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<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
56	7	07/28/1960	Newsletter	Bound copy of Mr. Nixon's speech, "It is time to speak up for America." 17 pgs.



“It is time to speak up for America.”

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I particularly want to thank this convention for nominating as my running-mate a world statesman of the first rank, my friend and colleague, Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts.

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For these and for so many other things I want to congratulate you tonight and to thank you from the bottom of my heart on behalf of Americans—not just Republicans, but Americans everywhere—for making us proud of our country and of our two-Party system.

Tonight too, I particularly want to thank this convention for nominating as my running-mate a world statesman of the first rank, my friend and colleague, Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. In refreshing contrast to what happened in Los Angeles, you nominated a man who shares my views on the great issues and who will work with me and not against me in carrying out our magnificent platform.

During this week we Republicans with strong convictions about our Party and about our country had our differences—but as the speech by Senator Barry Goldwater indicated yesterday, and the elegant and gracious remarks of my friend Nelson Rockefeller indicated tonight, we know that the differences that divided us were infinitesimal compared to the gulf between ourselves and the Democrats as a result of what they did at Los Angeles during their convention two weeks ago.

It was only eight years ago that I stood in this very place after you nominated as our candidate for the President one of the great men of our century. Now, I say to you that for generations to come Americans, regardless of party, will gratefully remember Dwight Eisenhower as the man who brought peace to America, as the man under whose leadership Americans enjoyed the greatest progress and prosperity in history. And above all, they will remember him as the man who restored honesty, integrity and dignity to the conduct of government and to the highest office of this land.

My fellow Americans, I know now that you will understand what I am about to say, because the next President of the United States will have Dwight Eisenhower's great example to follow

in confronting new and challenging world problems of utmost gravity. This truly is the time for greatness in America's leadership.

I am sure you will understand why I do not say tonight that I alone am the man who can furnish that leadership. That question is not for me to decide, but for you—and I only ask that the thousands of you in this hall and the millions of you listening to me on television make that decision in the most thoughtful way you possibly can, because what you decide this November will not only affect your lives and your future, it will affect the future of millions throughout the world. I urge you to study the records of the candidates, to listen to my speeches and my opponent's, and Mr. Lodge's and his opponent's, and then, after you have studied our records and listened to our speeches, decide. Decide, on the basis of what we say and what we believe, who is best qualified to lead America and the free world in this critical period.

To help you make this decision I would like to discuss tonight some of the great problems which will confront the next President of the United States and the policies that I believe should be adopted to meet them.

One hundred years ago, in this very city, Abraham Lincoln was nominated for President of the United States. The problems which will confront our next President will be even greater than those that confronted Lincoln. The question then was freedom for the slaves and survival of the nation. The question now is freedom for all mankind and the survival of civilization. The choice that each of you listening to me makes this November can affect the answer to that question.

What should your choice be? Let us first examine what our opponents offered in Los Angeles two weeks ago. They claimed theirs was a new program, but you know what it was. It was simply the same old proposition that a political

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party should be all things to all men, and nothing more than that, and they promised everything to everybody with one exception: they didn't promise to pay the bill.

And I say tonight that with their convention, their platform, and their ticket, they composed a symphony of political cynicism which is out of harmony with our times today.

Now, we come to the key question, what should our answer be? Some might say to do as they do—and even out-promise them because that is the only way to win. I want to tell you my answer.

I happen to believe that their program would be disastrous for America, that it would wreck our economy and that it would dash our people's high hopes for a better life. So I serve notice here and now that whatever the political consequences, we are not going to try to out-promise our opponents in this campaign. We are not going to make promises we cannot and should not keep, and we are not going to try to buy the people's votes with their own money.

To those who say that this position will mean political defeat, my answer is this: We have more faith than that in the good sense of the American people, provided the people know the facts.

I pledge to you tonight that we will bring the facts home to the American people, and we will do it with a campaign such as this country has never seen before.

I have been asked all week by the newsmen sitting on my right and left, "When is this campaign going to begin, Mr. Vice President? On Labor Day or one of the other traditional starting dates?" This is my answer: This campaign begins tonight, here and now, and this campaign will continue without let-up from now until November 8.

