

"THE FREE SOCIETY"

By SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER
October 22, 1964

TONIGHT I WANT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU ONE OF THE GRAVEST DOMESTIC QUESTIONS FACING THIS NATION. THAT QUESTION IS THIS: HOW CAN WE BUILD A SOCIETY OF MANY RACES WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL?

WE USUALLY THINK OF THE MOTTO OF OUR NATION, "E PLURIBUS UNUM," AS REFERRING TO THE MANY STATES JOINED IN ONE NATION. YET IT ALSO REFERS MORE PROFOUNDLY AND SYMBOLICALLY TO THE MANY RACES, COLORS, AND CREEDS JOINED IN ONE PEOPLE.

OURS IS THE FIRST NATION IN THE HISTORY OF MAN TO ASSERT THAT ITS CITIZENS HAVE RIGHTS COMMON TO ALL MANKIND. "WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT," THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE SAYS, "THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL."

LET US REPEAT, "ALL MEN" -- NOT ONLY AMERICANS OR ANGLO-AMERICANS-- NOT CHRISTIANS OR JEWS -- NOT WHITE MEN OR COLORED. NO, OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE SAYS "ALL MEN," AND THAT IS WHAT IT MEANS.

OUR SOCIETY HAS BEEN BUILT ON THIS PRINCIPLE. BUT THE TASK HAS BEEN GREAT, AND IT HAS BEEN GREAT FROM THE VERY BEGINNING. WE HAVE PASSED THROUGH MANY TRIALS, AND AT ONE POINT IN OUR HISTORY THOSE TRIALS EVEN BURST FORTH INTO A TRAGIC STRUGGLE OF BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER.

IN JUDGING THE PRESENT, WE MUST CONSIDER THE PAST AS WELL. ONLY WHEN WE COMPARE THE PRESENT WITH THE PAST CAN WE FORM REASONABLE HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

WHEN THE CONSTITUTION WAS DRAFTED AND RATIFIED, MANY COMPROMISES HAD TO BE MADE -- EVEN WITH THE EVILS OF SLAVERY. FOR THE ALTERNATIVE TO COMPROMISE WAS NOT A SOCIETY OF PERFECT EQUALITY AND PERFECT FREEDOM. THE ALTERNATIVE WAS PLAINLY AND SIMPLY NO INDEPENDENCE AT ALL, NO NATION, AND NO CONSTITUTION.

THE CHOICE WAS CLEAR. HUMAN FREEDOM AND EQUALITY WERE TO BE REALIZED AT THE OUTSET, EITHER IMPERFECTLY OR NOT AT ALL. WITHOUT COMPROMISE, THE NOBLEST EXPERIMENT IN HUMAN FREEDOM WOULD HAVE PERISHED BEFORE IT WAS BORN.

THUS, THE FOUNDING FATHERS, AFTER ENSHRINING THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY IN THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, SET OUT THROUGH THE CONSTITUTION TO BRING ITS MORE PERFECT FULFILLMENT.

THE PROPOSITION THAT "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL" IS FUNDAMENTAL TO OUR AMERICAN SOCIETY.

THE EQUALITY THAT IS GOD'S GIFT, HOWEVER, IS NOT THE SAME AS SAYING THAT ALL MEN'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS MUST BE EQUAL, THAT THEIR SKILLS MUST BE EQUAL, THAT THEIR AMBITIONS ARE EQUAL OR THAT THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS ARE EQUAL. ON THOSE LEVELS, THERE IS NO EQUALITY, THERE IS ONLY OPPORTUNITY.

CERTAINLY, NO LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT CAN OR SHOULD ATTEMPT BY ITS ACTIONS TO ENFORCE EQUALITY IN THOSE ESSENTIALLY PERSONAL AREAS OF GREAT HUMAN DIFFERENCES. IT IS SUCH DIFFERENCES THAT GIVE LIFE ITS DIVERSITY AND MAN HIS WONDROUS VARIETY.

WHEN GOVERNMENT PRESUMES TO CONTROL EQUALITY, FORGETTING THAT IN ITS ESSENTIAL AREAS IT LIES WITHIN GOD'S PROVINCE AND THE LAWS OF NATURE, THERE CAN BE ONLY CONFORMITY. GOVERNMENT MUST CONSIDER AND TREAT ALL

MEN AS EQUAL IN THE AREAS OF LAW AND CIVIC ORDER. OTHERWISE, AND IN NO OTHER AREA, CAN IT MAKE MEN EQUAL.

