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Insert on Radio Statistics

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

By 1934, there were 593 broadcasting stations in the United States. Sales of receivers continued to grow; there were 3 million sets manufactured in 1932, 6 million in 1935, and 13 million in 1941.

(Dolan)

February 1, 1984

11:00 a.m.

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

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

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

It is always wonderful to return to Eureka. People ask me if looking back at my college years, I can remember any inkling that I would someday run for president. Actually, the thought first struck me on graduation day when the president of the college handed me my diploma and asked: "Are you better off today than you were 4 years ago?" No, really, I guess I first started thinking about the presidency when I was washing dishes over in the girl's dormitory . . . there I was . . . night after night . . . staring into the oval soap dish. But the truth is I never did think I would end up in the most prestigious job in the

free world and -- come to think of it -- I'm still not the coach of the L.A. Raiders.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yet it took only a few years for that sense of wonder to dissolve; and radio -- so exotic in the 1920's -- had become

commonplace by the time of the 30's when I was in college. Indeed, by 1934 _____ million radio sets a year were being manufactured.

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

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

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

So it came as something of a shock when my generation began to realize that the Federal Government, brought to the fore in an economic emergency, was becoming an obstacle to economic progress. In addition to damaging the autonomy of local and State governments and usurping the rights of the people, the public sector had grown so large it was consuming our national wealth, discouraging energy and initiative and suffocating the spirit of enterprise and resourcefulness that had always been at the heart of America's economic miracle.

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

But some peoples, like those who founded the American Republic, revolted under such oppression. That's why no one understood better the danger of unchecked government power than those men: "The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the power of all departments in one," George Washington wrote about

Government's tendency to grow, "and thus to create . . . a real despotism."

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

I remember now quoting a few of these warnings, long after I had left radio for films and television and was out working some nights on the rubber chicken circuit. And by that time this reformed New Dealer could add one observation of his own: that a Government agency is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth. Yet even as the decades of the 50's and 60's went by and an increasing numbers of Americans shared my concern, Government grew like topsy. In the 70s, Federal spending tripled and taxes doubled, the national debt went up by 260 percent --from 382 billion to more than a trillion dollars. We were paying more in a single year's interest on that debt than it had taken to run the whole Government 20 years earlier. Government bureaus, agencies, and employment rolls kept multiplying and one program, food stamps, even managed to grow by an incredible 16,000 percent.

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

Fortunately, that juggernaut of big Government has now been slowed. During the last 3 years, we've brought skyrocketing spending back to earth and, for the first time, slowed that

enormous momentum towards big Government built up over five decades. It wasn't easy but measure the results by our ability to achieve what people once said was impossible: The growth of Federal spending has been reduced by _____, Government regulations have been cut for an annual savings of _____ manhours and taxes on working Americans have actually been reduced and indexed to the rate of inflation.

Today the economic recovery is in full swing. But let's use these moments of reflection today to understand the hard lessons we've learned since the depression about the growth of government. Let's resolve to bring about some basic reforms, reforms that will build into our constitutional system additional safeguards against Government's all too powerful tendency to aggrandize itself.

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

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

live within its means; and I repeat my call today for making a balanced budget a constitutional requirement.

And finally, our tax system is now a nightmare of tangled requirements and twisted priorities. It's time Congress acted; it's time they gave the American people a tax code that is simple, direct, and capable of being understood by someone other than an army of greenshaded accountants and hungry tax lawyers.

The technological revolution brought on by inventions like radio and the political revolution marked by the sweeping new scope of Federal power have dominated the 50 years since I left Eureka. But there was an additional development, very much worth noting: that was the emergence of America's new international responsibilities and her sudden, unexpected designation as the champion of human freedom in the struggle against totalitarianism.

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

But that bipartisan consensus of the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy years began to break down in the 60's and 70's. Partly in response to the Vietnam tragedy, an era of paralyzing self-doubt was ushered in. And with it came a great hesitancy to consider just and legitimate uses of American power, even acts of self-defense.

