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Education - next step
time-tested value
generation gap
mass materialism
opportunities &
dreams

Remarks by Governor Ronald Reagan

I think every speaker in a ceremony such as this one approaches the task with mixed emotions—delight and pride at having been asked to speak, and fear, lest his remarks turn out inappropriate to the occasion.

I am delighted for the reason that it gives me an opportunity, by being associated with this kind of educational ceremony, to demonstrate the falseness of some of the criticisms leveled against me in the performance of my job. It ain't true that I don't place no store on booklearning!

I believe that with a good education it is possible to worry about problems all over the world. But I certainly feel that other emotion — concern — whether the things I say will hopefully add at least a little bit of meaning for you on this day of your lives . . .

The one thing I do know, is that the world is improved in many ways, not the least of which has been the abandonment of certain clichés inflicted with heavy-handed humor on patient graduates. You are no longer told on this day that you know more now than you ever knew before, or that you will ever know again; or that educational institutions are known as storehouses of knowledge because freshmen bring so much in and the seniors take so little out. And there was of course that all-time stand-by, the speaker who always said, "when I was fourteen I didn't think my parents knew anything and when I was twenty-one I was surprised at how much the old folks had learned in seven years."

But I think some of us are thankful that some things don't change. You have taken almost all of your entire life in achieving this moment and to you it seems like a very long journey indeed. But it seems to many of us who are here today that your journey started just the day before yesterday. For us it is a day of nostalgia, of looking back on a montage of memories. I think for you, in addition to the memories you will have, you are looking forward and seeking a clue to what the future may hold. Perhaps that explains the paradox of calling this day graduation and at the same time, calling it commencement.

All of you will go on in your education — some of you in the universities and colleges of this land, perhaps some of you in specialized career training. But if your stay here has meant anything at all it is that you will go on learning and expanding your awareness and your horizons through all the years of your life.

Once upon a time the adult portion of an audience such as this prepared itself for new worries on this particular day. They started worrying, "How will you do in that next education step?" There is one thing true of all parents: they want their children to have everything they never had. Especially a report card filled with A's.

I know sometimes parents wonder whether they will be able to keep you there in those institutions of higher education. I asked a friend the other day if his son was

making it at college, and he said, "No, I'm making it, he's spending it."

But seriously, many of us today do have a very real worry. We have a worry now at this moment whether we have given you the foundation that will stand up to the multitude of voices that will be assailing you in an ever-increasing volume in the years ahead. Frankly, this includes some of the voices you will encounter in classroom and lecture halls as you go on to higher education. Some interpret their right of speech as an obligation to shake your thinking to reflect their own beliefs. This, too, is part of the changing world. There was a time when the highest canons of academia rejected the indoctrination of students with the views of those who taught. The goal then was to teach the student how to think and not what to think . . .

I am not suggesting that you leave here with a mind closed to any of the new ideas that will be presented to you in the future. I am suggesting that an open mind is a fine thing but we shouldn't confuse an open mind with an empty head. Beware of those who will wipe out, or attempt to wipe out, all of your beliefs but leave you with nothing to replace them.

At the same time don't accept without studying and deep consideration the ready-made philosophy that some will try to implant as a substitute for everything that you now believe.

Challenge the morals and customs of the past. Every generation has done so, but don't automatically discard them simply because they are old. Some of the time-tested values may be irksome at the moment, but we forsake them at our peril. They are the values we call civilization and men have always been willing to die for them.

There are laws governing us that men didn't write and which therefore men can't rewrite. We know, for example, that three times two equals six, and sometimes that is inconvenient, but we can't change it. There are some who know it's true and resent it, just as they resent the existing moral order, and the fact that a moral order operating in this year of 1974 is the same moral order that operated four thousand years ago in 1974 B.C.

Through wishful thinking or ignorance we may at times bury the interpretation of that law. But the law remains unchanged and no society can long flaunt the law without inviting its own destruction.

Today there is an increasing rebellion against this concept of order. Simply obeying whim or impulse, no matter how attractive it seems at the moment, doesn't really make for freedom as we have been told; it makes for anarchy in society and in our souls. The bumper sticker, "If it feels good do it," might sound all right at first reading, but it is a little hard to take if someone's idea of what makes him feel good is beating us over the head.

Actually, a lot of the new freedom we hear about is not freedom and it is not new - it is a return to the primitive. What those who preach the doctrine would sneeringly

call old-fashioned is actually the newest idea in the history of man's relation to man. Suppose we could condense the whole history of life on earth down to one year. We could put it on film. That movie would run for twenty four hours a day for 365 days a year . . . This idea we call America would not appear on that film until three-and-one-half seconds before midnight on the final day of December thirty-first, and yet in those three-and-one-half seconds, one half of all the economic activity in world history would take place on this continent. But more important, a new concept of society would come into being in those three-and-one-half seconds, and would become a golden hope for all mankind . . . An individual man would be free to express his genius and perform such miracles of invention and construction and production as the world has never seen.

Every standard of measurement confirms this fact, and yet there are those today who would have us believe this system that has accomplished these things has somehow failed and should be replaced by some untried utopian theory.

Every generation thinks that the preceding generation behaved badly, failed miserably, and left the world in something of a mess for the new generation to clean up. It is only later, when we work together, when the generations begin to overlap in the work-a-day world . . . only then do we realize the fallacy of those who would create such a generation gap.

The generations are not structured horizontally, stretched out like a sausage and divided by age groups into separate slices. Society is structured vertically with each generation climbing and then standing on the shoulders of the generation that has gone before as man continues to reach for the stars.

You happen to be very unique in this particular ceremony. You are the first class for whom this day marks also, at the proper birthday, your move into full citizenship. So this is a day that is appropriate to take inventory of your inheritance—this social structure that will one day be yours to manage. And if I read you correctly, and the rest of your age group, you are very much disturbed.

You have been inundated with a flood of rhetoric by the communications media unlike anything that any generation has ever experienced before. This is the day of the doom and gloom criers. Even so-called entertainment today reflects a world that is grimy and distorted, with violence providing the only excitement. Well there are many problems that remain unsolved. Poverty has not been eliminated, prejudice and inequality of opportunities still exist and man's greatest stupidity—war—still takes place. But since your generation will overlap with ours in trying to resolve these problems, let me make one thing very clear, I am not apologizing for our generation.

In our lifetime we have fought harder and paid a higher price for freedom than any people who ever lived, and we have done more in our single lifetime to advance the dignity of man than has ever been done in any similar period of time.

There are only a few times in history that a single generation is called upon to preside over a period of transition as our generation. We literally went from the horse and buggy to the moon. A few years ago I was having a meeting with some student leaders from the University system of California. It was not exactly a friendly rap session. That was a time when the campuses were filled with great unrest. And finally one of the student leaders said to me, "You have to understand that you can't understand our generation. You cannot understand your own sons and daughters." And I tried to pass it off, I said, "We know more about being young than we know about being old." And he said, "No, I'm serious because when you were our age you didn't live in a world of instant electronic communications, of jet travel, of nuclear power, of space travel to the other planets, cybernetics and computers computing in seconds what it used to take men years to figure out."—Well, that's true, we didn't have those things when we were his age—we invented them.



When I speak of transition, I have already lived ten years longer than my life expectancy when I was born. (The governor then spoke about statistics confirming improvement in elimination of disease, improvement of housing, recognition of racial problems, upgrading of mass-produced items, variety of helpful household items to buy and nutritious foods to eat, availability of cars to buy.) But the doom-criers will say that this is proof-positive of our materialism. Well, they are wrong again, because our way of life is characterized by a compassion that is unique in all the world . . .

And we have helped afflicted mankind, back through our entire history, whether it was a natural disaster, an earthquake in Tokyo, a famine in an Asian country, any kind of natural disaster—flood, war—our finest young men have bled on foreign soil the world over to protect the freedom of someone who could not protect his own.

Because of what some charge as our materialism, you are bigger and healthier and brighter and will know more and travel farther and live longer than any people who have ever lived. And you will inherit a society which has more churches, more libraries, supports with voluntary contributions more symphonies, operas, non-profit theatres, and publishes more books than all the rest of the world put together.

We have more doctors per thousand people, more hospitals in relation to population, and a third of all the

young people in the world who are getting a college education are getting it in the United States.

We have distributed our wealth more widely among our people than any society that ever existed.

We tax ourselves more heavily than any other nation to support education and to provide for the disadvantaged. We contribute on top of that, voluntarily, more than \$25 billion per year for the same purpose.

Fifty million Americans spend several hours each week in volunteer work, in youth programs and education and charity endeavors. You are the heirs to the noblest experiment in freedom that has ever been devised by the mind of man.

Beware of those who would cast it aside for some super-planned utopia in which everything that is not compulsory would be prohibited.

