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RELEASE ON DELIVERY

This is more than just a political meeting tonight. This is a victory for real Republicanism!

This is the most impressive gathering in the whole political history of California.

With the help of millions more -- across this nation -- who believe as you believe and I believe, this may well be the great omen of a great Republican year. I say it will be. I say that 1964 will be a great Republican year. A great year for our Republican principles. A great year for American principles. A great year for freedom!

~~This time we are going to have a choice -- not an echo!~~

My friends, that is why I have been saying and why I deeply believe -- this election is not one for the record books. This election is one for the history books!

Let's look at history for a moment.

How will history remember Nikita Khrushchev? It may remember him as the man who said that our grandchildren will live under Communism.

How will history remember Lyndon Johnson? As the man who turned off the lights in the White House!

Instead, we need a President who will tell Nikita Khrushchev that his children will live under freedom

Instead, we need a President who will turn on some lights in the White House.

We need a President who will turn on lights of leadership. Lights of morality. Lights of conscience.

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A Republican President elected in 1964 will turn on those lights. Republican principles will turn on those lights all over the world.

Republican leadership will restore pride at home and respect abroad.

Republican leadership will end the days of drift and indecision in our foreign policy.

Republican leadership will end the decline of morality in public office.

If a Republican President found a Bobby Baker in his closet -- he would open the door and air it out, not slam the door and try to hide it.

Who does Lyndon Johnson think he is? Who is he to tell the American people that they should see no evil, hear no evil, and speak of no evil when the shadow of that evil falls on the White House itself!

I don't care if there is a Baker's dozen of sacred cows involved in this scandal -- they should be herded out in a Roundup of Honesty.

The very prestige of the Presidency itself will remain under a cloud until this is done.

My friends, this whole world will remain under a cloud unless there is a change.

There can be no real and lasting peace in this world, no peace with freedom and justice, so long as America's leadership is too weak to use America's strength to keep the peace.

Peace is not won or kept by weakness. The enemy is not deterred by indecision and compromise.

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Yet where in the world today are the enemies of freedom faced with the sort of strong American leadership that will discourage them? Instead, they are encouraged to push harder, to push closer to the fatal step that could take the whole world over the brink of war.

Brinkmanship of the sort practised by John Foster Dulles and Dwight Eisenhower did not encourage the enemy to go to the brink. It discouraged them from doing it. It kept them from doing it by making very clear that we were prepared to face up to them and face them down.

Today it is Soviet brinkmanship that commands the field. And it is American back-downmanship that is losing the field.

There is only one way for this, the mightiest nation in history, to deter war and to keep the peace.

That way is to make sure that the enemy knows he cannot and will not win any war that he might be tempted to start.

Our enemy will never know that. Our enemy will never respect that so long as the architects of defeat are in power in Washington.

We can have peace through strength in this world but we must have a change first.

Freedom can win its victory without war -- but it cannot win it without leadership!

We must have the change that permits us to use our vast economic power to defeat Communism, rather than feed it.

We must have the change that will permit us to use our great psychological power to shout down Communism rather than poor-mouthing freedom.

We must have the change that permits us to use our political power to bring new life to our alliances rather than forever pressing for new smiles from our enemies.

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These are ways to win without war!

Where is the leadership in an Administration that can set no higher goal for the fighting in Vietnam than bringing the situation "under control." That's their new, official language.

Not a victory!

Just bring it under control.

Why in heaven's name isn't it under control?

It isn't under control because it remains just what it has been for three years -- an aimless, leaderless war.

We are sacrificing the lives of American soldiers there. I say we should dedicate some American convictions there!

Where is the leadership in an Administration that cannot even win a battle of wits with tiny Panama!

Where is the leadership in an Administration that talks of total victory, and chiefs of staff, and battle plans when it comes to domestic spending programs -- but stands like a weak sister when the American flag is torn down, spat upon, and burned around the world!

Where is the leadership in an Administration that stands cross-eyed -- with our friends -- wide-eyed with our enemies -- wall-eyed in Berlin -- glassy-eyed in Southeast Asia, and downright blind in Cuba!

That's what happens when the lights of courage, conviction, and clarity are turned off in the White House.

And at home, still other lights are turning out.

Look around the land and you can see what I mean. Where is the light of law and order? It is flickering out in streets that are running riot with disregard for traditional American standards of decency and the due process of law.