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

We've tried to change this. When I spoke to the British Parliament a while ago, I said the cause was human freedom. In Europe, in Lebanon, in Central America our purpose has been just that.

And one beneficial side result has been that Americans -- and it doesn't matter whether they are navy pilots in the Gulf of Sidra or medical students in Grenada -- can no longer be attacked or their lives endangered with impunity.

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

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

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

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

Yet, it goes beyond just self-defense. We've brought a new honesty and moral purposefulness to our foreign policy. We have

shown we can aggressively pursue peace initiatives while being candid with ourselves and the world about the essential differences between freedom and statism. Candor about the Soviet Union and its international activities, far from hindering the peace process, ultimately enhances it. History has shown that it is only when the Soviets realize that their counterparts in negotiations have no illusions about the Soviet system and its ultimate intentions that they settle down to the hard business of serious negotiations.

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

Our willingness to speak out on these distinctions is at the heart of American foreign policy, indeed forms its moral center. For us, human freedom is a first principle; ~~it can never be~~ ^{not} a bargaining chip at a negotiating session. Therefore, to fail to publicly enunciate the differences between totalitarian and democratic systems of government would be to foresake this moral high ground. Equally as important, it would persuade the Soviets we are once again in the grip of self delusion about their intentions. This would only tempt them to exploit the negotiating process rather than use it to reach verifiable and mutually beneficial arms agreements.

So I think you can see we have come a long way from the days of "inordinate fear of communism." Frankly nothing frightens me

more than the remarks of certain presidential candidates who seem to want to return us to those days, the days of thinking that the only way to gain peace is to try and fool ourselves and the rest of the world about the true nature of Soviet intentions. That isn't the way to peace; its the road to weakness, self-delusion, and deceit. ~~I think a new consensus has been established in America on the nature of Soviet intentions.~~ I think this ^{new} realism ^{in America} about the Soviets is ^{virtually} a reestablishment of the broad national consensus of the pre-Vietnam era, ^{a time return to the time} when the moral imperatives of defending freedom and taking ^{totalitarian governments} ~~the Soviets~~ seriously was implicitly understood.

(Dolan)

February 1, 1984

9:00 a.m.

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free world and -- come to think of it -- I'm still not the coach of the L.A. Raiders.

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

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

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Yet it took only a few years for that sense of wonder to dissolve; and radio -- so exotic in the 1920's -- had become commonplace by the time of the 30's when I was in college. *Indeed, by 1934 -- 10 million radio sets a year were being manufactured.* ~~(STATISTICS HERE)~~

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

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Once again, as I look back, the rapidity of that political change ^{was} ~~about~~ as astonishing as the change brought by technology. *At the start of that era,* ~~In the 1930's,~~ government was consuming a dime of every dollar earned; two-thirds of that money was going to State and local governments with only a third to Washington. Today, government is collecting 44 cents from every dollar and the proportion is

completely reversed with two thirds of that money now going to the Federal Government.

So it came as something of a shock when my generation began to realize that the Federal Government, brought to the fore in an economic emergency, was becoming an obstacle to economic progress. In addition to damaging the autonomy of local and State governments and usurping the rights of the people, the public sector had grown so large it was consuming our national wealth, discouraging energy and initiative and suffocating the spirit of enterprise and resourcefulness that had always been at the heart of America's economic miracle.

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

But some peoples, like those who founded the American Republic, revolted under such oppression. That's why no one understood better the danger of unchecked government power than those men: "The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the

power of all departments in one," George Washington wrote about Government's tendency to grow, "and thus to create . . . a real despotism."

