

SPEECH BY SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER
 NATIONAL GOLDWATER RALLY, MADISON
 SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK, NEW YORK,
 MAY 13, 1964.

JOHN - Colleagues -

ACA ACK

Those young People of Geo PATTON
Center for G - ALL YOUNG PEOPLE

WHEN A WESTERNER GETS THIS KIND
 OF RECEPTION IN NEW YORK
 CITY, THE MESSAGE SHOULD BE
 LOUD AND CLEAR EVEN IN
 WASHINGTON, D.C. WHY, IT
 SHOULD EVEN BE LOUD ENOUGH
 TO GET PAST THE BARKING OF
 THE BEAGLES AT LYNDON'S
WHITE DOG HOUSE.

WHO SAID THAT THE TWAIN NEVER
SHALL MEET? I THINK IT HAS!
I THINK THAT MEETINGS SUCH
AS THIS SHOW THAT EAST AND
WEST CAN MEET, CAN AGREE,
CAN GET TOGETHER, CAN WORK
TOGETHER -- AND CAN WIN
TOGETHER.

I THINK WE CAN MEET AND AGREE THAT
FOR THE FUTURE OF EVERY
SECTION OF THIS GREAT LAND,
THERE IS GOING TO HAVE TO BE
A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT
ELECTED IN 1964.

I THINK WE CAN MEET AND AGREE THAT,
NO MATTER WHERE YOU ARE
FROM, ANY REPUBLICAN WOULD
BE BETTER THAN WHAT WE HAVE
IN WASHINGTON TODAY.

I WANT TO PLEDGE TO YOU, AS I
HAVE TO PEOPLE ACROSS THIS
NATION, THAT MY CANDIDACY
IS COMMITTED TO THE DEFEAT
OF LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON
IN 1964.

I AM NOT INTERESTED IN TEARING
DOWN OTHER REPUBLICANS,
I AM INTERESTED IN BUILDING
MY PARTY AND RESTORING THIS
REPUBLIC.

I DO NOT SAY THAT THE REPUBLICAN
PARTY MUST DO IT MY WAY OR
I WON'T PLAY! I WANT TO
FIND WAYS THAT WE CAN WORK
TOGETHER -- AS A TEAM!

I AM NOT INTERESTED IN DEFEATING
ANY REPUBLICANS IN 1964.

LET ME SAY IT AGAIN: I AM
INTERESTED IN DEFEATING
LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON!

I'M NOT AFRAID OF WHAT ANY
REPUBLICAN WOULD DO TO THIS
COUNTRY. I AM AFRAID OF
WHAT ONE PARTICULAR DEMOCRAT
IS DOING TO IT:

BY DOUBLE-TALKING ABOUT ECONOMY
EVEN AS HE HEADS TOWARD A
HUGE INCREASE IN THE NATIONAL
DEBT.

BY WHEELING AND DEALING IN
CURES FOR POVERTY WHILE
NEGLECTING TO SOLVE THE REAL
PROBLEM, WHICH IS UNEMPLOYMENT.

BY BACKING AND FILLING IN
FOREIGN POLICY; BY BACKING
DOWN FROM OUR ENEMIES, AND
BY FILLING OUR ALLIES WITH
FEARS AND DOUBTS.

THESE ARE TARGETS FOR REPUBLICANS
TO SHOOT AT. AND ANY
REPUBLICAN WHO CAN'T SEE
IT, WHO WOULD RATHER FIGHT
FELLOW REPUBLICANS THAN FIGHT
DEMOCRATS IS DOING NOTHING
MORE OR LESS THAN PINCH
HITTING FOR LYNDON JOHNSON.

AND LET ME REMIND YOU THAT WHEN
I TALK ABOUT PARTY UNITY,
I KNOW WHAT I'M TALKING
ABOUT. I HAVE CAMPAIGNED
FOR REPUBLICANS, ALL
REPUBLICANS, IN VIRTUALLY
EVERY STATE OF THIS UNION.
I'VE MADE SPEECH AFTER
SPEECH ON BEHALF OF
REPUBLICANS RIGHT HERE IN
NEW YORK.

I WAS WORKING FOR PARTY UNITY
AND FOR PARTY VICTORY THEN
-- AND I'M WORKING FOR PARTY
UNITY AND VICTORY NOW.

I THINK THAT THE HEART OF THIS
PARTY IS SOUND. I THINK
THAT THE PRINCIPLES OF THIS
PARTY ARE SOUND.

