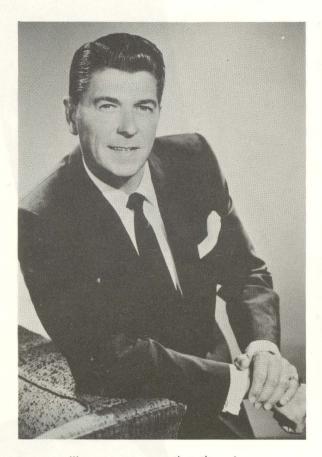
In this year of decision



"I suggest to you that there is no Right or Left, only an up or down."

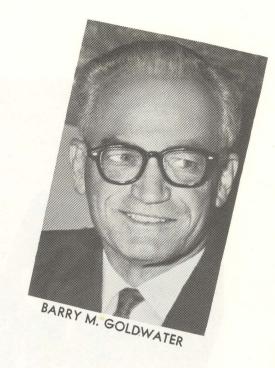
RONALD REAGAN

talks about . . .

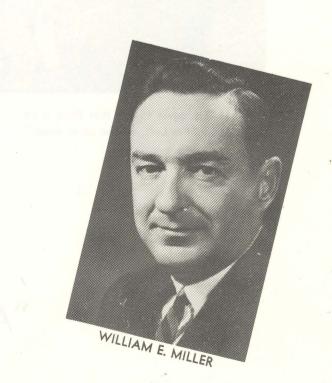
"A TIME FOR CHOOSING"

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A TIME FOR CHOOSING

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RONALD REAGAN

I am going to talk of controversial things. I make no apology for this. I have been talking on this subject for 10 years, obviously under the administration of both parties. I mention this only because it seems impossible to legitimately debate the issues of the day without being subjected to name calling and the application of labels. Those who deplore use of the terms "pink" and "leftist" are themselves guilty of branding all who oppose their liberalism as right wing extremists. How long can we afford the luxury of this family fight when we are at war with the most dangerous enemy ever known to man? If we lose that war, and in so doing lose our freedom, it has been said history will record with the greatest astonishment that those who had the most to lose did the least to prevent its happening. The guns are silent in this war but frontiers fall while those who should be warriors prefer neutrality. Not too long ago two friends of mine were talking to a Cuban refugee. He was a business man who had escaped from Castro. In the midst of his tale of horrible experiences, one of my friends turned to the other and said. "We don't know how lucky we are." The Cuban stopped and said, "How lucky you are! I had some place to escape to." And in that sentence, he told the entire story. If freedom is lost here there is no place to escape to.

It's time we asked ourselves if we still know the freedoms intended for us by the Founding Fathers. James Madison said, "We base all our experiments on the capacity of mankind for self-government." This idea that government was beholden to the people, that it had no other source of power except the sovereign people, is still the newest most unique idea in all the long history of man's relation to Man. For almost two centuries we have proved man's capacity for self-government, but today we are told we must choose between a left and right, or as others suggest, a third alternative, a kind of safe middle ground. I suggest to you there is no Right or Left only an up or down. Up to the maximum of individual freedom consistent with law and order, or down to the ant heap of totalitarianism, and regardless of their humanitarian purpose those who would sacrifice freedom for security have, whether they know it or not, chosen this downward path. Plutarch warned, "The real destroyer of the liberties of the people is he who spreads among them bounties, donations, and benefits."

Today there is an increasing number who can't see a fat man standing beside a thin one without automatically coming to the conclusion the fat man got that way by taking advantage of the thin one. So they would seek the answer to all the problems of human need through government. Howard K. Smith of television fame has written, "The profit motive is outmoded. It must be replaced by the incentives of the welfare State." He says, "The distribution of goods must be effected by a planned economy." Another articulate spokesman for the welfare State defines liberalism as meeting the material needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government. I for one find it disturbing when a representative refers to the free men and women of this country as the masses, but beyond this the full power of centralized government was the very thing the Founding Fathers sought to minimize. They knew you don't control things, you can't control the

economy without controlling people. So we have come to a time for choosing. Either we accept the responsibility for our own destiny, or we abandon the American Revolution and confess that an intellectual belief in a far distant capitol can plan our lives for us better than we can plan them ourselves.

Already the hour is late. Government has laid its hand on health, housing, farming, industry, commerce, education and to an ever increasing degree interferes with the people's right to know. Government tends to grow, government programs take on weight and momentum as public servants say, always with the best of intentions, "What greater service we could render if only we had a little more money and a little more power." But the truth is that outside of its legitimate function, government does nothing as well or as economically as the private sector of the economy. What better example do we have of this than government's involvement in the farm economy over the last 30 years. One-fourth of farming is responsible for 85% of the farm surplus. One-fourth of farming has seen a steady decline in the per capita consumption of everything it produces. That one-fourth is regulated and subsidized by government.

In contrast, the three-fourths of farming unregulated and unsubsidized has seen a 21% increase in the per capita consumption of all its produce. Since 1955 the cost of the farm program has nearly doubled. Direct payment to farmers is 8 times as great as it was 9 years ago, but farm income remains unchanged while farm surplus is bigger. In that same period we have seen a decline of 5 million in the farm population. but an increase in the number of Department of Agriculture employees. There is now one such employee for every 30 farms in the United States, and still they can't figure how 66 shiploads of grain headed for Austria could disappear without a trace, and Billy Sol Estes never left shore. Three years ago the government put into effect a program to curb the over-production of feed grain. Now, 2½ billion dollars later, the corn crop is 100 million bushels bigger than before the program started. And the cost of the program pro-rates out to \$43 for every dollar bushel of corn we don't grow. Nor is this the only example of the price we pay for government meddling. Some government programs with the passage of time take on a sacrosanct quality.

One such program considered above criticism, sacred as motherhood, This program started as a flood control project; the Tennessee Valley was periodically ravaged by destructive floods. The Army Engineers set out to solve this problem. They said that it was possible that once in 500 years there could be a total capacity flood that would inundate some 600,000 acres. Well, the Engineers fixed that. They made a permanent lake which inundated a million acres. This solved the problem of the floods, but the annual interest on the TVA debt is five times as great as the annual flood damage they sought to correct. Of course. you will point out that TVA gets electric power from the impounded waters, and this is true, but today 85% of TVA's electricity is generated in coal burning steam plants. Now perhaps you'll charge that I'm overlooking the navigable waterway that was created, providing cheap barge traffic, but the bulk of the freight barged on that waterway is coal being shipped to the TVA steam plants, and the cost of maintaining that channel each year would pay for shipping all of the coal by rail, and there would be money left over. One last argument remains -- and that is

the prosperity produced by such large programs of government spending. Certainly there are few areas where more spending has taken place. However, the Labor Department lists 50% of the 169 counties in the Tennessee Valley as permanent areas of poverty, distress and unemployment.

