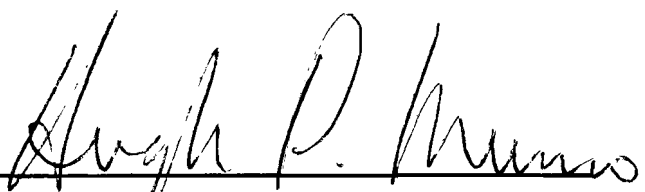


RONALD REAGAN AS A "THOUGHTFUL" SPEAKER--THE SOURCES
OF EVIDENCE FOR SELECTED ASSERTIONS FROM HIS
CAMPAIGN SPEECH OF OCTOBER 27, 1964

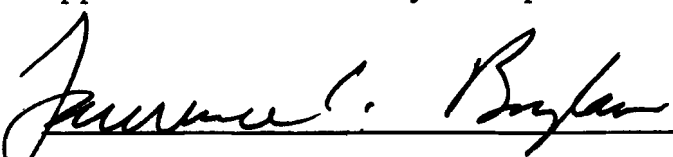
A Thesis
Presented to
the Department of Speech
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by
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PREFACE

This study began with a curiosity concerning the impact of Ronald Reagan's 1964 speech in behalf of Barry Goldwater's campaign for the Presidency. As preliminary research seemed to confirm certain tentative conjectures, a number of more distinct questions emerged which seemed worthy of formal investigation. Ultimately, inquiry into these questions led to the formulation of an approach to certain aspects of rhetorical criticism which, in some respects, seem to be both novel and useful.

To the uncritical listener, Ronald Reagan's "A Time For Choosing" might seem to be the epitome of the "logical" speech. It is a kind of rhetorical montage, bursting with "facts and figures," delivered--as those who have seen a film or heard an audio-tape of the speech can testify--with earnest sincerity and conviction. Still, the speech seems not to have persuaded the audience for whom it was intended--the segment of the political spectrum neutral or unfavorable to the Goldwater candidacy.

Frequently, unfamiliar and incongruous evidence was introduced as if it were common knowledge, with little or no indication of source. The critical listener, who ideally might have preferred to verify this evidence before making a judgment, was forced to accept the evidence as accurate or reject it as inaccurate almost entirely upon his evaluation of Reagan--an

evaluation which, under the circumstances, was based as much on extrinsic factors as it was upon the logos of the speech.

The present study seeks to provide a critical evaluation of the substance, particularly the evidential aspects, of Reagan's political oratory. The purposes of the study are: (1) to determine which of Reagan's evidential statements a critical audience would have wished to verify; and (2) to establish the sources for these assertions; in an effort (3) to discover how faithfully Reagan's reporting reflected the information contained in those sources. The study is developed along the following lines:

Chapter I sketches the background and circumstances which produced "A Time For Choosing," advances the rationale for the present inquiry, and outlines the methodology which has been employed.

Chapter II reproduces "A Time For Choosing," with an indication of the evidential assertions selected for investigation.

Chapter III reports the results of the research directed to these assertions, along with Mr. Reagan's own indicated sources.

Chapter IV presents this researcher's conclusions.

In the Appendices, interested readers will find reproduced all of the correspondence directed to Mr. Reagan during the course of the research, as well as Mr. Reagan's response to the

questionnaire submitted to him during the closing phases of the study asking for verification or correction of apparent sources.

I am, of course, indebted to Ronald Reagan, to Senator J. W. Fulbright and Senator Joseph S. Clark for their assistance with my research; I shall have occasion to acknowledge their contributions in greater detail later.

In addition, I should like to express my sincere appreciation to the individuals whose influence I perceive throughout the pages which follow:

*Dr. Hugh Munro, whose guidance and thoughtful criticism were invariably helpful, never autocratic, and fully appreciated only in retrospect;

*Mr. Larry Larmer, whose incisive questions and recommendations substantially strengthened those aspects of the study relating to argumentation;

*Mr. Dale Garvey, whose perspective in matters political has been helpful;

*Mr. David Dollar, Mr. Don Enholm, and Mr. Daniel T. Hayes, whose unfailing confidence and enthusiasm provided a vital counterbalance for my own recurring hesitations. Comprising the "unofficial" committee for whom the study was written, they are, I hope, pleased with the results.

August, 1965
The Kansas State Teachers College
Emporia, Kansas

J.T.H.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Origin and Background of the Study

". . . I have been permitted to choose my own words and discuss my own ideas. . . ."

On Monday evening, November 2, 1964, as a part of the Goldwater campaign for the Presidency, the TV For Goldwater--Miller Committee sponsored a nation-wide telecast of "a thoughtful address by Ronald Reagan."¹ Within weeks following the Democratic victory at the polls, the thoughtful Mr. Reagan found himself acclaimed from coast to coast as "a Republican hope in a world that is almost bereft of such hopes."² Conservative Californians thought he should either follow George Murphy's example and run for the Senate, or try for the Governorship. Conservatives in Illinois insisted that he should seek the Senate from his "home" state.³ By June of 1965, H. L. Hunt was convinced that "the next Republican candidate for President should be Romney of Michigan or Ronald Reagan of California."⁴

¹This phrase was used by the unseen announcer who introduced Mr. Reagan on the national television broadcast.

²John Chamberlain, "Reagan's Education," King Features Syndicate dispatch, Emporia [Kansas] Gazette, April 28, 1965.

³"Ronald Reagan Gains Political Impetus Since Television Speech," United Press International dispatch, Topeka [Kansas] Capital Journal, February 28, 1965.

⁴James J. Fisher, "Freedom a Losing Cause in U.S., H. L. Hunt Thinks," Kansas City [Missouri] Times, June 19, 1965.

The speech which carried Ronald Reagan to this political eminence was the product of some twelve years spent touring the country as a speaker and good-will agent for General Electric. Even in the early years of his rhetorical apprenticeship, Reagan insists that "speaking wasn't a gimmick to justify a personal appearance. I had to have something I wanted to say, and something in which I believed."⁵

Since "there is a vast difference between Hollywood as it really is and the image in the public mind,"⁶ Reagan talked about the "real" Hollywood and about the very real problems of the people who live and work there.

The most dramatic part of my pitch [Reagan writes] . . . was the account of the attempted takeover of the industry by the Communists. . . . it was dumfounding [sic] to discover . . . how completely uninformed the average audience was concerning internal Communism and how it operated. Here, I think, a useful purpose was served in awakening many people to the threat in their own backyards.⁷

In the years following 1953, Reagan's speeches "underwent a kind of evolution, reflecting not only my changing philosophy but also the swiftly rising tide of collectivism that threatens to inundate what remains of our free economy. . . ." ⁸ Slowly, and apparently without early specific political design, the

⁵Ronald Reagan with Richard G. Hubler, Where's the Rest of Me? (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1965), p. 263.

⁶Ibid., p. 264.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., p. 266.

campaign speech began to take shape. "The Hollywood portion of the talk shortened and disappeared. The warning words of what could happen changed to concrete examples of what has already happened, and I learned very early to document those examples."⁹

By 1961, the greatest menace Reagan saw lurking in the American backyard was the power of federal government. He had found his theme, and it was reflected in the title of his speech as it appeared in Vital Speeches: "Encroaching Control--Keep Government Poor and Remain Free."¹⁰ With the nomination of Barry Goldwater by the Republicans in 1964, Reagan found a candidate who shared his fears, and he took up the Goldwater standard as the California co-chairman of Citizens for Goldwater--Miller.¹¹ On October 27th, Reagan spoke at a rally for Goldwater in San Francisco. His speech, now called "A Time For Choosing," was filmed, broadcast nationally on November 2,¹² and subsequently rebroadcast by state GOP groups.¹³

For the first time, Reagan was able to address a national audience in a single appearance; the results were immediate and decisive. The United Press International noted in retro-

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Vital Speeches, XXVII (September 1, 1961), 677-681.

¹¹Topeka Capital-Journal, loc. cit.

¹²Ibid.

¹³"Stage to Sacramento?" Time, LXXXVIII (July 30, 1965), 13.

spect that "with that one talk, apparently seen by millions . . . the tall, handsome 53-year-old actor became a political figure."¹⁴ John Chamberlain pronounced it "a great speech;"¹⁵ even The New Republic's Andrew Kopkind conceded that it was "a remarkable election-eve network TV speech;"¹⁶ while Newsweek alone had the temerity to dismiss the address as "a compilation of Goldwatery bromides. . . ." ¹⁷

Still giving largely the same speech (he has told reporters, "I'm a kind of Johnny One-Note"¹⁸), Reagan is currently campaigning, "unofficially," for the California Governorship. Reactions to his newfound political aspirations have been mixed. Life reporter Shana Alexander observed one aspect of the Reagan mystique at a victory party for Senator-elect George Murphy at the Hollywood Palladium:

There was a stir in the crowd and a slightly taller, slightly younger, equally handsome man vaulted onstage to shake Murphy's hand. It was Ronald Reagan himself. As the press moved closer, the two actors turned expertly toward the cameras, tanned cheek by firm jowl, and assayed [sic] a little tap dance. A woman standing in the gloom beside me leaned over and

¹⁴Topeka Capital-Journal, loc. cit.

¹⁵Emporia Gazette, loc. cit.

¹⁶Andrew Kopkind, "Hooray for the Red, White and Blue," The New Republic, CLII (May 8, 1965), 24.

¹⁷"Will He Size Up?" Newsweek, LXV (June 7, 1965), 19.

¹⁸David S. Broder, "California's Political Free-For-All," Look, XXIX (July 13, 1965), 64.

whispered, "Cesar Romero I can let go by. But Ronald Reagan--yummy."¹⁹

Andrew Kopkind, reviewing Reagan's autobiography for The New Republic, felt a slightly different response:

"California is a great place to live," Fred Allen once said, "if you're an orange." Ronald Reagan is an orange. Transplanted, to be sure, from a small town in Illinois: but California is really Illinois with orange trees. Golden, sun-kissed, and thick-skinned, California oranges take nourishment from the vast irrigated deserts; they are tended and picked by midwesterners who have fled the dreary heartland, but still love the simple virtues. So with Mr. Reagan. Like the hardiest citrus fruit, he has flourished in Hyper-America.²⁰

Whenever a man rises to prominence in politics, his public utterances are, or should be, appropriate material for rhetorical analysis. When a middle-aged screen idol and television personality suddenly becomes one of the chief hopes of a national political party, rhetorical analysis would seem to be not merely interesting, but imperative. The following section of this chapter will delineate a rationale for a substantive approach to rhetorical criticism. The concluding section will propose the methodology which that rationale suggests for the present study.

¹⁹"My Technicolor Senator," Life, LVII (December 4, 1964), 30.

²⁰Kopkind, loc. cit., 23.

2. Rationale for the Study

"My story was really one available to anyone who wanted to look up a few facts and add them together."

"Rhetoric," Karl Wallace has written, ". . . ought to deal with the substance, the substratum or foundations of speeches." Wallace offers three propositions in support of this view:

First, the underlying materials of speeches . . . are assertions and statements that concern human behavior and conduct. They are prompted by situations and contexts that present us with choices and that require us to respond with appropriate decisions and actions. Second, such statements are usually called judgments and appraisals. They reflect human interests and values, and the nature of value-judgments and the ways of justifying them are the special, technical, and expert concern of ethics. Third, the appearance and use of value-judgments in practical discourse are the proper, although not the sole, concern of the theory and practice of rhetoric.²¹

Viewed from this perspective, rhetoric becomes for both speaker and audience a search for "good reasons." The value inherent in this approach to rhetoric is that it tends to sharpen the focus of inquiry. While it does not exclude the traditional canons of rhetorical theory, the phrase "good reasons" suggests "the indissoluble relationship between content and form, and keeps attention on what form is saying."²²

Professor Wallace's view of rhetoric has significant

²¹"The Substance of Rhetoric: Good Reasons," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLIX (October, 1963), 241.

