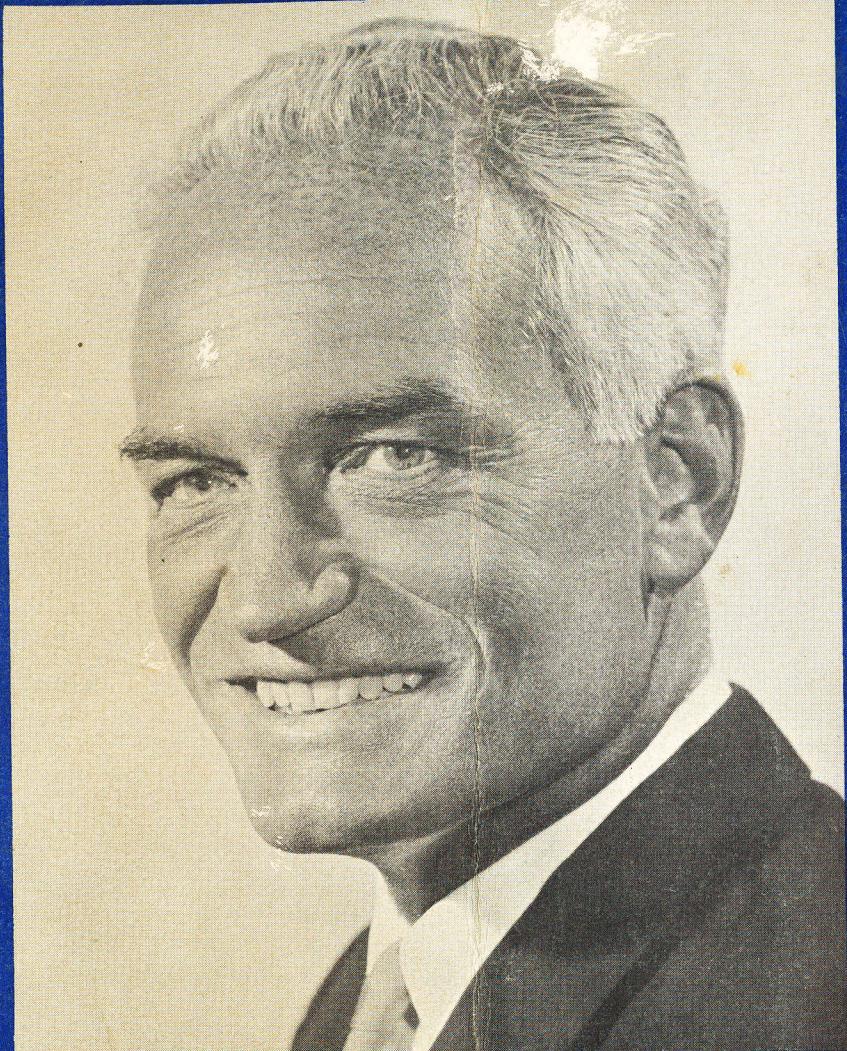


Barry Goldwater Speaks Out . . .

For A Stronger Republican Party
For A Stronger America
For A Stronger Free World

Issued by:

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SENATOR GOLDWATER
Speaks Out on the
ISSUES

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★ From his home
★ in Phoenix, Arizona,
★ on January 3, 1964,
★ Senator Barry Goldwater
★ announced his candidacy
★ for the
★ Republican Presidential nomination.
★ These were his words . . .
★
★

Ever since the last Republican convention thousands of Americans have asked me to seek the Republican presidential nomination in 1964. I have withheld a decision until now, not because of any attempt to be politically coy, but because I have been giving every aspect of such a decision the most serious consideration.

Today, here at our home, in the State I love, with my family and with the people whose friendship and political interests have placed me where I am, I want to tell you this: I will seek the Republican presidential nomination. I have decided to do this because of the principles in which I believe and because I am convinced that millions of Amer-

icans share my belief in those principles. I have decided to do this also because I have not heard from any announced Republican candidate a declaration of conscience or of political position that could possibly offer to the American people a clear choice in the next presidential election.

One of the great attributes of our American two party system has always been the reflected differences in principle. As a general rule one party has emphasized individual liberty and the other has favored the extension of government power. I am convinced that today a majority in the Republican Party believes in the essential emphasis on individual liberty.

I have been spelling out my position now for 10 years in the Senate and for years before that here in my own state. I will spell it out even further in the months to come. I was once asked what kind of a Republican I was. I replied that I was not a "me-too" Republican. That still holds. I will not change my beliefs to win votes. I will offer a choice, not an echo. This will not be an engagement of personalities. It will be an engagement of principles.

I have always stood for government that is limited and balanced and against the ever increasing concentrations of authority in Wash-

ton. I have always stood for individual responsibility and against regimentation. I believe we must now make a choice in this land and not continue drifting endlessly down and down toward a time when all of us, our lives, our property, our hopes, and even our prayers will become just cogs in a vast government machine.

I believe that we can win victory for freedom both at home and abroad. I believe that we can be strong enough and determined enough to win those victories without war. I believe that appeasement and weakness can only bring war. I have asked and will continue to ask: Why Not Victory—why not victory for sound, constitutional principles in government—why not victory over the evils of communism?

I am convinced that in this year 1964 we must face up to our conscience and make a definite choice. We must decide what sort of people we are and what sort of a world we want—now and for our children.

My candidacy is pledged to a victory for principle and to presenting an opportunity for the American people to choose. Let there be a choice—right now and in clear, understandable terms. And I ask all those who feel and believe as I do to join with me in assuring both the choice and the victory.

... "let there be a choice" . . .

and to assure an *informed* choice,

Senator Goldwater speaks out

on the ISSUES now confronting

America . . .

I.

... Senator Goldwater first outlines the role the U. S. must assume as the responsible **leader of the Free World** —the obligations of leadership, and the opportunities:

THE FREE WORLD

The United States must lead the free world, not retreat from the hard obligations of that leadership. We must reject, as vain and outmoded, any suggestion that we hide behind a "Fortress America" or "Maginot

Line" concept. The aggressive thrust of Communism will not permit it, nor will modern weaponry.