I HAVE VOTED FOR THOSE PRINCIPLES--
I HAVE WORKED FOR THOSE
PRINCIPLES -- I HAVE LIVED
BY THOSE PRINCIPLES.

DISAGREE? OF COURSE WE REPUBLICANS
ARE BOUND TO DISAGREE ON
THIS OR THAT POINT.

BUT WHEN IT COMES TO BASIC
PRINCIPLES WE CAN AND MUST
UNITE.

AND RIGHT HERE AND NOW I'D LIKE
TO SUGGEST THAT THERE IS A
WAY TO DO JUST THAT, TO CLEAR
UP THE VIRUS OF DIVISIVENESS
THAT IS ATTACKING THE
BLOODSTREAM OF OUR PARTY.

CUR PARTY'S ONLY REALLY CURRENT
STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLE IS
THE 1962 DECLARATION
PREPARED BY A JOINT COMMITTEE
OF SENATE AND HOUSE MEMBERS.
THESE WERE NOT MEN WHO WERE
TRYING TO MAKE PERSONAL
POINTS. THESE WERE NOT MEN
TRYING TO READ FELLOW
REPUBLICANS OUT OF THE PARTY.

THESE WERE MEN SUCH AS THRUSTON
MORTON, JOHN TOWER, BOURKE
HICKENLOOPER, WALLACE BENNETT,
GEORGE AIKEN, AND YOUR OWN
KEN KEATING IN THE SENATE.
YOUR CONGRESSMAN, CHARLES
GOODELL, WAS ONE OF THE
DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS ON
THE HOUSE SIDE.

I AM SICK TO DEATH OF THE
RULE-OR-RUIN TALK THAT
DEMANDS LOYALTY TO A
FACTION ABOVE LOYALTY TO THE
PARTY AND ITS NATIONAL
RESPONSIBILITIES. AND LET'S
REMEMBER THAT THIS IS A
NATIONAL PARTY NOW — NOT
A REGIONAL ONE!

THE DECLARATION OF OUR PARTY IS
CLEAR. I STAND ON IT. MOST
REPUBLICANS STAND ON IT.
NOW LET THOSE FEW WHO
REMAIN ON THE SIDELINES
STAND UP AND BE COUNTED SO
THAT WE CAN GET ON WITH THE
JOB OF WINNING THIS ELECTION.

HERE IS A WAY TO CONSTRUCTIVE
ACTION. HERE IS A PATH TO
UNITY. I SAY IT'S A PATH
THAT'S BROAD ENOUGH AND
STRAIGHT ENOUGH FOR ALL OF
US TO TRAVEL.

THIS IS WHERE I STAND. NO
DEMOCRAT IS GOING TO CROWD
ME OFF. AND I CAN ASSURE
YOU TEN TIMES OVER -- NO
REPUBLICAN IS GOING TO DO IT
EITHER!

OUR REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES ARE
CLEAR. THEY ARE BASED UPON
FIVE FUNDAMENTALS.

WE BELIEVE IN THE INDIVIDUAL. WE
BELIEVE THAT MEN CAN GOVERN
THEMSELVES, SET THEIR OWN
GOALS, FIND THEIR OWN
SOLUTIONS -- WITHOUT THE
RESTRAINTS OF DICTATORSHIP
OR PATERNALISM.

DO I SUBSCRIBE TO THAT? WHY,
I'VE SPENDT THE PAST ELEVEN
YEARS OF MY LIFE TALKING ABOUT
AND WORKING FOR NOTHING ELSE
BUT THAT!

WE REPUBLICANS BELIEVE THAT THE
DIGNITY AND THE FREEDOM OF
THE INDIVIDUAL COMES FROM
GOD -- NOT FROM GOVERNMENT!

WE BELIEVE THAT GOVERNMENT IS
CREATED TO MAINTAIN ORDER,
TO SECURE THE NATIONAL
DEFENSE -- TO DO ONLY THOSE
THINGS FOR THE PEOPLE WHICH
THEY CANNOT DO FOR THEMSELVES.

NO MAN HAS WORKED HARDER FOR THE
CONCRETE ACTIONS TO IMPLEMENT
THAT STATEMENT THAN I HAVE.
AND I PLEDGE YOU THIS: NO
PRESIDENT WOULD WORK HARDER
FOR THE SAME PRINCIPLE THAN
I WOULD IF MY PARTY AND MY
FELLOW CITIZENS SELECT ME
FOR THE JOB.

WE REPUBLICANS WANT TO SEE THE
POWER OF GOVERNMENT RETURNED
TO THE PEOPLE -- THAT'S WHERE
IT STARTED AND THAT'S WHERE
IT SHOULD STAY.