²²Ibid., 248.

implications for the analysis contemplated here. In approaching a speech such as Ronald Reagan's "A Time For Choosing," it would be possible to become involved in detailed considerations of such essentially peripheral factors as style, delivery, and types of arguments used, and to lose sight of the more pertinent question, "What is Reagan saying?" Instead, Wallace maintains that "for the practitioner, both communicator and respondent, the correct questions would always be: What is my choice? What are the supporting and explanatory statements? What information is trustworthy?"²³

Reagan himself attributes his success as a speaker to the substance of his remarks. Reflecting upon the popularity of his speaking tours, he observes:

It would be nice to accept this as a tribute to my oratory, but I think the real reason had to do with a change that was taking place all over America. People wanted to talk about and hear about encroaching government control, and hopefully they wanted suggestions as to what they themselves could do to turn the tide. My story was really one available to anyone who wanted to look up a few facts and add them together.²⁴

The speaker who would choose and employ the appropriate facts to change the attitudes or beliefs of an audience must first discover what those attitudes and beliefs are, and why they are held. Such insight is essential to the speaker because he does not ordinarily express all of the premises upon which

²³Ibid., 249.

²⁴Reagan and Hubler, p. 267.

his case ultimately rests. Instead, he frames his arguments and selects his premises according to his understanding of the existing beliefs and attitudes of his audience, allowing them to supply the premises which they already accept while he adds the premises necessary to complete his argument.

Discovering prior attitudes and beliefs necessitates careful audience analysis by the speaker. Where the dialectician proceeds by question and answer, drawing premises from his opponent as he moves from one argument to the next, the rhetorician "draws the premises for his proofs from propositions which the audience would supply if he were to proceed by question and answer."²⁵

The advantage of enthymematic reasoning to the skilled speaker is evident:

Since rhetorical arguments, or enthymemes, are formed out of premises supplied by the audience, they have the virtue of being self-persuasive. Owing to the skill of the speaker, the audience itself helps construct the proofs by which it is persuaded.²⁶

Lloyd Bitzer emphasizes the role of the audience in the rhetorical process, noting:

An orator . . . can plan an argument while sitting at the desk in his study, but he cannot complete it by himself, because some of the materials from which he builds arguments are absent. The missing materials of rhetorical arguments are the premises which the audience brings with it and supplies at the proper

²⁵Lloyd F. Bitzer, "Aristotle's Enthymeme Revisited," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLV (December, 1959), 408.

²⁶Ibid. [Italics in the original.]

moment if the orator is skillful. . . . the successful building of arguments depends upon cooperative interaction between the practitioner and his hearers.²⁷

Rhetorical criticism, therefore, must begin as does its object--the speech--with careful study of the audience. As Bitzer suggests,

. . . this interpretation of the enthymeme--and of the whole sphere of rhetorical discourse--provides a sound basis for that kind of speech criticism which studies the audience and relevant aspects of its context as carefully as it studies the speaker and his preserved speeches. According to this interpretation, a recorded speech is only partially a speech. The complete speech . . . occurs when speaker and audience interact, either cooperatively or not. Therefore, a sound . . . criticism of past speeches must reconstruct the actual speech, and this requires detailed study of the particular audience to determine the premises it would or would not have supplied.²⁸

The study of audience attitudes and beliefs presupposes some system of classification which will allow the speaker (and the rhetorical critic) to generalize about the audience and still obtain meaningful information. Several familiar systems²⁹ categorize audiences as "favorable," "neutral," or "unfavorable," on the basis of their attitudes toward the speaker, his

²⁷Ibid., 407.

²⁸Ibid., 408.

²⁹See: Donald C. Bryant and Karl R. Wallace, Fundamentals of Public Speaking, 3rd ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960), Ch. 19; Robert T. Oliver, The Psychology of Persuasive Speech, 2nd ed. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957), Ch. 4; Kenneth G. Hance, David C. Ralph, and Milton J. Wiksell, Principles of Speaking (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1962), Ch. 7.

associates, or his central goal or purpose prior to the delivery of the speech.³⁰

Since audience attitudes may be classified in relation to three essentially distinct factors, it follows that an audience may hold one attitude toward the speaker, another toward his associates, and still a third toward the speaker's goal or purpose. (An audience might, for example, be neutral toward Ronald Reagan, favorable toward the Republican Party, and unfavorable toward the proposal that Barry Goldwater should be elected President.) Of course, the members of a given audience are rarely agreed in their attitude toward any one of these three factors. Consequently, the speaker must decide which combination of attitudes represents the largest--or the most vital--segment of his audience, and adapt his speech according to his decision. The critic who would undertake the "detailed study of the particular audience" which Bitzer

³⁰Although it is beyond the scope of the present study to deal with them in depth, it should be noted here that a number of theories have been advanced by contemporary psychologists which seek to account for and measure the attitude changes which occur in the human organism, and which attempt to provide a basis for predicting the direction and amount of attitude change which may be expected in a given situation. See: Charles E. Osgood and Percy H. Tannenbaum, "The Principle of Congruity in the Prediction of Attitude Change," Psychological Review, LXII (January, 1955), 42-55; Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (New York: Row, Peterson and Co., 1957); Fritz Heider, The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958); Charles E. Osgood, "Cognitive Dynamics in the Conduct of Human Affairs," The Public Opinion Quarterly, XXIV (Summer, 1960), 341-365.

suggests, "to determine the premises it would or would not have supplied," must attempt to discover the particular segment(s) of the audience to which the speaker probably directed his remarks.

Once he has discovered the nature of the speaker's intended audience, the critic has two choices. He can attempt to "reconstruct" the original audience by searching out individuals whose attitudes toward the speaker, his associates, and his purpose closely approximate those of the original audience. In most cases, however, the passage of time and the influence of subsequent events makes such a reconstruction more or less unreliable.

Alternatively, on the basis of a careful study of the original audience and the speaker's apparent purpose, the critic himself may attempt to simulate, or to assume the role of, that audience in order to determine the premises which it would or would not have supplied.

Simulation of the general nature of a hypothetical audience should be an accepted pre-condition for any sound rhetorical criticism. Among the many arguments which could be made for this approach is the following passage from Aristotle:

A statement is persuasive and credible either because it is directly self-evident or because it appears to be proved from other statements that are so. In either case it is persuasive because there is somebody whom it persuades. But none of the arts theorize about individual cases. . . . the theory of rhetoric

is concerned . . . with what seems probable to men of a given type.³¹

The task of characterizing the intended audience is greatly simplified in the present instance, since Reagan's own testimony is readily available. He has written:

Being an actor, I have access to audiences which might be denied an office holder or candidate. There is no point in saving souls in heaven; if my speaking is to serve any purpose, then I must appear before listeners who don't share my viewpoint.³²

Reagan seems to have welcomed opportunities to present his views to largely non-partisan audiences and, insofar as "A Time For Choosing" was simply one performance of a speech he had given many times, it could reasonably be concluded that Reagan was consciously attempting to persuade an audience essentially neutral-to-hostile to the proposition that Barry Goldwater should be elected.

By contrast, most Americans knew Reagan only as "the boyishly handsome good guy in some two-score movies. . . and more lately the host and sometimes hero of TV's Death Valley Days. . . ."³³ The predominant attitude toward him, then, was presumably either neutral or favorable. It could even be argued that this pre-existing audience attitude accounted, in part, for the decision late in the campaign to broadcast Reagan's

³¹Rhetorica, trans. W. Rhys Roberts (New York: The Modern Library, 1954), 1356^b26-35.

³²Reagan and Hubler, pp. 296-97.

³³Time, loc. cit., 14.

address widely. Bryant and Wallace offer support for this hypothesis when they observe:

The use which political parties and other national campaigners make of public opinion polls and analyses derives from the importance of knowing the current state of audiences' minds. Politicians may be interested sometimes, as the cynics suggest, in determining popular opinion in order to take the side most likely to win. Usually, however, they want to know which strong attitudes and opinions must be dealt with, which may be ignored, which may be reinforced and enlisted in favor of the ends of the campaign. This information is useful, for example, not only in planning what is to be said in a specific speech at a given point in a campaign, but in deciding which speaker to put before which special audience.³⁴

An audience largely neutral toward the speaker, such as Reagan was apparently addressing, would be most interested in, most objectively critical of, and most readily influenced by a predominantly reasoned appeal. Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell indicate:

The neutral . . . audience is open-minded toward the speaker and his ideas; the listeners have not yet made up their minds on the issues at hand. . . . Reasoning and evidence, to this audience, are more persuasive than high pressure and emotional appeals.³⁵

The two key terms here are "reasoning" and "evidence," and in the context of the present inquiry they are of central importance. "Reasoning," according to Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell, "may be defined as the process of inferring conclusions from evidence or from other conclusions."³⁶ "Evidence" is less

³⁴Fundamentals of Public Speaking, p. 315. [Italics mine.]

³⁵Principles of Speaking, p. 117.

³⁶Ibid., 61.

easily defined, although an understanding of evidence is a necessary prerequisite to a full conception of reasoning. Traditional definitions suggest that evidence consists of "those matters of opinion and fact, and those physical or material items which support our reasoning and our conclusions and which lend psychological authority to our beliefs."³⁷ The difficulty which such definitions present for the present investigation is a failure to delimit the precise elements which cause evidence to "lend psychological authority to our beliefs."

Glen E. Mills offers a more incisive definition of evidence, viewing it as

. . . factual statements, objects not created by the advocate, and opinions of persons other than the advocate which are offered in support of his claims. Factual statements or empirical data consist of presumably verifiable information on the occurrence, existence, classification, or character of phenomena.³⁸

Two important facets of the Mills definition should be noted. First, Mills states explicitly that the speaker himself does not create the evidence which he presents. (Ralph implies this, of course, but not so clearly.) Secondly, Mills indicates that the audience, in accepting a piece of evidence in support of an argument, assumes that the evidence is verifiable. The significance of this latter point should not be overlooked.

³⁷David C. Ralph, "Evidence," Argumentation and Debate, ed. David Potter (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1954), p. 92.

³⁸Reason in Controversy, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1964), p. 97.

A useful alternative to these essentially speaker-oriented definitions is indicated by Paul Brandes, whose definition is more properly termed "audience-oriented." "Evidence," says Brandes, "is that form of proof wherein the speaker confronts his audience with propositions which the audience establishes are relatively free of speaker bias."³⁹ In this context, when a speaker uses evidence he says to his audience, in effect:

I am modest enough to offer you material which is not of my invention, which would have been available whether or not I had ever given my thoughts to the issue and which you may believe, even though you for some reason wish to reject me.⁴⁰

As it is used in the present study, the term "evidence" will be understood to designate those ostensibly factual statements and expressions of opinion attributed (although perhaps without specific citation of source) to persons or sources other than the speaker, which are therefore presumably verifiable, and which tend to support the speaker's claims if they are accepted by the audience.

One further point should be stressed here:

Evidence's only inherent property is its initial set of freedom from the bias of the speaker. Although

³⁹"Evidence," Argumentation and Debate, ed. James H. McBath (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963), pp. 145-46. [There are a number of potential objections to the Brandes definition. Evidence is not necessarily, by itself, proof; there is usually some inference present, at least enthymematically. Nor are all of the propositions which an audience might establish to be "relatively free of speaker bias" necessarily evidence.]

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 148.

evidence may support the speaker's bias, it does so, until proven otherwise, of its own volition and not because of the speaker's manipulations.⁴¹

By implication, at least, one factor which might motivate members of an audience to reject an evidential statement is the speculation that the evidence has been "manipulated" by the speaker. An audience simulation procedure which produced a large number of questioned assertions would suggest that critical attention might profitably be directed to the sources and accuracy of the support for those assertions. Such a scrutiny should reveal whether the speaker has simply failed to demonstrate the objectivity of his evidence, or whether he has, consciously or unconsciously, prejudiced the evidence to support his view.

It has been noted that Reagan was probably addressing his appeals to an audience which was either neutral or favorable toward him, but hostile to his central proposition that Barry Goldwater should be elected. Such an audience, it was suggested, would be primarily interested in and persuaded by reasoning and evidence. Ideally, this audience would probably wish to verify, or seek additional support for, any evidential assertions which they found to be of doubtful acceptability.⁴² The

⁴¹Ibid., p. 146.

⁴²Obviously, a speaker who seeks to change the attitudes or beliefs of his audience must advance assertions which, initially, will conflict with the existing attitudes and beliefs held by members of the audience. Aristotle has pointed to this necessity

very nature of Reagan's speech (and, to some degree, of the rhetorical process) precluded this, however, since listeners had little time to reflect upon the probable source, or even the reasonableness of one statement before another was presented.

It is appropriate, therefore, that a rhetorical critic, removed from the heat of oratory and with more time at his disposal, should represent that segment of the audience which would have liked to question certain of Reagan's evidential assertions and perform such an inquiry into the sources and the original implications of that evidence. The methodology which this rationale suggests for the present inquiry will be outlined in the concluding section of this chapter.

