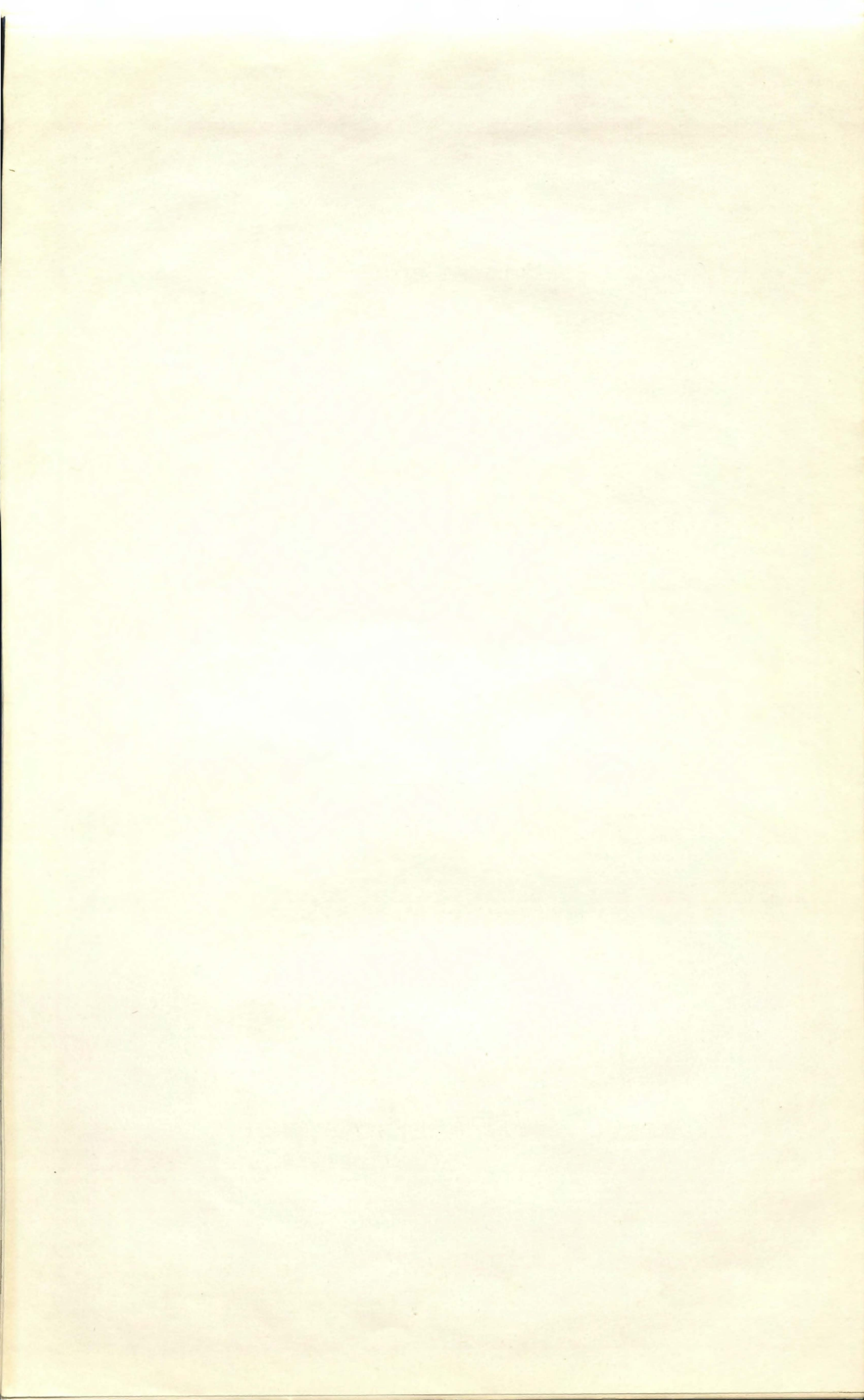


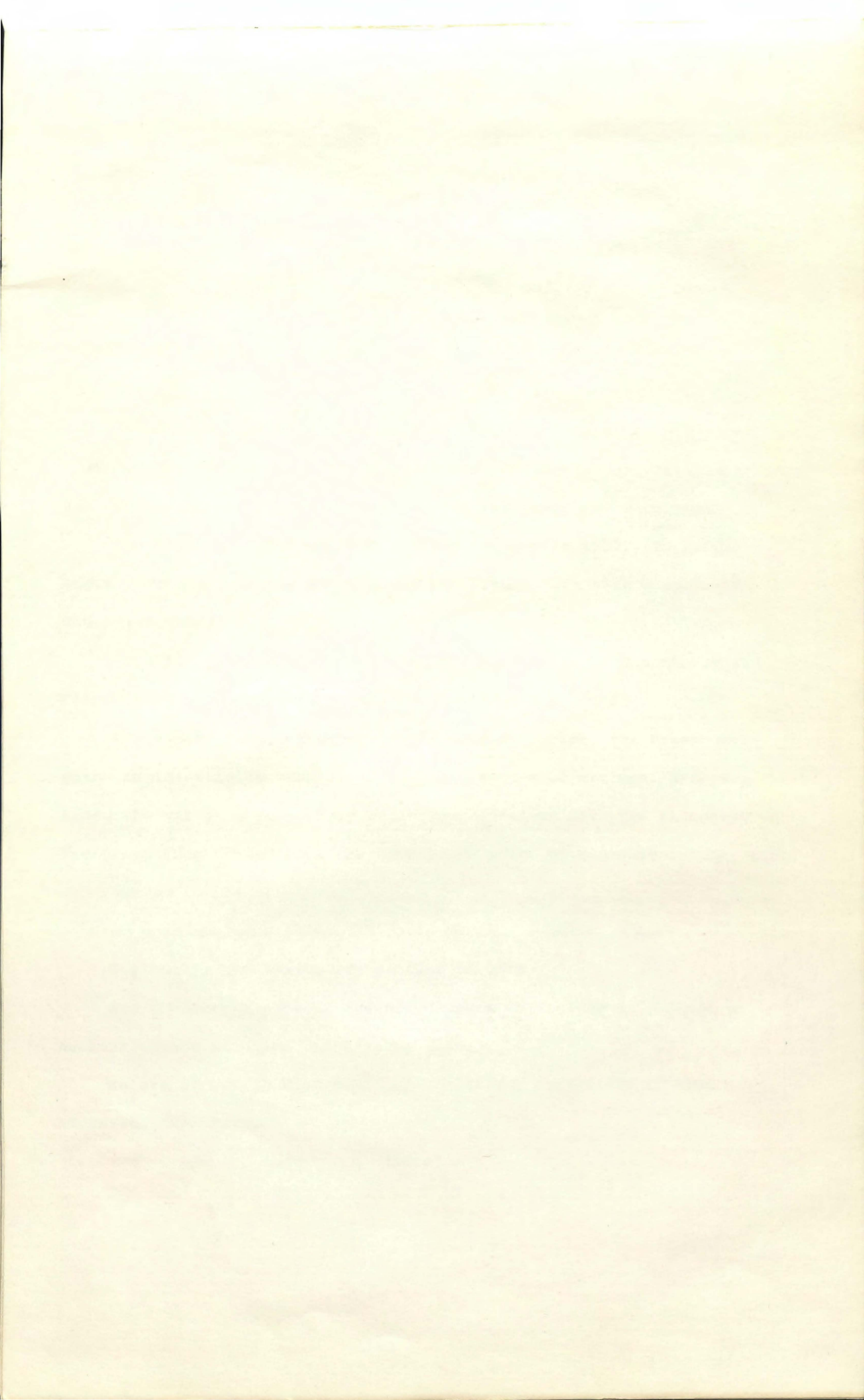
**BARRY GOLDWATER
CAMPAIGN SPEECHES**

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1964

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VOL. 3

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FROM: REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
October 1, 1964

CAMPAIGN SPEECH AT CROWN POINT-HAMMOND, IND., OCT. 1, 1964

BY SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

Twelve years ago, the American people made a careful, prayerful decision between General Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson. The basic issue was to pick a man who could best protect our peace and security.

The Russians had developed nuclear weapons in 1952. There was apprehension around the world about the future with such weapons in Communist hands.

In 1952, you chose wisely. You elected Dwight D. Eisenhower and Dick Nixon. And how richly were you rewarded for your choice.

For eight, happy, prosperous and peaceful years, the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration maintained a strong system of national defense. They ended the war in Korea. They built your defenses into the strongest in history. They turned back the aggressive moves of Communism. They kept our country at peace.

On this November third, you have another critical choice.

Curiously, the issues are similar to 1952.

Our government expects the Red Chinese Communists to explode a nuclear weapon sometime in the near future.

We are at war in Viet Nam. We are at war regardless of what the Administration says.

(more)

And today, Lyndon Johnson, like Adlai Stevenson before him, thinks we can negotiate with Communists. He thinks we can curtail our national defense. He believes that peace will prevail if we talk nice to the Communists -- if we expand our trade with them. He thinks that Khrushchev will no longer want to bury us if we avoid taking a firm stand against the Communist program of expansion.

Ladies and gentlemen, Lyndon Johnson is wrong -- dead wrong.

General Eisenhower knew that peace depended upon our strength. The Republican party believes it. And I believe it.

The United States must provide adequate security for our freedoms. We must remain the strongest military power in the world in order to maintain the peace and protect our freedoms.

There is no other way.

We are wrong when we strengthen the Communist economy by extending it credit and trading with it.

We are wrong when we fail to develop new weapons systems to keep pace with changing military concepts.

We are wrong when we practice appeasement -- because appeasement is surrender on the installment plan.

Weakness and vacillation only increase the likelihood of international war.

President Eisenhower was right in 1952, and Republicans are right in 1964.

We must be firm in resisting Communist aggression.

We must be strong enough -- and remain strong enough -- in our national defense so the Communist dictators will respect our power.

The Communists must always know that any war would be disastrous to them.

(more)

The real question in this campaign is not who is "trigger happy" or who will "press the button."

Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Horatio want peace. Bill Miller and I certainly are men of peace. None of us would ever intentionally start an atomic war.

No, my friends, the issue in this campaign is something quite different.

The United States will never start any war. The world universally recognizes and approves our adherence to peace.

If war ever comes, it will be because the Communists shoot first.

That decision -- the decision to start a war -- is the only advantage the godless Communists and their dictatorship hold over us.

Only men without conscience -- only men who deny their creator -- would initiate atomic war.

And if the Communists ever should begin such a war, they would pit their heaviest attack against our government in Washington, on our largest cities, and on our transportation centers.

In all likelihood, the President of the United States and the Vice-President would not be around at all to push the button.

It would be too late for button-pushing.

The issue today, therefore, as it was in 1952, is to elect a President who will consistently keep before the Communists a clear-cut picture of what will happen to them if they push the button.

This country must always maintain such superiority of strength, such devastating strike-back power, such a strong network of allies, that the Communists would be creating suicide for themselves and their society if they push the button.

This harsh fact means that the United States needs a President who will never practice appeasement.

(more)

-- A President who will keep America strong and supreme.

-- A President whose leadership will convince both the Communists and their allies that any wars they might start would result in their complete destruction.

The choice is peace through strength, or the increasing possibility of war through weakness.

Some sensational political propagandists have raised the question: "Whose finger do you want on the atomic button?"

The answer to that one is easy.

Not Khrushchev's. Not Mao Tse-Tung's. Not the finger of any God-hating, conscienceless dictator anywhere in the world.

We want a President and a country so firmly opposed to Communism so strongly dedicated to freedom, so capable of developing an impregnable defense system, and so dedicated to standing up to Communist threats and exhortations that peace will be permanent and our freedoms will be secure.

We will not start a war against anyone.

And the Communists must be certain that any holocaust they unleash will result in their own total destruction and the end of their system.

Ladies and gentlemen, I offer you this choice on November 3.

Bill Miller, and the men and women who have gathered around us for this campaign are men of character, integrity, prudence and successful experience.

There are no men of the Americans for Democratic Action among us. There are none -- like Hubert Horatio -- who have proposed turning over our atomic weapons to the United Nations. There are none among us who want to increase trade with the Communists so they can become stronger. There are none among us who believe that we get permanent peace by forcing friendly nations to submit to Communists.

(more)

There are none among us who believe that concessions and appeasement will satisfy the Communist bully.

There are none among us who want to recognize Red China in the foolish hope that recognition will make friends out of the Red Chinese.

No, we will tighten our security where we have been weakened in the past four years.

We will do the research necessary to keep pace with modern weaponry.

We will deal fairly but firmly at all times with the enemy.

We will support our allies and our alliances that bulwark us against Communism.

We will maintain the defense establishment strong enough to keep the peace against our only potential enemy -- the Communists.

We will insure that the Red leaders always recognize that if they ever should push the button, we would destroy them.

Never in the 20th century has a Republican President involved this country in a war.

Never in the 20th century has a Democratic President been able to maintain the peace without letting us get involved in foreign wars either great or small.

Never in this century has the Democratic party understood that peace is kept through strength. Peace is for those strong enough to keep it.

The path to peace is to vote Republican on November 3.

FROM: Republican National Committee
1625 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
Phone: (202) NA 8-6800

AUTOMATIC RELEASE
at 6:30 p.m., EDT,
FRIDAY
October 2, 1964

EXCERPTS OF CAMPAIGN REMARKS AT PEORIA, ILL., OCT. 2, 1964

BY SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER, 'REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE

FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

We must put an end to drift, to deception, and to defeat.

We must stop, once and for all, being soft on Communism.

We have had four years of drift in Washington, and the result is Lyndon Johnson's war. Lyndon Baines Johnson has sowed the wind of weakness. He has reaped the whirlwind of war.

We have had four years of deception in Washington, and the result is shattered prestige. Even the Central Intelligence Agency shouts that our prestige has dipped below the peril point.

Are you proud of our fight for freedom? Are you proud of Panama? Are you proud of the burned effigy in Greece? Are you proud of wheat deals with the destroyers of liberty? Are you proud when no country is too small to pull Uncle Sam's whiskers and get away with it?

Are you proud of what has happened to the grand alliances of freedom, so patiently built in the Eisenhower-Dulles years? What has become of CENTO, SEATO, ANZUS, and NATO?

You know what has become of them. Over the last four years, they have vanished, one by one, in the mist of drift, deception, and defeat.

And there, my fellow Americans, is the challenge of the hour. If we are to meet the threat of Communism -- if we are to keep Khrushchev from burying us -- we must move swiftly and resolutely to unify the free world. We must pick up the pieces of our once grand alliances and put them together again.

(more)

My fellow citizens, the free world has strength so mighty that Communism would halt in its tracks if we were truly united.

Do you realize that more than two-thirds of the world's productive capacity is located in the fifteen countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization? Do you realize that 470 million intelligent and able people live there? Do you realize that the economic power of our North Atlantic allies, taken together, equals our own?

Here are the elements of power in the free world. Here are all the elements we need, already in being -- just waiting to be put to use in ending the Communist threat.

Only one thing is missing, but it means everything. That one thing is unity -- unity in cause, unity in purpose, and unity in action. In its place, we have disunity and disarray, brought to the free world by four years of drift, deception, and defeat.

How can we create unity out of chaos? It will not be easy. It surely cannot and will not be done by a quick overnight trip to Europe by the head of an Administration that has mistreated its allies for four long years. What was shattered over four years cannot be put together in one weekend.

No. Unity can be created now only by a bold and joint attack on the roots of the problem.

One of my first acts as President will be to initiate a call for a North Atlantic conclave. That conclave will have a single object: to create a North Atlantic Community unified in spirit, purpose, and action.

As the first step, I will name a blue-ribbon delegation of American citizens to meet with delegates from other NATO nations to plan the conclave. Those great statesmen of this nation who helped build NATO should join together in leading the American delegation.

(more)

This is the constructive way to mobilize the strength of the free world in the struggle against Communist domination. This is the way of partnership with unity. This is the way toward a true Atlantic civilization.

Let us look to the flowering of that Atlantic civilization: the whole of Europe reunified and freed, trading openly across its borders, communicating openly across the world.

What a destiny can be ours -- to stand as a great central pillar linking Europe, the Americas, and the venerable and vital peoples of the Pacific.

Let us look to the day when America extends its hands in help, in teaching, and in cultivation so that all new nations will be encouraged to go freedom's way. Let us sweep away the drift, deception, and defeat that makes these new nations wander down the dark alleys of tyranny and the dead-end streets of collectivism.

With your help and with God's blessing, Bill Miller and I will lead this nation forward again along the proven path charted by the wisdom of our history. We will end drift, deception, and defeat. We will bring purpose, integrity, and victory to the cause of peace and freedom everywhere.

SPEECH BY SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

First stop, Warminster Plaza Shopping
Center, Warminster Township, Bucks
County, Pennsylvania

I want to thank you. I could think of a million counts, but let's take three. I want to thank you as a friend. I want to thank you as a fraternal brother, and I want to thank you as a colleague in the Congress of the United States for the very warm welcome on this delightful morning.

I woke up this morning and was talking on the phone and looked at my outside thermometer. It said 40 degrees, and I thought the darn thing was broken, but when I got out I found out it wasn't.

One of the nicest mornings I have had in a long time was this morning, because something I very rarely do is look at television that early in the morning. I turned it on, and there was my old friend Hugh Scott, plugging for me, and, by golly, I was so glad of it because he and I have worked in the Senate of the United States together for the last 12 years, and I worked with him before that when he was National Chairman of the Republican Party. In Hugh Schott, just as in Will Corbin, you have a fine man who has worked hard for Pennsylvania, who has worked hard for the nation, and I sincerely hope that all of you in your good judgment will, on November 3, when you are electing Bill Miller and me to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, will see to it that both of these gentlemen are returned to the Congress.

Another good friend of mine, Bill Scranton, who is out doing a real wonderful job around the United States, couldn't be here this morning because he is up in Connecticut and Rhode Island working for us. I have known Bill, as I told you many times, for many years. We served together in the Air Force, and I happen to be his commanding officer right now---(Laughter)---in a Reserve outfit, and if we can get our "Yo-Yo" up from the deck, maybe we can get Bill promoted. I have had it in for almost a year now, but "Yo-Yo" and I aren't getting along too good. (Laughter).

I have been very interested in the developments of this campaign. I think what is coming very clearly to the fore is a misunderstanding on the part of many Americans as to just what the issues are. This afternoon I am going to address myself formally to that problem before the United Press International Convention in Washington.

I believe that too many people in that field, the news media, have accepted the fact that the majority of Americans have accepted socialism as a way of life. (Applause) I don't say this is on purpose, or through ignorance. I just think it is through not having been out amongst the American people as I have, as others have been out listening to people and listening to what their complaints are.

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I think the issue in this campaign, frankly, is a very simple one. What kind of an America are we going to have tomorrow, next year, five years from now, or 20 years from now? What kind of America are we going to leave our children. It is that simple. I don't agree for one single solitary moment that the American people have accepted centralized government or accepted central control over our economy. I think in this case of the man I have always called the forgotten American. I would say 95 per cent of Americans come under this classification. The forgotten American: he is the man who pays taxes, he is the man who works, he is the man who stays out of trouble. Unfortunately, he hasn't been the man that has squeaked very loud. He is not a member of any minority group -- he is a member of a majority group.

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Now, unfortunately, in our government, over the last thirty years, with the exception of the eight years of the Eisenhower Administration, minority groups run this country. Let's face up to it.

Now, I am speaking about all minority groups -- those who are able to put together an extensive lobby in Washington, and make themselves heard. These are the ones that have been benefitting from government handouts, financed by you, and I think the American people are getting sick and tired of it. (Applause.)

I know, for example, that Americans don't like the concentration of power that they are finding in the Executive Branch of the Government, that Americans are waking to the fact that the Constitution has been altered -- it has been altered by Acts of Congress, it has been altered by Boards like the NLRB and other quasi-judicial bodies. It has been altered the most by the Supreme Court which hasn't the right to legislate, but which has been legislating. (Applause.)

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I think all of us in America have great reverence for the idea of the Supreme Court, and I think that historically down through the years we have had reason to be proud of the Court, itself. However, today we are finding the Court making decisions not based on the Constitution, or on law, but making decisions based on what the Court feels should be right.

Now, as I have said time and again, I think every one of us have little pet peeves, we have things we would like to change if we could. Some of them can be changed legally, some of them can't be changed legally, but you and I are bound by what the law says, and we are bound by what the Constitution says, but the Court merely has to decide. The fact that the majority of the Court has been deciding the way they would like to see things, but not deciding these things on the basis of law, or the Constitution, is very dangerous, and the American people are getting very tired of it, apprehensive of what this can mean in the long run, as well as the

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are apprehensive of the continued growth of power in the Executive Branch.

I have heard the President purse his lips from time to time -- that is, when you can find him, when he is not out walking in the rose garden (laughter) or walking around his ranch, or walking around issues (applause) -- I have heard him say, "Let us continue". (Laughter) I don't usually do this, but there was such a good letter appearing in one of the Washington papers the other day from a man in answer to his son, when the son asked him, "What does he mean, Daddy, when he says, 'Let us continue'?" I won't read it all, but he tried to answer his son, and I think it answers our questions.

He said, "Let us continue to try to bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift. Let us continue to try to strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. Let us continue to help the wage earner by building down the wage payer. Let us continue to try to eliminate discrimination by creating race hatred. Let us continue to try to keep out of trouble by spending more than we earn. And let us continue our efforts to build character and courage by taking away man's initiative and independence. Let us continue our efforts to perpetuate the wrongs we have succeeded in establishing through the barren waste of the New Deal. Let us continue to meddle in the problems of all nations to the exclusion of solving more perplexing problems at home. Let us continue to promote civil rights as opposed to civil responsibilities."

This is just part of this letter that this gentleman wrote, supposedly to his son in answer to the question "Let us continue", and perhaps all of us have a right to question wisely, let us continue what? Do we want to continue the destruction of our way of government? (No). Do we want to continue to destroy the two-party system in favor of a one-party system? (No). Well, that answer just reaffirms what I have felt all of my political life, that there is a place for the two-party system in this country. In fact, our Constitutional Republic can't run under a one-party system -- it would no longer be a Constitutional Republic. It would become a dictatorship.

We have to have two parties, and we have to have two parties with divergent views. It is easy to say that we can agree on everything, but you can't. There must be always a minority and majority party in this country, and I propose to do what I can with your help to see to it that in the coming years, in the very near coming years, we are going to have the Republican Party as the majority party. (Applause).

Now, I am thinking in this campaign as I travel around the United States, as I see the growing number of young people that attend these rallies, that what you and I as older people are really charged with this year is to do something for these teen-agers, to do something for the young people that you and I have not done for our own generation,

and that is pay attention to government so that we can have government as we want it, a representative government, not a government that is so filled with power that a President who is so desirous of power and more power and more power that the Democrats don't know whether to vote for him or just plug him in. (Applause.)

That is what I think of as I am campaigning. I keep seeing before me my four children, who are now all grown, and my four grandchildren who are just getting started, and these are not only my responsibility as a father and a grandfather, but all of your children and all of your grandchildren are my responsibility as your President. (Applause.) And, I might say, a responsibility as a politician, because when the day comes that my party comes first to me, when the day comes that politics come first to me, then I am no longer going to be an effective man in this country. I want to help, not Goldwater, I want to help the people, I want to help the youngsters of this country to enjoy progress through freedom. (Applause)

I want them to enjoy peace through preparedness (Applause) and I want them to enjoy order through our Constitutional processes. (Applause).

Those are the things that I can contribute when you elect me your President, and those are the things I promise you and your young ones that I will work towards. I am not interested in the power of the Presidency to do anything but to return the powers that are there illegally, or legally, back to the people, back to the states, because I don't buy this idea for one moment that because we are now a nation of nearly 200 million people that principles have changed, that human nature has changed, that the effects of the Constitution are no longer valid, that the free enterprise system will not provide for 200 million people the material wealth it has provided for 50 million or 100 or 150 million people.

In other words, ladies and gentlemen, I am not afraid of our government, I am not afraid of our economic system. I happen to understand them, and I don't think the present incumbent in the White House does, and I don't think he ever will. (Applause)

We have a busy schedule here today. We have two more visits to make before I have to return to Washington for an afternoon meeting, and then a television taping tonight. I want to express to you Peggy's regrets at not being able to be with me, but tomorrow she has to go out to Muncie, Indiana, which is her home town, for "Peggy Day", and this morning I want to announce her daughter and husband came in to go with her.

You know, I thought I heard Bobby Baker's voice over there. (Laughter) I thought he was down hiding in the basement of the White House. (Laughter) But he must have gotten up here.

Thank you all very much. It is wonderful to see you, and I will see you later.

SPEECH BY SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

SECOND STOP

OCTOBER 6, 1964

I was awake very early this morning and did something that I don't do very often -- I looked at the Today Show -- not that I am against the show or anything, but it is just too darned early for me. I am busy working and don't get a chance to see it. I turned it on, and lo and behold, there was my old friend Hugh commending me and doing a very good job of it, doing a marvelous job of outlining his good record in the Senate of the United States. I have been a pleasure to work with him for many years in the Republican Party before he came to the Senate. I knew him then in politics and I know him now as a fellow Senator, and I can tell you he is one of the best, so please keep him there along with Dick.

I have a telegram here that I want to read to you, which made me very happy.

"Sorry I can't be with you today as I am campaigning in New England. Please extend my personal welcome to Pennsylvania to Senator Goldwater, and my good wishes to all the people in your county." Signed "Bill Scranton".

Bill is doing one of the outstanding jobs for the GOP ticket in the country, and we are very grateful to him, but I am not at all surprised at his actions. I have known Bill for a long time. We were in the Air Force together, and right now, as I say jokingly, I am his Commanding Officer, because we both belong to the same Squadron. If Yo-Yo McNamara (applause) will just quit traveling down to South Vietnam and back to find answers, maybe he will look at the promotion I have asked for Bill and give him another bump.

Throughout the course of this campaign -- and this starts our fifth week, or maybe the sixth, I have lost count of time -- there has been developing more and more in my mind the fact that people in this country, particularly the press, the radio and TV have pretty well agreed that the majority of American people have accepted Socialism, or some form of it. I am addressing myself to that subject this afternoon before the NPI Convention, because, as I kept hearing and kept reading about the issues I had to disagree because these are not the issues. They would have us believe that the issues are merely can we do it better than the Democratic Party? Can we run a centralized government better? Can we plan for the economy, blueprint the economy -- which is socialism -- better than the Democrats? And I maintain that the issue, the basic issue in this country relates to what kind of a country you and I are going to live in in the years to come, what kind of a country you and I are going to leave our children, and our grandchildren. This is all wrapped up, in my opinion, in what I have referred to over the past several years as the forgotten American. Who is this forgotten American? We used to hear about the forgotten man -- now we have the forgotten American, and he is about 95 percent of the American people. He pays

his taxes. He works. He doesn't complain. He stays out of trouble. He is not necessarily a member of a minority group per se in that he doesn't look upon himself as a minority. He doesn't look upon himself as a hyphenated American. He is an American and goes about the business of being just that.

Now, the problem that we have had in this government of ours, starting back in the early 30's, has been this pigeonholing of people which I think is a detestable thing. I think it has been one of the worst things that has happened to our country in that we have put people in pigeon holes and pulled them out as we need their vote.

Now, we are all Americans. My grandfather happened to come from Poland. I know one of the proudest moments of his life -- even though I didn't know him -- was when he became a naturalized American, and though he was proud of being born in Poland, he was more proud of his being an American. I think this is the way of all of us whose grandparents came from abroad. The great thing is that we are Americans, and we don't like this being catalogued as something else.

The minority groups in this country, and this applies to all of them and doesn't refer to any one in particular -- but the minority groups, and I can go through them, some 25,000 different groups in Washington that are represented by so-called lobbyists -- these are the groups that have been getting the benefits from government, the benefits of your money, the taxes paid by the 95 percent of the people to get the votes from the five percent of the people, and I think Americans are sick and tired of it. (Applause.) The great majority of American people, I say the great majority of the American people, not just a majority, do not buy these ideas that we have to put all of the power of Government in Washington. They look with apprehension on the centralizing of government. They want the power of government to stay closest to the people at the state level, at the county level, at the city level, at the village level. They see no reason for transferring this power to Washington, but it is there, and it is moving there fast.

As I tried to point out to the students, to young people, we don't lose our freedoms overnight. If I were to stand here and tell you that tomorrow morning every one of you had to march down to the County Court House and receive a number and be told where you are going to live, in what kind of a house you are going to live, where you are going to work, and how much you are going to be paid, you would rise up and say, "No, no, we are not", and even if it took the force of arms, you would see to it that freedom was retained. But these things have been taken slowly. We pass a bill here; well, a little bit of power is gone; we pass another one, a little bit of power is gone. The Supreme Court legislates instead of adjudicates, and we lose a little bit more power. (Applause) And I think that finally the American people are waking up to this, and finally they

are realizing that even though the majority of Americans don't like socializing our economy, the socialization of our economy, they don't like the centralization of power in Washington. Nevertheless, it is going on whether they like it or not. This is one of the attitudes that we sense around Washington all the time. Washington knows better than you folks how to run your government. (No) I couldn't agree with you more.

We talk about progress through freedom. We think back over the history of our country, and we became a great material people, we have more wealth than any people in the world. We didn't get this because of our government. In fact, we have gotten it in spite of our government. We have it because basically we are a spiritual people, and a spiritual people have initiative and ambition, and they want to get ahead, they want to work, they don't want to be paid for not working. They don't want to be paid for not producing. (Applause.)

Our farmers don't want to be paid for not growing. In fact, I have a little comparison on the farm problem with the White House. They have swept so much dirt under the rug in the White House, they can qualify for the Soil Bank. (Applause.)

The American people in this election are going to voice this feeling that they have had. There is a growing and distrust of what is going on in Washington. It is growing day by day by day, and it is not being helped any by the President, as he shields men like Bobby Baker and Billie Sol Price and the rest. Now, if you will tell Americans the truth, they will go with the President. But if you try to duck the issues, if you will not disclose to the American people what is going on in Washington, or in South Vietnam, the people grow suspicious and get getting more suspicious every day. (Applause.)

The other day I got to thinking about the few times we get to hear the President say anything. (Laughter) You know, he is busy walking around the rose garden, busy walking around the ranch in Texas, and busy walking around the issues. (Applause.) Every once in awhile he puckers up his lips and says, "Let us continue." In one of the Washington papers the other day there was a letter on the editorial page that was obviously written by a father in answer to his son to explain, "What does he mean, Daddy, by 'Let us continue'?" I don't want to read all of it to you, because it is too long. "Well, son," said his father, "it is a little difficult to say. However, there are a few things which come to mind which I think you might understand, such as let us continue to try to bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift. Let us continue to try to strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. Let us continue to help the wage earner by pulling down the wage payer. Let us continue to promote civil rights as opposed to civil responsibility. Let us continue to determine how long we can be successful in stopping the red alligator with a water pistol." The son, as he went to sleep,

says, "Now I guess I understand, Daddy."

There are the questions you are going to have to answer in your minds in the few weeks between today and November the 3rd. It is not how much you are going to get out of this President in the way of pacific wars or in the way of dollars or in the way of special concessions. It is how much you are going to contribute to the protection of property and the establishment of decency and dignity in this government. It is how much you are going to contribute to the maintenance of the free enterprise system. It is how much you are going to contribute to the acceptance of firm ideas that the majorities are interested in this country as well as the minorities. (Applause.) And how much your vote is going to contribute to the reestablishment of the United States' position around the world which daily -- not monthly -- is being paid handed down, down, down, because we have people in Washington who think we can live with the communists.

Now, let me tell you what happened the other day. I said this Administration was soft on communism, and I was jumped on by everybody known with an L. Let me prove it to you. The other day, Senator Ribicoff of Connecticut put in an amendment to the Foreign Aid bill that would express the sentiments of the Senate opposing the treatment of Jews in Russia, and Senator Fulbright, the spokesman for the Administration in the foreign field, offered an amendment to it to strike out any reference to Russia. Now, what the devil is the point of the whole thing if you can't condemn the culprit? (Applause) And in support of his argument, he read a letter from the State Department saying that they wanted the reference to Russia deleted because it might cause them some discomfort.

Now, when we have reached the point that the spokesman for the Administration, Senator Fulbright, has to try to disgrace the whole American Senate and the American people by trying to appease the Soviets, then I think we have come to a point where we can say, with assurance, we are being soft on communism. (Applause) You will be glad to know that that was defeated 60 to 1. (Applause) And the "L" was the spokesman for this Administration.

