The original documents are located in Box D21, folder "Lincoln Day Dinner, Alameda, CA, February 10, 1967" of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. The Council donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.



GERALD R. FORD

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY AT 6 P.M. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1967



EXCERPTS FROM A LINCOLN DAY DINNER SPEECH BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., at ALAMEDA, CALIF.

We must provide federal dollar help to spark these efforts. But we must not smother those efforts with layer after layer of bureaucratic fat. We must not force our governors, mayors, and city officials to grope through a bureaucratic maze in the hope of finding a pot of gold at the end of the twisting tunnel.

Do I exaggerate in speaking of a bureaucratic maze when I describe the federal system of traditional grants-in-aid? Consider this if you will. There now are 170 federal aid programs. They draw their dollars from more than 400 separate appropriations and are administered by more than 21 departments and agencies. There are some 150 major bureaus and offices in Washington alone, and more than 400 other offices "in the field."

This is why federal revenue-sharing appears to be the only road to fiscal balance and fiscal sanity in this so-called Great Society.

* * *

The Republican Party has been derided in a variety of words and phrases in recent years. We have been called negative, stick-in-the mud, neanderthal. I submit that federal revenue-sharing is anything but negative. It is at once innovative and yet conservative.

It is innovative because it represents a sharp departure from the status quo, the traditional grant-in-aid. It is conservative because it uses an approach central to the American system of government--reliance on state and local governments to

solve problems that are primarily state and local.

It is new because for some 35 years we have been pursuing solutions through grants-in-aid. The grant-in-aid approach is the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier and the Great Society way. I say that if it ever worked, it no longer does.

* * *

Lincoln once told his supporters: "Revolutionize through the ballot box, and restore the government once more to the affections and hearts of men by making it express, as it was intended to do, the highest spirit of justice and liberty."

We had a revolution at the ballot box last November 8th. There had to be a revolution for us to make a net gain of 47 seats in the House of Representatives.

* * *

We know that the grant-in-aid system is collapsing of its own weight and complexity. Now we are joined in this view by columnist Walter Lippmann, a commentator and thinker revered by most liberals.

Mr. Lippmann reports "wide revulsion against the expanding and heavy-handed role played by the federal government." He says "the complex of welfare measures has become quite unmanageable." "It seems probable," he declares, "that some scheme for sharing federal revenues with the states will be adopted, if not in this session of Congress, then later on."

Republicans have taken the lead on federal revenue-sharing. Lincoln said:
"Let none falter who thinks he is right." I think we are right.

We have become a party of reform and we must not falter. We must persevere in the right, continue firm in our determination to restore to our state and local governments their proper role in the American system.

Rhetoric aside, this is the way to make our system work, to make it work for all the people, to do for them what needs doing and what they cannot do so well for themselves.



GERALD R. FORD

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY AT 6 P.M. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1967

EXCERPTS FROM A LINCOLN DAY DINNER SPEECH BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., at ALAMEDA, CALIF.

We must provide federal dollar help to spark these efforts. But we must not smother those efforts with layer after layer of bureaucratic fat. We must not force our governors, mayors, and city officials to grope through a bureaucratic maze in the hope of finding a pot of gold at the end of the twisting tunnel.

Do I exaggerate in speaking of a bureaucratic maze when I describe the federal system of traditional grants-in-aid? Consider this if you will. There now are 170 federal aid programs. They draw their dollars from more than 400 separate appropriations and are administered by more than 21 departments and agencies. There are some 150 major bureaus and offices in Washington alone, and more than 400 other offices "in the field."

This is why federal revenue-sharing appears to be the only road to fiscal balance and fiscal sanity in this so-called Great Society.

* * *

The Republican Party has been derided in a variety of words and phrases in recent years. We have been called negative, stick-in-the mud, neanderthal. I submit that federal revenue-sharing is anything but negative. It is at once innovative and yet conservative.

It is innovative because it represents a sharp departure from the status quo, the traditional grant-in-aid. It is conservative because it uses an approach central to the American system of government--reliance on state and local governments to

solve problems that are primarily state and local.

It is new because for some 35 years we have been pursuing solutions through grants-in-aid. The grant-in-aid approach is the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier and the Great Society way. I say that if it ever worked, it no longer does.

* * *

Lincoln once told his supporters: "Revolutionize through the ballot box, and restore the government once more to the affections and hearts of men by making it express, as it was intended to do, the highest spirit of justice and liberty."

We had a revolution at the ballot box last November 8th. There had to be a revolution for us to make a net gain of 47 seats in the House of Representatives.

* * *

We know that the grant-in-aid system is collapsing of its own weight and complexity. Now we are joined in this view by columnist Walter Lippmann, a commentator and thinker revered by most liberals.

Mr. Lippmann reports "wide revulsion against the expanding and heavy-handed role played by the federal government." He says "the complex of welfare measures has become quite unmanageable." "It seems probable," he declares, "that some scheme for sharing federal revenues with the states will be adopted, if not in this session of Congress, then later on."

Republicans have taken the lead on federal revenue-sharing. Lincoln said:
"Let none falter who thinks he is right." I think we are right.

We have become a party of reform and we must not falter. We must persevere in the right, continue firm in our determination to restore to our state and local governments their proper role in the American system.

Rhetoric aside, this is the way to make our system work, to make it work for all the people, to do for them what needs doing and what they cannot do so well for themselves.

AN ADDRESS FOR LINCOLN DAY, 1967

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THIS IS A GREAT OCCASION. EVERY LINCOLN DAY DINNER IS A GREAT OCCASION BECAUSE IT AGAIN PROMPTS US TO DRAW UPON THE WISDOM OF ONE OF THE GREATEST MEN THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN, OUR OWN ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WHEN I SAY "OUR OWN ABRAHAM LINCOLN," I AM NOT SIMPLY CLAIMING HIM FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. LINCOLN WAS, OF COURSE, A REPUBLICAN. BUT HE BELONGED TO ALL THE PEOPLE. AND HE WAS A MAN FOR ALL AGES. THAT IS THE SOURCE OF HIS GREATNESS. HE WAS TIMELESS; HE WAS HONEST; HE WAS...TO USE HIS OWN PHRASE...OF THE PEOPLE.

THIS NEED NOT BE AN ENTIRELY SOBER OCCASION. LINCOLN WAS A GREAT WIT. HE LOVED A GOOD JOKE, AND HE HIMSELF

HAD A FINE FACILITY FOR TURNING A PHRASE.

HE WAS AT HIS WISEST AND WITTIEST, FOR INSTANCE, WHEN HE SAID: "WOMAN IS MAN'S BEST PRESENT FROM HIS MAKER."

I HEREWITH DEDICATE THAT QUOTATION TO ALL THE WOMEN IN THIS ROOM AND ALL OF THE WOMEN OF AMERICA, WHEREVER THEY MAY BE...GOD BLESS THEM.

REPEAT THIS NOW BECAUSE THE HOUSE DEMOCRATIC LEADER, CARL

ALBERT OF OKLAHOMA, REMARKED LAST WEEK ON THE FLOOR OF THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES THAT "I KNOW IN MY OWN HEART THAT

IF ABRAHAM LINCOLN WERE LIVING TODAY, HE WOULD BE A DEMOCRAT."

NOW, CARL ALBERT IS A GOOD FRIEND OF MINE AND I ADMIRE AND RESPECT HIM. BUT YOU AND I ALSO KNOW THAT CARL'S STATEMENT ABOUT LINCOLN IS NOTHING BUT POLITICAL FLUFF.

