

REMARKS BY SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

Ack No Lates

THIS MUST BE THE YEAR OF A NEW CRUSADE -- A
CRUSADE FOR AMERICA AND FOR THE WHOLE
FREE WORLD.

~~THE STAKES ARE HIGH ENOUGH TO MAKE THIS
THE YEAR OF OUR GREATEST CHALLENGE AND
OUR GREATEST UNITED EFFORT. MUCH~~

MORE IS AT STAKE THAN MERELY THE
POLITICAL LIVES OF ANY ONE CANDIDATE
OR ONE POLITICAL PARTY.

THE FREEDOM OF THIS ENTIRE WORLD IS ON THE
LINE, ALONG WITH THE HOPES OF EVERY
MAN WHO WANTS TO BE FREE AND THE
DIGNITY OF EVERY MAN WHO WANTS TO
STAY FREE.

THE ISSUE IS PEACE. THE PEACE WE SEEK,
ALONG WITH FREE MEN EVERYWHERE, IS
PEACE WITH JUSTICE, PEACE WITH FREEDOM,
PEACE IN A WORLD IN WHICH FREE NATIONS
AND FREE PEOPLE CAN LIVE AND PROSPER
AND SHAPE THEIR OWN NATIONAL DESTINIES.
THIS IS THE TRUE SIZE OF THE ^{STAKES} ~~STAKES~~ AT ISSUE--
IN THIS WORLD, IN THIS NATION, IN THIS
ELECTION.

I THINK THE CHOICE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST
MAKE CAN BE SUMMED UP IN ONE SENTENCE:
WHAT IS FREEDOM WORTH TO YOU?

AN OVERSIMPLIFICATION? OF COURSE IT IS.
BUT IN ALL ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS
YOU HAVE TO STRIP AWAY THE DOUBLE
TALK, IN ORDER TO GET RIGHT DOWN
TO THE NUB: WHAT IS THE DIRECTION
IN WHICH WE WANT TO MOVE, AND HOW
DO WE GET THERE?

WE CAN AND MUST BEGIN WITH THE FACTS: THE
WORLD AS IT REALLY IS RATHER THAN
THE DREAM WORLD WE WISH WE HAD.

THE UNITED STATES IS THE MOST POWERFUL
NATION ON EARTH. THIS IS A MATTER
OF RIGHTFUL PRIDE BUT ALSO OF HARD
RESPONSIBILITIES. BECAUSE -- IT IS
ALSO A FACT THAT WE LIVE IN A WORLD
TORN BY CONFLICT.

THE CONFLICT IS NOT OF OUR OWN MAKING --
ITS ROOTS ARE DEEP WITHIN THE
DOCTRINE OF MARXISM AND THE
BOUNDLESS AMBITIONS OF COMMUNISM.
IN LIGHT OF THESE TWO FACTS, WE ARE
CHALLENGED TO USE OUR POWER --
WITH PRUDENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY
-- TO ACHIEVE PEACE AND FREEDOM
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THIS DOES NOT MEAN BELLIGERENCE. THIS DOES NOT MEAN BULLYING -- OF OUR FRIENDS OR OUR SELF-AVOWED ENEMIES. IT MEANS, SIMPLY, THAT WE MUST MOBILIZE EVERY RESOURCE OF OUR POWER. AND THEN WE MUST MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR -- CREDIBLE TO OUR ENEMIES, AND INSPIRING TO OUR ALLIES -- THAT WE ARE READY AND WILLING TO APPLY OUR RESOURCES, IN FORMS AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF OUR OWN CHOOSING, TO ACHIEVE THE GOALS ALL FREE MEN SEEK.

OUR MAJOR OBJECTIVE MUST BE TO REDUCE
COMMUNIST POWER TO A LEVEL FROM
WHICH IT CANNOT THREATEN OUR
SECURITY OR THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

THIS DOES NOT MEAN WAR. IT MEANS THE
ALTERNATIVE TO WAR: A WAY TO WIN
THE PEACE -- TO END THREATS TO
THIS NATION, TO ITS ALLIES, TO
FREE NATIONS EVERYWHERE -- WITHOUT
WAR.

WE CAN DO IT. TOGETHER WITH OUR ALLIES, WE
HAVE THE RESOURCES, MILITARY AND
ECONOMIC. WE HAVE THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM.
BUT TODAY WE LACK THE RESOLVE --
THE WILL TO USE OUR RESOURCES AND
INFLUENCES TO ACHIEVE THE GOALS OF
PEACE, FREEDOM AND SECURITY.

WE CANNOT TALK DOWN THE FORWARD-THRUST OF
 COMMUNIST AGGRESSION. WE CANNOT
BLUFF THEM DOWN. BUT WE CAN FACE
 THEM DOWN. AND IN THE PAST, WE HAVE
 DONE IT. I SAY WE CAN -- AND MUST --
 DO IT AGAIN.