The greatest force for freedom in the world today is the powerful Atlantic Alliance, the NATO commu-

nity. It is the first line of defense for the entire free world. But the present Administration has allowed NATO to drift into disarray—to the point where it is split, leaderless, and badly lagging in its goal of building and maintaining a solid barrier against Communism.

The crux of the problem is our tendency, even our eagerness, to negotiate unilaterally with the Soviet Union. To compound the problem, the Administration has failed to provide for full allied participation in the planning of NATO strategy and the deployment of its forces, including appropriate nuclear weapons.

We speak of an "interdependent world" and yet we deploy our strength so as, increasingly, to isolate ourselves. Free world and U.S. security are indeed indivisible. But our present policies militate against the translation of "mutual security" into workable and meaningful arrangements.

Consider, as a prime example, the idea that multinational crews should man NATO naval forces in order to give our NATO "partners" a true share in the control of nuclear weapons. This nuclear "bone" is just that—a sop rather than a solution. More, it is an insult to the intelligence of our allies. Any rational person with a modicum of military experience can foresee the obstacles such a mix would bring to a naval or to any other force. It is scarcely possible for a "multinational" captain to command an effective fighting ship.

The NATO alliance cannot be revitalized by gimmicks that give only the superficial appearance of true partnership.

We must take immediate steps,

and effective ones, to forge a stronger free world. I submit the following for serious discussion:

(1) Consultation with our NATO allies *prior* to major policy decisions that directly affect their security (I have in mind the sudden cancellation of SKYBOLT, and the withdrawal of THOR and JUPITER missiles from Italy and Turkey).

(2) A pledge not to engage in bilateral negotiations with the Soviet Union on matters that directly involve the interests or security of our NATO partners.

(3) The sharing of nuclear secrets, within the framework of existing law, so that such nations as France and Britain could be integrated as full nuclear partners in the Alliance.

(4) The training of all NATO forces stationed in Europe, regardless of nationality, in the use of battlefield or "tactical" nuclear weapons.

I suggest that the Supreme Commander of NATO—who is an American officer and probably always will be—have direct command over a NATO nuclear force, trained, ready, and equipped on European soil. European statesmen agree that such an action would revitalize the Alliance and immensely increase the credibility of our deterrent against Communist aggression.

This certainly does not mean that every local commander would have control over nuclear weapons. It does mean, simply, that by this action the U.S. would prove to the allies that we trust them and support their right to defend their homes with the most modern and most appropriate weapons.

If no such action is taken, nothing

in the world will stop any European nation from developing its own *national* nuclear force, as France is now doing. These national forces would not strengthen the Alliance but rather split it into further disarray. The present "crisis of confidence" would thus be deepened.

If we continue to withdraw our nuclear strength from Europe, rather than reinforce it and bring it under unified command, we may someday be faced with a situation where a "localized" Communist invasion will leave us no real options—either full-scale intercontinental retaliation, or surrender to the Communist thrust. A nuclear NATO could meet local invasions, on the spot, with local tactical nuclear forces. And this same force offers the best hope for

discouraging such "nibbling" tactics in the first place.

I have emphasized, and properly so, the role of NATO as the mainstay of free world security. But we should apply the same general rules of consultation and confidence (though details will vary) to all our alliances: SEATO in Southeast Asia, CENTO in the Middle East, and the OAS in this Hemisphere.

Allies are partners who have pooled their resources for common purposes, accomplished through trust and cooperation. We must not treat our allies with contempt. We must not bully them. We must *lead* them—and by guaranteeing our mutual security, move toward our common goal of peace and freedom in the world.

THE UNITED NATIONS

I support, unconditionally, the purposes the United Nations was originally intended to serve—peace among nations, based on mutual tolerance, respect for the sovereign independence of all nations, and a common sense of justice.

I believe the United States should make the fullest possible use of its membership in the U.N. as one means of achieving these goals.

The U.N. today is not all it should be. Even so, it is a useful forum. It can still provide machinery for valuable conciliation among nations. But I want to see the U.N. do more. I want to see it come closer to achieving its real goals. It can do so, only when all of its members live up to the spirit of the Charter. I have in mind, particularly, the Charter's defi-

nition of "peace-loving" nations, and the obligations of membership. These include moral as well as financial obligations.

For nineteen years, the Communists have held the U.N. in contempt. They have repeatedly undermined its operations and its principles. Should the Red Chinese now, in effect, shoot their way in, the Charter would be all but a dead letter. In that event, the United States—in our own best interests, and for the good of the original U.N. idea—would be forced to undertake a serious re-assessment of its basic commitments.

In recent years, the flood of new members, added to the increased powers of the General Assembly, have put burdens on the U.N. that

are beyond its realistic capacities—burdens that it was neither intended nor equipped to carry. These new burdens have not always been matched by a mature sense of responsibility on the part of many participating countries. Member-nations representing only 10 percent of the world's population can command fully two-thirds of the votes in the General Assembly.

Some form of weighted voting may have to be seriously considered as a way of bringing the U.N. into line with these new realities. Many responsible authorities have sug-

gested a system based on population, on contributions to U.N. costs, or on some combination of factors. I do not have the final solution. But this is one of the major problems that must be considered, soberly and candidly, in assessing the U.N.'s future as both a representative and a responsible organization.

We must never attempt to use the U.N. as a substitute for clear and resolute U.S. policy. It is only with such a policy that the U.S. can represent the principles of free men everywhere, in support of the U.N.'s original promise.

DEFENSE STRATEGY FOR THE SPACE AGE

Basic strategic concepts for the security of this nation demanded drastic re-assessment with the advent of the age of space and missiles. This nation cannot survive, in this new era, without mastery of the uses of space and heavy reliance on missiles.

But equally, we cannot put our *sole* reliance on missile systems as against a mixed force—missiles, manned aircraft, and naval vessels of all types.

