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Office of the Vice President
(Louisville, Kentucky)

REMARKS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
AT THE
GOP LINCOLN DAY DINNER
LOUISVILLE GARDENS
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

(AT 8:55 P.M. EST)

Reverend Pieper, I want to express my appreciation for that beautiful invocation and the reference to gratitude and humility. It is a wonderful and fortunate position we as a people find ourselves in.

We are gathered here in the memory of a great leader, Lincoln, who was born in this wonderful State, and we can't help but feel that sense of gratitude and humility, plus the sense of responsibility to carry on the unique traditions of this country to see that they are perpetuated and available to our coming generations.

Joe, I would like to thank you very much for those generous remarks. They are appreciated. In the spirit of what the Father said, we all have as free citizens in this unique land the responsibility, each of us in our own way, to do what we can to express that appreciation and to further these unique opportunities.

I must say as I listened to Jack Will, and I have the privilege of sitting next to his wonderful wife, Marlene, that the feeling that is here is the vitality of our country.

I am sure Jack and the others who are here in the leadership positions of the party, they don't have to do this. They do it because of a deep sense of love of country, of patriotism, of belief in the party, belief in the fundamental values that have made this country great, and the desire to see those values preserved.

I couldn't help but think as Jack was talking about the wonderful qualities of leadership that he has in recognizing those who are working with him, his sensitivity and understanding of their contributions. And this is what we need in America to preserve the values for our coming generations.

So I would just like to thank you, Jack, for inviting me here tonight and to express my appreciation to you and to all of your associates.

I have to say very frankly that to have the privilege and the pleasure and honor of sitting on this desk with a man I love and admire is a real thrill. I didn't know he was going to be here. I didn't know he was going to be back in this country. But John Sherman Cooper is one of those uniquely great Americans who has given his life for

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his country.

(Applause.)

He symbolizes to me all that is good, all that is strong, and he has integrity, has vision, all of the qualities that we think about the greatest historic leaders who have made this country what it is.

He inspires each and every one of us to do a little bit better and a little bit more for our country when we see him carrying on as he does, representing you as constituents first in the Senate of the United States and now our great country in foreign lands. And I must say that the admiration, the affection, and the respect with which he is held in the Senate of the United States is unique. So thank you, John.

(Applause.)

I would like to thank Gene Snyder for his presence here this evening.

(Laughter.)

Don't laugh. We have cynical press down here. You don't realize the breadth of the philosophical concepts of the Republican Party. And if you don't believe it, you ought to come to New York State and see our two Senators, Senator Javits and Senator Buckley, ladies and gentlemen. Our arms are stretched way out on both sides.

(Applause.)

As I said this afternoon, it is a small party, but there are those who love it. And, ladies and gentlemen, we have got to grow. The only way we can grow is to embrace people with different points of view, with the dynamism that has made this country what it is today.

Democracy is based on freedom, the freedom of expression and the right to have your own opinions and to express them. Then when the majority has spoken, then we have unity, and that is the strength of the Republican Party.

(Applause.)

I have had the pleasure of being with four wonderful people today at various stops: your great leader of the Senate here, Clyde; Ed; Nelda; and your very distinguished, much beloved, outstanding Governor, Louie Nunn.

(Applause.)

I had the privilege of serving with Louie in the outstanding job that he did. I have tremendous respect for him and what he did as Governor and what he is doing now to help strengthen the party.

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And just as we believe in the two-party system, so we believe in the diversity within our own party. And we have got to have dynamism, ladies and gentlemen. He is helping us do that.

(Applause.)

I can't imagine a more inspiring place to have the privilege of giving a Lincoln Day address than here in Kentucky, the land of Lincoln's birth.

I have to say, ladies and gentlemen, that as a child I was a great admirer and always have been since. In fact, my brother and I were so thrilled with Lincoln and his life that at the age of about 16, 17 we built a log cabin in the woods of our own, trying to follow a little bit in his footsteps.

Then we did an experiment which I am sure not many of you have done. I read a great deal about Lincoln and read about how he used birch bark, heated it in a kettle, it puts off a gas, you light that, and that is the way he studied.

We tried it. It works. I don't think there are many people -- maybe there are -- in this room who did it, but at least we did it.

I want to tell you his life, his sayings, his values, have been a fantastic influence in the lives of millions of young people in this country, as well as an inspiration to the Nation as a whole.

I can't imagine a State whose people reflect the qualities and the character which we associate with Lincoln more than Kentuckians, that enduring pioneer spirit, that self-reliance and willingness to work hard for what you believe in, that frontier outlook which values the strength of the individual while, at the same time, expressing deep compassion for one's neighbor.

In our history Lincoln's name is forever linked with freedom, particularly human freedom -- to every individual's right to equality of opportunity.

Tonight I want to speak about another freedom which Lincoln valued, along with political freedom, and that is economic freedom, for we cannot have one without the other.

