

ACK

'CAP'

Auditorium November 2, 1904
San Francisco, California

THIS IS THE HOME OF THE FREE AND 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 PURPOSE WORTHY OF THIS

NATION AND ITS PEOPLE.

WITH YOUR HELP AND WITH GOD'S BLESSING, WE

CAN GO FOREWARD TO GREATNESS IN THIS

NATION.

GREATNESS OF PURPOSE — — TO KEEP THE PEACE AND

EXTEND FREEDOM.

GREATNESS OF ACTION — — TO SPEAK CLEARLY AND

TO BE HEARD RESPECTFULLY ONCE AGAIN IN

THE COUNCILS OF THE WORLD.

GREATNESS OF HEART AND SELF RESTRAINT AT

HOME — — TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER, TO

MAKE OUR STREETS SAFE, WITHOUT LOSING

LIBERTY.

GREATNESS OF VISION — — TO SEE BEYOND THE

COMFORTS AND PLEASURES OF THE DAY

TOWARD THE TOWERING GOALS OF TOMORROW.

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 THE 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 A 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

PROMISES, FAR MORE THAN POLITICAL

PROGRAMS. IT IS A CHOICE OF WHAT SORT

OF FUTURE WE WANT TO PASS ON TO OUR

CHILDREN.

CHOOSE THE WAY OF THIS PRESENT ADMINISTRATION

AND YOU WILL HAVE CHOSEN THE WAY OF THE

REGIMENTED SOCIETY, WITH A NUMBER FOR

EVERY MAN, WOMAN, AND CHILD, A

PIGEONHOLE 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 OVER=

WHELMING PROBLEMS, BEYOND HIS CONTROL,

BESET HIM.

I ASK YOU TO JOIN WITH ME IN FINDING
TWENTIETH CENTURY ANSWERS FOR TWENTIETH
CENTURY PROBLEMS RATHER THAN RELYING
ON THE OLD, DISPROVED DOCTRINE OF
TURNING OUR PROBLEMS, OUR LIVES, AND
OUR LIBERTIES 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.

PROGRESS THROUGH FREEDOM.

PURPOSE THROUGH CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER.

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 DIFFERENCES 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.

REPUBLICAN PERFORMANCES IN THE
WHITE HOUSE AND IN THE CONGRESS HAVE
DEMONSTRATED 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.

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 ENTIRE 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.

WE SEEK A STRONG AMERICA BECAUSE ONLY A
STRONG NATION CAN KEEP THE PEACE.

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~~

I HAVE GRANDCHILDREN. I WANT NONE

I WANT NONE OF MY
CHILDREN--OR YOURS--
OF THEM IN A WAR. * TOUCHED BY WAR—
OR BY SLAVERY!

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 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
FUTURES FOR 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.

HONESTY REQUIRED^S THAT WE HONOR THE

COMMITMENTS GOVERNMENT HAS MADE

TO ALL AREAS OF THE ECONOMY, WHETHER

EXPLICIT OR IMPLICIT.

GOOD FAITH REQUIRES THAT WE NOT DISAPPOINT

REASONABLE EXPECTATIONS BASED ON

THOSE COMMITMENTS.

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 AND 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.

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!


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. —

→ 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 LIGHT A LAMP OF

LIBERTY THAT WILL ILLUMINATE THE WORLD.

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

HAVE
~~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 POLLSTERS, NOT

THE COMPUTERS, NONE OF THESE.

YOUR SUPPORT

TOMORROW IS THE DAY THAT YOU, THE PEOPLE,

WITH GOD'S BLESSING AND FOR 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!

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