be divided among the county, the local community and the state.

Is it any wonder that, whatever we need, we turn to the federal government for grants-in-aid? One Congressman described federal aid as the case of the man giving himself a transfusion in the right arm by taking the left and spilling half of it on the way across.

Alexander Fraser Tyler wrote that "a democracy cannot exist as a permanent form of government. It can exist only until the voters discover they can vote themselves largesse out of the public treasury. From that moment on, the majority always votes for the candidate promising the most benefits, with the result that democracy collapses over a loose fiscal policy, always to be followed by a dictatorship."

We cannot pass resolutions on economy and then send committees to Washington to get federal spending for our home town.

Tyler's warning reminds us that democracy is mob rule unless we have some ground rules protecting the rights of the individuals and putting them beyond the vote of the majority. You and I have such ground rules providing for the most equitable and limited government ever known to man—the Constitution.

Daniel Webster said, "Hold on, my friends, to the Constitution of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands. Miracles do not happen. What has happened once in six thousand years may never happen again. Hold on to your Constitution, for if the Constitution shall fall, there will be anarchy throughout the world."

It has been said that if we lose this way of life of ours, history will report that those who had the most to lose did the least to prevent its happening. And we can do something about it. There are, perhaps, some among us today who are concerned about taking a stand. They fear reprisal—retaliation from customers or clients or even government agencies. But we can no longer afford to sit on the sidelines; to practice such aloofness today is to go on feeding the crocodile, hoping he will eat you last. But eat you he will. Once you make the decision that this is your battle, you will find many things to do.

It is time we questioned what we have done to freedom. Federal agencies hold what amounts to life-and-death power over businesses, even those not legally subject to regulation. They can exert this power through the various bureaus, through the control of hundreds of billions of dollars of spending, through the use of the tax power as a policing power. In addition to a reduction in taxes, we must demand that any tax reform be simplified so that the citizen of modest means need not employ legal assistance to find out how much he owes his government.

At the same time we must demand an end to deficit spending and provision for payments on the national debt.

Finally, in this election year—regardless of the party of our choice, because this transcends party lines—we must pin down those who solicit our votes as to where they stand with regard to fiscal responsibility, individual freedom and limited government. We cannot stop the advance of socialism by electing men who just happen to be taking a little longer in arriving at socialist goals.

You and I are face to face with our destiny. We must stand firm, or we shall trail in the dust the golden hopes of mankind for generations to come. I believe that freedom has never been so fragile, so near to slipping from our grasp, as it is at this moment, and this did not come about through an outside aggressor. It came about through our own sincere efforts to solve problems of misery and human need through exchanging freedom for security.

If we do not accept the challenge, our children may well be the generation that takes the first step into another thousand years of darkness. Lincoln's words of 100 years ago are so appropriate they could well be spoken today: "The fiery trial through which we pass will light us to the latest generation. We here hold the power and the responsibility; we shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of man on earth."

CHOOSE !! VOTE !!

GRASS ROOTS FOR GOLDWATER
Mr. E. E. Pope, Coordinator
P. O. Box 64
Centerville, Ohio 45456

'A Time for Choosing'

By RONALD REAGAN

One of the highlights of the past campaign was Ronald Reagan's television speech. Widely acclaimed by both Republicans and Democrats, it was considered a brilliantly persuasive statement of conservative views. Below is the text of this speech. Although Election Day is past, we are printing the Reagan address because numerous readers have requested it and because we feel it will provide inspiration and instruction for conservatives for years to come.

I have spent most of my life as a Democrat. I recently have seen fit to follow another course. I believe that the issues confronting us cross party lines. Now, one side in this campaign has been telling us that the issues of this election are the maintenance of peace and prosperity. The line has been used. "We've never had it so good!"

But I have an uncomfortable feeling that this prosperity isn't something upon which we can base our hopes for the future. No nation in history has ever survived a tax burden that reached a third of its national income. Today 37 cents out of every dollar earned in this country is the tax collector's share, and yet our government continues to spend \$17 million a day more than the government takes in.

Unbalanced Budgets

We haven't balanced our budget 28 out of the last 34 years. We have raised our debt limit three times in the last 12 months, and now our national debt is one and a half times bigger than all the combined debts of all the nations of the world. We have \$15 billion in gold in our treasury—we don't own an ounce. Foreign dollar claims are \$27.3 billion, and we have just had announced that the dollar of 1939 still now purchase 45 cents in its total value.

As for the peace that we would preserve, I wonder who among us would like to approach the wife or mother whose husband or son has died in Viet Nam and ask them if they think this is a peace that should be maintained indefinitely. Do they mean we just want to be left in peace? There can be no real peace while one American is dying some place in the world for the rest of us.

We are at war with the most dangerous enemy that has ever faced mankind in his long climb from the swamp to the stars, and it has been said if we lose that war, and in so doing lose this way of freedom of ours, history will record with the greatest astonishment that those who had the most to lose did the least to prevent its happening.

Well, I think it's time to ask ourselves if we still know the freedoms intended for us by the Founding Fathers.

Not too long ago two friends of mine were talking to a Cuban refugee, a business man who had escaped from Castro, and in the midst of his story one of my friends turned to the other and said, "We don't know how lucky we are." And the Cuban stopped and said, "How lucky you are! I had some place to escape to."

In that sentence he told us the entire story. If we lose freedom here, there is no place to escape to. This is the last stand on earth, and this idea that government is beholden to the people, that it has no other source of power except the sovereign people, is still the newest and most unique idea in all the long history of man's relation to man.

This is the issue of this election, whether we believe in our capacity for self-government or whether we abandon the American Revolution and confess that a little intellectual elite in a far-distant capital can plan our lives for us better than we can plan them ourselves.

You and I are told increasingly that we have to choose between a left or right, but I would like to suggest that there is no such thing as a left or right. There is only an up or down—up to man's age-old dream—the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with law and order—or down to the ant heap of

totalitarianism, and, regardless of their sincerity, their humanitarian motives, those who would trade our freedom for security have embarked on this downward course.