Meanwhile, back in the city, under urban renewal the assault on freedom carries on. Private property rights have become so diluted that public interest is anything a few planners decide it should be. In Cleveland, Ohio to get a project under way city officials reclassified 84 buildings as substandard, in spite of the fact their own inspectors had previously pronounced these buildings sound. The owners stood by and watched 26 million dollars worth of property as it was destroyed by the headache ball. Senate Bill 628 says, "Any property, be it home or commercial structure, can be declared slum or blighted and the owner has no recourse at law. The Law Division of the Library of Congress and the General Accounting Office have said that the Courts will have to rule against the owner."

In one key Eastern city a man owning a blighted area sold his property to Urban renewal for several million dollars. At the same time, he submitted his own plan for the rebuilding of this area and the government sold him back his own property for 22% of what they had paid. Now the government announces, "We are going to build subsidized housing in the thousands where we have been building in the hundreds." At the same time FHA and the Veterans Administration reveal they are holding 120 thousand housing units reclaimed from mortgage foreclosure, mostly because the low down payment, and the easy terms, brought the owners to a point where they realized the unpaid balance on the homes amounted to a sum greater than the homes were worth. So they just walked out the front door, possibly to take up residence in newer subsidized housing, again with little or no down payment and easy terms.

Some of the foreclosed homes have already been bulldozed into the earth, others it has been announced will be refurbished and put on sale for down payments as low as \$100 and 35 years to pay. This will give the bulldozers a second crack.

It is in the area of social welfare that government has found its most fertile growing bed. So many of us accept our responsibility for those less fortunate that we are susceptible to humanitarian appeals. Federal Welfare spending is today 10 times greater than it was in the dark depths of the depression. Federal, State and local Welfare combined spend 45 billion dollars a year. Now the government has announced that 20%, some 9.3 million families, are poverty stricken on the basis that they have less than a \$3,000 a year income.

If this present Welfare spending were prorated equally among these poverty stricken families, we could give each family more than \$4,500 a year. Actually, direct aid to the poor averages less than \$600 per family. There must be some administrative overhead somewhere. Now are we to believe that another billion dollar program added to the half a hundred programs and the 45 billion dollars, will through some magic end poverty? For three decades we have tried to solve unemployment by government planning, without success. The more the plans fail, the more the planners plan.

The latest is the Area Redevelopment Agency, and in two years less than one-half of 1% of the unemployed could attribute new jobs to this Agency, and the cost to the taxpayer for each job found was \$5,000. But beyond the great bureaucratic waste, what are we doing to the people we seek to help?

Recently a judge told me of an incident in his court. A fairly young woman, with six children, pregnant with her seventh, came to him for a divorce. Under his questioning it became apparent her husband did not share this desire. Then the whole story came out. Her husband was a laborer earning \$250 a month. By divorcing him she could get an \$80 raise. She was eligible for \$350 a month from the Aid to Dependent Children Program. She had been talked into the divorce by two friends who had already done this very thing. But any time we question the schemes of the do-gooders, we are denounced as being opposed to their humanitarian goal. It seems impossible to legitimately debate their solutions with the assumption that all of us share the desire to help those less fortunate.

They tell us we are always against, never for anything. Well, it isn't so much that Liberals are ignorant. It's just that they know so much that isn't true.

We are for a provision that destitution should not follow unemployment by reason of old age. For that reason we have accepted social security as a step toward meeting that problem. However, we are against the irresponsibility of those who charge that any criticism or suggested improvement of the program means we want to end payment to those who depend on social security for a livelihood.

We have been told in millions of pieces of literature and press releases, that social security is an insurance program, but the executives of social security appeared before the Supreme Court in the case of Nestor v. Fleming and proved to the Court's satisfaction that it is not insurance but is a welfare program, and social security dues are a tax for the general use of the government. Well it can't be both insurance and welfare. Later, appearing before a Congressional Committee they admitted that social security is today 298 billion dollars in the red. This fiscal irresponsibility has already caught up with us.

Faced with bankruptcy, we find that today a young man in his early twenties, going to work at less than an average salary, will with his employer pay into social security an amount which could provide the young man with a retirement insurance policy guaranteeing \$220 a month at age 65, and the government promises him \$127.

Are we so lacking in business sense that we cannot put this program on a sound actuarial basis, so that those who do depend on it won't come to the cupboard and find it bare? And, at the same time, can't we introduce voluntary features so that those who can make better provision for themselves may be allowed to do so. Incidentally, we might also allow participants in social security to name their own beneficiaries, which they cannot do in the present program. These are not insurmountable problems.

We have today 30 million workers protected by industrial and union pension funds that are soundly financed by some 70 billion dollars invested in corporate securities and income earning real estate. I think we are for telling our senior citizens that no one in this country should be denied medical care for lack of funds, but we are against forcing all citizens into a compulsory government program regardless of need. Now the government has turned its attention to our young people, and suggests that it can solve the problem of school dropouts and juvenile delinquency through some kind of revival of the old C.C.C. camps. The suggested plan prorates out to a cost of \$4,700 a year for each young person we want to help. We can send them to Harvard for \$2,700 a year. Of course, don't get me wrong - I'm not suggesting Harvard as the answer to juvenile delinquency. We are for an international organization where the Nations of the world can legitimately seek peace. We are against subordinating American interests to an organization so structurally unsound that a twothirds majority can be mustered in the U.N. General Assembly among Nations representing less than 10% of the world population.

Is there not something of hypocrisy in assailing our allies for so-called vestiges of colonialism while we engage in a conspiracy of silence about the peoples enslaved by the Soviet in the satellite nations. We are for aiding our allies by sharing our material blessings with those Nations which share our fundamental beliefs. We are against doling out money, government to government, which ends up financing socialism all over the world.

We set out to help 19 war ravaged countries at the end of World War II. We are now helping 107. We have spent 146 billion dollars. Some of that money bought a \$2 million yacht for Haile Selassie. We bought dress suits for Greek undertakers. We bought 1,000 TV sets, with 23" screens, for a country where there is no electricty, and some of our foreign aid funds provided extra wives for Kenya government officials. When Congress moved to cut foreign aid they were told that if they cut it \$1, they endangered National security, and then Senator Harry Byrd revealed that since its inception Foreign Aid has rarely spent its allotted budget. It has today \$21 billion in unexpended funds.