I have raised, and will continue to raise until all the facts are in, fundamental questions about the reliability of our intercontinental ballistic missiles. It is not a question of *theoretical* accuracy. The *fact* is that not one of our advanced ICBMs has ever been subjected to a full test (of all component systems, including warheads) under simulated battle conditions.

This does not mean that our missile systems should be scrapped or

that primary emphasis should be shifted back to the manned bomber. But nothing is more dangerous than a static, rigid position. This nation, to survive, must have flexibility in both weapons and strategy. We must move ahead.

The indictment of this Administration's defense policies includes the following major charges:

(1) Not a single new weapons system has been inaugurated since 1961. Because lead-time from conception to operability of any major system is measured in years, sole reliance on our present missile force is at best a high-risk gamble.

(2) While freezing missile capabilities in their present state, we are phasing-out completely the manned bomber. By the decade of the '70s, the U.S. will be banking on a single, inflexible weapons system.

(3) This Administration's decision to enter into a test ban treaty precluding all atmospheric nuclear

explosions means that we cannot properly test even our present missile systems. Nor can we even test the reliability of our hardened missile sites to be sure that they will survive a first strike and still be ready for retaliatory action.

(4) We know that high-yield nuclear weapons can disrupt the electronic components of our missile systems. It is conceivable that such weapons could render ineffective or inoperative a large percentage of our missiles. And so it is all the more imperative that back-up forces, including manned aircraft and nuclear-powered naval vessels, continue to be part of our arsenal.

(5) We have no present programs looking toward primarily military applications for the environment of space. Soviet space technology, we have every reason to believe, is being precisely so oriented. We must face the possibility that a technological breakthrough in the space-environment might render obsolete our entire present arsenal of ICBMs. What is needed today, and urgently, is the extension of the concept of air superiority into aerospace.

(6) The primacy of civilian control over the military is an indispensable principle of American democracy. But this Administration has depended too heavily and too exclusively on untrained civilian officials, while tending to downgrade the advice of skilled and dedicated

career members of the military professions.

If we continue to place *over*-reliance on missiles rather than a mixed arsenal, our only reactions to unacceptable Soviet probes would have to be submission—or all-out nuclear war. There are many types of warfare that can take place between the extremes of hot and cold. We must be ready for all of them.

The defense policies of this Administration add up, in effect, to unilateral disarmament. We are lagging behind in weapons technology and in the development of new systems. This nation must never drop its guard or enter into disarmament "traps" that are not completely safeguarded by foolproof inspection.

The Administration thesis, on the other hand, seems to be that we should cut back on weapons that may be "provocative" to the Soviets, in the hope that they will follow suit. This is wishful thinking. It represents a terrible gamble with the lives of every free man, woman, and child on earth.

The lessons of history are clear: a just peace can be secured only through strength and its prudent use—or the threat of its use. All efforts to trim the fat from our defense budget are desirable. But our military men must be provided with the varied tools they need to do their job, to protect this nation and keep the peace.

THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY

I voted against the treaty of Moscow, the so-called limited nuclear test ban treaty, because all of our past relations with the Soviet Union demonstrate conclusively that the Soviets will abide by the provisions of any treaty or any agreement only so long as it is advantageous for them to do so.

I voted against it because the Soviet Union broke the testing moratorium in 1961, and, as a consequence, obtained a possibly imposing lead over the United States in their knowledge of high yield nuclear weapons. These tests may well have given the Soviet Union vital information, which the United States does not have, about the development of an anti-missile missile.

I voted against the treaty because it, in effect, "freezes" the Soviet Union in a superior position to the United States as regards the uses and effects of high yield weapons while leaving open the possibility of their "catching up" to us in the field of tactical nuclear weapons, since these weapons can be perfected by underground tests which are not prohibited by the treaty.

I voted against it because we have not acquired anything like the needed knowledge about the effects that high yield nuclear weapons

might have, not only on our communications systems but on the operability of our nuclear weapons systems as well. We do not know enough about the effect of the electromagnetic pulses to defend and protect the systems we now have, much less to develop new ones.

I voted against the treaty because it precludes even the *peaceful* uses of nuclear explosives—for example, in the possible construction of another canal to replace or augment the present Panama Canal.

I voted against the test ban treaty because the Joint Chiefs of Staff indicated that there are military disadvantages inherent in its provisions.

I voted against it, in sum, because in my view all the disadvantages taken together far outweigh whatever advantages might be said to accrue to it.

If I were President, I can conceive of situations in which it would be necessary to abrogate the treaty. If I found it detrimental to the interests of the United States to continue to adhere to the treaty, I would use the treaty's own escape clause to release us from its provisions. I also feel there are important areas of amendment which should be sought immediately—particularly in the area of peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

FOREIGN AID

Foreign military aid and technical assistance are valuable adjuncts to our overall program of mutual security—the former to protect our friends against Communist aggression, and the latter to help free nations help themselves.

But as it is presently conceived and administered, foreign *economic* aid raises serious questions. Its criteria are unclear. Aid is too often used as a "crutch" rather than a means of instilling self-discipline in the recipient country. General Lucius Clay has warned that "we may be trying to do too much for too many too soon." By scattering our aid programs among nearly 100 different countries, we are diluting the total impact.

Let's consider some highlights of the record of foreign aid:

(1) It was first presented to the American people as an instrument of the Cold War, designed to further our own national interest by arresting the spread of Communism. In recent years, the focus has shifted from this laudable goal to something bordering on global welfarism.

(2) Foreign aid was designed to bolster our allies, not to bribe our enemies. Today it is being used to support some governments—Indonesia and Egypt are two prime examples—whose commitment to the free world is dubious at best. And because the bulk of foreign economic aid has been on a government-to-government basis, it has failed to reach broad masses of people. Instead, it has supported many governments whose approach to economic development is cut closer to a totali-

tarian than a free pattern.