I DO HAVE THIS HOPEFUL COMMENT TO MAKE ABOUT MR. ALBERT.

IF HE WAS SAYING THAT HE AGREES WITH LINCOLN'S POLITICAL

PHILOSOPHY SO NEATLY EXPRESSED IN HIS SPEECHES, THEN I THINK

CARL ALBERT IS IN THE WRONG PARTY.

THERE ARE MANY DEMOCRATS WHO SUBSCRIBE TO LINCOLN'S BASIC BELIEFS BUT UNFORTUNATELY HAVE NEGLECTED TO CARRY THEM OUT.

LINCOLN APTLY EXPRESSED A FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF OUR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND NOT ONLY PERSONAL CREDO WHEN HE SAID: "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 DO SO WELL FOR THEMSELVES, IN THEIR SEPARATE AND INDIVIDUAL CAPACITIES. IN ALL THAT THE PEOPLE CAN INDIVIDUALLY DO AS WELL FOR THEMSELVES,

GOVERNMENT OUGHT NOT TO INTERFERE."

DOES THIS MEAN THAT LINCOLN WAS AN EXPONENT OF LAISSEZ FAIRE GOVERNMENT...THE IDEA THAT THAT GOVERNMENT IS BEST WHICH GOVERNS LEAST? NOT AT ALL. THAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT, IN THE EXTREME, COULD RESULT IN VIRTUAL ANARCHY.

BUT I THINK LINCOLN WOULD BE APPALLED BY THE PRESENT PROFUSION AND CONFUSION OF GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS, THE OVER-LAPPING AND CHAOS IN THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY, AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS INTRUDED INTO THE PERSONAL LIVES OF EVERY AMERICAN.

CARL ALBERT SAID THAT "IF ABRAHAM LINCOLN WERE LIVING TODAY, HE WOULD BE A DEMOCRAT."

I SAY THAT IF LINCOLN WERE LIVING TODAY HE WOULD TURN OVER IN HIS GRAVE.

I BELIEVE MOST AMERICANS, INCLUDING MILLIONS WHO CALL THEMSELVES DEMOCRATS, AGREE WITH LINCOLN'S WARNING AGAINST GOVERNMENT WHICH BECOMES SO BIG AS TO BECOME UNMANAGEABLE AND AN UNNECESSARY AND UNDESTRABLE BURDEN FOR OUR CITIZENS.

WE HAVE STRIKING PROOF OF THIS TODAY. THE PROOF IS
CONTAINED IN THE TREMENDOUSLY FAVORABLE RESPONSE GENERATED
BY THE IDEA OF FEDERAL TAX-SHARING. THIS IS A PROPOSAL ON
WHICH REPUBLICANS HAVE TAKEN THE LEAD. IT FITS WITH REPUBLICAN PHILOSOPHY. IT WOULD GIVE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS
A SLICE OF FEDERAL INCOME TAX REVENUE WITHOUT FEDERAL STRINGS.

A RECENT GALLUP POLL INDICATED THAT <u>SEVEN</u> OUT OF <u>TEN</u>
ADULT AMERICANS--DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS AS WELL AS
REPUBLICANS--FAVOR FEDERAL REVENUE-SHARING. ANOTHER WAY
OF PUTTING IT IS THAT AMERICANS ARE BEGINNING ONCE MORE TO

RECOGNIZE THAT MANY OF THEIR PROBLEMS ARE BEST SOLVED AT THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVELS.

THE LAST ELECTION SHOWED THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE AWAKENING TO THIS GREAT AND GROWING TRUTH--THAT WE CAN ACHIEVE TRUE GREATNESS AS A NATION ONLY BY MEETING OUR RESPONSIBILITIES FULLY AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT, BY FULLY UTILIZING THE VISION AND ABILITIES OF ALL OUR CITIZENS, BY ATTACKING STATE AND LOCAL PROBLEMS WITH THE TALENTS OF PEOPLE CLOSEST TO THEM.

WE NEED MASSIVE STATE AND LOCAL EFFORTS TO CURE OUR URBAN AND SUBURBAN ILLS. WE MUST PROVIDE FEDERAL DOLLAR HELP TO SPARK THESE EFFORTS. BUT WE MUST NOT SMOTHER THOSE EFFORTS WITH LAYER AFTER LAYER OF BUREAUCRATIC FAT. WE MUST NOT FORCE OUR GOVERNORS, MAYORS AND CITY OFFICIALS

TO GROPE THROUGH A BUREAUCRATIC MAZE IN THE HOPE OF FINDING A POT OF GOLD AT THE END OF THE TWISTING TUNNEL.

WHEN I DESCRIBE THE FEDERAL SYSTEM OF GRANTS-IN-AID? CONSIDER THIS IF YOU WILL. THERE NOW ARE 170 FEDERAL AID PROGRAMS. THEY DRAW THEIR DOLLARS FROM MORE THAN 400 SEPARATE APPROPRIATIONS AND ARE ADMINISTERED BY MORE THAN 21 DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES. THERE ARE SOME 150 MAJOR BUREAUS AND OFFICES IN WASHINGTON ALONE, AND MORE THAN 400 OTHER OFFICES "IN THE FIELD."

THIS IS WHY FEDERAL REVENUE-SHARING APPEARS TO BE THE ONLY ROAD TO FISCAL BALANCE AND FISCAL SANITY IN THIS SO-CALLED GREAT SOCIETY.

EXPONENTS OF FEDERAL GRANTS-IN-AID ARGUE THAT THE

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS TO DICTATE SOLUTIONS BECAUSE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS HAVE SHIRKED THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES. STATE AND LOCAL LEADERS CONTEND THEY SIMPLY ARE SHORT OF MONEY TO DO THE JOB PROPERLY.

LET'S JOIN THE ISSUE. LET'S GIVE THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES A GOODLY PORTION OF FEDERAL INCOME TAX REVENUE WITH A CLEAR CHALLENGE TO MAKE GOOD ON THEIR PROBLEM-SOLVING PROMISES.

I THINK THIS IS THE MAIN THRUST OF THE MANDATE EXPRESSED BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AT THE POLLS LAST NOVEMBER 8TH.

AS ABRAHAM LINCOLN PUT IT: "THE MOST RELIABLE INDICATION OF PUBLIC PURPOSE IN THIS COUNTRY IS DERIVED THROUGH OUR POPULAR ELECTIONS."

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS BEEN DERIDED IN A VARIETY OF WORDS AND PHRASES IN RECENT YEARS. WE HAVE BEEN CALLED NEGATIVE, STICK-IN-THE-MUD, NEANDERTHAL.

I SUBMIT THAT FEDERAL REVENUE-SHARING IS ANYTHING BUT NEGATIVE. IT IS <u>INNOVATIVE</u>, YET <u>CONSERVATIVE</u>.

IT IS NEW BECAUSE IT REPRESENTS A SHARP DEPARTURE FROM THE STATUS QUO, THE TRADITIONAL GRANT-IN-AID SYSTEM. IT IS CONSERVATIVE BECAUSE IT USES AN APPROACH CENTRAL TO THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT--RELIANCE ON LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS FOR THE HANDLING OF PROBLEMS THAT ARE PRIMARILY STATE AND LOCAL.