GOVERNMENT CAN PROTECT THE DIVERSITY THAT MEN CAN ACHIEVE FROM THE BASE OF THEIR GOD-GIVEN EQUALITY OF GOVERNMENT CAN REPRESS THEIR DIVERSITY.

THE CHILD BORN IN AMERICA AND THE CHILD BORN IN CUBA ARE CREATED EQUAL -- BUT BECAUSE THE CUBAN CHILD IS BORN TO TYRANNY, HE CANNOT ENJOY THE FREEDOM IN WHICH THAT BASIC EQUALITY WILL BE RESPECTED AND IN WHICH HE WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO STRIVE FOR SELF-FULFILLMENT.

NO ONE EXPECTS MAN TO BE AS PERFECT AS GOD. BUT THE GOODNESS OF GOD IS A REASON FOR MAN TO STRIVE FOR SUCH PERFECTION AS COMES WITHIN HIS REACH. A MAN WHO CANNOT BECOME A SAINT NEED NOT REMAIN A SINNER.

THE TRUE CHOICE IS, THEREFORE, BETWEEN MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION -- GUIDED BY SOUND PRINCIPLES -- OR SLIDING BACKWARD INTO IRRESPONSIBILITY AND IMMORALITY.

THE TROUBLE COMES FROM HEEDING FALSE COUNSEL. THERE ARE THOSE WHO SEEM TO DENOUNCE SOCIETY AS HOPELESSLY EVIL BECAUSE IT IS NOT PERFECT. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE ARE THOSE WHO TELL US TO BE SATISFIED WITH WHAT WE ALREADY HAVE.

IF SUCH FALSE COUNSEL IS HEEDED, MINORITIES SUFFERING UNFAIR DISCRIMINATION WILL SURELY SUFFER FRUSTRATION AS WELL. ONE KIND OF FRUSTRATION CAN BE BROUGHT ABOUT IF NO PROGRESS AT ALL SEEMS TO BE MADE TOWARD GREATER EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY. ANOTHER CAN BE BROUGHT ABOUT IF EVERYTHING SHORT OF TOTAL SUCCESS IS VIEWED AS NOTHING AT ALL, WORTHLESS, AND DESERVING ONLY OF CONTEMPT.

THIS "ALL-OR-NOTHING" ATTITUDE IS BOUND TO END IN DISASTER, AND HAS ALREADY CAUSED MUCH HARM TO MANY INNOCENT PERSONS.

IT IS WRONG TO COMPEL CHILDREN TO ATTEND SCHOOLS RESTRICTED TO MEMBERS OF THEIR OWN RACE, HOWEVER THAT MAY BE DEFINED. IT IS ALSO WRONG TO FORBID CHILDREN TO ATTEND SCHOOLS RESTRICTED TO MEMBERS OF ANOTHER RACE. I CONDEMN THAT SORT OF SEGREGATION BECAUSE IT IS COMPULSORY.

THERE IS ANOTHER WAY THAT PEOPLE MAY SEPARATE AND DISTINGUISH THEMSELVES FROM EACH OTHER. FAR FROM BEING COMPULSORY, IT IS THE NECESSARY RESULT OF FREEDOM -- THE FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION.

THROUGHOUT THIS LAND OF OURS, WE FIND PEOPLE FORMING CHURCHES, CLUBS, AND NEIGHBORHOODS WITH OTHER FAMILIES OF SIMILAR BELIEFS, SIMILAR TASTES, AND SIMILAR ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS. NO ONE WOULD THINK OF INSISTING THAT NEIGHBORHOODS BE "INTEGRATED" WITH FIXED PROPORTIONS OF ANGLO-AMERICANS, GERMAN-AMERICANS, SWEDISH-AMERICANS -- OR OF CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS, AND JEWS.

TO ME, IT IS WRONG TO TAKE SOME CHILDREN OUT OF THE SCHOOLS THEY WOULD NORMALLY ATTEND AND BUS THEM TO OTHERS -- JUST TO GET A MIXTURE OF ETHNIC AND RACIAL GROUPS THAT SOMEBODY THINKS IS DESIRABLE. THIS FORCED INTEGRATION IS JUST AS WRONG AS FORCED SEGREGATION.