The scholar has written that the young of any generation have felt the same impulse to grow, to reach out, to touch the stars, to live freely and to let their minds loose along unexplored corridors. Young men and women have always stood on some hill and felt the same sudden complete expansion of mind to final fulfillment. It is one of the oldest and sweetest and the most bitter experiences of mankind.

I wonder if you know how easy it is for us to really understand that you want more out of life than a 9 to 5 routine, that you want to accomplish more than just to stay alive. You are right to have broader dreams than that, we need your idealism to renew our own, to remind us that life does begin when we begin to serve. And if we presume to advise you, it is so that you will understand that dreams are empty and dreary unless they are accompanied by practical achievement.

Water must be brought down from the hills to quench our thirst, the sick must be tended and all the intricate meshings of harvest and manufacture and transportation must take place. Do not let anyone tell you that there are no opportunities. They are limitless and they include opportunities to serve as well as just to make a living.

The world of business and commerce today supports programs in the field of environmental protection in the actual salvage of human beings who have dropped out of the parade, or who seek a way back from a life of crime. Modern industry and business today support scholarship programs, anti-drop-out programs at the high school level, provide research into drug culture and the other problems that create so much misery.

Millions of splendid concerned Americans are quietly going about the business of being good neighbors. Because of them, and in spite of the merchants of gloom and doom, America towers over the world.

Our system, tried and tempered by war and every kind of adversity, has been preserved by men and women of uncommon stature and uncommon devotion to a dream. So dream your dreams and dream your ideas for this truly is Camelot.

The occasional misdeed cannot kill the dream, truth and justice or brotherhood.

From time to time there have been individuals who failed a dream, but make no mistake about it—the dream has never failed us.

A Camelot must not be built by shouting slogans such as "Revolution Now". It doesn't come from a bottle or a syringe. It is built by people doing everyday things such as extending common courtesy and compassion for others.

And Camelot is never finished. The tools for adding to it are handed by the old to the young on days like this. We will hope you learn as we did that the real joy is in the continued building. We hope you will do better than we have done.

I have spoken of your dreams and on a day like this, there are many here for whom this day is a realization of dreams come true. And if sometimes you have gotten a little impatient with the generation of your parents and found us overly possessive at times, perhaps it is because whether you know it or not, we have been possessed by you for quite a while and you accomplished that so very easily. In fact, you did it with one hand. And you did it when that hand was so tiny it could barely encircle a single finger, but you did it with such a grip that we will go through the rest of our lives wearing the imprint of that finger.

Congratulations and God bless you.

Copies of the entire speech may be applied for by calling the Alumnae Office of Marlborough School.



A Championship Season in Volleyball

Marlborough is extremely proud of its Spring 1974 Volleyball team which reached the finals in the national high school competition. The winner of the finals was the Chicago All Star Team which was chosen from the best talent of that city's many high schools. As well, Carol Meihaus '75 for the second year, and Lori Garver '74 made the first team of the High School All American, representing the top six girls in the country. Jane Bassett '76 was chosen for the second team of the High School All American, representing the top twelve girls in the country.

Other members of the team were:

| | | | |
|---------------|-----|-----------------|-----|
| Gina Giannini | '75 | Ginny Stevens | '74 |
| Jeanne Hall | '78 | Karen Stevenson | '74 |
| Jan Linden | '78 | Maura Waters | '74 |
| Kate Ridgway | '77 | Cindy Whitaker | '76 |

Opening Day

Putting the Vision into Focus

"School opened in a unique way this year, as we attempted to heighten our sense of community. In place of classes there was a combination of large and small group meetings designed to permit students and faculty to share their experiences over the past summer, plan advisor-advisee activities, and develop ideas which would promote pride in themselves and in our school."



"We have a unique opportunity here to explore in depth the important part that religion plays in our lives."



Opening Comments by the Headmaster

"Honor is that mental standard which involves self-respect, trustworthiness, fairness to others, and adherence in spirit and in action to recognized ideals."



"Discipline is a display of affection and one of the most important forms of teaching."

Government encroachment - loss
of personal freedom
Free enterprise
Bureaucracy

QUOTE: Senator Ben Hill

--Watch and guard with sleepless dread
that corporation which can make
property...rights of all states...
people...all liberty its playthings
in an hour, its victims forever

REMARKS BY GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN
SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA COUNCIL
San Francisco -- June 6, 1974

There is a temptation, when all the remarks are made about your busy schedule and all the rest of it, to indulge in a little self pity, to stand before a gathering such as this and try to give the impression that you are bowed down under the burden. I try to think of a young poet every time I am tempted that way. He had just sold his first verses and he was walking along dejectedly, his head down, and he looked as if the world had fallen in on him and a friend said, "What's the matter? You should be very happy. Why are you looking so despondent?" And the young poet, who had just made that first sale, said, "Shakespeare is dead, Shelley is dead, Keats is dead, Byron is dead---all dead, and sometimes I think the responsibility on my shoulders is more than I can bear."

You know, I'll tell you another thing I am also reminded of. I have been talking for a great many years about too much government. This isn't a new idea with me because I have learned there was an ancient city-state in Greece and they had a custom in that city that anyone who proposed a new law or a new program for government would have to do so with a noose around his neck while standing on a chair and, when he finished, if the people approved they removed the noose and if they didn't they removed the chair. And with 5,000 bills a year being introduced in Sacramento, I must confess I have a morbid fascination with the custom.

But I have become convinced that just breathing the mist off the Sacramento River or the Potomac does not automatically confer omnipotence on those who serve in government. And yet turning to government for the solutions to our problems has become an American way of life.

S.F. Bay Area Council

It is not alone the needy on welfare who are asking for a hand-out or a hand-up. Labor asks of government those things that labor should be negotiating at the bargaining table. And management too often seeks legislation or regulations that will take some of the competition out of the free market system. I think two things should be realized: when government gives a hand, it gives it to the greatest number of votes; and it is about time business realizes that there aren't as many of you as there are of them. And second, government's answers leave a lot to be desired. We could take, for example, one government's answer to a simple holiday problem. It was in one of the socialist countries in Eastern Europe, where any country could wind up if it is not careful. They were called upon to meet the problem of what to do about the day upon which a holiday fell. You might say that their solution was one of bureaucracy's finest hours. The edict they issued said that because Christmas Eve falls on Thursday, Thursday has been designated as Saturday for work purposes, the factories will be closed all day with the stores open a half day only; Friday has been designated as Sunday, with both factories and stores closed all day; Monday will be a Wednesday, for work purposes; Wednesday will be a business Friday; Saturday will be Sunday and Sunday will be Monday.

If you are one of those who says it can't happen here, let me read you a few lines from our Federal Internal Revenue Code. Section 509: "For purposes of Paragraph 3 the organization described in Paragraph 2 shall be deemed to include an organization described in Section 501C, Subparagraphs 4, 5 and 6, which would be described in Paragraph 2, if it were the organization described in Section 501C3."

You have to conclude that we live in the only country in the world where it takes more intelligence to figure out your income tax than it does to earn the income. The old Rabbi wrote, "if all the seas were ink, and all the reeds were pens, and all the skies were parchment, and all men could write, this would not suffice to write down all the red tape of this government."

But I don't think this is exactly what the Founding Fathers had in mind for us. The very essence of the American Revolution and the system it produced was limited government and individual freedom. And free men in this country, as no place else in all the world, were released to perform such miracles of invention, construction and production as the world has never seen. One half of the economic activity in the entire history of man has taken place under American auspices. If the entire history of life on earth could be boiled down and put on a screen in a motion picture that would take 365 days---1 year---running 24 hours a day, teams of scientists would then take turns watching this history. This idea that is America would not appear on the screen until 3½ seconds before midnight on December 31. And, yet, in those 3½ seconds the entire history of man's relation to man would be changed. An idea, a concept, of man being the master of government, instead of the servant, would be created. It would give to all of mankind every place in the world a hope they had never had. Government's proper function is to restrain. But that restraint is supposed to be used to protect us from each other not to interfere with the free rhythms of the marketplace. This system of free enterprise, sparkplugged by the hope of economic reward, has lifted more burdens from the backs of more people than any other system the world has ever known. And yet there are today too many Americans, and I am afraid this includes some in business and industry, who seem to have lost faith in this economic system and faith in themselves.

I think it all started with traumatic shock of the Great Depression, when one-time leaders of world-high finance were going out of skyscraper windows on a daily basis and other leaders of business and industry were openly questioning the durability and practicability of the free enterprise system. What they did was open the door for those who never had understood, or never had trusted the free enterprise system.

And they who stepped in that door and into the breach---they started this nation on an era of social tinkering that has distorted and disrupted the traditional concept of states' rights and local autonomy and, much worse, has dramatically altered the people's relationship with government.