IT IS INNOVATIVE BECAUSE FOR SOME 35 YEARS WE HAVE BEEN PURSUING SOLUTIONS THROUGH GRANTS-IN-AID. THE GRANT-IN-AID APPROACH IS THE NEW DEAL, THE FAIR DEAL, THE NEW FRONTIER,

THE GREAT SOCIETY WAY. I SAY THAT IF IT EVER WORKED IT NO LONGER DOES.

WE MUST MOVE IN A <u>NEW DIRECTION</u> IF WE ARE AGAIN TO PLACE THIS NATION ON THE PATH TO GREATNESS. I BELIEVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE PLACED THEIR FEET ON THAT PATH IN THE ELECTIONS OF LAST NOVEMBER 8TH.

LINCOLN DESCRIBED THE POPULAR CALL FOR CHANGE IN THESE WORDS: "REVOLUTIONIZE THROUGH THE BALLOT BOX, AND RESTORE THE GOVERNMENT ONCE MORE TO THE AFFECTIONS AND HEARTS OF MEN BY MAKING IT EXPRESS, AS IT WAS INTENDED TO DO, THE HIGHEST SPIRIT OF JUSTICE AND LIBERTY."

WE HAD A REVOLUTION AT THE BALLOT BOX LAST NOVEMBER 8TH.

THERE HAD TO BE A REVOLUTION FOR US TO MAKE A NET GAIN OF

47 SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. OF COURSE,

PART OF THAT REVOLUTION SPRANG FROM THE FACT THAT THE PEOPLE REALIZED ALL TOO WELL THAT HE THAT DANCES MUST ALWAYS PAY THE FIDDLER. LINCOLN DID NOT COIN THAT EXPRESSION BUT, POLITICIAN THAT HE WAS, HE MADE GOOD USE OF IT.

LINCOLN COULD HAVE BEEN SPEAKING OF THE GREAT SOCIETY,
IN FACT, WHEN HE SAID: "IF ANY GENTLEMEN WHOSE MONEY IS
A BURDEN TO THEM CHOOSE TO LEAD OFF A DANCE, I AM DECIDEDLY
OPPOSED TO THE PEOPLE'S MONEY BEING USED TO PAY THE FIDDLER."

WE KNOW THAT THE GRANT-IN-AID SYSTEM IS COLLAPSING OF ITS OWN WEIGHT AND COMPLEXITY.

NOW WE ARE JOINED BY COLUMNIST WALTER LIPPMANN, A COMMENTATOR AND THINKER REVERED BY MOST LIBERALS.

IN A COLUMN APPEARING NATIONWIDE LAST JANUARY 25,

MR. LIPPMANN CITES MY DESCRIPTION OF THE 21 LAYERS OF FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY RUNNING THE GRANT PROGRAMS AS A NEARLY IMPENETRABLE "TANGLED THICKET."

HE THEN SAYS: "THE COMPLEX OF WELFARE MEASURES HAS
BECOME QUITE UNMANAGEABLE. IT IS HARD TO BELIEVE THAT THIS
ADMINISTRATIVE THICKET CAN BE PRUNED ITEM BY ITEM. AS A
RESULT THERE IS A MOUNTING DEMAND FOR SOME KIND OF DRASTIC
CHANGE--FOR A REFORM WHICH WILL REDUCE THE ROLE OF WASHINGTON
IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CIVILIAN AFFAIRS OF THIS COUNTRY!

MR. LIPPMANN FURTHER STATES: "THERE IS A WIDE REVULSION AGAINST THE EXPANDING AND HEAVY-HANDED ROLE PLAYED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. ...IT SEEMS PROBABLE THAT SOME SCHEME FOR SHARING FEDERAL REVENUES WITH THE STATES WILL BE ADOPTED, IF NOT IN THIS SESSION OF CONGRESS THEN LATER ON.

IT WILL DO MUCH TO REMEDY THE IMBALANCE ARISING FROM THE FISCAL POWER OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE COMPARATIVE WEAKNESS OF THE STATE GOVERNMENTS."

LINCOLN SAID: "LET NONE FALTER WHO THINKS HE IS RIGHT."

AND WE MUST NOT FALTER. WE MUST PERSEVERE IN THE RIGHT, CONTINUE FIRM IN OUR DETERMINATION TO RESTORE TO OUR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS THEIR PROPER ROLE IN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

RHETORIC ASIDE, THIS IS THE WAY TO MAKE OUR SYSTEM WORK,
TO MAKE IT WORK FOR ALL THE PEOPLE, TO DO FOR THEM WHAT
NEEDS DOING AND WHAT THEY CANNOT DO FOR THEMSELVES.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS A ROLE IN OUR LIVES, BUT IT SHOULD LIMIT ITS THRUST TO THOSE PROBLEMS AND PROGRAMS

WHICH ARE TRULY NATIONAL IN CHARACTER AND WHICH DEMAND FEDERAL DIRECTION.

WE ARE PAYING TRIBUTE TONIGHT TO A GREAT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THE 16TH PRESIDENT, A GREAT REPUBLICAN, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

IT IS PARTICULARLY APPROPRIATE THAT WE DO SO AT THIS TIME. BECAUSE NOW, JUST AS IN 1860 WHEN LINCOLN WAS NOMINATED AND ELECTED, THIS UNION OF STATES IS IN CRISIS. AND NOW, JUST AS IN THE CRISIS YEAR OF 1860, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OFFERS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE A WAY OUT OF THE WILDERNESS OF DISUNITY, DISCORD, DISORDER AND MORAL DECAY WE ARE LOST IN AS A NATION.

I FIRMLY BELIEVE A REPUBLICAN WILL BE ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1968. I BELIEVE WE HAVE AN

OPPORTUNITY TO GAIN CONTROL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND TO STRENGTHEN OUR FORCES IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

IN MY VIEW, THE 1966 ELECTIONS MARKED A TURNING POINT IN AMERICAN POLITICAL HISTORY, AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS NO PLACE TO GO BUT FORWARD. WE HAVE THE RIGHT ANSWERS TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE DYNAMIC SIXTIES AND SEVENTIES, AND THE PEOPLE SENSED THAT IN NOVEMBER, 1966.

WE MADE THE COMEBACK OF THE YEAR IN 1966, BECAUSE WE ARE THE PARTY OF INDIVIDUALISM, OPPORTUNITY AND TRUTH. AND BECAUSE WE ARE THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE.

LINCOLN SAID--AND WE SUBSCRIBE TO HIS WORDS:

"I BELIEVE EACH INDIVIDUAL IS NATURALLY ENTITLED TO DO AS HE PLEASES WITH HIMSELF AND THE FRUITS OF HIS LABOR, SO

FAR AS IT IN NO WISE INTERFERES WITH ANY OTHER MEN'S RIGHTS."

AT ANOTHER TIME HE STATED, AND THIS IS BASIC REPUBLICAN PHILOSOPHY:

"THAT MEN WHO ARE INDUSTRIOUS AND SOBER AND HONEST IN THE PURSUIT OF THEIR OWN INTERESTS SHOULD AFTER A WHILE ACCUMULATE PROPERTY AND AFTER THAT SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO ENJOY IT IN PEACE IS RIGHT."

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE INTRINSICALLY A MORAL PEOPLE AND HAVE A DEEP DEVOTION TO THE TRUTH. THIS CREATES DIFFICULTIES FOR A POLITICAL PARTY WHICH SEEKS TO DECEIVE THEM. LINCOLN PUT IT THIS WAY: "THE PEOPLE ARE ALWAYS MUCH NEARER THE TRUTH THAN POLITICIANS SUPPOSE."