~~IS OUR PRESENT OBSCURE AND IN THE~~

~~WHICH WE REPUBLICANS HAVE~~

~~WITNESSED AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE~~

~~WEAKNESS OR DEFEAT THROUGH~~

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~~I HAVE SAID THAT WE CAN WIN THE PEACE~~

~~WITHOUT WAR. I WILL GO A STEP FURTHER.~~

~~WE HAVE DONE IT, WE HAVE MOVED TOWARD~~

~~TILL ONLY TIME AND AGAIN SINCE 1945~~

THERE IS NO MAGIC FORMULA INVOLVED.
 THERE IS SIMPLY A LESSON TO BE
 LEARNED.

LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD AND READ OUT OF IT THIS CLEAR LESSON: WHEN WE HAVE COMMITTED OUR POWER, AND BACKED IT WITH A RESOLUTE WILL, WE HAVE MOVED CLOSER TO OUR GOALS. IN MOST CASES, WE HAVE NOT ACTUALLY USED OUR POWER -- NOT OUR MILITARY POWER. BUT WE HAVE BEEN READY TO USE IT. AND THE FIRMNESS OF OUR WILL HAS STOPPED THE COMMUNISTS IN THEIR TRACKS, OR EVEN THROWN THEM BACK. WE HAVE NOT, IN MOST CASES, FIRED A SHOT. BUT OUR WILLINGNESS TO DO SO HAS ~~PRE~~SERVED PEACE -- AND KEPT THE FREE WORLD PEACE.

CONSIDER THESE MAJOR CASES:

IN IRAN: RIGHT AFTER THE WAR, A BRAZEN
SOVIET ATTEMPT TO SWALLOW UP THE
NORTHERN PROVINCES OF IRAN INTO
THE USSR WAS THWARTED BY THE TIMELY,
TOUGH AND JOINT DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE
OF BRITAIN AND THE U.S.

TO THIS DAY, IRAN REMAINS IN THE FREE WORLD --
A VALUABLE ANTI-COMMUNIST ALLY ON
THE VERY PERIPHERY OF THE SOVIET
EMPIRE. WE TOOK A RISK IN 1945 --
AND IT HAS PAID OFF.

TRUMAN

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IN GREECE AND TURKEY: THE PROMPT ADOPTION
OF THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE SAVED BOTH
COUNTRIES FROM THE IMMINENT THREAT
OF COMMUNIST AGGRESSION. THEY REMAIN
STaunch U.S. ALLIES WITH STABLE
AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS. THE
TRUMAN DOCTRINE WAS NO EXERCISE IN
IDLE RHETORIC, NOR WAS IT BELLICOSE.
ITS SIMPLE MESSAGE TO THE SOVIETS WAS
"KEEP HANDS OFF". IT WORKED.

THIS EXPERIENCE HOLDS SOME OTHER LESSONS,
TOO. WHEN THE PRESIDENT ASKS FOR
CONGRESSIONAL ADVICE -- BEFORE A
CRISIS TURNS INTO A SALVAGE OPERATION
-- HE USUALLY GAINS ~~THE~~ WILLING
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~~AND PROGRAMS DEPENDS ON MORE THAN
JUST THE OUTLAY OF U.S. DOLLARS: IT
DEPENDS ON THE RESOLUTION OF THE
RECIPIENT, AND ON SELF-DEDICATION
TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM.~~

IF HE WOULD TAKE US
INTO HIS CONFIDENCE TODAY
REGARDING VIETNAM--WE
WE WOULD BE BETTER OFF!

BUT, RETURNING TO THE LESSONS OF HISTORY —

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IN GUATEMALA: OVER A PERIOD OF THREE MONTHS,

IN 1954, A COMMUNIST-DOMINATED REGIME
TOOK OVER IN THIS CENTRAL AMERICAN
COUNTRY. AN EFFECTIVE HOMEGROWN
OPPOSITION EMERGED AND WAS GIVEN
IMMEDIATE U.S. SUPPORT. THE COMMUNIST
REGIME WAS OVERTHROWN. THE U.S. DID
NOT COMMIT ONE SOLDIER NOR FIRE A
SINGLE SHOT. BUT ON THIS ONE
OCCASION, WITH PRESIDENT EISENHOWER
AND SECRETARY DULLES EXERCISING
RESOLUTE LEADERSHIP, THE SPREAD
OF COMMUNISM IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE
WAS ARRESTED. BY 1961, AT THE BAY
OF PIGS, THE LESSONS OF GUATEMALA
WERE FORGOTTEN -- AT A PRICE WE HAVE
NOT BEGUN TO CALCULATE, MUCH LESS PAY.