I have also been asked by my friends in the press, "Mr. Vice President, where are you going to concentrate? What states are you going to visit?" This is

my answer: In this campaign we are taking no states for granted, and we are conceding no states to the opposition. I announce to you tonight—and I pledge to you—that I personally will carry this campaign into every one of the fifty states of this nation between now and November 8.

And in this campaign I make a prediction—I say that just as in 1952 and 1956 millions of Democrats will join us in 1960, not because they are deserting their Party, but because their Party deserted them at Los Angeles two weeks ago.

Now, I have suggested to you what our friends of the opposition offered to the American people. What do we offer? First, we are proud to offer the best eight-year record of any administration in the history of this country. But, my fellow Americans, that isn't all and that isn't enough. We happen to believe that a record is not something to stand on, but something to build on. In building on the record of this administration we shall build a better America. We shall build an America in which we shall see the realization of the dreams of millions of people not only in America but throughout the world for a fuller, freer, richer life than men have ever known in the history of mankind.

Let me tell you something of the goals of this better America toward which we will strive. In this America, our older citizens shall have not only adequate protection against the hazards of ill health, but—rather than sitting on the sidelines—they shall have a greater opportunity to lead useful and productive lives by participating to the extent they are able in the nation's exciting work.

And in the better America, young Americans shall have not only the best basic education, but every boy and girl of ability, regardless of financial circumstances, shall have the opportunity to develop intellectual capabilities to the fullest.

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This campaign begins tonight, here and now, and this campaign will continue without letup from now until November 8.

Our wage earners shall enjoy increasingly higher wages in honest dollars, with better protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age.

For those millions of Americans who are still denied equality of rights and opportunity, I say there shall be the greatest progress in human rights since the days of Lincoln one hundred years ago.

America's farmers, to whose hard work and almost incredible efficiency we owe the fact that we are the best fed, best clothed people in the world, I say America's farmers must and will receive what they do not have today, and what they deserve—a fair share of America's ever-increasing prosperity.

To accomplish these things we will develop to the full the untapped natural resources, our water, our minerals, our power with which we are so fortunate to be blessed in this rich land. We shall provide for our scientists the support they need for the research that will open exciting new highways into a future in which we shall have progress which we cannot even dream of today.

Above all, in this decade of decision and progress we will witness the continued revitalization of America's moral and spiritual strength, with a renewed faith in the eternal ideals of freedom and justice under God which are our priceless heritage as a people.

Now, I am sure that many of you in this hall, and many of you watching on television, might well ask, "But Mr. Nixon, don't our opponents favor just such goals as this?" And my answer is, "Yes, of course." All Americans regardless of Party want a better life for our people.

What is the difference then? I will tell you what it is. The difference is in the way we propose to reach these goals. The record shows that our way works and theirs doesn't, and we are going to prove it in this campaign. We produce on the promises that they make. We succeed where they fail.

Do you know why? Because, as Governor Rockefeller said in his remarks, we put our primary reliance not upon government but upon people for progress in America. That is why we will succeed.

We must never forget that the strength of America is not in its government, but in its people. And we say tonight there is no limit to the goals America can reach, provided we stay true to the great American traditions.

A government has a role, and a very important one. The role of government is not to take responsibility from people, but to put responsibility on them. It is not to dictate to people, but to encourage and stimulate the creative productivity of 180,000,000 free Americans. That is the way to progress in America.

In other words, we have faith in the people, and because our programs for progress are based on that faith, we shall succeed where our opponents will fail, in building the better America that I have described.

But if these goals are to be reached, the next President of the United States must have the wisdom to choose between the things government should and should not do. He must have the courage to stand against the pressures of the few for the good of the many. And he must have the vision to press forward on all fronts for the better life our people want.

Now, I have spoken to you of the responsibilities of our next President at home. Those which he will face abroad will be infinitely greater. But before I look to the future, let me say a word about the past.

At Los Angeles two weeks ago, we heard the United States—our government—blamed for Mr. Khrushchev's sabotage of the Paris Conference. We heard the United States blamed for the actions of Communist-led mobs in Caracas and Tokyo. We heard that American education and American scientists are inferior. We heard that America militarily and economically is a second-rate country. We heard that American prestige is at an all-time low.