In this vote-harvesting time they use terms like "the Great Society," or, as we were told a short time ago by the President, we must accept a "greater government activity in the affairs of the people." But they have been a little more explicit in the past, and among themselves—and all of these things that I now will quote have appeared in print. These are not Republican accusations.

For example, they have voices that say "the cold war will end through our acceptance of a not undemocratic socialism." Another voice says that the profit motive has become outmoded; it must be replaced by the incentives of the welfare state, or our traditional system of individual freedom is incapable of solving the complex problems of the 20th Century.

Sen. Fulbright has said at Stanford University that the Constitution is outmoded. He referred to the President as our moral teacher, and our leader, and he said he is hobbled in his task by the restrictions in power imposed on him by this antiquated document. He must be freed so that he can do for us what he knows is best.

And Sen. Clark of Pennsylvania, another articulate spokesman, defines liberalism as "meeting the material needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government." Well, I for one resent it when a representative of the people refers to you and me—the free men and women of this country—as "the masses." This is a term we haven't applied to ourselves in America.

Government Coercion

But beyond that, "the full power of centralized government"—this was the very thing the Founding Fathers sought to minimize. They knew that governments don't control things. A government can't control the economy without controlling people. And they know when a government sets out to do that, it must use force and coercion to achieve its purpose.

They also knew, those Founding Fathers, that outside of its legitimate functions, government does nothing as well or as economically as the private sector of the economy. Now, we have no better example of this than the government's involvement in the farm economy over the last 30 years. Since 1955 the cost of this program has nearly doubled. One-fourth of farming in America is responsible for 85 per cent of the farm surplus, three-fourths of farming is out on the free market and has shown a 21 per cent increase in the per capita consumption of all its produce. You see that one-fourth of farming that's regulated and controlled by the federal government?

In the last three years we have spent \$43 in the feed grain program for every dollar bushel of corn we don't grow. Sen. Humphrey last week charged that Barry Goldwater as President would seek to eliminate farmers. He should do his homework a little better, because he will find out that we have had a decline of 5 million in the farm population under these government programs.

He will also find that the Democratic Administration has sought to get from Congress an extension of the farm program to include that three-fourths that is now free. He will find that they have also asked for the right to imprison farmers who wouldn't keep books as prescribed by the federal government.

The secretary of agriculture asked for the right to seize farms—to seize farms through condemnation and resell them to other individuals. And contained in that same program was a provision that would have allowed the federal government to remove two million farmers from the soil.

At the same time there has been an increase in the Department of Agriculture employees. There is now one for every 30 farms in the United States and still they can't tell us how 66 shiploads of grain headed for Austria disappeared without a trace, and Billy Sol Estes never left shore!

Every responsible farmer and farm organization has repeatedly asked the government to free the farm economy, but who are farmers to know what is best for them? The wheat farmers voted against a wheat program. The government passed it anyway. Now the price of bread goes up; the price of wheat to the farmer goes down.

Assault on Freedom

Meanwhile, back in the city, under urban renewal, the assault on freedom carries on. Private property rights are so diluted that public interest is almost anything that a few government planners decide it should be. In a program that takes from the needy and gives to the greedy, we see such spectacles as in Cleveland, Ohio, a million and a half dollar building, completed only three years ago, must be destroyed to make way for what government officials call a "more compatible use of the land."

The President tells us he is now going to start building public housing units in the thousands where heretofore we have only built them in the hundreds. But FHA and the Veterans Administration tell us that they have 120,000 units they've taken back through mortgage foreclosures.

For three decades we have sought to solve the problems of unemployment through government planning, and the more the plans fail, the more planners plan. The latest is the Area Redevelopment Agency. They have just declared Rice County, Kan., a depressed area. Rice County, Kan., has 200 wells, and the 14,000 people there have over \$30 million on deposit in personal savings in their banks. When the government tells you you are depressed, lie down and be depressed!

We have so many people who can't see a fat man standing beside a thin one without coming to the conclusion that the fat

man got that way by taking advantage of the thin one! So they are going to solve all the problems of human misery through government and government planning.

Well, now, if the government planning and welfare had the answer, and they've had almost 30 years of it, shouldn't we expect the government to read the score to us once in a while?

Shouldn't they be telling us about the decline each year in the number of people needing help? . . . The reduction in the need for public housing? But the reverse is true. Each year the need grows greater, the problem grows greater. We were told four years ago that 17 million people went to bed hungry each night. Well, that was probably true. They were all on a diet!

But now we are told that 9.3 million families in this country are poverty stricken on the basis of earning less than \$3,000 a year. Welfare spending is ten times greater than in the dark depths of the depression. We are spending \$45 billion on welfare. Now do a little arithmetic and you will find that if we divided \$45 billion up equally among those 9 million poor families, we would be able to give each family \$4,600 a year, and this, added to their present income, should eliminate poverty!

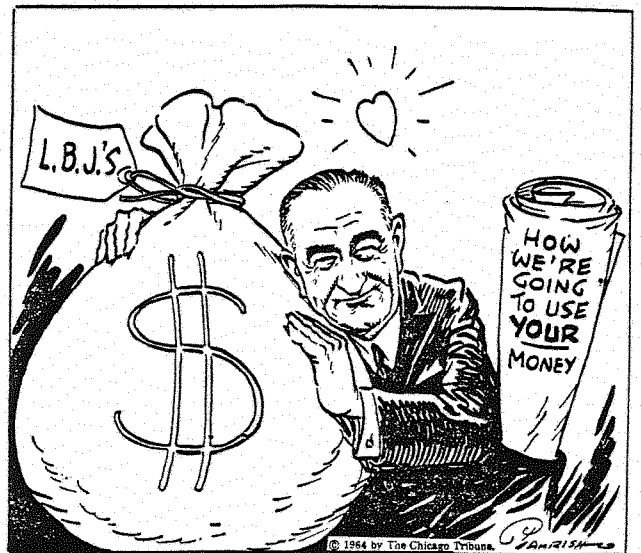
Direct aid to the poor, however, is running only about \$600 per family. It seems that someplace there must be some overhead. So now we declare "War on Poverty," or "You, Too, Can Be A Bobby Baker!"

