THIS IS A CAN-DO PARTY. THIS IS A CAN-WIN PARTY.

THIS IS A WILL-WIN PARTY.

AND I LOOK FORWARD THIS YEAR TO CAMPAIGNING, AND CAMPAIGNING WITH EVERY OUNCE OF MY STRENGTH, FOR THE FINEST REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES EVER TO GO BEFORE THE PEOPLE OF THIS NATION--FROM WHITE HOUSE TO STATE HOUSE, FROM CONGRESS TO COURT-HOUSE. THIS IS A REPUBLICAN YEAR --FOR A DEDICATED AND UNITED REPUBLICAN PARTY.

AMERICA TODAY IS READY TO THROW OFF THE OLD SHACKLES OF REGIMENTATION AND RED-TAPE. AMERICA TODAY IS READY, WILLING, AND MORE THAN ABLE TO SPEAK UP FOR INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE, INDIVIDUAL DIGNITY, INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY.
EVEN DEMOCRATS KNOW THAT THERE IS SUCH A MOOD IN AMERICA. IN FACT I'VE HEARD SOME DEMOCRATS LATELY WHO HAVE BEEN TRYING TO SOUND MORE REPUBLICAN THAN SOME REPUBLICANS I KNOW.

DEMOCRATS SEEK TO EXPLOIT THIS NEW MOOD OF AMERICAN POLITICS. WE SEEK TO REPRESENT IT.

WHY SHOULD AMERICANS SETTLE FOR SECOND-HAND CONSERVATIVES? FOR SECOND-HAND FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY? FOR SECOND-HAND FOREIGN POLICY? FOR SECOND-HAND STRENGTH IN OUR DEFENSES?

NO REASON AT ALL! AMERICANS CAN HAVE THE REAL THING. THEY CAN HAVE -- AND I SAY THEY WILL HAVE -- REAL REPUBLICANISM!
THIS ISN'T A FEARFUL GENERATION WE MUST REACH. THIS IS A GENERATION OF HOPE AND COURAGE. THIS IS A GENERATION THAT WANTS THE CHANCE TO SOLVE SOME OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH GOVERNMENT MISMANAGEMENT HAS CREATED.

THIS IS A GENERATION, IN PARTICULAR, THAT WANTS TO GET ON WITH THE BUSINESS OF BUILDING A FREE AND PEACEFUL WORLD.

WE HAVE BEEN FRUSTRATED THROUGH THREE YEARS OF INDECISION. FREEDOM, WHICH UNDER DWIGHT EISENHOWER WAS A CRUSADE, HAS BECOME A WHOLLY NEGOTIABLE STACK OF CHIPS IN A GAME OF POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY.
WE NOW HAVE A PRESIDENT WHO TRIES TO
SAVE MONEY BY TURNING OFF LIGHTS
IN THE WHITE HOUSE -- EVEN AS HE
HEADS TOWARD A STAGGERING ADDITION
TO THE NATIONAL DEBT.

THIS SAME PRESIDENT, BY VIEWING THE WORLD
AS LITTLE MORE THAN POLITICAL
PRECINCTS AND WARDS, ALSO IS TURNING
OFF LIGHTS. LIGHTS OF LEADERSHIP,
OF CONSCIENCE AND HONESTY, OF
STRENGTH AND COURAGE.

WHERE IS THE BRIGHT LIGHT OF AN AMERICAN
STATEMENT THAT CAN OUTSHINE KHRUSHCHEV'S
BOAST THAT OUR GRANDCHILDREN WILL
LIVE UNDER COMMUNISM? WHERE IS THE
AMERICAN STATEMENT THAT SAYS, FOR ALL
THE WORLD TO HEAR AND BELIEVE, THAT
KHRUSHCHEV'S CHILDREN OR GRANDCHILDREN
WILL LIVE UNDER FREEDOM!
I say that statement is in the Republican Party and its principles. I say it is in Republican leadership!

This is the essence of the choice we face. It is the essence of a choice the whole world faces—but which only America can put into effective action. Tyranny or freedom! Expediency or principle!