Some time ago Dr. Howard Kershner was speaking to the Prime Minister of Lebanon. The Prime Minister told him proudly that his little country balanced its budget each year. It had no public debt, no inflation, a modest tax rate and had increased its gold holdings from 70 to \$120 million. When he finished, Dr. Kershner said, "Mr. Prime Minister, my country hasn't balanced its budget 28 out of the last 40 years. My country's debt is greater than the combined debt of all the Nations of the world. We have inflation, and we have a tax rate that takes from the private sector a percentage of income greater than any civilized Nation has ever taken and survived. We have lost gold at such a rate that the solvency of our currency is in danger. Do you think that my country should continue to give your country millions of dollars each year?" The Prime Minister smiled and said, "No, but if you are foolish enough to do it, we are going to keep on taking the money."

And so we built a model stock farm in Lebanon, and we built 9 stalls for each bull. I find something peculiarly appropriate in that. We have in our vaults \$15 billion in gold. We don't own an ounce. Foreign

dollar claims against that gold total \$27 billion. In the last 6 years, 52 Nations have bought \$7 billion worth of our gold and all 52 are receiving Foreign Aid.

Because no government ever voluntarily reduces itself in size, government programs once launched never go out of existence. A government agency is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth. The United States manual takes 25 pages to list by name every Congressman and Senator, and all the agencies controlled by Congress. It then lists the agencies coming under the Executive Branch, and this requires 520 pages.

Since the beginning of the century our gross national product has increased by 33 times. In the same period the cost of Federal government has increased 234 times, and while the national work force is only 1½ times greater, Federal employees number nine times as many. There are now 2½ million Federal employees. No one knows what they all do. One Congressman found out what one of them does. This man sits at a desk in Washington. Documents come to him each morning. He reads them, initials them, and passes them on to the proper agency. One day a document arrived he wasn't supposed to read, but he read it, initialled it and passed it on. Twenty-four hours later it arrived back at his desk with a memo attached that said, "You weren't supposed to read this. Erase your initials, and initial the erasure."

While the Federal government is the great offender, the idea filters down. During a period in California when our population has increased 90%, the cost of State government has gone up 862% and the number of employees 500%. Governments, State and Local, now employ one out of six of the Nation's work force. If the rate of increase of the last three years continues, by 1970 one-fourth of the total work force will be employed by government. Already we have a permanent structure so big and complex it is virtually beyond the control of Congress and the comprehension of the people, and tyranny inevitably follows when this permanent structure usurps the policy making functions that belong to elected officials.

One example of this occurred when Congress was debating whether to lend the U.N. \$100 million. While they debated, the State Department gave the U.N. \$217 million and the U.N. used part of that money to pay the delinquent dues of Castro's Cuba.

Under bureaucratic regulations adopted with no regard to the wish of the people, we have lost much of our Constitutional freedom. For example, Federal Agents can invade a man's property without a warrant, can impose a fine without a formal hearing, let alone a trial by jury, and can seize and sell his property at auction to enforce payment of that fine.

An Ohio Deputy Fire Marshall sentenced a man to prison after a secret proceeding in which the accused was not allowed to have a lawyer present. The Supreme Court upheld that sentence, ruling that it was an administrative investigation of incidents damaging to the economy.

Some place a perversion has taken place. Our natural, unalienable rights are now presumed to be a dispensation of government, divisible by a vote of the majority. The greatest good for the greatest number is a

high sounding phrase, but contrary to the very basis of our Nation, unless it is accompanied by recognition that we have certain rights which cannot be infringed upon, even if the individual stands outvoted by all of his fellow citizens. Without this recognition, majority rule is nothing more than mob rule.

It is time we realized that socialism can come without overt seizure of property, or nationalization of private business. It matters little that you hold the title to your property or business if government can dictate policy and procedure and holds life and death power over your business. The machinery of this power already exists. Lowell Mason, former Anti-Trust Law Enforcer for the Federal Trade Commission, has written "American business is being harrassed, bled and even black-jacked, under a preposterous crazy quilt system of laws." There are so many that the government literally can find some charge to bring against any concern it chooses to prosecute. Are we safe in our books and records?

The natural gas producers have just been handed a 428 page question-naire by the Federal Power Commission. It weighs 10 lbs. One firm has estimated it will take 70,000 accountant man hours to fill out this questionnaire, and it must be done in quadruplicate. The Power Commission says it must have it to determine whether a proper price is being charged for gas. The National Labor Relations Board ruled that a business firm could not discontinue its shipping department even though it was more efficient and economical to subcontract this work out. The Supreme Court has ruled the government has the right to tell a citizen what he can grow on his own land for his own use.

The Secretary of Agriculture has asked for the right to imprison farmers who violate their planting quotas. One business firm has been informed by the Internal Revenue Service that it cannot take a tax deduction for its institutional advertising because this advertising espoused views not in the public interest.

A child's prayer in a school cafeteria endangers religious freedom, but the people of the Amish religion in the State of Ohio who cannot participate in social security because of their religious beliefs have had their livestock seized and sold at auction to enforce payment of social security dues.

We approach a point of no return when government becomes so huge and entrenched that we fear the consequence of upheaval and just go along with it. The Federal government accounts for one-fifth of the industrial capacity of the Nation, one-fourth of all construction, holds or guarantees one-third of all mortgages, owns one-third of the land and engages in some nineteen thousand businesses covering half a hundred different lines. The Defense Department runs 269 supermarkets. They do a gross business of \$730 million a year, and lose \$150 million. The government spends \$11 million an hour every hour of the 24, and pretends we had a tax cut, while it pursues a policy of planned inflation that will more than wipe out any benefit, because of the depreciation of our purchasing power.

We need true tax reform that will at least make a start toward restoring for our children the American dream that wealth is denied to no

one, that each individual has the right to fly as high as his strength and ability will take him. The economist Sumner Schlickter has said, "If a visitor from Mars looked at our tax policy, he would conclude it had been designed by a communist spy to make free enterprise unworkable." But we cannot have such reform while our tax policy is engineered by people who view the tax as a means of achieving changes in our social structure. Senator Clark says the tax issue is a class issue, and the government must use the tax to redistribute the wealth and earnings downward.

On January 15th in the White House, the President told a group of citizens they were going to take all the money they thought was being unnecessarily spent, "take it from the have's and give it to the have-nots who need it so much." When Karl Marx said this he put it "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need."

Have we the courage and the will to face up to the immorality and discrimination of the progressive surtax, and demand a return to traditional proportionate taxation. Many decades ago the Scottish economist, John Ramsey McCulloch said, "The moment you abandon the cardinal principle of exacting from all individuals the same proportion of their income or their property, you are at sea without rudder or compass and there is no amount of injustice or folly you may not commit." No Nation has survived the tax burden that reached one-third of its national income.