We can talk on and on about this. We consummate a wheat deal with the enemy when they are in economic trouble. Now, there is nothing wrong with using wheat as an instrument of foreign policy, but you should get something back for it, and when I am your President, if those opportunities confront me, we can say, "Sure, Mr. Khrushchev, we have the wheat, we have so much wheat we don't know what to do with it, we have enough wheat to make two thousand loaves of bread for every man, woman and child in the United States, and we don't like to see people go hungry, but we don't like to see people oppressed, so you take down that wall in Berlin, or give the

directed at Russia, it might offend the Russians. Now, maybe the application "soft on communism" isn't the right collection of words, but I don't know what you say when a man isn't the opposite.

If in the good judgment of the United States Senate it is time to put a stop, as far as we can, to the persecution of Jews or anybody else, any place in this world by communism, then it is time we speak up, not say something that means nothing, and this is what our State Department and the Fulbrights in our Senate would like to do -- not even slap the wrist, maybe throw a little powder out their way.

So we call face all of us face a real challenge one month from today. The political life and fortune of one Goldwater isn't the important thing. The political life and future, the life and future of freedom, the rights of the American people to know what is going on in their government, the right, in fact the purpose of the Office of the Presidency to make available to American people the truth about what is going on, our position in the world, our position in the world not just today, but in 1970 and 1975 and on -- peace. These are the things that we are speaking about as we go across this country, and if we can maintain our government, our governmental idea as we have always had it under a Constitutional Republic, with a minimum of powers vested in Washington, with the maximum of power vested in the hands of the people, if we can have a Secretary of Defense and a Secretary of State who understand that only the strong can keep freedom, that the weak always lose it. (Applause). Then I can assure you that the future of America will be assured.

It has been wonderful being here today with you. Gosh, I would like to spend the whole time up here campaigning -- it is wonderful to see such nice crowds and receptive crowds.

"Hungarians a vote" --(applause)--"or give the Poles a vote, and then you and I will talk about wheat."

So, folks, just four weeks from today you have the chance to get your country back, and you have the chance to put dignity back in the American life and back into the image of America around this world. We are the world's greatest nation -- everybody admits that -- but we are acting something like we were the world's worst nation, and we are all sick and tired of it.

It is wonderful to have been with you.

[Faint, mostly illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. Some words like "I have", "I have", "I have" are visible.]

I have been very interested in the campaign, which is one thing's for the sake of which we -- I kind of lost track -- since the days of Lincoln, up north from the top of the world, down through the Middle West, into the South and on into the South Sea. I have been very interested in the fact that the people of this country are generally interested in the issue. The issue, if we will call them that, are very deep. They get to the root, they get to the psychological

REPORT BY SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

Third stop, Saburban Square Shopping
Center, Ardmore, Lower Merion Town-
ship, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania

I want to thank you for your very warm welcome to your District, and I want to say hello to the Sigma Chi's over there.

I want to tell you first, before I have anything political to say, what a wonderful job Dick does for you in the House of Representatives in the Congress. You would be very, very proud of him. I know that in your usual good judgment he will be returned on November the 3rd, when you are casting your vote for Barry Goldwater and Bill Miller.

I wanted to read a telegram that came just a few moments ago -- "Very sorry I can't be with you today as I am campaigning in New England. Please extend my personal welcome to Pennsylvania to Senator Goldwater, and my good wishes to all people in your county. Signed, Bill Sherman." (Applause.)

I want to, as I have done time and again across this country, thank Bill for the wonderful way that he is pitching in working for the Party all across America. He is a fine man, a wonderful Governor, and he is going a long, long ways in this country, and you people should be proud of him. (Applause)

I mentioned in my last two meetings the very pleasant surprise that I had earlier this morning. I usually don't watch the "Today" Show -- not that I have anything against it, I am usually too busy working to watch television. I turned it on, and, lo and behold, there was my good friend, Hugh Scott, defending me, working for himself and working for the Republican Party, and it was a great way to start the day. I just want to comment Senator Scott to you. I have served with him in politics for many, many years in the Senate, ever since he has been there. He is one of the leaders of the Senate, an outstanding man who is always fighting for the best interests of America and the best interests of Pennsylvania, so, again, see that he gets back there. We need him. (Applause)

You took the word right out of my mouth.

I have been very interested in this campaign, which is now starting either its fifth or sixth week -- I kind of lose track -- from San Diego, California, up north across the top of the country, down through the Middle West, into the South and up into the Northeast, I have been more and more impressed with the fact that the issues of this campaign aren't what are generally considered to be issued. The issues, if we will call them that, are very, very deep. They get to the root, they get to the fundamentals of

our way of life, and as I am going to explain later on today when I speak before the convention of the United Press International in Washington, I feel that the press particularly, and too many people in the country feel that the American people have accepted socialism as a fact of life, and as we debate the so-called issues, they think we should be debating the degree of socialism, or how the Republican Party, for example, would handle the control of the farmers, or how the Republican Party would handle the control of transportation in this country, or handle the control of prices or wages. I am going to endeavor to show them that this just isn't the case.

The primary concern of Americans today is what kind of a country are we going to have next year, five years from now, 20 years from now, what kind of a country are we going to turn over to our children and our grandchildren?

My fear -- I don't say just by a little bit -- but by far the great majority of Americans do not buy socialism. (Applause) They don't buy the idea that the Federal Government should be all powerful, and that all states and the counties and the cities should have no more voice.

Do you remember that the Constitution very clearly divided power, and divided for one reason only, so that it could never concentrate in any one branch of our government. The concentration of power in government is just as dangerous as the concentration of power in the hands of a few executives or corporations, or the concentration of power in the hands of a few labor leaders, or in the hands of a few anybody. Political power in this government must be diffused, and I believe that the Constitution is just as valid on that point today as it was the day it was written years and years ago, and it is just as valid. (Applause)

You are really getting to, really getting at what I call the forgotten American. Now, who is he? We used to talk about the forgotten man. Now I think we can talk about the forgotten American. Well, he is probably 95 per cent of the American people. He works. He doesn't complain. He pays his taxes, he keeps him and his family out of trouble, but he more and more and more, this very great majority, is being neglected by the power in Washington who cater only to minority groups. (Applause)

When I speak of minority groups, I mean all groups. We have representation in Washington by lobbyists for thousands and thousands of groups, and these groups, each one, can generate votes, and when they generate votes and show the ability to generate them, we come to the squeaking wheel. This wheel gets out of oil and the oil comes out of the pockets of the forgotten American who doesn't ask anything for his government than a fair shake. He asks honesty, he asks dignity, and he asks fair treatment. He doesn't mind paying his taxes if he believes the taxes are going for a just purpose, but

...it is inevitable that most Americans really favor it

more and more and more Americans are beginning to wonder if their money is being used for just and proper purposes, and they have a reason to. So the forgetting American is the person that I am talking to in this campaign, and the issues are very clear. The issues are an all-powerful central government versus the Federal system that we have lived under and prospered under; it is a socialized economy versus a free economy that we have prospered and lived under. It is these two things that the American people are deciding when they go to the polls this coming November, just a month, one month from today, and you have just these four words to make up your mind, if they are not made up -- and I imagine there are many here who haven't made up their minds, so it is to them that I address my remarks -- you have to make the decision as you stand in that ballot booth by yourself, where in the presence only of God you have to answer the question, "What is more important to me, something my government can give me that they have already taken away from me in the form of wealth, or is it something my government can perpetuate for me that God gave to me, which is our freedom?" (Applause)

Power has been transferred from your hands to Washington by several ways, and I think that the people in my generation, we older people, and ones older and younger than I, can take the blame. We have been complacent in the last 30 years as the Congress has enacted legislation that took a little bit here, a little bit there, a little bit more here, as we have watched the Supreme Court make decisions on the basis of the Constitution or on law, but on what these 50 individual men would like to see. (Applause)

The founding fathers never dreamed they would see the day when their system of government, the tri-partite system with its built-in protection against power -- they never thought they would see the day or we would see the day when the Executive Branch of Government could become more powerful than the other two, and get this power from both the other branches -- the Legislative Branch through enactment of laws that do not tend to keep freedom and the control of freedom where it should be and the judicial branch making decisions just as you and I might like to do.

We all have little pet peeves we would like to see this done or that done. Well, some of these things we can do legitimately and some we can't, but if we have the power we might do what they do -- say "We would like to see things this way", but it is not the way to do it. The way to do it is through the Constitutional processes. These are the things that come to me as I speak with people across this country. The issues are not what we call bread and butter issues. They are issues of the way we are going to live. It is as simple as that, it is as plain as that, and you can paint it up, jazz it up, do anything you want with it, but it doesn't alter the fact that the decision you are going to make will determine what we are going to be and how we are going to live, and how we are going to stand with

countries in this world today who now spit on us, burn us in effigy, laugh at us -- in fact, there is hardly a country small enough it won't pull out visitors. (Applause) But importantly you are going to decide this question of power. Will there be so much power in the Executive Branch of Government that you and I can't live normal lives of freedom? You know, they were in Washington -- I don't know whether facetiously or not -- that the President now has so much power, he wants to use more power than you & I know whether to vote for him or just play him in. (Applause)

Anyway, this, I saw in the Washington paper the other day a very interesting letter that was written purportedly by a father to his son, and the son said, "Daddy, what does he mean when he says 'Let us continue?' Because I have that question in my mind, I read this letter, and I would like to read just a part of it to you, because it is quite long.

The father said "Well, he might mean let us continue to bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift. Let us continue to try to strengthen the weak by weakening the strong. Let us continue to extol freedom as a right rather than a privilege. Let us continue to worship before the altar of world opinion while denying that opinion is always wiser than ignorance, and let us continue to determine how long we can be successful in stopping the red alligator with a water pistol."

We have some hooky-players here. You can tell them you were getting a lesson on political science.

There is so much dirt brushed under the White House rug that it can qualify for the Soil Bank. (Applause.)

This father's letter mentioned "Let us continue to determine how long we can be successful in stopping the red alligator with a water pistol." The other day I made reference to the fact that I thought this Administration was soft on communism, and immediately I was jumped on, but let me tell you why I said that.

Last week, during the debate on the Foreign Aid Bill, an amendment was introduced by Senator Ribicoff of Connecticut, and I was a co-sponsor of that amendment along with a great majority of the Senate, that would have expressed in a resolution form the persuasion of the Senate that it was wrong for the Russians to persecute the Jews. Now, this is a perfectly normal, natural resolution. It should have been passed, and it was, but let me tell you what the spokesman for the New Frontier Foreign Affairs said, and this is Senator Fulbright (Does). Don't boo him, he is a fraternally brother of mine.

He offered an amendment to strike out any reference to Russia. And why? Because the State Department had written him a letter asking that he do this because they felt if the resolution were

... and people just thought they were here in Washington...



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1825 EMB STREET, NORTHWEST WASHINGTON 6 D.C. NATIONAL 883600

NEWS



FOR RELEASE

FOR RELEASE 4 P.M.
October 6, 1964

SPEECH BY SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT
OF THE U.S. , 4 P.M, OCT. 6, 1964, BEFORE THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF
UPI EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS, STATLER HILTON, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Like a parachutist whose rip cord has jammed, you gentlemen are in some danger, it seems to me, of jumping to a conclusion. Two, as a matter of fact.

The first is that there is no contest in this election. The second is that there are no issues. There's no sense in arguing the first point here. It's interesting, however, to check it in the field. A few of your reporters have done it, I know. Most are content to rely on polls, and tend to ignore a grass roots political movement that reminds some of us of 1948 when there wasn't any contest either.

One of the reporters on our recent Whistle Stop had a typical explanation of why he discounted the crowds at each of our stops. "Why," he said, "they're nothing but supporters."

The second point is the one to which I want to address myself -- the issues: There are two kinds of deafness that can explain why a person would say that there are no issues in this campaign. One is mechanical. Some people just assume that some sort of Socialism--or whatever name they give it--is inevitable, that most Americans really favor it, and that the only real political issues are choices between how far or how fast. I take violent exception to that.

(more)

The great domestic issue of this entire campaign is whether we will take a path that leads to Socialism, or whether we will get back on a road of individual freedom, individual responsibility, and individual initiative.

For obvious political reasons, there are some people who would like to confine this entire discussion to such programs as Social Security. They say I'm against it and Lyndon Johnson is for it. The facts, of course, are quite different. I support social security. My voting record proves that. But I have also supported and will continue to support private programs, union programs, company programs, and individual programs of security for older age.

This Administration, on the other hand, wants to tack so many things onto the Social Security System that the inevitable result would be the elimination of the private programs altogether and, eventually, the bankruptcy of even the Social Security System itself. This isn't partisan gloom and doom either. France is facing just this situation today.

There is a clear choice. The choice isn't whether we're going to keep Social Security. Of course, we are. The choice is whether we are going to leave room for any other programs. I say we should. The Administration says, by its actions, if not by its words, that we can afford to sacrifice the private plans and eventually wind up with nothing but a Federal plan.

That is an issue. It is the sort of issue that we can see at every turn.

Are we going to leave room for any sort of individualism in this country or are we going to sacrifice it all to the demands and the supposed benefits of Government control?

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It would be a lot simpler, of course, if the Administration would speak in terms of Socialism and control--as well as in terms of benefits--but we won't hold our breath waiting for that. Whether they talk in those terms or not, we in the opposition must. And you, who record and report, should do us the courtesy, at least, of resisting the assumption that we are talking about something that has no place in current reality.

The people of this country have not--no matter how many columnists say they have--have not decided that Federal Government control and Federal Government programs are the only answers to our problems.

There are state governments that are doing a far better job of providing medical care under the Kerr-Mills Bill than is even envisioned under the Federal Medicare program.

There are local endeavors that have done more to advance educational standards, with local money, than any Federal program of which I am aware.

There are neighborhood activities that have done far, far more to racial tensions than all the Federal programs put together.

Private entrepreneurs provide more jobs than even the mounting Federal payroll.

The list is endless. the people of this nation can solve their problems in many ways, at many levels, without running to Washington.

There is a great issue. And I claim it is a fully legitimate issue. This Administration, no matter how you slice it, wants to pass solutions on to the people from Washington. It is Washington--centered, not state--centered. It is bureaucracy--centered, not individual--centered.

People generally are coming to recognize this. And they are coming to recognize the issue involved: Free enterprise and balanced Government versus a controlled economy and an all-powerful central Government.

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The very nature of the two parties, it seems to me, has made this sort of confrontation, between concentrated power and dispersed power, inevitable.

The Johnson Administration is a clear amalgam of big pressure groups. It includes big city bosses, the bosses of big labor, and most recently some of the bosses of big business.

The Johnson Administration, because of this, I charge, cannot truly represent the national interest. It is dominated by special interests. Its policies are written by-and-for pressure groups and its votes, dependably, come from them.

The Republican Party, here and now, is free of such pressures. It has a broader base than ever, and fewer spokesmen for special interests than ever. As some of your columnists are fond of pointing out, it isn't even catering to traditional political pressures.

The columnists gleefully or, in one or two cases, sadly regard this as a disaster. We regard it as a sort of partisan Magna Carta, freeing Republicanism from any regional or class dependency and making it a truly national party, representative of all classes.

Surely there is an issue there! After all, the two parties are the warp and woof of our political fabric. When they undergo internal realignment, that should be an issue, and it should be cause for enlightened commentary.

Our governmental fabric is under great strain also these days. And there is an issue there!

Again, no matter how you slice it, the present Administration stands for the steadily increasing power of the Executive branch of Government. And it can be expected to appoint to the Judiciary branch, the Supreme Court, men with a similar predisposition or, at least, men who take the distinctly Roosevelt-Johnson view that the Court ought to rule on the

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basis of what the justices want the laws to mean, rather than contenting themselves with what Congress intended them to mean. There is surely an issue here--and millions of Americans know it.

The way we vote in this election will have profound meaning for the whole shape of our Government. Those who vote to continue the present Administration will be voting for the power to reduce the Federal Legislature to a rubber stamp, the Judiciary to an ink pad, and state legislatures to little more than carbon copies. Some people want it that way. I know that. But others don't and this is an issue. Those who vote for me will be voting, very clearly, to restore the power of the Congress so that it can fully balance the power of the Executive.

The balance of governmental power has shifted so much already that I am convinced that it will take a chief executive who is wholeheartedly devoted to the proposition, to restore the power of Congress.

I'm not sure that Congress, against such a politically powerful and willful president as Lyndon Johnson can do the job alone. That's just another indication of how crucial an issue this really is.

Also, those who vote for me will be voting for appointment to the Supreme Court of men with a clear devotion to Constitutionalism.

We can hear, however, the comment that Goldwater can't really mean that this is an issue because he talks of building up our defenses, and opposing Communism, and you can't do that without a great Federal power.

I don't regard this as a contradiction or a subject for political snide talk. I regard this, too, as a real issue.

One of the most clearly defined duties of the President is foreign policy. One of the most clearly defined Federal functions, is the common defense. We have Federal methods of doing both those jobs. I do not suggest for a moment diminishing any Federal powers, purchases, or personnel needed for those jobs.

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There is no constitutional conflict at all between saying that the states should have a greater say in running their schools, their welfare programs, and their police forces and that the Federal Government should take even greater interest in stopping the spread of Communism.

In point of fact, it could be said that the present Administration turns the situation around 180 degrees. It wants to do more and more to firmly control the sovereign states and less and less to maintain a firm foreign policy. And right here is the other great area that is at issue in this campaign.

Again, there is a conclusion that a majority of commentators draw-- or jump to! That conclusion is that Communism is mellowing, that the Johnson tactics are successfully dealing with it, and that accommodation is the one, the only, and the absolutely accepted way of dealing with Communism.

You know that I reject that. You may or may not admit that millions of Americans also reject that. This is a live issue, a real issue, and a deeply significant issue.

I hold, and millions of Americans hold that Communism remains the number one and, in fact, the only real threat to peace in the world today. I hold, as do millions of Americans, that Communism has not changed its objectives -- only its tactics, and its cosmetics.

If Communism has mellowed, can you really explain the situation in the Congo, in Cuba, elsewhere in Latin America, in Malaysia, at the Berlin Wall, in Vietnam, or anywhere else in the world where there is unrest, subversion, violence, or threats to the peace?

No, Communism remains a threat. It remains dedicated to our destruction, and it remains virtually unscored on by the policies of this Administration.

The issue here, then, is simply whether we are to regard Communism as an active threat to us and to the peace, or whether we are to regard it as a settled matter now stabilizing into a form of mellow normality.

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I know that many who will vote for Lyndon Johnson, on the basis of his for foreign policy approach, want to believe that and do believe in the new normality of a divided world. But this is not a settled matter. There is a vast difference of opinion among the people--and it is an issue.

Those who vote for me will be voting to treat Communism as an enemy--not a new friend.

How should we deal with Communism? Is there no issue there? Some commentators, again, say there is no issue because there is no chance of doing anything differently than we are doing it. Their reason, usually, depends upon an assumption that any tough line taken against the Communists would threaten the world with nuclear war.

Lord knows, this is an important issue. And, Lord knows, no matter how you slice it again, this Administration peddles that line day and night--even when it ignores it in practice. Their little adventure in the Gulf of Tonkin, along with others to permit the pursuit of enemy planes even into Red China, were living refutations of the fear that any action taken against Communism will bring on a general war. Our action during the missile crisis was another refutation.

The Eisenhower-Dulles actions in Lebanon and the Formosa Straights were other refutations.

But, regardless of what this Administration does in certain sensitive incidents, its general operating pattern is clearly one that pushes Communism only when Communism puts some nearly intolerable pressure on us.

The choice to be made in voting this year, therefore, is between a policy of reacting to Communism, and usually after some crisis or another, or a policy of seeking initiatives in which we can apply pressures to Communism.

A good example is the matter of trade. We can expect, from this Administration, repetition after repetition, of the Wheat Deal in which we gave the Soviet Union everything it wanted, on its terms and timetable.

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Under my Administration, I can promise you, every such negotiation would carry as steep a price as possible for the cause of freedom. The destruction of the Berlin Wall would be one price tag I would set on such negotiations. Others, too, should be obvious.

In taking this approach, I am not, as any reasonable and fair person should know, looking for a fight with Communism. The notion that any American now involved in our campaign would deliberately set out to start a war is one which flies fully in the face of reason.

Was Churchill advocating war with Germany when he urged British preparedness in the thirties? Of course not. He was suggesting a way and, as it turned out, the only possible way to avoid war.

My position here, and the issue here, is quite clear to most Americans--or it was until so much static developed.

I advocate and, if elected, promise that this nation will continue to develop new weapons and maintain a flexible, practicable military force--so that the Soviet Union always will know that it cannot safely risk pushing us to the brink of war. If Hitler had known this, I am convinced that we never would have had the Second World War.

My charge, against this Administration--and it is one which you gentlemen have only scratched--is that it deliberately is permitting our development of new weapons to lag, that it is phasing out 90% of our nuclear delivery capability, and that it is straitjacketing our deterrent forces and our NATO allies.

I have read very few papers that have expressed full satisfaction with Secretary McNamara's replies to these charges.

This remains an issue. And you gentlemen remain virtually the only vehicle of running it down fully and finally.

The question of nuclear controls is another issue in which you have a deep responsibility. This Administration has attempted to create a fear complex out of it. This Administration has attempted to make an

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ugly and violent issue out of it, charging me with virtual madness in suggesting that there badly needs to be a clearly understood delegation of authority in this field.

Such a delegation, among other things, is needed to assure that NATO is not stranded, without nuclear authority, because of putting the control solely and absolutely in the very mortal hands of one man, the President.

This fraudulent attack has now become publicly exposed. We now know, publicly, that there are arrangements under which the power to use nuclear weapons is delegated. We now know publicly that this has been the case for years. We now know publicly, exactly what I was trying to force this Administration to Admit and to face, that there must continue to be a delegation of nuclear authority to our Supreme Commander in NATO.

I was warned, and am still warned, that making this an issue was virtual political suicide. Not making it an issue, not getting it out in the open where friend and foe alike can understand it, however, might be part of an act of national suicide--and that concerns me far more deeply.

And the voters of the nation should be concerned by the spectacle of a president who, as Lyndon Johnson did, would deliberately misstate the facts, regarding the awesome question of nuclear responsibility, just to score a political opponent.

Although it may seem an unlikely jump, I would like to mention the matter of civil rights at this point also. When I voted against the current Bill, because of the Employment and Public Accommodations sections, I also was advised that I was committing political suicide.

I suggest that the issue here is whether the people of this nation, white and Negro alike, want a man as president who will approach Civil Rights on the basis of his own conscience or whether we will continue to see Civil Rights treated as a brutal weapon of political power.

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The final issue, which also is a real issue, on which this campaign should be decided and evaluated is the broad question of law and order. I have stressed, in this issue, the personal example of the President. This is not, to my mind, a matter of mere personality, however.

I do not, and many other Americans cannot, see how an effective force for law and order can be forthcoming from the White House when it is a common assumption the length and breadth of the land that the White House itself is involved with questionable activities.

This is an issue of infinite detail, as you know. I'd like to mention only one here and now because it is an instance in which you gentlemen could apply extraordinarily effective pressure.

This Administration has been derelict for a year in not demanding, through the President's Attorney General, a grand jury investigation of the prima facie evidence of illegal acts by Bobby Baker. Only a Grand Jury can compel the testimony needed to arrive at the truth.

There is no excuse of which I am aware for delaying such a Grand Jury action. So long as it is delayed, the widespread uneasiness about regard for law and order in the White House itself will remain a very active and, to my mind, very unfortunate issue of this campaign.

Let me sum up all this. The great choice between honest Conservatism and the sort of pseudo liberalism that has come to be marked by Federal controls and bureaucracy is very much with us no matter the shortsightedness of a few who look but will not see.

I won my party's nomination as a Conservative. I won it because millions of my fellow Republicans believe that an honest choice will find most Americans going Conservative this year.

I won my party's nomination because I do, frankly, take a tough line when it comes to keeping Communism from gobbling up our world or threatening the peace.

(more)

I won my party's nomination because millions of my fellow Republicans believed I had the experience, the conviction, and the ability for national leadership. The issues that won the nomination for me are the same issues we are taking to the people today.

They are the same issues on which I expect to win on November 3.

[Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

ANNOUNCER: Good evening, my fellow Americans. It's sure good to be with you again. But let's not waste any time, let's see what these questions are going to be tonight.

ANNOUNCER: Robert Clark, a member of Teamsters Local 8199, has driven from one end of the country to the other many times. He is 37 years old and the father of two children, a boy of ten and a girl of eleven.

CLARK: I've been paying income taxes for an awful long time and it's getting harder and harder to put meat and potatoes on the table. What is Harry Goldwater's tax reduction going to do and how is it going to help me to take care of my family? Is this tax reduction going to help me take care of my family?

From: REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. (Ph: NA 8-6800)

"AMERICA ASKS SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER."

(Transcript of nationwide NBC TV and Radio Program, 9:30-10 p.m., Oct. 6)

ANNOUNCER: The program normally broadcast at this time will not be seen. The following, pre-recorded political program is sponsored by the Republican Campaign Committee. Senator Barry Goldwater has been actively campaigning for the past few weeks and everywhere the crowds have been enormous. Well over 50,000 people filled the Chavez Ravine in Los Angeles, fantastic turn-outs were the rule in Seattle, Detroit, Atlanta, everywhere; and during the past week it seemed as if the State of Ohio wanted to adopt Barry as a native son. All records were broken in Cincinnati's famed Cincinnati Gardens; in Columbus 60,000 men, women and children shouted themselves hoarse. Of course, in every city the Senator has talked with literally hundreds of people on a person-to-person basis and he's answered countless questions. What kind of questions? Well, tonight let's watch and listen as "America asks Senator Barry Goldwater." The Senator is in the NEC studios in Washington, D. C., together with him, we will watch the large screen.

GOLDWATER: Good evening, my fellow Americans. It's sure good to be with you again, but let's not waste any time. Let's see what these questions are going to be tonight.

ANNOUNCER: Robert Clark, a member of Teamsters local #399, has driven from one end of the country to the other many times. He is 37 years old and the father of two children, a boy of ten and a girl of eleven.

CLARK: I've been paying income taxes for an awful long time and it's getting harder and harder to put meat and potatoes on the table. What is Barry Goldwater's tax reduction going to do and how is it going to help me to take more money home in my check. Is this tax reduction going to help me bring home a bigger check?

GOLDWATER: Well, Mr. Clark, I'd be very glad to explain that to you. Yes, you'll take home a bigger check and you'll take it home in better dollars if we can accomplish this, because the budget must be balanced before we can make this tax cut effective. Mind you, it's a five percent a year tax reduction for five years which should mean in the end 25 percent. And, by applying this it would also require the Federal Government to live within its income, something that it hasn't done for many, many years. When we live within our income, the dollar has stability; when we live outside our income, the dollar has instability. That's why I say, Mr. Clark, that the paycheck you get will be worth more to you and at the same time your government will be able to operate efficiently within its balanced budget.

So the tax cut that we have proposed is a sound one; there's no gimmickry to it, it's not something that's proposed to get your vote, it's proposed to get America along the road and to help everybody in it. And now, let's take a look at the next question.

ANNOUNCER: Born in Webb City, Missouri, but claiming Tulsa, Oklahoma as her home town, Helen Boatwright, an executive secretary, has a question for us. Miss Boatwright's father was an iron worker and moved to Tulsa where she attended high school and business college.

BOATWRIGHT: I have a question for Senator Goldwater. I have been reading in the papers that Red China and the Russian Communists seem to be constantly in disagreement. Do you think we should start dealing with Red China and what is your attitude toward Red China?

GOLDWATER: Well, Miss Boatwright, don't be fooled by this seeming rift between the Chinese Communists and the Russian Communists. Just keep this in mind: No matter who wins that fight, we're still finding Communists as our enemy in this world. So don't be encouraged by it as many Americans falsely

are. Communism is our enemy and we have to be prepared to meet it whether it's from Red China or from Russia.

Now, I don't propose that we deal with Red China; I think it would be a mistake to deal with any out-and-out Communist nation because we find generally that their economic systems are weak and every time we help them, like the wheat deal with Russia, we are helping them out of a dilemma instead of making them face up to the fact that they are weak and they're weak only because they are enslaved. Free people are not weak, free people can develop their economies but in these two countries the economic systems are not developing at a pace that will keep up with the rest of the world.

So, my attitude frankly, Miss Boatwright, is not to have economic dealings with Red China or with Russia. I would instead continue to recognize them for what they are; the enemy of free men around this world and treat them as enemies.

ANNOUNCER: C. W. Manville is a dairy man, milk producer and distributor who is more concerned with the appearance of his cows than his own. His dairy, utilizing the latest in modern milking equipment, enables one man to milk up to 180 cows a day. Mr. Manville expressed extreme concern about another area as well.

MANVILLE: Senator, I'm really concerned about Cuba. Apparently we've lost the Monroe Doctrine by default; we have a Communist base in our back yard; military supplies can be supplied easily to any South American country. What is your policy? Do you think that we can free Cuba without a major war?

GOLDWATER: Yes, Mr. Manville, I do, and I've thought so for a long, long time. I thought, for example, that the action that President Kennedy took several years ago was the right action, only he didn't go far enough with it. Now, just briefly, I think we should work in complete harmony and concert

with the Organization Of American States in anything that we do about Cuba. I believe, for example, that a blockade, must be employed there and I don't think this would necessarily be an act of war, although some might disagree. If we deny her the means of continuing production, if we deny her the necessities of her industrial life, I don't think it would be too very long before we could come to terms with her.

I would go further, I will allow a government in exile to be formed by the Cubans who are living in this country and elsewhere, recognize that government, and then help them in any way that we can. This would mean, for example, training those Cubans and others who would like to go in and help restore their free government. It would mean supplying them. It would mean air-lift, air drops, and possibly sea-lift; but it need not employ our own men, our own boys, our own services. This, of course, would be used only in the case that we were unable to get Communism out of that country by other means. I have thought all along that we've been too slow, we've been too weak, we have had no purpose so far as Cuba goes and it's disturbing to me for us to be so actively concerned about Communism in South Viet Nam when 90 miles off of our shores, we find a Communist country, of no military danger to us mind you, but of great danger to all of the Latin countries because, from Cuba, these other countries can be infiltrated. And, of course, we can be infiltrated too, but the danger lies in the other countries of our hemisphere, being infiltrated by Communists and their governments disturbed. I believe very firmly that working with Cubans, exiled Cubans, and working with the Organization Of American States, that we can bring about, once again, the freedom in this great land to the south of us, and cut a cancer, so to speak, out of the very belly of this hemisphere.

ANNOUNCER: Donna Simmard is a 32 year old housewife whose hobby is oil painting. She is the mother of four and her husband is music editor at a major motion picture studio. Mrs. Simmard drives what she frightfully calls a vintage wreck of a Cadillac, which bears the battle scars of her growing family.

MRS. SIMMARD: Senator Goldwater, I'm a housewife and the mother of four. The future of my family deeply concerns me. Do you feel that if we take a stronger stand on Communism to maintain our freedom that a full-scale war is inevitable.

GOLDWATER: Well, Mrs. Simmard, to the contrary, I think that if we are weak towards Communism that we are inviting another war, and I've felt for some time and have said so that we have not adopted, or we are not following, the correct posture towards Communism. Now, I don't mean that we go out as the big bully and wave the big stick, but I want to see us maintain our moral, our spiritual, our economic, our psychological strength in this country, and, yes, maintain our military strength. This is the one thing that Communists understand. I merely have to call your attention to the eight years under President Eisenhower when we had peace in this world by the proper use of our power. Oh, you recall the Formosan Straits when we actually sent our airplanes and ships over there and the Communists knew that if they forced us enough, we would use them so there was peace.

I remember Lebanon, and I'm sure you do too, when we sent the Marines over there with the fleet and what could have been a bad situation was avoided. We've gotten into three wars in this century and we're in a little one now in South Viet Nam, only because this nation was weak at the time. I have never believed that Hitler would have started World War II had the

United States been strong during the thirties. And you recall, after World War II we said let's get the boys home by Christmas and we did and we destroyed a great military machine and then we said that Korea was outside the perimeter of our interest and in went the Communists. No, Mrs. Simmard, when we try to accommodate our enemy, when we try to do what they want us to do, if we do this long enough, coupled with weakening our military, which I charge we are doing now even though right now we're the strongest military nation in the world, but I'm looking forward to the 70's, if we do these things, the day will come when our enemy, the Communists, and they're the only enemy of peace in the world today, will feel superior to us and then they will attack. So, I believe very firmly that the way to preserve peace in this world is for the United States to remain strong in all the facets that I have listed.

ANNOUNCER: Delbert McKeon, a retired supervisor for the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, has 12 great grandchildren and a ten year old daughter who is the aunt of his 18 grandchildren. He retired in 1953.

MCKEON: Senator Goldwater, I am 76 years old. My wife and I live on Social Security. I have heard that you are against Social Security; I was just wondering how you stand on the question?