There are those who criticize anyone who, as they put it, wraps himself in the American flag. Well I would far rather wrap myself in that flag than in the shrouds of indecision and defeat.

I would rather see that flag flying proudly and respected than see it torn, flung down, and spat upon.
IT IS NOT INTERNATIONAL WISDOM OR PATIENCE THAT KEEPS TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK TO EVERY SLAP AT FREEDOM. NOR IS THAT THE WAY TO PEACE. THERE ARE NO FIRST-STEP COMPROMISES THAT LEAD TO SECOND-STEP HOPES FOR PEACE. THERE ARE ONLY LITTLE DEFEATS THAT LEAD TO MAJOR DEFEATS.

WHAT PEACE THIS TROUBLED PLANET EVER HAS KNOWN HAS COME THROUGH THE STRENGTH OF MEN DETERMINED TO KEEP THE PEACE.

WHAT PEACE WE HAVE IN THE WORLD TODAY IS THE RESULT OF OUR STRENGTH AND THE STRENGTH OF THE FREE WORLD. AND WHAT PEACE WE CAN HOPE FOR TOMORROW WILL COME THE SAME WAY.

THE ONE SURE WAY TO PREVENT WAR IN OUR TIME IS TO MAKE SURE THAT COMMUNISM KNOWS IT CANNOT WIN A WAR IF IT STARTS ONE.
THE ONE SURE WAY TO PEACE IN OUR CHILDREN's TIME IS TO REDUCE THE POWER OF COMMUNISM TO THE POINT WHERE IT NO LONGER THREATENS THE PEACE OF THE WORLD, TO HELP REMOVE FROM POSITIONS OF POWER THE COMMUNISTS WHO DO THREATEN THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

IT IS, OF COURSE, EASIER SAID THAN DONE.
BUT WHAT CAUSE EVER WAS SUCCESSFUL WITHOUT AT LEAST SETTING AND UNDERSTANDING A GOAL?

AND, TODAY, IN THE EYES OF ANXIOUS MILLIONS AROUND THIS WORLD AND HERE AT HOME, WE STAND IMPLICITLY ACCUSED AS A NATION THAT HAS NOT SET A CLEAR GOAL OR AN UNDERSTANDABLE COURSE.
WHERE IS THE CLEAR-CUT PURPOSE TO DEFEAT COMMUNISM WHICH MIGHT REVITALIZE THE SOUTHEAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION?

THERE IS NO GOAL, COURSE, OR PURPOSE. THERE IS ONLY SUDDEN DEATH IN THE JUNGLES AND SLOW STRANGULATION OF FREEDOM.

WE WILLINGLY RISK, AT EVERY TURN, DEFEAT IN THE COLD WAR. WE RISK A TOMORROW IN WHICH, BACKED AGAINST THE WALL OF OUR INDECISION, WE WILL FACE NO CHOICE BUT SURRENDER OR HOLOCAUST.

THERE IS FAR LESS RISK, WHILE WE ARE STRONG, AND WHILE THE ENEMY IS DIVIDED, AND OVER-EXTENDED, OF USING OUR STRENGTH AS A SHIELD AND OUR FIRM PURPOSE AS A SWORD TO SETTLE— WITHOUT WAR— THE CLAIMS OF FREEDOM AND THE CRIMES OF TYRANNY.
WHEREVER OUR STRENGTH HAS BEEN APPLIED, THE ENEMY HAS YIELDED. AND THERE HAS BEEN NO WAR AS A RESULT!

WHEN OUR MARINES LANDED IN LEBANON IN 1958, THE WORLD DID NOT MOVE CLOSER TO WAR. IT MOVED FOR A BRIEF MOMENT CLOSER TO PEACE.

WHEN OUR SHIPS BLOCKADED CUBA IN 1962 WE REMOVED, FOR ALL TOO BRIEF A MOMENT, A BOLD COMMUNIST THREAT TO THE PEACE.

SUCH AGGRESSIVE MOVES WILL PLAGUE US AGAIN AND AGAIN, IF WE DO NOT MOVE RESOLUTELY IN THE FUTURE.