AGAIN, I DON'T GIVE JUST LIP
SERVICE TO THAT PRINCIPLE.
I BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE
SOUND COURSES WHICH A
PRESIDENT CAN AND SHOULD
FOLLOW TO IMPLEMENT THE
PRINCIPLE.

EVERY LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL SHOULD
BE SUBJECTED TO THESE RIGID
TESTS:

1. IS THE PROPOSAL ACTUALLY
RESPONSIVE TO A DEMONSTRATED
NEED, OR IS IT RESPONSIVE
MAINLY TO POLITICAL PRESSURE
OR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE?

2. IF THERE IS REAL NEED, CAN IT
BE MET BY COMMUNITY ACTION, OR
INDIVIDUAL ACTION? IF IT CAN,
IT SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED IN THAT
WAY. IF NOT, CAN THE NEED BE
MET AT THE LOCAL LEVEL, OR THE
STATE LEVEL, OR THROUGH REGIONAL
ARRANGEMENTS? ONLY WHEN THE
ANSWER IS CLEARLY NO, SHOULD THE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INTRUDE.

A PRESIDENT, MORE INTERESTED IN
FREEDOM THAN IN EXECUTIVE POWER,
 COULD RESTORE BALANCE IN OUR
 GOVERNMENT, RETURN POWER TO THE
 PEOPLE -- AND GET THE NEEDED
 JOBS OF THIS NATION DONE
 WITHOUT REGIMENTING OUR PEOPLE
OR RUINING OUR FEDERAL SYSTEM.

THAT FEDERAL SYSTEM IS BASED UPON
THE RESPONSIBILITY AND THE
CONSTITUTIONAL INDEPENDENCE
OF OUR 50 GREAT STATES.

AN ADMINISTRATION THAT ATTEMPTS
TO TEAR DOWN THE CONSTITUTIONAL
ROLE OF THE STATES IS TEARING
DOWN THE VERY STRUCTURE OF OUR
FREEDOM.

AND I CHARGE THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION
IS DOING JUST THAT. I CHARGE
THAT IT REACHES RECKLESSLY
FOR NEW POWER AT EVERY
OPPORTUNITY.

LET THIS ADMINISTRATION CONTINUE
IN POWER AND WE MAY WELL LIVE
TO SEE THE DAY THAT THE 50
STATES OF THIS NATION BECOME
JUST 50 PIGEONHOLES IN A NEW
WASHINGTON BUREAU.

LET A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT,
FOLLOWING REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES,
BE ELECTED AND THE BALANCE OF
POWER THAT HAS KEPT US FREE
COULD BE RESTORED.

I CAN SUGGEST SEVERAL CONCRETE
APPROACHES TO ASSURE THIS.

IMMEDIATE AND SERIOUS STUDIES SHOULD
BE MADE TO DETERMINE EVERY
AREA IN WHICH THE
ADMINISTRATION OF FEDERAL
PROGRAMS CAN TO ANY DEGREE BE
TURNED OVER TO STATE OR LOCAL
GOVERNMENTS WITHOUT INJURY TO
THE PROGRAM.

THIS WOULD NOT MEAN ABANDONING
THESE PROGRAMS. IT WOULD
MEAN ASSURING THEIR EFFECTIVE
ADMINISTRATION AS CLOSE AS
POSSIBLE TO THE PEOPLE
ACTUALLY AFFECTED, AS CLOSE AS
POSSIBLE TO THE PEOPLE
ACTUALLY PAYING THE BILLS.

PARALLEL STUDIES SHOULD BE CARRIED
OUT TO BRING ORDER OUT OF THE
INCREASING CHAOS OF
COMPETITION FOR TAX DOLLARS
BETWEEN STATE, LOCAL, AND
FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS.

WHEREVER POSSIBLE WE SHOULD REJECT
THE BUREAUCRATICALLY EXPENSIVE
SYSTEM OF TAKING MONEY FROM
THE STATES, PASSING IT THROUGH
A WASHINGTON BUREAU, AND THEN
RETURNING WHAT IS LEFT RIGHT
BACK WHERE IT CAME FROM.

OUR GOAL SHOULD BE TO RETAIN TAX
MONEYS AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE
TO THEIR POINT OF ORIGIN.

OUR STATES MUST ONCE AGAIN BE FULL
PARTNERS IN THE FEDERAL
SYSTEM, MORALLY, FINANCIALLY,
AND LEGALLY.