Today in our country the tax collector's share is 37¢ of every dollar earned. Freedom has never been so fragile, so close to slipping from our grasp. I wish I could give you some magic formula, but each of us must find his own role. One man in Virginia found what he could do, and dozens of business firms have followed his lead. Concerned because his 200 employees seemed unworried about government extravagance he conceived the idea of taking all of their withholding out of only the fourth paycheck each month. For three paydays his employees received their full salary. On the fourth payday all withholding was taken. He has one employee who owes him \$4.70 each fourth payday. It only took one month to produce 200 Conservatives.

Are you willing to spend time studying the issues, making yourself aware, and then conveying that information to family and friends? Will you resist the temptation to get a government handout for your community? Realize that the doctor's fight against socialized medicine is your fight. We can't socialize the doctors without socializing the patients. Recognize that government invasion of public power is eventually an assault upon your own business. In this election year, regardless of the party of your choice, pin down those who solicit your vote as to where they stand on constitutional limits on the power of government, on fiscal responsibility. Demand an end to deficit spending. If some among you fear taking a stand because you are afraid of reprisals from customers, clients or even government, recognize that you are just feeding the crocodile, hoping he'll eat you last.

If all of this seems like a great deal of trouble, think what's at stake. We are faced with the most evil enemy mankind has known in his long climb from the swamp to the stars. There can be no security anywhere in the free world if there is not fiscal and economic stability

within the United States. Those who ask us to trade our freedom for the soup kitchen of the welfare state are architects of a policy of accommodation. They tell us that by avoiding a direct confrontation with the enemy he will learn to love us and give up his evil ways. All who oppose this idea are blanket indicted as war mongers. Well let us set one thing straight. There is no argument with regard to peace and war. It is cheap demagoguery to suggest that anyone would want to send other people's sons to war. The only argument is with regard to the best way to avoid war. There is only one sure way - surrender.

The spectre our well-meaning liberal friends refuse to face is that their policy of accommodation is appeasement, and appeasement does not give you a choice between peace and war, only between fight and surrender. We are told that the problem is too complex for a simple answer. They are wrong. There is no easy answer, but there is a simple answer. We must have the courage to do what we know is morally right, and this policy of accommodation asks us to accept the greatest possible immorality. We are being asked to buy our safety from the threat of the bomb by selling into permanent slavery our fellow human beings enslaved behind the iron curtain — to tell them to give up their hope of freedom because we are ready to make a deal with their slave masters.

Alexander Hamilton warned us that a Nation which can prefer disgrace to danger is prepared for a master, and deserves one. Admittedly there is a risk in any course we follow. Choosing the high road cannot eliminate that risk. Already some of the architects of accommodation have hinted what their decision will be if their plan fails and we are faced with the final ultimatum. The English commentator Tyman has put it, he would rather live on his knees than die on his feet. Some of our own have said, "Better Red than dead." If we are to believe that nothing is worth the dying, when did this begin? Should Moses have told the children of Israel to live in slavery rather than dare the wilderness? Should Christ have refused the cross? Should the patriots at Concord Bridge have refused to fire the shot heard round the world? Are we to believe that all the martyrs of history died in vain?

You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We can preserve for our children this the last best hope of man on earth, or we can sentence them to take the first step into a thousand years of darkness. If we fail, at least let our children and our children's children, say of us we justified our brief moment here. We did all that could be done.

June, 1964

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TV ADDRESS BY RONALD REAGAN

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In this vote-harvesting time, they use terms like the great society, or as we were told soretime ago by the President, we must shapens blanca

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

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

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

Not too long ago two friends of mine were talking to a Cuban refugee, a businessman who had escaped from Castro, and in the midst of his story one of my friends turned to the other and said, "We don't know how lucky we are." And the Cuban stopped and said, "How lucky you are! I had some place to escape to." In that sentence he told us the entire story. If we lose freedom here, there is no place to escape to. This is the last stand on earth.

And this idea that government is beholden to the people, that it has no other source of power except the sovereign people, is still the newest and most unique idea in all the long history of man's relation to man. This is the issue of this election, whether we believe in our capacity for self-government or whether we abandon the American Revolution and confess that a little intellectual elite in a fardistant capital can plan our lives for us better than we can plan them ourselves.

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

of their sincerity, their humanitarian motives, those who would trade our freedom for security have embarked on this downward course. In this vote-harvesting time, they use terms like the great society, or as we were told sometime ago by the President, we must accept a bla "greater government activity in the affairs of the people." But they have been a little more explicit in the past and among themselves - and all of these things that I now will quote have appeared in print. These are not Republican accusations. For example, they have voices that say, "The cold war will end through our acceptance of a not undemocratic socialism." Another voice says that the profit motive has become outmoded; it must be replaced by the incentives of the welfare state, or our traditional system of individual freedom is incapable of solving the complex problems of the 20th Century. Senator Fullbright has said at Stanford University that the constitution is outmoded. He referred to the President as our moral teacher. and our leader, and he said he is hobbled in his task by the restrictions in power imposed on him by this antiquated document. He must be freed so that he can do for us what he knows is best. And Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, another articulate spokesman, defines liberalism as "meeting the material needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government." Well, I for one resent it when a representative of the people refers to you and me - the free men and women of this country - as "the masses." This is a term we haven't applied to ourselves in America. But beyond that, "The full power of centralized government" - this was everything the founding fathers sought to minimize. They knew that governments don't control A government can't control the economy without controlling people. And they know when a government sets out to do that, it must use force and coercion to achieve its purpose. They also knew, those founding fathers, that outside of its legitimate functions, government does nothing as well or as economically as the private sector of the economy. Now, we have no better example of this than the government's involvement in the farm economy over the last 30 years. Since 1955 the cost of this program has nearly doubled. 4 of farming in America is responsible for 85% of the farm surplus. 3/4 of farming is out on the free market, and there is now a 21% increase in the per capita consumption of all its produce. You see, with that of farming in America that's regulated and controlled by the Federal Government, in the last three years we have spent \$43,00 in the feed grain program for every dollar bushel of corn we don't grow. Senator Humphrey last week charged that Barry Goldwater as President would seek to eliminate farmers. He should do his homework a little better, because he will find out that we have had a decline of 5 million in the farm population under these government programs. He will also find that the democratic administration has sought to get from Congress an extension of the farm program to include that 3/4 that is now free. He will find that they have also asked for the right to imprison farmers who wouldn't keep books as prescribed by the federal government. The Secretary of Agriculture asked for the right to seize farms through condemnation and resell them to other individuals. And contained in that same program was a provision that would have allowed the Federal Government to remove 2 million farmers from the soil. At the same time there has been an increase in the Dept. of Agriculture employees - there is now one for every 30 farms in the U.S., and still they can't tell us how 66 shiploads of grain headed for Austria disappeared without a trace, and Billy Sol Estes never left shore! Farmers have repeatedly asked the government to free the farm economy, but who are they to know what is best? The wheat farmers voted against a wheat program, but it was passed anyway. So the price of bread goes up; the price of wheat to the farmer down. Meanwhile, the assault on freedom continues. In a program that takes from the needy and gives to the greedy, a \$1 million building just 3 years old must be destroyed to make way for what government officials call a "more compatible use of the land."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