CUBA REMAINS COMMUNISM'S OPEN-DOOR TO LATIN AMERICA.

ZANZIBAR HAS BEEN NEWLY OPENED AS A SIDE DOOR TO AFRICA.
VIETNAM THREATENS TO BE A REVolVING DOOR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

INDONESIA MAY BE A TRAP DOOR IN THE SAME AREA.

AND, MEANTIME, IN THE ORIGINAL HEARTLAND OF FREEDOM ITSELF, IN EUROPE, OUR NATO ALLIANCE TEETERS ON THE EDGE OF DISINTEGRATION.

IF MEN WHO SHARE SUCH A HERITAGE OF FREEDOM, SUCH A HERITAGE OF HISTORY AND CONVICTION CANNOT AGREE EVEN UPON THEIR COMMON DEFENSE AGAINST A COMMON ENEMY, THEN FREEDOM'S CAUSE IS SICK INDEED.
THE TRAGEDY IS THAT IT NEED NOT BE! I REFUSE TO BELIEVE FOR AN INSTANT THAT THE BREAK-UP OF NATO IS INEVITABLE, THAT THE WESTERN POWERS ARE DOOMED BY FORCES OF HISTORY TO SPLIT AND SQUABBLE, TO BE DIVIDED AND CONQUERED, THAT THE DAYS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION ARE NUMBERED.

IT IS ONLY COMMUNIST THEORY THAT READS HISTORY THAT WAY! AND THOSE WHO SHARE THE READING IN ANY WAY HAVE LOST THEIR FIGHT AT THE OUTSET--WORSE, THEY HAVE LOST THEIR FAITH!
THEY HAVE LOST THEIR FAITH IN THE POWER OF FREEDOM TO INSPIRE MEN. THEY HAVE LOST THEIR FAITH IN THE USE OF FREEDOM'S STRENGTH. THEY HAVE LOST THEIR FAITH IN THE SIMPLE PROPOSITION THAT MEN CAN MOVE HISTORY, MOLD IT, AND MAKE IT.

WE HAVE, IN OUR OWN STRENGTH AND IN THE STRENGTH OF THE WHOLE FREE WORLD, THE LEVER TO MOVE HISTORY. IT IS NOT OUR ARMED STRENGTH ALONE THAT GIVES US THAT LEVER. ALTHOUGH, IF THE DAY EVER COMES WHEN WE LACK THAT STRENGTH AND YET ARE STILL OPPOSED BY AN ENEMY SUCH AS COMMUNISM, HISTORY WILL MOVE US ON TO ITS SCRAP-PILE.
THE ARSENAL OF OUR STRENGTH, THE STRENGTH
THAT CAN OPPOSE, HALT, AND ROLL-BACK
COMMUNISM IS IMMENSE. IT OFFERS
THE WAY TO VICTORY WITHOUT WAR, TO
PEACE WITHOUT THE SACRIFICE OF
FREEDOM OR JUSTICE.

LET ME INVENTORY SOME OF THE STRENGTH IN
THAT ARSENAL:

FIRST, WE HAVE ECONOMIC STRENGTH. THE
FREE WORLD'S ECONOMY IS A COLOSSUS
COMPARED TO THE COLLECTIVIST CLAP-
TRAPPERS OF COMMUNISM. IF OUR GOAL
COULD BUT BE TO APPLY THAT ECONOMY
AS A FORCE AGAINST COMMUNISM, RATHER
THAN AS A SUPPORT FOR COMMUNISM,
WE MIGHT SEE IN OUR OWN TIME THE
COLLAPSE OF A SYSTEM THAT CANNOT EVEN
FEED ITS PEOPLE AND CERTAINLY CANNOT
FOREVER FOOL THEM.
NEXT, WE HAVE THE POWER OF OUR IDEAS.

THE FREE WORLD'S PSYCHOLOGICAL STRENGTH IS A MIGHTY FORTRESS. THAT OF COMMUNISM IS A HOUSE OF CARDS.

IF OUR GOAL COULD BE TO APPLY OUR PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCE RATHER THAN FOREVER APOLOGIZING FOR IT, WE MIGHT IN OUR TIME STRIP AWAY THE MASK OF LEGITIMACY FROM THE FRAUDULENT REGIME AND FOOLISH PHILOSOPHY OF COMMUNISM.