(3) Foreign economic aid cannot end poverty around the world nor can it win the allegiance of the "uncommitted" nations. High standards of living have not, of themselves, saved nations from Communism in the past and are not doing it today. Military assistance *has* helped many nations, particularly those on the periphery of the Communist world, from being overrun. And technical assistance has done far more than outright grants in helping people move toward self-sufficient independence.

(4) It is a fact that pro-Communist regimes and anti-American sentiment have spread, despite the \$100 billion we have spent on foreign aid programs. Recent riots—from Ghana to Cambodia, and from Panama to Gabon—are cases in point.

(5) We are indeed the world's wealthiest nation. But we cannot support all the other nations on earth, or even most of them. Efforts to assist the underdeveloped nations, in particular, must be shared fairly by all the advanced free nations. We should encourage, as well, a much greater effort by private enterprise—in both the donor and recipient nations.

We cannot, in the last analysis, buy friends. Consistent with our own principles, we must not even try. But we *can* help teach people to apply the lessons of organization, freedom, productivity, and skill that have worked so well for us. Our aid will be truly effective only if those we help have the desire and the will to become self-supporting.

FOREIGN TRADE

Vigorous international trade is vitally important to the well-being of the people of the U.S. Selling abroad enlarges our markets. Buying abroad enlarges and diversifies the supply of goods available to us and helps raise our living standards and the living standards of those from whom we buy.

But trade should be a two-way street. As we open up our markets to foreigners, they, in turn, must lower their barriers and let our goods into their markets.

Though we want to expand foreign trade, which means more imports for us, we must take care not to act so quickly as to destroy industries that are particularly important in some localities. We must proceed deliberately so as to ease necessary adjustments and prevent the brunt of lower trade barriers from falling suddenly upon certain parts of our country.

The best way to achieve a favorable position in world trade is to increase our own competitive ability and build better systems and machines for production in the free enterprise system. Given the tools, Americans can more than hold their own in the world markets, and in free markets at that.

But, at present, American working men and women are deprived of modern tools as well as job opportunity and security by Federal policies which suppress rather than encourage capital investments. While the Federal Government siphons off more and more money into its own

programs, billions of dollars in new capital are needed to modernize our industries for successful competition in world markets. Domestic relief programs are nothing but stopgap remedies for a fundamental problem involving the jobs and security of millions of Americans. The real answer lies in our ability to produce competitively.

It would be a serious mistake to assume that the Federal Government can spend us into a truly competitive position in world markets. The ultimate answer is the enlargement, not the restriction of American ingenuity, energy, and productivity. The rest of the world is not standing still in this matter of industrial and business competition. The U.S. can't either.

I support the idea of the Common Market. The United States itself, after all, is a common market internally; and this has produced great benefits for all of our citizens. A true free world common market also would provide such benefits and be a powerful economic force against Communism. Our current negotiations with foreign countries will involve great pressures to lower many of our tariffs and other barriers to imported goods. We must insist upon truly reciprocal actions by other nations, many of whom currently discriminate against U.S. exports. I repeat that trade must be a two-way street in order to move toward greater freedom and greater benefits for all.

III.

. . . in the context of Free World leadership, Senator Goldwater considers major aspects of **U. S. relations with the Communist World:**

RECOGNITION OF THE SOVIET UNION

When President Roosevelt recognized the Soviet Union in 1933, Senator Arthur Vandenburg, often referred to as the father of bi-partisan foreign policy, stated: "It should be said bluntly and without equivocation that the continuity of these pledges in good faith is the price of continuity of these relationships." He was referring to the pledges made by the Soviet Union to refrain from subversive activities in the United States. "We shall not sleep on our rights," Senator Vandenburg added. "Nor have we taken an anesthetic."

But, the United States *did* take an anesthetic. At the very moment the Soviets were putting their signature to the pledges, they were organizing one of the biggest espionage apparatuses in the history of subversion.

In the light of this and countless other hypocrisies, I think it would be wise for the United States to re-examine the question of its diplomatic relations with Communist regimes. I am quite certain that our entire approach to the Cold War would change for the better the moment we announced that the United States does not regard Mr. Khrushchev's murderous clique as the legitimate ruler of the Russian people or of any other people.

Our recognition of the Soviet Union has been greatly to its ad-

vantage. The possibility of withdrawing that recognition should be maintained as a bargaining device, as a lever that might be used at a moment most advantageous to the interests of the United States. Withdrawal might not come this year or next or at all, but the very threat would be of great value to the U.S. in its negotiations with the Communists.

For example:

The United States has gained nothing by recognizing the U.S.S.R. It did, however, add legitimacy in 1933 to a regime then tainted by its own dishonor. And it prepared the way for the Yalta and Potsdam agreements which delivered Eastern Europe to Communism.

Even the possibility of a cessation of diplomatic relations, which could be accomplished without withdrawing actual recognition (as is the case with Cuba today), would encourage opposition—both popular and within government circles—to Soviet colonialism in Eastern Europe.

It could pave the way for removal of certain legal barriers to U.S. efforts to weaken the Soviet hold on the captive nations.

It would be a heavy blow to Khrushchev's prestige at home and abroad—at a time when he is beset

by economic problems of great complexity and severity.

It would strike a blow at the Soviet Union's international credit position.

It would encourage other countries to take a strong stand against Communist adventurism. In Latin America and Africa, the effect would be perceptible—and favorable to the United States.

Although there have been no exactly comparable instances of withdrawal of U.S. recognition, we *have withheld* recognition of governments on grounds that could apply to the Soviet Union. We steadfastly refuse

to recognize Red China, even though it "exists." Recognition or non-recognition of the Soviet Union, or continuation of diplomatic relations, should be dictated by practical and moral considerations—not simply because we have fallen into a bad habit of dealing with the Soviets.

The power to establish diplomatic relations lodges in the Presidency, of course. But it would be no violation of precedent—it would, in fact, stem from Constitutional provisions—if the President were to ask for the advice of the Senate in arriving at so important a decision. I would most certainly do so.

SUMMIT MEETINGS

The United States must evaluate the personal diplomacy approach of Summit Meetings in the cold light of the results of such meetings in the past.