GOLDWATER: I believe, in the Social Security system and I want to make it stronger. Now, what is the way that the President can do this? The President can see to it that the budgets are balanced in peace time and in times of good business to the end that the value of the dollar remains stable. I don't think it does you much good to put a dollar in during your working days, or your working years, and then begin to receive a devalued dollar when you retire. This is one of the reasons, for example, that occasionally we have to increase the

benefits that go to the recipients of Social Security. We haven't done this since 1958 and the cost of living, which is the inflation scale, sort of turned over, has gone up about 8 percent.

Now, this year we tried to raise the amount going to the recipients of Social Security, but President Johnson stopped that, in fact, stopped all the improvements in the Social Security bill when he caused the conference on this matter to disband and give up for this year. I would do my best as your President to see to it that the dollar you put in is worth something like the dollar you take out. And to recommend to the Congress, when I felt that changes were needed, that would be of benefit to the recipients and those putting money in, to do that and not wait.

Mr. McKeon, I was very glad to have you ask that question, because people are concerned about Social Security, but I think they ought to recognize their real enemy -- it's not Goldwater, it's Johnson, who has stopped any new benefits coming to you people and any increases coming to you, at least for another year -- and he's done it only for political reasons. I don't believe Social Security belongs in the realm of politics; I think when you get to dealing with people's lives, with people's savings, with what people have worked for and looked forward to all their lives, that politics should go out the window and we should proceed with what is best for you. Let's look at that next question now.

ANNOUNCER: Bob Collins, a graduate of Tennessee State University, is a narcotics specialist for the Department of Correction in a Western city. He is 31 years old and his weekends are spent on the golf course.

COLLINS: I have several questions regarding the forthcoming Presidential election, one of them I feel is very important to me. Now, I have read that we have made extremely

large cash contributions to the underdeveloped foreign countries. Now, Senator Goldwater, do you feel that we should have an administrator to assist these countries in utilizing their monies to their best interests?

GOLDWATER: Yes, Mr. Collins, in many instances I do, but mind you, we are now giving money to countries that have no governments to speak of or are just forming governments. We're giving money to countries with changing governments. I think in these instances it would be very wise for us to have more say as to how this money is spent. I don't like to see our foreign aid money winding up in the hands of just a few; I think it should be distributed if we're going to do it, amongst all the people for the benefit of all the people.

But, Mr. Collins, I don't think that we can buy the friendship of a foreign country any more than I can buy your friendship or you can buy mine. I like other programs. For example, well, the Youth Corps and technical assistance, particularly these two, go hand in hand. We, in effect, show these people in other countries how we do things with our hands. I've always felt that if I could do something with my hands that made my life better, and if I could pass that on to you or to anyone else, you would be my friend. But, we can't accomplish this friendship by purchasing it. And there's much to be done in these countries. I've watched graduates of my University, the University of Arizona, working on the Delta of the Nile with Egyptians to show them how to reclaim land. I've watched college graduates and laboring people in Israel teaching those people how to make concrete pipe so they can put water on their deserts and make their deserts fruitful as we in the West have done with our own deserts. I think that there are many things that we can do in the so-called area of foreign aid, but when we get into foreign economic aid, if this has to be and I have strong reservations on it, then I would suggest that some of our allies who are certainly not

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poor anymore and certainly look to us with some degree of thanks for having helped them after the war, that they help us with these monies. It might become a multi-lateral fund, so to speak, out of which we could lend money to these countries and expect to have it paid back.

But all of it, Mr. Collins, should certainly be supervised, so that we make sure the money is going where it will do the most good, not into the pockets of a few -- those who comprise the ruling class of that particular country. That's a very good question you asked, Mr. Collins, I'm glad you brought it up; I was hoping someone would bring it up along the way, because it's a subject that's very close to the hearts of all American people. Now, let's take a look at that next one.

ANNOUNCER: Dominick Contursi, an ex-policeman, 35 years of age, has been working for the past three years as a studio mechanic and electrician. Mr. Contursi is married and has two children.

CONTURSI: I've been interested in politics because since I was a little baby, my dad was always in politics, and many times I've seen tons of coal brought in front of the house and the poor people would come there with their little baskets picking up coal and the women and the men coming in the house -- there'd be 500-600 pair of shoes that he had gotten for the poor people. I was sort of interested in this poverty problem. And, I was wondering, Senator Goldwater, if you are elected President, how would you go about solving this poverty problem.

GOLDWATER: Well, Mr. Contursi, you're a very lucky fellow as I've been. Your father was a politician, and my uncle, who practically raised me, was a Democrat politician in the territory and State of Arizona, and I grew up, as you

were privileged to grow up, having a little better understanding of politics and how politics works. Now, Mr. Contursi, politics will not solve the problems of the poor. This "War On Poverty," that the President has initiated is merely a slogan. And, we in America have been fighting poverty ever since the country began and we've been fairly successful in this war, if we compare this country to other countries.

This doesn't mean that we're happy about the situation today. It doesn't mean for one moment that we're going to be complacent about it. I think the place to start this is in industry, and, of course, in the schools. Many of these people who unfortunately fall in this class, have not had the advantage of education. I think that we can certainly see to it that they are provided education if they want it and this is the first requisite -- they have to have the drive. I believe the initiative and ambition that we find in almost every American is the source of the answer to this problem. Let American industry expand, let's not hamper American industry with high taxes, with government regulations, with laws, with rules, with the prying eyes of bureaucrats; let our industry go, so to speak, so that they can provide the jobs.

Now, we have to provide about two and a half million jobs a year in order to take care of the growing labor force, and we should be doing this, but government action cannot do it. We've been at this, through the government now for over 30 years and we still have an unemployment problem and unless we do something about it through the private enterprise system, I suggest that we're going to continue to have this problem.

So the answer is just in creating more jobs by making it more enticing, if you want to use that word, for people to invest the largest amount of savings we've ever had in this country's history; invested in new factories, new tools, new

stores, new warehouses, so that this in itself can create more jobs, more jobs create more income, more income creates more demand, and we just go round and round that wonderful circle that we've always been in that has made this country the possessor of the greatest material wealth in the world. We will always be concerned about those in our population who live in a lesser way than others, and we will never find a government so callous as to disregard this but you will not find a government under my Presidency whose going to prey upon the poor by saying something like "War On Poverty," when the war has to be fought from the free enterprise system and from the hearts of the American people.

And there, my fellow Americans you have my views on some of the questions that I find of special concern to many of you, wherever I go in every part of this country. Now, you have every right to put these questions to candidates for the nation's highest office and, believe me, you have every right to expect answers. You should get straight answers, honest answers, and answers now before November 3rd. These are the issues, of war and peace, of progress and freedom, that cannot be shoved under the rug until after the election is over. And, anyone who tries do do this is simply failing in his responsibility to you, and to the office of the Presidency.

I charge my opponent with exactly that failure. His refusal to debate me before a nationwide audience is simply another instance of the same failure. And I say that this failure can only be explained in one of two ways; through fear of facing up to these issues or through contempt for the good sense of the American people, and for their right to know where candidates for offices of public trust really stand.

Now, in the few minutes remaining to us this evening, I want to say something else to you without the possibility of distortion, without any filter between us. I want to tell you

exactly what you can expect of a Goldwater-Miller Administration on all these issues that concern you so deeply. This is what I pledge to you. I pledge an Administration that knows there is one threat and one threat only to peace in the world, and that is Communism. I pledge an Administration dedicated to keeping the peace, an Administration that knows there is one sure road to war and that is the road of weakness. I pledge an Administration that will keep this nation strong and prepared because we know that only the strong can remain free and for the same reason, we will rebuild the great alliances that are the shield of free world security. I pledge an Administration that will never fail to stand up to the threat of Communism, that will counter their promise to bury us with a promise of our own: You will live in freedom. I pledge an Administration that knows the sources of America's greatness, the ideals, the convictions, the hopes and dreams of a free people and will cherish this priceless heritage. I pledge an Administration that knows the secret of this nation's economic miracle, that will encourage individual initiative and reward individual enterprise. I pledge an Administration that knows the inner meaning of this Republic: Free men and women living their own lives, running their own lives, within the order of our Federal Constitution.

I pledge an Administration with public servants who hold sacred their public trust. We pledge, Bill Miller and I, an Administration that will restore to America a sense of greatness and to the American people, true pride in their nation and its traditional institutions. During our Administration, the White House must and shall be once more a symbol of the ideals that all Americans share so that, with God's blessing, we shall achieve the American dream. And all these, my fellow Americans, are not just political promises in the heat of a

political campaign; they are pledges of the heart and now, until this Friday evening, when we can visit again through the medium of television, thank you and good night.

MASSEY: I'm Raymond Massey. I'm quite convinced that Barry Goldwater has the kind of honest dedication this nation needs right now. Programs like the one you just saw are helping to spread the word among families who want to know what Barry Goldwater stands for. Now you must know that these programs cost money, a lot of money. If you agree with me that the Goldwater story needs to be told, put your money where your heart is -- send a check to T. V. for Goldwater-Miller, Box 80, Los Angeles 51, California. Send what you can, no contribution is too small. Sit down and write a check to T.V. for Goldwater-Miller. Mail it to Box 80, Los Angeles 51, California. Support the Goldwater crusade. In Your Heart, You Know He's Right. Thank you.

(Jingle)

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1625 EMB STREET, NORTHWEST WASHINGTON, D. C. NA 167018-6800

NEWS

FOR RELEASE

Oct 9 L.A. message

AMS THURSDAY
FOR RELEASE 6:30 P.M., WEDNESDAY
October 7, 1964

CAMPAIGN SPEECH BY SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

OF THE U.S., AT NEWARK, N.J., WEDNESDAY, OCT. 7, 1964

The theme of our campaign is clear:

- Peace through strength.
- Progress through freedom.
- Purpose through Constitutional order.

We don't mean the sleepwalker peace of this Administration.

We don't mean reliance on unproven theories that the enemy will mellow.

We see the enemy for what it is, not for what we wish it were. And we know that Communism -- in Cuba, in Berlin, in Vietnam, in the Congo, in Malaysia, wherever it is at work -- is the only real threat to the peace of the world today.

Peace is for those who are strong enough to keep it. If we have the strength of arms and will to keep the peace, Communism's wrong idea can be exposed, its internal contradictions can be exploited, and eventually its tyranny can be ended.

I've been in war. I have sons and daughters whom I do not want touched by war -- or by slavery! That's why I want a strong America -- to stop the war that is looming on the horizon of this Administration's namby-pamby, defeatist, and confused foreign policy.

We want strength at home, in our economy, and we want it through freedom. Our free enterprise system has brought us the greatest riches of any people on earth. It can continue to do it if we

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take the government shackles off. It can do it if we place our main reliance on individuals, on hard work, on creativity, investment, and incentive.

This Administration talks of a phony war on poverty -- but it has made a truce with unemployment. It chooses the path of expanded Federal programs and jobs -- and you pay the bills for both.

We choose the way of real jobs and real wages in private enterprise!

Perhaps even closer to our hearts is what we mean when we speak of Purpose Through Constitutional Order.

Leaders of the present Administration say that government is master of, not servant of the people.

We say that November 3 can be the day you get your country back!

You want, and we pledge, an Administration that will restore balance to our government -- to protect and restore our freedoms.

You don't want a Supreme Court that is encouraged to pass laws, rather than interpret them and pass on their constitutionality. And neither do Bill Miller and I. When vacancies occur--as they may during the next Administration -- we want men appointed to the Court who will support the Constitution, not scoff at it!

You don't want an Executive who tries to turn the Congress into a rubber stamp, with a handle where their conscience should be. And neither do Bill Miller and I!

We want humility and honesty of service in the White House-- not arrogance and personal power.

We want lights turned on in the White House. Lights of honesty, lights of leadership.

We want the brightness of examples that will inspire law and order in this land, not the darkness that encourages crime, violence, and the creed of the fast buck.

In the last 3 or 4 years we have seen just about every crime record on the books broken and rebroken -- juvenile delinquency, assault, hoodlumism, theft, murder, dope addition.

And not only crimes as such, but divorce, school drop-outs, mobs in the streets, and many other symptoms of a sickness in our society.

Now, what does this have to do with a political campaign -- particularly, a Presidential election?

Is the Administration at fault when a pocket gets picked?

Is it the President's responsibility when a hoodlum breaks a window in a candy store?

Well, let's think about it.

People tend to look upward for guidance, and so leadership and inspiration naturally radiate downward -- and so does corruption.

People look up to their clergy and their churches and they expect to find righteousness.

People look up to their generals and their armies and they expect to find bravery and dedication.

They look up to their President and their Government and they expect to find integrity, honesty, indestructable moral fiber.

Seeing greed and murder, at the highest level, in too many alien Governments, it becomes all the more important to Americans to see in their own the clear and constant evidence of morality.

Instead they see men who get rich in office. They see one scandal after another swept under the rug. They see the very machinery of their own government put in high gear to suppress the information.

If it can happen in the highest offices of our Federal Government and if the people come, philosophically, to accept it with a shrug -- then why not in state governments, in county administrations, in our cities and towns.

And if our officials can get away with crooked deals and shady practices, why not our private citizens? Why not our children?

It's not enough that this example is reflected downward. It is as if it must be projected downward -- almost as if there were a will to promote such practices.

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Listen to Mr. Katzenbach, who has taken the place of Lyndon's reject as Acting Attorney General. He says, "The most dangerous thing about organized crime is the extent to which it corrupts local government and police officials."

And, "of course," he says, "your kids think the cop isn't honest, think the City Council is on the take..."

There's encouragement for honest policemen, for you! There's a good excuse for a record crime wave in this Administration! Blame it on crime itself -- with the help of corrupt officials.

Blame it on the little guy. The City Councilman, the Police Chief.

Just call the officer on the beat dishonest -- but carefully and quietly and lengthly and expensively investigate to see if there's really any evidence against Bobby Baker! And by all means -- drag it out until the election is over!

And whatever you do, don't mention Billy Sol Estes. And forget about Matt McClosky! Or have you already forgotten about them!

Does this make any sense to you at all?

When corruption is discovered in high councils, why can't your President just say so -- just tell us it's being dug out and destroyed.

What kind of private club has this Administration been running? Whose Government is it, anyway? It used to belong to the people.

How, you will rightly ask, will Bill Miller and I restore domestic tranquility to this land? Well, let me tell you how we will do it.

And First, by example at the top.

But example alone is not enough. The President must use the power and influence of his office to strike at the roots of the breakdown in law enforcement.

Now, my opponent in this election would not understand what this means. To him, the way to solve a problem is to appropriate a few hundred million dollars of taxpayers' money, and see if the problem will

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disappear along with the money. If that doesn't happen the next thing to do is to create a new bureaucracy in the White House to meddle in the affairs of others.

And while he meddles, the nation's capital is being consumed by crime.

Here is a Federal responsibility -- the domestic tranquility of the District of Columbia. What, you might ask, has my opponent done to fulfill his grave responsibility toward law and order in our Capital City?

We have heard of and seen many wars in the time of the present Administration. But have we yet heard of the only needed war -- the war against crime? No, not even in the city whose rule lies in the hands of the federal government.

This I can pledge to you -- that I will launch that attack. We will first of all use our power and influence to see that law enforcement officers, on the state and local level, get back the power they need to carry out their job.

Let me make this crystal clear: enforcement of the law is a state and local responsibility. There is no room in this country for a federal police force. And there is no need for one.

But there is urgent need to return to state and local authorities the traditional powers to apprehend and punish criminals, powers that have only recently been taken away from those authorities by federal courts -- particularly the Supreme Court.

I know you will agree with me that something needs to be done. And let me suggest three things that can be done.

First, in making appointments to the federal judiciary, the President must consider the need to redress constitutional interpretation in favor of the freedom and rights of the law abiding citizen. He must appoint men fully qualified to carry out their judicial duties and to respect the Constitution. Ask yourselves whether my opponent would appoint

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such men. Remember that the recent decisions open to criticism have been made by a closely divided Supreme Court.

Second, if the Court's decisions should remain unaltered, the President can urge amendment of the Constitution. Such amendment should give back to the states those powers absolutely necessary for fair and efficient administration of criminal law. It should safeguard rights of criminal defendants, while giving the states power to enforce law and order.

Third, the President should urge Congress to consider changing some of the rules of judicial procedure in the federal courts. Congress clearly has this power under the Constitution.

These three proposals are constructive steps in the direction of sounder law enforcement. But they can be advanced only by the right leadership.

And, above all, that leadership must show...clearly and constantly, the morality...the honesty...which our people have every right to expect.

Doesn't your heart cry for a little common, ordinary honesty-- a little simple straight-forwardness?

Aren't you getting sick to death of carefully prepared and ambiguous statements?

Can't that man talk to you as human beings?

My friends, example begins at the top. And a Government that is to hurl stones at corruption must be without sin.

I can never lay any claim to being above human error. But I make you one flat and unrestricted promise, here and now:

When I go to the White House -- from the day I first walk in until the day I last walk out -- I'll be honest with you.

NEWS



FOR RELEASE

AM's SATURDAY
October 10, 1964

"THE REAL JOB OF THE PRESIDENCY"

SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AND FORMER VICE PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON, ABC-TV NETWORK, 9:30 - 10:00 P.M., EDT, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1964.

ANNOUNCER: Ladies and gentlemen, the former Vice President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon.

MR. NIXON: Good Evening. My fellow Americans tonight, in just a few moments, I will have the great honor of presenting to you as I did at the Republican Convention in San Francisco, the next President of the United States, Barry Goldwater. But, before introducing him, I would like to tell you about a very exciting development in this campaign. You've been reading about polls and commentators and columnists and others who are predicting that Barry Goldwater is going to lose on November the third. Let me tell you what I have found. I started on October first on a long journey; it will take me from Maine to California and I will speak in 36 states, make over 150 speeches for the Goldwater-Miller ticket. I've been in 7 states already -- in New England, in New York, and in the Midwest. And everywhere I've been, beginning about October first, there's been an up-turn, an up-turn particularly significant among workers, people that are thinking about these issues, people that are going to produce the greatest army of volunteer workers in America's political history on November the third. I was in Cook County, just Wednesday night this week -- you remember Cook County in 1960. I recall it pretty well. You know Lyndon Johnson's definition of an extremist is a Mayor Daley Democrat in Cook County who only votes once.

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Well, what happened in 1960 isn't going to happen in 1964. You know what I found? In 1960 there were 1,500 precincts in which there was no Republican poll watcher.

This year, on Wednesday of this week, I attended a meeting where over 4,000 precinct workers were present in Cook County. And every one of those 1,500 precincts and all the rest are going to be covered. It was the most enthusiastic political meeting I have ever attended. And that is just an example of what is happening all over America.

Now, why this tide? Why this enthusiasm? Enthusiasm among people at the grass roots, despite what the columnists and the commentators and the polls say America is supposed to be doing on November the third. I'll tell you why I think it is:

People are beginning to listen. They're beginning to look at the candidates on television, they're beginning to think, and, most important, they're beginning to learn the truth. The truth for example, about Barry Goldwater.

It's pretty hard to get past some of the distortions that have been built up about this man. And, particularly one I want to touch upon before he himself talks to you tonight.

You've heard him described as reckless, as trigger-happy, as somebody who wants to start an atomic war. You know how that began? It began because Barry Goldwater advocated that, in case of a communications breakdown, our NATO Commander in Europe would be able to respond to a massive Communist attack with nuclear, atomic, battle-field weapons.

Now, why did Barry Goldwater make this proposal, which incidentally was not new. Well, the reason he did goes back to the Eisenhower Administration. I was there when this decision was made.

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Let's look at the picture. In Europe there are 26 NATO divisions including 6 American divisions -- they face over 100 Communist divisions. Now, it stands to reason that in the event of a Communist attack, we would be at a terrible numerical disadvantage.

The only reason that we've been able to keep the peace in Europe without surrender is because the Communists know that our NATO forces are equipped with nuclear atomic weapons for battlefield use with which they can respond to an attack if the Communists make such an attack.

President Eisenhower, however, realized that there could be a communications breakdown in which he, the President, would be unable to give the order to the NATO Commander to use atomic weapons.

Now let's get the picture clear. Senator Goldwater believes, as does Lyndon Johnson, that the president of the United States should have the responsibility for ordering the use of atomic weapons, but, on the other hand, what we're talking about here is the President being able to communicate the order and President Eisenhower knew full well that a President could be sick, he could have a heart attack, he could have a stroke; he knew also that there could be a communications breakdown, and that is why he set up a procedure whereby, in case of a communications breakdown, and in case of an atomic attack, or a Communist attack of any type in Europe on a massive basis against our troupes, that they would be able to respond with atomic weapons by orders of the NATO Commander.

This procedure was carried on by President Kennedy and yet when Senator Goldwater advocated reaffirming this procedure which President Eisenhower had set up, President Johnson attacks Senator Goldwater as being a war-monger, as being trigger-happy.

(more)

Now, let's look at the facts exactly as they are. Who is reckless? Who is irresponsible? Not Senator Goldwater - he's advocating a procedure that will protect the lives of two hundred and fifty thousand American boys stationed in Europe and give them the ability to answer an attack on an equal basis.

President Johnson is the one that has raised the doubt now, a doubt as to whether he has abolished the Eisenhower procedure and I say he owes it to the American people to apologize to Senator Goldwater for charging that Senator Goldwater was reckless, and a war-monger. And he also owes it to those 250,000 American fighting men in Europe to say whether he, President Johnson, has discontinued the Eisenhower procedure which would take place in the event of a communications breakdown and in the event that there was a Communist attack which had to be met. This is just one issue, an issue in which Senator Goldwater has been painted as reckless, a war-monger, a man who shouldn't be President of the United States for that reason.

But he can speak for himself. You've heard the charges that have been made, about the fact that he's impulsive, that he's a demagogue, that he's reckless. But you make up your own mind. Now you're going to see him, you're going to hear him.

Evaluate him; this is a man who will be President of the United States if you support him and I say to you I'm sure that when you finish listening to him, you will say: here's a reasonable man, here's a calm man, here is a patriotic man. Above all, here is a great American who will make a great President. I present to you, my fellow Americans, Barry Goldwater.

(more)

say that we have just heard one of the most honest, forthright statements by a candidate for President of the United States ever made. I would like to add one final note.

The job of the Presidency is something that I know something about, because I saw President Eisenhower for eight years exercise great power. I've seen him make decisions that made the difference between war and peace and decisions that affected the lives and fortunes of individual Americans by the millions. With all the power that a President has the most important thing to bear in mind is this: you must not give that power to a man unless, above everything else, he has character, character is the most important qualification that a President of the United States can have.

And on that score, a cloud hangs over the White House tonight, it hangs over the White House because the present President of the United States has refused to disassociate himself from political hanky-panky, from corruption, in his official family, in the Bobby Baker Case. He should and he can remove that cloud but he hasn't done it yet. I say the American people are going to vote on November third for a man of character, an honest man, of great principle. They're going to vote for Barry Goldwater.

MASSEY: I'm Raymond Massey. I'm quite convinced that Barry Goldwater has the kind of honest dedication this nation needs right now. Programs like the one you just saw are helping to spread the word among families who want to know what Barry Goldwater stands for.

Now you must know that these programs cost money - a lot of money. If you agree with me that the Goldwater story needs to be told, put your money where your heart is. Send a check to TV for Goldwater-Miller, Box 80, Los Angeles 51, California. Send what you can. No contribution is too small. Sit down and write a check to TV for Goldwater-Miller. Mail it to Box 80, Los Angeles 51, California. Support the Goldwater crusade.

In your heart you know he's right.

Thank you.

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NEWS

AUTOMATIC RELEASE FOR RELEASE
AT 6:30 P.M. SATURDAY
October 10, 1964

CAMPAIGN SPEECH AT THE TABERNACLE, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, OCTOBER 10, 1964

BY SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

"There is a stir in the land. There is a mood of uneasiness. We feel adrift in an uncharted and stormy sea. We feel we have lost our way."

These are words I used in launching my campaign for the Presidency of the United States. They are words of great sorrow, for nothing is more tragic than to speak of drift and decay in your native land.

Why do we see wave after wave of crime in our streets and in our homes? Why do we see riot and disorder in our cities? A breakdown of the morals of our young people? An alarming rise in juvenile delinquency? A flood of obscene literature? Corruption around our highest offices? Erosion of the honor and dignity of our nation and of the individuals who compose it?

You and I know the tragic answer to these questions. The moral fiber of the American people is beset by rot and decay. And the most tragic thing of all is that this decay has made its most virulent attack on our young people.

Just listen to what J. Edgar Hoover, a faithful and impartial servant of the people, had to say about the recent wave of rioting:

"While adult troublemakers often incited the riots, the mob violence was dominated by the acts of youths ranging in age up to the middle twenties. They were variously characterized by responsible people as 'school dropouts,' 'young punks,' 'common hoodlums,' and 'drunken kids.'

"Rioting by these young people reflects an increasing breakdown across the nation in respect for the law and the rights of other people to be secure in their person and their property."

(more)

In the same report, Mr. Hoover points out that juvenile arrests for serious crimes have been rising three times as fast as the juvenile population.

Now, just stop and think with me a moment about what a serious thing is happening in this land of ours.

You and I know that the elders of every generation always shake their heads and wonder what is becoming of the younger generation. Our parents surely did -- and not always without reason.

Is that all there is to it now? Are we just watching the normal pranks and rebellion of youth coming of age?

Well, that is the easy answer to give. It is the comforting answer, and some Americans may be reassuring themselves tonight by saying it.

But deep down, in the depth of our hearts, you and I know that is not the answer. We know something much more fundamental is at work. Something basic and dangerous is eating away at the morality, dignity, and respect of our citizens -- old as well as young, high as well as low.

And that brings me to the question I want you to ponder tonight along with me.

My fellow Americans, is this the time in our nation's history for our Federal Government to ban Almighty God from our school rooms?

For almost nine score years in the life of our country, children regularly said prayers in the public schools of States permitting it. Nobody in authority said it was against the Constitution to open or close the school day with a prayer that children of all faiths could join in offering if they wished to. Nobody said it was unconstitutional for a child to say grace for his fellow pupils before a meal.

Yet two years ago the Supreme Court struck down this tradition long honored in practice. The Justices ruled that it was contrary to the First Amendment of the Constitution. And, mind you, the session in which this ruling was handed down was opened, as all sessions are, by the bailiff's invocation. "God save the United States and this Honorable Court."

Millions of Americans have since expressed disapproval of this Federal banning of worship in public schools. Several proposed Amendments to the Constitution permitting prayers in schools, have been drafted.

(more)

I do not wish to discuss the merits of the various draft Amendments. My purpose tonight is much broader. I want instead to examine with you the basic issue of worship in our public schools.

Ours is both a religious and a free people. Over years past we have encountered no difficulty in absorbing that religious character into our state institutions, while at the same time preserving religious liberty and separation of church and state.

It was Alexis de Toqueville, that uncanny commentator on American life, who observed over a century ago: "Religion in America takes no direct part in the government of society, but it must nevertheless be regarded as the foremost of the political institutions of that country."

This simple truth shines forth in the opening and closing sentences of our Declaration of Independence. It shone forth on the very day when Congress passed the First Amendment to the Constitution. On that occasion both Houses called jointly upon the President to proclaim a day of public thanksgiving and prayer for "the many signal favors of Almighty God."

The coin and currency we carry in our pockets are constant reminders of our nation's trust in God. Our pledge of allegiance, the oaths we subscribe to in court -- both are testaments to that faith and trust.

"I am opposed," President Eisenhower has recently said, "to any effort to eliminate mention of God in governmental institutions and practices... our form of Government rests upon a religious faith..."

Scores of prominent Americans have signified agreement with these sentiments. The National Governors' Conference has twice recorded its approval of a prayer amendment, both times by overwhelming majorities. Seven Governors of our States, from both political parties, are members of the Board of the Constitutional Prayer Foundation. Six other governors list themselves as official supporters of this nonsectarian and nonpartisan organization dedicated to passage and ratification of a prayer amendment. Other distinguished clergymen, laymen, and governmental officials hold the same posts.

The legislatures of eight states have supported some form of prayer amendment. So have the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, the National Conference of Catholic Youth, and the National Association of Evangelicals.

(more)

Many Congressmen from both Parties report massive support for a prayer amendment by their constituents.

In brief, there is clearly a deep and widespread public interest -- nonpartisan and nonsectarian in nature -- in rectifying the Supreme Court's decision through the amendment process. The time has surely come for Congress to put the question to the test. It is time for Congress to pass an amendment and place it before the various states for ratification.

That is why the Republican Party gave strong endorsement in its 1964 Platform to a "Constitutional Amendment permitting those individuals and groups who choose to do so to exercise their religion freely in public places." The Platform statement provides, of course, for safeguards preserving separation of church and state. And it leaves the decision on whether voluntary prayers are to be permitted in, for example, public schools up to state and local authorities, not the nine appointed Justices of the Supreme Court. This is what our Constitution intended.

Unfortunately, the Platform of the Democratic Party is entirely silent on the question of a prayer amendment. In fact, you will search in vain for any reference to God or religion in the Democratic Platform. This is a matter of regret because religion is of concern to all Americans, no matter what their party label may be. This is a matter of even greater regret when we realize that this platform, with its utter disregard of God, was written to the exact specifications of Lyndon Johnson.

Perhaps the Platform is silent because Hubert Humphrey, the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate, is totally opposed to any form of prayer amendment. The formal statement of the Americans for Democratic Action, as presented to the Democratic Platform Committee, reads:

"We oppose all attempts to modify or weaken the First Amendment, which safeguards the freedom of religious worship and maintains the separation of church and state."

Mr. Humphrey personally endorsed this formal statement with his signature.

Earlier in the year, Hubert Humphrey put himself on record in even stronger terms. On addressing the American Baptist Convention in May, he said: "If some people were as interested in good schools as in making

God popular in the school, I think this country would be better off."

Did it occur to Mr. Humphrey that the very meeting at which he uttered these words opened and closed with a prayer?

Did it occur to Mr. Humphrey that every session of the Senate in which he appears opens with an invocation to the Divine Being?

Is that against the First Amendment?

I do not agree with Mr. Humphrey. I do not agree with the Democratic Platform. And I don't believe you do either.

I agree -- and I believe you do, too -- with the words of Thomas Jefferson, inscribed on his Memorial in Washington:

"God who gave us life gave us liberty. Can the liberties of a nation be secure when we have removed a conviction that these liberties are the gift of God."

I agree -- and I believe you do, too -- with the first President of our country. You recall these words from Washington's Farewell Address:

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports.

In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. ... And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion."

Let us heed these words. And let us take warning of the moral crisis of our time.

My fellow Americans, is this the time in our nation's history for the Federal Government to ban Almighty God from our school rooms?

I trust not.

A people who believe in freedom, self-restraint, and diligence must also cultivate humility and reverence.

With your help and with God's blessing, I pledge my every effort to a reconstruction of reverence and moral strength, those great pillars of human happiness in our land.

FROM: REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
October 13, 1964

CONTACT: James L. McKenna
News Editor-RNC
(202) NA 8-6800

INTERVIEW OF SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT
OF THE U.S. IN PHOENIX, ARIZ., BY RON NESSEN OF NBC, OCT. 13, 1964

QUESTION: Senator, how do you evaluate the campaign up to this point?

ANSWER: Well, first we have to recognize that we started out as a decided underdog -- there was never any question of that -- but I think starting about three weeks ago we have been breaking the ice, and our polls that we saw Sunday -- that would be yesterday -- show us now over the 40 percent mark in almost every state, and in some states, of course, we are ahead, and others we are ranging 45 to 48 percent. We are very happy with the progress.

QUESTION: You have three weeks left now until election?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: Do you think you are going to make that other 10 percent up?

ANSWER: Yes, I do. In every campaign I have ever been in, I have been the underdog. I have never been in a campaign where I led the polls -- even up to election day, so I am used to this action, and I like it. I like to be coming up, and we are coming up now, in my opinion, at the proper pace.

QUESTION: What was it that happened three weeks ago that began the change?

(more)

(more)

ANSWER: Oh, it isn't any one thing that happened. It is just a series of things. I think Republicans who had said they wouldn't vote for us but, on the other hand, wouldn't vote for Johnson are realizing that they should vote for us. We have held our Democratic strength, so I think actually the strength that we need will be found in mostly the Republican Party and the Independent group, and in these groups we are moving, and that is the way that we are going.

QUESTION: Is there some single issue or group of issues that have won you voters?

ANSWER: No, I can't think of any. The issues never were -- to put it another way, the voter never votes for, they usually vote in opposition. I honestly feel that Bobby Baker Case is hurting the President more than anything else. Every place I go, the mere mention of the name "Bobby Baker" brings everything from mild applause to outright boos for the President, which I don't like to hear, and frankly I don't like to have this kind of an issue. I wish that this had been cleared up, and I wish the President would allow the investigation to go on so that it could be removed. It is difficult and distasteful to me to have a campaign where another's well meaning or honesty is in question.