THERE IS ANOTHER FAMOUS LINCOLN STATEMENT ABOUT FOOLING

THE PEOPLE, BUT I WILL NOT QUOTE IT HERE FOR FEAR OF BEING ACCUSED OF PETTY PARTISANSHIP.

WE WERE, IN FACT, RECENTLY CHARGED WITH SUCH MOTIVES.

MY REPLY WAS THAT IT IS THE DUTY OF THE LOYAL OPPOSITION

TO OPPOSE THE PRESIDENT WHEN WE BELIEVE HE IS WRONG.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN NEVER QUARRELED WITH THAT POINT OF VIEW.

IN TAKING THE FIELD AGAINST WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE MISTAKEN POLICIES, WE NEED ONLY BE MINDFUL OF LINCOLN'S CALL TO DUTY: "LET US HAVE FAITH THAT RIGHT MAKES MIGHT, AND IN THAT FAITH LET US TO THE END DARE TO DO OUR DUTY AS WE UNDERSTAND IT."

WE WILL CONSTANTLY STRIVE FOR THE RIGHT AND STAND UP FOR WHAT WE BELIEVE, KNOWING THAT "IF WE DO RIGHT, GOD WILL BE WITH US, AND IF GOD IS WITH US, WE CANNOT FAIL." THANK YOU.

AN ADDRESS FOR LINCOLN DAY, 1967

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THIS IS A GREAT OCCASION. EVERY LINCOLN DAY DINNER IS A GREAT OCCASION BECAUSE IT AGAIN PROMPTS US TO DRAW UPON THE WISDOM OF ONE OF THE GREATEST MEN THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN, OUR OWN ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WHEN I SAY "OUR OWN ABRAHAM LINCOLN," I AM NOT SIMPLY CLAIMING HIM FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. LINCOLN WAS, OF COURSE, A REPUBLICAN. BUT HE BELONGED TO ALL THE PEOPLE. AND HE WAS A MAN FOR ALL AGES. THAT IS THE SOURCE OF HIS GREATNESS. HE WAS TIMELESS; HE WAS HONEST; HE WAS...TO USE HIS OWN PHRASE...OF THE PEOPLE.

THIS NEED NOT BE AN ENTIRELY SOBER OCCASION. LINCOLN WAS A GREAT WIT. HE LOVED A GOOD JOKE, AND HE HIMSELF

HAD A FINE FACILITY FOR TURNING A PHRASE.

HE WAS AT HIS WISEST AND WITTIEST, FOR INSTANCE, WHEN HE SAID: "WOMAN IS MAN'S BEST PRESENT FROM HIS MAKER."

THIS ROOM AND ALL OF THE WOMEN OF AMERICA, WHEREVER THEY
MAY BE...GOD BLESS THEM.

I MENTIONED EARLIER THAT LINCOLN WAS A REPUBLICAN. I
REPEAT THIS NOW BECAUSE THE HOUSE DEMOCRATIC LEADER, CARL
ALBERT OF OKLAHOMA, REMARKED LAST WEEK ON THE FLOOR OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES THAT "I KNOW IN MY OWN HEART THAT
IF ABRAHAM LINCOLN WERE LIVING TODAY, HE WOULD BE A DEMOCRAT."

NOW, CARL ALBERT IS A GOOD FRIEND OF MINE AND I ADMIRE AND RESPECT HIM. BUT YOU AND I ALSO KNOW THAT CARL'S STATEMENT ABOUT LINCOLN IS NOTHING BUT POLITICAL FLUFF.

I DO HAVE THIS HOPEFUL COMMENT TO MAKE ABOUT MR. ALBERT.

IF HE WAS SAYING THAT HE AGREES WITH LINCOLN'S POLITICAL

PHILOSOPHY SO NEATLY EXPRESSED IN HIS SPEECHES, THEN I THINK

CARL ALBERT IS IN THE WRONG PARTY.

THERE ARE MANY DEMOCRATS WHO SUBSCRIBE TO LINCOLN'S BASIC BELIEFS BUT UNFORTUNATELY HAVE NEGLECTED TO CARRY THEM OUT.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND NOT ONLY PERSONAL CREDO WHEN HE SAID:
"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 DO SO WELL FOR THEMSELVES,
IN THEIR SEPARATE AND INDIVIDUAL CAPACITIES. IN ALL THAT
THE PEOPLE CAN INDIVIDUALLY DO AS WELL FOR THEMSELVES,

GOVERNMENT OUGHT NOT TO INTERFERE."

DOES THIS MEAN THAT LINCOLN WAS AN EXPONENT OF LAISSEZ FAIRE GOVERNMENT...THE IDEA THAT THAT GOVERNMENT IS BEST WHICH GOVERNS LEAST? NOT AT ALL. THAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT, IN THE EXTREME, COULD RESULT IN VIRTUAL ANARCHY.

PROFUSION AND CONFUSION OF GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS, THE OVER-LAPPING AND CHAOS IN THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY, AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS INTRUDED INTO THE PERSONAL LIVES OF EVERY AMERICAN.

CARL ALBERT SAID THAT "IF ABRAHAM LINCOLN WERE LIVING TODAY, HE WOULD BE A DEMOCRAT."

I SAY THAT IF LINCOLN WERE LIVING TODAY HE WOULD TURN OVER IN HIS GRAVE.

I BELIEVE MOST AMERICANS, INCLUDING MILLIONS WHO CALL THEMSELVES DEMOCRATS, AGREE WITH LINCOLN'S WARNING AGAINST GOVERNMENT WHICH BECOMES SO BIG AS TO BECOME UNMANAGEABLE AND AN UNNECESSARY AND UNDESTRABLE BURDEN FOR OUR CITIZENS.

WE HAVE STRIKING PROOF OF THIS TODAY. THE PROOF IS CONTAINED IN THE TREMENDOUSLY FAVORABLE RESPONSE GENERATED BY THE IDEA OF FEDERAL TAX-SHARING. THIS IS A PROPOSAL ON WHICH REPUBLICANS HAVE TAKEN THE LEAD. IT FITS WITH REPUBLICAN PHILOSOPHY. IT WOULD GIVE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS A SLICE OF FEDERAL INCOME TAX REVENUE WITHOUT FEDERAL STRINGS.

A RECENT GALLUP POLL INDICATED THAT SEVEN OUT OF TEN
ADULT AMERICANS--DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS AS WELL AS
REPUBLICANS--FAVOR FEDERAL REVENUE-SHARING. ANOTHER WAY
OF PUTTING IT IS THAT AMERICANS ARE BEGINNING ONCE MORE TO

RECOGNIZE THAT MANY OF THEIR PROBLEMS ARE BEST SOLVED AT THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVELS.

THE LAST ELECTION SHOWED THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE AWAKENING TO THIS GREAT AND GROWING TRUTH--THAT WE CAN ACHIEVE TRUE GREATNESS AS A NATION ONLY BY MEETING OUR RESPONSIBILITIES FULLY AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT, BY FULLY UTILIZING THE VISION AND ABILITIES OF ALL OUR CITIZENS, BY ATTACKING STATE AND LOCAL PROBLEMS WITH THE TALENTS OF PEOPLE CLOSEST TO THEM.