While it is generally believed that there is no harm in talking with the Soviets at this level, I would point out that the Communists do not look upon negotiations as we do—as an honest effort to reach agreement. For them, so-called negotiations are an instrument of political warfare. The focal point of their negotiations is invariably somewhere in the *non*-Communist world, dealing with some territory or some right belonging to the Free World which the Communists covet.

Obviously talk or negotiations under such conditions can be a positive danger. They must fail for having achieved nothing, or they must fail for having yielded to the Communists.

I do not, however, close the door to Summit Meetings conducted by different ground rules. There may be times when the West should take its case directly to the Communist leadership. These instances, however, should be based upon a frankly discussed and united Western position and should not be attempts unilaterally to negotiate with Communism. Furthermore, if we go to the Summit, it should be to discuss *our* demands and not simply to appease Communism, or to receive its latest shopping list of things it wants from the Free World.

We must make it clear, at the Summit and at every other level, that we regard our cause to be just and right and that there are points on which we will not yield. If we do not believe in ourselves enough to do that, we can't make a strong case for the survival of our civilization at the conference table or any-

where else.

As President, I would emphasize my willingness to negotiate with any-

one, anytime, anywhere, if in so doing, the goals of peace and freedom were advanced.

AID TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

U.S. assistance to Communist-ruled countries has not helped foster any significant independence from Soviet domination. It has, in too many instances, done the reverse. By easing strains on the economies of both satellite nations and the Soviet Union, our aid has furnished new strength to the Communist bloc rather than introducing new tensions or weaknesses. This sort of aid simply underwrites Communism.

Let's consider Yugoslavia where more than two billion dollars worth of U.S. aid was supposed to draw Tito away from the Soviet Union. Instead, Yugoslavia has swung in recent years steadily closer to the Soviet Union despite an early period of intense ideological debate. Yugoslavia has not supported the West during this time and today enjoys

renewed and fully resumed relations with the Soviet Union.

In Poland, where nearly a billion dollars worth of aid was supposed to "liberalize" the situation there, the current reality is that Poland remains a key member of the Soviet bloc and a committed opponent of the policies of the West. The Polish uprising of October 1956 was not sustained by our aid. Instead, these early hopes have been dashed.

Our aid has not helped the wonderful people of Yugoslavia or Poland, or any other victims of Communist oppression. It has supported their Communist conquerors.

U.S. aid to Communist countries helps them avoid paying the full price of *being* Communists. It provides a sort of economic sanctuary for the weaknesses and repressions of Communism.

CUBA—BASE FOR SUBVERSION

One of the most deplorable episodes in American history was the bungling by this Administration which sacrificed the forces of Free Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. And during three subsequent years of U.S. inaction and indecision, the Castro-Communists have tightened their grip on the captive Cuban people.

Along with every other loyal American, I supported the 1962 blockade against Cuba during the

missile crisis. Ever since, I have challenged the Administration to continue the strong action that would ultimately eliminate this Communist military and subversion base just 90 miles off our coast. U.S., hemispheric, and free world security demand it.

The Administration has failed to enforce its own announced restrictions on free world shipping to Cuba. It has evaded the clear intent

of Congress that a foreign aid ban should be used to choke off free world trade with Castro. And we have failed to prevent Communist Cuba from exporting arms, propaganda, and saboteurs throughout Latin America.

An O.A.S. Committee has formally charged Cuba with armed aggression against Venezuela—which is only the most flagrant of documented cases involving a dozen or more countries. The tension in Panama was and is being inflamed by Cuban-trained agitators. Even the overthrow of the government of Zanzibar, off Africa's east coast and the site of a key U.S. space tracking station, was sparked by agents trained in Cuba.

We must impose, again, an effective economic-military blockade of Cuba. We must enforce our restrictions and levy penalties against shipping which attempts to trade with both the U.S. and Cuba. We must have an equally effective blockade against the export of agitators and arms *from* Cuba.

A tight blockade around Cuba would heavily undermine Castro's power, put an unacceptably high price on the Soviet aid which is propping up his police-state, and enable the people of Cuba themselves—those inside the country, together with an exile army—to live under freedom once more. Immedi-

ate U.S. recognition of a Cuban government-in-exile would be the indispensable first step toward Cuban self-liberation. Such a government could ask for every form of U.S. and O.A.S. support—and ought to receive it.

Even though the Soviet IRBMs were allegedly removed from Cuba in 1962, surface-to-air missiles are still there—reportedly, soon to be turned over to Cuban control. A new missile crisis may well be brewing. I reject as absurd the Soviet attempt to compare our missiles in Europe with theirs in Cuba. Our missiles are in Europe as a deterrent against the clear threat of Communist aggression. Soviet movement of missiles to Cuba was and remains an offensive action. Anyone who suggests that U.S. and Soviet motives are comparable misreads history, misunderstands our nation, and fatally miscalculates Communism.

Only strong action can forestall the storms which are now building in the Caribbean. Many Latin American nations have expressed a willingness to support action against Castro before it is too late. But there has been no leadership from the present Administration. The U.S. must now provide that leadership, and erect a firm barrier against Communism in this hemisphere.

III.

. . . Senator Goldwater defines the basic elements of **our Federal system**—and suggests how these principles serve as guide-lines to the solution of problems confronting the nation:

FEDERALISM

Federalism—that is, a sound and effective distribution of powers between the central government and our 50 sovereign states—has the same meaning today as it did when the Founders devised this revolutionary principle-of-balance. It balances the liberty of each against the needs of all. It balances diversity against unity. And it balances the interest and responsibility which is and ought to remain local against the occasional demand for national policy and the exercise of national authority.

The federal principle is based not on fear of government and of power, but on a top-priority respect for personal and local liberty. It strives always to put public authority at the effective service of human needs. First among these is freedom—for the individual, for the private association, and for the voluntary group.

My constant concern is to put new life and meaning into the dynamic use of local and state government, to help people achieve some of their most deeply-felt needs in such areas as education, social welfare, and

community life. It is there—in our states and communities—and only there that every individual citizen can still have a meaningful impact on the political process.