It is not suggested that this rationale is applicable to every critical endeavor. Nevertheless, when a speaker elects to "look up a few facts and add them together," responsible

in dialectic (which, like rhetoric, derives its materials from probabilities rather than absolute truths). He has written: ". . . no one in his senses would make a proposition of what no one holds, nor yet make a problem of what is obvious to everybody or to most people: for the latter admits of no doubt, while to the former no one would assent." Topica, trans. W. A. Pickard-Cambridge, in The Great Books of the Western World, VIII, ed. Robert M. Hutchins (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1952), 104^a5-7. Later in the same work, Aristotle adds: "Not every problem, nor every thesis, should be examined, but only one which might puzzle one of those who need argument, not punishment or perception. For people who are puzzled to know whether one ought to honour the gods and love one's parents or not need punishment, while those who are puzzled to know whether snow is white or not need perception. The subjects should not border too closely upon the sphere of demonstration, nor yet be too far removed from it: for the former cases admit of no doubt, while the latter involve difficulties too great for the art of the [speaker]. Topica, 105^a2-9. [Italics mine.]

rhetorical criticism would seem to sanction a critical methodology which directs primary attention to the substantive aspects of the speech and attempts to assay the validity of the speaker's "good reasons."

3. Methodology of the Study

*" . . . a sound . . . criticism of past speeches
must reconstruct the actual speech. . . . "*

Aristotle distinguishes two means of persuasion (i.e. two types of proof) depending upon whether the proofs have been created by the speaker, or merely discovered by him:

Of the modes of persuasion some belong strictly to the art of rhetoric and some do not. By the latter I mean such things as are not supplied by the speaker but are there at the outset--witnesses, evidence given under torture, written contracts, and so on. By the former I mean such as we can ourselves construct by means of the principles of rhetoric. The one kind has merely to be used, the other has to be invented.⁴³

The "inartistic" modes of persuasion indicated here would include "evidence" as discussed in the last section, while the "artistic" (constructed) modes would correspond, generally, to "reasoning."⁴⁴ The rationale proposed in the previous section of this chapter, if carried to its logical conclusion, would call for the rhetorical critic to direct his attention to both

⁴³Rhetorica, 1355^b36-40.

⁴⁴There is a danger of over-simplification here. The process of bringing two "inartistic" pieces of evidence together in support of a conclusion has certain "artistic" implications, especially with regard to the speaker's judgment in the selection of evidence.

the "inartistic" and the "artistic" aspects of the speech, and to evaluate both the speaker's evidence and his reasoning.

The present investigation will, however, confine itself to the evidential aspects of Ronald Reagan's "A Time For Choosing," for a number of reasons. Evidence, as defined above, is clearly an essential prerequisite for reasoning, and provides the materials of support for the inferences which are constructed "artistically." Secondly, evidence by its very nature is presumably verifiable; certain things either are or are not so; individuals either did or did not make certain statements. Thirdly, rhetorical discourse does not allow for the immediate verification of evidence, while it does permit at least some judgment and evaluation of the reasoning which that evidence is intended to support. Finally, there is the factor of Reagan's own emphasis upon evidence in the construction of his speech.

The purposes of the study are: (1) to determine which of the evidential assertions made by Reagan an audience neutral or favorable toward him, but hostile toward his purpose, would have wished to verify if circumstances had permitted them to do so; and (2) to establish the sources and information which provided the basis for these evidential assertions; in an effort (3) to discover how faithfully Reagan's reporting reflects the information presented in the original sources. It should be emphasized that the study does not attempt to assay the accuracy of the information presented in the original sources, nor does it claim to study or to test the validity of the lines of

argument which the evidential citations were intended to support.

The methodology employed to these ends was as follows: A verbatim script of "A Time For Choosing" was prepared by collating the prepared script furnished by Mr. Reagan with an audio-tape recording of the televised speech.⁴⁵

The resultant script (which comprises Chapter II) was then studied carefully and the evidential assertions were isolated. There were 63 of these. All 63 statements were then submitted to the three members of the thesis committee⁴⁶ for selection of the statements to be verified. Each member of the committee was asked, independently, to assume the role of a member of the original viewing audience for Reagan's television broadcast who was (1) neutral or favorable toward Reagan himself, and (2) either unaware of Reagan's central purpose or only somewhat hostile toward the proposition that Goldwater

⁴⁵Audio-tape courtesy Audio-Visual Aids Center, San Jose State College, San Jose, California.

⁴⁶All three of the committee members have studied the use of audience simulation in the classroom situation and were, therefore, cognizant of the assumptions and requirements underlying the procedure. Mr. Garvey has conducted a number of experiments with simulation in the teaching of international relations in a series of summer institutes on international affairs at the Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, and the other two members of the committee have conducted informal studies of audience simulation in the teaching of public speaking. Much of the recent development of political simulation has been conducted by the RAND Corporation, M.I.T. and Northwestern University (see esp. Harold Guetzkow, ed., Simulation in International Relations: Developments for Research and Teaching [Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963]).

should be elected. Having assumed this attitude, each was asked to indicate one of three responses to each evidential statement:

- A if you would accept the statement at face value (i.e., without issue);
- R if you would reject the statement at face value (i.e., without issue; such as: it is an apparent misrepresentation, or the stated or implied source is not acceptable);
- ? if you would require further information to arrive at an evaluation and a judgment to accept or reject.

Those statements questioned [?] by at least two of the three respondents were included in the list of statements to be investigated. On this basis, 35 statements seemed to require verification. (Looking beyond the procedure itself to the purpose, it is assumed that the audience characterized would have questioned these 35 statements when the speech was delivered, and would have wished to verify them if there had been opportunity to do so.)

Research was then directed to these evidential statements (indicated in Chapter II by consecutive, bracketed numbers, e.g., [12], throughout the text). When the evidence was attributed to a specific individual, attempts were made first to locate the statement in print, subject to the restriction noted below. If this proved unsuccessful, the individual cited was contacted directly and asked to verify the accuracy of the statement or to suggest where the writer might verify the statement for himself. More frequently, evidence was presented without

specific citation of source. The approach to these statements was somewhat different. Research was directed to the general subject area, and no assumptions were made concerning source unless internal evidence within the published material seemed clearly to justify such assumptions.

The single restriction imposed upon the scope of the research was a decision to limit it to readily available sources (e.g., U. S. News & World Report, National Review, Newsweek, Time, etc.). This restriction was adopted for two reasons. It was conjectured that Reagan might have relied heavily upon such sources in doing his research. More importantly, however, these are the sources most readily available to members of the hypothetical audience, had they had the opportunity to verify Reagan's statements for themselves.

As this phase of the study was nearing completion, a questionnaire was prepared, listing the 35 statements selected for verification, with an indication of the evidence discovered for each. This questionnaire was sent to Mr. Reagan with a request for confirmation or correction of the sources. He was also requested, where possible, to indicate the sources for those statements for which preliminary research had failed to disclose a source.

The results of the preliminary research, Mr. Reagan's notations, and the results of the research conducted after the questionnaire was returned are reported in Chapter III. The questionnaire (see Appendix C) reached Mr. Reagan in San Diego,

and in several instances his responses were not, therefore, as complete as they might otherwise have been. Where preliminary research failed to reveal a definite source and Reagan himself was unable to be specific, it has been necessary simply to indicate the information which was provided, and to disregard the statements in arriving at the conclusions suggested in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER II

"A TIME FOR CHOOSING"

Ronald Reagan

Thank you. 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 on which we can base our hopes for the future. [1] No nation in history has ever survived a tax burden that reached a third of its national income. Today thirty-seven cents out of every dollar earned in this country is the tax collector's share, and yet [2] 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've raised our debt limit three times in the last twelve months, and now our national debt is

one-and-one-half times bigger than all the combined debts of all the nations of the world. [3] We have fifteen billion dollars in gold in our treasury--we don't own an ounce. [4] Foreign dollar claims are 27.3 billion dollars, and we've 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 South 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 someplace 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's 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 that were intended for us by the Founding Fathers. Not too long ago two friends of mine were talking to a Cuban refugee, a business man who had escaped from Castro, and in the midst of his story one of my friends turned to the other and said, "We don't know how lucky we ~~are~~." And the

Cuban stopped and said, "How lucky you are! I had someplace to escape to." And in that sentence he told us the entire story. If we lose freedom here, there's 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 the 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 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's only an up or down--man's old, . . . old age dream [c.f. printed script: 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 few days ago by the President, we must accept a "greater government activity in the affairs of the people."

But they've been a little more explicit in the past, and among themselves, and all of the things that I now will

quote have appeared in print. These are not Republican accusations. For example, [5] they have voices that say "the cold war will end through our acceptance of a not undemocratic socialism." [6] Another voice says 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 twentieth century. [7] Senator 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 says he is hobbled in his task by the restrictions of power imposed on him by this antiquated document. He must be freed, so that he can do for us what he knows is best. [8] 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.

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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 government's involvement in the farm economy over the last thirty 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 known a 21 per-cent increase in the per-capita consumption of all its produce. You see, that one-fourth of farming, that's regulated and controlled by the federal government.

[9] 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. [10] 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'll find out that we've had a decline of five million in the farm population under these government programs. He'll also find that [11] the Democratic Administration has sought to get from Congress extension of the farm program to include that three-fourths that is now free. He'll find that [12] they've also asked for the right to imprison farmers who wouldn't keep books as prescribed by the federal government. [13] 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 two million farmers from the soil.

At the same time, there's been an increase in the Department of Agriculture employees. There's now one for every thirty farms in the United States, and still they can't tell us how [14] 66 shiploads of grain headed for Austria disappeared without a trace, and Billie Sol Estes never left shore! Every responsible farmer and farm organization has repeatedly asked the government to free the farm economy, but how--who are farmers to know what's best for them? [15] The wheat farmers voted against the 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 so diluted that public interest is almost anything 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 [16] 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's now going to start building public housing units in the thousands where heretofore we have only built them in the hundreds. But [17] FHA and the Veterans Administration tell us they have a hundred and twenty thousand housing units they've taken back through mortgage foreclosure.

For three decades we've sought to solve the problems of unemployment through government planning, and the more the plans fail, the more the planners plan. The latest is the Area Redevelopment Agency. They've just declared Rice County, Kansas, a depressed area. [18] Rice County, Kansas, has two hundred oil wells, and the 14,000 people there have over thirty million dollars in deposit in personal savings in their banks. [*Laughter and applause*] When the government tells you you're 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 the fat man got that way by taking advantage of the thin one! So they're 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 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 program 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! [*Laughter*] But now we're told that 9.3 million families in this country are poverty stricken on the basis of earning less than three thousand dollars a year. Welfare

spending--ten times greater than it was in the dark depths of the depression. [19] We're spending 45 billion dollars on welfare. Now do a little arithmetic and you'll find that if we divided the 45 billion dollars up equally among those nine million poor families, we'd be able to give each family forty-six hundred dollars a year, and this, added to their present income, should eliminate poverty! *[Applause]*

[20] Direct aid to the poor, however, is only running about six hundred dollars per family. It would seem that someplace there must be some overhead! *[Laughter and applause]* Now . . . *[applause continues]* so now we declare "War on Poverty" or, "You, too, can be a Bobby Baker!" *[Mild laughter]*

Now do they honestly expect us to believe that if we add one billion dollars to the 45 billion we're now 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 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 the old CCC camps, and we're going to put our young people in these camps; but again we do some arithmetic, and we find that [21] we are going to spend each year just on room and board for each young person we help, forty-seven hundred dollars a year! We can send them to Harvard for twenty-seven hundred!

[Applause] 'Course, don't get me wrong. I'm not suggesting Harvard is the answer to juvenile delinquency! [Applause]

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 two hundred and fifty dollars a month. She wanted a divorce to get an eighty dollar raise. She's eligible for three hundred and thirty dollars 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're denounced as being against their humanitarian goals. They say we're always "against" things, we're never "for" anything. Well, the trouble with our liberal friends is not that they're ignorant-- it's just that they know so much that isn't so! [Applause]

We're for a provision that destitution should not follow unemployment by reason of old-age, and to that end we've accepted Social Security as a step toward meeting the problem. But we're 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've called it insurance to us in a hundred-million pieces of literature. But then they appeared before the Supreme

Court and they testified it was a welfare program. They only use the term "insurance" to sell it to the people. [22] 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 [23] Robert Byers [Myers] the actuarial head, appeared before a Congressional Committee and admitted that Social Security as of this moment is 298 billion dollars in the hole! But he said there should be no cause for worry because as long as they had the power to tax, they could always take away from the people whatever they needed to bail them out of trouble! And they're doing just that.

