AND I'M IMPRESSED WITH HOW CLEAR THE ISSUES

HAVE BECOME -- I'M IMPRESSED BECAUSE I

KNOW JUST HOW HARD IT HAS BEEN TO GET

MY MESSAGE PAST THE MANY OBSTACLES

AND FILTERS THAT HAVE BEEN PUT BETWEEN

US.
BUT OBVIOUSLY, NOT ALL THE BARRIERS IN THE WORLD COULD KEEP YOU FROM SEEING WHAT STARES YOU IN THE FACE— AND WHAT YOU KNOW IN YOUR HEARTS!

TAKE A GOOD LOOK. YOU CAN'T HELP SEEING HOW FAR THIS NATION OF OURS HAS DRIFTED AWAY FROM CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, AWAY FROM MORAL ORDER, AWAY FROM PEACE, AND AWAY FROM FREEDOM.
JUST THINK ABOUT IT FOR A MOMENT. DO YOU WANT MY OPPONENT TO "LET US CONTINUE."

WE SIMPLY CAN'T CONTINUE! UNLESS WE WANT TO COMMIT NATIONAL SUICIDE. WE HAVE PANIC TO CHART A NEW COURSE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM, OF Morality AND CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER. WE MUST STOP THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM AT HOME AND COMMUNISM ABROAD.
AND THAT, MY FELLOW AMERICANS, IS WHY

I'M RUNNING FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF

THE UNITED STATES.

STOP AND THINK A MOMENT. WHAT KIND OF

A PRESIDENT DO YOU REALLY WANT?

DO YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL TWIST

ARMS, MANIPULATE POWER, AND TAKE

MORE AND MORE CONTROL OVER YOUR

LIVES?
DO YOU WANT A MAN WHO WILL **SPEND** AND **SPEND**— AND **BORROW** AND **BORROW** AND **TAX** AND **TAX**?

DO YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL APPOINT TO THE SUPREME COURT THE KIND OF MEN WHO WILL DICTATE WHETHER OR NOT YOUR CHILDREN CAN PRAY IN SCHOOL?

— OR HOW YOUR STATES SHALL FORM THEIR LEGISLATURES AND APPORTION THEIR DISTRICTS?
DO YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL SURROUND HIMSELF WITH AIDES AND COMPANIONS WHO ARE RADICALS ON THE LEFT?

DO YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WONT BOTHER TO FIND OUT IF HIS CLOSEST ADVISORS ARE SECURITY RISKS?

EVEN THOUGH THE SURVIVAL OF OUR COUNTRY DEPENDS ON THE SECRETS THEY POSSESS?
DO YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL SIT IDLY

BY WHILE CRIME GROWS FIVE TIMES

FASTER THAN POPULATION?

A PRESIDENT

\[ \land \text{WHO WILL FOLLOW A FOREIGN POLICY OF DRIFT,} \]

\[ \land \text{DECEPTION, AND DEFEAT—- TRUSTING} \]

\[ \land \text{OUR COMMUNIST ENEMIES AND MISTREATING} \]

\[ \land \text{OUR FREE WORLD FRIENDS?} \]
DO YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL PROMISE ANYTHING AND EVERYTHING, JUST TO BUY THE JOB? PROMISE EVEN TO FREE YOU FROM ALL YOUR RESPONSIBILITIES!

DO YOU REALLY THINK THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE THIS KIND OF PERSON?
JUST THINK ABOUT IT FOR A MOMENT. DON'T

YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO, ABOVE ALL,

RESPECTS THE CONSTITUTION? WHO

RESPECTS THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE OTHER

THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT, AND THE

RIGHTS OF OUR SOVEREIGN STATES!
DON'T YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO OPPOSES

THE FORCED BUSSING OF CHILDREN

FROM THEIR NORMAL NEIGHBORHOOD

SCHOOLS? WHO OPPOSES THE PRINCIPLE

OF FORCED INTEGRATION AS WELL AS

FORCED SEGREGATION?
DON'T YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL
CUT YOUR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DOWN TO SIZE, WHO WILL RUN AN HONEST ADMINISTRATION STAFFED WITH MEN OF INTEGRITY—WHO WILL MAKE HIS ADMINISTRATION LIVE WITHIN ITS MEANS?
DON'T YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO WILL PLACE NATIONAL SECURITY BEFORE EVERYTHING ELSE, WHO WILL KEEP THE PEACE THROUGH A RESPONSIBLE POLICY OF STRENGTH AND HIGH PURPOSE—WHO WILL GIVE BACK TO OUR NATION THE DIGNITY, RESPECT, AND PRESTIGE THAT IT DESERVES?
YOU'RE BEING ASKED BY MY OPPONENT AND HIS CURIOUS CREW TO VOTE FOR EVERYTHING UNDER THE SUN — FOR EVERYTHING **BUT THE AMERICAN WAY!**
LET'S VOTE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY. HOW
ABOUT VOTING FOR FREEDOM THIS TIME?
NOW, I WANT YOU TO PAUSE WITH ME AND
THINK ABOUT WHAT THAT MEANS. WHAT
IS FREEDOM?
WHEN WORDS ARE THROWN INTO THE ARENA OF POLITICS, THEIR MEANINGS OFTEN BECOME CONFUSED. AND THAT IS JUST WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE WORD "FREEDOM."
THE CONFUSION BEGAN MORE THAN TWO DECADES

AGO WHEN YOU WERE TOLD THAT YOUR

GOVERNMENT HAS THE POWER TO GIVE

YOU FREEDOM AND 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?  