QUESTION: What do you think has hurt you most?

ANSWER: Well, I think the repetition of the outright lie I am trigger happy has hurt me more than anything. I believe that is beginning to clear up, because I believe the American people realize that the President doesn't declare war -- it is the Congress -- and I think they are beginning to realize that no American wants war, that we all want peace, and that my lengthy experience with military affairs has taught me that. You will find the average military man far more peaceful than the average civilian, frankly.

(more)

QUESTION: There is a poll that shows you would do far better in some of the northern cities if it were not for this "trigger-happy" issue.

ANSWER: I think that the "trigger-happy", the nuclear thing, "Goldwater will get us into war", that's been the most damaging thing I have run into. But, as I say, I think that is being overcome by people stopping to think that no man, particularly no American, is ever going to push that button. In fact, I personally feel that we will never engage in a nuclear war, and even if we get into war I don't think that the Russians or ourselves would be stupid enough to devastate cities that we couldn't afford to rebuild. Actually, if we got into a nuclear type war, the winner would be the loser.

QUESTION: Are you going to continue to make Bobby Baker the big issue from now on until the 3rd?

ANSWER: Well, I am not making this the issue -- it is the issue. It is in the people's mind. Bobby Baker is really a symbol: what is going on in Washington? This is the underlying concern that I find.

QUESTION: Do you feel that some of your positions on issues have antagonized large groups of voters, that you might be in a better position --

ANSWER: No, I don't think so. I don't think the average voter is particularly concerned about what I would call a nitpicking type of issue. In other words, something of a local nature. The average American I have run into is concerned about the type of government, the type of country we are going to have tomorrow, the next day and the next years. They are concerned

QUESTION: about peace in the world. I have tried many issues out in many

ANSWER: parts of the country, and none bring the unanimous response that the future of our country brings. Even, for example, when you go into the farm country, as I will tomorrow, and I will make several farm speeches, the underlying question will not be what will you do about farming -- what will you do about the preservation of what we like.

(more)

QUESTION: Has William Miller, as your running mate, helped or hurt your campaign?

ANSWER: Oh, he has been a great help, a tremendous help. Bill has great ability as a speaker. He is very fast on his feet, but I think people are realizing that he understands our form of government and appreciates it, and will work for it far harder than Hubert Humphrey who, with his Americans for Democratic Action connections, if he believes in these -- and he must, because he was a founder -- actually represents a group that works contrary to most everything that Americans want.

QUESTION: This poll that you got yesterday is the newest nationwide poll?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: What are some of the --

ANSWER: Before I came out I tried to get Washington but the line was busy, to try to get some of the exact figures. I can't get the exact, except to tell you we are up over 40 now in all states, and that this is a real increase, and that the return of defected Republicans continues to go at about the same rate of about six to eight percent return a week. Again, we don't know how big a body this is, but we do know that they are coming home, and that is encouraging.

QUESTION: Do you think there will be some sort of big break before the election, or will the current trend take you up over 50 percent?

ANSWER: I think we have had our break, and I think we are now moving up. The break would be no one specific thing -- just a combination of things that a campaigner likes to see happen in a campaign.

QUESTION: How are you holding up?

ANSWER: Oh, fine. Oh, you get a little physically tired during the week, and you get mentally tired -- that is the thing that bothers me, because I have been in a lot of campaigns and have managed campaigns, and a candidate loses his punch when he gets mentally tired, and that is what I am trying to guard against in the coming three weeks.

STATEMENT: Thank you, Senator. -30-

FROM: REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

PMs TUESDAY
October 13, 1964

EXCERPTS OF CAMPAIGN SPEECH AT TOPEKA, KAN., OCT. 13, 1964

BY SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

Because of his full-time politicking, we now have a part-time President. We have a part-time President when we are faced with full-time and full-scale problems.

On Sunday, while the President visited church after church and city after city in a political travesty of the Lord's Day, he was able to spare only ten minutes for a visit with the President of the Philippines. How, in ten tragically short minutes, painfully sliced from a Sunday of full-time politicking, could there have been any meaningful development of the pressing problems of Southeast Asia? There couldn't be, of course.

Then, as the part-time President pressed his full-time political campaign on Monday, we received the shocking news that the Soviet Union has launched a multiple-passenger space craft into orbit.

At any moment, as the part-time President pursues his full-time politicking, we can anticipate with dread the news of another crisis in Vietnam, another killing at the Berlin Wall, another Communist outrage in Latin America, a new Communist thrust in Africa, or a new attack by Communism's henchman in Indonesia.

American soldiers are dying. British soldiers are dying. Innocent civilians are threatened around the world.

We face full-time responsibilities around the world, full-scale challenges. But not once do we hear of them from our part-time President.

He gives us handshakes and handouts.

He directs traffic and kisses babies rather than directing our foreign policy. He turns Sunday into a day of campaign chaos and the other days of the week into days of rest -- so far as our foreign policy is concerned.

The major crises that are burning while the part-time President burns

up taxpayer dollars by the hundreds of thousands on his campaign trips -- these major crises are ones to which I have directed my attention constantly during this campaign and prior to it.

Southeast Asia, and the growing threats from Indonesia, require full-scale consultation between this nation and the free nations of Southeast Asia -- particularly Thailand, Malaysia, the pro-western segment of the Laotian government, the government of South Vietnam, and the governments of such concerned, even if not immediately involved nations as the Phillipines, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Free China, and Pakistan. Active interest in the problem by India also would be welcome, if freely and fully expressed.

This requires more than a ten-minute stop-over between street caravans.

The entry of the Soviet Union into such a commanding position in near-space also requires an urgent and full time consideration by all concerned branches of the federal government and, of course, the President.

Near space, the area in which orbital flight takes place, is the key to the military use of space. The nation that commands near space, could, after developing proper weapons and maneuverable space craft, dominate the earth.

I have pleaded for years for a realistic emphasis on research in this area. Instead, this Administration has dedicated billions of dollars and the virtual entirety of its space efforts, to a moon shot.

The military possibilities of space have been downgraded by this Administration, as, indeed, has most research into the advanced weapon systems which we so urgently need to keep the peace in the face of Soviet advances scientifically, and Soviet threats politically.

Again, this is a full time and a full-scale problem requiring immediate attention. We need a major redirection of our space research efforts.

But our part-time President, busy pleasing crowds, has no time to face grim reality or to ask you to join him in facing it.

If the man who now occupies the White House wants to be more of a full time President between now and Election Day, there is a way.

There should be, as most Americans obviously feel, a nationally televised debate between the men who are asking you -- both for the first time -- to

vote for them as President of the United States.

Such a debate, for which my party has offered to pay to avoid the complications of the equal time law (which incidentally, the man who now occupies the White House, didn't want repealed) such a debate could be held to meet these requirements:

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It could be taped, so to avoid the possibility of Mr. Johnson making a mistake that might jeopardize national security. It could be done at a time and a place of his choosing, so as to permit him to spend more time at his desk. Such a debate could present a clear choice to the voters and avoid the necessity for a presidential campaign based solely upon frantic travels, usually to follow up some speech or another of mine in which I have tried to discuss the very issues which we could tackle man-to-man in a national debate.

The man who now occupies the White House must make a grave decision in this matter. So far he has decided to suspend his leadership and even to suspend the government in order to permit his full time politicking.

It would be far better for the voters, and far, far, better for our nation and the cause of freedom in the world if we could discuss the issues and only the issues, and then get on with the full-time job of preserving this republic and preserving the peace of the world.

---30---

Peace is for those who are strong enough to keep it. If we have the strength and the will to keep the peace, Communism's wrong idea will be exposed. Its internal contradictions will be exploited, and eventually its tyranny will be ended.

If we have this strength and will, Khrushchev will never say so. And we will see the day when those enslaved by Communism will rise with freedom.

I've been in war. I have seen and experienced what it is like to be touched by war -- or by slavery. That's why I want to see Communism

(over)

FROM: REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006
Phone: (202) NA 8-6800

AUTOMATIC RELEASE
At 7:30 p.m., EDT, TUESDAY
October 13, 1964

CAMPAIGN SPEECH AT MILWAUKEE ARENA, MILWAUKEE, WISC., OCTOBER 13, 1964
BY SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

The theme of our campaign is clear:

- Peace through strength.
- Progress through freedom.
- Purpose through Constitutional order.

We don't mean the sleepwalker peace of this Administration. We don't mean reliance on unproven theories that the enemy will mellow.

We see the enemy for what it is, not for what we wish it were. And we know that Communism -- in Cuba, in Berlin, in Vietnam, in the Congo, in Malaysia, wherever it is at work -- is the only real threat to the peace of the world today.

Peace is for those who are strong enough to keep it. If we have the strength and the will to keep the peace, Communism's wrong idea will be exposed, its internal contradictions will be exploited, and eventually its tyranny will be ended.

If we have this strength and will, Khrushchev will never bury us. And we will see the day when those enslaved by Communism will live under freedom.

I've been in war. I have sons and daughters whom I do not want touched by war -- or by slavery! That's why I want a strong America--

(more)

to stop the war that is looming on the horizon of this Administration's foreign policy of drift, deception, and defeat.

Perhaps even closer to our hearts is what we mean when we speak of Purpose Through Constitutional Order.

Leaders of the present Administration say that government is master, not servant of the people.

Whose government is this anyway? It used to belong to the people.

We say that November 3 can be the day you get your country back!

You want, and we pledge, an Administration that will restore our freedoms.

You don't want a Supreme Court that is encouraged to enact laws, rather than interpret them and pass on their Constitutionality. And neither do I. When such laws occur -- as they may during the next Administration -- we want men appointed to the Court who will support the Constitution, not scoff at it!

You don't want an Executive who tries to turn the Congress into a rubber stamp, with a handle where their conscience should be. And neither do I!

We want humility and honesty of service in the White House -- not arrogance and personal power.

We want lights turned on in the White House. Lights of honesty, lights of leadership.

We want the brightness of examples that will inspire law and order in this land, not the darkness that encourages crime, violence, and the creed of the fast buck.

We want and we pledge an Administration that will respect and support, not overlook or undermine, the local law enforcement needed to protect the lives and property of our citizens -- to make our streets safe. We want to make it safe to live by the law. Enough has been done to make it safe to live outside the law.

(more)

Yes, the message of our campaign is clear. It is this:

Stop the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad.

If there is peace and purpose in our lives, we can move forward along our proven path of progress through freedom.

Now, I want you to pause with me and think about what that means. What is freedom? What is progress? How does freedom bring progress?

When words are thrown into the arena of politics, their meanings often become confused. And that is just what has happened to the word "freedom".

The confusion began more than two decades ago when you were told that your government has the power to give you freedom -- to give you such things as freedom from want and freedom from fear. More recently, you have been told that government can make you free from poverty and free from insecurity. Those who seek national office are now even beginning to promise you freedom from worry and responsibility.

Of course, nobody wants to be poor or worried or frightened or insecure. But do you really believe that government can make you rich and happy and confident and secure? Is that what you think freedom is, something somebody in the White House can give you if he feels like it?

Do you really believe there is somebody so wise and prudent and powerful that he can -- or will -- give you those things if you just put him in the White House? Do you really believe him when he tells you how smart and big-hearted he is?

Of course you don't.

You and I know that all these things are the very opposite of what the founders and builders of this nation meant by freedom. You and I know that the Declaration of Independence was written by men who had their bellies full of oppressive government. And the framers of the Constitution were determined that we should never again have a government distant and arbitrary.

(more)

To them the meaning of freedom was clear. It meant freedom from government.

They wanted citizens to be free to live their own lives, make their own decisions -- yes, make their own mistakes and bear the responsibility for them. They believed in the people. They believed that the individual citizen was competent to look after his own affairs. They believed in the self-reliance, enterprise, and initiative of the individual and family. They knew that progress would come from -- indeed meant nothing more than -- fulfillment of the whole man in a society of liberty and opportunity.

These men -- these founders and builders of our mighty republic -- were no idle dreamers. They were hard-headed and practical men. And they were men of vast wisdom. They knew that liberty without order would become the license of the mob and the jungle. There must be government to maintain law and order, to protect person and property, to enforce private contracts, to encourage freer and more effective markets at home and abroad, and to provide monetary stability.

And, yes, they knew government must stand ready to aid the helpless and support those in need.

These wise men wanted a government of compassion, leadership, and restraint. To preserve freedom, government must, they knew, be both limited and dispersed. It must be as close to the people as possible. Only in this way can government be kept as responsible to the people as possible. Only in this way can government be kept from becoming so arbitrary and so strong that it threatens freedom. Only in this way can there be variety, creative diversity, and experimentation in policies -- healthy competition between units of government.

This was their great vision. For many years it guided our way. But over the last three decades, government has increasingly become master, not servant. Increasingly, power has been gravitating to the White House, away from our towns, counties, cities, and states. Increasingly, government has been engulfing our precious resources.

(more)

If I said to you that the central government will tell you what crops to grow and not to grow, and will fly helicopters over your land to check up on you --

If I told you the central government will make decisions about your local schools and whether or not your children shall pray in them --

If I said to you that the central government will make vital decisions about your children when they are young and your parents when they are old --

If I said to you that the central government will tell you how much to pay those you hire and how much to charge for what you sell --

If I told you all these things, what country would you think I was talking about?

What is happening to us, anyway?

Are we determined to rush headlong into the swampland of centralized collectivism? Do we really want the socialist state that Hubert Horatio Humphrey and his Americans for Democratic Action offer to us?

I say, no. And I think you do, too.

You and I know that this nation of ours has grown great and strong and prosperous through its free economy.

Private property, free competition, hard work -- these have powered the engine of progress.

Our system has preserved and protected our freedom, our right to disagree, our creative diversity, our independence from arbitrary intervention in private affairs.

And it has been a mighty engine of progress. It has enabled the people of this country to rise from a small but independent citizenry scratching out a hard living on the margins of a great continent, to a multitude spanning the continent and living at a level that is the envy of the world.

(more)

Progress through freedom has been our heritage. It must remain our guide and our goal.

And you and I know that the immediate task before us is to cut the federal government down to size. We must -- and we can -- stop the reckless growth in federal spending. We must take Lyndon's credit card away from him and keep it out of the grasp of Hubert Horatio. We must use the growth of the economy to provide relief to our citizens from oppressive federal taxes. Your increased earnings should belong to you, and be available for your own use and for financing activities best handled at the state and local level.

You will also agree that we must get the federal bureaucracy out of the business of running your local affairs through the more than a hundred grant-in-aid programs now in effect. These grants-with-strings, pulled in the White House, must be replaced by grants-without-strings. These would give each state resources needed for use within the state, free of control by the federal bureaucracy.

And when we do these things, the President and Congress will be able to attend to their critical job of looking after foreign relations, national security, and the general welfare.

We must above all make sure that our educational system is kept free from control exercised in Washington. Education should, of course, be encouraged and promoted, but it should also be kept under the control of local governments or private organizations. Both goals can be met with a system of federal tax credits to parents who bear the costs of education.

While attending to our liberties at home, we must also reclaim our proud heritage as the land of promise for the oppressed and enslaved throughout the world. Let our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, and our living example inspire the downtrodden everywhere!

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And more than that, let us display through deeds -- and not through empty slogans -- our compassion for the victims of tyranny. Let us resolve never again to slam the door on that last hope of the oppressed -- the freedom to leave the country of oppression.

Let us resolve never to permit the shame of another Berlin Wall.

And let us welcome to our shores those victims of Soviet enslavement fortunate enough to escape from the Captive Nations. Let us once again be the warm haven of those seeking freedom and equal opportunity.

Let us make it crystal clear to Communist tyrants that we shall never be satisfied with anything short of restoration of freedom and independence to Captive Nations. What Communist tyrants have stolen from peoples around the globe -- in violation of solemn agreements -- they must restore to those peoples.

This we must declare, for all to hear, if we are to keep faith with our heritage of freedom and honor.

These are the guideposts that mark the way to progress through freedom. You may choose this way, or you may choose the other one open to you.

The other is the way of the man who would be the Great Leader of his own "Great Society." He opens up his arms and says, "Bring your troubles to me. I will take care of them for you."

You want more money for the potatoes you didn't grow? He promises he'll give it to you.

You want no responsibilities? He promises he'll do everything for you.

You want no worries? He promises he'll worry for you.

Relax and don't worry. The Great Leader and his curious crew will do for you all those things you find unpleasant to do for yourselves. And all he asks is that you give him more and more power over your lives -- more and more without end.

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Never mind the wise statesman who once warned us: "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." That's old-fashioned. That was meant for another age. This is the modern world, a world that you -- and you -- and you -- are too weak or too dumb to cope with. It's a Great Leader you need -- a leader who is more clever than you are, and stronger by far. Put all the power in his hands, and he will give you "true" freedom -- which the old-fashioned call slavery. And then you won't need to be concerned about your oppressed brethren elsewhere in the world.

Is this all a fantastic nightmare? Think about it a minute.

You have a choice to make. Which way will you choose?

I have faith in you. I know which way you will choose. And with your help and with God's blessing, I will bring the country back to the proven path of progress through freedom. We will stop the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad.

FROM: REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006
Phone: (202) NA 8-6800

FOR RELEASE
PM'S THURSDAY
October 15, 1964

NOTES FOR TALK BY GEN. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

AT VETERANS MEMORIAL, COLUMBUS, OHIO, 12 NOON, OCTOBER 15, 1964

(Subject To Revision Before Delivery)

Yesterday was my 74th birthday.

And on this, the first day of my 75th year, I am making a political speech!

Twenty years ago, today, the possibility of such an appearance for such a purpose could never have entered my head.

On that note, permit me a minute of reminiscence.

Twenty years ago, on October 15, 1944, I was spending the evening at First Army Headquarters near Liege and the German frontier.

A few miles ahead of us Hitler's Panzers and infantry and artillery fought, attempting to hold Aachen against our assault.

Behind us stretched liberated France and Belgium, the U-boat-haunted voyages over the Atlantic, the painful marches across North Africa, into Sicily, up Italy, out of Normandy.

The only subject of conversation that night, I am sure, was the immediate job in front of us; and thereafter;

The crossing of the Rhine.

The encirclement of the enemy armies.

The final and complete victory over Hitler.

Had anyone, however, raised the question: "What will we all be doing twenty years from now?"

My instant response would have been: "If alive, I shall be in a rocking chair on a sunny porch or in front of a warm fireplace."

I would have been a poor prophet of my own future; as poor as some pollsters have been at times about election results.

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But I am happy that I am making a political speech here today, asking that Ohio vote Republican, all the way, in every contest on the ballot.

This mission I prefer to rocking chair confinement anywhere, for three reasons.

First, because of my dedication to the American two-party system.

Within that system, I believe the Republican Party -- in its philosophy and practice -- works most effectively toward Government by and for the people.

Second, I prefer this platform to a rocking chair because of the two men who are your state-wide candidates, Bob Taft and Ollie Bolton.

These two men, on their record as public servants and private citizens, reflect Republican commitment to common-sense in Government.

They won't be stampeded by hare-brain schemes and magic solutions to hard problems.

They reflect Republican commitment to integrity in Government.

They won't sell out principle because of a twisted arm or a cloak-room deal.

They reflect Republican commitment in Government dedicated to a secure and productive future.

They won't sacrifice the enduring public good for the transitory applause of a pressure bloc.

Third, I'd rather be here than in a rocking chair because -- as a Republican -- it's good to visit a truly Republican state.

Ohio went Republican in 1952.

Ohio went Republican in 1956.

Ohio -- to the shocked amazement of our opponents -- went Republican in 1960.

I urge that you again give them the shock treatment in 1964.

It will do them good to learn that they don't have the country in a bag -- not so long as Ohio continues immune to the techniques of promise-peddling and panic-mongering.

(more)

And it will do the nation great good to learn that Ohio has once again voted for a Republican President -- for Barry Goldwater.

That Ohio has returned to the Congress -- including your own Sam Devine -- an overwhelmingly Republican delegation.

(Parenthetically, I would make one suggestion. This is it. Between now and Election Day, should any of you encounter a poll-taker, please speak out your convictions loud and clear. I, although an incorrigible optimist, don't like this business of being wiped out of existence before a single ballot is counted. Nor do you, I am sure.)

Beyond the three personal reasons I have given you why I prefer this place to a quiet rocking chair, there is another.

Liege in Belgium on October 15, 1944, and Columbus in Ohio on October 15, 1964, are directly and inescapably connected.

Then, America fought with arms to regain for ourselves a lost security; to restore for our allies a lost independence; to vindicate in battle our right to freedom from every tyranny.

And we won, although at the time of our entry into war the extent of Nazi success, his control of land and sea, and the physical odds of almost every statistic were against us.

Now, twenty years later, Republicans fight with ballots so to arrange our public affairs and so to man our government that we may, in perseverance, devote ourselves to the grand purposes of the Republic.

Let me name three of them. These three to my mind tower in importance high above the multitudinous and fragmentary objectives so constantly announced -- and so often conveniently forgotten -- by our opponents. They are:

First -- We Americans, at home, seek to be secure against a massive onslaught which could destroy us in an hour of terror. To this end, we demand careful and wise use of our national resources -- fiscal, natural, human -- so that we may not be guilty of irresolute excursions in extravagant spending, in aimless fighting, in improvised substitutes for sound policy.

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Second -- Abroad we want to advance and strengthen our global partnerships, purposefully with our friends mustering our resources, pooling our talents, making our plans in amity and confidence.

Third -- We believe that, in all places, at all times, the Republic of the United States, armed in strength -- economic and military and moral strength -- should demonstrate the ideals, the virtues -- and the rewards -- of a free society.

Given a reasonable security and inspired leadership at home, with community, state and Federal governments performing well their respective duties; given a restoration of genuine partnership and mutual understanding abroad, we shall more surely go about the business of amplifying and extending the American Dream:

In the field of human rights.

In the field of human welfare.

In the field of human dignity.

Beyond all legalisms and partisan panaceas, we insist that the rights and welfare and dignity of our citizens are best assured by: Schools and colleges and universities; hospitals and care for the ailing; highways for safety and speed; urban transport unclogged by jam and bottle-neck; safe streets for our use; attractive houses for comfortable and decent living; museums for our heritage and laboratories for our future; parks and forest, clean streams and clear lakes for our play; churches and synagogues and temples for our worship.

More, much more, of these we should have quickly. Not enough of them will we ever have until such national affairs become once again the concern of all citizens; with government at all levels cooperating in common-sense and imaginative guidance.

All this will never come to be in an administration that seems pre-occupied more with bold headlines and roaring crowds than with the solidity of our national position.

Look, for a moment at the harsh problems of our national security -- on which we are now spending more than fifty thousand million dollars a year.

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Too many in authority seem to be depending for security and world stability on the whirl and lightning answer of computers.

Even under the best management, the search for absolute and unilateral armed security -- the most costly and most sterile misuse of a nation's resources -- can eventually end only in national bankruptcy or the establishment of a garrison state.

Therein lies one weighty reason why in this campaign we Republicans strive so to arrange our public affairs -- and so to man our government -- that the nation's business will be effeciently managed in a climate of vision and common-sense. We mistrust those who, seeking more authority, use each national problem as a fifth ace in a game of partisan politics.

This is why we want Ohio Republicans in the House of Representatives -- and Bob Taft in the United States Senate.

One final point: Possibly we Republicans are too slow or too quiet in labeling for what it is the propaganda of those who want no part of a Republican Administration.

Back in 1960, for instance, the ears of the country were deafened in the clamor about the dire state of our security, the fallen state of our world leadership, the tragic state of our people.

We heard endlessly about the missile gap, our shredded prestige abroad, the millions going to bed overy night desperately hungry.

To panic the voter was the purpose.

My Administration as President was the target, of course. And I was a little reluctant to use the one word that completely described the charges of 1960:

Tommy Rot!

In 1964, the same type charge is still being levied -- changing the present to the future tense.

Now we are told:

A Republican Administration will abuse and misuse the missiles that a Republican Administration developed.

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We are told:

A Republican Administration will arouse deadly fear and even enmity within the international partnerships a Republican Administration strengthened.

We are told:

A Republican Administration will pauperize millions, taking from them the security a Republican Administration gave them.

For these charges -- and all like them in 1964 -- there is only one accurate label:

Tommy Rot!

Let us so brand such charges whenever we encounter them; and then vigorously present our own case and the merits of our candidates.

Let us speak out clearly on what we oppose -- and on what we propose.

For example: We will always oppose, save in emergency, increase in the public debt.

Why? For a reason as sound as it is simple.

Because we do not want to live on governmental credit-card spending, with the bills to be paid in the sacrifices of our grandchildren.

Again: We will always oppose the concentration of power in the Washington bureaucracy, just as in an earlier day we Republicans took the lead in opposing economic monopoly.

Why? Again for a reason as sound as it is simple.

Too much power corrupts even the best of men. And we already have had corruption enough in men not so good.

In short, we will oppose all schemes and contrivances that weaken the individual:

In his self-respect.

In his sense of responsibility.

In his pride of American citizenship.

In his ability to earn for himself and his family a decent living in a well-paying job.

Why? Because the good of the individual -- protected in all his rights, in his use of responsible freedom, in his God-given dignity -- is the proper purpose of Government.

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Therefore:

We Republican stand four-square for all common-sense programs that increase for every citizen his opportunity to live in a climate of freedom and progress; enabling him more surely to pursue happiness in all honorable ways he may choose.

To that end:

We Republicans initiated the first medicare programs.

We spread social security coverage, giving more than ten million individuals -- never before protected -- the security benefits that were their due.

We successfully fought for a sound currency so that older citizens -- living on pensions, savings and insurance policies -- might have dollars to spend that would not become dollarettes through inflation.

And we won't change our ways.

We Republicans are pledged to sound and progressive government, searching out modern solutions for modern problems.

We Republicans believe, with Lincoln, that the individual is the most important factor in free government. In his strength is our security. His welfare is our concern. His advancement is our ambition.

Therein is the source of our visions of human progress -- visions that inspire us to live, work and vote Republican.

May every success crown your efforts in Ohio; the efforts of all Republicans throughout the nation.

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We choose the way of real jobs and real wages in private enterprise! Perhaps even closer to our hearts is what we mean when we speak of Purpose Through Constitutional Order.

Leaders of the present Administration say that government is master, not servant of the people.

Whose government is this, anyway? It used to belong to the people.

We say that November 3 can be the day you get your country back!

You want, and we pledge, an Administration that will restore balance to our government -- to protect and restore our freedoms.

(over)

FROM: REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

AUTOMATIC RELEASE
AT 8:30 P.M. EDT, THURSDAY
October 15, 1964

CAMPAIGN SPEECH AT THE COLT STADIUM, HOUSTON, TEXAS, OCTOBER 15, 1964
BY SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

The theme of our campaign is clear:

- Peace through strength.
- Progress through freedom.
- Purpose through Constitutional order.

If we have the strength and will, we will have peace, and Khrushchev will never bury us. We will instead see the day when those enslaved by Communism will live under freedom.

We also want strength at home, in our economy, and we want it through freedom. Our free enterprise system has brought us the greatest riches of any people on earth. It can continue to do it if we take the bureaucratic shackles off. It can do it if we place our main reliance on individuals, on hard work, on creativity, investment, and incentive.

This Administration talks of a phony war on poverty -- but it has made a truce with unemployment. This nation's unemployment rate is now higher than the average under the Eisenhower Administration. The present Administration chooses the path of expanded Federal programs and jobs -- and you pay the bills for both.

We choose the way of real jobs and real wages in private enterprise! Perhaps even closer to our hearts is what we mean when we speak of Purpose Through Constitutional Order.

Leaders of the present Administration say that government is master, not servant of the people.

Whose government is this, anyway? It used to belong to the people.

We say that November 3 can be the day you get your country back!

You want, and we pledge, an Administration that will restore balance to our government -- to protect and restore our freedoms.

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You don't want a Supreme Court that is encouraged to enact laws, rather than interpret them and pass on their constitutionality. And neither do I. When vacancies occur -- as they may during the next Administration -- we want men appointed to the Court who will support the Constitution, not scoff at it!

We want and we pledge an Administration that will respect and support, not overlook or undermine, the local law enforcement needed to protect the lives and property of our citizens -- to make our streets safe. We want to make it safe to live by the law. Enough has been done to make it safe to live outside the law.

Yes, the message of our campaign is clear. It is this:

Stop the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad.

We are in the midst of a campaign for the Presidency of the United States, but you would never know it from listening to my opponent and his curious crew. They talk about everything under the sun but the President's job.

And for good reason. The record shows that the interim President doesn't understand the President's job.

To Lyndon Johnson, running a country means twisting arms and banging heads together. It means buying and bludgeoning votes. It means getting a TV monopoly in his home state and building a private fortune. It means surrounding himself with companions like Bobby Baker, Billie Sol Estes, and Matt McCloskey. It means turning people into numbers and manipulating them with computers in the White House. It means craving and grasping for power -- more and more and more, without end.

And what about his curious running mate, Hubert Horatio Humphrey, this ADA radical of the left? Why does he want so badly to be a heart-beat away from the Presidency? To drag our nation into the swampland of collectivism? To bring Red China into the United Nations? To take hundreds of billions of dollars from your pockets to spend on silly socialistic schemes?

Look closely, my fellow Americans, at this curious crew who would run your country. My opponent calls them the camp of unity. What a curious camp! Here you find the unity of bosses -- bosses of big cities,

bosses of big unions, and bosses of big business. Here you find the corrupt, the power mad, and the radicals of the left.

This is the curious crew who promise the people, use the people, deceive the people.

Are these to be entrusted with the great power of the Presidency? Are these to be entrusted with the direction of our foreign policy and with the leadership of this nation among all nations of the world?

That, my fellow Americans, is the President's job. The President is the man responsible for the state of our affairs throughout the world.

And I charge that they are in shambles, from one end of the world to the other -- and you know it.

I charge that this Administration has declared a moratorium on government until the election is over -- and you know it.

I charge that this Administration has a Soft Deal for Communism -- and you know it.

I charge that this Administration has a foreign policy of drift, deception, and defeat. And you know that, too.

Drift, deception, defeat -- these are the watchwords of my opponent and his curious crew.

They let us drift into the missile crisis in Cuba. And then they deceive the American public and the free world about what is happening. They label as irresponsible those who kept warning that the Soviets were bringing troops and missiles into Cuba. They say we have nothing to fear from good old Nikita. They say he doesn't really want to bury us.

And the cause of peace suffers defeat.

They let us drift into a Berlin crisis. And then they deceive the free world and the American public into believing we have no right or power to keep the East from literally walling itself off from the West. They deprive victims of Communism of the last freedom left to them -- the freedom to leave Communist enslavement.

And the cause of peace suffers defeat.

They drift into crises in the Congo, in Laos, in Malaysia. And each time they deceive the American public and the free world. Our friends are labeled as enemies -- and then betrayed. Our enemies are labeled as friends -- and then supported.

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And the cause of peace suffers defeat.

They drift into Lyndon Johnson's War in Vietnam. And then they deceive and deceive and deceive. They have never stopped deceiving the American public and the free world. American sons and grandsons are being killed by Communist bullets and Communist bombs. And we have yet to hear a word of truth about why they are dying.

And the cause of peace suffers a shattering defeat.

Drift, deception, defeat -- these are the watchwords of Lyndon Baines Johnson and his curious crew.

In Laos, in Vietnam, in Malaysia, and in the Congo -- in all these places and more we hear the echo of gunfire.

Ninety miles from our shore sits a bearded, ranting, red dictator. He sits and runs a firmly entrenched base of Communist subversion, guarded by Nikita's soldiers and Nikita's missiles. And they say this is Nikita the good, the friendly, the reasonable.

We are drifting into catastrophe as surely as the sun sets in the west. And they say, "let us continue".

To help us drift along, the interim President has declared a moratorium on government. He desperately hopes to keep out of trouble if he just does nothing until the election is over. He hopes to put off crises and disasters until then, when the votes are in.

Can you imagine, my fellow Americans, what it would be like to have four more years of drift, deception, and defeat? To have four more years of a Soft Deal for Communism?

My opponent has not told you what he plans to do about the Cold War. He seems to be afraid to speak. But his curious crew has not been silent. Far from it. They have said every wild and crazy thing imaginable.

Listen to the statement of policies of the Americans for Democratic Action. This is the organ of the radical left that Hubert Horatio Humphrey helped to found and served until last month as Vice-Chairman.

The ADA "urges immediate initiation...of negotiations toward diplomatic recognition of the Peiping regime and its accreditation to the UN as the government of China."

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The ADA says "our government's eventual aim should be resumption of normal relations with the Cuban government, including renegotiation with regard to the Guantanamo Naval Base."