[24] A young man, twenty-one 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 two hundred and twenty dollars a month at age sixty-five. The government promises a hundred and twenty-seven! He could live it up until he's thirty-one 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 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 who can do better on his own, to be excused upon presentation of evidence that he had made provision 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 this program, which we cannot do? I think we're 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 was announced last week, when [25] France admitted that their Medicare program is 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 forty-five cents' worth?

I think we're for an international organization where the nations of the world can seek peace. But I think we're 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 ten per-cent of the world's population.

I think we're 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 the Soviet colonies

in the satellite nations. [*vigorous applause*]

I think we're for aiding our allies by sharing of our material blessings with those nations which share in our fundamental beliefs, but we're against doling out money government to government, creating bureaucracy, if not socialism, all over the world. We set out to help nineteen countries. We're helping a hundred and seven. [26] We spent a hundred and forty-six billion dollars. [27] With that money, we bought a two million dollar yacht for Haile Selassie. [28] We bought dress suits for Greek undertakers, [29] extra wives for Kenya government officials. [30] We bought a thousand TV sets for a place where they have no electricity. [31] In the last six years, fifty-two nations have bought seven billion dollars worth of our gold, and all fifty-two are receiving foreign aid from this country.

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

Federal employees . . . [*Applause continues*] federal employees number two and a half million, and federal, state, and local, one out of six of the nation's work-force 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 [32] 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. [33] In Chico County, Arkansas, James Wier overplanted his rice allotment. The government obtained a seventeen thousand dollar judgment, and a U. S. Marshal sold his nine hundred sixty acre farm at auction. The government said it was necessary as a warning to others to make the system work! *[Applause]*

Last February 19th 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! *[Vigorous applause]*

But 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. Because [34] back in 1936, Mr. Democrat himself, Al Smith, a 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 'till 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 on a people. What

does it mean, whether you hold the deed to the . . . or the title to your business or property, if the government holds the power of life and death over that business or property? And 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, unalienable rights are now considered to be a dispensation of 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're 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've never known a man in my life I believe so incapable of doing a dishonest or dishonorable thing. [*Sustained applause*]

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 fifty per-cent of the profits before taxes, and set up a retirement program, 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 in 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 for Christmas and he said a lot of service men there and no seats available on the planes. And 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 those weeks before Christmas, all day long, he'd load up the plane, fly to Arizona, fly them to their homes, fly back over and 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 I care." This is a man who said to his nineteen-year-old son, "There is no foundation like the rock of honesty and fairness, and when you begin to build your life on 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 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 they have a utopian solution of peace without victory. They call their policy "accommodation." And they say if we'll only avoid any direct confrontation with the enemy, he'll 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 answer, but simple. If you and I have the courage to tell our elected officials that we want our national policy based on 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 skins 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!" Now let's set the record straight. There's no argument over the choice between peace and war, but there's only one guaranteed way you can have peace, and you can have it in the next second: surrender. Admittedly there's 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 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 Krushchev 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 final 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's heard voices pleading for "peace at any price," or "better Red than dead." Or as [35] one commentator put it, he'd 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!" [Sustained applause] This . . . [Applause continues] this is the meaning in the phrase of Barry Goldwater, "Peace Through Strength!"

Winston Churchill said the destiny of man is not measured by material computations. When great forces are on the move in the world, we learn we're spirits, not animals. And he said there's 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'll preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on earth, or we'll sentence them to take the last [c.f. printed script: first] step into a thousand years of darkness.

We will keep in 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 very much.

[Sustained applause].

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CHAPTER III

RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

1. No nation in history has ever survived a tax burden that reached a third of its national income.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No definite source discovered.

REAGAN: "I'm sorry--this was from a summation on the history of past empires and first used by me some 10 years ago--I just plain don't have the source any longer."

2. . . . our government continues to spend 17 million dollars a day more than the government takes in.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No definite source discovered.

REAGAN: "Divided anticipated deficit by 365. As it turned out--we actually overspent by \$21 mil. a day."

3. We have fifteen billion dollars in gold in our treasury--we don't own an ounce.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: U. S. News & World Report, June 29, 1964, p. 90: "Gold reserves of the U. S. under defense and aid policies, have shrunk from 24.6 billion dollars in 1949 to 15.7 billion now."

--U. S. News & World Report, Oct. 19, 1964, p. 28: "Free gold, beyond that required to back U. S. money is under 3 billions."

REAGAN: Accepted these sources. "Add to this--an almost daily score on our gold holdings is given by the treasury dept. on the financial pages + in the Wall St. Journal. Figure last given was \$13 bil. + \$29 bil."

4. Foreign dollar claims are now 27.3 billion dollars. . . .

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: U. S. News & World Report, Oct. 19, 1964, p. 28: "Foreigners' claims on that gold [see #3] are now close to 26 billions."

REAGAN: Accepted this source. "And above answer (no. 3)."

5. . . . they [the Democrats] have voices that say, "the cold war will end through our acceptance of a not undemocratic socialism."

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: The ambiguous qualification of source apparently accounted for the (?) response to this statement. No source was discovered.

REAGAN: "Arthur Schlesinger Jr.--book authored by him some years ago. When a White House advisor he re-affirmed (newspaper interview) this opinion."

6. Another voice says 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 twentieth century.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No source was discovered.

REAGAN: "'The State of Europe' by Howard K. Smith published in 1949 by Besset [?] Press Ltd. 11 Fitzroy Sq. London W .1 Eng."

ADDITIONAL RESEARCH: The State of Europe was published in the United States in 1950 by Alfred Knopf, Inc. As its title clearly indicates, Mr. Smith's book is primarily concerned with the problems of post-war Europe. "The maintenance of the pure private-enterprise system is not only becoming technically less possible; it is rapidly losing its last moral justifications. In every industrial nation ownership of industry is becoming overtrusting and overconcentrated in few hands. The small and medium businessmen, who were the bulwarks of free competition, are being squeezed out. . . . The tightening control of a nation's resources and capital in the hands of a few individuals not subject to popular review at the polls and inevitably motivated not by the general welfare but by the principle of private profit is an unhealthy oligarchic phenomenon, incompatible in the long run with democratic political institutions

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The market must be replaced by planned economy as the main distributor of our worldly goods. The profit motive must be replaced by the incentives of the Welfare

State. . . . There is no reason why this should not still leave a large area of economy open to private businesses that are both economic and competitive.

. Measures of this order will sound too radical for application in America. There, the heyday of free enterprise is not so long past as in Europe, and popular sentiment is not ready for anything so thoroughgoing.

. . . But in Europe popular psychology is quite prepared for such measures. [Pp. 398-99, Knopf ed.]

7. Senator 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 says he is hobbled in his task by the restrictions of power imposed on him by this antiquated document. He must be freed, so that he can do for us what he knows is best.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No published source for these statements was found, and Senator Fulbright was contacted by letter. He provided a script of the speech in question, which was filmed and delivered before the 1961 Summer Cubberly Conference of Stanford University. The speech was entitled "National Goals and National Consensus," and Senator Fulbright said, in part: "The President alone commands the authority and the necessary forum for leading the American people to an active understanding of national objectives and to a willingness to take the action necessary for their realization.

. "The President is hobbled in his task of leading the American people to consensus and concerted action by the restrictions of power imposed on him by a constitutional system designed for an eighteenth century agrarian society far removed from the centers of world power. It is imperative that we break out of the intellectual confines of cherished and traditional beliefs and open our minds to the possibility that basic changes in our system may be essential to meet the requirements of the twentieth century.

. "The power that is needed [to cope with world wide revolutionary forces] is Presidential power. He alone, among elected officials, can rise above parochialism and private pressures. He alone, in his role as teacher and moral leader, can hope to overcome the excesses and inadequacies of a public opinion that is all too often ignorant of the needs, the dangers, and the opportunities in our foreign relations."

8. Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, another articulate spokesman, defines liberalism as "meeting the material needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government."

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No published source for Clark's statement was discovered. A letter from Richard F. Schier, Legislative Aide to Senator Clark reported that "Senator Clark does not recall, nor can I discover, the exact quotation you cite. However, he would not deny that it is, at least, an accurate paraphrase of his outlook. He is not, for example, given to using the phrase 'the masses,' but it is possible that he may have done so."

REAGAN: "This was not a paraphrase but an accurate quote-- I may be wrong but I believe it was in an article he wrote for 'Atlantic Monthly' (I am not at home where my files are but here in San Diego and aware of your time problem cant wait until I return)"

ADDITIONAL RESEARCH: Joseph S. Clark Jr., "Can the Liberals Rally?" The Atlantic, Jan., 1953, p. 27: ". . . a liberal is here defined as one who believes in utilizing the full force of government for the advancement of social, political, and economic justice at the municipal, state, national, and international levels."

In another article, written eleven years later, Clark referred to his definition in The Atlantic, noting that he would still support it. (See: "The Case for Democratic Liberalism," Saturday Review, July 11, 1964, pp. 14-17.)

9. In the last three years we have spent 43 dollars in the feed grain program for every dollar bushel of corn that we don't grow.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No definite source discovered.

REAGAN: "Congressional record--debate on farm legislation."

10. Senator Humphrey last week charged that Barry Goldwater as President would seek to eliminate farmers.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No definite source discovered.

REAGAN: "Campaign speech--64 campaign--carried on all the wire services.

11. . . . the Democratic Administration has sought to get from Congress extension of the farm program to include that three-fourths that is now free.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No definite source discovered.

REAGAN: "Freeman-Cochrane bill (farm omnibus bill) introduced '62.

ADDITIONAL RESEARCH: U. S. News & World Report, June 11, 1962, pp. 54-5: "Supply-management programs would go into effect for wheat and corn . . . grain sorghum and barley [under the omnibus bill]. . . . Farmers growing less than 15 acres of wheat and 25 acres of feed grains would be exempt from new wheat and feed-grain programs.

12. . . . they've also asked for the right to imprison farmers who wouldn't keep books as prescribed by the federal government.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No definite source discovered.

REAGAN: "Same as above."

13. 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 permitted the federal government to remove some two million farmers from the soil.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No definite source discovered.

REAGAN: "Same as above."

14. . . . 66 shiploads of grain headed for Austria disappeared without a trace. . . .

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No definite source discovered.

REAGAN: "Wire services--this was a front page news story and admitted by our Govt after it came to light.

15. The wheat farmers voted against the wheat program. The government passed it anyway. Now the price of bread goes up; the price of wheat to the farmer goes down.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No definite source discovered.

REAGAN: "Govt dumped surplus wheat--and price went down but under the new bill a processing tax was applied to the millers which has been passed on to the consumer.

16. . . . 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."

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: John C. Sparks, "Urban Renewal--Opportunity for Land Piracy," The Freeman, January, 1963, pp. 10-11: "The Cleveland Press, March 25, 1960, in a news item written by Bob Siegel: 'Nationally known

economist-investor Elliott Janeway today predicted Cleveland is on the threshold of a new period of downtown growth . . . because of its position on the Seaway, its diversified industry, and its big supply of executive and labor talent. . . .' Carrying out his prediction, Janeway's firm constructed on the land referred to a new building for a large national office equipment company. It was occupied in 1960. One year later the City of Cleveland acquired the building for \$1,500,000 and will tear it down in 1964 to use that land according to the urban renewal plan."

REAGAN: Accepted the source.

17. . . . FHA and the Veterans Administration tell us they have a hundred and twenty thousand housing units they've taken back through mortgage foreclosure.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: U. S. News & World Report, March 16, 1964, pp. 106-7: "FHA owns about 50,000 houses on which mortgages have been foreclosed. . . . FHA is also the owner and temporary landlord for more than 250 apartment projects with more than 23,000 apartments. . . . In addition to apartments owned outright, FHA is holding mortgages on 645 projects with more than 50,000 units, where the owners are behind in payments."

REAGAN: Accepted the source. "This too, was a wire service story."

18. 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.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: U. S. News & World Report, April 1, 1963, pp. 40-42: [Picture caption] "New 'oil patch' will have 100 wells pumping by autumn. Some, like the one above, are on 'double pay,' which means oil is pumped from two levels."
--Charles Stevenson, "Is this the Way to Fight the War Against Poverty?" The Reader's Digest, May, 1964, p. 54: In Rice County, Kan., [sic] . . . bank and savings and loan assets in the county--more than 30 million dollars for less than 14,000 population.

