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of

THAT IS AN ISSUE. IT IS THE SORT  
OF ISSUE THAT WE CAN SEE AT  
EVERY TURN.

ARE WE GOING TO LEAVE ROOM FOR ANY  
SORT OF INDIVIDUALISM IN THIS  
COUNTRY, OR ARE WE GOING TO  
SACRIFICE IT ALL TO THE DEMANDS  
AND THE SUPPOSED BENEFITS OF  
GOVERNMENT CONTROL.

IT'S A GREAT LEADER YOU NEED-- A  
LEADER WHO IS MORE CLEVER THAN  
YOU ARE, AND STRONGER BY FAR. PUT  
ALL THE POWER IN HIS HANDS, AND  
HE WILL GIVE YOU "TRUE" FREEDOM  
WHICH WE USED TO CALL SLAVERY. AND  
THEN YOU WON'T NEED TO BE CONCERNED  
ABOUT YOUR OPPRESSED BRETHREN  
ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD.

WE WANT AND WE PLEDGE AN ADMINISTRATION  
THAT WILL RESPECT AND SUPPORT, NOT  
OVERLOOK OR UNDERMINE, THE LOCAL  
LAW ENFORCEMENT NEEDED TO PROTECT  
THE LIVES AND PROPERTY OF OUR  
CITIZENS -- TO MAKE OUR STREETS  
SAFE.

WE WANT TO MAKE IT SAFE TO LIVE BY  
THE LAW. ENOUGH HAS BEEN DONE  
TO MAKE IT SAFE TO LIVE OUTSIDE  
THE LAW.

YES, THE MESSAGE OF OUR CAMPAIGN  
IS CLEAR. IT IS THIS:



STOP THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM AT HOME

AND COMMUNISM ABROAD.

IF THERE IS PEACE AND PURPOSE IN OUR

LIVES, WE CAN MOVE FORWARD ALONG

OUR PROVEN PATH OF PROGRESS THROUGH

FREEDOM.

NOW, I WANT YOU TO PAUSE WITH ME

AND THINK ABOUT WHAT THAT MEANS.

WHAT IS FREEDOM? WHAT IS

PROGRESS? HOW DOES FREEDOM

BRING PROGRESS?

WHEN WORDS ARE THROWN INTO THE ARENA

OF POLITICS, THEIR MEANINGS OFTEN

BECOME CONFUSED. AND THAT IS JUST

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE WORD

“FREEDOM.”

THE CONFUSION BEGAN MORE THAN TWO  
DECADES AGO WHEN YOU WERE TOLD  
THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS THE POWER  
TO GIVE YOU FREEDOM -- TO GIVE YOU  
SUCH THINGS AS FREEDOM FROM WANT  
AND FREEDOM FROM FEAR.

MORE RECENTLY, YOU HAVE BEEN TOLD

THAT GOVERNMENT CAN MAKE YOU FREE

FROM POVERTY AND FREE FROM INSECURITY.

THOSE WHO SEEK NATIONAL OFFICE ARE

NOW EVEN BEGINNING TO PROMISE YOU

FREEDOM FROM WORRY AND RESPONSIBILITY.



OF COURSE, NOBODY WANTS TO BE POOR

OR WORRIED OR FRIGHTENED OR INSECURE.

BUT DO YOU REALLY BELIEVE THAT

GOVERNMENT CAN MAKE YOU RICH AND

HAPPY AND CONFIDENT AND SECURE?

IS THAT WHAT YOU THINK FREEDOM IS?

SOMETHING SOMEBODY IN THE WHITE

HOUSE CAN GIVE YOU IF HE FEELS

LIKE IT?

DO YOU REALLY BELIEVE THERE IS SOMEBODY  
SO WISE AND PRUDENT AND POWERFUL  
THAT HE CAN -- OR WILL-- GIVE  
YOU THOSE THINGS IF YOU JUST PUT HIM  
IN THE WHITE HOUSE? DO YOU REALLY  
BELIEVE HIM WHEN HE TELLS YOU HOW  
SMART AND BIG HEARTED HE IS?

OF COURSE YOU DON T.

YOU AND I KNOW THAT ALL THESE

THINGS ARE THE VERY OPPOSITE OF

WHAT THE FOUNDERS AND BUILDERS OF

THIS NATION MEANT BY FREEDOM.