WE NEED MASSIVE STATE AND LOCAL EFFORTS TO CURE OUR URBAN AND SUBURBAN ILLS. WE MUST PROVIDE FEDERAL DOLLAR HELP TO SPARK THESE EFFORTS. BUT WE MUST NOT SMOTHER THOSE EFFORTS WITH LAYER AFTER LAYER OF BUREAUCRATIC FAT. WE MUST NOT FORCE OUR GOVERNORS, MAYORS AND CITY OFFICIALS

TO GROPE THROUGH A BUREAUCRATIC MAZE IN THE HOPE OF FINDING A POT OF GOLD AT THE END OF THE TWISTING TUNNEL.

WHEN I DESCRIBE THE FEDERAL SYSTEM OF GRANTS-IN-AID? CONSIDER THIS IF YOU WILL. THERE NOW ARE 170 FEDERAL AID PROGRAMS. THEY DRAW THEIR DOLLARS FROM MORE THAN 400 SEPARATE APPROPRIATIONS AND ARE ADMINISTERED BY MORE THAN 21 DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES. THERE ARE SOME 150 MAJOR BUREAUS AND OFFICES IN WASHINGTON ALONE, AND MORE THAN 400 OTHER OFFICES "IN THE FIELD."

THIS IS WHY FEDERAL REVENUE-SHARING APPEARS TO BE THE ONLY ROAD TO FISCAL BALANCE AND FISCAL SANITY IN THIS SO-CALLED GREAT SOCIETY.

EXPONENTS OF FEDERAL GRANTS-IN-AID ARGUE THAT THE

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS TO DICTATE SOLUTIONS BECAUSE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS HAVE SHIRKED THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES. STATE AND LOCAL LEADERS CONTEND THEY SIMPLY ARE SHORT OF MONEY TO DO THE JOB PROPERLY.

LET'S JOIN THE ISSUE. LET'S GIVE THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES A GOODLY PORTION OF FEDERAL INCOME TAX REVENUE WITH A CLEAR CHALLENGE TO MAKE GOOD ON THEIR PROBLEM-SOLVING PROMISES.

I THINK THIS IS THE MAIN THRUST OF THE MANDATE EXPRESSED BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AT THE POLLS LAST NOVEMBER 8TH.

AS ABRAHAM LINCOLN PUT IT: "THE MOST RELIABLE INDICATION OF PUBLIC PURPOSE IN THIS COUNTRY IS DERIVED THROUGH OUR POPULAR ELECTIONS."

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS BEEN DERIDED IN A VARIETY OF WORDS AND PHRASES IN RECENT YEARS. WE HAVE BEEN CALLED NEGATIVE, STICK-IN-THE-MUD, NEANDERTHAL.

I SUBMIT THAT FEDERAL REVENUE-SHARING IS ANYTHING BUT NEGATIVE. IT IS <u>INNOVATIVE</u>, YET <u>CONSERVATIVE</u>.

IT IS NEW BECAUSE IT REPRESENTS A SHARP DEPARTURE FROM THE STATUS QUO, THE TRADITIONAL GRANT-IN-AID SYSTEM. IT IS CONSERVATIVE BECAUSE IT USES AN APPROACH CENTRAL TO THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT--RELIANCE ON LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS FOR THE HANDLING OF PROBLEMS THAT ARE PRIMARILY STATE AND LOCAL.

IT IS INNOVATIVE BECAUSE FOR SOME 35 YEARS WE HAVE BEEN PURSUING SOLUTIONS THROUGH GRANTS-IN-AID. THE GRANT-IN-AID APPROACH IS THE NEW DEAL, THE FAIR DEAL, THE NEW FRONTIER,

THE GREAT SOCIETY WAY. I SAY THAT IF IT EVER WORKED IT NO LONGER DOES.

WE MUST MOVE IN A <u>NEW DIRECTION</u> IF WE ARE AGAIN TO PLACE THIS NATION ON THE PATH TO GREATNESS. I BELIEVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE PLACED THEIR FEET ON THAT PATH IN THE ELECTIONS OF LAST NOVEMBER 8TH.

WORDS: "REVOLUTIONIZE THROUGH THE BALLOT BOX, AND RESTORE THE GOVERNMENT ONCE MORE TO THE AFFECTIONS AND HEARTS OF MEN BY MAKING IT EXPRESS, AS IT WAS INTENDED TO DO, THE HIGHEST SPIRIT OF JUSTICE AND LIBERTY."

WE HAD A REVOLUTION AT THE BALLOT BOX LAST NOVEMBER 8TH.

THERE HAD TO BE A REVOLUTION FOR US TO MAKE A NET GAIN OF

47 SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. OF COURSE,

PART OF THAT REVOLUTION SPRANG FROM THE FACT THAT THE PEOPLE REALIZED ALL TOO WELL THAT HE THAT DANCES MUST ALWAYS PAY THE FIDDLER. LINCOLN DID NOT COIN THAT EXPRESSION BUT, POLITICIAN THAT HE WAS, HE MADE GOOD USE OF IT.

LINCOLN COULD HAVE BEEN SPEAKING OF THE GREAT SOCIETY,
IN FACT, WHEN HE SAID: "IF ANY GENTLEMEN WHOSE MONEY IS
A BURDEN TO THEM CHOOSE TO LEAD OFF A DANCE, I AM DECIDEDLY
OPPOSED TO THE PEOPLE'S MONEY BEING USED TO PAY THE FIDDLER."

WE KNOW THAT THE GRANT-IN-AID SYSTEM IS COLLAPSING OF ITS OWN WEIGHT AND COMPLEXITY.

NOW WE ARE JOINED BY COLUMNIST WALTER LIPPMANN, A COMMENTATOR AND THINKER REVERED BY MOST LIBERALS.

IN A COLUMN APPEARING NATIONWIDE LAST JANUARY 25,

MR. LIPPMANN CITES MY DESCRIPTION OF THE 21 LAYERS OF FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY RUNNING THE GRANT PROGRAMS AS A NEARLY IMPENETRABLE "TANGLED THICKET."

HE THEN SAYS: "THE COMPLEX OF WELFARE MEASURES HAS
BECOME QUITE UNMANAGEABLE. IT IS HARD TO BELIEVE THAT THIS
ADMINISTRATIVE THICKET CAN BE PRUNED ITEM BY ITEM. AS A
RESULT THERE IS A MOUNTING DEMAND FOR SOME KIND OF DRASTIC
CHANGE--FOR A REFORM WHICH WILL REDUCE THE ROLE OF WASHINGTON
IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CIVILIAN AFFAIRS OF THIS COUNTRY."

MR. LIPPMANN FURTHER STATES: "THERE IS A WIDE REVULSION AGAINST THE EXPANDING AND HEAVY-HANDED ROLE PLAYED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. ...IT SEEMS PROBABLE THAT SOME SCHEME FOR SHARING FEDERAL REVENUES WITH THE STATES WILL BE ADOPTED, IF NOT IN THIS SESSION OF CONGRESS THEN LATER ON.

IT WILL DO MUCH TO REMEDY THE IMBALANCE ARISING FROM THE FISCAL POWER OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE COMPARATIVE WEAKNESS OF THE STATE GOVERNMENTS."

LINCOLN SAID: "LET NONE FALTER WHO THINKS HE IS RIGHT."

AND WE MUST NOT FALTER. WE MUST PERSEVERE IN THE RIGHT, CONTINUE FIRM IN OUR DETERMINATION TO RESTORE TO OUR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS THEIR PROPER ROLE IN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

RHETORIC ASIDE, THIS IS THE WAY TO MAKE OUR SYSTEM WORK,
TO MAKE IT WORK FOR ALL THE PEOPLE, TO DO FOR THEM WHAT
NEEDS DOING AND WHAT THEY CANNOT DO FOR THEMSELVES.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS A ROLE IN OUR LIVES, BUT IT SHOULD LIMIT ITS THRUST TO THOSE PROBLEMS AND PROGRAMS

WHICH ARE TRULY NATIONAL IN CHARACTER AND WHICH DEMAND FEDERAL DIRECTION.