The ADA favors for Southeast Asia "a neutral buffer zone, which the present Administration has accepted with respect to Laos." It applauds the Administration's policy of forcing our allies in Laos to accept Communists in their government. It describes the struggle against Communist aggression in Vietnam as a "civil war (that) is in the main the result of decay of the totalitarian Diem regime."

Does Lyndon Baines Johnson agree with these shocking views? If not, will he please explain to the American public and to the free world why he wants the most prominent left-wing ADA radical in this country to be a heartbeat away from the Presidency?

We must put an end to drift, to deception, and to defeat. We must end, once and for all, the Soft Deal for Communism.

We have had four years of drift in Washington, and the result is Lyndon Johnson's War. Lyndon Baines Johnson has sowed the wind of weakness. He has reaped the whirlwind of war.

We have had four years of deception in Washington, and the result is shattered prestige. Even the Central Intelligence Agency shouts that our prestige has dipped below the peril point.

Are you proud of our fight for freedom? Are you proud of Panama? Are you proud of the burned effigy in Greece? Are you proud when no country is too small to pull Uncle Sam's whiskers and get away with it? Are you proud of wheat deals with the destroyers of liberty?

Do you remember that wheat deal? Do you remember how desperate the economic situation was in the Soviet Union and throughout the Communist world? And do you remember how we bailed them out -- with nothing in return for ourselves?

We gave them a discount on the price of wheat that was 24 per cent larger than we have ever given to any member of the free world. American taxpayers paid forty-two million dollars in subsidies to make this wheat available to the Communists. They contributed almost two million dollars just for wheat to East Germans, while those Communists

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were shooting down six American Airmen, killing three of them. And they didn't even apologize for that.

For the only time except World War II, the American government guaranteed credit to Communist countries for the purchase of this wheat. Our terms of credit were better than those of other countries selling wheat to the Communists.

And just imagine -- this Administration complains when our allies trade with the Cubans!

The infamous wheat deal was said to be "in the national interest." It was thus certified in a letter from the White House signed by our interim President.

I have a photocopy of that incredible letter in my hand. Let me read from it:

"...this is to inform you that I have determined that it is in the national interest for the Export-Import Bank to issue guarantees in connection with the sale of United States agricultural products to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Rumania."

By what wild stretch of the imagination can it be in our national interest to sell wheat to the Communists at bargain prices, on cut-rate credit, at the very time when they are in serious trouble?

Cast out this dangerous policy of drift, deception, and defeat before it is too late. Cast out this Soft Deal for Communism. Be confident and strong. Be proud again.

The challenge of the hour is great. The cause of peace is too precious to be entrusted to men who have a wishbone where they need a backbone. It will not be served by those who practice drift, deception and defeat.

Let us look and thrill to the advance of a great Atlantic civilization, joined by its ocean highway to the United States. What a destiny can be ours -- to stand as a great central pillar linking Europe, the Americas, and the venerable and vital peoples of the Pacific.

Let us look to the day when America extends its hand in help, in teaching, and in cultivation so that all new nations will be encouraged

to go freedom's way. Let us sweep away the drift, deception, and defeat that make these new nations wander down the dark alleys of collectivism.

With your help and God's blessing, Bill Miller and I will lead this nation forward again along the proven path charted by the wisdom of our history. We will end drift, deception, and defeat. We will bring purpose, integrity, and victory to the cause of peace and freedom everywhere.

FROM: REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

AUTOMATIC RELEASE
PMS FRIDAY
October 16, 1964

CAMPAIGN SPEECH AT JOE FOSS FIELD, SIOUX FALLS, S.D., OCTOBER 16, 1964

BY SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

The time has come for straight and honest talk to the farmers of this nation. And that is just what I'm going to give you today. I can talk to you this way because you and I are true conservatives. We understand each other. We speak the same language, and we're concerned with the same problems.

We believe in the individual. We believe in the family. We believe that self-reliance, private initiative, reverence, and diligence are the keys to a full and prosperous life. We believe that every citizen should run his own life and attend to his own business. We believe every one should give humble thanks for the many blessings of Almighty God, including our priceless constitutional heritage.

We believe in an orderly life in an orderly society, a society whose basic nature changes only gradually and only when the people who make it up are absolutely convinced that there must be such a change if progress is to be made. That is why we oppose sudden and arbitrary revisions in our constitutional government by order of appointed justices of the Supreme Court. We do not approve of their order banning God in our schools. We do not approve of their order telling us how to form our legislatures and apportion our districts.

We are more concerned with the direction in which we are going than the speed with which we get there. We know that undue haste makes trouble and waste, and seldom gets us where we set out to go. We have learned the lesson of the tortoise and the hare.

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Now, if there is one thing you and I know as well as our names, it is this: our nation is going in the wrong direction and far too fast. We are headed straight down the road to socialism -- and you know it. We must change that direction -- and you know that too.

In fact, nobody knows this better than you do. In some instances you are now being told what crops to grow and not to grow, what acres to plant and not to plant, what records to keep and not to keep. And bureaucrats are flying helicopters over your land to check up on you.

I know you will agree with me and with the Republican Party when we insist that farmers must be freed from the menacing control over their lives that is now being exercised by farm boss Freeman and his crew in Washington. And they must be freed from the cost-price squeeze being imposed on them.

You and I and all good Americans -- we all want a free and prosperous American agriculture, with a minimum of federal controls and intervention. That is the direction in which we must move -- forward, toward freedom and progress.

Do you really want to keep going backward with my opponent and his curious crew? Do you want to keep going backward into enslavement and decline?

Of course not, and that is why you will join me in turning this country back around, away from retreat and defeat, so that we may move forward again in progress through freedom.

But let me make myself absolutely clear. I know, as you do, that the mistakes of the past cannot be corrected overnight. And I will never try to correct them overnight.

We must honor commitments already made by the federal government.

We must keep faith with those who have made plans and acquired property on the basis of those commitments. We must have the good sense to move slowly in making changes so that the citizens of this nation -- and indeed, the economy itself -- can make smooth adjustments, adjustments that will cause nobody harm. Above all, we must not scrap existing programs until we are sure we have something better to substitute for them.

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That is, after all, nothing more than the creed of the conservative. And I am a true conservative, not a make-believe one. I am a conservative wherever and whenever I speak -- whether in the midwest or the east, whether before election or after. I do not carry around fifty different speeches for the fifty different states.

My opponent has recently traveled through these parts, giving to you his midwestern, before-election message. You may have heard some of the twisted things he said about me. Perhaps he has been so busy counting his acres and sweeping scandal under the rug that he hasn't had time to get the record straight.

He said that I will put an immediate end to farm price support. This is not true, and he knows it.

He said that I want to kill the electrification program. This is not true, and he knows it.

He said that I want to destroy the social security system. This is not true, and he knows it.

He said that I will cut farm income in half. This is not true, and he knows it.

Let me set the record straight once and for all, so that no one may distort it again.

I pledge to you, as I have pledged before, that I will never propose a change in the price support program until something better has been developed that can be gradually substituted for it.

I pledge, as I have pledged before, my whole-hearted support for cooperatives owned and operated by farmers, including rural electric and telephone facilities. I stand firmly with the Republican platform in this pledge because I believe in a strong and healthy rural electrification program.

I pledge, as I have pledged before, my unqualified support of the social security system. On this, my record is clear. I have voted in favor of every Social Security Act since entering the Senate. I voted for the acts of 1954, 1955, 1956, 1958, and 1961. In fact, I had the opportunity of presiding over the United States Senate on the day the bill was approved bringing farmers under Social Security for the first time. And that change had my active support.

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I supported every section of the 1964 Senate Bill except the phony Medicare scheme. It was my opponent, the interim President, who denied you the increased benefits contained in the bill by killing the entire bill in conference -- simply because Congress would not approve of his phony overburdening Medicare scheme.

So much for the slanders of my opponent.

Now, I am not like my opponent or his running mate. I don't claim to be a farmer, successful or otherwise. And I don't approach every problem with an open mouth.

Let's not fool ourselves about this. Let's be honest. There just are no simple solutions to the mess that has been created by growing controls in agriculture. We must seek the best ways open to us to bridge the gap between the controlled agriculture we now have and the free agriculture we must move toward.

I will build that bridge with the aid of people who really know agriculture. My Secretary of Agriculture will be a man with experience in farming, a man who knows what it's like to plow a furrow and to have dirt on his hands. He will not be a defunct governor, trained as a city lawyer and looking for a political handout.

And my secretary and I will seek out the advice of farmers and farm organizations across the country, to find ways to make a sound and healthy transition away from controls in each particular sector hampered by them. We will be guided by one goal and one goal alone: To ease away controls while keeping full faith with the farmer.

I will never jerk the rug from under the American farmer.

Now, my opponent is not bothered by any of this. He thinks he knows so much about farming that he can get away with having a farm boss who doesn't know anything about it. But just how much does he know about farming?

He seems to think the way to handle the farm problem is to hire a bureaucrat for every farm, cook up a different scheme for every crop, and make a different promise to every farmer.

Do you remember back four years ago when this Administration promised you 100 per cent of parity? And what have they delivered? A parity level of 74 per cent, the lowest since 1939 and 10 points below the average
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in the Eisenhower Administration. Unkept promises are cheap -- and even cheaper by the dozen.

What else have you been blessed with under this Administration?

Well, they dumped feed grains on your markets, forced down livestock prices, and then refused to do anything about a flood of meat dumped by foreigners. They manipulated your production and markets but did nothing to control imports. In fact, meat imports since 1960 under this Administration have more than doubled. As if this were not enough, they next tried to push through a program to subsidize grazing!

Does this make any sense to you?

Since July 1, the Freeman price-wrecking crew has engaged in a massive wheat dumping program. More than 136 million bushels of government-owned wheat have been sold to the private grain trade in direct competition with farmer marketings.

The purpose, obviously, is to hammer down the price of wheat and thus punish the nearly two-thirds of the nation's wheat growers who refused to sign up for farm boss Freeman's 1964 program. The cooperator is also getting hurt, since he receives only the free market price for a considerable portion of his production. There is no parity of treatment for the farmer when the U.S. Department of Agriculture itself becomes his competitor in the market place.

While the farm population dropped by more than two million persons and the number of farms by more than 400 thousand, new bureaucrats were added to the Department of Agriculture by the thousands. Did you know that, over the last four years, spending by that department has risen by 600 million dollars a year? Where has the money gone? Certainly not into your pockets. Much of it has gone into the pockets of more and more bureaucrats hired to control your farms and oversee you.

Are my opponent and his curious crew the kind of people you call your friends?

You know full well where they stand, and you know where I stand. I am the friend of all diligent Americans who want nothing more than an equal break and a fair shake -- who want parity of treatment.

And my Administration will dedicate itself to promoting a free and prosperous American agriculture. We will do this by encouraging research to create new industrial uses for farm products. We will do this by encouraging the expansion of markets throughout the free world. And we will do this by freeing farmers from the arbitrary controls of bureaucrats.

Make no mistake about it. The farm programs conceived a generation ago and made hopelessly oppressive by this Administration -- these programs have not worked. You know that full well. Some farmers operating under the support program earn less, relative to invested capital and production costs, than other farmers. Our farm programs will provide equality of opportunity for all farmers.

As our economy grows, the farmer's economy of this country must grow with it. That hasn't been happening and you know it. After this election I promise that together we will make it grow.

Those skyscraper bureaucrats have figured out how to support everything but your families -- and how to control everything except their own lust for power. That lust reaches beyond your farms to life itself. And so far the only control that's been successful is their control over your ability to get a fair return on your life's labor.

You and I know that a farmer can be helped without treating him like an idiot -- without taking him by the hand and telling him what to buy and what to pay and when to come in out of the rain.

You and I know that a federal government that really cares about the farmers would be honest enough to stop trying to patch up a worn-out program -- honest enough to look you straight in the eye and say it isn't working.

Yes, my friends, you and I know that the very best reason for rejecting the radical socialistic schemes of my opponent and his curious crew is just that. The best reason is not that they're radical, not even that they're socialistic. The best reason is that they haven't worked!

Well, that's the straight and honest talk. Starting with this November let's get down to some straight and honest policies.

These Bill Miller and I will give you when, with your help and with God's blessing, we lead you forward once again on the proven path of progress through freedom.

FROM: REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

AUTOMATIC RELEASE
At 7:30 P.M. FRIDAY
October 16, 1964

CAMPAIGN SPEECH AT CONRAD-HILTON HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILL., OCTOBER 16, 1964

BY SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

Today I want to discuss with you one of the gravest domestic questions facing this nation. That question is this: How can we build a society of many races with liberty and justice for all?

We usually think of the motto of our nation, e pluribus unum, as referring to the many states joined in one nation. Yet it also refers more profoundly and symbolically to the many races, colors, and creeds joined in one people.

Ours is the first nation in the history of man to assert that its citizens have rights common to all mankind. "We hold these truths to be self-evident," the Declaration of Independence says, "that all men are created equal."

Let us repeat, "all men" -- not only Americans or Anglo-Americans -- not Christians or Jews -- not White men or Colored. No, our Declaration of Independence says all men, and that is what it means.

Our society has been built on this principle. But the task has been great, and it has been great from the very beginning. We have passed through many trials, and at one point in our history those trials even burst forth into a tragic struggle of brother against brother.

In judging the present, we must consider the past as well. Only when we compare the present with the past can we form reasonable plans and hopes for the future.

When the Constitution was drafted and ratified, many compromises had to be made -- even with the evils of slavery. For the alternative to compromise was not a society of perfect equality and perfect freedom. The alternative was plainly and simply no independence at all, no nation, and no Constitution.

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The choice was clear. Human freedom and equality were to be realized at the outset either imperfectly or not at all. Without compromise, the noblest experiment in human freedom would have perished before it was born.

Thus the Founding Fathers, after enshrining the principle of equality in the Declaration of Independence, set out through the Constitution to bring its more perfect fulfillment.

The proposition "that all men are created equal" is fundamental to our American Society.

The equality that is God's gift, however, is not the same as saying that all men's accomplishments must be equal, that their skills must be equal, that their ambitions are equal or that their achievements are equal. On those levels, there is no equality, there is only opportunity.

Certainly, no level of government can or should attempt by its actions to enforce equality in those essentially personal areas of great human differences. It is such differences that give life its diversity and man his wondrous variety.

Where government presumes to control equality, forgetting that in its essential areas it lies within God's province and the laws of nature, there can be only conformity. Government must consider and treat all men as equal in the areas of law and civic order. Otherwise, and in no other area, can it make men equal.

Government can protect the diversity that men can achieve from the base of their God given equality or government can repress their diversity.

The child born in America and the child born in Cuba are created equal -- but because the Cuban child is born to tyranny, he cannot enjoy the freedom in which that basic equality will be respected and in which he will have the opportunity to strive for self-fulfillment.

No one expects man to be as perfect as God. But the goodness of God is a reason for man to strive for such perfection as comes within his reach. A man who cannot become a saint need not remain a sinner.

The true choice is, therefore, between moving in the right direction -- guided by sound principles -- or sliding backward into irresponsibility and immorality.

The trouble comes from heeding false counsel. There are those who seem to denounce society as hopelessly evil because it is not perfect. On the other hand, there are those who tell us to be satisfied with what we already have.

If such false counsel is heeded, minorities suffering unfair discrimination will surely suffer frustration as well. One kind of frustration can be brought about if no progress at all seems to be made toward greater equality of opportunity. Another can be brought about if everything short of total success is viewed as nothing at all, worthless, and deserving only of contempt.

This all-or-nothing attitude is bound to end in disaster, and has already caused much harm to many innocent persons.

It is wrong to compel children to attend schools restricted to members of their own race, however that may be defined. It is also wrong to forbid children to attend schools restricted to members of another race. I condemn that sort of segregation because it is compulsory.

There is another way that people may separate and distinguish themselves from each other. Far from being compulsory, it is the necessary result of freedom -- the freedom of association.

Throughout this land of ours, we find people forming churches, clubs, and neighborhoods with other families of similar beliefs, similar tastes, and similar ethnic backgrounds. No one would think of insisting that neighborhoods be "integrated" with fixed proportions of Anglo-Americans, German-Americans, Swedish-Americans -- or of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews.

To me, it is wrong to take some children out of the schools they would normally attend and bus them to others -- just to get a mixture of ethnic and racial groups that somebody thinks is desirable. This forced integration is just as wrong as forced segregation.

It has been well said that the Constitution is color blind. And so it is just as wrong to compel children to attend certain schools for the sake of so-called integration as for the sake of segregation.

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Our aim, as I understand it, is neither to establish a segregated society nor to establish an integrated society. It is to preserve a free society.

I am not here passing judgment on particular measures adopted by particular states or localities in dealing with their particular problems. If this campaign accomplishes nothing else, it is going to remind the people of this country that they must look after their own problems if they are to be solved. They must look first to themselves, and next to the governmental level closest to them, for responsible action on problems of social relations..

But even though the national leadership should not legislate for local problems, it should expound the principles upon which sound action should proceed.

And so I endorse the position of the Republican Platform of 1964 on the bussing of school children. I say with the Platform that it is wrong to take school children out of their normal neighborhood schools for the sake of achieving "racial balance", or some other hypothetical goal of perfect equality imagined by the theorists of the so-called "Great Society." It is wrong -- morally wrong -- because it re-introduces through the back door the very principle of allocation by race that makes compulsory segregation morally wrong and offensive to freedom.

The bussing of school children is only one example of doctrinaire and misguided equalitarianism. If we extend the principle to its logical end, we are compelled to use racial quotas as a substitute for the principle of equal opportunity in every aspect of social life. Why not move families from one neighborhood to another so that quotas set by some bureaucrat somewhere will be everywhere met? Or workers from one job to another? Or business men, or government officials, or any group of any description? Is this what we have in mind when we speak of freedom and equal opportunity?

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It is often said that only the freedom of a member of a minority is violated when some barrier keeps him from associating with others in his society. But this is wrong. Freedom of association is a double freedom or it is nothing at all. It applies to both parties who want to associate with each other. And so the barriers infringe the freedom of everybody in the society, not just the minorities.

Now, the removal of such barriers enhances freedom. That is clear. But it is equally clear that freedom is diminished when barriers are raised against the freedom not to associate. We must never forget that the freedom to associate means the same thing as the freedom not to associate. It is wrong to erect legal barriers against either side of this freedom.

We are forced to only one conclusion. As far as the government is concerned, it must ensure freedom of association, but it cannot and should not ensure association itself. That is a matter that must be mutually and freely decided by the individuals involved. It is a matter of the heart and conscience.

We only cloud the issue by labelling this as a problem of "civil rights." A man's civil rights are those he has in relation to his government, not in relation to his fellow man. Of course, government should not discriminate among citizens on irrelevant grounds such as color, creed, or religion. And no national political leader believes it should.

There are still pockets of resistance to equality in civil rights, but the problem here is to see to it that the rights guaranteed by the Constitution are realized. And, as I have said so many times and repeat once again the President must execute his office and exercise his moral leadership to make sure that this is the case.

Congress must also take action to remedy defects in the laws dealing with genuine civil rights, and that is why I voted for and supported the acts of 1957 and 1960. These laws gave needed protection and security to every citizen's right to vote in federal elections, regardless of race or creed. Nothing less would be faithful to our Constitution.

But the fundamental issue of our day -- the new area into which the act of 1964 dangerously treads -- is a different one. It is the

issue of unfair discrimination in the private affairs of men. Here government can provide no lasting solution. No law can make one person like another if he doesn't want to. Government can do little more than offer moral leadership and persuasion. The ultimate solution lies in the hearts of men.

Nevertheless, unfair discrimination in the private affairs of men must be of grave concern to all those who serve in national office. The reason is simple: it limits the opportunities for pursuit of happiness open to members of minority groups.

But what can those in national office do about this problem? Some laws will help, but they cannot be relied upon to provide the full solution-- indeed, even a major part of it. This is a moral problem, and local leadership is needed to make headway in solving it. The best thing the President can do is to use his office to persuade and encourage localities to take up the task of leadership.

This means more than calling upon the governors of our states and the mayors of our towns and cities. It means calling upon leaders in the fields of religion, education, business, labor and so on.

And more than that, it means returning to communities the responsibility for local government along with resources to carry it out. Of course, states, localities, religious groups, and associations of private citizens need to provide better educational opportunities for those who are able and motivated to make use of them. But how can these organizations do so when our citizenry is so heavily burdened by federal taxes?

Let us never forget that our people came here as immigrants from all over the world. Each minority group faced some degree of discrimination as it arrived and took root in our society. And each overcame the obstacles of discrimination because -- when all is said -- America is the land of opportunity.

Let me say that I know what it means to be discriminated against, and I sympathize in the depth of my heart with those who suffer discrimination. At the same time, my family and I also know that we would not be alive today if we had been in Poland -- where my grandfather once lived -- in the days of Hitler, Stalin, and Krushchev. We know we would have suffered for no reason other than circumstance of birth.

In a free society, government is by consent -- hence by the opinion -- of the governed. Law as an expression of opinion cannot be more enlightened than the opinion it expresses. Political leadership must always work first for the enlightenment of hearts and minds -- for the opinions which enable men to understand each other and respect their differences.

One thing that will surely poison and embitter our relations with each other is the idea that some pre-determined bureaucratic schedule of equality -- and, worst of all, a schedule based upon the concept of race -- must be imposed as the goal of the so-called "Great Society." That way lies destruction.

The forces working for true equality and true justice lie in the heart of this great American people. Let us place a more patient confidence in their ultimate triumph.

We have come, literally and figuratively, from the very ends of the earth to make this great nation. From many races, nations, and creeds we have made, as we shall ever more perfectly make, under God, one people.

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We also want strength in home, in our economy, and we want it through freedom. Our free enterprise system has brought us the greatest riches of any people on earth. It can continue to do so if we take the bureaucratic shackles off. It can continue to do it if we place our main reliance on individuals, on hard work, on creativity, investment, and incentive.

This Administration talks of a policy war on poverty -- but it has made a truce with unemployment. This nation's unemployment rate is now higher than the average under the Eisenhower Administration. The present Administration chooses the path of expanded Federal programs and jobs -- and you pay the bills for both.

We choose the way of real jobs and real wages in private enterprise. Perhaps even closer to our hearts is what we mean when we speak of purpose through Constitutional order.

Leaders of the present Administration say that government is master, not servant of the people.



NEWS

FOR RELEASE

FOR RELEASE
WEDNESDAY AM'S
October 21, 1964

CAMPAIGN SPEECH BY SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

TUESDAY NIGHT, OCTOBER 20, AT PIKESVILLE, MD.

The theme of our campaign is clear:

- Peace through strength.
- Progress through freedom
- Purpose through Constitutional order.

If we have the strength and will, we will have peace, and the Communists will never bury us. We will instead see the day when those enslaved by Communism will live under freedom.

We also want strength at home, in our economy, and we want it through freedom. Our free enterprise system has brought us the greatest riches of any people on earth. It can continue to do so if we take the bureaucratic shackles off. It can continue to do it if we place our main reliance on individuals, on hard work, on creativity, investment, and incentive.

This Administration talks of a phony war on poverty -- but it has made a truce with unemployment. This nation's unemployment rate is now higher than the average under the Eisenhower Administration. The present Administration chooses the path of expanded Federal programs and jobs -- and you pay the bills for both.

We choose the way of real jobs and real wages in private enterprise!

Perhaps even closer to our hearts is what we mean when we speak of Purpose through Constitutional order.

Leaders of the present Administration say that government is master, not servant of the people.

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Whose government is this, anyway? It used to belong to the people.

We say that November 3 can be the day you get your country back!

You want, and we pledge, an Administration that will restore balance to our government -- to protect and restore our freedoms.

You don't want a Supreme Court that is encouraged to enact laws, rather than interpret them and pass on their constitutionality. And neither do I. When vacancies occur -- as they may during the next Administration -- we want men appointed to the Court who will support the Constitution, not scoff at it!

We want and we pledge an Administration that will respect and support, not overlook or undermine, the local law enforcement needed to protect the lives and property of our citizens -- to make our streets safe. We want to make it safe to live by the law. Enough has been done to make it safe to live outside the law.

Yes, the message of our campaign is clear. It is this:

Stop the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad.

We are in the midst of a campaign for the Presidency of the United States, but you would never know it from listening to my opponent and his curious crew. They talk about everything under the sun but the President's job.

And for good reason. The record shows that the interim President doesn't understand the President's job.

To Lyndon Johnson, running a country means twisting arms and banging heads together. It means buying and bludgeoning votes. It means getting a TV monopoly in his home state and building a private fortune. It means surrounding himself with companions like Bobby Baker, Billie Sol Estes, Matt McCloskey and other interesting men. It means turning people into numbers and manipulating them with computers in the White House. It means craving and grasping for power -- more and more and more, without end.

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And what about his curious running mate, Hubert Horatio Humphrey, this ADA radical of the left? Why does he want so badly to be a heart-beat away from the Presidency? To drag our nation into the swampland of collectivism? To bring Red China into the United Nations? To take hundreds of billions of dollars from your pockets to spend on silly socialistic schememes?

Look closely, my fellow Americans, at this curious crew who would run your country. My opponent calls them the camp of unity. What a curious camp! Here you find the unity of bosses -- bosses of big cities, bosses of big unions, and bosses of big business. Here you find the corrupt, the immoral, the power mad, and the radicals of the left.

This is the curious crew who promise the people, use the people, deceive the people.

Are these to be entrusted with the great power of the Presidency? Are these to be entrusted with the direction of our foreign policy and with the leadership of this nation among all nations of the world?

That, my fellow Americans, is the President's job. The President is the man responsible for the state of our affairs throughout the world.

And I charge that they are in shambles, from one end of the world to the other -- and you know it.

I charge that this Administration has declared a moratorium on government until the election is over -- and you know it.

I charge that this Administration has a Soft Deal for Communism -- and you know it.

I charge that this Administration has a foreign policy of drift, deception, and defeat. And you know that, too.

Drift, deception, defeat -- these are the watchwords of my opponent and his curious crew.

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They let us drift into the missile crisis in Cuba. And then they deceive the American public and the free world about what is happening. They label as irresponsible those who kept warning that the Soviets were bringing troops and missiles into Cuba. They say we had nothing to fear from good old Nikita. They say no Soviet leader really wants to bury us. And the cause of peace suffers defeat.

They let us drift into a Berlin crisis. And when they deceive the free world and the American public into believing we have no right or power to keep the East from literally walling itself off from the West. They deprive victims of Communism of the last freedom left to them -- the freedom to leave Communist enslavement.

And the cause of peace suffers defeat.

They drift into crises in the Congo, in Laos, in Malaysia. And each time they deceive the American public and the free world. Our friends are labeled as enemies -- and they are betrayed. Our enemies are labeled as friends -- and then supported.

And the cause of peace suffers defeat.

They drift into Lyndon Johnson's War in Vietnam. And then they deceive and deceive and deceive. They have never stopped deceiving the American public and the free world. American sons and grandsons are being killed by Communist bullets and Communist bombs. And we have yet to hear a word of truth about why they are dying.

And the cause of peace suffers a shattering defeat.

Drift, deception, defeat -- these are the watchwords of Lyndon Baines Johnson and his curious crew.

In Laos, in Vietnam, in Malaysia, and in the Congo -- in all these places and more we hear the echo of gunfire.

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Ninety miles from our shore sits a bearded, ranting, red dictator. He sits and runs a firmly entrenched base of Communist subversion, guarded by Soviet soldiers and Soviet missiles. And they said--and still say--that the man who put them there was Nikita--the good, the friendly, the reasonable.

We are drifting into catastrophe as surely as the sun sets in the west. And they say, "let us continue".

To help us drift along, the interim President has declared a moratorium on government. He desperately hopes to keep out of trouble if he just does nothing until the election is over. He hopes to put off crises and disasters until then, when the votes are in.

Can you imagine, my fellow Americans, what it would be like to have four more years of drift, deception, and defeat? To have four more years of a Soft Deal for Communism?

My opponent has not told you what he plans to do about the Cold War. He seems to be afraid to speak. But his curious crew has not been silent. Far from it. They have said every wild and crazy thing imaginable.

Listen to the statement of policies of the Americans for Democratic Action. This is the organ of the radical left that Hubert Horatio Humphrey helped to found and served until last month as Vice-Chairman.

The ADA "urges immediate initiation... of negotiations toward diplomatic recognition of the Peiping regime and its accreditation to the UN as the government of China."

The ADA says "our government's eventual aim should be resumption of normal relations with the Cuban government, including renegotiation with regard to the Guantanamo Naval Base."

The ADA favors for Southeast Asia "a neutral buffer zone, which the present Administration has accepted with respect to Laos." It applauds the Administration's policy of forcing our allies in Laos to accept Communists in their government. It describes the struggle against Communist

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aggression in Vietnam as a "civil war that is in the main the result of decay of the totalitarian Diem regime."

Does Lyndon Baines Johnson agree with these shocking views? If not, will he please explain to the American public and to the free world why he wants the most prominent left-wing ADA radical in this country to be a heatbeat away from the Presidency?

We must put an end to drift, to deception, and to defeat. We must end, once and for all, the Soft Deal for Communism.

We have had four years of drift in Washington, and the result is Lyndon Johnson's war. Lyndon Baines Johnson has sowed the wind of weakness. He has reaped the whirlwind of war.

We have had four years of deception in Washington, and the result is shattered prestige. Even the Central Intelligence Agency reports that our prestige has dipped below the peril point.

Are you proud of our fight for freedom? Are you proud of Panama? Are you proud of the burned effigy in Greece? Are you proud when no country is too small to pull Uncle Sam's whiskers and get away with it? Are you proud of wheat deals with the destroyers of liberty?

We bailed our Communist enemy out of a serious economic crisis with that wheat deal and with other aid. Instead of letting the Soviet Union and the Communist world stew in their own troubles, we actually bailed them out. And why? Just because this Administration was foolish enough to believe that Nikita was a "good" communist -- that he was our friend -- that we could trust his word. Just last Sunday, Lyndon Johnson spoke of Krushchev as a statesman who had "demonstrated good sense and sober judgment."

It was bad enough to make a fatal mistake about Nikita Krushchev. It was bad enough to have a foreign policy that made us choose between "good" and "bad" Communists. It was bad enough to count on personal diplomacy to solve the problems of a clash of systems.

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But worst of all was the insane policy of strengthening an enemy who has vowed to bury us.

We now see Krushchev removed from power and replaced by rulers in the Soviet Union. We hear the explosion of an atomic device in Communist China -- and we do not know how much the Soviets had to do with it. We hear the Chinese Communist leaders send a resounding greeting to the new Soviet leaders -- and we hear those leaders respond with soothing words.

Where is the disunity of the Communist world? What has happened to the split between the Chinese and the Soviets? Where is the benefit of the so-called test ban treaty?

We are brought face to face with reality. We must now confront the possibility of an enemy reunified and strengthened by our own policy of aid.

We once faced an enemy plagued with disunity, and we followed a policy that brought back unity and greater strength. We once had friends in the free world who were unified in purpose and strength, and we followed a policy that tore them asunder.

This Administration has lived in the world of empty wishes and slogans. This Administration has completely and fatally misunderstood what Communists mean by peaceful co-existence. It is now time for this nation to move forward into the world of reality and good sense.

Cast out this dangerous policy of drift, deception, and defeat before it is too late. Cast out this Soft Deal for Communism. Be confident and strong. Be proud again.

The challenge of the hour is great. The cause of peace is too precious to be entrusted to men who have a wishbone where they need a backbone. It will not be served by those who practice drift, deception and defeat.

Let us look and thrill to the advance of a great Atlantic civilization, joined by its ocean highway to the United States. What a destiny

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can be ours -- to stand as a great central pillar linking Europe, the Americas, and the venerable and vital peoples of the Pacific.

Let us look to the day when America extends its hand in help, in teaching, and in cultivation so that all new nations will be encouraged to go freedom's way. Let us sweep away the drift, deception, and defeat that make these new nations wander down the dark alleys of collectivism.

With your help and God's blessing, Bill Miller and I will lead this nation forward again along the proven path charted by the wisdom of our history. We will end drift, deception, and defeat. We will bring purpose, integrity, and victory to the cause of peace and freedom everywhere.

As we see the way for what we want, let's see what we wish it were. And we know that Communism -- in Cuba, in Berlin, in Vietnam, in the Congo, in Malaysia, wherever it is at work -- is the only real threat to the peace of the world today.

Peace is for those who are strong enough to keep it. If we have the strength and the will to keep the peace, Communism's wrong idea will be exposed, its internal contradictions will be exploited, and eventually its tyranny will be ended.

If we have this strength and will, Communism will never bury us. And we will see the day when those enslaved by Communism will live under freedom.

I've been in war. I have sons and daughters whom I do not want touched by war -- or by slavery! That's why I want a strong America -- to stop the war that is looming on the horizon of this Administration's foreign policy of drift, deception, and defeat.