Now, do they honestly expect us to believe that if we add \$1 billion to the \$45 billion we are spending . . . one more program to the 30-odd we have (and remember, this new program doesn't replace any, it just duplicates existing programs) . . . Do they believe that poverty is suddenly going to disappear by magic?

Well, in all fairness I should explain that there is one part of the new program that isn't duplicated. This is the youth feature. We are now going to solve the dropout problem, juvenile delinquency, by reinstituting something like the old CCC camps, and we are going to put our young people in camps; but again we do some arithmetic, and we find that we are going to spend each year just on room and board for each young person that we help \$4,700 a year!

We can send them to Harvard for \$2,700! Don't get me wrong. I'm not

'Share the Wealth,' but Someone Else's





Ronald Reagan, until recently a life-long Democrat, delivered what many feel to be the outstanding speech of the 1964 campaign in support of Barry Goldwater's presidential candidacy.

suggesting that Harvard is the answer to juvenile delinquency.

But seriously, what are we doing to those we seek to help? Not too long ago, a judge called me here in Los Angeles. He told me of a young woman who had come before him for a divorce.

She had six children, was pregnant with her seventh. Under his questioning, she revealed her husband was a laborer earning \$250 a month. She wanted a divorce so that she could get an \$80 raise. She is eligible for \$330 a month in the aid to dependent children program. She got the idea from two women in her neighborhood who had already done that very thing.

Yet any time you and I question the schemes of the do-gooders, we are denounced as being against their humanitarian goals. They say we are always "against" things, never "for" anything. Well, the trouble with our liberal friends is not that they are ignorant, but that they know so much that is not so!

We are for a provision that destitution should not follow unemployment by reason of old age, and to that end we have accepted Social Security as a step toward meeting the problem. But we are against those entrusted with this program when they practice deception regarding its fiscal shortcomings, when they charge that any criticism of the program means that we want to end payments to those people who depend on them for a livelihood.

They have called it insurance to us in a hundred million pieces of literature. But then they appeared before the Supreme Court and they testified that it was a welfare program. They only use the term "insurance" to sell it to the people. And they said Social Security dues are a tax for the general use of the government, and the government has used that tax. There is no fund, because Robert Byers, the actuarial head, appeared before a congressional committee and admitted that Social Security as of this moment is \$298 billion in the hole.

But he said there should be no cause for worry because as long as they have the power to tax, they could always take away from the people whatever they needed to bail them out of trouble! And they are doing just that.

Social Security

A young man, 21 years of age, working at an average salary . . . his Social Security contribution would, in the open market, buy him an insurance policy that would guarantee \$220 a month at age 65. The government promises \$127! He could live it up until he is 31 and then take out a policy that would pay more than Social Security.

Now are we so lacking in business sense that we can't put this program on a sound basis so that people who do require those

payments will find that they can get them when they are due . . . that the cupboard isn't bare? Barry Goldwater thinks we can.

At the same time, can't we introduce voluntary features that would permit a citizen to do better on his own, to be excused upon presentation of evidence that he had made provisions for the non-earning years?

Should we not allow a widow with children to work, and not lose the benefits supposedly paid for by her deceased husband? Shouldn't you and I be allowed to declare who our beneficiaries will be under these programs, which we cannot do? I think we are for telling our senior citizens that no one in this country should be denied medical care, because of a lack of funds.

But I think we are against forcing all citizens, regardless of need, into a compulsory government program, especially when we have such examples, as announced last week, when France admitted that their Medicare program was now bankrupt. They've come to the end of the road.

In addition, was Barry Goldwater so irresponsible when he suggested that our government give up its program of deliberate planned inflation so that when you do get your Social Security pension, a dollar will buy a dollar's worth, and not 45 cents worth?

I think we are for the international organization, where the nations of the world can seek peace. But I think we are against subordinating American interests to an organization that has become so structurally unsound that today you can muster a two-thirds vote on the floor of the General Assembly among nations that represent less than 10 per cent of the world's population.

I think we are against the hypocrisy of assailing our allies because here and there they cling to a colony, while we engage in a conspiracy of silence and never open our mouths about the millions of people enslaved in Soviet colonies in the satellite nations.

I think we are for aiding our allies by sharing of our material blessings with those nations which share in our fundamental beliefs, but we are against doling out money to governments, creating bureaucracy, if not socialism, all over the world. We set out to help 19 countries. We are helping 107.

We spent \$146 billion. With that money, we bought a \$2 million yacht for Haile Selassie. We bought dress suits for Greek undertakers, extra wives for Kenya government officials. We bought a thousand TV sets for a place where they have no electricity. In the last six years, 52 nations have bought \$7 billion of our gold, and all 52 are receiving foreign aid from us.

Advance of Socialism

No government ever voluntarily reduces itself in size. Government programs, once launched, never disappear. Actually, a government bureau is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth!

Federal employes number 2.5 million. These proliferating bureaus with their thousands of regulations have cost us many of our constitutional safeguards. How many of us realize that today federal agents can invade a man's property without a formal hearing, let alone a trial by jury, and they can seize and sell his property in auction to enforce the payment of that fine?

In Chico County, Ark., James Wier overplanted his rice allotment. The government obtained a \$17,000 judgment, and a U.S. marshal sold his 950-acre farm at auction. The government said it was necessary as a warning to others to make the system work!

Last February 19 at the University of Minnesota, Norman Thomas, six times candidate for President on the Socialist party ticket, said "if Barry Goldwater became President, he would stop the advance of socialism in the United States." I think that's exactly what he will do!

As a former Democrat, I can tell you Norman Thomas isn't the only man who has drawn this parallel to socialism with the present Administration. Back in 1936, Mr. Democrat himself, Al Smith, the great American, came before the American

people and charged that the leadership of his party was taking the party of Jefferson, Jackson and Cleveland down the road under the banners of Marx, Lenin and Stalin.

And he walked away from his party, and he never returned to the day he died, because to this day the leadership of that party has been taking that party, that honorable party, down the road in the image of the Labor Socialist party of England.

Now it doesn't require expropriation or confiscation of private property or business to impose socialism upon a people. What does it mean, whether you hold the deed or the title to your business or property, if the government holds the power of life and death over that business or property? Such machinery already exists.