WE ARE PAYING TRIBUTE TONIGHT TO A GREAT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THE 16TH PRESIDENT, A GREAT REPUBLICAN, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

IT IS PARTICULARLY APPROPRIATE THAT WE DO SO AT THIS
TIME. BECAUSE NOW, JUST AS IN 1860 WHEN LINCOLN WAS NOMINATED
AND ELECTED, THIS UNION OF STATES IS IN CRISIS. AND NOW,
JUST AS IN THE CRISIS YEAR OF 1860, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
OFFERS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE A WAY OUT OF THE WILDERNESS OF
DISUNITY, DISCORD, DISORDER AND MORAL DECAY WE ARE LOST
IN AS A NATION.

OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1968. I BELIEVE WE HAVE AN

OPPORTUNITY TO GAIN CONTROL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND TO STRENGTHEN OUR FORCES IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

IN MY VIEW, THE 1966 ELECTIONS MARKED A TURNING POINT IN AMERICAN POLITICAL HISTORY, AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS NO PLACE TO GO BUT FORWARD. WE HAVE THE RIGHT ANSWERS TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE DYNAMIC SIXTIES AND SEVENTIES, AND THE PEOPLE SENSED THAT IN NOVEMBER, 1966.

WE MADE THE COMEBACK OF THE YEAR IN 1966, BECAUSE WE ARE THE PARTY OF INDIVIDUALISM, OPPORTUNITY AND TRUTH. AND BECAUSE WE ARE THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE.

LINCOLN SAID -- AND WE SUBSCRIBE TO HIS WORDS:

"I BELIEVE EACH INDIVIDUAL IS NATURALLY ENTITLED TO DO AS HE PLEASES WITH HIMSELF AND THE FRUITS OF HIS LABOR, SO

FAR AS IT IN NO WISE INTERFERES WITH ANY OTHER MEN'S RIGHTS."

AT ANOTHER TIME HE STATED, AND THIS IS BASIC REPUBLICAN PHILOSOPHY:

"THAT MEN WHO ARE INDUSTRIOUS AND SOBER AND HONEST IN
THE PURSUIT OF THEIR OWN INTERESTS SHOULD AFTER A WHILE
ACCUMULATE PROPERTY AND AFTER THAT SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO
ENJOY IT IN PEACE IS RIGHT."

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE INTRINSICALLY A MORAL PEOPLE AND HAVE A DEEP DEVOTION TO THE TRUTH. THIS CREATES DIFFICULTIES FOR A POLITICAL PARTY WHICH SEEKS TO DECEIVE THEM. LINCOLN PUT IT THIS WAY: "THE PEOPLE ARE ALWAYS MUCH NEARER THE TRUTH THAN POLITICIANS SUPPOSE."

THERE IS ANOTHER FAMOUS LINCOLN STATEMENT ABOUT FOOLING

THE PEOPLE, BUT I WILL NOT QUOTE IT HERE FOR FEAR OF BEING ACCUSED OF PETTY PARTISANSHIP.

WE WERE, IN FACT, RECENTLY CHARGED WITH SUCH MOTIVES.

MY REPLY WAS THAT IT IS THE DUTY OF THE LOYAL OPPOSITION

TO OPPOSE THE PRESIDENT WHEN WE BELIEVE HE IS WRONG.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN NEVER QUARRELED WITH THAT POINT OF VIEW.

IN TAKING THE FIELD AGAINST WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE MISTAKEN POLICIES, WE NEED ONLY BE MINDFUL OF LINCOLN'S CALL TO DUTY: "LET US HAVE FAITH THAT RIGHT MAKES MIGHT, AND IN THAT FAITH LET US TO THE END DARE TO DO OUR DUTY AS WE UNDERSTAND IT."

WE WILL CONSTANTLY STRIVE FOR THE RIGHT AND STAND UP FOR WHAT WE BELIEVE, KNOWING THAT "IF WE DO RIGHT, GOD WILL BE WITH US, AND IF GOD IS WITH US, WE CANNOT FAIL." THANK YOU.

Dan Evans -Tom Pelly -Kathermi May

AN ADDRESS FOR LINCOLN DAY, 1967

By

REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.

Linguistra Linguistry

Linguistra Country

My Some Livided

Too much prover

B Credibility -

Ladies and gentlemen, this is a great occasion. Every Lincoln Day Dinner is a great occasion because it again prompts us to draw upon the wisdom of one of the greatest men the world has ever known, our own Abraham Lincoln.

When I say "our own Abraham Lincoln," I am not simply claiming him for the Republican Party. Lincoln was, of course, a Republican. But he belonged to all the people. And e was a man for all ages. That is the source of his greatness. He was timeless; he was honest; he was...to use his own phrase...of the people.

This need not be an entirely sober occasion. Lincoln was a great wit. He loved a good joke, and he himself had a fine facility for turning a phrase.

He was at his wisest and wittiest, for instance, when he said: "Woman is man's best present from his Maker."

I herewith dedicate that quotation to all the women in this room and all of the women of America, wherever they may be...God bless them.

I mentioned earlier that Lincoln was a Republican. I repeat this now because the House Democratic Leader, Carl Albert of Oklahoma, remarked last week on the floor of the House of Representatives that "I know in my own heart that if Abraham Lincoln ware living today, he would be a Democrat."

Now, Carl Albert is a good friend of mine, and I admire and respect him. But, you and I also know that Carl's statement about Lincoln is nothing but political fluff.

I do have this hopeful comment to make about Mr. Albert. If he was saying that he agrees with Lincoln's political philosophy so neatly expressed in his speeches, then I think Carl Albert is in the wrong party.

There are many Democrats who subscribe to Lincoln's basic beliefs but unfortunately have neglected to carry them out.

Lincoln aptly expressed a fundamental principle of our American democracy and not only personal credo when he said: "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 do so well for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere."

Does this mean that Lincoln was an exponent of Laissez Faire government...the idea that that government is best which governs least? Not at all. That kind of government, in the extreme, could result in virtual anarchy.

grant-in-aid programs, the overlapping and chaos in the federal bureaucracy, and the extent to which the federal government has intruded into the personal lives of every American.

Democrat."

Democrat."

Lincoln were living today, he would be a performance before the per

I believe most Americans, including millions who call themselves Democrats,

unmanageable and an unnecessary and undesirable burden for our citizens friendly the unmanageable and an unnecessary and undesirable burden for our citizens friendly the above the have striking proof of this today. The proof is contained in the tremen-but by dously favorable response generated by the idea of federal tax-sharing. This is a proposal on which Republicans have taken the lead. It fits with Republican philosophy. It would give state and local governments a slice of federal income tax revenue without federal strings.

A recent Gallup Poll indicated that seven out of 10 adult Americans-Democrats - As more learn what this program means there will be and independents as well as Republicans-favor federal revenue-sharing. Another way electrons of putting it is that Americans are beginning once more to recognize that many of Converts. He pio the idea. their problems are best solved at the state and local levels.

The last election showed that the American people are awakening to this great and growing truth--that we can achieve true greatness as a Nation only by meeting our responsibilities fully at all levels of government, by fully utilizing the vision and abilities of all our citizens, by attacking state and local problems with the talents of people closest to them.