IF WE CANNOT STAND TOGETHER IN OUR
DIVERSITY OF REGION, IN OUR
DIVERSITY OF WAYS OF LIFE, IN
THE DIVERSITY OF OUR STATES
AND CITIES - - IF WE CANNOT
STAND TOGETHER IN THAT DIVERSITY
OUR FREEDOM SURELY SHALL FALL.

I'VE HEARD DEMOCRATS TELLING THE
WORLD THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO
CO-EXIST WITH A DIVERSITY OF
COMMUNISM, TYRANNY, AND
AGGRESSION. I'D MUCH RATHER
HAVE TOLERANCE FOR DIVERSITY,
LIKE CHARITY, START AT HOME!

WE REPUBLICANS HAVE SPELLED OUT ANOTHER PRINCIPLE. WE BELIEVE THAT "GOVERNMENT MUST ACT TO HELP ESTABLISH CONDITIONS OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL PEOPLE AND TO HELP ASSURE THAT NO ONE IS DENIED THE REQUISITES FOR A LIFE OF DIGNITY."

NOW THAT IS WORD FOR WORD FROM OUR DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLE. UNDER REPUBLICANS, MORE HAS BEEN DONE TO IMPLEMENT THAT BELIEF THAN UNDER ANY OTHER PARTY!

BUT THERE IS A VAST DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE REPUBLICAN WAY AND THE WAY OF THIS PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

REAL PROGRESS WAS MADE, UNDER
REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES AND
REPUBLICAN LEADERS.

IT WAS MADE WITHOUT VIOLENCE!
WITHOUT TAKING MATTERS INTO
THE STREETS - - ON EITHER
SIDE!

REPUBLICANS PASSED LAWS WITH WHICH
THE PEOPLE OF THIS LAND COULD
LIVE AND THROUGH WHICH, IN
PATIENCE, AND IN UNDERSTANDING,
THEY COULD SEEK THE MEETING
OF MINDS AND THE OPENING OF
HEARTS WHICH ARE THE ONLY
ULTIMATE SOLUTIONS.

REPUBLICANS WANT TO SEE GOVERNMENT,
AS OUR DECLARATION SAYS,
HELPING THE CAUSE OF EQUAL
OPPORTUNITY. THEY DO NOT
WANT TO SEE GOVERNMENT AS THE
CHEERLEADER FOR A FRIGHTFUL
GAME OF VIOLENCE, DESTRUCTION,
AND DISOBEDIENCE.

AND ONCE AGAIN, I POINT TO THE
REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLE OF
GETTING THINGS DONE AT THE
LOCAL LEVEL BEFORE CALLING
OUT THE FEDERAL PROGRAMS - -
OR THE FEDERAL TROOPS!

WHERE ARE THE STATES WHICH TODAY
ARE WITNESSING THE MOST
VIOLENCE? I SADLY REMIND
YOU THAT THEY ARE THE VERY
STATES WHERE THERE IS THE
MOST TALK ABOUT BROTHERHOOD
AND THE VERY LEAST OPPORTUNITY
FOR ACHIEVING IT.

I SADLY REMIND YOU THAT WE ARE
SEEING VIOLENCE TODAY IN
THOSE VERY STATES WHICH ARE
PROVING THAT NEW LAWS ALONE
ARE NOT THE ANSWER. THERE
ARE TOO MANY OF THE OLD LAWS
WHICH AREN'T EVEN WORKING!

AND THERE IS THIS ABOVE ALL, THE
OLDEST LAW OF ALL: YOU CANNOT
PASS A LAW THAT WILL MAKE ME
LIKE YOU - - OR YOU LIKE ME.
THIS IS SOMETHING THAT CAN ONLY
HAPPEN IN OUR HEARTS.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE; OF COURSE! THE
RIGHT TO ~~SEEK~~ EDUCATION; OF
COURSE! THERE ARE LAWS TO
SECURE THOSE RIGHTS. BUT
UNTIL WE HAVE AN ADMINISTRATION
THAT WILL COOL THE FIRES AND
THE TEMPERS OF VIOLENCE WE
SIMPLY CANNOT SOLVE THE REST
OF THE PROBLEM IN ANY LASTING
SENSE.

AND I SAY THIS TO YOU WITH THE
DEEPEST POSSIBLE SENSE OF
TRAGEDY AND REGRET - - UNLESS
WE DO GET SUCH AN ADMINISTRATIO
WE ARE GOING TO SEE MORE
VIOLENCE IN OUR STREETS BEFORE
WE SEE LESS.