REAGAN: Accepted the sources.

19. We're spending 45 billion dollars on welfare.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: The (?) response again seems to have been prompted by the ambiguity of the statement. Reagan is more explicit in Where's the Rest of Me? (p. 305): "Federal, state, and local welfare combined spent 45 billion dollars a year."

REAGAN: "This is total figure--again you have me far from my files but this total has been widely published."

20. Direct aid to the poor . . . is only running about six hundred dollars per family.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No definite source discovered.

REAGAN: Indicated that this too is a total for federal, state, and local welfare.

21. [In the Youth Conservation Corps] we are going to spend each year just on room and board for each young person we help, forty-seven hundred dollars a year!

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: Business Week, March 23, 1963, p. 80: "The Administration estimates the corps would cost about \$60-million a year, or about \$4,000 for each enrollee. Enrollees would receive \$60 a month, plus keep and medical care."

REAGAN: "In debate (Congress) the figure was pro-rated more accurately to the \$4700 amt. based on final bill and number of youths it was to cover. Congressional record."

22. . . . they [representatives of Social Security] 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.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: Paul L. Poirot, "The Social Security Program," The Freeman, November, 1962, pp. 47-48: "In the case of Nestor v. Fleming, the United States Supreme Court on June 20, 1960, clearly ruled that social security is not insurance upon which a deported alien could collect, even though he had paid the tax. . . . Unlike private insurance, the protection afforded by the social security program rests upon the willing-

ness and ability of government officials to authorize future appropriations from future tax revenue. The so-called fund has not been invested in productive property. In place of the money collected to go into the fund, there are receipts saying in effect that the government used that money to meet current operating expenses of one kind or another."

REAGAN: Accepted the source. "+ Cong. Record 7/11/62-- Medicare hearings Ways + Means Committee 88th Cong Vol 1 P. 161--Report Committee on H.R. 11865 July 7-64--U. S. News World Report 7/2/62. Article by Cong. Byrnes of Wis. distributed by Comm. for Const. Govt."

23. Robert [Myers] the actuarial head [of the Social Security Administration] appeared before a Congressional Committee and admitted that Social Security as of this moment is 298 billion dollars in the hole! But he said there should be no cause for worry because as long as they had the power to tax, they could always take away from the people whatever they needed to bail them out of trouble!

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No definite source was discovered.

REAGAN: "July 62 hearings Ways + Means Comm."

24. A young man, twenty-one 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 two hundred and twenty dollars a month at age sixty-five. The government promises a hundred and twenty-seven!

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: Poirot, The Freeman, pp. 51-52: ". . . a tax of 6 1/4 per cent of taxable payrolls barely begins to cover the potential claims which are accumulating under the social security program. Latest plans call for successive future increases until the rate reaches 9 1/4 per cent on taxable payrolls in 1968. . . .

A tax of 9 1/4 per cent of \$4800 comes to \$444 a year. Any reliable insurance agent can tell you that would buy a sizable chunk of old-age insurance from his company--particularly if you happen to be a young person. For a premium of \$444 a year from age 20, a man can secure from private companies a life annuity averaging about \$220 a month after he reaches 65. This is in contrast to the monthly benefit of \$127 promised through social security."

REAGAN: "+ I checked this out with agent New York Life for ages 21 to 31."

25. . . . last week . . . France admitted that their Medicare program is now bankrupt; they've come to the end of the road.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: U. S. News & World Report, September 28, 1964, p. 95: "France's social-security system, perhaps the world's most extensive, is for the first time running in the red. Deficit now is a modest 250 million dollars. Deficit expected in 1970 is put at 3.4 billion--almost as much as De Gaulle now spends on defense. So reports a team of French Government experts."

REAGAN: Accepted the source.

26. [In our foreign aid program] we spent \$146 billion.

27. With that money, we bought a \$2 million yacht for Haile Selassie.

28. We bought dress suits for Greek undertakers . . .

29. . . . extra wives for Kenya government officials.

30. We bought a thousand t.v. sets for a place where they have no electricity.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: Otto E. Passman, "Foreign Aid: Success or Failure?" The National Review, May 21, 1963, pp. 401-404: ". . . the cost to our country of this postwar aid has amounted to more than \$120 billion. . . ."
 "--\$3.1 million for an air-conditioned yacht for the Emperor of Ethiopia.
 "--\$400,000 for battery-powered TV sets in remote jungle villages. (Merry-go-rounds driven by children would recharge the batteries.)" [p. 403.]
 "one thousand 23-in TV sets were ordered for use in community education programs in underdeveloped countries at a cost of \$400,000 for areas with no electric power supply.
 "Foreign aid funds were used to buy suits for undertakers in Greece.
 "U. S. aid to Kenya was used to buy extra wives for government officials." [p. 402.]

REAGAN: Accepted the source.

31. In the last six years, 52 nations have bought seven billion dollars worth of our gold, and all 52 are receiving foreign aid from this country.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: Passman, National Review, p. 401:
 "So great, in fact, has been America's outpouring of wealth to foreign nations that many of them have accumulated dollars far in excess of their needs for commerce. Consequently, they have demanded gold in exchange for the dollars, and since 1952 have reduced our gold reserves from in excess of \$23 billion to less than \$16 billion."

REAGAN: Accepted the source.

32. . . . 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.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No definite source was discovered.

REAGAN: "Part of Regulations [?] present farm legislation. Have in files news storys [sic] on cases such as \$300,000 rice farm in La. sold for \$60,000 by U. S. Marshal. Case of Evetts Haley Jr. fined \$4000 overplanting wheat. Most famous case--the Mich. chicken farmer who moved to Australia (front page story)

33. 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.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: No definite source discovered.

- REAGAN: "Wire service news story--also Cong. Record.

34. Back in 1936, Mr. Democrat himself, Al Smith, 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.

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., discusses a letter Smith sent to the newspapers during the Democratic Convention of 1936: "In the name of Jefferson, Jackson, and Cleveland . . . the Smith letter called on the convention to declare for a balanced budget, a protective tariff, a foreign policy 'free from entangling alliances with Old World powers,' and an end to efforts 'to turn our Republic into a dictatorship on the European model or an Asiatic absolutism.'" The Politics of Upheaval, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), pp. 579-80.

REAGAN: "Jan. 1936--Al Smith accepted a speaking engagement in Wash. This has become known as his his [sic] famous 'Take a Walk' speech. It was broadcast nationally on Radio."

ADDITIONAL RESEARCH: Smith spoke before the American Liberty League on January 25, 1936. In that speech Smith attacked the Roosevelt Administration with vigor: "I was born in the Democratic party and I expect to die in it," he announced early in the address. Of the incumbent Democratic Administration, however, Smith could only say ". . . it is all right with me . . . if they want to disguise themselves as Karl Marx or Lenin or any of the rest of that bunch, but I won't stand for their allowing them to march under the banner of Jackson or Cleveland."

35. . . . one commentator put it, he would rather "Live on his knees than die on his feet."

PRELIMINARY RESEARCH: In Where's the Rest of Me? Reagan indicates that this statement comes from the English commentator Kenneth Tynan. As it appears in Reagan's autobiography, the statement reads: "better Red than dead seems an obvious doctrine for anyone not consumed by a death-wish; I would rather live on my knees than die on my feet." (p. 298.)

REAGAN: "Reprinted in American papers."

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As a point of departure in this final chapter, it is appropriate to recapitulate the major sources Reagan employed in preparing "A Time For Choosing," and to note the frequency with which each was used. In addition to the "wire service stories" which apparently supported some ten of the assertions, Reagan accepted or suggested The Atlantic (one assertion), The Congressional Record (four assertions), The Freeman (three assertions), The National Review (six assertions), The Reader's Digest (one assertion), U. S. News & World Report (six assertions), The Wall Street Journal (one assertion), and books by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and Howard K. Smith (one assertion each). This informal tabulation seems to justify the conjecture advanced in Chapter I that Reagan relied extensively upon "popular" sources in his preparation.

Readers who have compared Reagan's assertions with their supporting evidence may already have arrived at a number of tentative conclusions concerning the fidelity of Reagan's reporting of evidence. Before any general conclusions are ventured, however, it seems necessary to examine each of the evidential statements individually, in an effort to discover the major characteristics of Reagan's use of evidence.

Statement 1, "No nation in history has ever survived a tax burden that reached a third of its national income," could

not be substantiated by preliminary research, and Reagan himself was unable to supply a source, although he had been using the argument for some ten years. By implication, Reagan is now quoting himself as an authority on this point, and any evaluation of the statement would have to be made on that basis.

Statement 2, ". . . our government continues to spend 17 million dollars a day more than the government takes in," is probably provocative because it presents a familiar fact in a novel manner. Reagan says he arrived at this figure by dividing the anticipated deficit by 365. Reversing the process and multiplying 17 million by 365 produces a total figure of something over six billion dollars--a figure which would probably require no verification for even the most hostile audience.

Statements 3 and 4, "We have fifteen billion dollars in gold in our treasury--we don't own an ounce," and "Foreign dollar claims are 27.3 billion dollars," seem to be supported by the preliminary research. Discrepancies between the figures cited by Reagan and those discovered in U. S. News and World Report are apparently accounted for by the time lapse between the date of the source (June 29, 1964) and the date of the speech (October 27, 1964).

Statements 5 through 8 are introduced in such a way that the pronoun "they" seems to refer to the Democrats: "In this vote-harvesting time they use terms like 'The Great Society;' or, as we were told a few days ago by the President, we must accept a 'greater government activity in the affairs of the

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people.' But they've been a little more explicit in the past, and among themselves, and all of the things that I now will quote have appeared in print. These are not Republican accusations." (It should be noted that Reagan seems directly concerned here with the problem of ethos [competence] and the sources for his evidence.) Having thus "set" the audience, Reagan continues: "For example, [5] they have voices that say 'the cold war will end through our acceptance of a not undemocratic socialism.'" Preliminary research failed to suggest a source, and Reagan responded that the "voice" was that of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., in a "book authored by him some years ago." It is difficult to explain why Schlesinger is quoted anonymously, unless for stylistic reasons. (It is possible, on the other hand, that mention of Schlesinger's name might indirectly revive the memory of the Kennedy Administration and lessen the effect of the emotionally "loaded" term "socialism.")

"[6] Another voice says 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 twentieth century." Here, the implication that Howard K. Smith is a Democratic spokesman is more questionable; certainly he is not the political figure that Schlesinger, Fulbright, and Clark are. Nor should it be overlooked that Smith's statement was made in 1949, and was a generalization about the future of the European economic system. He was careful to note that "Measures of this order

will sound too radical for application in America."

Statement 7, "Senator 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 says he is hobbled in his task by the restrictions of power imposed on him by this antiquated document. He must be freed, so that he can do for us what he knows is best," is a paraphrase of Fulbright's statement [see p. 44]. Fulbright's point is that the President is the only individual in the nation who can "lead the American people to consensus and concerted action," in a time when consensus and concerted action are vitally necessary both in domestic and in foreign affairs. The equation of "lead . . . to consensus," with "do . . . what he knows is best," might have been questionable to a critical audience in 1964.

Similarly, statement 8 seems to be a paraphrase of questionable fidelity: "Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, another articulate spokesman, defines liberalism as 'meeting the material needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government.'" Senator Clark indicated that this was at least an accurate paraphrase of his view, but questioned the term "the masses." Reagan insisted that the statement was an accurate quotation, and indicated The Atlantic as a source. The only definition of liberalism by Clark which has appeared in the Atlantic was that offered in January, 1953, which made no reference to "the masses," and called for utilizing "the full force of government" not for meeting the material needs of the people, but "for the advancement

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of social, political, and economic justice at the municipal, state, national, and international levels."

Statement 9 argued that "In the last three years we have spent 43 dollars in the feed grain program for every dollar bushel of corn that we don't grow." No source was discovered, and Reagan's suggested source, The Congressional Record, would probably not have been available to the hypothetical audience. No conclusion is possible.

Statement 10 reported that "Senator Humphrey last week charged that Barry Goldwater as President would seek to eliminate farmers." This, Reagan reported, was a "wire service story." Since the exact quotation could not be located, the theoretical audience would have had difficulty in attempting to discover whether Senator Humphrey did or did not suggest a conscious motive on Goldwater's part to "eliminate" farmers. (Of course, this was a campaign speech of Humphrey's, and such oratory is not always noted for precision of either thought or language.)