YOU AND I KNOW THAT THE DECLARATION  
OF INDEPENDENCE WAS WRITTEN BY MEN  
WHO HAD THEIR BELLIES FULL OF  
OPPRESSIVE GOVERNMENT. AND THE  
FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION WERE  
DETERMINED THAT WE SHOULD NEVER AGAIN  
HAVE A GOVERNMENT DISTANT AND ARBITRARY.



TO THEM THE MEANING OF FREEDOM WAS

CLEAR. IT MEANT FREEDOM FROM

GOVERNMENT.

THEY WANTED CITIZENS TO BE FREE TO LIVE

THEIR OWN LIVES, MAKE THEIR OWN

DECISIONS -- YES, MAKE THEIR OWN

MISTAKES AND BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY

FOR THEM.

THEY BELIEVED IN THE PEOPLE. THEY  
BELIEVED THAT THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN  
WAS COMPETENT TO LOOK AFTER HIS  
OWN AFFAIRS. THEY BELIEVED IN THE  
SELF RELIANCE, ENTERPRISE, AND  
INITIATIVE OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND  
FAMILY.

THEY KNEW THAT PROGRESS WOULD COME  
FROM -- INDEED MEANT NOTHING  
MORE THAN -- FULFILLMENT OF THE  
WHOLE MAN IN A SOCIETY OF LIBERTY  
AND OPPORTUNITY.

THESE MEN -- THESE FOUNDERS AND BUILDERS  
OF OUR MIGHTY REPUBLIC -- WERE NO  
IDLE DREAMERS. THEY WERE HARD-  
HEADED AND PRACTICAL MEN. AND  
THEY WERE MEN OF VAST WISDOM.

THEY KNEW THAT LIBERTY WITHOUT ORDER  
WOULD BECOME THE LICENSE OF THE  
MOB AND THE JUNGLE.



THERE MUST BE GOVERNMENT TO MAINTAIN  
LAW AND ORDER, TO PROTECT PERSON  
AND PROPERTY, TO ENFORCE PRIVATE  
CONTRACTS, TO ENCOURAGE FREER  
AND MORE EFFECTIVE MARKETS AT HOME  
AND ABROAD, AND TO PROVIDE MONETARY  
STABILITY.

AND YES, THEY KNEW GOVERNMENT MUST

STAND READY TO AID THE HELPLESS

AND SUPPORT THOSE IN NEED.

THESE WISE MEN WANTED A GOVERNMENT OF

COMPASSION, LEADERSHIP, AND RESTRAINT.

TO PRESERVE FREEDOM, GOVERNMENT MUST,  
THEY KNEW, BE BOTH LIMITED AND  
DISPERSED. IT MUST BE AS CLOSE TO  
THE PEOPLE AS POSSIBLE. ONLY IN THIS  
WAY CAN GOVERNMENT BE KEPT FROM  
BECOMING SO ARBITRARY AND SO STRONG  
THAT IT THREATENS FREEDOM.

ONLY IN THIS WAY CAN THERE BE VARIETY,

CREATIVE DIVERSITY, AND EXPERIMENTATION

IN POLICIES -- HEALTHY COMPETITION

BETWEEN UNITS OF GOVERNMENT.

THIS WAS THEIR GREAT VISION FOR  
MANY YEARS IT GUIDED OUR WAY. BUT  
OVER THE LAST THREE DECADES,  
GOVERNMENT HAS INCREASINGLY BECOME  
MASTER, NOT SERVANT.



INCREASINGLY, POWER HAS BEEN GRAVITATING

TO THE WHITE HOUSE, AWAY FROM OUR

TOWNS, COUNTIES, CITIES, AND STATES.

INCREASINGLY, GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN

ENGULFING OUR PRECIOUS RESOURCES.

IF I SAID TO YOU THAT THE CENTRAL

GOVERNMENT WILL TELL YOU WHAT CROPS

TO GROW AND NOT TO GROW, AND WILL

FL

FLY HELICOPTERS OVER YOUR LAND TO

CHECK UP ON YOU — —

IF I TOLD YOU THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

WILL MAKE DECISIONS ABOUT YOUR

LOCAL SCHOOLS AND WHETHER OR NOT

YOUR CHILDREN SHALL PRAY IN THEM — —

IF I SAID TO YOU THAT THE CENTRAL  
GOVERNMENT WILL MAKE VITAL DECISIONS  
ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN WHEN THEY ARE  
YOUNG AND YOUR PARENTS WHEN THEY  
ARE OLD — —

IF I SAID TO YOU THAT THE CENTRAL  
GOVERNMENT WILL TELL YOU HOW MUCH  
TO PAY THOSE YOU HIRE AND HOW MUCH  
TO CHARGE FOR WHAT YOU SELL — —

IF I TOLD YOU ALL THESE THINGS, WHAT  
COUNTRY WOULD YOU THINK I WAS  
TALKING ABOUT?