NEWS

FOR RELEASE

AUTOMATIC RELEASE
6:30 P.M. WEDNESDAY
October 21, 1964

CAMPAIGN SPEECH AT CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER 21, 1964,
BY SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

The theme of our campaign is clear:

- Peace through strength.
- Progress through freedom.
- Purpose through Constitutional order.

We don't mean the sleepwalker peace of this Administration. We don't mean reliance on unproven theories that the enemy will mellow.

We see the enemy for what it is, not for what we wish it were. And we know that Communism -- in Cuba, in Berlin, in Vietnam, in the Congo, in Malaysia, wherever it is at work -- is the only real threat to the peace of the world today.

Peace is for those who are strong enough to keep it. If we have the strength and the will to keep the peace, Communism's wrong idea will be exposed, its internal contradictions will be exploited, and eventually its tyranny will be ended.

If we have this strength and will, Communism will never bury us. And we will see the day when those enslaved by Communism will live under freedom.

I've been in war. I have sons and daughters whom I do not want touched by war -- or by slavery! That's why I want a strong America -- to stop the war that is looming on the horizon of this Administration's foreign policy of drift, deception, and defeat.

(more)

We want strength at home, in our economy, and we want it through freedom. Our free enterprise system has brought us the greatest riches of any people on earth. It can continue to do it if we take the bureaucratic shackles off. It can do it if we place our main reliance on individuals, on hard work, on creativity, investment, and incentive.

This Administration talks of a phony war on poverty -- but it has made a truce with unemployment. This nation's unemployment rate is now higher than the average under the Eidenhower Administration. The present Administration chooses the path of expanded Federal programs and jobs -- and you pay the bills for both.

We choose the way of real jobs and real wages in private enterprise!

Yes, the message of this campaign is clear. It is this: Stop the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad.

Perhaps even closer to our hearts is what we mean when we speak of Purpose Through Constitutional Order.

Leaders of the present Administration say that government is master, not servant, of the people.

Whose government is this, anyway? It used to belong to the people.

We say that November 3 can be the day you get your country back!

You want, and we pledge, an Administration that will restore balance to our government -- to protect and restore our freedoms.

You don't want a Supreme Court that is encouraged to enact laws, rather than interpret them and pass on their constitutionality. And neither do I. When vacancies occur -- as they may during the next Administration -- we want men appointed to the Court who will support the Constitution, not scoff at it!

You don't want an Executive who tries to turn the Congress into a rubber stamp, with a handle where their conscience should be. And neither do I!

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We want humility and honesty of service in the White House -- not arrogance and personal power.

We want lights turned on in the White House. Lights of honesty, lights of leadership.

We want the brightness of examples that will inspire law and order in the land, not the darkness that encourages crime, violence, and the creed of the fast buck.

Yet in the last 3 or 4 years we have seen just about every crime record on the books broken and rebroken -- juvenile delinquency, assault, hoodlumism, theft, murder, dope addiction.

And not only crimes as such, but divorce, school drop-outs, mobs in the streets, and many other symptoms of a sickness in our society.

Now, what does all this have to do with a political campaign -- particularly, a Presidential election?

Is the Administration at fault when a pocket gets picked?

Is it the President's responsibility when a hoodlum breaks a window in a candy store?

Well, let's think about it.

People tend to look upward for guidance, and so leadership and inspiration naturally radiate downward -- and so does corruption.

People look up to their clergy and their churches and they expect to find righteousness.

People look up to their generals and their armies and they expect to find bravery and dedication.

They look up to their President and their Government and they expect to find integrity, honesty, indestructible moral fiber.

Seeing greed and murder, at the highest level, in too many alien governments, Americans want all the more to see in their own government clear and constant evidence of the highest morality.

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Instead they see men who get rich in office. They see one scandal after another swept under the rug. They see the very machinery of their own government put in high gear to keep the public from knowing the truth.

If this can happen in the highest offices of our Federal Government and if the people come to accept it with a shrug -- then why not in state governments, in county administrations, in our cities and towns?

And if our officials can get away with crooked deals and shady practices, why not our private citizens? Why not our children?

It's not enough that this example is reflected downward. It is as if it must be projected downward -- almost as if there were a will to promote such practices.

Listen to Mr. Katzenbach, who has taken the place of Lyndon's reject as Acting Attorney General. He says, "The most dangerous thing about organized crime is the extent to which it corrupts local government and police officials."

And, "of course," he says, "your kids think the cop isn't honest, think the City Council is on the take...."

There's encouragement for honest policemen, for you! There's a good excuse for a record crime wave in this Administration! Blame it on crime itself -- with the help of corrupt officials.

Blame it on the little fellow, the man down the line. The city councilman, the police chief, the cop on the beat.

Just call the officer on the beat dishonest -- but carefully and quietly and lengthily and expensively investigate to see if there's really any evidence against Bobby Baker! Any by all means -- drag it out until the election is over!

And whatever you do, don't mention Billy Sol Estes. And forget about Matt McClosky. Or have you already forgotten about them?

Does this make any sense to you at all?

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When corruption and immorality are discovered in high councils, why can't your President just say so -- just tell us it's being dug out and destroyed?

What kind of private club has this Administration been running? Whose government is it anyway? It used to belong to the people.

How, you will rightly ask, will Bill Miller and I restore domestic tranquility to this land? Well, let me tell you how we will do it.

First, by example at the top.

But example alone is not enough. The President must use the power and influence of his office to strike at the roots of the breakdown in law enforcement.

Now, my opponent in this election would not understand what this means. To him, the way to solve a problem is to appropriate a few hundred million dollars of taxpayers' money, and see if the problem will disappear along with the money. If that doesn't happen, the next thing to do is to create a new bureaucracy in the White House to meddle in the affairs of others.

And while he meddles, the nation's capital is being consumed by crime.

Here is a Federal responsibility -- the domestic tranquility of the District of Columbia. What, you might ask, has my opponent done to fulfill his grave responsibility toward law and order in our capital city?

Let's take a look at the dismal record of major crimes in our nation's capital.

There are twenty-one cities in the United States with more than a half-million population in 1960. Washington ranks ninth in size. But in the rate for major crimes against persons, it ranks first.

The crime rate against persons in the District of Columbia is more than four times the national average.

And do you know what has happened this year to major crimes in Washington? In the first six months they rose 34 per cent in comparison with

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the same period last year. This is more than double the increase for the entire nation. Rape, assault, burglary, and robbery together rose 47 per cent. Auto thefts went up by the fantastic figure of 86 per cent.

Since 1960, juvenile court cases have risen by 67 per cent. In the last year alone, the increase was 23 per cent.

What a place of shame and dishonor our nation's capital occupies! Just what has the interim President done, by example or leadership, to restore domestic tranquility in the District of Columbia?

We have heard of and seen many wars in the time of the present Administration. But have we yet heard of the essential war -- the war against crime? No, not even in the city whose rule lies in the hands of the Federal government.

This I can pledge to you -- that I will launch that attack. We will first of all use our power and influence to see that law enforcement officers, on the state and local level, get back the power they need to carry out their job.

Let me make this crystal clear: Enforcement of the law is a state and local responsibility. There is no room in this country for a federal police force. And there is no need for one.

But there is urgent need to return to state and local authorities the traditional powers to apprehend and punish criminals, powers that have only recently been taken away from those authorities by federal courts -- particularly the Supreme Court.

I know you will agree with me that something needs to be done. And let me suggest three things that can be done.

First, in making appointments to the federal judiciary, the President must consider the need to redress constitutional interpretation in favor of the freedom and rights of the law-abiding citizens. He must appoint men fully qualified to carry out their judicial duties and to respect the Constitution.

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Ask yourselves whether my opponent would appoint such men. Remember that the recent decisions open to criticism have been made by a closely divided Supreme Court.

Second, if the Court's decisions should remain unaltered, the President can urge amendment of the Constitution. Such amendment should give back to the states those powers absolutely necessary for fair and efficient administration of criminal law. It should safeguard rights of criminal defendants, while giving the states power to enforce law and order.

Third, the President should urge Congress to consider changing some of the rules of judicial procedure in the federal courts. Congress clearly has this power under the Constitution. I refer here to those rules that one of our greatest jurists, Benjamin Cardozo, once characterized as meaning that "the criminal is to go free because the constable has blundered."

These three proposals are constructive steps in the direction of sounder law enforcement. But they can be advanced only by the right leadership.

And, above all, that leadership must show, clearly and constantly, the morality and the honesty which our people have every right to expect.

Doesn't your heart cry for a little common, ordinary honesty -- a little simple straight-forwardness?

Aren't you getting sick to death of carefully prepared and ambiguous statements?

Can't that man talk to you as human beings?

My friends, example begins at the top. And a Government that is to hurl stones at corruption must be without sin.

I can never lay claim to being above human error. But I make you one flat and unrestricted promise, here and now: When I go to the White House-- from the day I first walk in until the day I last walk out--I'll be honest with you.



NEWS

FOR AUTOMATIC RELEASE FOR RELEASE
6:30 P.M., EDT, WEDNESDAY
October 21, 1964

NATIONWIDE TV ADDRESS ON 'SOVIET SHIFT AND U.S. POLICY'

OVER ABC NETWORK, 10:30-11 P.M., EDT., OCTOBER 21, 1964

BY SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

Good evening..My fellow Americans..before doing anything else I want to call your attention to two headlines in this week's news.

"Kremlin shift hints harder line".

"Brezhnev hints at improved links with Peking".

These tell a story which seems to contradict the story you heard from President Johnson last Sunday evening. That is why I am here tonight.

I come before you this evening to discuss two events of great importance to the security of this nation and the free world.

As you all know..Krushchev has been thrown out of the government of the Soviet Union..and the dictatorship of that country has been put into the hands of new leaders.

As you also know..a nuclear explosion took place in Red China within hours of this change in government.

These are momentous events. They present both a challenge and an opportunity to this country. You deserve a straight and honest explanation from each candidate for the Presidency on how he proposes to meet this challenge and exploit this opportunity.

I have said many times..and I repeat it again tonight..that every President owes it to the American people to take them into his full confidence when critical decisions confront the nation. This is particularly true when national security is at stake. We cannot afford...and let me stress that..we simply cannot afford any security risks.

Now..what is the significance of these events in the Communist world?

First..the Communist threat to our security has become more grave. The dissension in Communist ranks..brought on by a clash of personalities..

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is being repaired. Red China and the Soviet Union seem to be patching up their differences..and we must look forward to being faced by a more unified Communist movement.

Second..the foreign policy of the present Administration...based on a belief that there are 'good' and 'bad' Communists..has been an utter failure. It has failed to halt the march of Communism and the testing of nuclear weapons and the spread of nuclear power through the Communist world. This policy..if I may call it that..has instead helped the Communist world through a time of troubles and allowed it to emerge as a greater threat than ever to the freedom of the West.

Third..these events have laid bare..for all to see..the real meaning of "peaceful co-existence". By this slogan..the Communists simply mean.. "We won't hurt you if you peacefully surrender to us."

Now..let's see why these conclusions are so clear. Over the last several years we have all read about the troubles besetting the Communist world. There were grave economic difficulties everywhere...in the Soviet Union..in its European satellites...in Red China and its satellites.. in Cuba..everywhere. Beyond that..Mao Tse tung..the dictator of Red China..was quarreling with Khrushchev..the dictator of the Soviet Union. They were quarreling over who would be the big boss of the entire Communist movement and what would be the best way to bury us.

Meanwhile the Communist countries of Eastern Europe..were becoming restless and were demanding more independence.

Khrushchev decided that the best way to get out of trouble and to stay on top was to get the West to bail him out. And so he dusted off the old slogan of "peaceful co-existence"...and worked it on the leaders of the present Administration with a soft sell. And they fell for it.

Khrushchev we were being told was a "good" Communist..one who was concerned as we were with finding a peaceful resolution of the conflict between Communist aggression and western resistance. Only last Sunday.. Lyndon Johnson paid tribute to him as a man of "good sense and sober judgement."

We were also being told that standing against Khrushchev were the "bad" Communists...namely..his personal enemies in Red China. Why were they "bad" because they openly admitted that Communism could not conquer

the world without fighting wars against the free nations.

Never mind that Khrushchev vowed to bury us. Never mind that the only difference between 'good' and 'bad' Communists is a disagreement on how to bury us. Khrushchev thought we would simply surrender without putting up a fight..while the Chinese and some other Communists thought some fighting would be necessary.

But never mind those things. This Administration embarked on the dangerous policy of being nice to the "good" Communists. If their economy fails..sell them wheat at bargain prices. If they are short of cash..give them credit. If they promise not to blow up any more nuclear bombs..sign a treaty giving our solemn...and faithful...word not to do the same. If they object to our armaments program..cut it back unilaterally. If our pursuit of national interest in Cuba makes them nervous..promise never to rock the boat as long as Communism reigns.

In these and other ways..we actively helped Khrushchev over his difficult times. We helped this man who did not hesitate to remind us that he intended to bury us. Listen..for example..to what he said last July:

"Of course, when I say that we are against war, I mean aggressive, predatory wars. But there are other wars, wars of national liberation: such wars are just and sacred. We support the peoples who take up arms and uphold their independence and freedom, and we support them not only in words but by concrete deeds."

In other words..it's all right to kill our boys in Vietnam..or Cuba.. or the Congo...or anywhere people are being "liberated" by Communism. Do you think for a moment that the United States is not also marked for Communist "liberation"?

And let's just see what the Communists really mean by "peaceful co-existence". Here's what an official journal of the international Communist movement says:

"Peaceful co-existence, being a form of the class struggle between capitalism and socialism, provides, as the events of recent years have shown, a favorable climate for the revolutionary struggle of all peoples. It is in the conditions of peaceful co-existence that

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the colonial system of imperialism has disintegrated, that the socialist revolution has triumphed in Cuba, and that the working class and democratic movements have grown in the capitalist countries. Peaceful co-existence, then, does not signify "accommodation" with imperialism, "reconciliation" between the oppressed and the oppressors, or "co-existence of ideologies" but the future development of the class struggle -- economic, political and ideological."

Mark these words well. This is what the Communists really mean by "peaceful co-existence." They do not mean "peace". "Peaceful co-existence" is simply the Communist strategy for world conquest. Communists may sometimes disagree about the best tactics for carrying out this strategy.. but they all agree on the strategy.

Now the only thing any reasonable man can conclude is that the present Administration has made the mistake of thinking that "peaceful co-existence" is the same as "peace." And it has made the mistake of trying to distinguish different kinds of Communism..and of supporting some and not others. It has ignored the fact that all Communists agree on the same goal...a Communist dominated world. And so this Administration chose Khrushchev as the 'good' Communist who should be supported. But some months ago it began to be clear that Khrushchev was not doing so well.. even with help from the United States.

Khrushchev pushed his tactical differences with the Chinese leaders too far last summer. His call for a conference of all Communist parties gave those parties an opportunity to disapprove of him and his tactics. Such objections came out in the open in the testament supposedly left by Togliatti..the leader of the Italian Communist Party..who died during a visit to the Soviet Union last July. Finally..just a little over a week ago..the French Communist Party flatly refused to attend the conference and declared its support for a greater independence of parties.

While this opposition was growing outside the Soviet Union..interesting changes in party and government were taking place inside as well. Khrushchev's self-appointed successor..Frol Kozlov..disappeared. They said only that he had suffered a stroke. A man named Brezhnev gradually took

his place in the party organization..moving from his ceremonial post as head of state. Some old Communists..such as Suslov..who prosecuted the case against Khrushchev..remained in power. Men little known in the West..such as Panomorov..seemed to have increasing influence. Mikoyan... the hardy perennial of the Soviet scene...and Kosygin...a relative newcomer who was to take Khrushchev's place in the government...shifted about in their positions. New men rose up in the party and government structure... men like Ustinov..who has been connected with the armament industry. There were other organizational changes and counterchanges.

Soviet and Chinese party emissaries met in a conference in East Germany. Rumors flew of an imminent nuclear explosion in Red China..and these were given credence by our own secretary of State.

In short..there were many signs that something was afoot.

Yet this Administration was caught completely by surprise when Khrushchev was deposed. Last Sunday on television..the Secretary of State confirmed the fact that the Administration was caught flat footed by Khrushchev's fall.

The Administration was undoubtedly caught even more by surprise when the leaders of Red China immediately congratulated the new rulers of the Soviet Union and forecast a new era of friendly relations between the two countries. Here is what their message said:

"On learning that Comrade Brezhnev has been elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and that Comrade Kosygin has been appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers, we extend you our warm greetings.

"It is our sincere wish that the fraternal Soviet people will achieve new successes in their constructive work in all fields and in the struggle for the defence of world peace.

"The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese government, and the Chinese people rejoice at every progress made by the great Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet people on their road of advance.

"The recent successful launching and landing of the Soviet space ship represented another great achievement of the working people of the Soviet Union. We wish to avail ourselves of this opportunity to

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convey our sincere congratulations to you, and through you to the great Soviet people.

"The Chinese and Soviet parties and the two countries unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian Internationalism.

"May the fraternal, unbreakable friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples continuously develop.

"May the Chinese and Soviet peoples win one victory after another in their common struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and for the defense of world peace."

Can you imagine a stronger message of friendship and declaration of unity? And remember this was sent by the four top leaders of Red China..the chairman of the party..the president..the head of the armed forces..and the prime minister. And here is the response given this week by Brezhnev, the new Communist leader.

"Our party will strive for the strengthening of the unity of the great community of the fraternal socialist countries on a fully equal footing and on the basis of correct combination of the common interests of the socialist community with the interests of the people of each country, the development of an all-sided cooperation between the socialist states, in our common struggle for peace and socialism. "

Where is the Chinese-Soviet rift today? Can we even be sure that the Soviet Union did not take a hand in the nuclear explosion? What does the test ban treaty mean now...if it ever meant anything?

You may recall that I warned of the possibility..when the test-ban treaty was before the Senate..that the Soviets might easily evade the treaty by conducting their tests in Red China. Surely nothing prevents them from doing so.

So..where do we stand?

Every sign before us now says that our policy toward the Communists has been a failure. It was bad enough to make a fatal mistake about Nikita Khrushchev. It was bad enough to have a foreign policy...if we may call it that...based on a choice between "good" and "bad" Communists. It was bad enough to count on personal diplomacy to solve the problems of a clash of systems.

But worst of all was the insane policy of strengthening an enemy who has sworn to bury us.

We are now brought face to face with reality. We must now confront an enemy re-unified and strengthened by our policy of aid.

This Administration once faced an enemy plagued with disunity and trouble..and it followed a policy that brought back unity and greater strength.

This Administration once had friends in the free world who were unified in purpose and strength..and it followed a policy that tore them asunder. This Administration has lived in the world of empty wishes and slogans.

It is now time for this nation to move forward into the world of reality and good sense. And I pledge to you that I will lead you back to sanity in our foreign relations.

Here are the three things we must do immediately in establishing a sensible policy toward Communism.

First..we must rebuild our once grand alliances. And we must start with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Here in these fifteen countries rests more than two thirds of the world's productive capacity. Here live 470 million intelligent and able people. The economic power of our North Atlantic allies..taken together..equals our own.

Here are the elements of power in the free world. Here are all the elements we need..already in being...just waiting to be put to use in ending the Communist threat.

Only one thing is missing..but it means everything. That one thing is unity...unity in cause..unity in purpose..and unity in action. In its place..we have disunity and disarray..brought to the free world by four years of drift..deception..defeat.

How can we create unity out of chaos? It will not be easy..but it can be done by a bold and joint attack on the roots of the problem.

I have already pledged that one of my first acts as President will be to initiate a call for a North Atlantic conclave. That conclave will have a single purpose...to create a North Atlantic community unified in spirit..purpose..and action.

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As the first move..I will name a blue ribbon delegation of American citizens to meet with the delegates from other NATO nations to plan the conclave. Those great statesmen of this nation who helped build NATO should join in leading the American delegation..

Only through such a bold venture can we create a climate of true friendship and partnership. We must reclaim our friends and reassure them of our own friendship through concrete deeds. We must treat them as genuine partners in the pursuit of freedom.

The second thing we must do is to recognize that Communism is our enemy...the whole of Communism..not just some faction of the movement. After all..we spend fifty billion dollars a year to defend ourselves against the "good" Communists..so-called by this Administration. We must understand the nature..aim..and strategy of the international Communist movement. We must never let the zigs and zags in tactics take our eyes off the ultimate strategy...which is plainly and simply a blueprint for world revolution and world conquest.

The third thing to do is to confront Communism with a firm policy of resistance. We must move as quickly as possible to rebuild a policy of strength and resolution..with the overriding goal of promoting our national interests. This is the only policy Communist leaders understand and respect. We will keep the peace if..and only if..we take a firm stand against Communist aggression...if.. and only if..we insist on concrete concessions and safeguards every step of the way toward a lasting peace.

Of course we must act prudently and cautiously. Of course we must make responsible use of our great power.

But let us never again fall into the trap of thinking that weakness means prudence..or that inaction means caution. These are the truly irresponsible policies. These are the policies that have led this Administration down the road to failure and our nation to the brink of disaster.

We face a challenge and an opportunity. Before us lies a new team in control of the Soviet Union. There will be days and months and perhaps even years of jockeying for power. We cannot see the final outcome.

But what we do now..in the immediate future..will play a major role in shaping the future of freedom throughout the world. If we have the will and wisdom to show the Communist leaders that we firmly intend to protect and promote our interests..we will blunt the thrust of Communist aggression. We will deny success to their ambitions for expansion. We will cause the Communist leaders to look inward to their own internal problems and to work out solutions..solutions that can be found only through relaxing the totalitarian despotism that now reigns in the Communist world. Then we can have real hope for lasting peace.

My fellow Americans..you have a clear choice to make. You may continue the bankrupt policy of this Administration..a policy of drift and deception. This can only lead to defeat...to an ultimate choice between total war or total surrender.

Or you can strike out once again on the path of peace through strength and resolution. This is the only responsible course...the only course to peace and freedom.

I have faith in the choice you will make. And with your help and with God's blessing..I will take up the task of leadership.

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NEWS

AUTOMATIC RELEASE FOR RELEASE
AT 8:30 P.M. EDT., SATURDAY
October 24, 1964

CAMPAIGN SPEECH AT MIDWEST UNIVERSITY STADIUM, WICHITA FALLS, TEXAS,
OCTOBER 23, 1964, BY SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

The theme of our campaign is clear:

- Peace through strength.
- Progress through freedom.
- Purpose through Constitutional order.

We don't mean the sleepwalker peace of this Administration. We don't mean reliance on unproven theories that the enemy will mellow.

We see the enemy for what it is, not for what we wish it were. And we know that Communism -- in Cuba, in Berlin, in Vietnam, in the Congo, in Malaysia, wherever it is at work -- is the only real threat to the peace of the world today.

Peace is for those who are strong enough to keep it. If we have the strength and the will to keep the peace, Communism's wrong idea will be exposed, its internal contradictions will be exploited, and eventually its tyranny will be ended.

If we have this strength and will, Communism will never bury us. And we will see the day when those enslaved by Communism will live under freedom.

I've been in war. I have sons and daughters whom I do not want touched by war -- or by slavery! That's why I want a strong America -- to stop the war that is looming on the horizon of this Administration's foreign policy of drift, deception, and defeat.

Perhaps even closer to our hearts is what we mean when we speak of Purpose Through Constitutional Order.

Leaders of the present Administration say that government is master, not servant of the people.

Whose government is this anyway? It used to belong to the people.

We say that November 3 can be the day you get your country back!

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You want, and we pledge, an Administration that will restore our freedoms. You don't want a Supreme Court that is encouraged to enact laws, rather than interpret them and pass on their Constitutionality. And neither do I. When vacancies occur -- as they may during the next Administration -- we want men appointed to the court who will support the Constitution, not scoff at it!

You don't want an Executive who tries to turn the Congress into a rubber stamp, with a handle where their conscience should be. And neither do I!

We want humility and honesty of service in the White House -- not arrogance and personal power.

We want lights turned on in the White House. Lights of honesty, lights of leadership.

We want the brightness of examples that will inspire law and order in this land, not the darkness that encourages crime, violence, and the creed of the fast buck.

We want and we pledge an Administration that will respect and support, not overlook or undermine, the local law enforcement needed to protect the lives and property of our citizens -- to make our streets safe. We want to make it safe to live by the law. Enough has been done to make it safe to live outside the law.

Yes, the message of our campaign is clear. It is this:

Stop the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad.

Here we are in the midst of a campaign for the Presidency of the United States, but you would never know it from listening to my opponent and his curious crew. They talk about everything under the sun but the President's job.

And for good reason. The record shows that the interim President doesn't understand the President's job.

To Lyndon Johnson, running a country means twisting arms and banging heads together. It means buying and bludgeoning votes. It means surrounding himself with companions like Bobby Baker, Billie Sol Estes, and Matt McCloskey. It means turning people into numbers and manipulating them with computers in the White House. It means craving and grasping for power -- more and more and more, without end.

And what about his curious running mate, Hubert Horatio Humphrey, this ADA radical of the left? Why does he want so badly to be a heartbeat away from the Presidency? To drag our nation into the swampland of collectivism? To bring Red China into the United Nations? To take hundreds of billions of dollars from your pockets to spend on silly socialistic schemes?

Look closely, my fellow Americans, at this curious crew who would run your country. My opponent calls them the camp of unity. What a curious camp! Here you find the unity of bosses -- bosses of big cities, bosses of big unions, and bosses of big business. Here you find the corrupt, the immoral, the power mad, and the radicals of the left.

This is the curious crew who promise the people, use the people, deceive the people.

Are these to be entrusted with the great power of the Presidency? Or shall we reject these men and move forward again along our proven path of progress through freedom.

Now, I want you to pause with me and think about what that means. What is freedom? What is progress? How does freedom bring progress?

When words are thrown into the arena of politics, their meanings often become confused. And that is just what has happened to the word "freedom".

The confusion began more than two decades ago when you were told that your government has the power to give you freedom -- to give you such things as freedom from want and freedom from fear. More recently, you have been told that government can make you free from poverty and free from insecurity. Those who seek national office are now even beginning to promise you freedom from worry and responsibility.

Of course, nobody want to be poor or worried or frightened or insecure. But do you really believe that government can make you rich and happy and confident and secure? Is that what you think freedom is, something somebody in the White House can give you if he feels like it?

Do you really believe there is somebody so wise and prudent and powerful that he can -- or will -- give you those things if you just put him in the White House? Do you really believe him when he tells you how smart and big-hearted he is?

Of course you don't.

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You and I know that all these things are the very opposite of what the founders and builders of this nation meant by freedom. You and I know that the Declaration of Independence was written by men who had their bellies full of oppressive government. And the framers of the Constitution were determined that we should never again have a government distant and arbitrary.

To them the meaning of freedom was clear. It meant freedom from oppressive government.

They wanted citizens to be free to live their own lives, make their own decisions -- yes, make their own mistakes and bear the responsibility for them. They believed in the people. They believed that the individual citizen was competent to look after his own affairs. They believed in the self-reliance, enterprise, and initiative of the individual and family. They knew that progress would come from -- indeed meant nothing more than -- fulfillment of the whole man in a society of liberty and opportunity.

These men -- these founders and builders of our mighty republic -- were no idle dreamers. They were hard-headed and practical men. And they were men of vast wisdom. They knew that liberty without order would become the license of the mob and the jungle. There must be government to maintain law and order, to protect person and property, to enforce private contracts, to encourage freer and more effective markets at home and abroad, and to provide monetary stability.

And, yes, they knew government must stand ready to aid the helpless and support those in need.

These wise men wanted a government of compassion, leadership, and restraint. To preserve freedom, government must, they knew, be both limited and dispersed. It must be close to the people. Only in this way can government be kept responsible to the people. Only in this way can government be kept from becoming so arbitrary and so strong that it threatens freedom. Only in this way can there be variety, creative diversity, and experimentation in policies -- healthy competition between units of government.

This was their great vision. For many years it guided our way. But over the last three decades, government has increasingly become master, not servant. Increasingly, power has been gravitating to the White House, away from our towns, counties, cities, and states. Increasingly, government has been engulfing our precious resources.

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If I said to you that the central government will tell you what crops to grow and not to grow, and will fly helicopters over your land to check up on you --

If I told you the central government will make decisions about your local schools and whether or not your children shall pray in them --

If I said to you that the central government will make vital decisions about your children when they are young and your parents when they are old --

If I said to you that the central government will tell you how much to pay those you hire and how much to charge for what you sell --

If I told you all these things, what country would you think I was talking about?

What is happening to us, anyway?

Are we determined to rush headlong into the swampland of centralized collectivism? Do we really want the socialist state that Hubert Horatio Humphrey and his Americans for Democratic Action offer to us?

I say, no. And I think you do, too.

You and I know that this nation of ours has grown great and strong and prosperous through its free economy.

Private property, free competition, hard work -- these have powered the engine of progress.

Our system has preserved and protected our freedom, our right to disagree, our creative diversity, our independence from arbitrary intervention in private affairs.

And it has been a mighty engine of progress. It has enabled the people of this country to rise from a small but independent citizenry scratching out a hard living on the margins of a great continent, to a multitude spanning the continent and living at a level that is the envy of the world.

Progress through freedom has been our heritage. It must remain our guide and our goal.

And you and I know that the immediate task before us is to cut the federal government down to size. We must -- and we can -- stop the reckless growth in federal spending. We must take Lyndon's credit card away from him and keep it out of the grasp of Hubert Horatio. We must use the growth of the economy to provide relief to our citizens from oppressive federal taxes. Your increased earnings should belong to you, and be available for your own use and for

financing activities best handled at the state and local level.

You will also agree that we must get the federal bureaucracy out of the business of running your local affairs through the more than a hundred grant-in-aid programs now in effect. These grants-with-strings, pulled in the White House, must be replaced by grants-without-strings. These would give each state resources needed for use within the state, free of control by the federal bureaucracy.

And when we do these things, the President and Congress will be able to attend to their critical job of looking after foreign relations, national security, and the general welfare.

We must above all free our educational system from the control now exercised in Washington. Education should, of course, be encouraged and promoted, but it should also be kept under the control of local governments or private organizations. Both goals can be met with a system of federal tax credits to parents who bear the costs of education.

While attending to our liberties at home, we must also reclaim our proud heritage as the land of promise for the oppressed and enslaved throughout the world. Let our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, and our living example inspire the down-trodden everywhere!

Let us make it crystal clear to Communist tyrants that we shall never be satisfied with anything short of restoration of freedom and independence to Captive Nations. What Communist tyrants have stolen from peoples around the globe -- in violation of solemn agreements -- they must restore to those peoples.

This we must declare, for all to hear, if we are to keep faith with our heritage of freedom and honor.

These are the guideposts that mark the way to progress through freedom. You may choose this way, or you may choose the other one open to you.

The other is the way of the man who would be the Great Leader of his own "Great Society." He opens up his arms and says, "Bring your troubles to me. I will take care of them for you."

You want more money for the potatoes you didn't grow? He promises he'll give it to you.

You want no responsibilities? He promises he'll do everything for you.

You want no worries? He promises he'll worry for you.

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October 24, 1964

Relax and don't worry. The Great Leader and his curious crew will do for you all those things you find unpleasant to do for yourselves. And all he asks is that you give him more and more power over your lives -- more and more without end.

Never mind the wise statesman who once warned us: "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." That's old-fashioned. That was meant for another age. This is the modern world, a world that you -- and you -- and you -- are too weak or too dumb to cope with. It's a Great Leader you need -- a leader who is more clever than you are, and stronger by far. Put all the power in his hands, and he will give you "true" freedom -- which the old-fashioned call slavery. And then you won't need to be concerned about your oppressed brethren elsewhere in the world.

Is this all a fantastic nightmare? Think about it a minute.

You have a choice to make. Which way will you choose?

I have faith in you. I know which way you will choose. And with your help and with God's blessing, I will bring the country back to the proven path of progress through freedom. We will stop the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad.

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...and I still think the American people are entitled to a choice.

...but more important, if I had to cater to every special interest in the country to get elected, I wouldn't want the job.

...if you ever hear me quoted in this campaign, saying something and contradicting it, look about how wonderful everything is in the world and how secure the peace is and how strongly and firmly we stand as the leaders of freedom -- look again because somebody is kidding you.

...if you ever hear me quoted as wildly and irresponsibly promising that eggs will go up and prices down, that taxes will go down and spending up, that we will have more power in the Federal Government means more and more freedom for the people -- look again because somebody is kidding you.

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NEWS NEW NE
FROM: REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 Eye Street
Washington, D.C. 20006

FOR RELEASE
6:30 P.M. MONDAY
October 26, 1964

CAMPAIGN SPEECH AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY,

OCTOBER 26, 1964, BY SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

I can't help wondering, sometimes, if you've asked yourselves why my campaign is what it is.