schemes of the do-gooders, we are denounced as being against their humanitarian goals. They say we are always "against" things, never "for" anything. Well, the trouble with out liberal friends is not that they are ignorant, but that they know so much that isn't so! We are for a provision that destitution should not follow unemployment by reason of old-age, and to that end we have accepted social security as a step toward meeting the problem. But we are against those entrusted with this program when they practice deception regarding its fiscal shortcomings, when they charge that any criticism of the programs means that we want to end payments to those people who depend on them for a livelihood. They have called it insurance to us in a hundred million pieces of literature. But then they appeared before the Supreme Court and they testified that it was a welfareprogram. They only use the term "insurance" to sell it to the people. And they said social security dues are a tax for the general use of the government, and the government has used that tax. There is no fund, because Robert Byers, the actuarial head, appeared before a congressional committee and admitted that social security as of this moment is \$298 billion in the hole! But he said there should be no cause for worry because as long as they have the power to tax, they could always take away from the people whatever they needed to bail them out of trouble! And they are doing just that. A young man, 21 years of age, working at an average salary.. his social security contribution would, in the open market, buy him an insurance policy that would guarantee \$220 a month at age 65. The government promises \$127! He could live it up until he is 31 and then take out a policy that would pay more than social security. Now are we so lacking in business sense that we can't put this program on a sound basis so that people who do require those payments will find that they can get them when they are due -- that the cupboard isn't bare? Barry Goldwater thinks we can. At the same time, can't we introduce voluntary features that would permit a citizen to do better on his own, to be excused upon presentation of evidence that he has made provisions for the non-earning years? Should we not allow a widow with children to work, and not lose the benefits supposedly paid for by her deceased husband? Shouldn't you and I be allowed to declare who our beneficiaries will be under these programs, which we cannot do? I think we are for telling our senior citizens that no one in this country should be denied medical care, because of a lack of funds. But I think we are against forcing all citizens, regardless of need, into a compulsory government program, especially when we have such examples, as announced last week, when France admitted that their Medicare program was now bankrupt. They've come to the end of the road. In addition, was Barry Goldwater so irresponsible when he suggested that our government give up its program of deliberate planned inflation so that when you do get your social security pension, a dollar will buy a dollar's worth, and not 45¢ worth? I think we are for the international organization, where the nations of the world can seek peace. But I think we are against subordinating American interests to an organization that has become so structurally unsound that today you can muster a 2/3 vote on the floor of the general assembly among nations that represent less than 10% of the world's population. I think we are against the hypocrisy of assailing our allies because here and there they cling to a colony, while we engage in a conspiracy of silence and never open our mouths about the millions of people enslaved in soviet colonies in the satellite nations. I think we are for aiding our allies by sharing of our material blessings with those nations which share in our fundamental beliefs, but we are against doling out money government to government, creating bureaucracy, if not socialism, all over the world. We set out to help 19 countries. We are helping 107. We spent \$146 billion. With that money, we bought a \$2 million yacht for Haile Selassee. We bought dress so We bought dress suits for Greek undertakers, extra wives for Kenya government officials. We bought a thousand TV sets for a place where they have no electricity.

In the last six years, 52 nations have bought \$7 billion of our gold, and all 52 are receiving foreign aid from us. No government ever voluntarily reduces itself in size. Government programs, once launched, never disappear. Actually a government bureau is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth!

Federal employees number $2\frac{1}{2}$ million, and in federal, state, and local one out of six of the nation's work force is employed by government. These proliferating bureaus with their thousands of regulations have cost us many of our constitutional safeguards. How many of us realize that today federal agents can invade a man's property without a warrant? They can impose a fine without a formal hearing, let alone a trial by jury, and they can seize and sell his property in auction to enforce payment of that fine. In Chico County, Arkansas, James Wier overplanted his rice allotment. The government obtained a \$17,000 judgment, and a U.S. Marshall sold his 950-acre farm at auction. The government said it was necessary as a warning to others to make the system work:

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

As a former Democrat, I can tell you Norman Thomas isn't the only man who has drawn this parallel to socialism with the present administration. Back in 1936, Mr. Democrat, himself, Al Smith, the great
American, came before the American people and charged that the leadership of his party was taking the party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Cleveland, down the road under the banners of Marx, Lenin and And he walked away from his party, and he never returned to the day he died, because to this day, the leadership of that party has been taking that party, that honorable party, down the road in the image of the Labor Socialist Party of England. Now it doesn't require expropriation or confiscation of private property or business to impose socialism upon a people. What does it mean whether you hold the deed or the title to your business or property, if the government holds the power of life and death over that business or property? Such machinery already exists. The government can find some charge to bring against any concern it chooses Every businessman has his own tale of harrassment. to prosecute. Somewhere a perversion has taken place. Our national, inalienable rights are now considered to be a dispensation from government, and freedom has never been so fragile, so close to slipping from our grasp as it is at this moment. Our Democratic opponents seem unwilling to debate these issues. They want to make you and I think that this is a contest between two men...that we are to choose just between two personalities. Well, what of this man they would destroy...and in destroying, they would destroy that which he represents, the ideas that you and I hold dear.

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

This is a man who in his own business, before he entered politics, instituted a profit-sharing plan, before unions had ever thought of it. He put in health and medical insurance for all his employees. He took 50% of the profits before taxes and set up a retirement plan. A pension plan for all his employeed. He sent monthly checks for life to an employee who was ill and couldn't work. He provides nursing care for the children of mothers who work in the stores.

When Mexico was ravaged by the floods from the Rio Grande, he climbed in his airplane and flew medicine and supplies down there.