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

I remember now quoting a few of these warnings, long after I had left radio for films and television and ~~sometimes working~~ ^{was out} on

60s ^{somebody} ~~the rubber chicken circuit, during the 50's and 60's.~~ And by that time this reformed New Dealer could add one observation of his

own: that a Government agency is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth. Yet even as ~~those~~ ^{the} decades *of the 50s and*

60s went by and an increasing numbers of Americans shared my concern, Government grew like topsy. In the 70s, Federal spending tripled and taxes doubled, the national debt went up by

260 percent --from 382 billion to more than a trillion dollars.

We were paying more in a single year's interest on that debt than it had taken to run the whole Government 20 years earlier.

Government bureaus, agencies, and employment rolls kept multiplying and one program, food stamps, even managed to grow by an incredible 16,000 percent.

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

Fortunately, that juggernaut of big Government has now been slowed. During the last 3 years, we've brought skyrocketing

spending back to earth and, for the first time, slowed that enormous momentum towards bigger Government built up over five decades. It wasn't easy but measure the results by our ability to achieve what people once said was impossible: The growth of Federal spending has been reduced by _____, Government regulations have been cut for an annual savings of

_____ manhours, and ~~for the first time in a long while~~ taxes on working Americans have been ^{actually} reduced *and index'd to the rate of inflation*

Today the economic recovery is in full swing. But ~~if we are~~ ^{let's use} to use well these moments of reflection today, ^{to} let's understand the hard lessons we've learned since the depression about the growth of government. Let's resolve to bring about some basic reforms, reforms that will build into our constitutional system additional safeguards against Government's all too powerful tendency to aggrandize itself.

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

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

live within its means; and I repeat my call today for making a balanced budget a constitutional requirement.

And finally, our tax system is now a nightmare of tangled requirements and twisted priorities. It's time Congress acted;

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capable of being ~~and~~ gave the American people a tax code that is simple, direct, *good by*
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~~The 50 years since I left Eureka have been dominated by~~
~~these two great developments:~~ The technological revolution brought on by inventions like radio and the political revolution marked by the sweeping new scope of Federal power. But there was an additional development, very much worth noting, *50 years since I left Eureka* and that was the emergence of America's new international responsibilities and her sudden, ~~and~~ unexpected designation as the champion of human freedom in the struggle against totalitarianism.

Throughout World War II and most of the post war era, ~~of course,~~ *pulls* there was a broad consensus in our Nation on this point.

Though the adversaries changed -- from Hitler to Stalin -- there was still *basic* broad agreement on *the moral imperative of defending freedom and* the self-evident differences between totalitarian and democratic governments, ~~and the moral imperatives of defending freedom.~~

But that bipartisan consensus of the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy years began to break down in the 60's and 70's. Partly in response to the Vietnam tragedy, an era of paralyzing self-doubt *was ushered in, and* ~~took over and~~ with it came a great hesitancy to consider just and legitimate uses of American power, even ~~its~~ acts of self-defense.

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

We've tried to change this. When I spoke to the British Parliament a while ago, I ~~issued a call for a crusade for~~ ^{said the cause was} human freedom. ~~And in~~ In Europe, in Lebanon, in Central America our purpose has been just that. ~~As a result, Americans -- and it~~ ^{of that one beneficial side result has been that} doesn't matter whether they are navy pilots in the Gulf of Sidra or medical students in Grenada -- can no longer be attacked or their lives endagnered with impunity.

You know, Jean Kirkpatrick, our Ambassador to the United Nations, has a wonderful story to explain how fundamental that change has been. ←

She says that when she arrived at the United Nations someone asked what would be different about a Reagan Administraton's foreign policy.

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

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

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

^{yet} It goes ~~even~~ ^{just self defense.} beyond ~~that.~~ We have shown ~~that there is no~~ ^{We've brought a new honest purposefulness to our foreign policy.} ~~inherent contradiction between opening and aggressively pursuing~~ ^{we can}

~~a wide series of~~ ^{while} peace initiatives ~~and yet~~ being candid with ourselves and the world about the essential differences between freedom and statism. ~~So~~ Candor about the Soviet Union and its international activities, far from hindering the peace process, ^{ultimately} ~~actually~~ enhances it. History has shown that ^{it is only} ~~when~~ the Soviets realize that their counterparts in negotiations have no illusions about the Soviet system and its ultimate intentions that they settle down to the hard business of serious negotiations.