THERE IS ANOTHER GREAT STRENGTH IN OUR ALLIANCES AND INSTITUTIONS. THE FREE WORLD'S POLITICAL STRENGTH IS GIGANTIC. BUT ITS MUSCLES GROW FLabby FROM DISUSE AND MISUSE. THEY MUST BE EXERCISED. WHEN THEY ARE NOT, COMMUNISM'S FEAR-DRIVEN MACHINE WINS WITHOUT RESISTANCE, AND IS ENCOURAGED TO EXCESSES.
THE LIST IS AS ENDLESS AS THE DIVERSITY
OF FREE MEN AND FREE INSTITUTIONS.
THE OPPORTUNITIES ARE AS ENDLESS
AS THE DEDICATION OF FREE MEN.

IS IT RECKLESS TO TALK THIS WAY OF WINNING
THE COLD WAR? IS IT RECKLESS TO
SAY THAT WE RISK WAR LESS THROUGH
STRENGTH THAN THROUGH WEAKNESS?

IS IT RECKLESS TO SAY THAT THIS GENERATION
CAN BE THE FIRST IN A NEW ERA OF
FREEDOM, RATHER THAN THE NEXT-TO-LAST
GASP OF A WORN-OUT WORLD NO LONGER
READY TO WORK, TO STRIVE, TO DEDICATE
ITSELF TO FREEDOM?
THE TRULY RECKLESS LEADERSHIP IN SUCH A WORLD AS OURS TODAY IS THE LAGGARD LEADERSHIP THAT SHRINKS FROM DECISION, THAT CONFUSES COMFORT AND CONSCIENCE, THAT BUYS TIME AND VOTES WITH THE FATE OF THE ENTIRE FREE WORLD.

OUR GENERATION, OUR NATION, WAS NOT BORN TO SIT IN EASY-CHAIR SILENCE. THE UMBRELLA OF FALSE SECURITY IS NOT THE SYMBOL WE DESERVE. THE PLEA OF "DON'T ROCK THE BOAT" IS NOT THE SLOGAN WE DESERVE.

EITHER WE SEEK THE VICTORY OF FREEDOM, THE PEACE OF FREEDOM OR WE ARE NOT WORTHY OF THE NAME AMERICAN.

OUR CHOICE MUST NOT BE JUST BETWEEN THE DETAILS OF EXPEDIENT PROGRAMS. THIS IS A REAL AND GRIM WORLD IN WHICH REAL AND HARD DECISIONS, BASED UPON REALIZED GOALS, MUST BE MADE.
I implore all those who are concerned, all those who will listen to ask of the men who propose themselves for the responsibilities of foreign policy formulation—to ask of them a single question:

Ask what they think of communism. Ask what they think of the profound crisis of the soul which produced it. Ask whether they are prepared to come to terms with it—or whether concretely they would oppose it.

Ask and demand an answer to that, for that is the question of war and peace in our time. It will be the question tomorrow. It is the question before November. It will be the question after November.
ONLY A POLITICAL PITCHMAN WOULD PRETEND TO GIVE THE ANSWERS IN INFINITE DETAIL. THESE ARE NATIONAL PROBLEMS FOR A NATIONAL SOLUTION, INVOLVING ALL OF US.

IT IS THE DIRECTION, THE DECISION, THAT IS IMPORTANT--THE FIRST STEP THAT IS CRUCIAL. EITHER WE START THE MARCH OR WE ABANDON IT--AS WE HAVE BEEN ABANDONING IT, RESTING ON OUR LAURELS, HOPING FOR MIRACULOUS SIGNS OF FRIENDSHIP FROM A FOE THAT HAS SWORN DESTRUCTION OF OUR SOCIETY.