The government can find some charge to bring against any concern it chooses to prosecute. Every businessman has his own tale of harassment. Somewhere a perversion has taken place. Our natural, inalienable rights are now considered to be a dispensation from government, and freedom has never been so fragile, so close to slipping from our grasp as it is at this moment.

Freedom in Danger

Our Democratic opponents seem unwilling to debate these issues. They want to make you and I think that this is a contest between two men . . . that we are to choose just between two personalities. Well, what of this man they would destroy . . . and in destroying, they would destroy that which he represents, the ideas that you and I hold dear?

Is he the brash and shallow and trigger-happy man they say he is? Well, I have been privileged to know him "when." I knew him long before he ever dreamed of trying for high office, and I can tell you personally I have never known a man in my life I believe so incapable of doing a dishonest or dishonorable thing.

This is a man who in his own business, before he entered politics, instituted a profit-sharing plan, before unions had even thought of it. He put up health and medical insurance for all his employes. He took 50 per cent of the profits before taxes and set up a retirement plan, a pension plan for all his employes.

He sent monthly checks for life to an employe who was ill and couldn't work. He provides nursing care for the children of mothers who work in the stores. When Mexico was ravaged by the floods from the Rio Grande, he climbed into his airplane and flew medicine and supplies down there.

An ex-GI told me how he met him. It was the week before Christmas, during the Korean War, and he was at the Los Angeles airport trying to get a ride home to Arizona, and he said that there were a lot of servicemen there and no seats available on the planes. Then a voice came over the loudspeaker and said, "Any men in uniform wanting a ride to Arizona, go to runway such-and-such," and they went down there, and there was a fellow named Barry Goldwater sitting in his plane.

Every day in the weeks before Christmas, all day long, he would load up the plane, fly to Arizona, fly them to their homes, then fly back over to get another load. During the hectic split-second timing of a campaign, this is a man who took time out to sit beside an old friend who was dying of cancer.

His campaign managers were understandably impatient, but he said, "There aren't many left who care what happens to her. I'd like her to know that I care." This is a man who said to his 19-year-old son, "There is no foundation like the rock of honesty and fairness, and when you begin to build your life upon that rock, with the cement of the faith in God that you have, then you have a real start!"

This is not a man who could carelessly send other people's sons to war. And that is the issue of this campaign that makes all of the other problems I have discussed academic, unless we realize that we are in a war that must be won. Those who would trade our freedom for the soup kitchen of the welfare state have told us that they

have a utopian solution of peace without victory. They call their policy "accommodation." And they say if we only avoid any direct confrontation with the enemy, he will forget his evil ways and learn to love us. All who oppose them are indicted as warmongers.

They say we offer simple answers to complex problems. Well, perhaps there is a simple answer . . . not an easy one . . . but a simple one. If you and I have the courage to tell our elected officials that we want our national policy based upon what we know in our hearts is morally right, we cannot buy our security, our freedom from the threat of the bomb by committing an immorality so great as saying to a billion human beings now in slavery behind the Iron Curtain, "Give up your dreams of freedom, because, to save our own skin, we are willing to make a deal with your slave-master."

Alexander Hamilton said, "A nation which can prefer disgrace to danger is prepared for a master, and deserves one!" Let's set the record straight. There is no argument over the choice between peace and war, but there is only one guaranteed way you can have peace . . . and you can have it in the next second . . . surrender!

Admittedly there is a risk in any course we follow. Either course we follow other than this, but every lesson in history tells us that the greater risk lies in appeasement, and this is the specter our well-meaning liberal friends refuse to face . . . that their policy of accommodation is appeasement, and it gives no choice between peace and war, only between fight or surrender. If we continue to accommodate, continue to back and retreat, eventually we have to face the final demand—the ultimatum.

And what then, when Nikita Khrushchev has told his people he knows what our answer will be? He has told them that we are retreating under the pressure of the cold war and some day when the time comes to deliver the ultimatum, our surrender will be voluntary because by that time we will have been weakened from within, spiritually, morally and economically.

He believes this because from our side he has heard voices pleading for a "peace at any price," or "better Red than dead." Or as one commentator put it, he would rather "Live on his knees than die on his feet."

And therein lies the road to war, because those voices don't speak for the rest of us. You and I know and do not believe that life is so dear and peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery.

If nothing in life is worth dying for, when did this begin. . . . Just in the face of the enemy . . . or should Moses have told the children of Israel to live in slavery under the Pharaohs? Should Christ have refused the cross? Should the patriots at Concord Bridge have thrown down their guns and refused to fire the shot heard 'round the world?

The martyrs of history were not fools, and our honored dead who gave their lives to stop the advance of the Nazis didn't die in vain! Where, then, is the road to peace? Well, it's a simple answer after all. You and I have the courage to say to our enemies, "There is a price we will not pay." There is a point beyond which they must not advance! This is the meaning in the phrase of Barry Goldwater's "peace through strength!"

Winston Churchill said that the destiny of man is not measured by material computation. When great forces are on the move in the world, we learn we are spirits, not animals. And he said there is something going on in time and space, and beyond time and space, which, whether we like it or not, spells duty.

You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We will preserve for our children this, the last best hope for man on earth, or we will sentence them to take the last step into a thousand years of darkness.

We will keep the mind and remember that Barry Goldwater has faith in us. He has faith that you and I have the ability and the dignity and the right to make our own decisions and determine our own destiny.

A TIME FOR CHOOSING

Following is speech by Ronald Reagan, October 27, San Francisco, Calif.

Thank you very much. Thank you, and good evening. The sponsor has been identified, but unlike most television programs, the performer hasn't been provided with a script. As a matter of fact, I have been permitted to choose my own words and discuss my own ideas regarding the choice that we face in the next few weeks.