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

Our willingness to speak out ^{on these distinctions} ~~about injustice~~ is at the heart of American foreign policy, indeed forms its moral center. For us, human freedom ^{is a first principle; it} ~~can never be a bargaining chip at a negotiating session, it is a first principle.~~ Therefore, to fail to publicly enunciate the differences between totalitarian and democratic systems of government would be to foresake this moral high ground. Equally as important, it would persuade the Soviets we are once again in the grip of self delusion about their intentions. This would only tempt them to exploit the negotiating process rather than use it to reach verifiable and mutually beneficial arms agreements.

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 only way to gain peace is to try and fool ourselves and the world
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~~the road to self-delusion, weakness, self-delusion and deceit,~~
 aggressively pursue the peace process without deluding ourselves
 about the ~~real intentions of our adversaries~~ ^{I think a new} ~~and I'm glad a broad~~
~~consensus has been reestablished on this point and frankly I~~
~~don't think the American people seek a return to the days of~~
~~weakness, self-delusion and deceit. Wish a few of those other~~
~~fellas would catch on.~~

~~The American~~ is Queen on the nature of
 Soviet ~~intentions~~ and the importance of reality
 for intentions and I think this
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End insert ~~on~~ disc insert
at mutually
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(Dolan)

January 31, 1984

8:00 p.m.

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free world and -- come to think of it -- I'm still not the coach of the L.A. Raiders.

Besides being wonderful, coming back to Eureka is also a great temptation. ^{Sitting in} ~~Being part of~~ a college audience can sometimes be dangerous duty -- something about your youthfulness and the bright, fresh hope it symbolizes makes guest speakers like myself very free with their reminiscences and very reluctant to sit down. And I guess you've heard that I like to tell an anecdote or two. ~~I~~ ^{But I} do promise to be brief today; ~~but I also~~ ^{but I} don't want to miss this opportunity -- perhaps the last one I will have before the demands of this political year grow too pressing -- to share with you some thoughts on the changes that have happened to America in the 50 years since I left this campus. And to offer too some thoughts on how we can shape those changes to serve the cause of human freedom, ^{to} inspire, not burden those who come after us.

I can't think of a better occasion for such reflections. In addition to Founder's Day here at Eureka, we're also marking today the first in a series of speeches sponsored by Time Magazine to commemorate its 60th anniversary. ^{with these speakers} Time's idea is to

bring to college campuses newsmakers who have been subjects of Time cover stories ^{and see if they can offer some thoughts on their own time} In the 60 years Time has been turning out

^{For 60 years, Time} ~~those covers.~~ it has lived up to what Henry Luce and Britton envisioned when they founded the magazine in 1924: a weekly digest of news put together with much more care and perspective than is ^{usually} ~~usually~~ possible under the deadline pressure of daily journalism. And ^{now} ~~so~~ Time has decided to sponsor ~~these~~ a series

^{of} speeches by ^{those} ~~newsmakers~~ who've been on their covers. ~~to see what kind of perspectives it can offer on the events of the day.~~

what perspective they can offer on the events of the day

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

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

In 1932, for example, I graduated from Eureka with an avid desire for a career in radio; though I didn't know it at the time ~~I wanted to~~ ^{I would love} be part of the communications revolution that was

shrinking the dimensions of my world even more than radio's successor, television, would shrink yours ^{own.}

Already my generation's sports idols, celebrities, newsmakers, and heroes

~~had come~~ ^{a radio career} to us in large measure from the world of radio; so ~~it~~

^{it} seemed a perfectly understandable ~~choice~~ ^{career} ~~choice~~. Yet if I had stopped

to think about it, ~~then~~ ^{only a}, I would have remembered ~~a time only a~~ ^{boyhood days a few short}

~~short time~~ ^{years} before when my friends and I followed our neighborhood

genius around town ~~as he tried~~ ^{ing} to pick up radio signals with his

jerry-rigged crystals, aerial and headphone. Can you imagine our

sense of wonder, ^{then,} one Sunday afternoon down by the river in Dixon,

~~when~~ we heard the sounds of radio for the first time -- an

orchestra playing over KDDA several hundred miles away in

Pittsburg?