IN THE FORMOSA STRAITS: THE DANGER OF
RED CHINESE AGGRESSION IS FAR
FROM ENDED. BUT WE WILLINGLY
COMMITTED U.S. POWER DURING THE '50s
-- IN THE TANGIBLE FORM OF THE
U.S. 7th FLEET. AND FREE CHINA
(ON TAIWAN, QUEMOY, AND MATSU)
REMAINS FREE. WE DID NOT BLUSTER.
WE DID NOT OVER-COMMIT OUR FORCES.
BUT THE EISENHOWER-DULLES DOCTRINE
ACHIEVED ITS MAJOR GOALS. CRITICS,
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BUT THEY OVERLOOKED ONE CRUCIAL POINT:
IT WORKED. AND IT WORKED WITHOUT WAR
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CONTRAST THIS CASE WITH KOREA. WITHIN
WEEKS OF SECRETARY ACHESON'S
EXCLUSION OF KORFA FROM THE
BOUNDARIFS OF THE FREE WORLD, THE KOREAN
WAR HAD BEGUN -- WITH THE ULTIMATE
LOSS OF 35,000 AMERICAN LIVES,
THE OUTLAY OF BILLIONS OF U.S. DOLLARS,
AND THE CONTINUING DIVISION OF THAT
COUNTRY. BUT IN THE FORMOSA STRAITS,
THE LINE WAS DRAWN: U.S. COMMITMENTS
WERE MADE CLEAR: AND THAT LINE HAS
HELD FIRM.

IN LEBANON: HERE, TOO, THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE WORKED. WE PLEDGED OUR AID, AND WE FULFILLED OUR COMMITMENTS -- TO THE LETTER, ON-THE-SPOT, AND AT ONCE. LEBANON TODAY REMAINS FIRMLY WITHIN THE WESTERN WORLD AND, IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NO FIRM FOOTHOLD. LET'S LOOK AT THIS CASE IN DETAIL. IT'S WORTH REMEMBERING.

-- IN JULY 1958 REVOLT SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE ARAB NATIONS. THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAQ WAS OVERTHROWN. LEBANON ASKED THE U.S. FOR IMMEDIATE ASSISTANCE, TO MAINTAIN INTERNAL ORDER.

-- WITHIN DAYS, THERE WERE OVER 10,000 U.S. TROOPS IN LEBANON, PLUS 75 U.S. SHIPS, WITH A FIGHTER AND A FIGHTER-BOMBER WING STANDING BY.

-- WITHIN THREE MONTHS, THE LAST OF OUR TROOPS LEFT. THE COST WAS IN EXCESS OF \$200 MILLION.

BUT WHATEVER THE COST, LEBANON WAS AND REMAINS A FREE NATION. AND U.S. HONOR, ITS SOLEMN COMMITMENT TO THE DEFENSE OF FREEDOM, WAS UPHELD.

AGAIN, I SAY THAT
SAME COMMITMENT MUST
BE UPHELD TODAY
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA!

THRE WERE, IN EACH OF THESE CASES, RISKS INVOLVED. IN DEFENSE OF FREEDOM-- AND IF EVER THE BOUNDARIES OF THE FREE WORLD ARE TO BE ENLARGED -- THERE WILL ALWAYS BE RISK. BUT I SUBMIT THAT THE GREATER [REDACTED] RISK, IN THE FACE OF COMMUNIST AGGRESSION, IS TO DO NOTHING -- STILL WORSE, TO SUBMIT -- AND WORST OF ALL, TO SEEK NEW AND ILLUSORY ACCOMMODATIONS WITH AN ANTAGONIST THAT HAS NEVER RETREATED AN INCH FROM A RESOLUTE PURPOSE THAT CONTEMPLATES THE ULTIMATE DESTRUCTION OF OUR WORLD.

THE QUESTION REMAINS -- WHAT IS FREEDOM WORTH TO YOU? IT SEEMS UNFAIR THAT MEN SHOULD HAVE TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION CONSTANTLY AND NOT HAVE A CHANCE TO REST AND RELAX. AND I KNOW AND REVERE THE MEMORY OF ALL THOSE WHO HAVE ANSWERED WITH THEIR VERY LIVES.

BUT I KNOW AND YOU KNOW THAT THIS IS A REAL WORLD, NOT A DREAM WORLD. NO MATTER HOW MUCH WE WHISTLE PAST THE GRAVEYARD OF HISTORY. WE CANNOT AVOID THE GRIM TRUTH THAT FREEDOM IS KEPT ONLY BY VIGILANCE AND THE **CONSTANT** ~~CONSTITUTION~~ DETERMINATION OF MEN WHO WILL NOT SETTLE FOR ANYTHING LESS IN THIS LIFE BUT STAYING FREE.

IF THAT CRUSADE GOES ON FOR TEN THOUSAND
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~~30~~

6/24

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THIS IS OUR PRESENT CRUSADE. AND IN THIS CRUSADE, WE REPUBLICANS HAVE A BATTLE-CRY AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE A CLEAR CHOICE: WAR THROUGH WEAKNESS OR PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH.

I HAVE SAID THAT WE CAN WIN THE PEACE WITHOUT WAR. I'LL GO A STEP FURTHER: WE HAVE DONE IT, WE HAVE MOVED TOWARD THIS GOAL, TIME AND AGAIN SINCE 1945. THERE IS NO MAGIC FORMULA INVOLVED. THERE IS SIMPLY A LESSON TO BE LEARNED.

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