As Lincoln wisely put it: "The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities." And to continue the quote: "In all that people can do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere."

(Applause.)

In saying this, Lincoln was echoing a belief that goes back to the very beginning, to our founding fathers.

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If we reread the Federalist Papers, they speak proudly of -- and again I quote -- "the spirit of enterprise of our people."

Our forefathers regarded the economic vitality and imagination of their countrymen, in their words, as "an inexhaustible mine of national wealth." And by using that native energy, ingenuity, and imagination with wisdom, the founding fathers believed that the United States could -- again in their words -- become "the admiration and envy of the world." How right they were. Given both political and economic freedom, America released an unprecedented burst of individual initiative and creativity.

Well before our 200th anniversary, we had indeed achieved a standard of living for our people beyond anybody's imagination that could be achieved in human history. Yet, now, ironically, as we approach our third century, we find ourselves moving in the opposite direction.

More and more power has shifted from the individual to government. More and more of that power has accumulated not in the hands of elected local, State or even Federal officials, but in the hands of a massive, unelected, ongoing Federal bureaucracy. More and more controls are heaped on the businessman, until the entrepreneurial spirit is strangled by red tape.

Over 100,000 people are employed by the Federal Government to do nothing but write and rewrite and review and enforce some type of regulations over the States, over the individuals, and over American enterprise. Today the government buries American businessmen under some 5,000 different Federal forms.

In order to grow and generate jobs, industry needs a dependable business environment, a framework of laws, where it can carry out intelligent long-range planning with security, with the knowledge that if an investment is made within the rules of the game, that they have a chance in their estimate and willingness to make the risk to make a return to the profit. But the current regulatory climate of over-control, uncertainty and ever-changing rules is a disincentive to economic expansion.

I happen to be Chairman of a commission which was created by the Congress on productivity in America. The areas which are importantly affecting productivity in this country, as defined by the commission, are three: morale of workers and relation with management, capital formation and technology, and government regulations.

This last has got to be one of the most sensitive areas of concern for us to study as we reach our 200th anniversary and to review and to control as that exists in our country today.

Economic freedom is important not only for job growth and prosperity at home, economic freedom is also imperative if we are to remain strong abroad, so that we can defend and preserve all our precious freedoms.

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Recently I held six forums around the country as part of President Ford's preparation of his domestic program. Everywhere we went the American people delivered a message -- loud, clear and unmistakable. The American people, frankly, ladies and gentlemen -- and you know it -- are fed up with government bureaucracy and red tape.

(Applause.)

I even went to one community where they had established an office of red tape cutting in a local community, a government office. You could go there if you had problems trying to get clearance on some project of some kind.

American businessmen are fed up with Federal controls which shackle competition and stifle initiative. American State and local officials are fed up with Federal programs that have so many strings attached that these officials feel bound hand and foot by Washington.

Governor Dan Evans, who is in his third fourth-year term, is a very close friend of mine, and a man I admire, just as your former Governor. He was talking at the hearings in Los Angeles. He gave two illustrations.

The first one is where they had applied, after a great deal of hard work, for a grant from Washington. A great many people were working on the project.

They sent it to Washington, and got back word, "Sorry, since you prepared the application, we have changed the regulations and they no longer apply." This was a \$7 million application they were making.

Another one he told us about at this hearing is where they had sent to Washington requesting approval of a saving that they had been able to devise of \$1.5 million. They got back word, "Sorry, we have no regulation that covers this saving. Therefore, you can't make it."

So his summary was to this hearing, this was a public hearing -- 6,700 people attending -- this is a very brilliant and dedicated Governor, Republican Governor -- he said, "All we ask is give us less money, give us less controls, and just get off our backs." That was his message to Washington.

(Applause.)

We Republicans understand the function of economic freedom. We understand the self-reliant nature of the American character, the unique potential of the American enterprise system.

We Republicans know that America's strength and America's vitality have been built upon the founding fathers' concept that individual freedom and economic freedom are inseparable. Those people who have abandoned this concept have lost their freedom in their quest for security.

Fortunately, we have a national Administration today, under President Ford, which recognizes the necessity of restoring our strength and vitality through the American enterprise system.

I would like to say, ladies and gentlemen, it has been my privilege to be associated with him now for more than a year. Of course, neither of us were elected. One has to take that into consideration.

(Laughter.)

But the 25th Amendment of the Constitution worked under tragic circumstances that developed a few year ago. So here both of us are.

I had really not known him before, as I say. But I have had a chance to observe him. One of the qualities and characteristics which I admire most in this man, and which in a way is reminiscent of President Lincoln whom we honor today, Abraham Lincoln, is that he tries to find out what is in the best long-term interest of the American people.

When he is satisfied that he has decided what that is, then he takes a stand. He is totally unconcerned about the short-term political advantages of having done something else.

In my opinion, this is what America means.

(Applause.)

This is the approach which has put 2 million 100 thousand Americans back to work since March 1975. He has vetoed more popular programs -- and I am sure your Congressman has supported the vetoes -- that were big spending programs.