I have spent most of my life as a Democrat. I recently have seen fit to follow another course. I believe that the issues confronting us cross party lines. Now one side in this campaign has been telling us that the issues of this election are the maintenance of peace and prosperity. The line has been used, "We've never had it so good!" But I have an uncomfortable feeling that this prosperity isn't something upon which we can base our hopes for the future. No nation in history has ever survived a tax burden that reached a third of its national income. Today 37 cents out of every dollar earned in this country is the tax collector's share, and yet our government continues to spend 17 million dollars a day more than the government takes in. We haven't balanced our budget 28 out of the last 34 years. We have raised our debt limit three times in the last 12 months, and now our national debt is 1½ times bigger than all the combined debts of all the nations of the world. We have 15 billion dollars in gold in our treasury—we don't own an ounce. Foreign dollars claims are 27.3 billion dollars, and we have just had announced that the dollar of 1939 will now purchase 45 cents in its total value. As for the peace that we would preserve, I wonder who among us would like to approach the wife or mother whose husband or son has died in Viet Nam and ask them if they think this is a peace that should be maintained indefinitely. Do they mean peace, or do they mean we just want to be left in peace? There can be no real peace while one American is dying some place in the world for the rest of us. We are at war with the most dangerous enemy that has ever faced mankind in his long climb from the swamp to the stars, and it has been said if we lose that war, and in so doing lose this way of freedom of ours, history will record with the greatest astonishment that those who had the most to lose did the least to prevent its happening.

Well, I think its time to ask ourselves if we still know the freedoms intended for us by the Founding Fathers.

Not too long ago two friends of mine were talking to a Cuban refugee, a business man who had escaped from Castro, and in the midst of his story one of my friends turned to the other and said, "We don't know how lucky we are." And the Cuban stopped and said, "How lucky you are! I had some place to escape to." In that sentence he told us the entire story. If we lose freedom here, there is no place to escape to. This is the last stand on earth, and this idea that government is beholden to the people, that it has no other source of power except the sovereign people, is still the newest and most unique idea in all the long history of man's relation to man.

This is the issue of this election, whether we believe in our capacity for self-government or whether we abandon the American Revolution and confess that a little intellectual elite in a far-distant capital can plan our lives for us better than we can plan them ourselves.

You and I are told increasingly that we have to choose between a left or right, but I would like to suggest that there is no such thing as a left or right. There is only an up or down—up to man's age-old dream—the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with law and order—or down to the ant heap of totalitarianism, and, regardless of their sincerity,

their humanitarian motives, those who would trade our freedom for security have embarked on this downward course. In this vote-harvesting time they use terms like "the great society," or, as we were told a short time ago by the President, we must accept a "greater government activity in the affairs of the people." But they have been a little more explicit in the past, and among themselves—and all of these things that I now will quote have appeared in print. These are not Republican accusations. For example, they have voices that say "the cold war will end through our acceptance of a not undemocratic socialism." Another voice says that the profit motive has become outmoded; it must be replaced by the incentives of the welfare state, or our traditional system of individual freedom is incapable of solving the complex problems of the 20th century. Senator Fullbright has said at Stanford University that the Constitution is outmoded. He referred to the President as our moral teacher, and our leader, and he said he is hobbled in his task by the restrictions in power imposed on him by this antiquated document. He must be freed so that he can do for us what he knows is best. And Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, another articulate spokesman, defines liberalism as "meeting the material needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government." Well, I for one resent it when a representative of the people refers to you and me—the free men and women of this country—as "the masses." This is a term we haven't applied to ourselves in America. But beyond that, "the full power of centralized government"—this was the very thing the Founding Fathers sought to minimize. They knew that governments don't control things. A government can't control the economy without controlling people. And they know when a government sets out to do that, it must use force and coercion to achieve its purpose. They also knew, those Founding Fathers, that outside of its legitimate functions, government does nothing as well or as economically as the private sector of the economy. Now, we have no better example of this than the government's involvement in the farm economy over the last 30 years. Since 1955 the cost of this program has nearly doubled. One-fourth of farming in America is responsible for 85 per cent of the farm surplus, three-fourths of farming is out on the free market and has shown a 21 per cent increase in the per capita consumption of all its produce. You see, that one-fourth of farming that's regulated and controlled by the federal government. In the last three years we have spent 43 dollars in the feed grain program for every dollar bushel of corn we don't grow. Senator Humphrey last week charged that Barry Goldwater as President would seek to eliminate farmers. He should do his homework a little better, because he will find out that we have had a decline of 5 million in the farm population under these government programs. He will also find that the Democratic Administration has sought to get from Congress an extension of the farm program to include that three-fourths that is now free. He will find that they have also asked for the right to imprison farmers who wouldn't keep books as prescribed by the federal government. The Secretary of Agriculture asked for the right to seize farms—to seize farms through condemnation and resell them to other individuals. And contained in that same program was a provision that would have allowed the federal government to remove 2 million farmers from the soil.

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what government officials call a "more compatible use of the land." The President tells us he is now going to start building public housing units in the thousands where heretofore we have only built them in the hundreds. But FHA and the Veterans Administration tell us that they have 120 thousand units they've taken back through mortgage foreclosures. For three decades we have sought to solve the problems of unemployment through government planning, and the more the plans fail, the more planners plan. The latest is the Area Redevelopment Agency. They have just declared Rice County, Kansas a depressed area. Rice County, Kansas, has two hundred oil wells, and the 14,000 people there have over thirty million dollars on deposit in personal savings in their banks. When the government tells you you are depressed, lie down and be depressed!

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Shouldn't they be telling us about the decline each year in the number of people needing help? . . . The reduction in the need for public housing? But the reverse is true. Each year the need grows greater, the problem grows greater. We were told four years ago that seventeen million people went to bed hungry each night. Well, that was probably true. They were all on a diet! But now we are told that 9.3 million families in this country are poverty stricken on the basis of earning less than \$3,000 a year. Welfare spending is ten times greater than in the dark depths of the depression. We are spending 45 billion dollars on welfare. Now do a little arithmetic and you will find that if we divided 45 billion dollars up equally among those 9 million poor families, we would be able to give each family \$4,600 a year, and this, added to their present income, should eliminate poverty!

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Now do they honestly expect us to believe that if we add 100 billion dollars to the 45 billion we are spending . . . one more program to the 30 odd we have, (and remember, this new program doesn't replace any, it just duplicates existing programs). . . . Do they believe that poverty is suddenly going to disappear by magic? Well, in all fairness I should explain that there is one part of the new program that isn't duplicated. This is the youth feature. We are now going to solve the dropout problem, juvenile delinquency, by reinstating something like the old CCC camps, and we are going to put our young people in camps; but again we do some arithmetic, and we find that we are going to spend each year just on room and board for each young person that we help \$4,700 a year! We can send them to Harvard for \$2,700! Don't get me wrong. I'm not suggesting that Harvard is the answer to juvenile delinquency!

