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ADDRESS BEFORE THE SUNDAY EVENING FORUM, TUCSON, ARIZ.

SUNDAY, JAN. 15, 1967

*Let me tell you  
Invitation Bill Mauldin  
Ralph Bunche  
Mac Udall*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

IT IS A DISTINCT PLEASURE TO BE WITH YOU HERE TONIGHT.  
IT IS ALWAYS DELIGHTFUL TO BE IN ARIZONA, AND NOT JUST  
BECAUSE I OCCASIONALLY HAVE SINUS TROUBLE. AFTER ALL,  
IF SINUS RELIEF WERE THE ONLY ATTRACTION, I COULD ALWAYS  
TAKE SOME OF THOSE PILLS THE TELEVISION COMMERCIAL SAYS  
WILL POP A PERSON INTO A SUITCASE AND TRANSPORT HIM TO  
ARIZONA WHERE HE CAN BREATHE AGAIN. [PAUSE]

*have an affection for*  
*Arizona*  
*But - I don't*  
NO, I LOVE ARIZONA BECAUSE IT IS A BASTION OF THE  
OLD WEST. ~~IT~~ IS REMINISCENT OF THE DAY WHEN AMERICA WAS  
AN UNCLUTTERED LAND WHOSE PEOPLE WERE FIERCELY INDEPENDENT  
AND STROVE TO DO FOR THEMSELVES. IT IS A SYMBOL OF THAT



PHILOSOPHY SO SIMPLY YET ELOQUENTLY EXPRESSED BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN WHEN HE SAID: "GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO FOR THE PEOPLE ONLY THAT WHICH THEY CANNOT DO FOR THEMSELVES, OR CANNOT DO SO WELL FOR THEMSELVES IN THEIR SEPARATE AND INDIVIDUAL CAPACITIES."

TODAY WE HAVE BIG GOVERNMENT. BIGNESS IN ITSELF IS NOT BAD. THIS IS A BIG COUNTRY. <sup>*We have massive problems - at home + abroad.*</sup> YOU DON'T RUN IT ON A SHOESTRING. <sup>*this country*</sup> BUT THAT FORM OF BIG GOVERNMENT IS BAD WHICH IS SO PATERNALISTIC THAT IT MAKES MORAL CRIPPLES OF ITS CITIZENS--GIVES THEM CRUTCHES WHICH MAKE THEM DEPENDENT UPON THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FOR EVERYTHING. AND THAT KIND OF BIG GOVERNMENT IS BAD WHICH CREATES LAYER UPON LAYER OF BUREAUCRACY SO THAT THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE IS MUFFLED OR EVEN STILLED.



*A govt big enough to give me everything we want, is a govt big enough to take from the ~~liberty~~ we have.*

*Our Traditions is that of*

-3-

~~WE USED TO BE A~~ PROUD PEOPLE. I THINK WE STILL ARE,  
BUT WE HAVE STRAYED FROM THE PHILOSOPHY OF LINCOLN. IT  
IS SO EASY TO BE LURED INTO DEPENDENCY, INTO BELIEVING  
THAT ALL OF OUR PROBLEMS SHOULD BE TURNED OVER TO THE  
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY IS A BURDEN.  
HOW NATURAL IT IS SIMPLY TO AVOID IT AND LEAN ON SOMEONE  
ELSE--BE IT ANOTHER INDIVIDUAL OR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

OUR EARLY GREAT LEADERS SPOKE FOR A PEOPLE WHO HAD  
JUST BURST THE BONDS OF TYRANNY WHEN THEY WROTE OUR  
FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. THEY WERE DEEPLY SENSITIVE TO THE  
DANGERS OF TOO MUCH GOVERNMENT AND CAREFULLY PHRASED THIS  
NATION'S DOCUMENT OF BASIC LAW SO AS TO GUARD AGAINST IT.