An ex-GI told me how he met him. It was the week before Christmas during the Korean war, and he was at the Los Angeles airport trying to get a ride home to Arizona, and he said that there were a lot of service men there and no seats available on the planes. Then a voice came over the loudspeaker and said, "any men in uniform wanting a ride to Arizona, go to runway such and such" and they went down there, and there was a fellow named Barry Goldwater sitting in his plane. Every day in the weeks before Christmas, all day long, he would load up the plane, fly to Arizona, fly them to their homes, then fly back over to get another load. During the hectic split-second timing of a campaign, this is a man who took time out to sit beside an old friend who was dying of cancer. His campaign managers were understandably impatient, but he said, "There aren't many left who care what happens to her. I'd like her to know that I care." This is a man who said to his 19 year old son, "There is no foundation like the rock of honesty and fairness, and when you begin to build your life upon that rock, with the cement of the faith in God that you have, then you have a real start!" This is not a man who could carelessly send other people's sons to war. And that is the issue of this campaign that makes all of the other problems I have discussed academic, unless we realize that we are in a war that must be won. Those who would trade our freedom for the soup kitchen of the welfare state have told us that they have a utopian solution of peace without victory. They call their policy "accommodation". And they say if we only avoid any direct confrontation with the enemy, he will forget his evil ways and learn to love us. All who oppose them are indicted as warmongers. They say we offer simple answers to complex problems. Well, perhaps there is a simple answer... not an easy one...but a simple one. If you and I have the courage to tell our elected officials that we want our national policy based upon what we know in our hearts is morally right, we cannot buy our security, our freedom from the threat of the bomb by committing an immorality so great as saying to a billion human beings now in slavery behind the iron curtain. "Give up your dreams of freedom because to save our own skin, we are willing to make a deal with your slave-masters". Alexander Hamilton said "A nation which can prefer disgrace to danger is prepared for a master, and deserves one: " Let's set the record straight. There is no argument over the choice between peace and war, but there is only one guaranteed way you can have peace ... and you can have it in the next second...surrender! Admittedly there is a risk in any course we follow other than this, but every lesson in history tells us that the greater risk lies in appeasement, and this is the spector our wellmeaning liberal friends refuse to face ... that their policy of accommodation is appeasement, and it gives no choice between peace and war, only between fight or surrender. If we continue to accommodate, continue to back and retreat, eventually we have to face the final demand - The Ultimatum.

And what then when Nikita Khrushchev has told his people he knows what our answer will be? He has told them that we are retreating under the pressure of the cold war and someday when the time comes to deliver the ultimatum, our surrender will be voluntary because by that time we will have been weakened from within spiritually, morally and economically. He believes this because from our side he has heard voices pleading for a peace at any price. Pleading for "peace at any price", or "better red than dead." Or as one commentator put it, he would rather "live on his knees than die on his feet." And therein lies the road to war, because those woices don't speak for the rest of us. You and I know and do not believe that life is so dear and peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery. If nothing in life is worth dying for, when did this beginjust in the face of this enemy...or should Moses have told the children of Israel to live in slavery under the Pharoahs? Should

Christ have refused the Cross? Should patriots at Concord Bridge have thrown down their guns and refused to fire the shot heard round the world? The martyrs of history were not fools, and our honored dead who gave their lives to stop the advance of the Nazis didn't die in vain! Where then is the road to peace? Well, it's a simple answer after all. You and I have the courage to say to our enemies, "There is a price we will not pay." There is a point beyond which they must not advance! This is the meaning in the phrase of Barry Goldwater's "Peace through strength!" Winston Churchill said that destiny of man is not measured by material computation. When great forces are on the move in the world, we learn we are spirits, not animals. And he said there is something going on in time and space, and beyond time and space which, whether we like it or not, spells duty. You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We will preserve for our children this, the last step into a thousand years of darkness.

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

Thank you.

Reproduced by Maricopa County Republican Committee
Wayne E. Legg, Chairman
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Phoenix, Arizona
Telephone: 264-4646

'A Time for Choosing'

By RONALD REAGAN

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

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

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

Unbalanced Budgets

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Government Coercion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Assault on Freedom

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

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

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

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

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

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

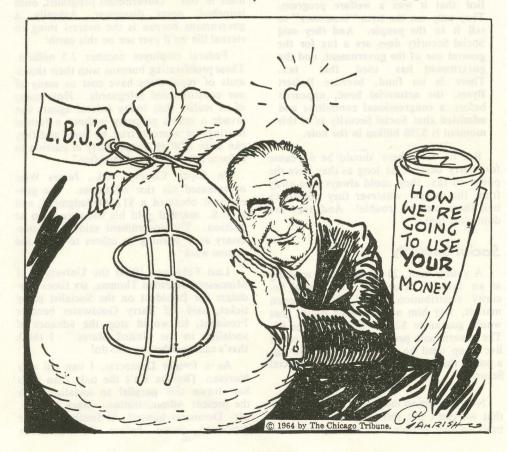
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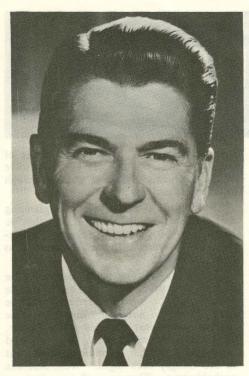
Now, do they honestly expect us to belive that if we add \$1 billion to the \$45 billion we are spending . . . one more program to the 30-odd we have (and remember, this new program doesn't replace any, it just duplicates existing programs) . . . Do they believe that poverty is suddenly going to disappear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

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

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

'Share the Wealth,' but Someone Else's





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

suggesting that Harvard is the answer to juvenile delinquency.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Social Security

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

Now are we so lacking in business sense that we can't put this program on a sound basis so that people who do require those payments will find that they can get them when they are due . . . that the cupboard isn't bare? Barry Goldwater thinks we can.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Advance of Socialism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Freedom in Danger

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This is not a man who could carelessly send other people's sons to war. And that is the issue of this campaign that makes all of the other problems I have discussed academic, unless we realize that we are in a war that must be won. Those who would trade our freedom for the soup kitchen of the welfare state have told us that they have a utopian solution of peace without victory. They call their policy "accommodation." And they say if we only avoid any direct confrontation with the enemy, he will forget his evil ways and learn to love us. All who oppose them are indicted as warmongers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TV ADDRESS BY RONALD REAGAN

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1964 TO TO MODORED THE COMMENT

Ronald Reagan: Jaum ow Jaobhaers odd vd ops emiremes blod erew ew

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

I have spent most of my life as a Democrat. I recently have seen fit to follow another course. I believe that the issues confronting us cross party lines. Now one side in this campaign has been telling us that the issues of this election are the maintenance of peace and prosperity. The line has been used - "We've never had it so good!" But I have an uncomfortable feeling that this prosperity isn't something upon which we can base our hopes for the future. No nation in history has ever survived a tax burden that reached a third of its national income. Today 37 cents out of every dollar earned in this country is the tax collector's share, and yet our government continues to spend 17 million dollars a day more than the government takes in. We haven't balanced our budget 28 out of the last 34 years. We have raised our debt limit three times in the last 12 months, and now our national debt is 1 times bigger than all the combined debts of all the nations of the world. We have 15 billion dollars in gold in our Treasury - we don't own an ounce. Foreign dollars claims are 27.3 billion dollars, and we have just had announced that the dollar of 1939 will not purchase 45 cents in its total value. As for the peace that we would preserve, I wonder who among us would like to approach the wife or mother whose husband or son has died in Vietnam and ask them if they think this is a peace that should be maintained indefinitely. Do they mean peace, or do they mean we just want to be left in peace? There can be no real peace while one American is dying some place in the world for the rest of us. We are at war with the most dangerous enemy that has ever faced mankind in his long climb from the swamp to the stars, and it has been said if we lose that war, and in so doing lose this way of freedom of ours, history will record with the greatest astonishment that those who had the most to lose did the least to prevent its happening. Tob vieve not manpong misip beet end

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

Not too long ago two friends of mine were talking to a Cuban refugee, a businessman who had escaped from Castro, and in the midst of his story one of my friends turned to the other and said, "We don't know how lucky we are." And the Cuban stopped and said, "How lucky you are! I had some place to escape to." In that sentence he told us the entire story. If we lose freedom here, there is no place to escape to. This is the last stand on earth.