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This is my reply: I say that a time the Communists are running us down abroad, it is time to speak up for America at home. Let us recognize that America has its weaknesses, and that constructive criticism of those weaknesses is essential—essential so that we can correct our weaknesses in the best traditions of our democratic process. But let us also recognize this: while it is dangerous to see nothing wrong in America, it is just as wrong to refuse to recognize what is right about America.

No criticism should be allowed to obscure the truth either at home or abroad that today America is the strongest nation militarily, economically, ideologically in the world; and we have the will and the stamina and the resources to maintain that strength in the years ahead.

Now, turning to the future. We must recognize that the foreign policy problems of the '60's will be different and they will be vastly more difficult than those of the '50's through which we have just passed.

We are in a race tonight, my fellow Americans, a race for survival in which our lives, our fortunes, our liberties are at stake. We are ahead now, but the only way to stay ahead in a race is to move ahead; and the next President will make decisions which will determine whether we win or whether we lose this race.

What must he do? He must resolve first and above all that the United States must never settle for second best in anything. Militarily, the security of the United States must be put before all other considerations. Why? Not only because this is necessary to deter aggression, but because we must make sure that we are never in a position at the conference table where Mr. Khrushchev or his successor is able to coerce an American president because of Communist strength and our weakness.

Diplomatically, let us look at what the problem is. Diplomatically, our next President must be firm on principles;

but he must never be belligerent. He must never engage in a war of words which might heat up the international climate to the igniting point of nuclear catastrophe.

But while he must never answer insults in kind, he must leave no doubt at any time that in Berlin or in Cuba or anywhere else in the world, America will not tolerate being pushed around by anybody. We have already paid a terrible price in lives and resources to learn that appeasement leads not to peace but to war.

It will indeed take great leadership to steer us through these years, avoiding the extremes of belligerency on the one hand, and appeasement on the other.

Now, Mr. Kennedy has suggested that what the world needs is young leadership; and, understandably this has great appeal. It is true that youth does bring boldness and imagination and drive to leadership, and we need all those things. But I think most people will agree with me tonight when I say that President De Gaulle, Prime Minister Macmillan and Chancellor Adenauer may not be young men—but we are indeed fortunate in that we have their wisdom and their experience and their courage on our side in the struggle for freedom today in the world.

And I might suggest that as we consider the relative merits of youth and age, it is only fair to point out that it was not Mr. De Gaulle, Mr. Macmillan, or Mr. Adenauer, but Mr. Kennedy who made the rash and impulsive suggestion that President Eisenhower could have apologized or sent regrets to Mr. Khrushchev for the U-2 flights which the President had ordered to save our country from surprise attack.

But formidable as will be the diplomatic and military problems confronting the next President, far more difficult and critical will be the decisions he must make to meet and defeat the enemies of freedom in an entirely different kind of struggle. Here I want to speak to you

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of another kind of aggression, aggression without war, where the aggressor comes not as a conqueror, but as a champion of peace, of freedom, offering progress and plenty and hope to the unfortunates of the earth.

I say tonight that the major problem confronting the next President of the United States will be to inform the people of the character of this kind of aggression, to arouse the people to the mortal danger it presents, and to inspire the people to meet that danger. He must develop a brand new strategy which will win the battle for freedom for all men and win it without a war. That is the great task of the next President of the United States. And this will be a difficult task, difficult because at times our next President must tell the people not what they want to hear, but what they need to hear. Why, for example, it may be just as essential to the national interest to build a dam in India as in California.

It will be difficult, too, because we Americans have always been able to see and understand the danger presented by missiles and airplanes and bombs; but we have found it hard to recognize the even more deadly danger of the propaganda that warps the mind, the economic offensive that softens a nation, the subversion that destroys the will of a people to resist tyranny.

Yet while this threat is, as I believe it to be, the greatest danger we have ever confronted, this is no reason for lack of confidence in the outcome.

Do you know why? Because there is one great theme that runs through our history as a nation: "Americans are always at their best when the challenge is greatest." And we Americans shall rise to our greatest heights in this decade of the '60's as we mount the offensive to meet those forces which threaten the peace and the rights of free men everywhere.