Modern Federalism reaffirms the ideal of the U.S. Constitution that the powers of government should always be applied at the right place and the right time, in just the amount needed to achieve legitimate goals. Alongside these goals, however desirable they may seem, we must balance the possible costs of lessened personal freedom. In the rush to cure all the ills to which humans are heir, liberty is too often an innocent bystander—and an accidental casualty.

We need new departures and a more creative use of the federal principle—in redistributing governmental functions, in encouraging the formation of interstate compacts and special-purpose regional groupings, and in upgrading the theory of Federalism into a working habit. In no other area is Presidential leadership more important.

STATES RIGHTS

States rights is no mere slogan. It is the backbone of our Constitutional system.

It is a check on the steady accumulation of massive power in the hands of national bureaucrats. In these days of "instant crisis," both real and manufactured, it may be the *only* effective check.

States rights are inseparable from state *responsibilities*, their freedom to innovate, and their immediate responsiveness to popular control. If these positive powers are to be effectively exercised, our sovereign states must also command resources sufficient to their tasks. Therefore, mere tinkering with the public finances is not enough. We must have a *basic overhaul* in our Federal tax structure so that the states can control a fair share of the tools, even as they assume a fair share of the burdens of public service.

I have always placed particular emphasis on those words, "public service." I am just "old fashioned" enough to believe that people—not bureaucrats, not self-styled experts, not self-appointed wise-men—but plain people, and their elected representatives, know best what their needs are and how best they may be

served. Not in spite of but *because of* the growth and the endless diversity of 20th-century America, it is the state and locality that can most quickly and efficiently meet human needs, and still remain close and responsive to the sovereign people.

The states can fit their powers and programs to the varied needs of their people. It is in the cities and towns, and in person-to-person relationships, that their immediate needs arise. And it is there—certainly not in Washington, D. C.—that public servants can best adapt governmental power to the individual human situation. It is there that the American people can govern themselves best—and still be free.

This is no abstract theory. It is a basic fact of the good life which we enjoy and which we must preserve. The Declaration of Independence is another present fact of life. Let us never forget that it was our sovereign states that joined in a compact of defined and limited national powers to forward the general welfare, and to preserve and enhance the freedom of every single American. We must not now abandon this wise blueprint of freedom and balanced authority.

CIVIL RIGHTS

We must always make a sharp distinction between civil rights guaranteed under the Constitution and those rights of association that are basically moral issues and cannot be resolved by passing unenforceable Federal laws.

The rights to vote, to equal treatment before the law, to hold property, and to the protection of contracts—these rights are guaranteed by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. They should be enforced rigorously. Existing law demands it.

In the schools, the Attorney General probably has the necessary authority through court decrees to effect integration. But if it develops that more authority must be granted in this particular area, we should write a law that is tightly drawn—that can be used with precision, like a rifle, not a shotgun.

As for the proposed public accommodations law, it raises grave constitutional questions and is a clear example of a new law that will only hinder, not help, the cause of racial tolerance. It is an invitation to improper interference by the Federal Government with the right of assembly and the use of private property. It could open the door to a police-state system of enforcement that would eventually threaten the liberty of all.

No matter how we try, we cannot pass a law that will make you like

me or me like you. The key to racial and religious tolerance lies not in laws alone but, ultimately, in the hearts of men.

I believe individual actions by every American will eliminate the stigma of discrimination from our society. For my part, as chief of staff of the Arizona Air National Guard right after World War II, I helped bring about integration in that body. I also assisted in the desegregation of restaurants and other facilities in Phoenix by *local option*. The Goldwater businesses are desegregated. And I am proud of the fact that a poll of the National Retail Merchants Association, of which I am a member, showed that out of 835 stores in 335 cities, only 2 had not voluntarily integrated their facilities.

Unenforceable government edicts benefit no one. Continued public attention and moral persuasion, I believe, will do more in the long run to create the good will necessary to the acceptance of decent racial relations in all segments of our society.

Our people must not be herded into the streets for the redress of their grievances. We have better and more lasting ways. The Constitution must be preserved. Far greater advances will be made, for all Americans, under a system of orderly law than through emotional or violent revisions of Constitutional concepts.

... finally, Senator Goldwater takes his stand on the proper role of government and speaks out on a broad range of economic and social issues:

FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY

More meaningful action is needed to solve the problem of waste in government than reducing the light bills at the White House. The Federal Government has become tremendously complex. This does not mean, however, that we cannot take steps to reduce appreciably its waste and inefficiency.

I have proposed, for example, the establishment of a permanent "Hoover Commission" to make continuous studies of inefficiency and waste and to recommend how to eliminate functions, how to achieve further economies, and how to improve management of the public business.

As a businessman, I know that no business can survive in today's highly competitive world without constantly studying and evaluating procedures and product. The time has long since passed when the world's largest enterprise, the U.S. government, can ignore modern methods of sound management.

Starting with my very first campaign, I have run on a platform of fiscal responsibility. I have always spoken out for it, even when to do so was considered "unpopular," as in my recent vote against the tax cut. Although I agree wholeheartedly with the *wish* to cut taxes, and am committed to policies which would make it possible, I opposed the cur-

rent move because it could prove dangerously inflationary in the long run. There is no corresponding cut in government spending but, instead, the announced prospect of continued deficit spending.

My first campaign speech summed it up this way: "I am a Republican who gives more than lip service to a balanced budget. I believe individuals and individual local governments, city councils, county supervisors, and state legislators must reassert their independence and responsibility." The tendency of the Federal Government persistently to live beyond its income has seriously weakened fiscal responsibility at every level.

What we desperately need are some clearly stated and clearly understood priorities for national programs. We cannot do everything at once and there are many things the Federal Government shouldn't be doing at all. Local governments must take on more and not less responsibility in meeting needs when those needs are fully established.

The first fiscal responsibility of government is to preserve the value of the dollar. It can do this by prudent budgeting, by living within the means of the people who pay the bills, and by encouraging individual enterprise.