And this idea that government is beholden to the people, that it has no other source of power except the sovereign people, is still the newest and most unique idea in all the long history of man's relation to man. This is the issue of this election, whether we believe in our capacity for self-government or whether we abandon the American Revolution and confess that a little intellectual elite in a fardistant capital can plan our lives for us better than we can plan them ourselves.

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

of their sincerity, their humanitarian motives, those who would trade our freedom for security have embarked on this downward course. In this vote-harvesting time, they use terms like the great society, or as we were told sometime ago by the President, we must accept a "greater government activity in the affairs of the people." But they have been a little more explicit in the past and among themselves - and all of these things that I now will quote have appeared in print. These are not Republican accusations. For example, they have voices that say, "The cold war will end through our acceptance of a not undemocratic socialism." Another voice says that the profit motive has become outmoded; it must be replaced by the incentives of the welfare state, or our traditional system of individual freedom is incapable of solving the complex problems of the 20th Century. Senator Fullbright has said at Stanford University that the constitution is outmoded. He referred to the President as our moral teacher and our leader, and he said he is hobbled in his task by the restrictions in power imposed on him by this antiquated document. He must be freed so that he can do for us what he knows is best. And Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, another articulate spokesman, defines liberalism as "meeting the material needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government." Well, I for one resent it when a representative of the people refers to you and me - the free men and women of this country - as "the masses." This is a term we haven't applied to ourselves in America. But beyond that, "The full power of centralized government" - this was everything the founding fathers sought to minimize. They knew that governments don't control things. A government can't control the economy without controlling people. And they know when a government sets out to do that, it must use force and coercion to achieve its purpose. They also knew, those founding fathers, that outside of its legitimate functions, government does nothing as well or as economically as the private sector of the economy. Now, we have no better example of this than the government's involvement in the farm economy over the last 30 years. Since 1955 the cost of this program has nearly doubled. 4 of farming in America is responsible for 85% of the farm surplus. 3/4 of farming is out on the free market, and there is now a 21% increase in the per capita consumption of all its produce. You see, with that of farming in America that's regulated and controlled by the Federal Government, in the last three years we have spent \$43,00 in the feed grain program for every dollar bushel of corn we don't grow. Senator Humphrey last week charged that Barry Goldwater as President would seek to eliminate farmers. He should do his homework a little better, because he will find out that we have had a decline of 5 million in the farm population under these government He will also find that the democratic administration has sought to get from Congress an extension of the farm program to include that 3/4 that is now free. He will find that they have also asked for the right to imprison farmers who wouldn't keep books as prescribed by the federal government. The Secretary of Agriculture asked for the right to seize farms through condemnation and resell them to other individuals. And contained in that same program was a provision that would have allowed the Federal Government to remove 2 million farmers from the soil. At the same time there has been an increase in the Dept. of Agriculture employees - there is now one for every 30 farms in the U.S., and still they can't tell us how 66 shiploads of grain headed for Austria disappeared without a trace, and Billy Sol Estes never left shore! Farmers have repeatedly asked the government to free the farm economy, but who are they to know what is best? The wheat farmers voted against a wheat program, but it was passed anyway. So the price of bread goes up; the price of wheat to the farmer down. Meanwhile, the assault on freedom continues. In a program that takes from the needy and gives to the greedy, a \$1 1/2 million building just 3 years old must be destroyed to make way for what government officials call a "more compatible use of the land."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

schemes of the do-gooders, we are denounced as being against their humanitarian goals. They say we are always "against" things, never "for" anything. Well, the trouble with out liberal friends is not that they are ignorant, but that they know so much that isn't so! We are for a provision that destitution should not follow unemployment by reason of old-age, and to that end we have accepted social security as a step toward meeting the problem. But we are against those entrusted with this program when they practice deception regarding its fiscal shortcomings, when they charge that any criticism of the programs means that we want to end payments to those people who depend on them for a livelihood. They have called it insurance to us in a hundred million pieces of literature. But then they appeared before the Supreme Court and they testified that it was a welfareprogram. They only use the term "insurance" to sell it to the people. And they said social security dues are a tax for the general use of the government, and the government has used that There is no fund, because Robert Byers, the actuarial head, appeared before a congressional committee and admitted that social security as of this moment is \$298 billion in the hole: But he said there should be no cause for worry because as long as they have the power to tax, they could always take away from the people whatever they needed to bail them out of trouble: And they are doing just that. A young man, 21 years of age, working at an average salary.. his social security contribution would, in the open market, buy him an insurance policy that would guarantee \$220 a month at age 65. The government promises \$127! He could live it up until he is 31 and then take out a policy that would pay more than social security. Now are we so lacking in business sense that we can't put this program on a sound basis so that people who do require those payments will find that they can get them when they are due -- that the cupboard isn't bare? Barry Goldwater thinks we can. At the same time, can't we introduce voluntary features that would permit a citizen to do better on his own, to be excused upon presentation of evidence that he has made provisions for the non-earning years? Should we not allow a widow with children to work, and not lose the benefits supposedly paid for by her deceased husband? Shouldn't you and I be allowed to declare who our beneficiaries will be under these programs, which we cannot do? I think we are for telling our senior citizens that no one in this country should be denied medical care, because of a lack of funds. But I think we are against forcing all citizens, regardless of need, into a compulsory government program, especially when we have such examples, as announced last week, when France admitted that their Medicare program was now bankrupt. They've come to the end of the road. In addition, was Barry Goldwater so irresponsible when he suggested that our government give up its program of deliberate planned inflation so that when you do get your social security pension, a dollar will buy a dollar's worth, and not 45¢ worth? I think we are for the international organization, where the nations of the world can seek peace. But I think we are against subordinating American interests to an organization that has become so structurally unsound that today you can muster a 2/3 vote on the floor of the general assembly among nations that represent less than 10% of the world's population. I think we are against the hypocrisy of assailing our allies because here and there they cling to a colony, while we engage in a conspiracy of silence and never open our mouths about the millions of people enslaved in soviet colonies in the satellite nations. I think we are for aiding our allies by sharing of our material blessings with those nations which share in our fundamental beliefs, but we are against doling out money government to government, creating bureaucracy, if not socialism, all over the world. We set out to help 19 countries. We are helping 107. We spent \$146 billion. With that money, we bought a \$2 million yacht for Haile Selassee. We bought dress suits for Greek undertakers, extra wives for Kenya government officials. We bought a thousand TV sets for a place where they have no electricity.