We must provide federal dollar help to spark these efforts. But we must not smother those efforts with layer after layer of bureaucratic fat. We must not force our governors, mayors and city officials to grope through a bureaucratic maze in the hope of finding a pot of gold at the end of the twisting tunnel.

Do I exaggerate in speaking of a bureaucratic maze when I describe the federal system of grants-in-aid? Consider this if you will. There now are 170 federal aid programs. They draw their dollars from more than 400 separate appropriations and are administered by more than 21 departments and agencies. There are some 150 major bureaus and offices in Washington alone, and more than 400 other offices "in the field."

This is why federal revenue-sharing appears to be the only road to fiscal balance and fiscal sanity in this so-called Great Society.

Exponents of federal grants-in-aid argue that the federal government has to dictate solutions because state and local governments have shirked their responsibilities.

State and local leaders contend they simply are short of money to do the job properly.

Let's join the issue. Let's give the states and local communities a goodly portion of federal income tax revenue with a clear challenge to make good on their problem-solving promises.

Lathink this is the main thrust of the mandate expressed by the American people at the polls last November 8th.

As Abraham Lincoln put it: "The most reliable indication of public purpose in this country is derived through our popular elections."

The Republican Party has been derided in a variety of words and phrases in recent years. We have been called negative, stick-in-the-mud, neanderthal.

I submit that federal revenue-sharing is anything but negative. It is innovative, yet conservative.

It is new because it represents a sharp departure from the status quo, the traditional grant-in-aid system. It is conservative because it uses an approach central to the American system of government--reliance on local and state governments for the handling of problems that are primarily state and local.

It is innovative because for some 35 years we have been pursuing solutions through grants-in-aid. The grant-in-aid approach is the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier, the Great Society way. I say that if it ever worked it no longer does.

We must move in a <u>New Direction</u> if we are again to place this Nation on the path to greatness. <u>I believe</u> the American people placed their feet on that path in the elections of last November 8th.

Lincoln described the popular call for change in these words: "Revolutionize through the ballot box, and restore the government once more to the affections and hearts of men by making it express, as it was intended to do, the highest spirit of justice and liberty."

We had a revolution at the ballot box last November 8th. There had to be a revolution for us to make a net gain of 47 seats in the House of Representatives.

Of course, part of that revolution sprang from the fact that the people realized all too well that he that dances must always pay the fiddler. Lincoln did not coin that expression but, politician that he was, he made good use of it.

Lincoln could have been speaking of the Great Society, in fact, when he said:
"If any gentlemen whose money is a burden to them choose to lead off a dance, I am decidedly opposed to the people's money being used to pay the fiddler."

We know that the grant-in-aid system is collapsing of its own weight and complexity.

Now we are joined by columnist Walter Lippmann, a commentator and thinker revered by most liberals.

In a column appearing nationwide last Januery 25, Mr. Lippmann cites my description of the 21 layers of Federal bureaucracy running the grant programs as a nearly impenetrable "tangled thicket."

He then says: "The complex of welfare measures has become quite unmanageable, It is hard to believe that this administrative thicket can be pruned item by item. As a result there is a mounting demand for some kind of drastic change -- for a reform which will reduce the role of Washington in the administration of the civilian affairs of this country."

Mr. Lippmann further states: "There is a wide revulsion against the expanding and heavy-handed role played by the federal government. ... It seems probable that *some scheme for sharing federal revenues with the states will be adopted, if not in this session of Congress then later on. It will do much to remedy the imbalance arising from the fiscal power of the federal government and the comparative weakness of the state governments."

Lincoln said: "Let none falter who thinks he is right."

I think we are right. We have become a party of reform and we must not falter. We must persevere in the right, continue firm in our determination to restore to our state and local governments their proper role in the American system.

Rhetoric aside, this is the way to make our system work, to make it work for all the people, to do for them what needs doing and what they cannot do for themselves.

The federal government has a role in our lives, but it should limit its thrust to those problems and programs which are truly national in character and which demand federal direction. Auch as mational defense

We are paying tribute tonight to a great President of the United States, the 16th President, a great Republican, Abraham Lincoln.

It is particularly appropriate that we do so at this time. Because now, just as in 1860 when Lincoln was nominated and elected, this Union of States is in crisis. And now, just as in the crisis year of 1860, the Republican Party offers the American people a way out of the wilderness of disunity, discord, disorder and moral decay we are lost in as a Nation.

I firmly believe a Republican will be elected President of the United States in 1968. I believe we have an opportunity to gain control of the House of Representatives and to strengthen our forces in the United States Senate.

In my view, the 1966 elections marked a turning point in American political an uniqually apportunity history, and the Republican Party has no place to go but forward. We have the right that we had the answers to the problems of the dynamic sixties and seventies, and the people sensed serville solutions for the future in November, 1966.

We made the comeback of the year in 1966, because we are the party of individualism, opportunity and truth. And because we are the party of the people.

Lincoln said -- and we subscribe to his words:

"I believe each individual is naturally entitled to do as he pleases with himself and the fruits of his labor, so far as it in no wise interferes with any other men's rights."

At another time he stated, and this is basic Republican philosophy:

"That men who are industrious and sober and honest in the pursuit of their own interests should after a while accumulate property and after that should be allowed to enjoy it in peace is right."

The American people are intrinsically a moral people and have a deep devotion to the truth. This creates difficulties for a political party which seeks to deceive them. Lincoln put it this way: "The people are always much nearer the truth than politicians suppose."

There is another famous Lincoln statement about fooling the people, but I will not quote it here for fear of being accused of petty partisanship.

We were, in fact, recently charged with such motives. My reply was that it is the duty of the Loyal Opposition to oppose the President when we believe he is twong. Abraham Lincoln never quarreled with that point of view.

In taking the field against what we believe to be mistaken policies, we need only be mindful of Lincoln's call to duty: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

We will constantly strive for the right and stand up for what we believe, knowing that "If we do right, God will be with us, and if God is with us, we cannot fail." Thank you.



AN ADDRESS FOR LINCOLN DAY, 1967

Ву

REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is a great occasion. Every Lincoln Day Dinner is a great occasion because it again prompts us to draw upon the wisdom of one of the greatest men the world has ever known, our own Abraham Lincoln.

When I say "our own Abraham Lincoln," I am not simply claiming him for the Republican Party. Lincoln was, of course, a Republican. But he belonged to all the people. And he was a man for all ages. That is the source of his greatness. He was timeless; he was honest; he was...to use his own phrase...of the people.

This need not be an entirely sober occasion. Lincoln was a great wit. He loved a good joke, and he himself had a fine facility for turning a phrase.

He was at his wisest and wittiest, for instance, when he said: "Woman is man's best present from his Maker."

I herewith dedicate that quotation to all the women in this room and all of the women of America, wherever they may be...God bless them.

I mentioned earlier that Lincoln was a Republican. I repeat this now because the House Democratic Leader, Carl Albert of Oklahoma, remarked last week on the floor of the House of Representatives that "I know in my own heart that if Abraham Lincoln ware living today, he would be a Democrat."

Now, Carl Albert is a good friend of mine and I admire and respect him. But you and I also know that Carl's statement about Lincoln is nothing but political fluff.

I do have this hopeful comment to make about Mr. Albert. If he was saying that he agrees with Lincoln's political philosophy so neatly expressed in his speeches, then I think Carl Albert is in the wrong party.

