

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

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 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 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.

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.

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 DOCTINAIRE 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.