THE INCOME TAX

I share the opinion with virtually every other American that our present tax burden is onerous, often inequitable, and in need of reform. But abolition is the answer to nothing. Such precipitous action would create very serious and damaging results to the whole business of running the government. It takes money—great amounts of it—to carry on the legitimate functions of the Federal system.

I believe an intense study of our entire tax structure would disclose better and more equitable ways of raising money for the legitimate needs of government. The steep rate of progressivity in our individual income taxes is damaging to our nation as a whole. Rather than stimulating economic growth, it often acts as a brake on that growth, dampening individual initiative rather than stim-

ulating it. The impact of sharply rising tax rates in the middle income areas—on which we must depend for so much of our economic well-being—is particularly disturbing.

I reject completely the Administration position that the income tax is most useful as a means to redistribute wealth according to politically conceived blueprints. I hold, firmly and unequivocally, to the position that Federal taxes should be used simply and solely to discharge Federal obligations. They must be accounted for honestly and voted on openly, in that light alone.

As President, one of my first priority tasks would be to secure a complete overhaul of our present Federal tax code, so that we might quickly achieve the reforms which are so long overdue.

SOCIAL SECURITY

I favor a sound Social Security system and I want to see it strengthened. I want to see every participant receive all the benefits this system provides. And I want to see these benefits paid in dollars with *real* purchasing power.

Social Security is a system of *basic* protection for the aged. In addition, most Americans now participate in private pension plans while many have their own savings and investments. Social Security was never intended to replace voluntary programs. Its prime purpose was and is to supplement them, to provide a basic floor. I am convinced it can do this job, the job for which it was created.

We will not preserve the Social Security system if we saddle it with unnecessary new burdens, such as medicare. We penalize every aged citizen if we thus bankrupt the system which protects them.

Nor is the public interest served by those who label every sincere proposal to correct and perfect the Social Security system as an attack on its basic principles.

Essentially, protection against need in America depends on a free economy which produces an ever-growing abundance and an ever-greater opportunity for all. In this framework, Social Security has a vital and legitimate supporting role.

SUPPORT FOR EDUCATION

The American educational system strives for many goals: the broadest possible opportunity for every individual, in line with his talents; the highest possible quality, from elementary grades to graduate school; and the greatest possible free choice. By encouraging great diversity, and by preserving local and family responsibility, we have come ever closer to all these goals.

I want to see us come closer still. But Federal aid is not the way. It would inevitably invite bureaucratic Federal control of school curricula. It would add wasteful "freight charges" on money collected by the Federal Government and then parceled out to the states. It would continue to squeeze out the private school and the small college, in favor of large public institutions. And Federal aid programs cannot avoid stumbling over the complex church-state controversy.

I have consistently opposed Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools as unnecessary and unwise. Nevertheless, I have advocated that any such aid—should Congress ever authorize it—must in fairness be made available to all schools, public, private, or parochial.

The way to sound support for American education is well fixed in our Constitutional tradition. We should leave in the hands of those who ought to make the key decisions—our states and local communities, the family, the individual—sufficient

resources to do the job *as they see fit*.

This is best achieved by the use of *tax credits*—taken right off the top of each citizen's Federal income tax bill. Over the years, I have proposed legislation along these lines:

(1) For the some 40 million Americans who pay local property taxes—regardless of whether their children attend public or private schools—I propose a tax credit based on the proportion of such local taxes allocated to public school costs. This credit would supplement the deductions from gross income permitted under existing law.

(2) For all tax-payers who support students working toward a degree in any accredited college or university, I propose a similar tax credit. This credit would be adjusted to a sliding-scale which gives greater benefits for the basic levels of college costs.

(3) For those who make gifts to accredited colleges and universities of their own choice, I propose a tax credit covering the full amount of a modest annual gift.

The result of all these proposals would be to increase the financial resources available to our states and localities, and particularly to the individual tax-payer. They would then be free to make their own choices, to allocate their own resources in support of education—without Federal intervention or the dead-hand of Federal control.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

In our complex modern economy, industrial peace is a major bulwark of the free enterprise system.

To achieve industrial peace, we must maintain a balance among the rights of employees, employers and the public. This balance is best assured when laws are clear and fairly administered, and when government does not inject itself in a partisan way into dealings between employers and employees.

The right to bargain collectively is well established in our society and must be preserved. It is neither preserved nor strengthened when the Federal government becomes a constant intruder, as it has under the present Administration, into employer-employee disputes.

The current Washington habit of injecting the Labor Department, and even the Presidency itself, into major and minor labor disputes has had a disruptive effect on American industrial relations. Real collective bargaining no longer exists, if either side can count on the Federal government entering the picture as a partisan third party—whether that

partisan intervention comes from the White House, the Labor Department, the National Labor Relations Board, or any other Federal instrumentality.

Fairness demands impartial administration of labor laws. It also demands an impartial policy under which Federal intervention into major disputes shall be used only as a last resort, carried out in strict conformity with law. And it should be limited to those few disputes so serious that they can imperil national health or safety.

The right to strike must be protected. It is a basic civil liberty, a corollary of the right to bargain collectively. Here again, fairness demands that it be asserted in accordance with law, and in a manner which does not violate the legitimate rights of others.

Our concern for the individual employee must always be paramount. He should be protected from abuse and exploitation—whether such abuse or exploitation stems from actions of his employer or from the actions of union officials.

TVA

The Tennessee Valley Authority is an enterprise unique in our nation. Some of its elements have been successful and should be continued. Others have become Federal "white elephants." To stop the drain on the tax-dollars of all Americans, and to turn TVA into a more productive and useful part of our overall economy, I propose these steps:

(1) Place in the hands of the appropriate Federal agencies all those TVA functions that have direct counterparts in existing national programs. These include soil conservation, flood control and navigation, marketing of hydroelectric power, small watershed development, and forestry. People in all parts of the nation would be better served, and costs could be cut.