I PRAY TO GOD THAT EVERY AMERICAN,
REGARDLESS OF HIS RACE OR
CREED WILL COME TO HIS SENSES
IN TIME TO RESTORE SOME COMMON
SENSE AND COMMON DECENCY TO
THIS SITUATION. IT BADLY
NEEDS BOTH.

THE FINAL POINT OF THE FIVE BASIC PRINCIPLES SPELLED OUT IN OUR PARTY'S DECLARATION EVOLVES FROM A FACT THAT EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD RECOGNIZE: THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS THE PARTY OF PAYROLLS AND PRODUCTION. IT IS OUR OPPONENTS WHO ARE THE PARTY OF DEBTS, DEPRESSION, AND DOLES.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY UNDERSTANDS GOOD TIMES AND HOW TO KEEP THEM. IT UNDERSTANDS THAT IF WE AMERICANS CAN'T LIVE WITHIN OUR MEANS, WE ARE GOING TO BE REDUCED TO LIVING WITHOUT MEANS.

OUR FIFTH PRINCIPLE STATES VERY CLEARLY THAT GOVERNMENT MUST PRUDENTLY WEIGH NEEDS AGAINST RESOURCES, PUT FIRST THINGS FIRST, RIGOROUSLY TAILOR MEANS TO ENDS, AND UNDERSTAND THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WORDS AND DEEDS.

THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THIS SHOULD BE VERY CLEAR. A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT - - AT LEAST THIS REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT - - WOULD BE WORKING FOR A BALANCED BUDGET IN TIMES SUCH AS THESE RATHER THAN DIGGING US DEEPER INTO THE RED.

I SAY THAT THIS IS THE TIME TO BE
PAYING OFF OUR DEBTS, NOT
PILING UP NEW ONES!

NOW THOSE PRINCIPLES COVER OUR
PARTY'S APPROACH TO THE
ESSENTIAL DIGNITY OF MAN AS
AN INDIVIDUAL, NOT A ZIP
NUMBER ON A GOVERNMENT CHART!

THOSE PRINCIPLES COVER OUR APPROACH
TO LIMITED GOVERNMENT, TO
LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY, TO THE
PRUDENT RATHER THAN RECKLESS
USE OF TAXES, AND TO THE
CIVILIZED RESOLUTION OF CIVIC
PROBLEMS.

I SAY THAT THOSE PRINCIPLES ARE
WORTH FIGHTING FOR!

I SAY THEY ARE WHAT WE SHOULD BE
FIGHTING ABOUT - - WITH
LYNDON JOHNSON!

AND ONE OTHER THING. I'VE SPOKEN
SO FAR ABOUT THE APPLICATION
OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES TO
PRESSING DOMESTIC NEEDS.

HOW ABOUT FOREIGN POLICY! HOW ABOUT
THE ISSUE THAT LYNDON JOHNSON
WANTS TO FORGET ABOUT!

HOW ABOUT A FOREIGN POLICY SO
MYSTERIOUS AND SO HARD TO
UNDERSTAND THAT LYNDON JOHNSON
HAS HAD TO OFFER US SECRET
BRIEFINGS TO EXPLAIN IT!

YES. HOW ABOUT THAT!

I TURNED THOSE BRIEFINGS DOWN THE
MINUTE I HEARD ABOUT THEM!
UNITED STATES SENATORS HAVE
SECRET INFORMATION. THEY JUST
DON'T THROW IT AROUND FOR
POLITICAL ADVANTAGE THE WAY
THIS ADMINISTRATION DOES.

I SAY WE NEED LESS SECRECY IN OUR
FOREIGN POLICY, NOT MORE!

IF ANYBODY NEEDS A BRIEFING, IT'S
THE WHOLE AMERICAN PUBLIC!
NOT A BRIEFING FULL OF
SECRETS - - BUT A BRIEFING
FULL OF FACTS.

FACTS ABOUT CUBA - - FACTS ABOUT
SOUTH VIETNAM - - FACTS ABOUT
SOVIET NUCLEAR TESTING AND
ADVANCES - - FACTS ABOUT HOW
FAR WE ARE WILLING TO GO TO
APPEASE COMMUNISM - - AND
FACTS ABOUT THE STRENGTH OF
OUR DETERRANT FORCES OVER THE
NEXT TEN YEARS.

I HAVE SPOKEN AT LENGTH ON ALL OF
THOSE TOPICS. MY POSITION
IS CLEAR.

AND I SAY THAT, IN ROOT AND BASE,
IT IS AS SIMPLE AS THIS: THE
ONLY WAY WE CAN KEEP THE
PEACE IS TO KEEP OUR STRENGTH.