To illustrate that changed relationship I will use a story from an Eastern newspaper. It was a columnist writing about a welfare recipient who worked part-time on a farm. One day he yielded to temptation and stole a smoked ham from the smokehouse. He went to the grocer and sold it for \$27 and then being on welfare he took \$20 of the \$27 and bought \$80 worth of Food Stamps---he was eligible to do this as a welfare recipient. With \$29 of the \$80 worth of food stamps he bought the ham back and he bought \$51 worth of groceries. Then he put the ham back in the smokehouse. And the columnist wrote, "the grocer had made a profit, the farmer had his ham back, the welfare recipient had \$51 worth of groceries and \$7 in cash with no one being the loser." No one, unless you ask who paid for the food stamps.

One of the most serious problems confronting us today I think is a kind of economic illiteracy. Stuart Alsop, writing about his Alma Mater, Yale, for a commencement speech, said, "Like every other major college, it is graduating scores of bright young people who deeply despise the American political and economic system. After graduating, some will find their way into business and industry and quickly unlearn a lot of misinformation. But ~~some~~^{Some} will find their way into the communications media, the foundations, teaching or take appointive posts in government, even in some of the regulatory agencies where they will make rulings on the establishment they neither approve of or even believe in.

So we have gone further down the road to substituting government
(free enterprise)
for a system that has given us a higher standard of living than any people have ever known in any other time and place.

With all the doomcrying that is going on today, let me interject just a few figures to show what you, the people of business and industry and the free enterprise system, have accomplished. Not because of, but in spite of, government. Ninety-five percent of all the families in America have a daily adequate intake of nutrients---and I think part of the five percent that don't are on a diet. Ninety-nine percent have gas or electric appliances, 96 percent have televisions, we own 120 million cars and trucks...and every day when you leave your house and you are in a hurry to get to the office they're on your street. We have shared our wealth more widely among our people than was ever done in any society heretofore known to man. We have more churches, more libraries, support by voluntary contribution more symphonies, more operas, more non-profit theaters, and publish more books than all the rest of the world put together. We have more doctors per thousand people, more hospitals, and we have produced most of the medicines discovered in the last four decades. And yet, in the marble halls of government, plans go forward constantly to impose on or involve government in every facet of our lives from meeting our material needs to providing for the arts and to nationalizing health care. I know that many of us talk of these things and have talked of them for a long time, as they have grown over the years, and we have made dire predictions of things to come. Well, we weren't wrong, because those dire things are at hand. Maybe being in government now I have seen them more clearly than you have. Government programs multiplying like the spores of a fungus have brought an inflation that has robbed our people of their dreams of a good life. Our tax burden approaches one half of the amount all the toilers in our country can earn. And year after year demagoguery preached from the podium of politics and even the halls of academia has created a cynicism and mistrust of all these institutions that we refer to as the establishment.

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Our people in this land are in their season of discontent. One poll that was taken reveals that the overwhelming majority of the people think that business makes a profit that averages about 28 percent and they think that is too high. The same majority thinks that business should be happy with a 10 percent profit. Business would be ecstatic with a 10 percent profit since you only average between 4 and 5 percent and that has been going on for a great many years. A college poll was taken on more than 2,000 campuses and it found, on a variety of questions, that from two thirds to three quarters of the students and an even higher percentage of the faculty blames business for every problem that troubles us---the economic problems, the social inequities. And in the same numbers they believe that the answer to the problem lies in government regulating the marketplace from the beginning of manufacturing to distribution and sales. And they are quite positive in their belief, also in that poll, that government can do this without in any way reducing individual freedom. And then, 80 percent of them said they wanted less government interference in their own lives and they couldn't see the dichotomy.

Another interesting poll, and one that should give us a clue as to what our task must be as well as some hope that we may yet succeed in saving freedom, is a poll that found Americans today are more angry about taxes and the cost of government than at any time in our nation's history. Sixty-nine percent of our people are terribly angry and want something done now. But, this is significant: less than half of the people polled could name their Congressman and 86 percent of those who could did not know one policy that he stood for, including his position on taxes. Even in this distinguished gathering I suspect it might be less than tactful if I should ask for a show of hands to how many could name their Congressman or their State Senator or their Assemblyman.

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The dual message contained in this poll is that, first, the people realized that something has happened to government which threatens their well-being. And that is a plus for us. And, second, there is a revelation that they don't understand how to correct what they feel is wrong. We have to take advantage of this increasing discontent with government and we have to find ways to enlighten the citizen. Government by the people will work if the people will work at it.

We had another hopeful sign last week, I hope that all of you will agree. The House in Washington voted 211 to 204 against a federal land planning bill. The issue here was not one of environment, it was whether the federal government would preempt yet another area that traditionally belonged to the state and to local autonomy. And I think you should be pleased to know that with only one or two notable defections in their ranks, our California delegation led the charge that carried the day. But, let me warn you, we tend to sit back on an occasion such as that and say, "Well, we won!" And we assume that the game is over. Unfortunately, those who would centralize government into some kind of a federal leviathan never admit that the game is ended. Right now they are planning how they can take the same bill that was defeated and hang it as an amendment on some popular non-vetoable bill as an amendment. Without realizing how it happened, you and I are always defending against the further growth of government and hailing our victories when we just created maybe a pause in that continued growth. We will never really win until we go on the offensive and start demanding a reduction in government size, power and cost, demanding a cancellation of some of the things that government is presently doing. And I believe the people are ready to join such an effort and they are just waiting for someone to show them the way.

S.F. Bay Area Council

In a recent Governors' Conference in Seattle, Washington, we had a panel where they were discussing that now-defeated land planning bill. In the discussion that followed I expressed a concern that it might result in the federal government seeking to impose its plans from Washington---uniform plans on our 50 diverse states. And a Republican Congressman and a Democratic Senator both rejected this and said that this wasn't the intent of Congress at all, that the bill only suggested guidelines. Then not realizing, I think, that he was taking a counter position, a Democratic Congressman from Texas added, "Well, of course, you know we have no way of controlling what some bureau or agency might do when it starts implementing the bill if they pass it." And that sentence tells the whole story. When Congress adopts a program there is always a line in the legislation which says the agency entrusted with carrying out this program shall make such regulations as it deems necessary.

We are governed by a powerful bureaucracy that is made up of people who are not elected by the voters and who cannot be voted out of office by the people. And to a large extent they actually determine policy in contravention of every principle of representative government. This has been recognized by Congress as much as the one Congressman said in Seattle. Most of them say they are helpless to do anything about it. Those who regulate and enthusiastically vote for more and bigger government are now frightened, some of them by the leviathan that they themselves have created.

Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin is so concerned that he has introduced a bill to do something about it. And at first glance you say, "that's a hopeful sign." He says that government has grown so big that the average American can't deal with the endless red tape and inconsiderate bureaucrats. This is quite a reversal for someone

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who not only voted for everything that created that bureaucracy, but also voted every time to override the vetoes of the Presidents when they tried to reduce it. But, unfortunately, the Senator's bill won't reduce the bureaucracy. The Senator's answer to the whole problem is to create another bureau complete, with 10 regional boards to start with, and local advisory boards in every community to help the citizen find his way through the rest of the bureaucracy.

Congresswoman Edith Green, certainly a distinguished liberal--- a woman from Oregon---herself a recent convert, however, to this idea of a fight against bureaucracy, describes the situation best. She says a federal agency consists of an upper echelon of political appointees and a vast underlay of permanent civil service bureaucrats, the lower level...bureaucratic level...runs the show. This means it makes the regulations, the guidelines, it issues the laws, interprets the contracts, and lets the grants that are made by the third and fourth-rank officers who are immune from constituency complaints. Her conversion came after her office made a study of the Office of Education---which she later described as a complete chaos. They will be distributing some \$23 billion to educational institutions she said, and no one knew to whom the grants were given, for what purpose or what the results were. No wonder Johnny can't read!

Here in Sacramento we have been trying to establish, if we can, how much federal money is coming into education in the State of California. And we found it absolutely impossible---we're up to around \$280 million but we haven't been able to find out where it is going or how much more there is than that. She described the bureaucracy as a huge administrative apparatus that operates out of public view and beyond public control. I'm afraid the Edith Greens and even the Gaylord Nelsons are too few.

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At the beginning of this session 11 senators, including our own, set a new record in the history of American government, because between them the 11 sponsored measures which would have added \$1 trillion to the present level of federal spending. The bureaucracy is self-perpetuated. We hear so much about the public's demands on government. The truth is most of the legislation originates in the bureaucracy. The various agencies and departments, even at the state level, go through another bureaucracy---the staff of the Legislature. Knowing that legislators would like to carry bills that they think might be constructive, they tell them what they need in their departments to do their jobs better, exert a little more control, and have a little more power.