Yet it took only a few years for that sense of wonder to dissolve; and radio -- so exotic in the 1920's -- ^{had} become commonplace ^{at the time I was in college.} of the 30's when I was in college. (STATISTICS HERE)

By that time of course, the market had crashed, the depression years were upon us and over those radio sets, now sitting in every parlor and living room ^{in the nation,} came the rich, reassuring tones of Franklin Roosevelt. All of us who lived through those years, can remember the drabness the depression brought, but we remember too how people pulled together -- that sense of community and shared values, that belief in American enterprise and democracy that saw us through. It was that ingrained American optimism, that sense of hope Franklin Roosevelt so brilliantly summoned and mobilized.

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

Once again, as ^I we look back, the rapidity of that ^{political} change is astonishing ^{as the technological changes brought by technology.} In the 1930's, government was consuming a dime of every dollar earned; two-thirds of that money was going to State and local governments with only a third to Washington. ~~Not~~ Today, government is collecting 44 cents from every dollar and the proportion is completely reversed ^{with} two thirds ^{of that money} now going to the Federal Government.

So it came as something of a shock ^{when} to my generation when we began to realize that the Federal Government, brought to the fore in an economic emergency, ^{was becoming an obstacle to economic progress. In addition to} ~~was not only~~ damaging the autonomy of local and State governments ^{and} and usurping the rights of the people ~~but actually making itself an obstacle to economic progress.~~ ^{and} The public sector had grown so large it was consuming our national wealth, discouraging energy and initiative and suffocating the spirit of enterprise and resourcefulness that had always been at the heart of America's economic ~~progress~~ ^{miracle.}

^{first,} In the depression years and their aftermath, we forgot that founding lesson of the American Republic -- that ~~unless~~ ^{without proper} restrained ^{to} Government the servant, ^{quickly} ~~quickly~~ becomes Government, the oppressor. I say, of course, that this is an American lesson but it is actually ^{much} ~~very~~ ^{old} ~~that that!~~: "The budget should be balanced, the treasury should be refilled, the public debt should be reduced, the arrogance of officialdom should be tempered and controlled," Cicero wrote in B.C. And since ~~that~~ ^{that} time, ~~of that famous~~ Roman ~~many nations~~ ^{have been} ~~were~~ brought to their knees by governments that ran up ^{their} debts and then taxed ^{their} ~~its~~ citizens into servitude when the bills came due.

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

That failed to lead the world that was coming

~~Jefferson~~ put it succinctly, "I am not a friend to a very energetic government, it is always oppressive." ~~Jefferson~~ said.

And by that time this reformed New Dealer could add one observation of his own: that ^aGovernment ^{agency} is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth. I remember now ^{Long after, I had left radio for films and television and something's worked on} quoting a few of these warnings ~~when I took to the rubber chicken circuit during the 50's and 60's.~~ Yet even as those decades went by and an increasing numbers of Americans shared my concern, Government grew like topsy. In the 70s, Federal spending tripled and taxes doubled, the national debt went up by 260 percent from 382 billion to more than a trillion dollars. We were paying more in a single year's interest on that debt than it had taken to run the whole Government 20 years earlier. Government bureaus, agencies, and employment rolls kept multiplying and one program, food stamps, even managed to grow by an incredible 16,000 percent.