I wonder, my fellow Americans, if you think I don't know what views would be most popular. Do you think I don't know what Labor wants to hear, what Management wants to hear, what housewives and diplomats and white collar workers want to hear?

Do you honestly think, after all these years in politics, that I don't know the easy ways to get votes? The promises to make? The subjects to talk about -- and the ones to avoid?

Well, I do!

Let me tell you -- it's impossible to live in Washington these days and not learn these things.

Well, then, you ask why don't I take the easy way?

There are a couple of reasons. First of all, if I just went around telling people what they wanted to hear, I'd sound like Lyndon Baines Johnson. And I still think the American people are entitled to a choice.

But more important, if I had to cater to every special interest in the country to get elected, I wouldn't want the job.

If you ever hear me quoted in this campaign, saying soothing and comforting words about how wonderful everything is in the world and how secure the peace is and how strongly and firmly we stand as the leaders of Freedom -- look again because somebody is kidding you!

If you ever hear me quoted as wildly and irresponsibly promising that wages will go up and prices down, that taxes will go down and spending up, that more and more power in the Federal Government means more and more freedom for the people -- look again because somebody is kidding you!

(more)

If you ever hear me quoted as promising to make you free by forcibly bussing your children from your chosen neighborhood school to some other one just to meet an arbitrary racial quota -- look again because somebody is kidding you!

Now let's get down to some basics.

I want to see an American nation and people that are healthy, sound, prosperous, free, secure, and progressive. I would hope that the interim President feels the same way.

The differences between us is the I say these things are best attained and furthered through the free enterprise and individual liberty upon which this nation was founded -- the free enterprise and individual liberty that account for our growth to greatness.

I have a deep faith in the manhood of American men -- and in American women.

There was a time when references to the principles that guided our founding fathers were considered the very essence of Americanism -- when the style of freedom that Americans have fought and died for was considered the hope of the world.

If this is no longer true, then perhaps it is time for government by decree. Perhaps it is time to mold public opinion rather than ask for it. Perhaps it is time for the people to come straggling back inside the protective walls and settle down to squabbling over their shares of the public dole. As long as they're fed three times a day, they can always be reminded that they enjoy "freedom" from hunger.

You know, once before a great and self-governing people gave up their liberty -- a liberty far less than ours. They put themselves in the hands of their leader, asking only to be fed and entertained. They traded their votes for "bread and circuses". They traded their Senate for an Emperor.

We call them Romans. They lost their nation when they traded away their freedom.

Let me refresh you memory about freedom. For thirty years your own government has been changing the meaning of the word. They began by telling us it meant freedom from want and fear. They have now begun to suggest that it means freedom from poverty and unemployment. Soon, no doubt, it will mean freedom from work, from responsibility -- even from worry.

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My friends, these are the rewards of freedom, not freedom itself. Never forget, there was only one freedom -- only one freedom -- on which this nation was founded. That was freedom from government -- from too much, oppressive government.

Those now in power would like us to forget that the right guaranteed us all was not happiness, but the pursuit of happiness.

I ask you tonight, what is happening to us?

Sometimes I think we should pity them because I'm not sure they know what they're doing. But it is a fact that Lyndon Johnson and his curious crew seem to believe that progress in this country is best served simply and directly through the ever-expanding gift power of the everlastingly growing federal government.

One thing we all know -- and I assure you I do: that's a much easier way to get votes than my way. It always has been. It's political Daddyism and it's as old as demagogues and despotism.

You want something for nothing? The Federal Government will give it to you.

You want to avoid responsibility for bringing up your children and educating them? The Federal Government will take over.

You want to duck the job of facing your local problems and solving them? The Federal Government will do it for you.

Never mind the fact that the power and the money to do these things has to be taken from you before the Federal Government can do them for you. Every step in this direction is a loss of freedom for you!

Relax. Don't worry. The Federal Government will do for you all those things you find unpleasant to do for yourselves. And daily that government will grow more powerful. Daily it will enter new businesses and practices, new areas of private enterprise, where it has no place.

And daily its leaders will expand their power to buy your votes and elect their own successors. Yes, expand their power over you, the people, far beyond anything ever dreamed of by the framers of our constitution. And daily freedom goes down the drain.

And always, they are driving and confusing you with the basic dishonesty that permeates so much political campaigning.

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I speak of peace. Your interim President tells you I want to start a war -- which is ridiculous, and you know it.

I speak of strengthening the Social Security system. Your interim President tells you I want to destroy it -- which is ridiculous, and you know it.

I refer to the fundamental principles on which our great country was founded. My opposition tells you I am living in the past -- which is ridiculous, and you know it.

When I demand a more discriminating and practical foreign aid policy, the word is that Barry Goldwater is an isolationist -- which I'm not, and you know it. You know we need a more discriminating and practical foreign aid policy.

Well, my friends, a man -- an intelligent man -- can carry on this silly political double talk just so long. And it seems to me the voters can listen to just so much of it. And I think you're reaching the end of your rope.

I am determined to penetrate the smokescreen that's been placed between you and me the only way I know how -- by continuing to stand straight and talk straight.

I do recognize that there is a natural, human wish in the hearts of some people to find relief from worry, from fear, from the responsibilities of being people.

It is this very wish that makes them surrender their initiative and their independence in return for empty promises.

Empty promises are cheap -- and cheaper by the dozen.

I, for one, am an ordinary mortal who cannot bring himself to make these unkeepable promises. I believe that the things we must do can only be done by truly free people, governing themselves.

I want to see us do it that way. I'm not ready for the Federal Government to take over those things which we haven't yet done, or even tried. I am not yet prepared to say that our inner needs -- the needs to be looked after and protected and shielded and mothered -- are going to force

(more)

us, as they have other peoples, to give to our central government in Washington the same kind of power from which we bravely revolted in the first place.

I believe in the great American Dream. I say we can be a people led but not driven -- governed, but not ruled -- organized, but not regimented -- taxed, but not bled.

I believe we were right when we decided that freedom meant being free -- and that freedom is an endowment -- a gift from God -- when we founded not a government, but a more perfect union.

I believe that the hope of the world rests not with the American Government -- but with the American people.

And now, perhaps you'd like to have me do a little political forecasting for you. Everyone else has been doing it.

Let me begin by telling you about some of the votes I'm not going to get.

The Nazi and Fascist types -- the bigots -- are not going to vote for me because my grandfather was a Polish Jew. But do we want these votes!

The Communists and radical left-wingers are not going to vote for me because I don't believe we should let the Communists frighten us out of our freedom. But do we want these votes?

The lazy, dole-happy people who want to feed on the fruits of somebody else's labor won't vote for me. But do we want these votes?

The Socialist, ADA-type followers of Hubert Horatio Humphrey are not going to vote for me. The ones who don't care if the Social Security system goes bankrupt as long as it keeps making more and more unkeepable promises -- the ones who are willing to believe that Communism can be "accommodated". None of them will vote for me. But do we want these votes?

Now, may I tell you who, I believe, will vote for me?

People who take the trouble to reread, thoughtfully, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States will vote for me. They're the people who realize that too much government, no matter how juicy the promises sound, is against their best interest.

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People who have learned to be suspicious of never-ending promises of "something for nothing" -- they will vote for me.

People who have the courage and the intelligence to listen to the truth, and think about it. People whose votes can't be bought. They'll vote for me.

People who are sick to death of politicians coming out in favor of happiness and declaring war on misery. People who are fed up with so-called leaders of government promising to legislate worry out of existence. People who will listen for a little while to such transparent, vote-grabbing demogoguery and say -- "Baloney."

They'll vote for me.

But most of all, it will be the people who know that something must be done.

When our Central Intelligence Agency reports our international prestige is already below the peril point, something must be done. Johnson is stalling because elections are coming.

Consider that dragged-out disarmament conference, laboring under the grave danger of commitments without adequate safeguards of compliance. Something must be done.

Johnson has adjourned the conference until after the election.

Americans are dying in Vietnam. He sits tight and silent until after the election.

Americans are dying in Vietnam. He sits tight and silent until after the election.

Critical questions face the General Assembly of the United Nations. Will Russia be made to pay her debts to the U.N. or will they be forgiven. Johnson has postponed the opening session until after the election.

Think of Bobby Baker, Matt McCloskey, Billie Sol Estes -- the 150 quickie security clearance and other lax security practices disclosed by the Otepka Hearings. But Lyndon Johnson clamps on the lid until after the election.

The Defense Department, the State Department, the White House itself -- they all might as well wear large signs saying "Closed Till after Election."

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Now that they aren't busy. The Department of Defense has been busy announcing the success of some missile and radar projects begun under President Eisenhower's Administration. The State Department has been busy avoiding issues and postponing critical business. And the White House goes night and day, directing the strategy and making excuses -- claiming credit for all that's good and pleading ignorance of all that's evil.

Our government is in a state of moratorium until "after the election." And the office of President is being occupied, on a part time basis, by the interim President, who's busy sweeping the business of his office under the rug with Bobby Baker, Billie Sol Estes, Matt McCloskey, and goodness knows what else, until after election.

What kind of a private club are these people running? Who's government is it anyway? I say its yours, not theirs.

People who know that the White House goes begging for a full time tenant, who know that it must be occupied by a President of the people, not by a wheeler-dealer -- people who know that giveaway promises can't promises can't cover up a policy of drift, deception and defeat -- these people are going to do something about it.

That means you.

One last question:

-- If I said to you tonight that the Federal Government will tell you what business you can be in -- what profits you can make -- where you can be in business.

-- If I tell you that the federal government will make decisions about schools and whether or not your child can pray in them; or if your child will attend a particular school to satisfy a slide rule quota.

-- If I say to you that the Federal Government will make vital decisions about your children when they're young and your parents when they're old.

-- If I tell you that the Federal Government will tell you how much to pay those you hire and what to charge for the things you sell.

-- If I told you tonight that the Federal Government will deny you the other side of every right -- such as the right not to associate, as well as the right to associate.

-- If I told you all those things, what country would you think I was talking about?

Well, I'm talking about America! Today!

With God's blessing, let's get it back!

AUTOMATIC RELEASE
AT 6:30 P.M. TUESDAY
October 27, 1964

CAMPAIGN SPEECH IN CLEVELAND AUDITORIUM, CLEVELAND, OHIO, OCTOBER 27, 1964

BY SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

My fellow Americans, we have come to the final days of this campaign. And I'm impressed with how clear the issues have become -- I'm impressed because I know just how hard it has been to get my message past the many obstacles and filters that have been put between us.

But obviously, not all the barriers in the world could keep you from seeing what stares you in the face -- and what you know in your hearts.

Take a good look. You can't help seeing how far this nation of ours has drifted away from constitutional government, away from moral order, away from peace, and away from freedom.

Just think about it for a moment. Do you want my opponent to "let us continue"?

We simply can't continue -- unless we want to commit national suicide. We have to chart a new course of peace and freedom, of morality and constitutional order. We must stop the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad.

And that, my fellow Americans, is why I'm running for the Presidency of the United States.

Stop and think a moment. What kind of a President do you really want?

Do you want a President who will twist arms, manipulate power, and take more and more control over your lives?

Do you want a man who will spend and spend -- and borrow and borrow -- and tax and tax?

Do you want a President who won't bother to find out if his closest advisers are security risks -- even though the survival of our country depends on the secrets they possess?

(more)

Do you want a President who will sit idly by while crime grows five times faster than population?

Who will follow a foreign policy of drift, deception, and defeat -- trusting our Communist enemies and mistreating our free world friends?

Do you want a President who will promise anything and everything, just to buy the job -- promise even to free you from all your responsibilities?

Do you really think the President of the United States should be this kind of person?

Just think about it for a moment. Don't you want a President who, above all, respects the Constitution -- who respects the independence of the other branches of government, and the rights of our sovereign states?

Don't you want a President who opposes the forced bussing of children from their normal neighborhood schools -- who opposes the principle of forced integration as well as forced segregation?

Don't you want a President who will cut your federal government down to size, who will run an honest Administration staffed with men of integrity -- who will make his Administration live within its means?

Don't you want a President who will place national security before everything else, who will keep the peace through a responsible policy of strength and high purpose -- who will give back to our nation the dignity, respect, and prestige that it deserves?

You're being asked by my opponent and his curious crew to vote for everything under the sun -- for everything but the American way.

Let's vote for the American way. How about voting for freedom this time?

Now, I want you to pause with me and think about what that means. What is freedom?

When words are thrown into the arena of politics, their meanings often become confused. And that is just what has happened to the word "freedom."

The confusion began more than two decades ago when you were told that your government has the power to give you freedom -- to give you such things as freedom from want and freedom from fear. Those who seek national office are now even beginning to promise you freedom from worry and responsibility.

Of course, nobody wants to be poor or worried or frightened.

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But do you really believe that government can make you rich and happy and confident? Is that what you think freedom is, something somebody in the White House can give you if he feels like it?

Do you really believe there is somebody so wise and prudent and powerful that he can -- or will -- give you those things if you just put him in the White House? Do you really believe him when he tells you how smart and big-hearted he is?

Of course you don't.

You and I know that all these things are the very opposite of what the founders and builders of this nation meant by freedom. You and I know that the Declaration of Independence was written by men who had their bellies full of oppressive government. And the framers of the Constitution were determined that we should never again have a government distant and arbitrary.

To them the meaning of freedom was clear. It meant freedom from oppressive government.

That's why they gave us our most precious political gift; a government that is limited and dispersed -- a government that is close to the people it serves. That's why they gave us a Bill of Rights, spelling out the powers specifically denied to government.

Let us never forget that those rights are constantly in danger, not only from frontal assault but also from erosion through unintentional neglect and disregard. No person -- whether government official or private citizen -- should violate the rights of some in order to further the rights of others.

But isn't that very thing happening more and more across this land of ours? I fear it is. And the worst thing about it is that we are being asked to destroy the rights of some under the false banner of promoting the "civil rights" of others.

We only cloud the issue by labelling the real problem before us as one of "civil rights." A man's civil rights are those he has in relation to his government, not in relation to his fellow man. Of course, government should not discriminate among citizens on irrelevant grounds such as color, creed, or religion. And no national political leader believes it should.

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All good Americans agree that the rights guaranteed by the Constitution must be realized. And, as I have said so many times and repeat once again, the President must execute his office and exercise his moral leadership to make sure that this is the case.

Congress must also take action to remedy defects in the laws dealing with genuine civil rights, and that is why I voted for and supported the acts of 1957 and 1960. These laws gave needed protection and security to every citizen's right to vote in federal elections, regardless of race or creed. Nothing less would be faithful to our Constitution.

But the fundamental issue of our day -- the new area into which the act of 1964 dangerously treads -- is a different one. It is the issue of unfair discrimination in the private affairs of men. I am unalterably opposed to such discrimination. But I also know that government can provide no lasting solution. No law can make one person like another if he doesn't want to. Government can do little more than offer moral leadership and persuasion. The ultimate solution lies in the hearts of men.

It is often said that only the freedom of a member of a minority is violated when some barrier keeps him from associating with others in his society. But this is wrong. Freedom of association is a double freedom or it is nothing at all. It applies to both parties who want to associate with each other. And so the barriers infringe the freedom of everybody in the society, not just the minorities.

Now, the removal of such barriers enhances freedom. That is clear. But it is equally clear that freedom is diminished when barriers are raised against the freedom not to associate. We must never forget that the freedom to associate means the same thing as the freedom not to associate. It is wrong to erect legal barriers against either side of this freedom.

We are forced to only one conclusion. As far as the government is concerned, it must ensure freedom of association, but it cannot and should not ensure association itself. That is a matter that must be mutually and freely decided by the individuals involved. It is a matter of the heart and conscience.

And so I endorse the position of the Republican Platform of 1964 on the bussing of school children.

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I say with the Platform that it is wrong to take school children out of their normal neighborhood schools for the sake of achieving "racial balance," or some other hypothetical goal of perfect equality imagined by the theorists of the so-called "Great Society." It is wrong -- morally wrong -- because it re-introduces through the back door the very principle of allocation by race that makes compulsory segregation morally wrong and offensive to freedom.

The bussing of school children is only one example of doctrinaire and misguided equalitarianism. If we extend the principle to its logical end, we are compelled to use racial quotas as a substitute for the principle of equal opportunity in every aspect of social life. Why not move families from one neighborhood to another so that quotas set by some bureaucrat somewhere will be everywhere met? Or workers from one job to another? or business men, or government officials, or any group of any description? Is this what we have in mind when we speak of freedom and equal opportunity?

Of course not. Our aim, as I understand it, is neither to establish a segregated society nor to establish an integrated society. Our aim is to preserve a free society.

Let us never forget that our people came here as immigrants from all over the world. Each minority group -- including my own -- faced some degree of discrimination as it arrived and took root in our society. And each overcame the obstacles of discrimination because -- when all is said -- America is the land of opportunity.

While attending to our liberties at home, let us reclaim our proud heritage as the land of promise for the oppressed and enslaved throughout the world. Let our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, and our living example inspire the downtrodden everywhere!

And more than that, let us display through deeds -- and not through empty slogans -- our compassion for the victims of tyranny. Let us resolve never again to give aid to the godless Communist enslavers of captive peoples anywhere -- in Poland, in Yugoslavia, or in the Soviet Union itself. Let us resolve never again to slam the door on that last hope of the oppressed -- the freedom to leave the country of oppression.

Let us resolve never to permit the shame of another Berlin Wall.

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And let us welcome to our shores those victims of Soviet enslavement fortunate enough to escape from the Captive Nations. Let us once again be the warm haven of those seeking freedom and equal opportunity.

Let us make it crystal clear to Communist tyrants that we shall never be satisfied with anything short of restoration of freedom and independence to Captive Nations. What Communist tyrants have stolen from peoples around the globe -- in violation of solemn agreements -- they must restore to those peoples.

This we must declare, for all to hear, if we are to keep faith with our heritage of freedom and honor.

Yes, ours is the heritage of a free society. To remain free, we must have a government of leadership, restraint, and compassion. It must always stand ready to aid the needy and support the helpless.

I will also make sure that the federal government follows a responsible fiscal policy and preserves the value of the dollar. My Administration will put an end to the inflationary policy of perpetual deficit spending.

I will never do anything to endanger the benefits of those who rely on social security payments. That is, and always has been, my solemn pledge.

These are the guideposts that mark the way to progress through freedom. You may choose this way, or you may choose the other one open to you.

The other is the way of the man who would be the Great Leader of his own "Great Society." He opens up his arms and says, "Bring your troubles to me. I will take care of them for you."

"You want peace? I'll aid, appease, and accommodate the Communists for you.

"You want more money for the potatoes you didn't grow? I'll give it to you.

"You want no responsibilities? I'll do everything for you.

"You want no worries? I'll worry for you."

Relax and don't worry. The Great Leader and his curious crew will do for you all those things you find unpleasant to do for yourselves. And all he asks is that you give him more and more power over your lives -- more and more without end.

Never mind the wise statesman who once warned us: "Power corrupts -- absolute power corrupts absolutely." That's old-fashioned.

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That was meant for another age. This is the modern world, a world that you -- and you -- and you -- are too weak or too dumb to cope with.

It's a Great Leader you need -- a leader who is more clever than you are, and stronger by far. Put all the power in his hands, and he will give you "true" freedom -- which we used to call slavery. And then you won't need to be concerned about your oppressed brethren elsewhere in the world.

Is this all a fantastic nightmare? Think about it a minute.

You have a choice to make. Which way will you choose?

Will you choose the way that continues the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad?

Or will you join with me and stop the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad?

I have faith in you. I know which way you will choose. And with your help and with God's blessing, I will bring the country back to the proven path of progress through freedom.



NEWS

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
October 29, 1964 FOR RELEASE

McKenna

CAMPAIGN SPEECH AT PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

OCTOBER 29, 1964, BY SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

My fellow Americans, we have come to the final days of this campaign. And I'm impressed with how clear the issues have become -- I'm impressed because I know just how hard it has been to get my message past the many obstacles and filters that have been put between us.

But obviously, not all the barriers in the world could keep you from seeing what stares you in the face -- and what you know in your hearts.

Take a good look. You can't help seeing how far this nation of ours has drifted away from constitutional government, away from moral order, away from peace, and away from freedom.

Just think about it for a moment. Do you want my opponent to "let us continue"?

We simply can't continue -- unless we want to commit national suicide. We have to chart a new course of peace and freedom, of morality and constitutional order. We must stop the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad.

And that, my fellow Americans, is why I'm running for the Presidency of the United States.

Stop and think a moment. What kind of a President do you really want?

Do you want a President who will twist arms, manipulate power, and take more and more control over your lives?

Do you want a man who will spend and spend -- and borrow and borrow -- and tax and tax?

Do you want a President who won't bother to find out if his closest advisers are security risks -- even though the survival of our country depends on the secrets they possess?

Do you want a President who will sit idly by while crime grows five times faster than population?

(more)

Who will follow a foreign policy of drift, deception, and defeat - trusting our Communist enemies and mistreating our free world friends?

Do you want a president who will promise anything and everything, just to buy the job - promise even to free you from all your responsibilities?

Do you really think the President of the United States should be this kind of person?

Just think about it for a moment. Don't you want a President who, above all, respects the Constitution - who respects the independence of the other three branches of government, and the rights of our sovereign states?

Don't you want a President who will cut your federal government down to size, who will run an honest administration staffed with men of integrity - who will make his administration live within its means?

Don't you want a president who will place national security before everything else, who will keep the peace through a responsible policy of strength and high purpose - who will give back to our nation the dignity, respect, and prestige that it deserves?

But how can we rebuild prestige abroad when, at home, the very men charged with administration of our foreign policy are working in an atmosphere of doubt and doubletalk? And I mean our State Department.

The case of Otto Otepka represents a shocking example of lax security in our State Department. But there is an even more disturbing aspect of the ordeal of Otto F. Otepka. In this case, we see the evidence of harassment and persecution of Chief Security Evaluator Otto Otepka because he dared to tell the truth about lax security practices in the State Department.

There is the proof - and now even the admissions - that three high-level State Department officials harassed Otepka with a wire-tap on his telephone, a bug on his room conversations and a general surveillance of his actions.

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There is proof now - and even the admissions - that these three high State Department officials gave untruthful and evasive testimony under oath in denying that they had put any listening device on Otepka's telephone or that they had any knowledge of such activity.

What is most shocking is the fact that the Secretary of State has not taken proper effective action to straighten out this mess - this harassment and this giving of untruthful testimony under oath by high State Department officials.

After a Senate Committee exposed the harassment of Otepka and the untruthful testimony under oath about this harassment, did we find Secretary of State Dean Rusk moving quickly to make it clear that the cruel abuse would not be tolerated? No. Did we find Secretary of State Dean Rusk acting quickly to demonstrate that he would punish severely those who gave untruthful testimony under oath? No, we did not.

Two of the three men were permitted to resign. We are told that no black mark was placed on their record indicating disapproval of either the harassment or the untruthful testimony. One of the officials who gave untruthful and misleading testimony under oath has been permitted to continue in a high position in the State Department.

Is this a picture of integrity in high offices at the State Department? Is this an example that will encourage truthful testimony and honest handling of the government's business? It is not.

This is the condoning of the actions of liars and the brutal misusers of government power to cover up the truth about laxity in the State Department security programs.

This is not a matter that has come up recently. It is a case that has been pending for more than a year. There has been sufficient time for Secretary of State Rusk to learn the truth and to take the decent and honorable action necessary to create an atmosphere of honesty and integrity in our State Department.

Instead, Dean Rusk continues to try to fire Otto Otepka - the man who was willing to tell the truth before a committee of Congress.

(more)

Instead, Dean Rusk has coddled the liars, the wire-tappers, the brutal abusers of government power who tried to railroad Otepka.

But, the final responsibility goes higher. The final responsibility is with Lyndon Johnson who has been informed about this case for many months but has done nothing but delay decisions until after the election.

Taken alone, the treatment of Otepka is bad enough. When it is viewed in the context of the cover-up of the Bobby Baker matter, the Billie Sol Estes matter, and the casual reaction to the Jenkins affair it is indeed a sordid picture. What can we expect at lower levels in government if this is the shabby code of conduct that prevails at the Cabinet level, in the State Department, and in the White House?

You're being asked by my opponent and his curious crew to vote for everything under the sun - for everything but the American way.

Let's vote for the American way. How about voting for freedom this time?

Now, I want you to pause with me and think about what that means. What is freedom?

More than two decades ago, you were told that your government has the power to give you freedom - to give you such things as freedom from want and freedom from fear. Those who seek national office are now even beginning to promise you freedom from worry and responsibility. But do you really believe that government can make you rich and happy and confident? Is that what you think freedom is, something somebody in the White House can give you if he feels like it? Of course, you don't.

You and I know that all these things are the very opposite of what the founders and builders of this nation meant by freedom. You and I know that the Declaration of Independence was written by men who had their bellies full of oppressive government.

And the framers of the Constitution were determined that we should never again have a government distant and arbitrary.

(more)

To them the meaning of freedom was clear. It meant freedom from oppressive government.

That's why they gave us our most precious political gift; a government that is limited and dispersed -- a government that is close to the people it serves.

What has my opponent had to say about preserving the rights granted in the Constitution?

Let us never forget that those rights are constantly in danger, not only from frontal assault but also from erosion through unintentional neglect and disregard. No person -- whether government official or private citizen -- should violate the rights of some in order to further the rights of others.

But isn't that the very thing happening more and more across this land of ours? I fear it is. And the worst thing about it is that we are being asked to destroy the rights of some under the false banner of promoting the "civil rights" of others.

We only cloud the issue by labeling the real problem before us as one of "civil rights". A man's civil rights are those he has in relation to his government, not in relation to his fellow man. Of course, government should not discriminate among citizens on irrelevant grounds such as color, creed, or religion. And no national political leader believes it should.

All good Americans agree that the rights guaranteed by the Constitution must be realized. And, as I have said so many times and repeat once again, the President must execute his office and exercise his moral leadership to make sure that this is the case.

Congress must also take action to remedy defects in the laws dealing with genuine civil rights, and that is why I voted for and supported the acts of 1957 and 1960. These laws gave needed protection and security to every citizen's right to vote in Federal elections, regardless of race or creed. Nothing less would be faithful to our Constitution.

(more)

But the fundamental issue of our day -- the new area into which the act of 1964 dangerously treads -- is a different one. It is the issue of unfair discrimination in the private affairs of men. I am unalterably opposed to such discrimination. But I also know that government can provide no lasting solution. No law can make one person like another if he doesn't want to. Government can do little more than offer moral leadership and persuasion. The ultimate solution lies in the hearts of men.

It is often said that only the freedom of a member of a minority is violated when some barrier keeps him from associating with others in his society. But this is wrong. Freedom of association is a double freedom or it is nothing at all. It applies to both parties who want to associate with each other. And so the barriers infringe the freedom of everybody in the society, not just the minorities.

We are forced to only one conclusion. As far as the government is concerned, it must ensure freedom of association, but it cannot and should not ensure association itself. That is a matter that must be mutually and freely decided by the individuals involved. It is a matter of the heart and conscience.

And so I endorse the position of the Republican platform of 1964 on the busing of school children..

I say with the platform that it is wrong to take school children out of their normal neighborhood schools for the sake of achieving "racial balance," or some other hypothetical goal of perfect equality imaged by the theorists of the so-called "great society." It is wrong -- morally wrong -- because it re-introduces through the backdoor the very principle of allocation by race that makes compulsory segregation morally wrong and offensive to freedom.

(more)

The business of school children is only one example of doctrinaire and misguided equalitarianism. If we extend the principle to its logical end, we are compelled to use racial quotas as a substitute for the principle of equal opportunity in every aspect of social life. Why not move families from one neighborhood to another so that quota set by some bureaucrat somewhere will be everywhere met? Or workers from one job to another? Or business men, or government officials, or any group of any description? Is this what we have in mind when we speak of freedom and equal opportunity?

Of course not. Our aim, as I understand it, is neither to establish a segregated society nor to establish an integrated society. Our aim is to preserve a free society.

Let us never forget that our people came here as immigrants from all over the world. Each minority group -- including my own -- faced some degree of discrimination as it arrived and took root in our society and each overcame the obstacles of discrimination because -- when all is said -- America is the land of opportunity.

While attending to our liberties at home, let us reclaim our proud heritage as the land of promise for the oppressed and enslaved throughout the world. Let our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, and our living example inspire the down-trodden everywhere.

And more than that, let us display through deeds -- and not through empty slogans -- our compassion for the victims of tyranny. Let us resolve never again to give aid to the godless Communist enslavers of captive peoples anywhere -- in Poland, in Yugoslavia, or in the Soviet Union itself. Let us resolve never again to slam the door on that last hope of the oppressed -- the freedom to leave the country of oppression.

Yes, ours is the heritage of a free society. To remain free, we must have a government of leadership, restraint, and compassion, it must always stand ready to aid the needy and support the helpless.

I will also make sure that the Federal Government follows a responsible fiscal policy and preserves the value of the dollar. My Administration will put an end to the inflationary policy of perpetual deficit spending.

I will never do anything to endanger the benefits of those who rely on social security payments. That is, and always has been, my solemn pledge.

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These are the guideposts that make the way to progress through freedom. You may choose this way, or you may choose the other one open to you.

The other is the way of the man who would be the great leader of his own great society. He opens up his arms and says, bring your troubles to me. I will take care of them for you.

You want peace, I'll aid, appease, and accommodate the Communists for you.

You want more money for potatoes you didn't grow? I'll give it to you.

You want no responsibilities? I'll do everything for you. You want no worries, I'll worry for you.

Relax and don't worry. The great leader and his curious crew will do for you all those things you find unpleasant to do for yourselves. And all he asks is that you give him more and more power over your lives, more and more without end.

Never mind the wise statesman who once warned us: "power corrupts -- absolute power corrupts absolutely." That's old-fashioned.

That was meant for another age. This is the modern world, a world that you -- and you -- and you -- are too weak or too dumb to cope with.

It's a great leader you need - a leader who is more clever than you are, and stronger by far. Put all the power in his hands, and he will give you "true" freedom -- which we used to call slavery. And then you won't need to be concerned about your oppressed brethren elsewhere in the world.

Is this all a fantastic nightmare? Think about it a minute.

You have a choice to make. Which way will you choose? Will you choose the way that continues the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad?

Or will you join with me and stop the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad?

I have faith in you. I know which way you will choose. And with your help and with God's blessing, I will bring the country back to the proven path of progress through freedom.



NEWS



FOR RELEASE

AUTOMATIC RELEASE

AT 8:30 P.M. EST, FRIDAY

October 30, 1964

CAMPAIGN SPEECH AT THE SPORTS ARENA, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., OCTOBER 30, 1964

BY SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

You are here because you know that there is something wrong in our land and in our world.

You and I want to do something about it. We know that we can do something about it. We know how. We know when. November Third!

Let's make that the day that we Republicans, and Independent Democrats everywhere, turn on the lights in the White House!

Lights of honesty. Lights of courage. Lights of confidence in the people. Lights of individual responsibility.

Let's make that the day we elect an American President who will tell Communism that it is wrong!

I pledge that as President I'll make sure Communism that its wrong. No, our grandchildren won't live under Communism! No, Communism's children will live under freedom!

I pledge that as your President, I will work with you to stop the spread of socialism at home and the spread of Communism abroad.

You remember that Communist doctrine promises to bury us. The interim President, Lyndon Baines Johnson, apparently doesn't remember. He didn't even bother to mention Communism in his acceptance speech.

But we remember Communism's boast and, no, it has never been taken back.

We know that changes in Red leadership have never changed Communism's basic goals in the past.

And there is no believable evidence that the latest changes are any different at all.

All right then, if Communism intends to bury us -- let us tell Communism loud and clear: We're not going to hand you the shovel!

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If Communism intends to hang us, we're not going to sell them the rope!

We say that the time has come to make the wealth of the free world work for the security of the free world!

We say that foreign aid and foreign trade that bolsters Communism while doing nothing to aid freedom, is merely foreign folly.

We say that the time has come to make the economy, the technology, the psychological strength -- yes, the spiritual strength -- of the free world start working for freedom's cause and against the cause of tyranny.

Of course, we must negotiate with Communist leaders -- but we must do it with strength, not fear -- and on our terms for a change.

But what does the interim President, Lyndon Baines Johnson, have to say about the cause of freedom? When he launched his campaign, he described the three elements of his so-called great society. Prosperity, Justice, and Peace.

What about freedom? He didn't even mention it.

Of course we are all working for a society in which all may be well fed, clothed, and housed! But we want more. We want to be free.

What about the other elements of the great LBJ pie-in-the-sky?

Justice? There can be justice in a prison -- if you forget about freedom. And the interim President does forget about freedom.

Peace is the other element. No one wants peace more than we want peace. But we know that you can have peace by surrendering -- if you forget freedom. And the interim President does forget freedom.