There are 30,000 bills introduced each year in the United States Congress. If every Congressman spent 10 hours per day---and you know that ain't gonna happen---at his desk, five days a week for 52 weeks of the year, he would have to digest more than 11 bills an hour. That is about 5 minutes each to decide whether it would be aye or nay when the vote came. The truth is, that other bureaucracy of ^{personnel} ~~personal~~ and committee staff in many cases makes the decision for them. One out of five of the nation's work force is a government employee. Since government began keeping records in 1892, industrial productivity has doubled every 25 years. There is no record kept of government's productivity. But right now if government could just increase its productivity 3 percent we could cut taxes \$12 billion. The general accounting office says that government spends \$15 billion per year processing a blizzard of paperwork---most of it required of you, of business. And that's really the tip of the iceberg and for someone to say that you shouldn't worry is like the captain of the Titanic saying, "Never mind all that ice, it's for the party Saturday night."

Government paper work, demanded of small business alone---those businesses of 500 employees or less---takes 130 million man hours a year and adds \$50 billion a year to the cost of doing business. The Federal Registry listing the regulations spawned by these bureaus, is just a few pages less than the Encyclopedia Britannica. A druggist in Connecticut says it takes as much time to do the paper work connected with a prescription as it does to make up the prescription. A baker in Illinois says, "Even if I could understand all the paper work, I wouldn't have time to do it." The president of a small investment house in Indiana spends more than half his time on unproductive minutia that didn't exist a few years ago and that comes under the guise of consumer protection. And you can increase the story proportionately for what is termed "big business." A few years ago a leading drug firm had to submit about 70 pages of data to the Federal Drug Administration to get a drug license. The same firm recently loaded a truck with 72,000 pages of data to support its application for the licensing of one new drug. It is an absolute fact that if penicillin were discovered today under the present rules, it is very doubtful that it could get an approval.

You remember the cyclamate story. All the shelves were stripped of the soft drinks sweetened by cyclamates for dieting purposes. Millions of dollars were lost as the product was thrown away, and now, a couple of years later, the Federal Drug Administration says, "We think maybe we acted hastily and made a mistake." On what did they base their decision? Well, they fed cyclamates to 20 rats and 3 of them developed what was suspected to be malignant tumors of the bladder. But the rats had been fed cyclamates in a quantity that would require a human being to drink 875 bottles of soft drink a day.

I will look only to my right on the next example. The Interstate Commerce Commission in its 85-year history has created 43 trillion rules regarding rates for the railroads---with no index. For a half-century the railroads have said, "We can solve our problems if government would get out of the way and relieve us of some of the regulations." Finally the inevitable happened---Amtrak! What was the first thing that Amtrak did? Exempt itself from having to obey the ICC regulations.

One congressman has discovered through his committee that we are underwriting \$4 billion worth of research, and when they investigated they found we didn't know where the laboratories were, who was working in them or what the research was.

We know of one research program---it costs \$249,000. It was called "The Demography of Happiness." And what do you think we found out? We found that if you make more money you're happier than if you make less, if you're healthy you're happier than if your're sick, and if you're young you're happier than if you're old. We spent \$249,000 to find out that it is better to be young, rich and healthy than old, poor and sick!

But all of this can be the threats that finally bind the giant Gulliver and render him helpless. Put another way, they can be the straws that become the backbreaking load. But the threat to free enterprise is more imminent than just waiting for the straw that would break the camel's back.

When we were hit by the energy crunch, the knee-jerk reaction from government was to demand more government and less freedom. Never mind that government regulations played a large part in bringing on the crunch to begin with. The witch hunt was on---the search for a whipping boy. And it took off on cue, and so did the suggested solutions. They were typical of government.

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They ranged from punitive taxes to government regulation as a public utility. And this was, I think, most revealing as to their philosophy---government ownership of the oil industry. Well now that is a provocative thought. They might undertake that and, who knows, it might turn out to be as efficient and economical as the post office has been.

The New York Times editorialized vehemently about the oil industry showing a 50 percent increase in profits. The Times didn't mention that its own profits had gone up 65 percent, nor did they mention that when all the scores were in, the oil industry ranked about seventh in increased earnings among all the major industries.

There is a bill now before Congress that would give government the authority to place a public member and a government member of its choosing on the board of each oil company. If that passes---who's next? Also before Congress is a bill to nationalize health care. Let's not be fools. I'm fed up with that polite euphemism about nationalized health service. They mean socialized medicine. Can they socialize the doctor without socializing the patient? And, finally, there is a measure from the fertile mind of young Mr. Ralph Nader which has already passed the House and is now before the Senate. This measure would create a Consumer Agency with the power to supersede every other regulatory agency but one in government and with virtually unlimited authority to set standards for everything produced in this country and there would be no appeal. I heard a representative of this Consumer Agency in Washington on a television interview last night on the news. The word he used over and over again was "mandate." With total disregard for any individual rights we might have, he spoke of "mandating standards" for home swimming pools yet, nothing to do with making them improve the quality of construction, this was mandating the size and shape so as to make them less subject to possible accidents like kicking your ankle on the side of the pool or something.

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Mandating where, if you had a playground slide into the pool, it should be placed to lessen the chance of accidents to help the rest of us. Obviously, or curiously enough, I should say in two areas alone there would be an exemption to the power of this agency. One would be television and the other would be organized labor. And they are beginning already to picket the businesses who have taken public positions in opposition to this super bureaucracy. The picketing has already started. Will those businesses fight alone? American business and industry faces the fight of its life. You have only heard the beginning of the campaign to charge you with conspiring about material shortages, inflation and unemployment, reaping windfall profits at the expense of the consumer and the taxpayer. You can expect a barrage of bills both at the state legislative level and in Congress aimed at greater controls and more taxes. And unless you fight, they'll make you a kind of second class citizen in a moral sense and they are succeeding better than you know.

Consider for one moment if your group tonight, before you left this room, should adopt a resolution that you are going to spend your resources to elect a government that is beholden to you and to your interest, what would the public reaction be? What would the communications media say? Suppose the National Association of Manufacturers, the California merchants and manufacturers should announce a campaign to elect a veto-proof Congress, dedicated to their interests above all others. And yet the hierarchy of organized labor---and I differentiate the hierarchy from the rank and file union members---can announce they have such a plan and such a goal and there is no outcry, no protest, even though if they should achieve that goal it would mean the end of our carefully balanced separation of powers. I think it would be presumptuous of me to go into great specific detail as to tactics, how you should meet this problem, because I think that

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together you can find the answers and the ways and many of you have already started. But heed it you must, because the freedom of all of us in this country really rides on this particular struggle. One thing I do know: Daniel Webster was right when he said that government always justifies its usurpation of freedom on the plea of good intentions---the intention is always better to serve the citizens---but he warned "In every generation there are those who want to rule well, but they mean to rule; they promise to be good masters, but they mean to be masters."

It is time for American business to realize that in this matter you must be united. No single industry should be left to fight the battle against oppressive or costly government regulations alone. No one of us should sit back with a sigh of relief and say "look what is happening to them, thank God it isn't happening to us." The doctors shouldn't be left alone to fight for their right to practice their profession in the free marketplace. But above all, I will get specific and say: the most essential thing is that you must start bringing the truth to the people because the truth is on your side. Don't just repeat it to each other by way of your trade journals. Start telling the people with every means at your command---telling your customers, telling your employees (and usually they're one and the same), and, for heaven's sake, tell your own sons and daughters! I said I wouldn't be specific. I met with a group of businessmen recently in Akron, Ohio and they locally have already underwritten and are supporting a chair at Akron University in the free enterprise system because in most of the economics departments they find that free enterprise is not being taught. I know that some industries in America today have combed their ranks for some of their bright personable young executives, have schooled them and taught them so they can handle questions and so they can speak, and are making them

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available as speakers on campuses to talk about the free enterprise system.

But what about business and industry? What about the leadership statewide and then nationwide in getting together, talking about these problems and seeing how we can let one of these things happen without endangering the security of all? How about the leadership of the industrial and business community sitting down and asking for a meeting with the very toughs in the field of communications and pointing out to them that there has been little defense for business and industry in the communications media, which could not exist without business today? How about pointing out to them that we can't have a free society without a free press, but we sure can't have a free press unless we have a free society?

But above all, stop being afraid of government---oh, I know it's a threat---but don't be afraid to fight back. Government is still your servant. They have to be reminded of that every once in a while. But you should remind them if necessary, like the fellow who kept getting the mule's attention by hitting him between the eyes with a 2 x 4. But, when you have to go before a legislative committee, are you aware that the staffs of congressmen, for example, outnumber the congressman 20 to 1? They're bright young people, many of them fresh from the campuses. They despise the free enterprise system in many instances. They do their homework. They work with all the intelligence they have, and they provide the congressman, before you arrive, with the very kind of questions that you'd better do your homework on or they'll tie you in knots. We were speaking here at the table in a conversation earlier about those seven representatives of the oil industry who received personal abuse before a Senate committee.