But seriously, what are we doing to those we seek to help? Not too long ago, a judge called me here in Los Angeles. He told me of a young woman who had come before him for a divorce.

She had six children, was pregnant with her seventh. Under his questioning, she revealed her husband was a laborer earning \$250 a month. She wanted a divorce so that she could get an \$80 raise. She is eligible for \$330 a month in the aid to dependent children program. She got the idea from two women in her neighborhood who had already done that very thing. Yet any time you and I question the schemes of the do-gooders, we are denounced as being against their humanitarian goals. They say we are always "against" things, never "for" anything. Well, the trouble with our liberal friends is not that they are ignorant, but that they know so much that is not so! We are for a provision that destitution should not follow unemployment by reason of old-age, and to that end we have accepted Social Security as a step toward meeting the problem. But we are

against those entrusted with this program when they practice deception regarding its fiscal shortcomings, when they charge that any criticism of the program means that we want to end payments to those people who depend on them for a livelihood. They have called it insurance to us in a hundred million pieces of literature. But then they appeared before the Supreme Court and they testified that it was a welfare program. They only use the term "insurance" to sell it to the people. And they said Social Security dues are a tax for the general use of the government, and the government has used that tax. There is no fund, because Robert Byers, the actuarial head, appeared before a Congressional Committee and admitted that Social Security as of this moment is 298 billion dollars in the hole! But he said there should be no cause for worry because as long as they have the power to tax, they could always take away from the people whatever they needed to bail them out of trouble! And they are doing just that.

A young man, 21 years of age, working at an average salary . . . his Social Security contribution would, in the open market, buy him an insurance policy that would guarantee \$220 a month at age 65. The government promises \$127! He could live it up until he is 31 and then take out a policy that would pay more than Social Security. Now are we so lacking in business sense that we can't put this program on a sound basis so that people who do require those payments will find that they can get them when they are due . . . that the cupboard isn't bare? Barry Goldwater thinks we can. At the same time, can't we introduce voluntary features that would permit a citizen to do better on his own, to be excused upon presentation of evidence that he had made provisions for the non-earning years?

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a utopian solution of peace without victory. They call their policy "accommodation." And they say if we only avoid any direct confrontation with the enemy, he will forget his evil ways and learn to love us. All who oppose them are indicted as warmongers. They say we offer simple answers to complex problems. Well, perhaps there is a simple answer . . . not an easy one . . . but a simple one. If you and I have the courage to tell our elected officials that we want our national policy based upon what we know in our hearts is morally right, we cannot buy our security, our freedom from the threat of the bomb by committing an immorality so great as saying to a billion human beings now in slavery behind the Iron Curtain, "Give up your dreams of freedom, because, to save our own skin, we are willing to make a deal with your slave-masters." Alexander Hamilton said, "A nation which can prefer disgrace to danger is prepared for a master, and deserves one!" Let's set the record straight. There is no argument over the choice between peace and war, but there is only one guaranteed way you can have peace . . . and you can have it in the next second . . . surrender! Admittedly there is a risk in any course we follow. Either course we follow other than this, but every lesson in history tells us that the greater risk lies in appeasement, and this is the spector our well-meaning liberal friends refuse to face . . . that their policy of accommodation is appeasement, and it gives no choice between peace and war, only between fight or surrender. If we continue to accommodate, continue to back and retreat, eventually we have to face the final demand—the ultimatum.

And what then, when Nikita Khrushchev has told his people he knows what our answer will be? He has told them that we are retreating under the pressure of the cold war and some day when the time comes to deliver the ultimatum, our surrender will be voluntary because by that time we will have been weakened from within spiritually, morally and economically. He believes this because from our side he has heard voices pleading for a peace at any price, pleading for "peace at any price," or "better Red than dead." Or as one commentator put it, he would rather "Live on his knees than die on his feet." And therein lies the road to war, because those voices don't speak for the rest of us. You and I know and do not believe that life is so dear and peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery. If nothing in life is worth dying for, when did this begin. . . . Just in the face of this enemy . . . or should Moses have told the children of Israel to live in slavery under the Pharaohs? Should Christ have refused the cross? Should the patriots at Concord Bridge have thrown down their guns and refused to fire the shot heard 'round the world? The martyrs of history were not fools, and our honored dead who gave their lives to stop the advance of the Nazis didn't die in vain! Where, then, is the road to peace? Well, it's a simple answer after all. You and I have the courage to say to our enemies, "There is a price we will not pay." There is a point beyond which they must not advance! This is the meaning in the phrase of Barry Goldwater's "Peace Through Strength!" Winston Churchill said that destiny of man is not measured by material computation. When great forces are on the move in the world, we learn we are spirits, not animals. And he said there is something going on in time and space, and beyond time and space, which, whether we like it or not, spells duty. You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We will preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on earth, or we will sentence them to take the last step into a thousand years of darkness.

We will keep the mind and remember that Barry Goldwater has faith in us. He has faith that you and I, have the ability and the dignity and the right to make our own decisions and determine our own destiny.

Thank you.

A TIME FOR CHOOSING

Following is speech by Ronald Reagan, October 27, San Francisco, Calif.

Thank you very much. Thank you, and good evening. The sponsor has been identified, but unlike most television programs, the performer hasn't been provided with a script. As a matter of fact, I have been permitted to choose my own words and discuss my own ideas regarding the choice that we face in the next few weeks.