There are many Democrats who subscribe to Lincoln's basic beliefs but unfortunately have neglected to carry them out.

Lincoln aptly expressed a fundamental principle of our American democracy and not only personal credo when he said: "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 do so well for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can individually do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere."

Does this mean that Lincoln was an exponent of Laissez Faire government...the idea that that government is best which governs least? Not at all. That kind of government, in the extreme, could result in virtual anarchy.

But I think Lincoln would be appalled by the present profusion and confusion of grant-in-aid programs, the overlapping and chaos in the federal bureaucracy, and the extent to which the federal government has intruded into the personal lives of every American.

Carl Albert said that "if Abraham Lincoln were living today, he would be a Democrat."

I say that if Lincoln were living today he would turn over in his grave.

I believe most Americans, including millions who call themselves Democrats, agree with Lincoln's warning against government which becomes so big as to become unmanageable and an unnecessary and undesirable burden for our citizens.

We have striking proof of this today. The proof is contained in the tremendously favorable response generated by the idea of federal tax-sharing. This is a proposal on which Republicans have taken the lead. It fits with Republican philosophy. It would give state and local governments a slice of federal income tax revenue without federal strings.

A recent Gallup Poll indicated that seven out of 10 adult Americans--Democrats and independents as well as Republicans--favor federal revenue-sharing. Another way of putting it is that Americans are beginning once more to recognize that many of their problems are best solved at the state and local levels.

The last election showed that the American people are awakening to this great and growing truth--that we can achieve true greatness as a Nation only by meeting our responsibilities fully at all levels of government, by fully utilizing the vision and abilities of all our citizens, by attacking state and local problems with the talents of people closest to them.

We must provide federal dollar help to spark these efforts. But we must not smother those efforts with layer after layer of bureaucratic fat. We must not force our governors, mayors and city officials to grope through a bureaucratic maze in the hope of finding a pot of gold at the end of the twisting tunnel.

Do I exaggerate in speaking of a bureaucratic maze when I describe the federal system of grants-in-aid? Consider this if you will. There now are 170 federal aid programs. They draw their dollars from more than 400 separate appropriations and are administered by more than 21 departments and agencies. There are some 150 major bureaus and offices in Washington alone, and more than 400 other offices "in the field."

This is why federal revenue-sharing appears to be the only road to fiscal balance and fiscal sanity in this so-called Great Society.

Exponents of federal grants-in-aid argue that the federal government has to dictate solutions because state and local governments have shirked their responsibilities.

State and local leaders contend they simply are short of money to do the job properly.

Let's join the issue. Let's give the states and local communities a goodly portion of federal income tax revenue with a clear challenge to make good on their problem-solving promises.

I think this is the main thrust of the mandate expressed by the American people at the polls last November 8th.

As Abraham Lincoln put it: "The most reliable indication of public purpose in this country is derived through our popular elections."

The Republican Party has been derided in a variety of words and phrases in recent years. We have been called negative, stick-in-the-mud, neanderthal.

I submit that federal revenue-sharing is anything but negative. It is innovative, yet conservative.

It is new because it represents a sharp departure from the status quo, the traditional grant-in-aid system. It is conservative because it uses an approach central to the American system of government--reliance on local and state governments for the handling of problems that are primarily state and local.

It is innovative because for some 35 years we have been pursuing solutions through grants-in-aid. The grant-in-aid approach is the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier, the Great Society way. I say that if it ever worked it no longer does.

We must move in a New Direction if we are again to place this Nation on the path to greatness. I believe the American people placed their feet on that path in the elections of last November 8th.

Lincoln described the popular call for change in these words: "Revolutionize through the ballot box, and restore the government once more to the affections and hearts of men by making it express, as it was intended to do, the highest spirit of justice and liberty."

We had a revolution at the ballot box last November 8th. There had to be a revolution for us to make a net gain of 47 seats in the House of Representatives.

Of course, part of that revolution sprang from the fact that the people realized all too well that he that dances must always pay the fiddler. Lincoln did not coin that expression but, politician that he was, he made good use of it.

Lincoln could have been speaking of the Great Society, in fact, when he said:
"If any gentlemen whose money is a burden to them choose to lead off a dance, I am
decidedly opposed to the people's money being used to pay the fiddler."

We know that the grant-in-aid system is collapsing of its own weight and complexity.

Now we are joined by columnist Walter Lippmann, a commentator and thinker revered by most liberals.

In a column appearing nationwide last January 25, Mr. Lippmann cites my description of the 21 layers of Federal bureaucracy running the grant programs as a nearly impenetrable "tangled thicket."

He then says: "The complex of welfare measures has become quite unmanageable,

It is hard to believe that this administrative thicket can be pruned item by item.

As a result there is a mounting demand for some kind of drastic change--for a reform which will reduce the role of Washington in the administration of the civilian affairs of this country."

Mr. Lippmann further states: "There is a wide revulsion against the expanding and heavy-handed role played by the federal government. ... It seems probable that some scheme for sharing federal revenues with the states will be adopted, if not in this session of Congress then later on. It will do much to remedy the imbalance arising from the fiscal power of the federal government and the comparative weakness of the state governments."

Lincoln said: "Let none falter who thinks he is right."

I think we are right. We have become a party of reform and we must not falter. We must persevere in the right, continue firm in our determination to restore to our state and local governments their proper role in the American system.

Rhetoric aside, this is the way to make our system work, to make it work for all the people, to do for them what needs doing and what they cannot do for themselves.

The federal government has a role in our lives, but it should limit its thrust to those problems and programs which are truly national in character and which demand federal direction.

We are paying tribute tonight to a great President of the United States, the 16th President, a great Republican, Abraham Lincoln.

It is particularly appropriate that we do so at this time. Because now, just as in 1860 when Lincoln was nominated and elected, this Union of States is in crisis. And now, just as in the crisis year of 1860, the Republican Party offers the American people a way out of the wilderness of disunity, discord, disorder and moral decay we are lost in as a Nation.

I firmly believe a Republican will be elected President of the United States in 1968. I believe we have an opportunity to gain control of the House of Representatives and to strengthen our forces in the United States Senate.

In my view, the 1966 elections marked a turning point in American political history, and the Republican Party has no place to go but forward. We have the right answers to the problems of the dynamic sixties and seventies, and the people sensed that in November, 1966.

We made the comeback of the year in 1966, because we are the party of individualism, opportunity and truth. And because we are the party of the people.

Lincoln said--and we subscribe to his words:

"I believe each individual is naturally entitled to do as he pleases with himself and the fruits of his labor, so far as it in no wise interferes with any other men's rights."

At another time he stated, and this is basic Republican philosophy:

"That men who are industrious and sober and honest in the pursuit of their own interests should after a while accumulate property and after that should be allowed to enjoy it in peace is right."

The American people are intrinsically a moral people and have a deep devotion to the truth. This creates difficulties for a political party which seeks to deceive them. Lincoln put it this way: "The people are always much nearer the truth than politicians suppose."

There is another famous Lincoln statement about fooling the people, but I will not quote it here for fear of being accused of petty partisanship.

We were, in fact, recently charged with such motives. My reply was that it is the duty of the Loyal Opposition to oppose the President when we believe he is wrong. Abraham Lincoln never quarreled with that point of view.

In taking the field against what we believe to be mistaken policies, we need only be mindful of Lincoln's call to duty: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

We will constantly strive for the right and stand up for what we believe, knowing that "If we do right, God will be with us, and if God is with us, we cannot fail." Thank you.