

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

panic

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 HOW YOUR STATES SHALL FORM THEIR

LEGISLATURES AND APPORTION THEIR DISTRICTS

?

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DO YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL SURROUND

HIMSELF WITH AIDES AND ^{COMPANIONS} ~~COMPANIES~~

WHO ARE ~~RADICALS TO~~ ^{RADICALS OF} THE LEFT.?

DO YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WONT

^{BOTHER} ~~GET~~ TO FIND OUT IF HIS CLOSEST

ADVISORS 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?

A PRESIDENT

^ 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 OPPOSES
THE FORCED BUSSING OF CHILDREN
FROM THEIR NORMAL NEIGHBORHOOD
SCHOOLS? WHO OPPOSES THE PRINCIPLE
OF FORCED INTEGRATION AS WELL AS
FORCED SEGREGATION?

~~FB~~
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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 ~~EX~~ BUT THE AMERICAN

WAY!

~~28~~
11B

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?

1)C

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 \wedge TO GIVE YOU SUCH THINGS

AS FREEDOM FROM WANT AND FREEDOM

FROM FEAR. THOSE WHO SEEK NATIONAL

OFFICE ARE ARE NOW EVEN BEGINNING TO

PROMISE YOU FREEDOM FROM WORRY AND

RESPONSIBILITY .

NE

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. ? ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

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.

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.

~~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 NEGLIGENCE 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 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. OR COLOR.

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} ~~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.

~~SET~~ 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

ENHANCE^S/FREEDOM. THAT IS CLEAR!

~~XXXXXX~~ BUT IT IS EQUALLY CLEAR

THAT FREEDOM IS ~~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 ~~FREE~~ 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.

AS AN EXAMPLE,

AND SO I ENDORSE THE POSITION OF THE

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1964 ON THE

BUSSING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN. FROM DISTRICT

MOVING

TO DISTRICT

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 PER

PERFECT EQUALITY IMAGINED BY THE THEOR

THEORISTS OF THE SO CALLED GREAT

SOCIETY.

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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.

MOVING
BUSINESS
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 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.

XX WE CAN NEVER BE SATISFIED WITH THINGS
AS THEY ARE, BUT WE MUST ALSO NEVER
BELIEVE THAT ~~LESS~~ 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~~ QUOTAS

MUST BE IMPOSED AS THE GOAL OF THE

MISNAMED "GREAT SOCIETY."

THAT WAY LIES DESTRUCTION. { PERHAPS

EVEN CLOSER TO OUR HEARTS

TODAY IS THE ALARMING BREAKDOWN IN

~~XX~~ LAW AND ORDER ACROSS THE COUNTRY.

CRIME IS GROWING FIVE TIMES AS FAST

AS ~~XXXXXX~~ 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 ~~64~~ 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 X DEEPER AND MORE DANGEROUS.

OUR TRADITIONAL ~~VALUES~~ 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, ^{RESTRAINED} ~~RESTRAINING~~

AND COMPASSION ^{ATE} IT MUST ALWAYS STAND

READY TO AID THE NEEDY AND SUPPORT

THE HELPLESS.

AND ON ONE ASPECT OF THIS MATTER, LET

ME MAKE ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ 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 HAVE 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.

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 ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ 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.

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THESE ARE THE GUIDEPPOSTS THAT MARK THE

WAY TO PROGRESS THROUGH FREEDOM.

YOU MAY CHOOSE THIS WAY. OR YOU MAY

CHOOSE THE OTHER ONE OPEN TO YOU.

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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. ⁷ HE ¹⁾ WILL TAKE CARE

OF THEM FOR YOU. ⁴⁾

YOU WANT PEACE? HE WILL
~~HE~~ AID, APPEASE,

AND ACCOMMODATE THE COMMUNISTS FOR
YOU!

YOU WANT MORE MONEY FOR THE POTATOES YOU
DIDN'T GROW? HE'LL
~~HE~~ GIVE IT TO YOU!

YOU WANT NO RESPONSIBILITIES? HE'LL
~~HE~~ DO

EVERYTHING FOR YOU!

YOU WANT NO WORRIES? ^{HE'LL} ~~FEEL~~ 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.