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And they had been invited, not subpoenaed. I was in conversation with one of them following that experience and I said something that I mean with all my heart and I mean it for every businessman. You who are the heads of businesses should tell those who serve under you, and who might represent you before those committees, if that kind of personal abuse takes place you should get up as any citizen has a right to do and say, "I came at your invitation, I am willing to cooperate, if that's the way you're going to act I'm leaving and I'll come back when you're ready to behave as gentlemen."


In 1878 Senator Ben Hill said, "I do not dread industrial corporations as an instrument of power to destroy this country. But, there is one corporation that we may all well dread. That corporation is the federal government. If this great, ambitious, ever-growing corporation become oppressive, who shall check it? If it become unjust, who shall trust it? Watch and guard with sleepless dread that corporation which can make all property and the rights of all states and people, all liberty and hope its playthings in an hour, its victims forever."

Thank you.

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Education - rebellion
generation gap
freedom of choice
inheritance
poverty vs. materialism
dreams & opportunities

QUOTES: John Gordon, Australian Prime Minister
--sacrifices of giant country for
small nations
Pope Pius XII
--American genius for splendid and
unselfish action

 Remarks by Governor Ronald Reagan

Cal-Poly Commencement Exercises

June 15, 1974

Kennedy:

We have had many notable and distinguished individuals appear on this campus as commencement speakers. Never in the previous 67 years has a governor of the State of California accepted an invitation to be a speaker at a commencement exercise on this campus. Our library archivist tells me that the record shows four other governors have visited the campus and have spoken informally to small groups. They include Governor Merriam, Governor Warren, Governor Knight, and Governor Pat Brown, Sr. This is the third time in eight years that our speaker has visited this campus, and I am honored to present as our 1974 commencement speaker, the Governor of the State of California, the Honorable Ronald Reagan.

Reagan:

President Kennedy. Thank you very much and it is a pleasure to be back here again on this campus. I am heart and soul in sympathy with the senior class gift to this campus. I don't know that I will be around very much longer to do anything about the other, but as an individual, as long as you have the fund established and the contributions coming in, I would like to join those who contribute.

Reverend clergy, Trustees who are present, members of the administration, the faculty, the students and friends, and most of all the members of the graduating class of 1974:

Every speaker on an occasion such as this approaches his task with mixed emotions. There is, of course, pride and delight at having been asked to speak and fear lest the remarks be inappropriate to the occasion. Now I am delighted particularly because your invitation gives me a chance to prove that it "jest ain't true that I don't set no store by book learnin'." As a matter of fact, I believe that with

a good education it is possible to worry about conditions all over the world. But I also feel that other emotion, concern, whether my words will add at least a little meaning to this important day in your lives. Any speaker on any occasion has something of this concern about the appropriateness of his remarks, and every speaker has at one time or another known the embarrassment of falling short of achieving an oratorical triumph. Some time ago, I had the privilege of representing our government in Mexico City, and I spoke to a large and distinguished audience there. When I finished, I sat down to very scattered and unenthusiastic applause. I was embarrassed, and even more so when the next man up representing the Mexican government and speaking in Spanish, received the warmest kind of applause at almost every sentence. To hide my embarrassment, when they started clapping, I started clapping. I clapped louder and longer than anybody until our ambassador leaned over and said, "I wouldn't do that if I were you; he's interpreting your speech."

There is one thing I do know: The world has improved in many ways since I was on the receiving end of a graduation speech. One of those improvements has been the abandonment of certain standard cliches which were traditionally inflicted on patient graduates with heavy-handed humor. You are not told anymore on this day that you know now more than you have ever known before or than you will ever know again or that the universities are known as storehouses of knowledge because the freshman bring so much in and the seniors take so little out.

And, of course, there was that all-time standby: "When I was 14 I didn't think my parents knew anything, and when I was 21, I was amazed at how much the old folks had learned in seven years."

But I am thankful that some things don't change, especially about this day. You who are graduating have taken virtually your entire lives in achieving this moment and to you it seems like a very long time. But there are others here today, many who share this day with you, and as they look back it seems as if the journey only started yesterday. So for everyone, it is a day of nostalgia, of looking back on a montage of memories, and for you looking ahead, perhaps a little fearfully, seeking a clue to what the future holds. Possibly that explains the paradox of calling the day graduation at the same time we call it commencement.

You are coming into your inheritance, and some of us here worry about the value you place on that inheritance. I am speaking of the social order that you will some day have to manage. Some of us here are concerned that possibly you are confused because certainly there has never been a time when a people have been so inundated with words and rhetoric, with opinions pontificated on a daily basis regarding every facet of our lives. This is the day of the gloom and doom-crier and the demagogues telling us that long-cherished standards are no longer relevant, that the moral code is obsolete, and that we no longer have any valid basis for measuring values.

This, we are told, is the era of the open mind. Sometimes we wonder if someone hasn't confused an open mind with an empty head. Be a little on guard against those who would wipe out all tradition without offering something in its place. Every generation challenges the mores and customs of the past, and every generation thinks the preceding generation left the world in a mess. We thought it of our parents; you think it of us. But today there is something more at work than just that traditional feeling. There is a growing rebellion against the concept of order itself and a feeling of guilt on the part

of some of us that we failed to give you a true perspective on this world you are going to inherit.

Challenge the mores and customs if you will, as every generation has, but don't carelessly discard all of them wholesale, simply because they are old. The lasting values which make up what we call civilization are those things for which men in ages past have always been willing to die if need be. There are laws governing us which were not written by man which, therefore, can't be rewritten by man. We know that three times two is six. Sometimes we find that very inconvenient, but we can't change it. The moral law which operates in this year of 1974 was operating in the year 1974 B.C.

Through ignorance and wishful thinking we may vary the interpretation of that law, but the law itself remains unchanged, and no society can flout it without inviting its own destruction. The bumper sticker, "If it feels good, do it," may sound attractive at first reading, but it is a little hard to take if someone decides that beating you over the head is what makes him feel good. If I read you correctly, you have some doubt about the true value of this inheritance. If someone right now were to offer you the world on a silver platter, particularly right after hearing the evening news, I'm sure you would take the platter, and no one could blame you.

Even if you decide to escape with a night out at the movies, you are treated to the sordid and grimy with a few ugly bursts of violence to keep the plot moving. It's true that all of the problems of human misery have not been solved. Poverty hasn't been eliminated, prejudice and bigotry, and inequality of opportunities still exist, and war--man's greatest stupidity--still takes place. It seems that the noble dreams have gone replaced by greed and frenetic grubbing

for the unimportant material things. That is the world that is pictured by some. Our industrialized society making workers into dull-witted robots on the monotony of the assembly line and selling the consumers into buying standardized inferior gadgetry they really don't need and most of them don't even want. Over all of this hangs the threat of a nuclear incineration unless we smother to death first in our own waste. But picturing the world that way is about as accurate as the situation of the burglar that broke into the studio of an avant-garde modern artist, and while he was robbing him, the artist got a glimpse of him and drew a sketch for the police. Within a matter of hours the police were able to pick up a vulture, two baskets of fruit, and a beagle.

First of all, let's take up the matter that I have referred to, at least the bias with regard to the generation gap. Generations are not as they have been pictured, structured horizontally with all of mankind stretched out like a sausage divided into separate slices by age groups. Mankind is structured vertically with each succeeding generation finally standing on the shoulders of those who have gone before, and each generation has a period of overlapping--for example, from the day that you join us in the continuing effort to solve the problems until someday you yourselves stand greeting a new generation on a day like this one.

Now let me make one thing plain. I make no apologies for our generation, because no generation has ever fought harder or paid a higher price for freedom than our generation, and none has ever done more to advance the dignity of man than we have accomplished in a single lifetime. There have only been a few widely separated moments in history when a single generation presided over a great period

of transition. Ours was such a generation. We literally went in our lifetime from the horse and buggy to the moon.

A few years ago, I have to tell you, I had a meeting in Sacramento with a group of student leaders from some of our campuses. It was not exactly a friendly rap session. One of them finally burst out and said, "You can't understand our generation," and I said: "Well, we know more about being young than we do about being old." And he said, "No, I'm serious. It is impossible for you to understand your own sons and daughters because when you were our age, you didn't live in a world of instant electronic communications, of space travel, of jet travel, of cybernetics, of computers computing in seconds what it took men years previously to figure out." Well that's true. We didn't have those things when we were their age. We invented them.