(Laughter.)

And I want to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, it takes courage to vote against things that are popular. If you will forgive me, and this is not in my text so I am a little off base here, but if you will forgive me for saying so, people criticize New York City for being in financial trouble. Some maybe are even a little sort of pleased about it. They are not too crazy about New York anyhow. I found that out a long time ago.

(Laughter.)

I would like to say to you, ladies and gentlemen, that the Congress of the United States has done exactly what New York City has done, only they have done it in spades. They have got a \$70 billion deficit this year. And the only difference is they can print the money and New York City can't.

(Applause.)

So don't let anyone tell you about New York. I want to tell you there are a lot of fellows in Congress and a lot of lovely ladies in Congress who are talking about New

York, but they ought to know they are subject to the same pressure groups. They respond in the same way.

We all like to do things for people. That is part of our nature as a Nation. We are generous by nature. But, ladies and gentlemen, we have overpromised now for 15 years and underdelivered. We have overloaded the government structure to a point where it is breaking down.

We have got to get back to the fundamentals. That is what the President is trying to do. It is not popular, but he is doing it, and it is working.

(Applause.)

He knows that people don't want dead-end jobs that are given to them by the government for some short-term period. But they want jobs in American private enterprise which has got a future.

He has gotten 2 million 100 thousand back to work already. And if we just stick with the policies of encouraging enterprise jobs to grow, we will get the 2.5 million jobs additional to get back to the normal level of employment. And then we need between 1.6 million and 2 million jobs additional every year. And this can only come from economic growth.

I would like to say there are a lot of people around who are talking about a no-growth economy. They are the ones who have got it already. It is like being on the ship and telling them, "Pull up the ladder, mates. We are aboard. To hell with the rest of them." Excuse me, Father; to heck with the rest of them.

(Laughter.)

But it is not America. This is America who have faith and confidence in the future and want to grow and go places and do things. We have got to get that spirit back; confidence in ourselves and faith in the future -- a vision.

The Bible says, "Without vision, ye shall perish." Isn't that right? I believe that. We have got to get that vision.

(Applause.)

President Ford in his State of the Union message has wisely called for capital incentives that will let our economy expand and job opportunities grow, a reduction of excessive government regulation and red tape, and far less Federal interference with your State and local governments by consolidating some of those 1,007 categorical grants.

Those are the ones that killed us in New York, because you have to enrich and improve your programs in order to get the money. If you don't take the money, you are

criticized politically. If you do take the money, you have to enrich and improve the programs. Our programs were too enriched and improved before we started. So we had to spend more.

So what happened. We had to keep spending more, and then we had to raise more taxes. The higher our benefits were, more people came into our State. The more people who came under the benefits, the more industry went out and came down here.

I want to tell you, it has been a rough situation.

(Laughter and Applause.)

We are balkanizing our country, ladies and gentlemen.

I didn't mean to get off on that personal note. But it is true.

I believe that this year the wishes of the American people are particularly in tune with the philosophy of the Republican Party. Nevertheless, in terms of enrollment, we are still a minority party. And so we have a monumental task of persuasion before us.

I don't have to tell Kentucky Republicans what it means to be in the minority. And believe me, you don't have to tell a New Yorker like me either, because New York Republicans face a million-vote Democratic advantage on election day. But minority or not, we Republicans have won, and we do win in local and State and national elections. There is a message in that.

But what we Republicans have to remember is this: When we offer the people leadership with broad-based appeal, when we welcome a wide spectrum of voters in our party, when we show deep human concern for the problems of Americans from all races, all creeds and from all walks of life, then we can put together winning majorities. The Republicans can elect their representatives and have victories, ladies and gentlemen.

(Applause.)

We have to remember that politics is not an end in itself. The end is good government. Therefore, good government is the best politics. That is why I salute your Governor, because he gave you good government. That is what the people want.

(Applause.)

We are going to change that law so you won't have to drop out after one term. You can stay there four rounds.

(Applause.)

Our candidates and our programs must be valid, not only for Republican voters but for Independents and

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independent-minded Democrats as well. It is nice to see some discerning Democrats here this evening, too.

This is how we have won in the past. This is how we will win, all across the Nation, in 1976.

Ladies and gentlemen, sure we face tough problems. But let me tell you, I am optimistic about the future of our party and I am optimistic about the future of our country.

This is the most exciting time to live right now. The opportunities of the future have never been greater if we just have the desire and vision and faith just to grasp them.

With the creative genius of science and technology and the productive power of our free people and the American enterprise system, we can lead the world in achieving economic growth and rising standards of living for all.

We can make this a period of opportunity to help shape the future -- not only for our Nation but for all mankind. We can continue to be what Lincoln knew we were nearly 114 years ago when he described the United States of America as "the last, best hope of earth."

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

(Applause.)

END (AT 9:20 P.M. EST)