(2) Terminate or dispose of TVA activities that do not have counterparts anywhere in our Federal structure. These include the system's steam generating plants and the fertilizer program. There is no justification for continued Federal owner-

ship of such commercial facilities.

With regard to the second step, first option should go to the states or localities involved, letting them buy the facilities if they see fit. Private industry might take over if they do not. Or, failing either course, a special corporation might be set up—similar to the one established for our communications satellites—to take over these facilities. It could offer stock for public sale and aim toward repayment of all government money involved in the shortest possible time.

Following any of these courses would remove the Federal Government from a control it should not exercise over these facilities. It would place ownership and operation closer to the local citizens who would thus be better served—economically, politically, and technologically. And, most important, an obviously inequitable exception to our Federal-State relationship would be concluded without damage or favor to any particular group of our citizens.

PLATFORMS

Political platforms should not try to cover every conceivable issue in which the public has an interest. In recent years, platforms have been far too detailed. They have begun to look suspiciously like "shopping lists" for the votes of every imaginable special interest group in America.

A much sounder approach is that of the 1962 Declaration of Republican Principle and Policy, prepared by a blue-ribbon group of House and Senate Republicans under the direction of Congressman Melvin Laird, who is this year's Platform Committee chairman.

The 1962 Declaration is one that any Republican can support enthusiastically. It grounds Republican beliefs in the principles of individual liberty, limited government, diffusion of power, local responsibility, and a free competitive economy. It affirms that "Republican philosophy rests on the doctrines that the individual has a God-given dignity and that government exists to serve him."

The Declaration takes this clear stand: "The world cannot perma-

nently endure part communist and part free . . . Republicans believe that this Nation which has, under God, proclaimed liberty throughout the land, must now dedicate its strength to proclaiming freedom throughout the world."

It also voices a major foreign policy theme that I have long stressed: "The overriding national goal must be victory over communism through the establishment of a world in which men can live in freedom, security, and national independence. There can be no real peace short of it."

The choice before the American electorate, then and now, is summed up in this way: "Which party acts more effectively to preserve and enlarge human freedom? . . . We Republicans . . . propose a new direction for public policy in order to advance the cause of freedom at home and throughout the world."

I believe that this kind of firm positive declaration would be a platform on which any Republican should be proud to run.



Barry Goldwater defines the real issues in this campaign:

I intend to discuss in depth the major issues which confront America today. My views on these issues are based on time-tested Republican principles—principles which proclaim that peace in the world is preserved through our strength, that moral leadership is a clear duty of high office, that fiscal soundness is an obligation government owes to the taxpayer, and that our private enterprise system should be encouraged and not impeded.

These are the central issues of this campaign, and I will not be diverted from them. I am not impressed when those who offer neither principle nor choice conjure up phantom issues in an effort to divide and confuse—such phantoms, for example, as the one about an “extremist” take-over of the Republican Party. This is a standard tactic of the Democrats, and any Republican who uses it does so only to promote disunity in our Party. I, for one, have far too much faith in the good sense and stability of my fellow Republicans to accept such a smear. On the matter of political extremists, I want to say this:

Throughout this campaign I shall continue to direct public attention to those extremists of the left, including the ADA, who are entrenched in positions of power and influence with the Johnson Administration in Washington. For myself, I seek the support of no extremist groups—of the left or the right. I seek only the support of all who believe in Republican principles. Together, and with the help of enlightened Democrats and Independents, we can make 1964 a year of victory for our Party and our nation.

SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, a businessman, jet pilot, athlete, photographer, “ham” radio operator, explorer, and author has served eleven years in the U.S. Senate, and is a Major General in the U.S. Air Force Reserve.

Senator Goldwater was elected to the City Council of Phoenix on a “Reform” ticket in 1949. In 1952, he defeated incumbent Ernest W. McFarland, then Majority Leader of the U.S. Senate, by slightly more than 6,000 votes. In 1958, he again defeated McFarland, this time by 35,000 votes.

Senator Goldwater is the ranking Republican member of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, having served on that committee since 1953. He served for four years on the McClellan “Rackets” Committee, and is also a member of the Armed Services Committee and its key Preparedness Subcommittee.

Senator Goldwater has served two three-year terms as chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, raising funds and campaigning throughout the U.S. for Republican Senatorial candidates. He is the party’s top fund-raiser, speaking before, on an average, 200 audiences each year.

Senator Goldwater was chief pilot of the “pony express run” to supply B-29 bases in India during World War II. He is qualified to fly jet aircraft and has over 8,000 hours of flying time to his credit.

Barry Goldwater was born New Year’s Day, 1909, in Phoenix, Arizona, the son of Baron Goldwater, a dry goods store owner, and Josephine

Williams, a graduate nurse from Nebraska. He has a brother, Robert, and a sister, Carolyn (Mrs. Bernard Erskine of Scottsdale, Arizona).

Barry Goldwater completed his secondary education at Staunton Military Academy in Staunton, Virginia, where he was awarded the Kable Medal as the outstanding all-around cadet. He attended the University of Arizona for one year, but came home to work at the family store in 1929, when his father died.

In 1962, he assumed the title of chairman of the board of the Goldwater stores and in 1963 the family sold the department store business.

Senator Goldwater serves on the board of Arrow, Inc., a non-profit organization promoting Indian self-help projects. He is a life member of the American Legion Thunderbird Post No. 41, comprised of Spanish-Americans. His other fraternal associations include the Masons, Shrine, Elks, Moose, Eastern Star, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Woodmen of the World.

Senator Goldwater married the former Margaret Johnson of Muncie, Indiana, on September 22, 1934. Mrs. Goldwater attended the Grand Central Art School in New York City and was with the David Crystal organization as a fashion designer. Their children are: Joanne (Mrs. Thomas Ross), 27, of Torrance, California; Barry, Jr., 25, who is associated with a Los Angeles stock brokerage firm; Michael, 24; and Peggy, Jr., 19, a graduate of Mount Vernon Seminary in Washington, D. C. The Goldwaters also have four grandchildren. They are Episcopalians.