IT HAS BEEN WELL SAID THAT THE CONSTITUTION IS COLOR BLIND. AND SO IT IS JUST AS WRONG TO COMPEL CHILDREN TO ATTEND CERTAIN SCHOOLS FOR THE SAKE OF SO-CALLED INTEGRATION AS FOR THE SAKE OF SEGREGATION.

OUR AIM, AS I UNDERSTAND IT, IS NEITHER TO ESTABLISH A SEGREGATED SOCIETY NOR TO ESTABLISH AN INTEGRATED SOCIETY. IT IS TO PRESERVE A FREE SOCIETY.

I AM NOT HERE PASSING JUDGMENT ON PARTICULAR MEASURES ADOPTED BY PARTICULAR STATES OR LOCALITIES IN LEADING WITH THEIR PARTICULAR PROBLEMS. IF THIS CAMPAIGN ACCOMPLISHES NOTHING ELSE, IT IS GOING TO REMIND THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY THAT THEY MUST LOOK AFTER THEIR OWN PROBLEMS IF THEY ARE TO BE SOLVED. THEY MUST LOOK FIRST TO THEMSELVES, AND NEXT TO THE GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL CLOSEST TO THEM, FOR RESPONSIBLE ACTION ON PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL RELATIONS.

BUT EVEN THOUGH THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP SHOULD NOT LEGISLATE FOR LOCAL PROBLEMS, IT SHOULD EXPOUND THE PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH SOUND ACTION SHOULD PROCEED.

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 GOAL OF PERFECT EQUALITY IMAGINED BY THE THEORISTS OF THE SO-CALLED "GREAT SOCIETY," IT IS WRONG -- MORALLY WRONG -- BECAUSE IT REINTRODUCES 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 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?

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 SAMETHING 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.

WE ONLY CLOUD THE ISSUE BY LABELLING THIS AS A PROBLEM 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.

THERE ARE STILL POCKETS OF RESISTANCE TO EQUALITY IN CIVIL RIGHTS. BUT THE PROBLEM HERE IS TO SEE TO IT THAT THE RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION ARE 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 LAW 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. HERE 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.

NEVERTHELESS, UNFAIR DISCRIMINATION IN THE PRIVATE AFFAIRS OF MEN MUST BE OF GRAVE CONCERN TO ALL THOSE WHO SERVE IN NATIONAL OFFICE. THE REASON IS SIMPLE: IT LIMITS THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS OPEN TO MEMBERS OF MINORITY GROUPS.

BUT WHAT CAN THOSE IN NATIONAL OFFICE DO ABOUT THIS PROBLEM? SOME LAWS WILL HELP, BUT THEY CANNOT BE RELIED UPON TO PROVIDE THE FULL SOLUTION -- INDEED, EVEN A MAJOR PART OF IT. THIS IS A MORAL PROBLEM, AND LOCAL LEADERSHIP IS NEEDED TO MAKE HEADWAY IN SOLVING IT. THE BEST THING THE PRESIDENT CAN DO IS TO USE HIS OFFICE TO PERSUADE AND ENCOURAGE LOCALITIES TO TAKE UP THE TASK OF LEADERSHIP.

THIS MEANS MORE THAN CALLING UPON THE GOVERNORS OF OUR STATES AND THE MAYORS OF OUR TOWNS AND CITIES. IT MEANS CALLING UPON LEADERS IN THE FIELDS OF RELIGION, EDUCATION, BUSINESS, LABOR AND SO ON.

AND MORE THAN THAT, IT MEANS RETURNING TO COMMUNITIES THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT ALONG WITH RESOURCES TO CARRY IT OUT. OF COURSE, STATES, LOCALITIES, RELIGIOUS GROUPS, AND ASSOCIATIONS OF PRIVATE CITIZENS NEED TO PROVIDE BETTER EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR THOSE WHO ARE ABLE AND MOTIVATED TO MAKE USE OF THEM. BUT HOW CAN THESE ORGANIZATIONS DO SO WHEN OUR CITIZENRY IS SO HEAVILY BURDENED BY FEDERAL TAXES?

LET US NEVER FORGET THAT OUR PEOPLE CAME HERE AS IMMIGRANTS FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD. EACH MINORITY GROUP 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.