There are some things we can do and some things we must do, and I would like to list them for you tonight:

First, we must take the steps which will assure that the American economy grows at a maximum rate so that we can maintain our present massive lead over the Communist bloc. How do we do this? There isn't any magic formula by which government in a free nation can bring this about. The way to assure maximum growth in America is not by expanding the functions of government, but by increasing the opportunities for investment and creative enterprise for millions of individual Americans.

At a time when the Communists have found it necessary to turn to decentralization of their economy and to turn to the use of individual incentives to increase productivity—at a time, in other words, when they are turning our way—I say we must not and we will not make the mistake of turning their way.

There is another step that we must take: our government activities must be reorganized to take the initiative from the Communists and to develop and carry out a world-wide strategy and offensive for peace and freedom. The complex of agencies which have grown up through the years for exchange of persons, for technical assistance, for information, for loans and for grants—all these must be welded together into one powerful economic and ideological striking force.

What we must do is wage the battles for peace and freedom with the same unified direction and dedication with which we wage battles in war. And if these activities are to succeed, we must develop a better training program for the men and women who will represent our country at home and abroad. We need men with a broad knowledge of the intricacies and techniques of the strategies of the Communists, with the keen knowledge of the great principles for which free people stand, and, above all, men who with a zeal and dedication which the Communists cannot match will out-think, out-work and out-last the enemies of freedom wherever they meet

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them anywhere in the world. This is the kind of men we must train.

We must recognize that government cannot do this job alone. The most effective proponents of freedom are not governments, but free people; and this means that every American—every one of you listening tonight—who works or travels abroad, must represent his country at its best in everything that he does.

The United States, big as it is, strong as it is, cannot do this job alone. The best brains, the fullest resources of other free nations, which have as great a stake in freedom as we have, must be mobilized to participate with us in this task to the extent they are able.

But do you know what is most important of all? Above all, we must recognize that the greatest economic strength that we can imagine, and the finest government organization—all this will fail if we are not united and inspired by a great idea, an idea which will be a battlecry for a grand offensive to win the minds and the hearts and the souls of men. Do we have such an idea?

The Communists proclaim over and over again that their aim is the victory of Communism throughout the world. It is not enough for us to reply that our aim is to contain Communism, to defend the free world against Communism, to hold the line against Communism. The only answer to a strategy of victory for the Communist world is a strategy of victory for the free world.

Let the victory we seek be not victory over any other nation or any other people. Let it be the victory of freedom over tyranny, of plenty over hunger, of health over disease, in every country of the world.

When Mr. Khrushchev says our grandchildren will live under Communism, let us say his grandchildren will live in freedom. When Mr. Khrushchev says the Monroe Doctrine is dead in the Americas, let us say the Doctrine of Freedom lives everywhere in the world.

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Let us welcome Mr. Khrushchev's challenge to peaceful competition of our systems; but then reply, "Let us compete in the Communist world as well as in the free world," because the Communist dictators must not be allowed a privileged sanctuary from which to launch their guerilla attacks on the citadels of freedom.

Instead, we say, extend this competition, extend it to include not only food and factories as he has suggested but extend it to include the great spiritual and moral values which characterize our civilization.

Also, my friends, let us welcome the challenge, not be disconcerted by it nor fail to meet it, but welcome the challenge presented by the revolution of peaceful peoples' aspirations in South America, in Africa.

We must not fail in this mission. We must not fail to assist them in finding a way to progress with freedom so that they will not be faced with the terrible alternative of turning to communism with its promise of progress at the cost of freedom.

Let us make it clear to them that our aim in helping them is not merely to stop Communism, but that in the great American tradition of concern for those less fortunate than we are, we welcome the opportunity to work with people everywhere to help them achieve their aspirations for a life of human dignity. And this means that our primary aim must be not to help governments but to help people—to help people attain the life they deserve.

In essence, what I am saying tonight is that our answer to the threat of the Communist revolution is renewed devotion to the great ideals of the American Revolution, ideals that caught the imagination of the world one hundred and eighty years ago and that still live in the minds and hearts of people everywhere.