Before you let the doom-criers with their prophecies and their projections convince you there is no future worth anticipating, remember that part of your inheritance is freedom of choice that gives you some control over your own destiny. With regard to those projections, what we can expect in the years to come? In 1929 Herbert Hoover appointed a commission to plot out a 20-year projection for the United States. Five hundred researchers worked for three or four years. By this time Franklin Delano Roosevelt had been elected, and in 1932 they handed to him 13 volumes; 1600 pages on just a summary alone. In all of those words, there was not one word about atomic energy, jet propulsion, antibiotics, or transistors, and yet all of those things came into being before 1952. So don't lower the life boats and abandon ship just yet.

If we could condense the history of life on earth down to a

single year and put it on a film that would run 24 hours a day, for 365 days, this idea we call America wouldn't appear until 3½ seconds before midnight on the final day of December 31.

In those 3½ seconds, a totally new concept of society would come into being--a concept that would swiftly become the golden hope for mankind all over the world. The philosophy that was dominated by government would in those 3½ seconds be replaced with the idea that government is the servant of man, created by man for his own convenience.

Now I will admit that we have to be constantly on guard to keep government from becoming an inconvenience, and I suggest you keep that in mind. But under this concept, the genius of the individual man was freed to perform such miracles of invention, construction, and production as the world had never seen.

In those 3½ seconds, one-half of all the economic activity in the history of mankind would take place here in this country. Mass production and standardization that some find so distasteful has for the first time made the products of our technology available not just to the aristocracy, but to the toilers who manufacture them.

A socialist country would give their copies of Karl Marx for our standardization and our assembly lines. For standardization means products for the masses and the assembly lines have freed the worker from back-breaking drudgery which for centuries had kept him at an almost animal like existence. Where but in highly-industrialized America will you find the variety of things to buy, the variety of jobs and the variety of leisure pursuits.

It is time to read the will, to tell you what we have done with your inheritance while it was in our custody and what you will inherit.

If I may put it in a somewhat personalized way, I have already lived 10 years longer than my life expectancy when I was born, which is a source of annoyance to a great many people.

But medical research, most of it voluntarily supported in this country, has eliminated diseases that have plagued mankind for generations, killing and maiming. Today you hardly recall the names of those diseases.

When I was born, two-thirds of the people in this country lived in substandard housing and 90 percent lived below what today we consider the poverty line. Both figures are now less than 10 percent. When I was young, this nation didn't even realize it had a racial problem.

I can't tell you that we have totally erased bigotry and prejudice from every heart, but I can tell you that in our lifetime we have opened doors that have been closed and barred for a hundred years.

When I graduated from college, I became a sports announcer. I broadcast major league baseball. I didn't have any Hank Aaron's and Willie Mays to talk about. It's hard to realize that just these few years ago the official Baseball Guide at that time defined baseball as a game for Caucasian gentlemen.

Well, that wasn't good enough for us. We editorialized, and we campaigned, and we worked, and we changed it, and we not only made baseball better for it, we made America better for it because we changed other things and opened professions and ungentlemenly gentlemen's agreements have been outlawed.

Among other things, a higher percentage of the young people of our minority communities today will go to college in America than the sons and daughters of the majority in every other country in the world. You will work fewer hours for a higher standard of living,

have more opportunities for personal advancement and enjoyment than any people who ever lived.

As for the poverty that we haven't totally eliminated, 95 percent of the families have an adequate minimum daily intake of nutrients in this country, and I think part of the 5 percent who don't are on a diet. 99 percent of the homes in America have gas or electric appliances; 96 percent of them have TV.

There's an automobile for every two people, and they're all on your street every time you are in a hurry to get someplace.

Ninety-eight percent of American women have their babies in hospitals with a doctor in attendance, and in most countries, they have them at home with only a midwife.

If someone says "this is just proof of our materialism," well, that materialism has made you the biggest, the healthiest generation that ever lived. You know more, you travel farther, and you'll live longer than any people in history. But we pass on to you more than that.

You inherit a society that is characterized by such compassion that we are unique in all the world. We have distributed our wealth more widely among our people than was ever done by any other society. We have taxed ourselves more heavily than any other people to help mankind worldwide.

John Gordon, the Australian Prime Minister a few years ago said: "I wonder if anybody has ever thought what the situation of the comparatively small nations in the world would be if that giant country ^{hadn't been} prepared to make so many sacrifices."

And after taxing ourselves to do these things, we support education and provide the less fortunate with voluntary contributions that total 25 billion dollars a year.

Fifty million Americans average several hours each week as volunteers in the same causes.

The society you inherit has more churches, libraries, supports voluntarily more symphonies, more operas, more non-profit theatres and publishes more books than all the rest of the world put together.

We have more doctors per thousand people, more hospitals, and a third of all the young people in the world who are getting a college education are getting it in the United States.

Beware of those who would have you exchange your inheritance for some super planned Utopia. What they have in mind would probably end up a society in which everything that wasn't prohibited would be compulsory.

You are heirs of the noblest experiment in freedom that was ever devised by the mind of man.

We wonder sometimes if you know how easy it is for our generation to understand how very much more you want out of life than a 9 to 5 routine, that you want more of a goal than just requiring a means to stay alive. A scholar has written that the young of any generation have felt the same impulse to grow, to reach out, to touch the stars, to live freely, to let their minds loose along unexplored corridors.

"Young men and women," he said, "have always stood on some hill and felt the same sudden and complete expansion of mind to the final fulfillment." It is one of the oldest, the sweetest, and the most bitter experience of mankind.

So bring your dreams and your idealism and we'll renew ours from yours. Perhaps we can help you learn that the dream and the practical go together, that either one without the other can become a very dreary thing indeed.

• Water must be brought down from the hills, and the sewers must

flow, and the sick be tended, and all the intricate meshing of harvest and manufacture and transportation take place or there would be no time for dreams.

Don't let anyone tell you there are no opportunities; they're limitless, even in the workaday business world. Millions of splendid, concerned Americans are quietly going about their business of being good neighbors; in the field of environment; salvaging human beings who have failed to keep up with the parade, or who need to find a way back from drugs or from crime.

Our system has been tempered and tried by war and every kind of adversity, but the dream has been preserved by men and women of uncommon stature and uncommon devotion.

On occasions there are misdeeds, but they can't kill the dream of truth and justice, the dream of Camelot if you will. Now and then some have failed the dream--the dream has never failed us, and Camelot is never finished.

The tools for adding to it are handed by the old to the young on days like this with a hope that you'll do better than we have done and that you will learn as we learned the joy of continued building. We in this country have had a rendezvous with destiny since the first Pilgrim set foot on this soil.

In the days right after World War II when American power and American economic strength were all that stood between the world and a return to the dark ages, Pope Pius XII said: "The American people have a genius for splendid and unselfish action. Into the hands of America, God has placed the destinies of an afflicted mankind."

Well, mankind is still afflicted, and he has no place to turn except to us. That's our rendezvous with destiny, a rendezvous that we can keep only if we realize our own capacity for greatness and keep constantly in mind the real value of our inheritance.

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Inflation
'74 Campaign Philosophy
Middle East
Demo. grandstanding at
Congressional level

REMARKS BY GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN
WESTERN WINNERS' ROUNDUP
Los Angeles -- June 22, 1974

I know that you are gathered here at a time in which it seems as if we are trying to come up from under water. (Laughter) I'll get around to the rest of the term later---I'll use the full term in a minute. But there are other things, troubled times, inflation. Sometimes I think we can no longer afford the wages of sin. Dollars to donuts aren't very good odds and if somebody offered you the world on a silver platter you would take the platter. I have been getting around the country somewhat---not as much as some of our opponents would have you believe---sometimes it has been a fast in and out on a weekend. But it has been very inspiring to meet with Republicans around the country, and in almost every instance to find that the particular affair, the fundraising dinner or whatever is taking me there, has been setting records in spite of all this trouble for that particular event, they have had a greater turnout. Now I know there are many disillusioned Republicans, and many who are pouting and sitting at home. I think some of you have heard this story before, but back in New England I heard a story that I think should be the story or the watchword for the Republican Party. It was about the little old lady who went to her doctor and came out of the doctor's office and right down the street as fast as she could and reregistered Democrat. When she did so the Registrar said, "Tillie, I don't know how you can do this, you have been a Republican all of your life, as your parents and your grandparents in this community before you were," and she said, "I have just come from the doctor and he tells me my time is near and I figured if somebody's got to go, better it's one of them."