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

Fortunately, the juggernaut of big Government that ^{now} ~~has~~ been ^{for the first time,} ~~rolling along since the 30's~~ has finally been slowed ^{for the first time,} ~~During the~~

^{for the first time,} ~~last 3 years,~~ we've brought skyrocketing spending back to earth, ^{and} ~~we've~~ ^{that enormous} ~~slowed five decades of enormous momentum towards bigger~~ Government. ^{built up over 5 decades,} It wasn't easy but measure the results by our ^{have} ability to achieve what people said was impossible: The growth of Federal spending has been reduced by _____, Government

regulations have been cut for an annual savings of _____ manhours, and for the first time in a long while taxes on working Americans have been reduced.

~~Today the~~ ^{But} ~~our~~ economic recovery is in full swing. ~~But before we get a~~ ^{So if we mean to}

~~too~~ carried away with it; ^{well} let's use these moments of reflection ^{today,}

~~today to~~ ^{let's} understand the hard lessons we've learned since the

depression ^{about the limits of government let's resolve to} ~~Let's~~ bring about some basic reforms, that will ~~and~~

^{reforms that will} build into our constitutional system ~~some~~ additional safeguards against Government's all too powerful tendency to aggrandize itself.

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

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

And finally, our tax system is ^(now) a nightmare of tangled requirements and twisted priorities. It's time ~~the~~ Congress acted and gave the American people a tax code that is simple,

direct, and understandable to someone other than greenshaded
accountants ^{an array of} ~~and an array of~~ lumpy ^{tax} ~~tax~~ bangers.

(Dolan)

January 31, 1984

7:00 p.m.

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

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

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

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

Besides being wonderful, coming back to Eureka is also a great temptation. ~~I think most of you are aware that~~ ^BBeing part of a college audience can sometimes be dangerous duty -- something about your youthfulness and the bright, fresh hope it symbolizes makes guest speakers like myself very free with their reminiscences and very reluctant to sit down. And I guess you've heard that I like to tell an anecdote or two. But I do promise to be brief today; ^{but} ~~yet~~ I also don't want to miss this opportunity -- perhaps the last one I will have before the demands of this political year grow too pressing -- to share with you some thoughts on the changes that have happened to America in the 50 years since I left this campus. And to offer too some thoughts on how we can shape those changes to serve the cause of human freedom, to inspire, not burden those who come after us.

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Can you imagine, ^{or sense of wonder,} one Sunday afternoon down by the river in Dixon, ^{when we heard} our sense of wonder ^{that} as we finally picked up the sounds of an ^{radio from the} orchestra playing over KDDA several hundred miles away in Pittsburgh?

^{but time and memory} ~~It~~ ^{Yet} took only a few years for that sense of wonder to dissolve; and radio -- so exotic in the 1920's -- ^{to} became commonplace ~~in the 1930s~~. (STATISTICS HERE)

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wealth, discouraging energy and initiative and suffocating the spirit of enterprise and resourcefulness that had always been at the heart of America's economic progress.

In the depression years and their aftermath, we forgot that founding lesson of the American Republic -- that unless restrained, Government the servant, quickly becomes Government, the oppressor. I say, of course, that this is an American lesson but it is actually very old: "The budget should be balanced, the treasury should be refilled, the public debt should be reduced, the arrogance of officialdom should be tempered and controlled," Cicero wrote in _____ B.C. And since the time of that famous Roman, many nations ~~have been~~ were brought to their knees by government that ran up debt and then taxed its citizens into servitude when the bills came due.

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And some peoples revolted under such oppression. That is why one undisciplined better the danger of his unchecked government power than

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Fortunately, ^{the} ~~that~~ juggernaut of big Government that had been rolling along since the 30's has finally been slowed down. ^{For the} ~~Our~~

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too carried away with it; let's use the ^{moments of reflection} ~~hard lesson~~ we've learned

since the depression, ^{let's} to bring about some basic reforms that will

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^{16 new} ~~constitutional system some~~ additional safeguards against Government's all too powerful

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to try to understand the hard lessons

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

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