LET ME SAY THAT I KNOW WHAT IT MEANS TO BE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST, AND I SYMPATHIZE IN THE DEPTH OF MY HEART WITH THOSE WHO SUFFER DISCRIMINATION. AT THE SAME TIME, MY FAMILY AND I ALSO KNOW THAT WE WOULD NOT BE ALIVE TODAY IF WE HAD BEEN IN POLAND -- WHERE MY GRANDFATHER ONCE LIVED -- IN THE DAYS OF HITLER, STALIN, AND KRUSHCHEV. WE KNOW WE WOULD HAVE SUFFERED FOR NO REASON OTHER THAN CIRCUMSTANCE OF BIRTH.

IN A FREE SOCIETY, GOVERNMENT IS CONSENT -- HENCE BY THE OPINION OF THE GOVERNED. LAW AS AN EXPRESSION OF OPINION CANNOT BE MORE ENLIGHTENING THAN THE OPINION IT EXPRESSES. POLITICAL LEADERSHIP MUST ALWAYS WORK FOR THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF HEARTS AND MINDS -- FOR THE OPINIONS WHICH ENABLE MEN TO UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER AND RESPECT THEIR DIFFERENCES.

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 UPON THE CONCEPT OF RACE-- MUST BE IMPOSED AS THE GOAL OF THE SO-CALLED "GREAT SOCIETY". THAT WAY LIES DESTRUCTION.

THE FORCES WORKING FOR TRUE EQUALITY AND TRUE JUSTICE LIE IN THE HEART OF THIS GREAT AMERICAN PEOPLE. LET US PLACE A MORE PATIENT CONFIDENCE IN THEIR ULTIMATE TRIUMPH.

WE HAVE COME, LITERALLY AND FIGURATIVELY, FROM THE VERY ENDS OF THE EARTH TO MAKE THIS GREAT NATION. FROM MANY RACES, NATIONS, AND CREEDS WE HAVE MADE, AS WE SHALL EVER MORE PERFECTLY MAKE, UNDER GOD, ONE PEOPLE.

THANK YOU.

REMARKS BY
RICHARD M. NIXON
AND
SENATOR GOLDWATER

RICHARD M. NIXON:

MY FELLOW AMERICANS, I THINK YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME WHEN I SAY THAT WE HAVE JUST HEARD ONE OF THE MOST HONEST, FORTHRIGHT STATEMENTS BY A CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES EVER MADE. I WOULD LIKE TO ADD ONE FINAL NOTE.

THE JOB OF THE PRESIDENCY IS SOMETHING THAT I KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT, BECAUSE I SAW PRESIDENT EISENHOWER FOR EIGHT YEARS EXERCISE GREAT POWER. I'VE SEEN HIM MAKE DECISIONS THAT MADE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE AND DECISIONS THAT AFFECTED THE LIVES AND FORTUNES OF INDIVIDUAL AMERICANS BY THE POWER THAT A PRESIDENT HAS, THE MOST IMPORTANT THING TO BEAR IN MIND IS THIS: YOU MUST NOT GIVE THAT POWER TO A MAN UNLESS, ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE, HE HAS CHARACTER -- CHARACTER IS THE MOST IMPORTANT QUALIFICATION THAT A PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES CAN HAVE.

AND ON THAT SCORE, A CLOUD HANGS OVER THE WHITE HOUSE TONIGHT -- IT HANGS OVER THE WHITE HOUSE BECAUSE THE PRESENT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS REFUSED TO DISASSOCIATE HIMSELF FROM POLITICAL HANKY-PANKY, FROM CORRUPTION, IN HIS OFFICIAL FAMILY, IN THE BOBBY BAKER CASE. HE SHOULD, AND HE CAN, REMOVE THAT CLOUD. BUT HE HASN'T DONE IT YET. I SAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE GOING TO VOTE ON NOVEMBER THIRD FOR A MAN OF CHARACTER -- AN HONEST MAN, OF GREAT PRINCIPLE. THEY'RE GOING TO VOTE FOR BARRY GOLDWATER.

ANNOUNCER:

THE SIGNS OF MORAL DECAY ARE EVERYWHERE. MORALITY IS A FULL-SCALE NATIONAL PROBLEM. HEAR WHAT BARRY GOLDWATER HAS TO SAY ABOUT THE LACK OF MORAL LEADERSHIP. . . .