We are supposed to believe that we are responsible for the present inflation, that somehow it has come along with a Republican administration. But inflation, if only we would remember back a little in history, was adopted by the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and it has come back to us as the New Economics, the New Frontier, and the Great Society and all of the years that this has been told to us as the New Economics---something that would maintain prosperity---we have been against it. We have tried to point out over the years that inflation was like radioactivity, it was cumulative and that it was just as toxic, and that someday it would get out of hand, you could not go on year after year and control this all the way down. And now we have one of those instances where we have to say that a Democratic Congress in both Houses in Washington has opposed every effort that a Republican administration has made to try and get a handle on inflation and to cure it. They have tried in every way---even to getting court decisions with regard to the impoundment of funds. They have tried everything they can to---when he wanted to eliminate the OEO, right back in Congress they said, "No, they are not going to do anything of the kind." Inflation is caused by government spending. And it is a very curious thing with our "Cut, Squeeze and Trim" at the state level, government spending at the federal level and deficit spending is the cause of inflation, but whether it is a coincidence or not, for the several years prior to our administration, prior to 1967, the inflation rate, the cost of living index in California, was higher than it was in the rest of the nation. For 6 of the last 7 years it has been lower in California under "Cut, Squeeze and Trim" than it has been at the national level.

Now I will finish that first term: "WaterGATE", Our opponents would like to have us itching and scratching. For a year and a half now we have been submerged and subjected to a daily around-the-clock barrage of accusations, innuendos and unsubstantiated charges until we come to expect that every statement and every unnamed source is proof positive of guilt. To the candidates here in the room, I know you must be thinking, "how do I deal with them, what do I say?" Well, if I could suggest something and be presumptuous, I would like to point out that there is a way to handle it. But, first of all, I think that all of us as Republicans have got to recognize that if we don't handle it, if we don't face up to it, what can happen to us. In Pennsylvania there was a special election to fill a vacant seat in Congress. The Democratic vote was within one percent of what it had been in the 1972 election; 32 percent of the Republicans stayed home. We lost by 122 votes. Now since that election the poll reveals that most of the people that stayed home believed that their candidate was the best man but they just wanted to show their resentment about Watergate. Well, we are all upset about Watergate. It was an illegal, it was an immoral act and it was very stupid, incredibly stupid. And the time, I think, has come to put it in proper prospective. Now those who committed the actual break-in were apprehended, they have been tried and convicted and are undergoing punishment. It has been determined that others were involved, they have been indicted and some of them have been sentenced and some of them have served their sentences already and are being released. And it is also before the Congress in the manner prescribed by the Constitution. And I think all that the rest of us have to say in any

election, or any other time, is "look, this system of ours is working, it is before the courts, it is before the Congress of the United States, and there is no reason for anyone to comment now except to say that we will presume that all are innocent unless and until proven guilty beyond any doubt."

But, in the meantime, we ought to suggest also that we get on with the business of government. And with regard to the election that is going to take place now, we have a right to know more about our Democratic opponents who are running for office and what they think about Watergate. I think we have a right to know their views on all of the issues. The issues at the national level for those who are Congressional candidates and the issues here at the state level. I don't believe that they are very eager to talk about those issues. Because very frankly, they would not like their own rank and file membership to be reminded that their party leadership still stands for the things that the people of this country overwhelmingly voted against just a couple of years ago---two years ago in 1972. You have never known an election in your lifetime in which the issues were more clearly defined. And never have the American people crossed party lines in such an overwhelming number to make it plain that they do not believe that their hopes and aspirations can be realized under the philosophy of the present Democratic leadership. Now the Republicans have a responsibility in the coming campaign to see that a different philosophy is held up to view so that people can choose not just between party labels, but between party beliefs, and which set of beliefs matched their own hopes and dreams. Sometimes I wonder if it is really Watergate that bothers our opponents or if it is our resistance to their continual social tinkering. For 40 years they have been dreaming up new programs, always with the promise that each one will

solve the problems of human misery, and, of course, the programs always fail. But that doesn't bother them; they thrive on failure. If the programs ever succeeded it would put them out of business. Problems are their whole reason for being. Now no one will deny that political campaigns must concern themselves with the record of past performance as well as proposals for future action. And Watergate, politically speaking, therefore is a part of the record. We can only turn to the troubles of the Middle East, and I don't know how many people realize how close this nation was to Armageddon, much closer than any of us realized. Most of the world leaders shut their eyes and pretended the problem would go away if they didn't look. If you will remember some of them, some of our allies even cowardly refused to allow us to refuel supply planes on their way to Israel for fear they might in some way get involved. It was going to be Armageddon. But step by step it was the United States that didn't turn its back or look the other way. We brought about a cease-fire, a retreat from confrontation, a meeting of the enemies around a negotiation table for the first time in this quarter of a century, and finally an agreement was announced between Syria and Israel not too long ago and Henry Kissinger, who brought that back, for all of his brilliant work, would be the first to say he was carrying out the policy of the President of the United States. And now the President has gone there, and whatever they may want to say about it, the strategy in the Middle East was very simple: for all of these years the United States has preserved a little nation of a million and a half by supplying it with the military materiel it needed. A hundred million people, surrounding that million and one half, were under a Soviet influence receiving supplies from the Soviet. Our 6th Fleet was in the Mediterranean. In a circle out around that area

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hovered the Soviet Union and the Communist nations of the world. As long as our presence could keep them outside of that line, that little country of a million and a half could preserve itself against this hundred million regardless of how it was outnumbered. How long could this situation prevail before that outer ring was breached? The President by his trip has simply replaced the Soviet Union as an influence in the Arab Nations and now it is the United States that can bring hope to them.

And he comes home, and if you look at some of the media you almost are inclined to forget already that he has been away. Right now in spite of the energy crisis, part of the record, we have the lowest unemployment that we have had in peace time in this country in more than 40 years. For the last 20 years the Democratic majority in both Houses of Congress could have solved many of the problems they are now complaining about in this campaign year. They could have halted the unbroken increase in inflation all the way up until 1964 and '65 at which time it began to skyrocket and go out of control with the Vietnam War and the "Guns and Butter" policies of the Great Society. Now, in this election year, they have the gall to grandstand that they are proposing tax cuts of around \$6 billion. Some of those Senators who are talking about the tax cut were part of a group of 11 Democratic Senators who in the beginning of this session set a new American record. Between them they advocated and some sponsored spending measures that totalled more than one trillion dollars and both Democratic Senators from the State of California were among the 11. They weep crocodile tears about the tax strcuture, which they say has loopholes benefitting the rich. Why haven't they changed it? They are in charge, they have the numbers to do it. We might help them if they would really set about to change it. How about

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just simplifying the income tax so that a worker doesn't have to employ legal help to find out how much he owes. We live in the only country in the world where it takes more intelligence to figure out your tax than it does to earn the income in the first place. Here in our own state, with the campaigns that are going on here, for those of you who are going to be candidates, let's remind the people that it was Republicans who introduced legislation that would require the legislature to send back to the governor a balanced budget or a tax bill to pay for it if it is out of balance, just as the governor is now required to send a balanced budget upstairs in the first place. Or also, failing that, that anyone proposing a spending bill should have to propose a means for raising money to pay for it at the same time. Also we proposed to them a bill that would require any spending legislation to contain in it an estimate of the spending for the next four years so that we can get away with those dollar-down---and you will find out how much it cost later---bills. All of those bills introduced in this present session were killed in the first committee.

(end of ^{audio} ~~tape~~)

Government encroachment -
loss of personal freedom

QUOTE: Daniel Webster
--Rulers promise to be good
masters but mean to master

REMARKS BY GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN
Lions Convention -- San Francisco
July 3, 1974

Mr. President, officials, fellow members of Lions, I'm honored to welcome you to this 57th International Convention, welcome you here to California, particularly to the beautiful City of San Francisco. I hope that while you are here you have some time outside of the Convention to see some of the beauties of our state, if this is your first time to visit here.

I said fellow Lions, and I was introduced as an honorary member of my home town, and I was at first a little suspicious and wondered though--- they didn't make me a Lion until I left town.

I have a special word here for those visitors from other countries. It is nice that you could be here without waiting for Henry Kissinger to visit you. He has decided that the definition of an underdeveloped country anymore is one he hasn't visited. He does get around. Bob Hope told me the other day that he was in Paris at the airport when three planes landed right in succession and Henry got off all of them.

But this is a wonderful opportunity, at least for a few minutes, to communicate. I hope that American baseball is understood by enough of you from other countries here that you will understand this little example of communication. I heard a pretty good example of how important it is that you not only have someone speaking, but someone listening/^{and responding}when you communicate

One of our former professional football players here in this country was visiting a young friend of his who played on one of our big league baseball teams---a young man and his young wife. They had a little baby. He was having dinner with them and the young housewife was hustling around getting the dinner ready and the baby started to cry. And, she turned to her husband on the way through the room and said, "Change the baby."

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And he said, "What do you mean, change the baby? I'm a ball player, that's not my line of work." She turned around, put her hands on her hips, and she communicated. She said, "Look, buster, you lay the diaper out like a diamond, you put second base on home plate with the baby's bottom on the pitcher's mound, hook up first and third, slide home underneath, and if it starts to rain, the game ain't cancelled, you start all over again."