Statement 11, "the Democratic Administration has sought to get from Congress an extension of the farm program to include that three fourths that is now free," refers to the Freeman-Cochrane proposal (the "Farm Omnibus Bill" of 1962), and is, at least in part, an accurate statement. As the follow-up research indicates, the proposal would have included almost all farmers who raised wheat, corn, grain sorghum, and barley.

Statements 12 and 13 apparently refer to the Freeman-Cochrane proposals also: "they have also asked for the right to imprison

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farmers who wouldn't keep books as prescribed by the federal government," and [13]"The Secretary of Agriculture asked for the right to seize farms through condemnation and resell them to other individuals." Reagan indicates that these requests were included in the legislation considered by Congress. None of the possible sources investigated discussed these aspects of the legislation, although a number of these were critical of the bill and often criticized other features of the proposed legislation.

Statement 14, "66 shiploads of grain headed for Austria disappeared without a trace," was a "front page news story," according to Reagan, but here again research suggests that the critical audience would have found it difficult to verify the assertion.

Statement 15, "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," produced the explanation from Reagan that the government had dumped surplus wheat on the market, causing prices to drop, and had added a processing tax on wheat which the millers passed on to the consumers. No source was offered for either the original assertion or the explanation.

Statement 16 suggests that the federal government made the decision to raze a \$1,500,000 building in Cleveland, and hints that the government built the building originally; the source--The Freeman, January, 1963--indicates that the building was

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privately constructed and was razed by the City of Cleveland.

Statement 17, "FHA and the Veterans Administration tell us they have 120 thousand units they've taken back through mortgage foreclosures," seems to be an accurate summary of the situation. The accepted source--U. S. News and World Report, March 16, 1964--is not clear about the question of foreclosure, but supports the assertion that the FHA and the VA have 120 thousand housing units unoccupied and available.

In statement 18, Reagan attacks the Area Redevelopment Agency for declaring Rice County, Kansas, a depressed area, since Rice County "has two hundred oil wells, and the 14,000 people there have over thirty million dollars on deposit in personal savings in their banks." The sources accepted by Reagan indicate one hundred oil wells--some pumping from two levels--and "bank savings and loan assets . . . [of more than 30 million dollars," in the county. Equating "bank savings and loan assets" with "personal savings" is, again, perhaps questionable to the hypothetical audience.

Statement 19 is ambiguous: "We are spending 45 billion dollars on welfare." Reagan explains in his autobiography that this is a total figure for federal, state, and local welfare expenditures. Presented in this context, the figure would probably have been accepted by a critical audience.

Statement 20, "Direct aid to the poor . . . is running only about \$600 per family," is similarly a total figure for all three levels of government. No source was discovered or

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suggested for either statement 19 or statement 20.

Statement 21 refers to the Youth Conservation Corps, and estimates that "we are going to spend each year just on room and board for each young person that we help, \$4700 a year." The actual cost figure is not yet available, of course, and Reagan's figure from the Congressional Record is considerably higher than that cited by Business Week. The Business Week total is \$4000, but dates from March of 1963 and is admitted to be an estimate. (The Congressional Record would not have been readily available to the hypothetical audience, but it might well have enhanced Reagan's ethos to have cited it here anyway, since this would have indicated clearly that the total figure was not just more of Reagan's own arithmetic.)

Statement 22 indicates that representatives of social security have "said Social Security dues are a tax for the general use of the government, and the government has used that tax. There is no [trust] fund." Statement 23 quotes Robert Myers before a Congressional committee, at which time he "admitted that Social Security as of this moment is 298 billion dollars in the hole. But he said there should be no cause for worry because as long as they have the power to tax, they could always take away from the people whatever they needed to bail them out of trouble." Although the Congressional Record and the Ways and Means Committee Hearings would not be readily available to the audience characterized, the "popular" source accepted by Reagan seems to support his point. It appears that the Social

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Security taxes have, indeed, been "used" by the government, and that no sizable fund exists.

Statement 24, "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." In this case, Reagan seems to have compressed his evidence so thoroughly that he actually defeated his own purpose. Granting the conditions stipulated by the accepted source--The Freeman--the statement seems to be quite accurate. Failing to articulate the premises of his argument seems to have resulted in the (?) response from the simulating audience.

Statement 25 quotes the French as admitting that their Social Security system is now bankrupt. "They've come to the end of the road," according to Reagan. In actuality, according to the U. S. News & World Report article accepted by Reagan, the French system is operating at a deficit for the first time in its history. The source goes on to point out that the French system is "perhaps the world's most extensive."

Statement 26 explains that "we spent \$146 billion dollars" in the foreign aid program. Statements 27 through 30 list some of the peculiar uses of U. S. foreign aid funds. The total foreign aid expenditure is largely supported by the Passman article in The National Review; the difference, apparently, being that Reagan's figure includes interest. All of the examples are supported by Passman in that same article (which was accepted by Reagan).

Statement 31 notes that "In the last six years, 52 nations have bought \$7 billion worth of our gold, and all 52 are receiving foreign aid from us." This, too, is supported by the Passman article.

Statement 32, enumerating the powers which federal agents supposedly have in dealing with abuses of the farm program, seems to be inconsistent with statement 13, which indicates that the Secretary of Agriculture has asked for the powers which statement 32 asserts already exist. The examples cited in support of this statement were simply "wire service stories," and could not have been readily verified by the hypothetical audience.

Statement 33, the example of the Arkansas rice farmer whose farm was seized and sold by the government was also a "wire service story."

Statement 34, relating to Al Smith's "Take a Walk" speech is substantially in agreement with the available evidence.

Statement 35, "one commentator put it, he'd rather 'Live on his knees than die on his feet,'" could not be verified directly. However, the implication that this anonymous commentator was either American or a Democrat is not valid, as Reagan himself has pointed out in his autobiography. It appears that Reagan did not intend to convey the impression that he was quoting an American, or a Democrat, even though that is the implication which the statement carries in the speech.

No attempt has been made to assess the ultimate intent in the various inconsistencies noted above. Curious readers may

consult Mr. Reagan's earlier speech, "Encroaching Control" (cited previously) or the Appendix to Where's the Rest of Me? to discover how he has handled evidence on other occasions.

A number of conclusions do seem justified within the context of the present study, however, which are worthy of note. Mr. Reagan's use of evidence is characterized by a vague approach to documentation which frequently makes evaluation of that evidence difficult for a critical audience. Thus, in the speech examined here, 35 of his evidential assertions were questioned by the simulating audience. Where the evidence is familiar to the audience, or the speaker's own reputation and competence qualify him as an authority, such a procedure is persuasive, and extensive citation of sources and qualification of authorities is not always necessary. Provocative assertions by a speaker of less clearly accepted authority and competence, however, must be more carefully supported if they are to be convincing to a critical audience.

It is, perhaps, significant to note in this context that "it was his tremendously effective speechmaking for Goldwater which convinced Reagan's present backers that the actor is now capable of winning an election on his own behalf. . . ." ¹ Reagan maintains that his speeches are adapted for audiences who do not share his viewpoint. His political support, however, has come from the Goldwater partisans who, presumably, already shared his

¹Shana Alexander, "Ronald Reagan--for Governor?" Life, LIX (August 13, 1965), 22.

views--and not from the "liberals" who opposed the Goldwater candidacy. Thus it might be conjectured that Reagan's speech was not particularly well adapted to achieve the goal he sought--and that "A Time For Choosing" may have been unintentionally adapted for partisans alone.

Reagan's reliance upon "popular" sources for his information suggests to some degree a superficiality in his speech preparation. This casual attitude is certainly manifest in his handling of sources and quotations (n.b. Clark [8], Fulbright [7], Smith [6], Rice County, Kansas [18], French Social Security [25], etc.).

In addition, Reagan tends to oversimplify almost every issue he chooses to discuss. (Thus, "There is only an up or down," [p. 26].) "Government" in Reagan's oratory seems invariably to refer to the federal government, even though his evidence deals with several levels of government. The Cleveland, Ohio, example of urban renewal, for instance, is, by implication at least, the fault of the federal government--despite the fact that his evidence attributes the action to the municipal government of Cleveland.

It is probably too soon to assess the full impact of Reagan's political speechmaking; certainly it would be presumptuous to attempt such an evaluation on the basis of a limited study of his rhetorical invention. Nor, it might be added, was that the purpose of the present inquiry. If his present political popularity continues, studies will doubtless be directed to virtually every aspect of Reagan's rhetoric, and a clearer perspective should result.

This researcher is reluctant to suggest the course which future research should take, recognizing realistically that most of those suggestions are either too obvious to require enumeration or are likely to be ignored. However, at least one alternative seems worthy of mention here. In a number of cases, some passing reference has been made to the apparent inference or implied conclusion for certain statements. No attempt has been made here to investigate the validity of the various units of proof which Reagan advanced in "A Time For Choosing." A study directed to that end, employing the Toulmin pattern of analysis² or some similar method, should offer much useful insight into the reasoning processes which the evidence investigated here is intended to support. (For example, at one point Reagan argues that there has been a decline of five million in the farm population under the federal farm programs. While this statement was accepted as factually accurate by the committee members simulating Reagan's audience, the Toulmin pattern would doubtless reveal that the implied causal relationship does not exist.)

Finally, if the rationale and methodology underlying this study are sound, they would seem to suggest a number of implications. The use of audience simulation has not yet been widely employed in rhetorical criticism, although it seems to be well

²Stephen Toulmin, The Uses of Argument, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958). [See esp. Chapter 3.]

suited to certain critical approaches. Depending upon the requirements of the given problem, simulation could be employed by the critic himself (who would carefully study the particular audience and simulate their responses) or it might adopt any of a number of different group approaches. This is not to say that the technique of audience simulation is some sort of "gimmick" which can or should be employed indiscriminately. Rather, it suggests that there may be certain problems encountered by the rhetorical critic for which simulation, in one of its many forms, might help to provide a solution.

APPENDIX A

INSTRUCTIONS: Each of the statements below is taken from Ronald Reagan's speech "A Time For Choosing." Assuming for yourself the role of a member of the viewing audience for the television broadcast, who was (1) either neutral or favorable toward Reagan himself, and (2) either unaware of Reagan's central purpose or only somewhat hostile toward the proposition that Goldwater should be elected, please indicate your reaction to each of these statements according to the following pattern:

A if you would accept the statement at face value (that is, without issue);

R if you would reject the statement at face value (no issue);

? if you would require further information to arrive at an evaluation.

R ? ? No nation in history has ever survived a tax burden that reached a third of its national income.

A A ? Today, 37 cents out of every dollar earned in this country is the tax collector's share. . . .

A ? ? . . . and yet our government continues to spend 17 million dollars a day more than the government takes in.

A A ? We haven't balanced our budget 28 out of the last 34 years.

A A R We've raised our debt limit three times in the last 12 months.

A ? A . . . our national debt is one and one-half times bigger than 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. . . .

? A ? Foreign dollar claims are 27.3 billion dollars. . . .

A A A and we have just had announced that the dollar of 1939 will now purchase 45 cents total value.

A A A . . . we were told a short time ago by the President, "we must accept a greater government activity in the affairs of the people."

? ? R . . . they [the Democrats] have voices that say "the cold war will end through our acceptance of a not undemocratic socialism."

? A R 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 twentieth century.

? ? ? Senator Fulbright has said at Stanford University that the Constitution is outmoded. He referred to the President as our moral teacher, and our leader, and 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.

? A ? Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, another articulate spokesman, defines liberalism as "meeting the needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government."

A A A Since 1955, the cost of [the federal farm] program has nearly doubled.

A A ? One-fourth of farming in America is responsible for 85 per-cent of the farm surplus. . .

A A ? . . . 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.

? ? ? In the last three years we have spent 43 dollars in the feed grain program for every dollar bushel of corn that we don't grow.

? A ? Senator Humphrey last week charged that Barry Goldwater as President would seek to eliminate farmers.

A A A . . . we have had a decline of 5 million in the farm population under these government programs.

? A ? . . . the Democratic Administration has sought to get from Congress an extension of the farm program to include that three-fourths that is now free.

? ? ? . . . 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 has asked for the right to seize farms through condemnation and resell them to other individuals.

? ? ? . . . contained in that same program was a provision that would have allowed the federal government to remove two million farmers from the soil.

A A A There is now one [Department of Agriculture employee] 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. . . .

? ? ? [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.

? ? ? [Urban renewal] . . . 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."

A A A The President tells us he's now going to start building public housing units in the thousands where heretofore we have only built them in the hundreds.