We have never forgotten freedom. We will never forget freedom. We've been talking about it across the length and breadth of this land. It's the basic issue of this whole campaign. Let Lyndon Baines Johnson try to forget freedom. Let him try to make you forget it.

We'll remember it. And on November Third, even Lyndon will wish he'd remembered it.

You know how empty political slogans have become. We all want peace. We all want prosperity. We all want progress. We all want -- everything.

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Our job is to look beyond the words. Our responsibility is to understand what the politicians really mean when they say the words -- what they do with the words when they get into office.

Our responsibility is to heed the realities of what we can afford, what we really need, and what we can properly do through political means at the federal level.

We have been spelling out what we mean. We haven't said that we are afraid to debate them, to defend them. We're proud of the principles on which we stand. We're eager to debate them.

But not Lyndon Baines Johnson!

The theme of our campaign is clear.

-- Peace through preparedness.

-- Progress through freedom.

-- Purpose through constitutional order.

Peace is the first element. But we mean peace through preparedness. We mean the real peace that can be kept only with real strength.

We do not mean the sleepwalker peace that relies on unproven hopes that relies on unproven hopes that the enemy will mellow.

We see the enemy, we see Communism for what it is -- not for what some theorists wish it were!

We take Communism's deeds to mean at least as much as its words.

We know that Communism today is the only real threat to the peace. We see it killing Americans in Vietnam. We see it garrisoning the prison island of Cuba. We see it lighting the fuse of war in Malaysia. We see it fanning the flames of war in the Congo.

This Administration has failed utterly to bring us closer to peace!

Instead, by a foreign policy that shifts with every breeze, by a defense policy that stresses our one-sided disarmament, this Administration has tempted Communism to grow bolder to shove us closer to the brink of disaster around the world.

We can have peace, and I pledge you every effort for peace. But real peace must be based upon the preparedness of this country. It cannot be based upon the sands of indecision. It cannot be based upon a dwindling arsenal. It cannot be based upon abandoning efforts to protect ourselves against attack.

No. Peace is for those strong enough to keep it. That's what we mean. That's what we pledge. And that, unless I'm very wrong, is what you want and is one of the government bills that you are willing and ready to pay!

This nation has gone to war three times in this century. But not under a Republican President! Republicans always have understood how to preserve freedom while keeping the peace!

And, despite the most strident and lie-filled campaign that the opposition can launch, the next Republican President -- this Republican President -- will keep the peace just as surely!

A major concern of ours has been the preparedness of this nation, the ability of this nation to defend itself, to deter war -- the ability of its soldiers, sailors, and airmen to protect themselves without being strait-jacketed or stripped of weapons.

This Administration is trying to distort that concern so that you will be frightened into thinking that we want a war.

There is no greater political lie.

We want peace. And we know how to keep peace far better than the present Administration with its policies of drift and crisis.

I have never suggested, nor would I as President move recklessly with our great power. But I would take every step to make sure that the Communists did not move recklessly with theirs! It is Communist power that worries me!

I do not intend to be a wartime President. I know war. I have two sons and I do not want them in war. I have two daughters. I have grandchildren. I want none of them, or none of your children touched by war -- or by slavery!

That's why we want a strong America!

We want an America strong in more than weapons, however.

We want an America that is strong in its ability to create new jobs and better jobs. Our free enterprise system has proven that it can do it!

If we take the shackles off of it, free enterprise can continue to do it.

This Administration talks of a war on poverty -- but it has made a truce with unemployment!

Rather than seeking an expansion of real jobs and real wages, it has chosen the path of expanded federal programs, and expanding federal jobs -- and you pay the bill for both.

Your future and your children's future is mortgaged for both.

We can't spend ourselves rich. But we can work ourselves rich, if the federal government stops the cancerous growth that is eating away the roots of our economic strength.

Never forget -- the government big enough to give you everything you want, is also big enough take it all away.

At the same time, we Republicans will never abandon the needy and the aged. We will never forsake the helpless. But we know that true and lasting solutions of their problems cannot be found in degrading, capricious, and politically motivated handouts from the White House.

Those are the things we mean when we speak of progress through freedom.

Perhaps even closer to our hearts is what we mean when we speak of purpose through constitutional order.

Leaders of the present Administration say that government is master of, not servant of the people.

Responsibility has shifted from the family to the bureaucrat, from the neighborhood to the distant agency. Goals are set, roles are assigned, promises are made -- all by the remote control of central government. And now, this same central government has even given you a number to replace your name!

We want to give you your freedom and your names back again. We want to give the government of this nation back to the people of this nation.

An Administration that understands, rather than one that tries to wreck the balances of constitutional power can do the job!

We do not want oppressive powers in the hands of the executive branch -- or the Supreme Court! We don't want oppressive powers in the hands of Congress or the states. But we do want proper powers restored to the Congress and to the states! We do want the proper balance between all branches and all levels.

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What have we been given by the politicians who seek only the enlargement of executive power or who welcome the assumption of legislative powers by the Supreme Court?

What examples have been set, what lessons learned from that sort of politician?

The shadow of scandal falls, unlighted by full answers, across the White House itself.

Public power and personal gain are talked of across the land -- but not in official Washington where an official silence is imposed on such matters as the case of Bobby Baker.

When a man like Bobby Baker seems to be protected by the full power of the Presidency, we do not have to wonder why the fast buck and easy morals have become the standards of the day for so many.

Why just the other day, the interim President himself brought up the fact that he had been elected to the Senate in 1948 by only a 87 vote margin. He joked about the knick-name this had won him -- "Landslide Lyndon".

Well, let me remind him that his Senate election in 1948 was no joke! It remains one of the most hotly disputed elections in our history.

At least two former governors of Lyndon's own State of Texas have been quoted as suggesting that this election involved possibly criminal acts.

Many of our most reputable national magazines and newspapers have in recent months printed accounts that indicated that more ballots were cast than were distributed, that large numbers of voters cast their votes after the polls were closed, that their ballots subsequently vanished and that a legally contested recount was weighted with new votes for Lyndon Johnson.

Lyndon Johnson's political power stopped a full investigation of that election -- just as it has stopped investigations of wrong-doing ever since.

But Lyndon laughs about it! Lyndon laughs at the people he wants to lead like children into his personal Great Society.

This laughter of Lyndon's laughing at even one of the darkest elections in our history downgrades the very political process that Lyndon seeks to exploit for his personal power.

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No wonder, then, that crime grows faster than population. That riots have too often replaced reason.

We do not want and we do not need a Federal police force to restore law and order in this land. We need leadership and example that will encourage law enforcement at the local level, not obstruct it, not discourage it, not incite people against it.

And in the field of civil rights, particularly, we need some honest and some straight talk.

Civil rights are the rights a man has in relation to his government -- not in relation to his fellow man. Those relations are matters of conscience, not of law.

No law can make one person like another.

And no consideration of freedom of association should ever ignore the fact that the freedom to associate also must guarantee the freedom not to associate.

Those are the elements of challenge and choice in this election. Peace through preparedness. Progress through freedom. Purpose through constitutional order.

Instead:

We have an Administration that talks big, but acts small:

-- That accuses other of recklessness even as it fumbles and bumbles into wars, revolutions, and upheavals around the world:

-- That wants to control everyone politically, but cannot even inspire them morally.

We want a change. Freedom deserves a chance.

The White House needs some light! The whole world needs some light.

And, God willing, we are going to turn the lights on -- and keep them on!



AUTOMATIC RELEASE
AT 6:30 P.M., SATURDAY, EST
October 31, 1964

CAMPAIGN SPEECH AT THE COLUMBIA TOWNSHIP AUDITORIUM, COLUMBIA, S. C.

OCT. 31, 1964, BY SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER,

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U. S.

My fellow Americans, we have come to the final days of this campaign. And I'm impressed with how clear the issues have become - I'm impressed because I know just how hard it has been to get my message past the many obstacles and filters that have been put between us.

But obviously, not all the barriers in the world could keep you from seeing what stares you in the face - and what you know in your hearts.

Take a good look. You can't help seeing how far this nation of ours has drifted away from constitutional government, away from moral order, away from peace, and away from freedom.

Just think about it for a moment. Do you want my opponent to "let us continue"?

We simply can't continue - unless we want to commit national suicide. We have to chart a new course of peace and freedom, of morality and constitutional order. We must stop the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad.

And that, my fellow Americans, is why I'm running for the Presidency of the United States.

Stop and think a moment. What kind of a President do you really want?

Do you want a President who will twist arms, manipulate power, and take more and more control over your lives?

Do you want a man who will spend and spend - and borrow and borrow - and tax and tax?

Do you want a President who will appoint to the Supreme Court the kind of men who will dictate whether or not your children can pray in school - or

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how your states shall form their legislatures and apportion their districts?

Do you want a President who will surround himself with aides and companions who are radicals of the left?

Do you want a President who won't bother to find out if his closest advisers are security risks - even though the survival of our country depends on the secrets they possess?

Do you want a President who will sit idly by while crime grows five times faster than population?

Who will follow a foreign policy of drift, deception, and defeat - trusting our Communist enemies and mistreating our free world friends?

Do you want a President who will promise anything and everything, just to buy the job - promise even to free you from all your responsibilities.

Do you really think the President of the United States should be this kind of person?

Just think about it for a moment. Don't you want a President who, above all, respects the Constitution - who respects the independence of the other branches of government, and the rights of our sovereign states?

Don't you want a President who opposes the forced bussing of children from their normal neighborhood schools - who opposes the principle of forced integration as well as forced segregation?

Don't you want a President who will cut your federal government down to size, who will run an honest Administration staffed with men of integrity - who will make his Administration live within its means?

Don't you want a President who will place national security before everything else, who will keep the peace through a responsible policy of strength and high purpose - who will give back to our nation the dignity, respect, and prestige that it deserves?

You're being asked by my opponent and his curious crew to vote for everything under the sun - for everything but the American way.

Let's vote for the American way. How about voting for freedom this time?

Now, I want you to pause with me and think about what that means. What is freedom?

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- 3 -

when words are thrown into the arena of politics, their meanings often become confused. And that is just what has happened to the word "freedom."

The confusion began more than two decades ago when you were told that your government has the power to give you freedom - to give you such things as freedom from want and freedom from fear. Those who seek national office are now even beginning to promise you freedom from worry and responsibility.

Of course, nobody wants to be poor or worried or frightened. But do you really believe that government can make you rich and happy and confident? Is that what you think freedom is, something somebody in the White House can give you if he feels like it?

Do you really believe there is somebody so wise and prudent and powerful that he can - or will - give you those things if you just put him in the White House? Do you really believe him when he tells you how smart and big-hearted he is?

Of course you don't.

You and I know that all these things are the very opposite of what the founders and builders of this nation meant by freedom. You and I know that the Declaration of Independence was written by men who had their bellies full of oppressive government. And the framers of the Constitution were determined that we should never again have a government distant and arbitrary.

To them the meaning of freedom was clear. It meant freedom from oppressive government.

That's why they gave us our most precious gift: a government that is limited and dispersed - a government that is close to the people it serves. That's why they gave us a Bill of Rights, spelling out the powers specifically denied to government.

Let us never forget that those rights are constantly in danger, not only from frontal assault but also from erosion through unintentional neglect and disregard. No person - whether government official or private citizen - should violate the rights of some in order to further the rights of others.

But isn't that very thing happening more and more across this land of ours? I fear it is. And the worst thing about it is that we are being asked to destroy the rights of some under the false banner of promoting the "civil rights" of others.

We only cloud the issue by labelling the real problem before us as one of "civil rights." A man's civil rights are those he has in relation to his
(more)

government, not in relation to his fellow man. Of course, government should not discriminate among citizens on irrelevant grounds such as color, creed, or religion. And no national political leader believes it should.

All good Americans agree that the rights guaranteed by the Constitution must be realized. And, as I have said so many times and repeat once again, the President must execute his office and exercise his moral leadership to make sure that this is the case.

Congress must also take action to remedy defects in the laws dealing with genuine civil rights, and that is why I voted for and supported the acts of 1957 and 1960. These laws gave needed protection and security to every citizen's right to vote in federal elections, regardless of race or creed. Nothing less would be faithful to our Constitution.

But the fundamental issue of our day - the new area into which the act of 1964 dangerously treads - is a different one. It is the issue of unfair discrimination in the private affairs of men. I am unalterably opposed to such discrimination, but I also know that government can provide no lasting solution. No law can make one person like another if he doesn't want to. Government can do little more than offer moral leadership and persuasion. The ultimate solution lies in the hearts of men.

It is often said that only the freedom of a member of a minority is violated when some barrier keeps him from associating with others in his society. But this is wrong. Freedom of association is a double freedom or it is nothing at all. It applies to both parties who want to associate with each other. And so the barriers infringe the freedom of everybody in the society, not just the minorities.

Now, the removal of such barriers enhances freedom. That is clear. But it is equally clear that freedom is diminished when barriers are raised against the freedom not to associate. We must never forget that the freedom to associate means the same thing as the freedom not to associate. It is wrong to erect legal barriers against either side of this freedom.

We are forced to only one conclusion. As far as the government is concerned, it must ensure freedom of association, but it cannot and should

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not ensure association itself. That is a matter that must be mutually and freely decided by the individuals involved. It is a matter of the heart and conscience.

And so I endorse the position of the Republican Platform of 1964 on the bussing of school children. I say with the Platform that it is wrong to take school children out of their normal neighborhood schools for the sake of achieving "racial balance," or some other hypothetical goal of perfect equality imagined by the theorists of the so-called "Great Society." It is wrong - morally wrong - because it re-introduces through the back door the very principle of allocation by race that makes compulsory segregation morally wrong and offensive to freedom.

The bussing of school children is only one example of doctrinaire and misguided equalitarianism. If we extend the principle to its logical end, we are compelled to use racial quotas as a substitute for the principle of equal opportunity in every aspect of social life. Why not move families from one neighborhood to another so that quotas set by some bureaucrat somewhere will be everywhere met? Or workers from one job to another? Or business men, or government officials, or any group of any description? Is this what we have in mind when we speak of freedom and equal opportunity?

Of course not. Our aim, as I understand it, is neither to establish a segregated society nor to establish an integrated society. Our aim is to preserve a free society.

Let us never forget that our people came here as immigrants from all over the world. Each minority group - including my own - faced some degree of discrimination as it arrived and took root in our society. And each overcame the obstacles of discrimination because - when all is said - America is the land of opportunity.

We can never be satisfied with things as they are, but we must also never believe that progress short of total success is nothing at all, worthless, and deserving only of contempt.

One thing that will surely poison and embitter our relations with each other is the idea that some pre-determined bureaucratic schedule of equality - and, worst of all, a schedule based on racial quotas - must be imposed as the goal of the misnamed "Great Society." That way lies destruction.

(more)

Perhaps even closer to our hearts today is the alarming breakdown in law and order across the country. Crime is growing five times as fast as population. Our nation's capital itself ranks first among large cities in its rate of major crimes against persons - a rate four times the national average.

The most tragic thing of all is that this moral decay has made its most virulent attack on our young people. Did you know that juvenile cases in the District of Columbia courts have risen 67 per cent in the last four years - 23 per cent in the last year alone?

Why are we plagued with this crisis in lawlessness? Is it because we are poor? We are the richest nation on earth. Our riches multiply each year, and our inequalities diminish.

No, the cause is deeper and more dangerous. Our traditional values of individual responsibility and moral obligation have been slipping away at a quickened pace. Corruption and cynicism reach to our highest offices and touch our most cherished institutions. Scandal casts its shadow across the darkened White House itself. Bad example radiates downward, while the apologists of collectivism preach that society is to blame for crime, not the criminal.

Yes, ours is the heritage of a free society. To remain free, we must have a government of leadership, restraint, and compassion. It must always stand ready to aid the needy and support the helpless.

And on one aspect of this matter, let me make my position absolutely clear. Let me, once and for all, sweep away the distortion and outright lies of the opposition.

I have always supported the Social Security system and always will. I have voted for every Social Security act since entering the Senate. I voted for the acts of 1954, 1955, 1956, 1958, and 1961. I supported all the increased benefits in the bill of 1964 - a bill killed by the interim President simply because Congress would not accept Johnson's phony medicare scheme.

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I make this pledge to you: my every effort will be spent in improving the Social Security system, in seeing that our senior citizens get the cost of living increases and other improvements due to them. One of my first acts as President will be to urge Congress to correct the damage done by the interim President in denying our senior citizens the benefits scheduled for them in the 1964 bill.

I will also make sure that the federal government follows a responsible fiscal policy and preserves the value of the benefit dollar. My Administration will put an end to the inflationary policy of perpetual deficit spending.

I will never do anything to endanger the benefits of those who rely on social security payments. That is, and always has been, my solemn pledge.

These are the guideposts that mark the way to progress through freedom. You may choose this way, or you may choose the other one open to you.

The other is the way of the man who would be the Great Leader of his own "Great Society." He opens up his arms and says, "Bring your troubles to me. I will take care of them for you.

"You want peace? I'll aid, appease, and accommodate the Communists for you.

"You want more money for the potatoes you didn't grow? I'll give it to you.

"You want no responsibilities? I'll do everything for you.

"You want no worries? I'll worry for you."

Relax and don't worry. The Great Leader and his curious crew will do for you all those things you find unpleasant to do for yourselves. And all he asks is that you give him more and more power over your lives - more and more without end.

Never mind the wise statesman who once warned us: "Power corrupts - absolute power corrupts absolutely." That's old-fashioned. That was meant for another age. This is the modern world, a world that you - and you - and you - are too weak or too dumb to cope with.

It's a Great Leader you need - a leader who is more clever than you are, and stronger by far. Put all the power in his hands, and he will give you

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"true" freedom - which we used to call slavery. And then you won't need to be concerned about your oppressed brethren elsewhere in the world.

Is this all a fantastic nightmare? Think about it a minute.

You have a choice to make. Which way will you choose?

Will you choose the way that continues the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad?

Or will you join with me and stop the spread of socialism at home and Communism abroad?

I have faith in you. I know which way you will choose. And with your help and with God's blessing, I will bring the country back to the proven path of progress through freedom.



NEWS

FOR AUTOMATIC RELEASE FOR RELEASE
AT NOON, EST, MONDAY
November 2, 1964

CAMPAIGN SPEECH AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., AUDITORIUM, NOV. 2, 1964

BY SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

This is the home of the free and of the brave. Our forefathers came here seeking a new life; a life that they could lead for themselves, with honor, with faith, and with a friendliness that need never be forced.

They hewed and fashioned that new life through hard work and sacrifice and they passed on to us our most cherished heritage--a free and orderly community of men.

Today that free and orderly community faces the grave danger of becoming merely another possession of the White House, and we who live here face the grave danger of becoming the servants of some Big Brother who lives there.

We all sense this danger, not only those of us gathered here, but all of us across this land. There is a stir in the land. There is a mood of uneasiness. We feel adrift in an uncharted and stormy sea. We feel that we have lost our way.

We must and we can find our way to the greatness and a purpose worthy of this nation and its people.

With your help and with God's blessing, we can go forward to greatness in this nation.

Greatness of purpose -- to keep the peace and extend freedom. 12-13

Greatness of action -- to speak clearly and to be heard respectfully once again in the councils of the world. 10

Greatness of heart and self-restraint at home -- to restore law and order, to make our streets safe, without losing liberty. 14

Greatness of vision-- to see beyond the comforts and pleasures of the day toward the towering goals of tomorrow. 15

Greatness of soul-- to restore inner meaning to every man's life in a time too often rushed, too often obsessed by petty needs and material greeds, and too often controlled by the pressure of groups rather than the conscience of the individual.

The individual, the private man, the whole man -- you! -- today stands in danger of becoming the forgotten man of our collectivized, complex times.

The private man, the whole man -- you! -- must and can be restored as a sovereign citizen, as the center of the family, the state, and as the prime mover and moulder of the future.

With your help, we also can return the government of this nation to the people of this nation.

Tomorrow we can take the first step toward ending in our time the erosion of individual worth by a growing federal bureaucracy.

This time, in this election, we have a choice. It is between far more than political personalities, far more than political programs, far more than political promises. It is a choice of what sort of future we want to pass on to our children,

Choose the way of the present Administration and you will have chosen the way of the regimented society, with a number for every man, woman, and child; a pigeonhold for every problem, and a bureaucrat for every decision.

Choose the way of this present Administration and you have the way of mobs in the streets, restrained only by the plea that they wait until after the election to ignite violence once again.

Choose the way of this present Administration and you choose the way of unilateral disarmament and appeasement in foreign affairs.

Choose the way of this present Administration and you make real the prospect of an America unarmed and aimless in the face of militant Communism around the world.

Instead, I ask that you join with me in proving that every American can stand on his own, make up his own mind, chart his own future, keep and control his own family, asking for help and getting help only when truly overwhelming problems, beyond his control, beset him.

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for Twentieth Century problems rather than relying on the old, dis-
proved doctrine of turning our problems, our lives, and our liber-
ties over to a supposed elite in an all-powerful central government.

The path we can take tomorrow is dedicated to that.

The path we can take tomorrow is dedicated to peace, to progress,
and to purpose.

You have heard those words and phrases time after time. You
know how empty they have become. Our task is to look beyond the
words, to understand what the politicians really mean when they
say them, to what they do with them when they get in office.

When we speak of these things we mean something far different
from the opposition party. We mean:

---- Peace through preparedness _____ 10
---- Progress through freedom _____ 13
---- Purpose through Constitutional order _____ 2

These are the themes that we have taken to this great land of
ours, and to an anxious, troubled, and listening world.

The question of peace, for instance, is basic to the differ-
ences between the two major parties.

The present Administration does not understand the nature of
the threats to the peace, the nature of the enemy who threatens the
peace, or the nature of the conflict which, whether we like it or
not, has been imposed upon the entire world.

The fact is that Communism is the only great threat to the
peace! The fact is that Communism is a threat to every free man!
It can't be ignored!

Republicans have proved that they understand these things. The
Republican platform this year shows this understanding. Republi-
can performances in the White House and in the Congress have demon-
strated this understanding.

A major concern of ours has been the military security of this
nation. Some distort this proper concern to make it appear that we
are preoccupied with war.

There is no greater political lie.

We are preoccupied with peace!

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And we are fearful that this Administration is letting the peace slip away, as it has slipped three times since 1914, by pretending that there are no threats to it.

I have carried to the American people this plain message: this entire nation and the free world risks war in our time unless free men remain strong enough to keep the peace.

This Administration, which inherited the mightiest arsenal for the defense of freedom ever created on earth, is so dismantling it that we face the prospect of going into the decade of the 1970's with only a fraction of the flexible, balanced weapon systems which give us the vital options of controlled, graduated deterrence---rather than only a capacity for all-out nuclear confrontation.

This Administration uses the outmoded and unfair military draft system for social schemes as well as military objectives.

Republicans will end the draft altogether, and as soon as possible: That I promise you!

The Republican Party is the peace Party.

We are the peace party because we understand the enemy. We understand his aims. We understand that he always has and always will take risks and seek advantages when tempted by weakness.

I do not intend to be a wartime President.

I have been to war. I have two fine sons and I do not want them in a war. I have two fine daughters. I have grandchildren. I want none of them touched by war.

We seek peace for everyone in this land and in this world.

And I do not intend to see peace and freedom torn away from this nation because we lack will, weapons, or leadership.

I promise an Administration that will keep the peace--and keep faith with freedom at the same time.

The Republican Party, this Party of peace through strength, has no clearer message. Peace has no greater hope.

We cannot support this cause, however, on a base of sand at home. Our economy must underpin the strength with which peace can be kept as well as fill our needs at home. And the key to progress

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there, as it is to eventual peace in the world, is purely and simply freedom.

This country has grown great and strong and prosperous by placing major reliance on a free economy. What we have we owe to the ceaseless strivings of tens of millions of free men to better their own condition and to provide better future for their children and their children's children.

Private property, free competition, hard work--these have been our greatest tools. Let us not discard them now!

This system has preserved and protected our freedom, our right to disagree, our diversity, our independence from arbitrary interference in our affairs.

This system is the mighty engine of progress which enabled this country to develop from a small but independent citizenry to become a multitude spanning the Continent and living on a level that is the envy of the world.

Government-to-government aid from other countries did not do it for us. Hard work and freedom did it! Progress through freedom has been our heritage and must continue to be our goal.

Increasingly, however, government has been absorbing or controlling more and more of our resources, our energy, and our ambition.

Today you work from January through April just to provide government with the money it spends.

Until early February you are working to pay the expenses of local and state government. For twice as long thereafter you are working to pay the expenses of the Federal Government. Only then do you work for money that you yourself can use for what you yourself choose.

This cancerous growth of the Federal Government must and shall be stopped. A Republican Administration will let you use more of your money for yourself.

Of course, the mistakes of the past cannot be corrected overnight. Our economy needs stability and continuity in government policy. We must proceed with care in our task of cutting the government down to size.

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Honesty requires that we honor the commitments government has made to all areas of the economy, whether explicit or implicit.

Good faith requires that we ^{do} not disappoint reasonable expectations based on those commitments.

We, in a Republican Administration, shall never abandon the needy and the aged--we shall never forsake the helpless. We understand their problems in our hearts.

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But we know that a true and lasting solution to those problems cannot be found in degrading, capricious, and politically motivated handouts from the White House. It must ultimately be found in a thriving and compassionate economy and in programs principally handled by the levels of government closest to the people.

Prudence requires that we proceed slowly and steadily in withdrawing the central government from its many unwarranted interventions in our private economic lives. Only so can the private economy adjust smoothly to its properly broadened tasks, without the extra burden of sharp and erratic shifts in policy.

Much as we may wish it were otherwise, we shall only gradually be able to alter many policies of the central government. We shall be able to do so as we develop solutions permitting a smooth transition to new and better arrangements.

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But there are some things we can do at once. We can start at once to slow down the expansion in federal spending. We can start at once to foster an economy that will provide jobs for our growing population. We can, and will, see to it that the job-making sector of the economy--the private sector--flourishes and absorbs the unemployed, particularly among our youth.

We will need millions of new jobs--not millions of new words--over the next few years. Republicans understand how an economy of freedom can build those jobs. And with a Republican Administration we will have those jobs!

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We shall attack this problem at its roots. That way, I pledge to you, we can succeed where the present Administration has so miserably failed.

What have we been given by the politicians who want to tell you how to behave, how to think, how to live, what to study, and even where or if to pray?

What examples have been set, what lessons learned from this sort of leadership?

The shadow of scandal falls, unlighted yet by full answers, across the White House itself.

Public service, once selfless, has become for too many at its highest levels, selfish in motive and manner. Men who preach publicly of sacrifice, practice private indulgence.

The example this sets can be traced, tragically, through the easy morals and uneasy ethics which in private life disturb so many parents and lure so many young people.

If the tone of America is not set by men in public service it will be set, as unfortunately it is being set too often today, by the standards of the sick joke, the slick slogan, the off-color drama, and the pornographic book.

It is on our streets that we see the final, terrible proof of a sickness which not all the social theories of a thousand social experiments has even begun to touch.

It is a responsibility of the national leadership, regardless of political gain, political faction, or political popularity to encourage every community in this nation to enforce the law, not let it be abused or ignored.

It is not the responsibility nor is it the proper function of the national leadership to enforce local laws. But it is a responsibility of the national leadership to make sure that it, and its spokesmen and its supporters, do not discourage the enforcement or incite the breaching of these laws. And it is their responsibility to keep standards of common honesty high, turning on lights of integrity, not turning them off.

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The leadership of this nation has a clear and immediate challenge to go to work effectively and go to work immediately to restore proper respect for law and order in this land -- and not just prior to Election Day either!

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This is not a challenge just for a few days or weeks, a problem to be put off until the votes are in.

This is a challenge to the overwhelming majority of Americans who share these basic beliefs with us.

---That each man is responsible for his own actions

---That each man is the best judge of his own well-being

---That each man has an individual conscience to serve and a moral code to uphold.

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---That each man is a brother to every other man.

America's greatness is the greatness of her people. Let this generation, then, make a new mark for that greatness. Let this generation of Americans set a standard of responsibility that will inspire the world.

We can do it. And God willing, together we will do it.

Ladies and gentlemen, every word I have just spoken to you is from the very first speech of this Presidential campaign.

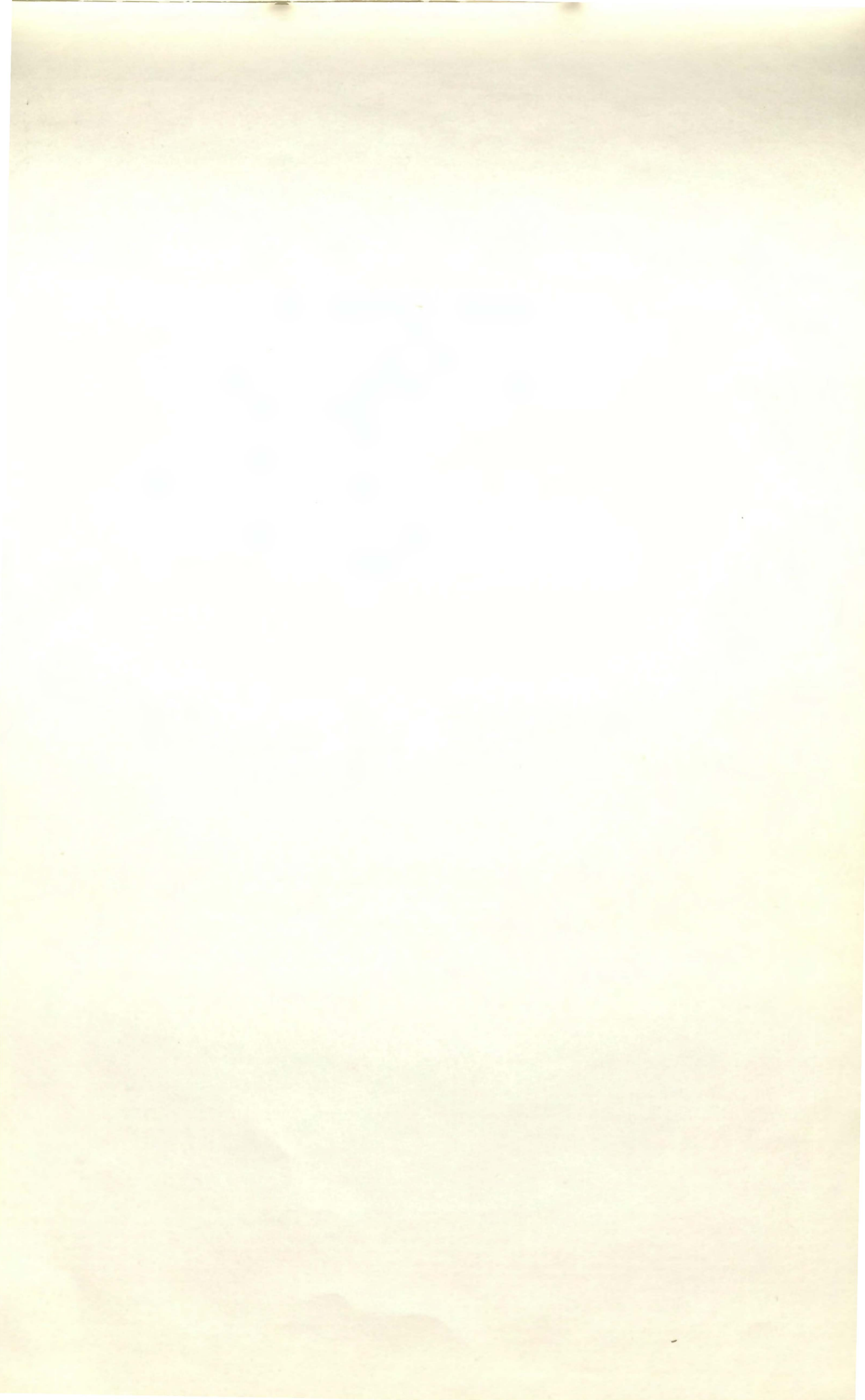
The issues have not changed. I have not changed. The challenge and the choice has not changed.

I have repeated the first speech of this campaign because of that -- and as a way to tell you, and again pledge to you, that I will never say to you on a Monday one thing and then change it on Tuesday just for political advantage.

I pledge to you, no matter the cost, that from the first day I set foot in the White House until the day I leave that I will level with you, that I will give you an honest Administration, that I will tell you the truth.

Tomorrow, it will be up to you. Tomorrow is the day that you can prove that you still run this country -- not the politicians, not the pollster, not the computers, none of those.

Tomorrow is the day that you, the people, with God's most noble earthly purpose, can declare your independence, restore your liberties and your individual dignity, and take this nation forward to its proudest years.



BARRY
GOLDWATER
CAMPAIGN
SPEECHES



1964



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