I could tell you tonight that all you need to do to bring about these things

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Each American must make a personal and total commitment to the cause of freedom and all it stands for. It means wage earners and employers must make an extra effort to increase the productivity of our factories. It means our students in schools must strive for increasing excellence rather than adjusting to mediocrity.

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What I propose is not new, it is as old as America, and as young as America, because America will never grow old.

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that I have just described is to elect the right man as President of this country and leave these tasks to him. But, my fellow Americans, America demands more than that of me and of you.

When I visited the Soviet Union, in every factory there was a huge sign which read, "Work for the victory of Communism." What America needs today is not just a President, not just a few leaders, but millions of Americans working for the victory of freedom. This means each American must make a personal and total commitment to the cause of freedom and all it stands for. It means wage earners and employers must make an extra effort to increase the productivity of our factories. It means our students in schools must strive for increasing excellence rather than adjusting to mediocrity.

It means supporting and encouraging our scientists to explore the unknown, not just for what we can get but for what we can learn, and it means each American assuming a personal responsibility for making this country which we love a proud symbol of freedom for all the world. Each of us, for example, should be doing his part to end the prejudice which one hundred years after Lincoln, to our shame, still embarrasses us abroad and saps our strength at home. Each of us should participate in this and other political campaigns not just by going to the polls and voting but by working for the candidate of his choice. Also, my fellow Americans, it means sacrifice—not the grim sacrifice of desperation but the rewarding sacrifice of choice which lifts us out of the humdrum life in which we live and gives us the supreme satisfaction which comes from working together in a cause greater than ourselves, greater than our nation, as great as the whole world itself.

What I propose is not new, it is as old as America, and as young as America, because America will never grow old.

You will remember that Thomas Jefferson said, "We act not for ourselves alone, but for the whole human race."

Lincoln said, "In giving freedom to these slaves we assure freedom to the free. We shall not only serve or mainly lose the last best hope of the earth."

Teddy Roosevelt said, "Our first duty as citizens of the nation is owed to the United States, but if we are true to our principles we must also think of serving the interests of mankind at large."

And Woodrow Wilson said, "A patriotic American is never so proud of the flag under which he lives as when it comes to mean to others, as well as himself, a symbol of hope and liberty."

We say today that a young America shall fulfill her destiny by helping to build a new world in which men can live together in peace and justice and freedom with each other. But there is a difference today, an exciting difference, and the difference is because of a dramatic breakthrough in science. For the first time in human history we have the resources, the resources to wage a winning war against poverty, misery and disease wherever it exists in the world.

And upon the next President of the United States will rest the responsibility to inspire and to lead the forces of freedom toward this goal.

I am sure now that you understand why I said at the beginning that it would be difficult for any man to say that he was qualified to provide this kind of leadership. I can only say to you tonight that I believe in the American dream because I have seen it come true in my own life. I know something of the threat which confronts us and I know something of the effort which will be needed to meet it. I have seen hate for America, not only in the Kremlin, but in the eyes of Communists in our own country, and on the face of a mob in Caracas.

I have heard doubts about America expressed, not just by Communists, but by sincere students and labor leaders in other countries searching for the way to a better life and wondering if we had lost the way. And I have also seen love

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In Warsaw — 250,000 people on the streets on a Sunday afternoon singing, crying with tears running down their cheeks and shouting: "Niech Zyje America!" —Long live the United States!

"My concern is not whether God is on our side, but whether we are on God's side."

for America in countries throughout the world, in a crowd in Chicago, in Bogota, in the heart of Siberia, and in Warsaw—250,000 people on the streets on a Sunday afternoon singing, crying with tears running down their cheeks and shouting: "Niech Zyje America!"—Long live the United States!

My fellow Americans, I know that we must resist the hate, we must remove the doubts, but above all we must be worthy of the love and the trust of millions on this earth for whom America is the hope of the world.

A hundred years ago, Abraham Lincoln was asked during the dark days of the tragic War Between the States whether he thought God was on his side. His answer was, "My concern is not whether God is on our side, but whether we are on God's side." My fellow Americans, may that ever be our prayer for our country. And in that spirit, with faith in America, with faith in her ideals and in her people, I accept your nomination for President of the United States.

"It is time to

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Speak up for America."