WHAT IS HAPPENING TO US, ANYWAY?

ARE WE DETERMINED TO RUSH HEADLONG INTO  
THE SWAMPLAND OF CENTRALIZED  
COLLECTIVISM?



DO WE REALLY WANT THE SOCIALIST STATE

THAT HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY

AND HIS AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC

ACTION OFFER TO US?

I SAY, NO. AND I THINK YOU DO TOO.

YOU AND I KNOW THAT THIS NATION OF  
OURS HAS GROWN GREAT AND STRONG  
AND STRONG AND PROSPEROUS THROUGH  
ITS FREE ECONOMY.  
PRIVATE PROPERTY, FREE COMPETITION,  
HARD WORK -- THESE HAVE POWERED  
THE ENGINE OF PROGRESS.

OUR SYSTEM HAS PRESERVED AND PROTECTED

OUR FREEDOM, OUR RIGHT TO DISAGREE,

OUR CREATIVE DIVERSITY, OUR

INDEPENDENCE FROM ARBITRARY

INTERVENTION IN PRIVATE AFFAIRS.

AND IT HAS BEEN A MIGHTY ENGINE OF  
PROGRESS. IT HAS ENABLED THE PEOPLE  
OF THIS COUNTRY TO RISE FROM A SMALL  
BUT INDEPENDENT CITIZENRY SCRATCHING  
OUT A HARD LIVING ON THE MARGINS OF  
A GREAT CONTINENT, TO A MULTITUDE  
SPANNING THE CONTINENT AND LIVING AT A  
LEVEL THAT IS THE ENVY OF THE WORLD.



PROGRESS THROUGH FREEDOM HAS BEEN OUR

HERITAGE. IT MUST REMAIN OUR

GUIDE AND OUR GOAL.

AND YOU AND I KNOW THAT THE IMMEDIATE

TASK BEFORE US IS TO CUT THE FEDERAL

GOVERNMENT DOWN TO SIZE.

WE MUST — AND WE CAN — — STOP THE  
RECKLESS GROWTH IN FEDERAL SPENDING.  
WE MUST TAKE LYNDON'S CREDIT CARD  
AWAY FROM HIM AND KEEP IT OUT OF THE  
GRASP OF HUBERT HORATIO. WE MUST  
USE THE GROWTH OF THE ECONOMY TO  
PROVIDE RELIEF TO OUR CITIZENS FROM  
OPPRESSIVE FEDERAL TAXES.



YOUR INCREASED EARNINGS SHOULD BELONG  
TO YOU, AND BE AVAILABLE FOR YOUR OWN  
USE AND FOR FINANCING ACTIVITIES  
BEST HANDLED AT THE STATE AND LOCAL  
LEVEL.

YOU WILL ALSO AGREE THAT WE MUST GET  
THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY OUT OF  
THE BUSINESS OF RUNNING YOUR LOCAL  
AFFAIRS THROUGH THE MORE THAN A  
HUNDRED GRANT- IN-AID PROGRAMS NOW  
IN EFFECT.

THESE GRANTS-WITH-STRINGS PULLED IN THE  
WHITE HOUSE, MUST BE REPLACED BY  
GRANTS-WITHOUT-STRINGS. THESE WOULD  
GIVE EACH STATE RESOURCES NEEDED FOR  
USE WITHIN THE STATE, FREE OF CONTROL  
BY THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY.

AND WHEN WE DO THESE THINGS, THE PRESIDENT  
AND CONGRESS WILL BE ABLE TO ATTEND  
TO THEIR CRITICAL JOB OF LOOKING AFTER  
FOREIGN RELATIONS, NATIONAL SECURITY  
AND THE GENERAL WELFARE.

WE MUST ABOVE ALL MAKE SURE THAT OUR  
EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IS KEPT FREE FROM  
CONTROL EXERCISED IN WASHINGTON.  
EDUCATION SHOULD, OF COURSE, BE  
ENCOURAGED AND PROMOTED, BUT IT  
SHOULD ALSO BE KEPT UNDER THE  
CONTROL OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS OR  
PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS.