R ? ? . . . FHA and the Veterans Administration tell us that they have 120 thousand units they've taken back through mortgage foreclosures.

? A A They [The Area Redevelopment Agency] 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.

A A A We were told four years ago that 17 million people went to bed hungry each night.

A A A . . . 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.

A A A Welfare spending is ten times greater than in the dark depths of the depression.

R A ? We are spending 45 billion dollars on welfare.

? A ? Direct aid to the poor . . . is running . . . about \$600 per family.

R A ? [The "War on Poverty" program] just duplicates existing programs.

? ? ? [In the Youth Conservation Corps Program] we are going to spend each year just on room and board for each young person that we help \$4700 a year.

R A A You can send a student to Harvard for \$2700 a year.

A A R [Representatives of the Social Security Administration] appeared before the Supreme Court and testified that [Social Security] was a welfare program.

? ? R They [Representatives of Social Security] said Social Security dues are a tax for the general use of the government, and the government has used that tax. There is no [trust] fund.

? ? ? Robert Meyers, the actuarial head, appeared before a Congressional Committee and admitted that Social Security as of this moment is 298 billion dollars in the hole. But he said there should be no cause for worry because as long as they have the power to tax, they could always take away from the people whatever they needed to bail them out of trouble.

? A ? A young man 21 years of age, working at an average salary . . . his social security contribution would guarantee \$220 a month at age 65. The government promises \$127.

? ? ? [Last November] France admitted that their Medicare program was now bankrupt.

A A A Today you can muster a 2/3 majority on the floor of the General Assembly [of the United Nations] among nations that represent less than ten per-cent of the world's population.

A A R We set out [in our foreign aid program] to help 19 countries. We are helping 107.

? A ? We spent [in that program] \$146 billion.

? ? ? With that money, we bought a \$2 million yacht for Haile Selassie.

? ? ? We bought dress suits for Greek undertakers.

? ? ? [We bought] extra wives for Kenya government officials.

? ? ? We bought a thousand TV sets for a place where they have no electricity.

? A ? In the last six years, 52 nations have bought \$7 billion of our gold and all 52 are receiving foreign aid from us.

A A A Federal employees number 2 1/2 million.

R A A Federal, state, and local, one out of every six of the nation's work force is employed by government.

? ? ? . . . 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 at 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.

A A ? Last February 19th [1964] 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."

? ? ? Back in 1936, Mr. Democrat himself, Al Smith, 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.

A A A Alexander Hamilton said, "A nation which can prefer disgrace to danger is prepared for a master, and deserves one!"

? ? ? . . . one commentator put it, he'd rather "live on his knees than die on his feet."

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

APPENDIX B

Kansas State Teachers College
Emporia, Kansas

74

1 May, 1965

Mr. Ronald Reagan
Pacific Palisades
California

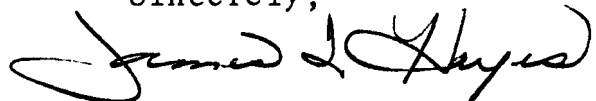
Dear Mr. Reagan:

As a graduate student in public address at the Kansas State Teachers College, I was particularly interested in, and impressed by, your speech in behalf of Senator Goldwater in the 1964 Presidential campaign.

I understand that many students of contemporary American political speaking have undertaken studies of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates in the election of 1964, but I believe that the most effective speech on behalf of any of these four men was given by you. Further, if the Republican Party had recognized and more extensively employed its secret weapon, or if you had been the candidate, the outcome of the election might well have been different.

It would greatly facilitate my research to be able to watch, or listen again to the speech, and so I am writing in the hope that you might be able to lend me a film. If not, perhaps you could help me to obtain a film or tape of the speech from some other source.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "James T. Hayes". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "J" and a stylized "H".

James T. Hayes
Graduate Student in Speech

Kansas State Teachers College

Emporia, Kansas

20 July, 1965

75

Mr. Ronald Reagan
Pacific Palisades
California

Dear Mr. Reagan:

Thank you for your prompt response to my letter of 1 June, 1965. The copy of "A Time For Choosing" has been very helpful in my work. My thesis research has now progressed to the point that I need some information which only you can give me.

I realize that, as the leading Republican contender for the Governorship of California, your time is extremely valuable, and I regret imposing upon you. However, I hope I have phrased my questions in such a way that you can give me the information which I need with little difficulty.

You note in Where's the Rest of Me? that "Being an actor, I have access to audiences which might be denied an office holder or candidate. There is no point in saving souls in heaven; if my speaking is to serve any purpose, then I must appear before listeners who don't share my viewpoint." Every great public speaker who seeks to change the attitudes of such an audience faces certain problems. One of the most troublesome of these is the problem of presenting support for the statements which his conscience demands that he make, but which his audience may refuse, initially, to accept. Of course, the speaking situation seldom allows a speaker to give a detailed citation of source for every statement which he presents; on the other hand, an uninformed and perhaps hostile audience tends to doubt the validity of the less thoroughly documented statements.

In approaching this familiar problem, my procedure has been to theorize for myself the role of an audience such as you describe, and to attempt to establish the factual bases for those statements which such an audience might have wished to verify.

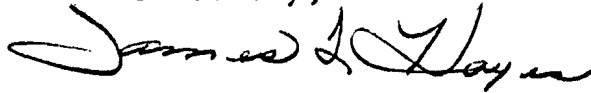
The enclosed questionnaire includes all of the statements which might appear to such an audience to need substantiation. In most cases, I have indicated sources which seem to support these statements. I would be grateful if, in these instances, you would indicate the accuracy or inaccuracy of my findings. If I am in error, I would also appreciate, where possible, some indication of the actual source. In some cases I have, thus far in my research, been unable to find an apparent source. Here, it would greatly enhance the accuracy of my study if you could indicate the sources of your information.

I am enclosing a self-addressed, stamped envelope in which you may return the questionnaire, along with any comments which you might wish to make.

May I assume permission to quote your response in full in the finished thesis?

In conclusion may I apologize for the sheer bulk of the questionnaire. However, in fairness to myself, to future readers of the study, and most of all, to you, such a detailed inquiry seems essential.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "James T. Hayes".

James T. Hayes
Graduate Assistant
Department of Speech

Kansas State Teachers College

Emporia, Kansas

77

3 August, 1965

Mr. Ronald Reagan
Pacific Palisades,
California

Dear Mr. Reagan:

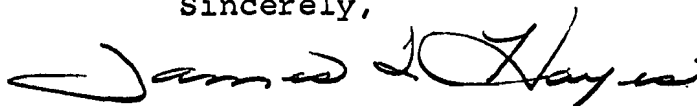
Appearances to the contrary, the questionnaire which I sent to you on July 20th was not intended to supplement or to supplant the current Form 1040, so popular with the Federal Government. Nor is it my intention in writing again at this early date, to convey the impression of an outraged Internal Revenue Collection Agent the week after deadline.

Quite frankly, I am faced with a dilemma. Since I have not had any response from you, I am afraid that the letter may not have reached you. I am, of course, extremely reluctant to have future readers of my study think that, because no information could be found for certain statements they were, therefore, unsupportable. On the other hand, my thesis committee insists that the final draft must be turned in to them by the 10th of August if I am to graduate.

I am, therefore, enclosing a duplicate copy of the material which I included in my letter of July 20, and I hope that you will be able to suggest the sources which I have been unable, thus far, to discover for myself.

Again I apologize for imposing upon you in this manner.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "James T. Hayes". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "J" and a stylized "H".

James T. Hayes
Graduate Assistant,
Department of Speech

APPENDIX C

1. No nation in history has ever survived a tax burden that reached a third of its national income.

SOURCE DIVIDED ANTICIPATED DEFICIT BY 365. AS IT TURNED OUT - WE ACTUALLY OVERSPENT BY \$21 MIL. A DAY

2. . . . our government continues to spend 17 million dollars a day more than the government takes in.

SOURCE I'm sorry - this was from a seminar on the history of past empires and first used by me some 10 years ago - I just plain don't have the source any longer.

3. We have 15 billion dollars in gold in our treasury--we don't own an ounce . . .

CORROBORATING EVIDENCE: U. S. News & World Report, June 29, 1964, p. 90: "Gold reserves of the U. S. under defense and aid policies, have shrunk from 24.6 billion dollars in 1949 to 15.7 billion now."
--U. S. News & World Report, Oct. 19, 1964, p. 28: "Free gold, beyond that required to back U. S. money is under 3 billions."

Correct ☒ Incorrect ☐

OTHER SOURCE? Add to this - an almost daily score on our gold holdings is given by the Treasury dept. in the financial pages in the Wall St. Journal. Figure last given was \$13 bil.

4. Foreign dollar claims are now 27.3 billion dollars. . . .

CORROBORATING EVIDENCE: U. S. News & World Report, Oct. 19, 1964, p. 28: "Foreigners' claims on that gold are now close to 26 billions."

Correct ☒ Incorrect ☐

OTHER SOURCE? And above answer (no 3)

5. . . . they have voices that say "the cold war will end through our acceptance of a not undemocratic socialism."

INDIVIDUAL(S) QUOTED

Arthur Schlesinger Jr. - looks
SOURCE authored by him some years ago. When a White
House adviser he reaffirmed (newspaper interview) this opinion

6. 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.

[You indicate in Where's the Rest of Me? that this statement is from Howard K. Smith. I am interested in the public source of his statement.]

SOURCE "The State of Europe" by Howard K. Smith
published in 1949 by Current Press Ltd. 11 Fitzroy Sq. London W. 1 St

7. Senator Fulbright has said at Stanford University that the Constitution is outmoded. He referred to the President as our moral teacher, and our leader, and 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.

[Senator Fulbright has provided a complete manuscript of his speech at Stanford in 1961, from which this statement comes.]

8. Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, another articulate spokesman, defines liberalism as "meeting the needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government."

[Senator Clark replied that this statement is a reasonably accurate paraphrase of his view, but does not recall the specific occasion on which he might have made the statement, and he does question the specific language of the statement.]

SOURCE This was not a paraphrase but an accurate
quote - I may be wrong but I believe it was in an
article he wrote for "Atlantic Monthly". (I am not
at home where my files are but here in San Diego
and aware of your time problem can't wait

9. In the last three years we have spent 43 dollars in the feed grain program for every dollar bushel of corn that we don't grow.

SOURCE Congressional record - debate on farm legislation

10. Senator Humphrey last week charged that Barry Goldwater as President would seek to eliminate farmers.

SOURCE Campaign speech - 64 campaign - carried on all the wire services.

11. . . . the Democratic administration has sought to get from Congress an extension of the farm program to include that three-fourths that is now free.

SOURCE Farmers - Cochrane bill (farm omnibus bill) introduced '62

12. . . . they have also asked for the right to imprison farmers who wouldn't keep books as prescribed by the federal government.

SOURCE Same as above

13. The Secretary of Agriculture asked for the right to seize farms through condemnation and resell them to other individuals.

SOURCE Same as above

14. . . . they can't tell us how 66 shiploads of grain headed for Austria disappeared without a trace. . . .

SOURCE Wire services - This was a front-page news story and admitted by our Govt after it came to light.

15. 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.

SOURCE Govt dumped surplus wheat - and price went down but under the new bill a processing tax was applied to the millers which has been passed on to the consumer

16. . . . 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."

CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE: John C. Sparks, "Urban Renewal-- Opportunity for Land Piracy," The Freeman, January, 1963, pp. 10-11:[footnote] "The Cleveland Press, March 25, 1960, in a news item written by Bob Siegel: 'Nationally known economist-investor Elliott Janeway today predicted Cleveland is on the threshold of a new period of downtown growth . . . because of its position on the Seaway, its diversified industry, and its big supply of executive and labor talent. . . .' Carrying out his prediction, Janeway's firm constructed on the land referred to a new building for a large national office equipment company. It was occupied in 1960. One year later the City of Cleveland acquired the building for \$1,500,000 and will tear it down in 1964 to use that land according to the urban renewal plan."

Correct ☒ Incorrect ☐

OTHER SOURCE? _____

17. . . . FHA and the Veterans Administration tell us that they have 120 thousand units they've taken back through mortgage foreclosures.

CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE: U. S. News & World Report, March 16, 1964, pp. 106-7: "FHA owns about 50,000 houses on which mortgages have been foreclosed. . . . FHA is also the owner and temporary landlord for more than 250 apartment projects with more than 23,000 apartments. . . . In addition to apartments owned outright, FHA is holding mortgages on 645 projects with more than 50,000 units, where the owners are behind in payments."