But seriously, it is a pleasure to have you here and especially those of you who are from other states and other nations. The fine work of your members in helping the blind through the White Cane Project, and the other programs that are well known and appreciated by all who know it. In fact, the scope of your many activities is an impressive demonstration of what active and concerned citizens can accomplish by working together. Your efforts are helping to make this a better world for everybody.

I know that you are an international organization, but tomorrow is a special day for America---the 4th of July---it is our 198th anniversary as a nation. And, if you will pardon me just being a little chauvinistic now, I would like to say that Americans take great pride in the work of an organization such as the Lions and the other service clubs. The idea of a service club helping to solve problems through voluntary action, we feel, is a part of our country's tradition. And, it might well be that one of America's most significant contributions to the rest of the world has been that the fraternal groups, so many of which have their origin here in this country, have spread to become world-wide organizations.

The people around this globe have discovered the real meaning of brotherhood through such things as helping the blind, which you do, helping crippled children, educating the disadvantaged, and any number of good works and compassion from one human being to another. And because this help stems from the humanitarian concern for people, it represents something very special and very precious, especially in today's world when there is so

much cynicism and distrust.

When we look back through history, we find that all of the really great things achieved down through the ages were not accomplished by the cynics but by those who had an abiding faith in man and his potential for goodness. This optimistic view is not confined to any single nation or group of nations.

There was a Frenchman, Pasteur, who did most for the world in diseases associated with contaminated milk and then the work was so limitless; then the good work of a Polish woman, Madam Curie; the scientist who discovered penicillin was an Englishman, but he shared his life-saving miracle drug with all who were afflicted. America has contributed a vaccine which has virtually wiped out Polio as a crippling disease among the children around the world. These types of medical advances have always been generously shared by nations throughout the world because we know that sickness knows no national boundaries. If we could translate to our political institutions the unselfish, humanitarian cooperation of medicine's achievements, we could stop worrying about keeping the peace because we would also eliminate all threats to peace.

This is why I believe that organizations such as yours are so important. They represent not a formal exchange of governmental positions and programs but a direct contact between people. I don't mean to minimize the importance of government performing those functions which are the legitimate concern of government. But, it seems that in our lifetime, we have seen man begin what seemed to be a climb for more freedom for the individual, and then we have seen in our lifetime, disappointingly, a kind of turn away from this. And, under the stress of great problems of wars and depressions, once again we see man turning to government for the answer to all his problems---turning to an agency whose only power is that of force and coercion.

I have become interested in history particularly in these last several years. I learned that in ancient Greece there was a city-state and when any individual proposed a law or a program for government, he had to do so with a rope noose around his neck tied to a limb of a tree and standing on a chair. And, if the people approved the law that he proposed, they removed the noose. If they disapproved, they removed the chair. And I can assure you that in these last several years with 5,000 pieces of legislation introduced in our state's capitol each year---30,000 in the nation's capitol---I have developed a morbid fascination with the stories of ancient Greece.

There was an Englishman, Parkinson, who warned us in his well known book that governments always tend to increase in size and power. I think he illustrated that by pointing out that government hires a rat catcher and the first thing you know he has become a rodent control officer and he has no intention of getting rid of the rats---they have become his reason for being. But I am speaking---and he was speaking---of the permanent structure of government, the bureaucracy that tends to grow. And, he reminded us in his writings, government is /not always a howling success in doing those things, solving those problems which men and women are individually able, and willing to solve if they are given the chance.

For example, here in America, I won't name the other country, we laughed recently when the press reported a story of how a government bureaucracy in another country met a simple problem involving a holiday. It was hardly bureaucracy's finest hour. It seems that in this country they issued an edict---the edict said, "Because Christmas Eve falls on Thursday, Thursday has been designated a Saturday for work purposes. The factories will be closed all day with stores open half a day only. Friday has been designated as Sunday, with both factories and stores closed all day. Monday will be Wednesday for work purposes. Wednesday will be a business Friday and Saturday will be Sunday and Sunday will be Monday."

Now, as I say, we here in America thought that was pretty funny.

But, let me just read something our own bureaucracy was responsible for--- Section 509 of our Internal Revenue Service Code which has to do with our American income tax says, "For purposes of Paragraph 3, an organization described in Paragraph 2 shall be deemed to include an organization described in Section 501c, subparagraphs 4, 5 or 6, which would be described in Paragraph 2 if it were an organization described in Section 501c 3."

Would you believe me when I tell you only government could come up with something like that? And, I am trying to admit that here in America we live in the only country in the world where it takes more intelligence to figure out your income tax than it does to earn the income.

The frightening thing is, not too long ago---to show you how this can happen---a poll was taken here on our universities, on thousands of universities, tens of thousands of college students. And, we found that these students were in agreement, in overwhelming percentages, 76 percent of them believed that all our problems are caused by American businessmen and women, our business structure. And, they felt that the answer to this was government must take over and regulate and control these businesses. And, by the same percentage, three-fourths of them did not believe that this would involve loss of anyone's personal freedom if government took this action. But, then 80 percent of them, in the same poll, said they wanted government to quit interfering in their private lives. So, all of us have seen government programs multiply like spores of a fungus, bringing a worldwide inflation with all its attendant misery.

A distinguished Congresswoman here in our country from Oregon, Edith Green, has described the bureaucracy at the federal level as a huge administrative apparatus which operates out of public view and beyond public control. Those of you who are small businessmen here in our country know that you spend 130 million man hours a year at a cost added to business

of \$50 billion just making out government forms, filling out government paperwork, and then government spends another \$15 billion finding someplace to put that paper.

We have a Federal Registry that lists all our government regulations. It is almost as big as the Encyclopedia Britannica. A druggist in our State of Connecticut says it takes as much time to do the paperwork connected with a prescription as it does to make out the prescription. A baker in Illinois says even if he could understand all the paperwork, he wouldn't have time to do it. A president of a small investment house in the State of Indiana says he spends more than half his time on unproductive minutia that didn't exist a few years ago and which comes under the guise of consumer protection. And, you can increase the story if you move from small business to big business.

A few years ago, a leading drug firm in this country had to submit about 70 pages of data to the Federal Drug Administration to get a drug license. The same firm recently sought to get a new drug license and had to take a truckload of 72,000 pages of data to support their application. If penicillin were discovered today, I am doubtful that we would get approval.

And, of course, when they get going with these, as Parkinson said, we have one regulation here applying to small businessmen that recently told a California businessman that he had to install separate men's and women's washrooms in his place of business for his employees. He only has one employee and at home they share the same bed and bath because he is married to her.

Recently, we discovered we're spending about \$4 billion in this country at government level on scientific research. I am not going to say that's all bad, but we did find one called "The Demography of Happiness," and for \$249,000 the researchers finally learned that "If you earn more you are happier than if you earn less, if you are young, you are happier than if you are old, and, if you are well, you are happier than if you are

sick"---\$249,000 to find out that it's better to be rich, young, and healthy than poor, old, and sick.

When man has been free to pursue his own purposes wherever in the world, we have seen miracles of inventions, production, and construction. Men and women have demonstrated as you here demonstrate, that along with this freedom has gone a compassion for their fellow man. But as a great jurist in our own country once said, "If freedom dies in the heart of man, if it dies there, no government, no constitution, no court, no laws can restore it." One of our early statesmen, a great defender of the Constitution, Daniel Webster, said, "Government always justifies its usurpation of freedom on the plea of good intentions---the intentions to better serve the citizen." "But," he warned, "in every generation there are those who want to rule well, but they mean to rule. They promise to be good masters, but they mean to be masters."

I hope you will pardon me for taking these few minutes of your time and the advantage of your invitation to speak of these things. But, you already know from your own activities in this organization what cooperation and dedication can achieve within your own communities and within society as a whole. Cooperation is voluntary. We all live with the hope that such cooperation can one day be expanded to world communities.

And, today, in various parts of the world the heads of states gather together in what are referred to in the press as summit meetings---and this is a legitimate function of government. We wish them well. They meet in an effort to broaden the areas of international cooperation between governments.

Well, we can help. Their task will become infinitely easier, with a greater chance of success, if the peoples they represent have forged, as you have forged, friendships across international borders from people to people. But we can impress on them then that we can offer this help better if they will recognize that man must be as free as an individual can be,

consistent with an orderly society. If I could give one word of admonition it would be, don't risk having to face your children or your children's children someday when they ask, "Where were you and what were you doing on the day that freedom was lost?"

I know that you have a busy agenda and, again, welcome to California and continue on the noble course that you have set for yourselves because you truly are a service club and you truly serve all mankind. For that we thank you. God bless you.

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