BOTH GOALS CAN BE MET WITH A SYSTEM  
OF FEDERAL TAX CREDITS TO PARENTS  
WHO BEAR THE COSTS OF EDUCATION.  
WHILE ATTENDING TO OUR LIBERTIES AT  
HOME, WE MUST ALSO RECLAIM OUR  
PROUD HERITAGE AS THE LAND OF PROMISE  
FOR THE OPPRESSED AND ENSLAVED THROUGHOUT  
THE WORLD.



LET OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,  
OUR CONSTITUTION, AND OUR LIVING  
EXAMPLE INSPIRE THE DOWN-TRODDEN  
EVERYWHERE.

AND MORE THAN THAT, LET US DISPLAY  
THROUGH DEEDS -- AND NOT THROUGH  
EMPTY SLOGANS-- OUR COMPASSION FOR  
THE VICTIMS OF TYRANNY.

LET US RESOLVE NEVER AGAIN TO SLAM  
THE DOOR ON THAT LAST HOPE OF THE  
OPPRESSED — — THE FREEDOM TO LEAVE  
THE COUNTRY OF OPPRESSION.

LET US RESOLVE NEVER TO PERMIT THE  
SHAME OF ANOTHER BERLIN WALL,  
AND LET US WELCOME TO OUR SHORES THOSE  
VICTIMS OF SOVIET ENSLAVEMENT  
FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO ESCAPE FROM THE  
CAPTIVE NATIONS.

LET US ONCE AGAIN BE THE WARM HAVEN

OF THOSE SEEKING FREEDOM AND EQUAL

OPPORTUNITY.

LET US MAKE TO CRYSTAL CLEAR TO COMMUNIST

TYRANTS THAT WE SHALL NEVER BE

SATISFIED WITH ANYTHING SHORT OF

RESTORATION OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

TO CAPTIVE NATIONS.

WHAT COMMUNIST TYRANTS HAVE STOLEN

FROM PEOPLES AROUND THE GLOBE -- IN

VIOLATION OF SOLEMN AGREEMENTS --

THEY MUST RESTORE TO THOSE PEOPLE.

THIS WE MUST DECLARE, FOR ALL TO HEAR,

IF WE ARE TO KEEP FAITH WITH OUR

HERITAGE OF FREEDOM AND HONOR.

THESE ARE THE GUIDEPPOSTS THAT MARK THE  
WAY TO PROGRESS THROUGH FREEDOM.

YOU MAY CHOOSE THIS WAY, OR YOU MAY  
CHOOSE THE OTHER ONE OPEN TO YOU.

THE OTHER IS THE WAY OF THE MAN WHO WOULD  
BE THE GREAT LEADER OF HIS OWN

“GREAT SOCIETY.”



HE OPENS UP HIS ARMS AND SAYS. "BRING  
YOUR TROUBLES TO ME. I WILL TAKE  
CARE OF THEM FOR YOU."

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

YOU WANT NO RESPONSIBILITIES. HE

PROMISES HE'LL DO EVERYTHING FOR

YOU.

YOU WANT NO WORRIES. HE PROMISES

HE'LL WORRY FOR YOU.

RELAX AND DON'T WORRY. THE GREAT LEADER  
AND HIS CURIOUS CREW WILL DO FOR YOU  
ALL THOSE THINGS YOU FIND UNPLEASANT  
TO DO FOR YOURSELVES. AND ALL HE  
ASKS IS THAT YOU GIVE HIM MORE AND  
MORE POWER OVER YOUR LIVES -- MORE  
AND MORE WITHOUT END.

NEVER MIND THE WISE STATESMAN WHO ONCE

WARNED US. "POWER CORRUPTS, AND

ABSOLUTE POWER CORRUPTS ABSOLUTELY."

THAT'S OLD FASHIONED. THAT WAS

MEANT FOR ANOTHER AGE. THIS IS THE

MODERN WORLD, A WORLD THAT YOU

AND YOU-- AND YOU-- ARE TOO WEAK OR

TOO DUMB TO COPE WITH.

IT'S A GREAT LEADER YOU NEED -- A LEADER  
WHO IS MORE CLEVER THAN YOU ARE,  
AND STRONGER BY FAR. PUT ALL THE  
POWER IN HIS HANDS, AND HE WILL  
GIVE YOU "TRUE" FREEDOM -- WHICH  
THE OLD FASHIONED CALL SLAVERY.

AND THEN YOU WON'T NEED TO BE CONCERNED

ABOUT YOUR OPPRESSED BRETHREN

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD.

IS THIS ALL A FANTASTIC NIGHTMARE?

THINK ABOUT IT A MINUTE.

YOU HAVE A CHOICE TO MAKE. WHICH WAY

WILL YOU CHOOSE?