SENATOR GOLDWATER:

PERHAPS THE ISSUE CLOSEST TO OUR HEARTS IS THE MATTER OF PURPOSE AND ORDER IN OUR LIVES AND OUR SOCIETY.

MOST OF US HAVE CONCEIVED OF THE PURPOSE OF GOVERNMENT AS BEING SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE, BRINGING THEM FAIR LAWS AND FAIR ADMINISTRATION, AND DOING THOSE ABSOLUTELY NEEDED THINGS WHICH INDIVIDUALS, COMMUNITIES OR STATES CANNOT DO BY THEMSELVES. BUT THE LEADERS OF THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION CONCEIVE OF GOVERNMENT AS MASTER, NOT SERVANT.

THE LEADERSHIP OF THIS ADMINISTRATION, WHICH SEEKS THE CONCENTRATION OF POWER AS AN ANNOUNCED ARTICLE OF ITS POLITICAL FAITH, HAS BECOME THE NATURAL ALLY OF ALL IN OUR SOCIETY WHO WOULD MONOPOLIZE POWER, CENTRALIZE POWER, MANIPULATE POWER -- AND GROW RICH FROM POWER.

THE SHADOW OF SCANDAL FALLS ACROSS THE WHITE HOUSE ITSELF. AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE NOT YET BEEN GIVEN FULL AND FRANK ANSWERS. THE EXAMPLE THIS SETS IS EXEMPLIFIED, TRAGICALLY, IN THE EASY MORALS AND UNEASY ETHICS THAT INFLUENCE SO MANY YOUNG PEOPLE AND DISTURB SO MANY PARENTS.

IF THE TONE OF AMERICA IS NOT SET BY MEN IN PUBLIC SERVICE, IT WILL BE SET, AS UNFORTUNATELY, IT IS BEING SET TOO OFTEN TODAY, BY THE STANDARDS OF THE SICK JOKE, SLICK SLOGAN, AND OFF-COLOR ENTERTAINMENT.

AND FINALLY, IT IS IN OUR STREETS THAT WE SEE THE TERRIBLE PROOF OF THIS SICKNESS, WHICH NOT ALL THE SOCIAL THEORIES OF A THOUSAND SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS COULD EVEN BEGIN TO TOUCH.

OUR WIVES, ALL WOMEN, FEEL UNSAFE ON OUR STREETS. CRIME GROWN FASTER THAN POPULATION, WHILE THOSE WHO BREAK THE LAW ARE ACCORDED MORE CONSIDERATION THAN THOSE WHO TRY TO ENFORCE THE LAW. WHEN MEN WILL SEEK POLITICAL ADVANTAGES BY TURNING THEIR EYES FROM RIOTS AND VIOLENCE, WE CAN WELL UNDERSTAND WHY LAWLESSNESS GROWN -- EVEN WHILE WE PASS MORE LAWS.

I SAY IT IS A RESPONSIBILITY OF OUR NATIONAL LEADERSHIP, REGARDLESS OF POLITICAL GAIN OR POLITICAL POPULARITY, TO ENCOURAGE EVERY COMMUNITY IN THIS NATION TO ENFORCE THE LAW -- NOT LET IT BE ABUSED AND IGNORED. IT IS NOT THE RESPONSIBILITY, NOR IS IT A PROPER FUNCTION OF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP, ACTUALLY TO ENFORCE THESE LOCAL LAWS. BUT IT IS A RESPONSIBILITY OF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP TO MAKE SURE THAT IT, AND ITS SPOKESMEN AND ITS SUPPORTERS, DO NOT DISCOURAGE THE ENFORCEMENT OR INCITE THE BREACHING OF THESE LAWS. ABOVE ALL, NO ADMINISTRATION SHOULD, AS THIS ONE HAS, CALL MEN INTO THE STREETS TO SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS. THE LEADERSHIP OF THIS NATION HAS A CLEAR AND IMMEDIATE CHALLENGE TO GO TO WORK EFFECTIVELY AND TO GO TO WORK IMMEDIATELY TO RESTORE PROPER RESPECT FOR LAW AND ORDER IN THIS LAND -- AND NOT JUST PRIOR TO ELECTION DAY EITHER!

AMERICA'S GREATNESS IS THE GREATNESS OF HER PEOPLE. LET THIS GENERATION OF AMERICANS SET A STANDARD OF RESPONSIBILITY THAT WILL INSPIRE THE WORLD.