Correct ☒ Incorrect ☐

OTHER SOURCE? This too was a wire service story

18. 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.

CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE: U. S. News & World Report, April 1, 1963, pp. 40-42: [Picture caption:] "New 'oil patch' will have 100 wells pumping by autumn. Some, like the one above, are on 'double pay,' which means oil is pumped from two levels."
 --Charles Stevenson, "Is This the Way to Fight the War Against Poverty?" The Reader's Digest, May, 1964 p. 54: "In Rice County, Kan., . . . bank and savings and loan assets in the county--more than 30 million dollars for less than 14,000 population."

Correct ☒ Incorrect ☐

OTHER SOURCE(S)? _____

19. We are spending 45 billion dollars on welfare.

[In Where's the Rest of Me? you indicate that this is a total figure for federal, state, and local expenditures annually.]

SOURCE This is total figure - again you have me far from my files but this total has been widely published.

20. Direct aid to the poor . . . is running only about \$600 per family.

Is this federal, state, and local ☒ or only federal ☐

SOURCE _____

21. [In the Youth Conservation Corps Program] we are going to spend each year just on room and board for each young person that we help, \$4700 a year.

CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE: Business Week, March 23, 1963, p. 80: "The Administration estimates the corps would cost about \$60-million a year, or about \$4,000 for each enrollee. Enrollees would receive \$60 a month, plus keep and medical care."

Correct ☐ Incorrect ☐

OTHER SOURCE? In debate (Congress) the figure was

find list and number of youths it was to cover.
Congressional record.

84

22. They [representatives of the Social Security Administration] 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.

CORROBORATING EVIDENCE: Paul L. Poirot, "The Social Security Program," The Freeman, November, 1962, pp. 47-48; "In the case of Nestor v. Fleming, the United States Supreme Court on June 20, 1960, clearly ruled that social security is not insurance upon which a deported alien could collect, even though he had paid the tax. . . .

Unlike private insurance, the protection afforded by the social security program rests upon the willingness and ability of government officials to authorize future appropriations from future tax revenue. The so-called fund has not been invested in productive property. In place of the money collected to go into the fund, there are receipts saying in effect that the government used that money to meet current operating expenses of one kind or another."

Correct ✓ Incorrect

OTHER SOURCE? + Cong Record 7/11/62 - Medicare hearings
Ways Means Committee 88th Cong Vol 1 P. 161 - Report Committee
on H.R. 11865 July 7 - 64 - U.S. News World Report 7/12/62 - Article by Cong
By press of W.C. distribution by Comm. for Const. Govt.

23. Robert Meyers, the actuarial head, appeared before a Congressional Committee and admitted that Social Security as of this moment is 298 billion dollars in the hole. But he said there should be no cause for worry because as long as they have the power to tax, they could always take away from the people whatever they needed to bail them out of trouble.

SOURCE July 62 - hearings Ways & Means Comm.

24. 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..

CORROBORATING EVIDENCE: Poirot, The Freeman, pp. 51-52: ". . . a tax of 6 1/4 per cent of taxable payrolls barely begins to cover the potential claims which

are accumulating under the social security program. Latest plans call for successive future increases until the rate reaches 9 1/4 percent on taxable payrolls in 1968. . . .

A tax of 9 1/4 percent of \$4800 comes to \$444 a year. Any reliable insurance agent can tell you that would buy a sizable chunk of old-age insurance from his company--particularly if you happen to be a young person. For a premium of \$444 a year from age 20, a man can secure from private companies a life annuity averaging about \$220 a month after he reaches 65. This is in contrast to the monthly benefit of \$127 promised through social security."

Correct ☒ Incorrect ☐

OTHER SOURCE? 4 I checked this out with agent New York life
for ages 20 to 30

25. . . . last week . . . France admitted that their Medicare program was now bankrupt. They've come to the end of the road.

CORROBORATING EVIDENCE: U. S. News & World Report, September 28, 1964, p. 95: "France's social-security system, perhaps the world's most extensive, is for the first time running in the red. Deficit now is a modest 250 million dollars. Deficit expected in 1970 is put at 3.4 billion--almost as much as De Gaulle now spends on defense. So reports a team of French Government experts."

Correct ☒ Incorrect ☐

OTHER SOURCES? _____

26. [In our foreign aid program] we spent \$146 billion. *(this included interest)*
27. With that money, we bought a \$2 million yacht for Haile Selassie.
28. We bought dress suits for Greek undertakers . . .
29. . . . extra wives for Kenya government officials.
30. We bought a thousand t.v. sets for a place where they have no electricity.

CORROBORATING EVIDENCE [STATEMENTS #26-30]: see p. 8.

33. 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.

SOURCE Wire service news story - also Long Beach Record

34. Back in 1936, Mr. Democrat himself, Al Smith, 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.

CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE: Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr., The Politics of Upheaval, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), pp. 579-80: "[During the Democratic convention of 1936] the newspapers published an exhortation by Al Smith, Bainbridge Colby, . . . former Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, former Governor Joseph B. Ely of Massachusetts, and a New York politician named Daniel F. Cohalan. . . . this manifesto spoke for the high-tariff, big-business Democrats to whom Smith himself had catered in 1928. In the name of Jefferson, Jackson, and Cleveland . . . the Smith letter called on the convention to declare for a balanced budget, a protective tariff, a foreign policy 'free from entangling alliances with Old World powers,' and an end to efforts 'to turn our Republic into a dictatorship on the European model or an Asiatic absolutism.'"

Correct _____ Incorrect _____

OTHER SOURCE? Jan 1920 - Al Smith accepted speaking

engagement in Wash. This has become known as his his famous "Take a walk" speech. It was broadcast nationally on Radio

35. . . . one commentator put it, he would rather "Live on his knees than die on his feet."

[You indicate in Where's the Rest of Me? that this statement was by the English commentator Kenneth Tynan. I am interested in the source of his statement.]

SOURCE Reprinted in American papers

APPENDIX D

A TIME FOR CHOOSING

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

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

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

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

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

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

You and I are told increasingly that we have to choose between a left or right, but I would like to suggest that there is no such thing as a left or right. There is only an up or down—up to man's age-old dream—the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with law and order—or down to the ant heap of totalitarianism, and, regardless of their sincerity, their humanitarian motives, those who would trade our freedom for security have embarked on this downward course. In this vote-harvesting time they use terms like "the great society," or, as we were told a short time ago by the President, we must accept a "greater government activity in the affairs of the people." But they have been a little more explicit in the past, and among themselves—and all of these things that I now will quote have appeared in print. These are not Republican accusations. For example, they have voices that say "the cold war will end through our acceptance of a not undemocratic socialism." Another voice says that the profit motive has become outmoded; it must be replaced by the incentives of the welfare state, or our traditional system of individual freedom is incapable of solving the complex problems of the 20th century. Senator Fullbright has said at Stanford University that the Constitution is outmoded. He referred to the President as our moral teacher, and our leader, and he said he is hobbled in his task by the restrictions in power imposed on him by this antiquated document. He must be freed so that he can do for us what he knows is best. And Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, another articulate spokesman, defines liberalism as "meeting the material needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government." Well, I for one resent it when a representative of the people refers to you and me—the free men and women of this country—as "the masses." This is a term we haven't applied to ourselves in America. But beyond that, "the full power of centralized government"—this was the very thing the Founding Fathers sought to minimize. They knew that governments don't control things. A govern-

ment can't control the economy without controlling people. And they know when a government sets out to do that, it must use force and coercion to achieve its purpose. They also knew, those Founding Fathers, that outside of its legitimate functions, government does nothing as well or as economically as the private sector of the economy. Now, we have no better example of this than the government's involvement in the farm economy over the last 30 years. Since 1955 the cost of this program has nearly doubled. One-fourth of farming in America is responsible for 85 per cent of the farm surplus, three-fourths of farming is out on the free market and has shown a 21 per cent increase in the per capita consumption of all its produce. You see, that one-fourth of farming that's regulated and controlled by the federal government. In the last three years we have spent 43 dollars in the feed grain program for every dollar bushel of corn we don't grow. Senator Humphrey last week charged that Barry Goldwater as President would seek to eliminate farmers. He should do his homework a little better, because he will find out that we have had a decline of 5 million in the farm population under these government programs. He will also find that the Democratic Administration has sought to get from Congress an extension of the farm program to include that three-fourths that is now free. He will find that they have also asked for the right to imprison farmers who wouldn't keep books as prescribed by the federal government. The Secretary of Agriculture asked for the right to seize farms—to seize farms through condemnation and resell them to other individuals. And contained in that same program was a provision that would have allowed the federal government to remove 2 million farmers from the soil.

At the same time there has been an increase in the Department of Agriculture employees. There is now one for every 30 farms in the U. S. and still they can't tell us how 65 shiploads of grain headed for Austria disappeared without a trace, and Billy Sol Estes never left shore! Every responsible farmer and farm organization has repeatedly asked the government to free the farm economy, but who are farmers to know what is best for them? The wheat farmers voted against a wheat program. The government passed it anyway. Now the price of bread goes up; the price of wheat to the farmer goes down. Meanwhile, back in the city, under urban renewal, the assault on freedom carries on. Private property rights are so diluted that public interest is almost anything that a few government planners decide it should be. In a program that takes from the needy and gives to the greedy, we see such spectacles as in Cleveland, Ohio, a million and a half dollar building, completed only three years ago, must be destroyed to make way for what government officials call a "more compatible use of the land." The President tells us he is now going to start building public housing units in the thousands where heretofore we have only built them in the hundreds. But FHA and the Veterans Administration tell us that they have 120 thousand units they've taken back through mortgage foreclosures. For

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

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

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

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

Now do they honestly expect us to believe that if we add 100 billion dollars to the 45 billion we are spending . . . one more program to the 30 odd we have, (and remember, this new program doesn't replace any, it just duplicates existing programs). . . . Do they believe that poverty is suddenly going to disappear by magic? Well, in all fairness I should explain that there is one part of the new program that isn't duplicated. This is the youth feature. We are now going to solve the dropout problem, juvenile delinquency, by 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.

She had six children, was pregnant with her seventh. Under his questioning, she revealed her husband was a laborer earning \$250 a month. She wanted a divorce so that she could get an \$80 raise. She is eligible for \$330 a month in the aid to dependent children program. She got the idea from two women in her neighborhood who had already done that very thing. Yet any time you and I question the schemes of the do-gooders, we are denounced as being against their humanitarian goals. They say we are always "against" things, never "for" anything. Well, the trouble with our liberal friends is not that they are ignorant, but that they know so much that is not so! We are for a provision that destitution should not follow unemployment by reason of old-age, and to that end we have accepted Social Security as a step toward meeting the problem. But we are against those entrusted with this program when they practice deception regarding its fiscal shortcomings, when they charge that any criticism of the program means that we want to end payments to those people who depend on them for a livelihood. They have called it insurance to us in a hundred million pieces of literature. But then they appeared before the Supreme Court and they testified that it was a welfare program. They only use the term "insurance" to sell it to the people. And they said Social Security dues are a tax for the general use of the government, and the government has used that tax. There is no fund, because Robert Dwyer, the actuarial head, appeared before a Congressional Committee and admitted that Social Security as of this moment is 298 billion dollars in the hole! But he said there should be no cause for worry because as long as they have the power to tax, they could always take away from the people whatever they needed to bail them out of trouble! And they are doing just that.

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

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 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 conspiracy of silence and never open our mouths about the millions of people enslaved in Soviet colonies in the satellite nations.

I think we are for aiding our allies by sharing of our material blessings with those nations which share in our fundamental beliefs, but we are against doling out money to governments, creating bureaucracy, if not socialism, all over the world. We set out to help 19 countries. We are helping 107. We spent \$146 billion. With that money, we bought a \$2 million yacht for Haile Selassie. We bought dress suits for Greek undertakers, extra wives for Kenya government officials. We bought a thousand TV sets for a place where they have no electricity. In the last six years, 52 nations have bought \$7 billion of our gold, and all 52 are receiving foreign aid from us. 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 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 Chicco 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!

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. 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 employees. He took 50 per cent of the profits before taxes and set up a retirement plan, a pension plan for all his employees. He sent monthly checks for life to an employee who was ill and couldn't work. He provides nursing care for the children of mothers who work in the stores. When Mexico was ravaged by the floods from the Rio Grande, he climbed in his airplane and flew medicine and supplies down there.

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you.

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