osition Before Protestant Ministers

ticle is the unselled text of the spe Notes: The following article is the unselled text of the speech by Democratic Nomines for the President of the United a Sentember 12. We are running the full text because of the mod in the speech by local ellissis. We hope all of our rand this statement through in order that they might have ion of the religious issue and its effects upon Kannedy when President of the United Sisters in November. Paul Barndck J NOTE: There has been a great deal of discussion of life so-one losses" is the Presidential campaign. Senator Kennedy, miton toward closing that discussion and focusing the public is importan issues of the campaign, made the following state-Greater Houston (Texas) Ministerial Association on Sept. a that editors everywhere recognize that the widest possible of this statement serves the cause of public enlightenments mail interest. We therefore hope you will print the full text anedy's remarks. nedy's remarks.

ar Kennedy's remarks. resteful for your generous invitation to state my views. a the so-called religious issue is necessarily and properly the chief a tonight, I want to emphasize from the outset that we have critical issues to face in the 1960 election: the spread of Com-musence, until it now festers 30 miles off the coast of Florida-liating treatment of our President and Vice President by those onger respect our power — the kungry children I saw in West the old people who cannot pay their doctor bills, the families a give up their farms — an America with too many slams, with

schools, and too late to the moon and enter space. se are the real issues which should decide this campaign. And e not religious issues — for war and hunger and ignorance and know no religious barriers.

cause I am a Catholic, and no Catholic has ever been elected at, the real issues in this campaign have been obscured perhaps tely, in some quarters less responsible than this. So it is apparent-mary for me to state once again - not what kind of church I be-

y to me - but what kind el favor upon those who would work to subvert Article VI of the Can series I believe in I believe in an America where the apportion of sirch and state is absolute — where no Catholic prelate would tell the resident (should be be Catholic) how to act, and no Protestant minister ould tell his parishioners for whom to vote — where no church or wurdt school is granted any public funds or political preference—and the no map is denied public office merely because his religion differs on the President who might appoint him or the people who might test him. I believe in an America that is officially neither Catholic, Prolect him. I believe in an America that is officially neither Catholic, Pro-stant nor Jewish-where no public official either requests or accepts instructions on public policy from the Pope, the National Council of Chu-ches er any other ecclesissical source-where no religious body seeks o impose its will directly or indirectly upon the general populace or the sublic acts of its officials-and where religious liberty is so indivisible hat an act against one church is treated as an act against all. For, while this year it may be a Catholic against whom the finger of

For, while this year it may be a Catholic against whom the finger of suspicion is pointed, in other years it has been and may some day be again, a Jew — or a Quaker—or a Unitarian—or a Baptist. It was Vir-inia's harasament of Baptist preachers, for example, that helped lead to lefterson's statute for religious freedom. Today. I may be the victim— but temorrow it may be you—until the whole fabric of our harmonious society is ripped at a time of great national peril.

Finally, I believe in an America where religious intolerance will some lay end - where all men and all churches are treated as equal - where wery man has the same right to attend or not attend or not attend he church of his choice-where there is no Catholic vote, no anti-Catholic rote, no bloc voting of any kind-and where Catholics, Protestants and Jews, at both the lay and pastoral level, will refrain from those attitudes of disdain and division which have so often marred their works in the past, and premote instead the American idea of brotherhood.

That is the kind of America in which I believe. And it represents he kind of Presidency in which I believe-a great office that must either be humbled by making it the instrument of any one religious group, nor tarnished by arbitrarily withholding its occupancy from the bers of any religious group. I believe in a President whose religious views are his own private affair, neither imposed by him upon the nation for imposed by the nation upon him as a coudition to holding that office. I would not look with favor upon a President working to subvert the First Amendment's guarantee of religious liberty (nor would our system f checks and balances permit him to do so)-and neither do I look with

by rectiring a religious test-even by indirection-for if they disa, with that safeguard, they should be out openly working to repeal it. I want a Chief Executive whose public acts are responsible to groups and obligated to none — who can attend any cereme nsible to vice or dinner his office may appropriately require of him-and whose illiment of his President oath is not limited or conditioned by any reervice or dim ligious oath, ritual or obligations.

This is the kind of America I believe in -and this is the kind I fought for in the South Pacific, and the kind my brother died for in Europe. No one suggested then that we might have a "divided loyalty," that we might "not believe in liberty" or that we belonged to a disloyaly group that threatened the "freedoms for which sur forefathers died."

And in fact this is the kind of America for which our forefathers died when they fled here to escape religious test oaths that denied office to of history and in the eyes of our own people. members of less favored churches-when they founded the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom-and when they fought at the Shrine I visited today, the Alamo. For side by side with Bowie and Crockett died McCafferty and Baily and Carey-but no one knows whether they were Catholics or not. For there was no religious test at the Alamo.

I ask you tonight to follow in that tradition-to judge me on the basis of 14 years in Congress-or my declared stands against an Ambassador to the Vatican, against unconstitutional aid to parochial schools and against any boycott of the public, schools (which I have attended myself)-instead of judging me on the basis of these pamphlets and publications we all have seen that carefully select quotations out of context from the statements of Catholic church leaders, usually in other countries, frequently in other centuries, and rarely relevant to any situation

here-and always omitting, of course, the statement of the American Bisheps in 1948 which strongly endorsed Church-State separation, and which more nearly reflects the views of almost every American Cat I do not consider these other quotations binding upon my public why should you? Bue let me say, with respect to other countries, am wholly opposed to the State being used by ony religious group olic or Protestant, to compel, prohibit or persecute the free exer any other religion. And I hope that you and I condemn with equal those nations which deny their Presidency to Protestants and those deny it to Catholics. And rather than cite the misdeeds of those who would cite the record of the Catholic Church in such nations as and France-and the independence of such statemen as Adenauer a Gaulle

But let me stress again that these are 'my views-for, contr ommon newspaper usage, I am not the Catholic candidate for Pres am the Democratic Party's candidate for President who happen to be a Catholic. I do not speak for my church on public matters-a church does not speak for me.

Whatever issue may come before me as President - on birt trol, divorce, censorship, gambling or any other subject-I will my decision in accordance with these views, in accordance with my conscience tells me to be the national interest, and without



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But if, on the other hand, I should win this election, then I shall devote every effort of mind and spirit to fulfilling the oath of the Presidency-practically identical, I might add, to the oath I have takes 15 years in the Congress. For, without reservation, I can "solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution, so help me God"

tres or dictates. And- no

to be even remotely possible-when my office would require me to violate my conscience or violate the national interest, then I would re-

the office; and I hope any conscientious public servant would do the same. But I do not intend to apologize for these ivews to my critics of either Catholic or Protestant faith—or do I intend to disavow either may views or my church in order to win this election. If I should lose on the

real issues, I shall return to my seat in the Senate, satisfied that I had

tried my best and was fairly judged. But if this election is decided on the

basis that 40 million Americans lost their chance of being President on the day they were baptised, then it is the whole nation that will be the losser,

in the eyes of Catholics and non-Catholics around the world, in the eyes

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t could cause me to decide other But if the time should ever come-and I de not conce

to outside religious press

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