I have spent most of my life as a Democrat. I recently have seen fit to follow another course. I believe that the issues confronting us cross party lines. Now one side in this campaign has been telling us that the issues of this election are the maintenance of peace and prosperity. The line has been used, "We've never had it so good!" But I have an uncomfortable feeling that this prosperity isn't something upon which we can base our hopes for the future. No nation in history has ever survived a tax burden that reached a third of its national income. Today 37 cents out of every dollar earned in this country is the tax collector's share, and yet our government continues to spend 17 million dollars a day more than the government takes in. We haven't balanced our budget 28 out of the last 34 years. We have raised our debt limit three times in the last 12 months, and now our national debt is 1½ times bigger than all the combined debts of all the nations of the world. We have 15 billion dollars in gold in our treasury—we don't own an ounce. Foreign dollars claims are 27.3 billion dollars, and we have just had announced that the dollar of 1939 will now purchase 45 cents in its total value. As for the peace that we would preserve, I wonder who among us would like to approach the wife or mother whose husband or son has died in Viet Nam and ask them if they think this is a peace that should be maintained indefinitely. Do they mean peace, or do they mean we just want to be left in peace? There can be no real peace while one American is dying some place in the world for the rest of us. We are at war with the most dangerous enemy that has ever faced mankind in his long climb from the swamp to the stars, and it has been said if we lose that war, and in so doing lose this way of freedom of ours, history will record with the greatest astonishment that those who had the most to lose did the least to prevent its happening.

Well, I think its time to ask ourselves if we still know the freedoms intended for us by the Founding Fathers.

Not too long ago two friends of mine were talking to a Cuban refugee, a business man who had escaped from Castro, and in the midst of his story one of my friends turned to the other and said, "We don't know how lucky we are." And the Cuban stopped and said, "How lucky you are! I had some place to escape to." In that sentence he told us the entire story. If we lose freedom here, there is no place to escape to. This is the last stand on earth, and this idea that government is beholden to the people, that it has no other source of power except the sovereign people, is still the newest and most unique idea in all the long history of man's relation to man.

This is the issue of this election, whether we believe in our capacity for self-government or whether we abandon the American Revolution and confess that a little intellectual elite in a far-distant capital can plan our lives for us better than we can plan them ourselves.

You and I are told increasingly that we have to choose between a left or right, but I would like to suggest that there is no such thing as a left or right. There is only an up or down—up to man's age-old dream—the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with law and order—or down to the ant heap of totalitarianism, and, regardless of their sincerity,

their humanitarian motives, those who would trade our freedom for security have embarked on this downward course. In this vote-harvesting time they use terms like "the great society," or, as we were told a short time ago by the President, we must accept a "greater government activity in the affairs of the people." But they have been a little more explicit in the past, and among themselves—and all of these things that I now will quote have appeared in print. These are not Republican accusations. For example, they have voices that say "the cold war will end through our acceptance of a not undemocratic socialism." Another voice says that the profit motive has become outmoded; it must be replaced by the incentives of the welfare state, or our traditional system of individual freedom is incapable of solving the complex problems of the 20th century. Senator Fullbright has said at Stanford University that the Constitution is outmoded. He referred to the President as our moral teacher, and our leader, and he said he is hobbled in his task by the restrictions in power imposed on him by this antiquated document. He must be freed so that he can do for us what he knows is best. And Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, another articulate spokesman, defines liberalism as "meeting the material needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government." Well, I for one resent it when a representative of the people refers to you and me—the free men and women of this country—as "the masses." This is a term we haven't applied to ourselves in America. But beyond that, "the full power of centralized government"—this was the very thing the Founding Fathers sought to minimize. They knew that governments don't control things. A government can't control the economy without controlling people. And they know when a government sets out to do that, it must use force and coercion to achieve its purpose. They also knew, those Founding Fathers, that outside of its legitimate functions, government does nothing as well or as economically as the private sector of the economy. Now, we have no better example of this than the government's involvement in the farm economy over the last 30 years. Since 1955 the cost of this program has nearly doubled. One-fourth of farming in America is responsible for 85 per cent of the farm surplus, three-fourths of farming is out on the free market and has shown a 21 per cent increase in the per capita consumption of all its produce. You see, that one-fourth of farming that's regulated and controlled by the federal government. In the last three years we have spent 43 dollars in the feed grain program for every dollar bushel of corn we don't grow. Senator Humphrey last week charged that Barry Goldwater as President would seek to eliminate farmers. He should do his homework a little better, because he will find out that we have had a decline of 5 million in the farm population under these government programs. He will also find that the Democratic Administration has sought to get from Congress an extension of the farm program to include that three-fourths that is now free. He will find that they have also asked for the right to imprison farmers who wouldn't keep books as prescribed by the federal government. The Secretary of Agriculture asked for the right to seize farms—to seize farms through condemnation and resell them to other individuals. And contained in that same program was a provision that would have allowed the federal government to remove 2 million farmers from the soil.

At the same time there has been an increase in the Department of Agriculture employees. There is now one for every 30 farms in the U. S. and still they can't tell us how 66 shiploads of grain headed for Austria disappeared without a trace, and Billy Sol Estes never left shore! Every responsible farmer and farm organization has repeatedly asked the government to free the farm economy, but who are farmers to know what is best for them? The wheat farmers voted against a wheat program. The government passed it anyway. Now the price of bread goes up; the price of wheat to the farmer goes down. Meanwhile, back in the city, under urban renewal, the assault on freedom carries on. Private property rights are so diluted that public interest is almost anything that a few government planners decide it should be. In a program that takes from the needy and gives to the greedy, we see such spectacles as in Cleveland, Ohio, a million and a half dollar building, completed only three years ago, must be destroyed to make way for

what government officials call a "more compatible use of the land." The President tells us he is now going to start building public housing units in the thousands where heretofore we have only built them in the hundreds. But FHA and the Veterans Administration tell us that they have 120 thousand units they've taken back through mortgage foreclosures. For three decades we have sought to solve the problems of unemployment through government planning, and the more the plans fail, the more planners plan. The latest is the Area Redevelopment Agency. They have just declared Rice County, Kansas a depressed area. Rice County, Kansas, has two hundred oil wells, and the 14,000 people there have over thirty million dollars on deposit in personal savings in their banks. When the government tells you you are depressed, lie down and be depressed!

We have so many people who can't see a fat man standing beside a thin one without coming to the conclusion that the fat man got that way by taking advantage of the thin one! So they are going to solve all the problems of human misery through government and government planning. Well, now if the government planning and welfare had the answer, and they've had almost thirty years of it, shouldn't we expect the government to read the score to us once in a while?