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We are faced, for instance, with a grave moral question in our racial relations. And where is it being settled? All the fine talk of settling it with new laws cannot obscure the brutal fact that it is being fought out -- not settled! -- in the streets.

In three agonizing years we have come to the point where many of our citizens -- citizens of all races -- accept as normal the use of riots, demonstrations, boycotts, violence, pressure, civil disorder, and disobedience as an approach to serious national problems.

I know the long, sad background. I have been active in actions to correct it.

But I cannot in conscience now condone or support the breakdown of civil order that is said by some to be a necessary weapon of redress and correction and by others to be a necessary weapon to resist that redress and correction. And I believe that you people of California share my view.

It is not wise leadership that takes its cause on either side of this grave issue into the streets this way.

It is not understanding of America or Americans that goads a man to abandon civility in this manner.

It is not leadership or understanding that tacitly supports it, that exploits it for political purposes, that inflames it in hopes of reaping the votes of violence, on either side of the coin.

I charge that those who take either side of this cause into the streets in violation of the law dishonor their cause, default their leadership, and defame this nation.

I charge that an Administration that stands mute in the face of such violence and disorder is guilty of a cynical default in the exercise of its responsibilities.

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Justice will not be served, nor justice won in the streets. Decades of progress are being damaged. Future decades of hope are being dimmed.

Laws cannot heal the wounds that are being inflicted in the violence of action and talk that we now see and hear. The old injustice and the new hope can end and begin only in the hearts of men.

And the hearts of many men today are being hardened, not opened by attempts to settle grievances violently in the streets.

And where is this violence directed, really? It is directed at affairs that are basically personal, moral and individual. It is directed on the one hand at forcing more government intervention and on the other hand at stopping government intervention. But the root cause stands out sharp and clear.

Too much government and too little understanding, too much mob and too little individual responsibility.

I say this, and I say it with heartsick regret: in the climate created over these past few years, in this default of moral leadership and in this lack of understanding, we will see more violence before we see less; we will see more recourse to the naked force of government before we see less, unless we have a change -- a real change!

And who suffers most from the state of things as they are? The very people whose problems men of good will north and south, white or Negro, have been hoping to solve in peace!

This climate of violence and disorder is a storm that is brewed in a governmental philosophy which too long has ignored individual responsibilities and individual capacities.

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Its winds blow through the wreckage of the family as the basic unit of our society.

Government seeks to be parent, teacher, leader, doctor, and even minister. And its failures are strewn about us in the rubble of rising crime rates, juvenile delinquency, scandal, self-seeking and greedy grabs for power, even in evasion and distortion of issues in order to create false public relations images.

Where are the standards of common decency, the traditional virtues of honesty, courage, self-control, truth, and justice?

Are they now outmoded and unnecessary?

These are not complex matters. These are not virtues that are outdated by campaign oratory or by mealy-mouthed references to a society grown so complex that we must have new morals which are, in fact, no morals at all!

These traditional virtues are the very heart of our national spirit and our national honor. They are the very heart of the great choice that we face in this election. These are things which you understand in your hearts and which no politician can twist away from you with a smile or a promise.

Accuse me, if you will, of trying to simplify issues. I say that any man who stands for office has the responsibility to simplify and clarify! Confidence men use the tricks of complexity and double-talk. Honest men do not.

And I repeat, that public morality is an issue and a major one.

I repeat that violence in the streets, arrogant power in the government -- I repeat that these are moral issues.

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And I ask that your conscience guide your political decisions, rather than your emotions, rather than expediency, rather than slick tricks and slick shows.

Our people must not be tied to the flimsy standards of a bureaucracy. We have an older, richer, and truer morality.

Let our people go that way.

Let them have the choice to go that way.

Our people must not be herded into the streets for the redress of their grievances. We have better ways, more lasting and more honest ways.

Let our people go that way.

Let them have the choice to go that way.

Let our people go -- let them go away from violence and struggle, from divided citizenship, from declining responsibility and increasing regimentation. Let our people go, instead, ahead together in the great and moral works we have to do at home and in the world. Let our people -- the people of ^{your state} ~~California, The West, The East, The South,~~ the people of all America -- go in courage and in faith, in honesty and in humility!

Simple! old-fashioned! Call it what you will! I call it the way we have gone in our proudest, strongest moments, in the fullness of our history and our destiny. I call it the way to a future, under God, without equal in the world.

Let our people go -- let our people go that way; the moral way!

There is no other way worthy of our dreams, or sufficient to our task.