I AM TOLD THAT TALKING THIS WAY IS UNPOPULAR. IT IS TOO GRIM. IT IS TOO TOUGH. IT IS TOO MUCH TROUBLE TO THINK ABOUT. WE DIDN'T ASK FOR THE RESPONSIBILITY. WE CAN'T SEEK THE MISSION. WE WANT TO REST, TO RELAX, CALL A TRUCE, TAKE A HOLIDAY.
I didn't get into politics to relax. I wasn't born in this land to follow the leader or abandon my conscience.

I won't run that way. I cannot live that way.

And I don't think America can either!

I don't think freedom is won that way.

I don't think freedom can live that way. I don't think that peace can be bought that way. It never has. It can't -- and it won't!

If advocating firmness in foreign policy, if seeking peace through strength is poor politics then I gladly risk my political life. It is my country's life that most deeply concerns me.

That is the reason I am here. It is the reason you are here.
IT IS THE REASON THAT 1964 IS MORE THAN AN ELECTION FOR THE RECORD BOOKS. IT IS ONE FOR THE HISTORY BOOKS.

THIS GENERATION MUST PAY ITS SHARE OF FREEDOM'S VAST RESPONSIBILITY. I SAY THAT IT CANNOT PAY THAT SHARE IN FEAR, FROZEN IN INDECISION. I SAY IT MUST BE PAID BY DEDICATION AND A NEW DIRECTION.

THE TIME HAS COME TO LET OUR PEOPLE GO -- GO TOWARD THE FULFILLMENT OF THE BEST THAT IS IN US.

THE TIME HAS COME TO LET OUR PEOPLE GO -- GO FORWARD IN INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY.

THE TIME HAS COME TO LET OUR PEOPLE GO -- GO FORWARD FOR FREEDOM.
LET OUR PEOPLE GO IN THOSE DIRECTIONS
-- AND THIS TIME OF OURS WILL BE
WORTHY OF EVERY AGE THAT HAS PREPARED
US, OF EVERY TRADITION THAT HAS
ENRICHED US, OF EVERY CHALLENGE
THAT FACE US.

-- END --
RIGHT HERE IN THIS AREA YOU ARE WITNESSING THE FRUITS OF A POLICY THAT HAS TRIED TO BUY FRIENDS RATHER THAN STICK TO PRINCIPLES.

COMMUNIST YUGOSLAVIA HAS SOAKED UP APPROXIMATELY TWO-AND-A-THIRD BILLION DOLLARS IN U.S. AID, SINCE 1948. THE PURPOSE WAS TO BRIBE TITO AWAY FROM COMMUNISM.

WHAT HAS IT ACCOMPLISHED?

IT HAS BOLSTERED A DICTATORSHIP WHICH, TODAY, MOVES CLOSER THAN EVER TO MOSCOW.

IT HAS BOLSTERED, WITH 700 MILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF MILITARY AID ALONE A NATION THAT WOULD FIGHT AGAINST THE WEST IN ANY SHOWDOWN NOW FORESEEABLE.
NOW HOW DOES THIS AFFECT YOU DIRECTLY, RIGHT HERE IN THIS AREA? THE COMMUNIST TITO, FATTENED BY OUR AID, MADE SECURE BY OUR DEFERENCE, AND EMBOLDENED BY OUR VACILLATION IS EVEN NOW TRYING TO SIEZE CONTROL OF SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH PROPERTIES IN THIS COUNTRY, DESTROYING THE RIGHTS OF SERBIAN-AMERICANS AND MAKING A MOCKERY OF OUR POLICIES TOWARD YUGOSLAVIA.

THE HEAD OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX DIOCESE IN NORTH AMERICA ALREADY HAS BEEN ATTACKED BY THE PUPPET CHURCH IN YUGOSLAVIA.

AND FOR A FINAL IRONY, THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX MONASTERY IS LOCATED LIBERTYVILLE!
HOW TITO MUST LAUGH AT THAT -- AND HOW FREEDOM SHOULD WEEP!

AGAIN, AMERICA AND AMERICANS MUST SUFFER BECAUSE THIS, THE STRONGEST NATION ON EARTH, HAS SUFFERED -- FROM WEAKNESS.

ALL FREE MEN SUFFER WHEN WE ARE WEAK. PEACE ITSELF SUFFERS WHEN WE ARE WEAK.