Shouldn't they be telling us about the decline each year in the number of people needing help? . . . The reduction in the need for public housing? But the reverse is true. Each year the need grows greater, the problem grows greater. We were told four years ago that seventeen million people went to bed hungry each night. Well, that was probably true. They were all on a diet! But now we are told that 9.3 million families in this country are poverty stricken on the basis of earning less than \$3,000 a year. Welfare spending is ten times greater than in the dark depths of the depression. We are spending 45 billion dollars on welfare. Now do a little arithmetic and you will find that if we divided 45 billion dollars up equally among those 9 million poor families, we would be able to give each family \$4,600 a year, and this, added to their present income, should eliminate poverty!

Direct aid to the poor, however, is running only about \$600 per family. It seems that someplace there must be some overhead. So now we declare "War on Poverty" or "You, Too, Can Be A Bobby Baker!"

Now do they honestly expect us to believe that if we add 100 billion dollars to the 45 billion we are spending . . . one more program to the 30 odd we have, (and remember, this new program doesn't replace any, it just duplicates existing programs). . . . Do they believe that poverty is suddenly going to disappear by magic? Well, in all fairness I should explain that there is one part of the new program that isn't duplicated. This is the youth feature. We are now going to solve the dropout problem, juvenile delinquency, by reinstating something like the old CCC camps, and we are going to put our young people in camps; but again we do some arithmetic, and we find that we are going to spend each year just on room and board for each young person that we help \$4,700 a year! We can send them to Harvard for \$2,700! Don't get me wrong. I'm not suggesting that Harvard is the answer to juvenile delinquency!

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This is a man who in his own business, before he entered politics, instituted a profit-sharing plan, before unions had even thought of it. He put in health and medical insurance for all his employees. He took 50 per cent of the profits before taxes and set up a retirement plan, a pension plan for all his employees. He sent monthly checks for life to an employee who was ill and couldn't work. He provides nursing care for the children of mothers who work in the stores. When Mexico was ravaged by the floods from the Rio Grande, he climbed in his airplane and flew medicine and supplies down there.

An ex-GI told me how he met him. It was the week before Christmas, during the Korean War, and he was at the Los Angeles airport trying to get a ride home to Arizona, and he said that there were a lot of service men there and no seats available on the planes. Then a voice came over the loudspeaker and said, "Any men in uniform wanting a ride to Arizona, go to runway such-and-such," and they went down there, and there was a fellow named Barry Goldwater sitting in his plane. Every day in the weeks before Christmas, all day long, he would load up the plane, fly to Arizona, fly them to their homes, then fly back over to get another load. During the hectic split-second timing of a campaign, this is a man who took time out to sit beside an old friend who was dying of cancer. His campaign managers were understandably impatient, but he said, "There aren't many left who care what happens to her. I'd like her to know that I care." This is a man who said to his 19-year-old son, "There is no foundation like the rock of honesty and fairness, and when you begin to build your life upon that rock, with the cement of the faith in God that you have, then you have a real start!" This is not a man who could carelessly send other people's sons to war. And that is the issue of this campaign that makes all of the other problems I have discussed academic, unless we realize that we are in a war that must be won. Those who would trade our freedom for the soup kitchen of the welfare state have told us that they have

a utopian solution of peace without victory. They call their policy "accommodation." And they say if we only avoid any direct confrontation with the enemy, he will forget his evil ways and learn to love us. All who oppose them are indicted as warmongers. They say we offer simple answers to complex problems. Well, perhaps there is a simple answer . . . not an easy one . . . but a simple one. If you and I have the courage to tell our elected officials that we want our national policy based upon what we know in our hearts is morally right, we cannot buy our security, our freedom from the threat of the bomb by committing an immorality so great as saying to a billion human beings now in slavery behind the Iron Curtain, "Give up your dreams of freedom, because, to save our own skin, we are willing to make a deal with your slave-masters." Alexander Hamilton said, "A nation which can prefer disgrace to danger is prepared for a master, and deserves one!" Let's set the record straight. There is no argument over the choice between peace and war, but there is only one guaranteed way you can have peace . . . and you can have it in the next second . . . surrender! Admittedly there is a risk in any course we follow. Either course we follow other than this, but every lesson in history tells us that the greater risk lies in appeasement, and this is the specter our well-meaning liberal friends refuse to face . . . that their policy of accommodation is appeasement, and it gives no choice between peace and war, only between fight or surrender. If we continue to accommodate, continue to back and retreat, eventually we have to face the final demand—the ultimatum.

And what then, when Nikita Khrushchev has told his people he knows what our answer will be? He has told them that we are retreating under the pressure of the cold war and some day when the time comes to deliver the ultimatum, our surrender will be voluntary because by that time we will have been weakened from within spiritually, morally and economically. He believes this because from our side he has heard voices pleading for a peace at any price, pleading for "peace at any price," or "better Red than dead." Or as one commentator put it, he would rather "Live on his knees than die on his feet." And therein lies the road to war, because those voices don't speak for the rest of us. You and I know and do not believe that life is so dear and peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery. If nothing in life is worth dying for, when did this begin. . . . Just in the face of this enemy . . . or should Moses have told the children of Israel to live in slavery under the Pharaohs? Should Christ have refused the cross? Should the patriots at Concord Bridge have thrown down their guns and refused to fire the shot heard 'round the world? The martyrs of history were not fools, and our honored dead who gave their lives to stop the advance of the Nazis didn't die in vain! Where, then, is the road to peace? Well, it's a simple answer after all. You and I have the courage to say to our enemies, "There is a price we will not pay." There is a point beyond which they must not advance! This is the meaning in the phrase of Barry Goldwater's "Peace Through Strength!" Winston Churchill said that destiny of man is not measured by material computation. When great forces are on the move in the world, we learn we are spirits, not animals. And he said there is something going on in time and space, and beyond time and space, which, whether we like it or not, spells duty. You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We will preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on earth, or we will sentence them to take the last step into a thousand years of darkness.

We will keep the mind and remember that Barry Goldwater has faith in us. He has faith that you and I, have the ability and the dignity and the right to make our own decisions and determine our own destiny.

Thank you.