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IS THAT WHAT YOU THINK FREEDOM IS? SOMETHING
SOMEbody IN THE WHITE HOUSE CAN GIVE
YOU IF HE FEELS LIKE IT? 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.
What has my opponent had to say about preserving the rights granted in the Constitution?

Let us never forget that those rights are constantly in danger, not only from frontal assault but also from erosion through unintentional neglect 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 LABELING 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, OR COLOR.
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.
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 ENHANCE 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.
As an example, and so I endorse the position of the Republican Platform of 1964 on the bussing of school children. From district to district.
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.
Moving

The business 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?

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.
We can never be satisfied with things as they are, but we must also never believe that progress short of total success is nothing at all, worthless, and deserving only of contempt.
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 ON RACIAL QUOTAS

MUST BE IMPOSED AS THE GOAL OF THE

MISNAMED "GREAT SOCIETY."
THAT WAY LIES DESTRUCTION. \( L \) PERHAPS

EVEN CLOSER TO OUR HEARTS

TODAY IS THE ALARMING BREAKDOWN IN

XX LAW AND ORDER ACROSS THE COUNTRY.

CRIME IS GROWING FIVE TIMES AS FAST

AS XXXX POPULATION. OUR NATION'S

CAPITAL ITSELF RANKS FIRST AMONG

LARGE CITIES IN ITS RATE OF MAJOR

CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS—A RATE FOUR

TIMES THE NATIONAL AVERAGE
THE MOST TRAGIC THING OF ALL IS THAT

THIS MORAL DECAY HAS MADE ITS

MOST VIRULENT ATTACK ON OUR

YOUNG PEOPLE. DID YOU KNOW THAT

JUVENILE CASES IN THE DISTRICT OF

COLUMBIA COURTS HAVE RISEN \( \times \) 67

PER CENT IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS \( ? \) 23

PER CENT IN THE LAST YEAR ALONE.?
WHY ARE WE PLAGUED WITH THIS CRISIS IN LAWLESSNESS? IS IT BECAUSE WE ARE POOR? WE ARE THE RICHEST NATION ON EARTH! OUR RICHES MULTIPLY EACH YEAR, AND OUR INEQUALITIES DIMINISH. NO, THE CAUSE IS DEEPER AND MORE DANGEROUS.
Our traditional values of individual responsibility and moral obligation have been slipping away at a quickened pace. Corruption and cynicism reach to our highest offices and touch our most cherished institutions. Scandal casts its shadow across the darkened White House itself.
BAD EXAMPLE RADIATES DOWNWARD, WHILE THE

APOLOGISTS OF COLLECTIVISM PREACH

THAT SOCIETY IS TO BLAME FOR CRIME,

NOT THE CRIMINAL.

YES, OURS IS THE HERITAGE OF A FREE SOCIETY.

TO REMAIN FREE, WE MUST HAVE A

RESTRAINED

GOVERNMENT OF LEADERSHIP. RESTRAINING

AND COMPASSION. IT MUST ALWAYS STAND

READY TO AID THE NEEDY AND SUPPORT

THE HELPLESS.
AND ON ONE ASPECT OF THIS MATTER, LET ME MAKE MY POSITION ABSOLUTELY CLEAR. LET ME ONCE AND FOR ALL, SWEEP AWAY THE DISTORTION AND OUTRIGHT LIES OF THE OPPOSITION.
I make this pledge to you: My every effort will be spent in improving the social security system. In seeing that our senior citizens get the cost of living increases and other improvements due to them, one of my first acts as president will be to urge Congress to correct the damage done by the interim president in denying our senior citizens the benefits scheduled for them in the 1964 bill.
I WILL ALSO MAKE SURE THAT THE FEDERAL

GOVERNMENT FOLLOWS A RESPONSIBLE FISCAL

POLICY AND PRESERVES THE VALUE OF THE

BENEFIT DOLLAR. MY ADMINISTRATION WILL

PUT AN END TO THE INFLATIONARY POLICY OF

PERPETUAL DEFICIT SPENDING. I WILL NEVER

DO ANYTHING TO ENDANGER THE BENEFITS

OF THOSE WHO RELY ON SOCIAL SECURITY

PAYMENTS. THAT IS, AND ALWAYS HAS BEEN.

MY SOLEMN PLEDGE.
THESE ARE THE GUIDEPOSTS THAT MARK THE WAY TO PROGRESS THROUGH FREEDOM.

YOU MAY CHOOSE THIS WAY. OR YOU MAY CHOOSE THE OTHER ONE OPEN TO YOU.
THE OTHER IS THE WAY OF THE MAN WHO

WOULD BE THE GREAT LEADER OF HIS OWN

GREAT SOCIETY. HE OPENS UP HIS

ARMS AND SAYS, "BRING YOUR

TROUBLES TO ME. HE

WILL TAKE CARE

OF THEM FOR YOU."
YOU WANT PEACE? AND ACCOMMODATE THE COMMUNISTS FOR YOU!

YOU WANT MORE MONEY FOR THE POTATOES YOU DIDN'T GROW? HE'LL GIVE IT TO YOU!

YOU WANT NO RESPONSIBILITIES? HE'LL DO EVERYTHING FOR YOU!
YOU WANT NO WORRIES? **HE'LL WORRY FOR YOU.**

RELAX AND DON'T WORRY. **THE GREAT LEADER**

AND HIS **CURIOUS CREW WILL DO FOR YOU**

**ALL THOSE THINGS YOU FIND UNPLEASANT TO DO FOR YOURSELVES.** AND **ALL HE ASKS IS THAT YOU GIVE HIM MORE AND MORE POWER OVER YOUR LIVES MORE AND MORE WITHOUT END.**