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American, came before the American people and charged that the leadership of his party was taking the party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Cleveland, down the road under the banners of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. And he walked away from his party, and he never returned to the day he died, because to this day, the leadership of that party has been taking that party, that honorable party, down the road in the image of the Labor Socialist Party of England. Now it doesn't require expropriation or confiscation of private property or business to impose socialism upon a people. What does it mean whether you hold the deed or the title to your business or property, if the government holds the power of life and death over that business or property? Such machinery already exists. The government can find some charge to bring against any concern it chooses to prosecute. Every businessman has his own tale of harrassment. Somewhere a perversion has taken place. Our national, inalienable rights are now considered to be a dispensation from government, and freedom has never been so fragile, so close to slipping from our grasp as it is at this moment. Our Democratic opponents seem unwilling to debate these issues. They want to make you and I think that this is a contest between two men...that we are to choose just between two personalities. Well, what of this man they would destroy...and in destroying, they would destroy that which he represents, the ideas that you and I hold dear.

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Christ have refused the Cross? Should patriots at Concord Bridge have thrown down their guns and refused to fire the shot heard round the world? The martyrs of history were not fools, and our honored dead who gave their lives to stop the advance of the Nazis didn't die in vain! Where then is the road to peace? Well, it's a simple answer after all. You and I have the courage to say to our enemies, "There is a price we will not pay." There is a point beyond which they must not advance! This is the meaning in the phrase of Barry Goldwater's "Peace through strength!" Winston Churchill said that destiny of man is not measured by material computation. When great forces are on the move in the world, we learn we are spirits, not animals. And he said there is something going on in time and space, and beyond time and space which, whether we like it or not, spells duty. You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We will preserve for our children this, the last step into a thousand years of darkness.

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

Thank you.

Reproduced by Maricopa County Republican Committee
Wayne E. Legg, Chairman
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A TIME FOR CHOOSING

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

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

I have spent most of my life as a Democratement of the next few weeks.

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

pening.

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

Founding Fathers.

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

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

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

and order—or down to the ant heap of totali-tarianism, and, regardless of their sincerity,

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

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

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

savings in their banks. When the government tells you you are depressed, lie down and be depressed!

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

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to us once in a while?

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

their present income, should erty!

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

Now do they honestly expect us to believe that if we add 100 billion dollars to the 45 billion we are spending . . . one more pro-

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

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

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

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

just that.

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

tion of evidence that he had made provisions for the non-earning years?

Should we not allow a widow with children to work, and not lose the benefits supposedly paid for by her deceased husband? Shouldn't you and I be allowed to declare who our beneficiaries will be under these programs, which we cannot do? I think we are for telling our senior citizens that no one in this country should be denied medical care, because of a lack of funds. But I think we are against forcing all citizens, regardless of need, into a compulsory government program, especially when pulsory government program, especially when we have such examples, as announced last week, when France admitted that their Medicare program was now bankrupt. They've come to the end of the road.

In addition, was Barry Goldwater so irre-sponsible when he suggested that our govern-ment give up its program of deliberate planned inflation so that when you do get your Social Security pension, a dollar will buy a dollar's worth, and not 45 cents worth? I think we are for the international organization, where the nations of the world can seek peace. But I think we are against subordinating American interests to an organization that has become so structurally unsound that today you can muster a two-thirds vote on the floor of the General Assembly among nations that represent less than 10 percent of the world's population. I think we are against the hypocrisy of assailing our Allies because here and there they cling to a colony, while we engage in a conspirate to a colony, while we engage in a conspiracy of silence and never open our mouths about the millions of people enslaved in Soviet colonies in the satellite nations.

I think we are for aiding our allies by sharing of our material blessings with those naing of our material blessings with those nations which share in our fundamental beliefs, but we are against doling out money to governments, creating bureaucracy, if not socialism, all over the world. We set out to help 19 countries. We are helping 107. We spent \$146 billion. With that money, we bought a \$2 million yacht for Haile Selassee. We bought dress suits for Greek undertakers, extra wives for Kenya government officials. We bought a thousand TV sets for a place where they have no electricity. In the last six years, 52 nations have bought \$7 billion of our gold, and all 52 are receiving foreign aid from us. No government ever voluntarily reduces itself in size. Government programs, once launched, never disappear. Actually, a government bureau is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth! on this earth!

on this earth!
Federal employees number 250 million.
These proliferating bureaus with their thousands of regulations have cost us many of our Constitutional safeguards. How many of us realize that today federal agents can invade a man's property without a warrant? They can impose a fine without a formal hearing, let alone a trial by jury, and they can seize and

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

system work!

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

As a former Democrat, I can tell you Norman Thomas isn't the only man who has drawn this parallel to socialism with the present Ad-

As a former Democrat, I can tell you Norman Thomas isn't the only man who has drawn this parallel to socialism with the present Administration. Back in 1936, Mr. Democrat, himself, Al Smith, the Great American, came before the American people and charged that the leadership of his party was taking the party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Cleveland, down the road under the banners of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. And he walked away from his party, and he never returned to the day he died, because to this day, the leadership of that party has been taking that party, that honorable party, down the road in the image of the Labor Socialist Party of England. Now it doesn't require expropriation or confiscation of private property or business to impose socialism upon a people. What does it mean, whether you hold the deed or the title to your business or property, if the government holds the power of life and death over that business or property? Such machinery already exists. The government can find some charge to bring against any concern it chooses to prosecute. Every businessman has his own tale of harrassment. Somewhere a perversion has taken place. Our natural, inalienable rights are now considered to be a dispensation from government, and freedom has never been so fragile, so close to slipping from our grasp as it is at this moment. Our Democratic opponents seem unwilling to debate these issues. They want to make you and I think that this is a contest between two men . . . that we are to choose just between two personalities. Well, what of this man they would destroy . . . and in destroying, they would destroy that which he represents, the ideas that you and I hold dear.

two personalities. Well, what of this man they would destroy ... and in destroying, they would destroy that which he represents, the ideas that you and I hold dear.

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

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

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

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

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

sand years of darkness.

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

Thank you.