*Those who gathered in Congress  
Had the*

(THAT IS WHY THEY) CHOSE A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT  
FOR THIS COUNTRY--BECAUSE IN A REPUBLIC LAWS ARE WRITTEN BY



AND ADMINISTERED BY MEN AND WOMEN ELECTED TO REPRESENT  
ALL THE PEOPLE AND TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF ALL.

A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS A LIMITED FORM OF  
GOVERNMENT. THE WORD "REPUBLIC" IS DERIVED FROM THE  
LATIN PHRASE, "RES PUBLICA," WHICH MEANS PUBLIC AFFAIRS.  
THIS IN TURN MEANS THAT IN A REPUBLIC THE GOVERNMENT  
SHOULD CONCERN ITSELF ONLY WITH THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS OF THE  
NATION AND NOT INTRUDE INTO THE PERSONAL LIVES OF ITS  
CITIZENS. ANOTHER WAY TO PUT IT IS THAT A REPUBLICAN  
FORM OF GOVERNMENT IS SUPPOSED TO SAFEGUARD THE PERSONAL  
LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE.

THE WISE MEN WHO WROTE OUR CONSTITUTION SELECTED THEIR  
WORDS MOST CAREFULLY. THEY INTENDED THAT THE POWER OF THE  
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BE LIMITED. THEY FORMULATED A DOCUMENT



BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF RESTRAINT OF GOVERNMENT POWER AND PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY.

IT WAS TO CARRY OUT THIS CONCEPT OF RESTRAINT OF POWER THAT THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION CAUTIOUSLY DELEGATED THE POWERS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, <sup>carefully</sup> SPREAD THE POWER AMONG THREE COORDINATE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT IN WHAT AMOUNTED TO A DELICATE BALANCING ACT, AND, <sup>delicately</sup> SOUGHT TO ASSURE THE STATES AND THEIR PEOPLE THE FREEDOM TO PROMOTE THEIR OWN WELFARE WITH ONLY SUCH FEDERAL REGULATION AS MIGHT SERVE THE BEST INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLE.

OVER THE YEARS THERE HAS DEVELOPED THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. <sup>although it is not constitutionally ordained.</sup> THIS IS A GREAT STRENGTH. IT UNDERGIRDS OUR REPUBLIC. <sup>As a consequence</sup> WE HAVE AVOIDED THE LOSS OF FREEDOM THAT EXISTS IN ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENT. WE HAVE


*such as the Soviet Union*



AVOIDED THE CHAOS AND CONFUSION THAT RESULTS FROM MULTI-PARTY GOVERNMENT.

PERHAPS THE LATE WINSTON CHURCHILL BEST DESCRIBED THE FUNCTIONING OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT WHEN HE SAID: "DEMOCRACY IS THE WORST FORM OF GOVERNMENT EXCEPT FOR ANY OTHER THAT HAS EVER BEEN TRIED."

OF COURSE DEMOCRACY AS A FORM OF GOVERNMENT HAS FLAWS. NATURALLY, THE FUNCTIONING OF GOVERNMENT IN THIS GREAT REPUBLIC OF OURS OFTEN LEAVES MUCH TO BE DESIRED. *yet on the basis of any valid comparison - America in 180 years has <sup>made more progress</sup> given more freedom, more opportunity.* BUT THE CAREFUL BALANCE OF DECENTRALIZED, DIVIDED POWER CONCEIVED BY THE FRAMERS OF OUR CONSTITUTION WAS THE SPRINGBOARD FOR DEVELOPMENT OF A NATION AND A PEOPLE MIGHTIER THAN ANY OTHER ON EARTH. *We should be proud of it; not embarrassed by the record.*



THE AMERICAN DREAM, THE AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY BECAME REALITY BECAUSE THE WISE MEN WHO WROTE THE THEME FOR IT WERE OPPOSED TO THE CONCEPT OF MASSIVE POWER IN THE HANDS OF CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT.

IT IS A MASTER FORMULA THAT IS CONTAINED IN OUR CONSTITUTION, IF WE WILL ONLY FOLLOW IT. IT OFFERS STABILITY AND A FEDERAL GOVERNMENT STRONG ENOUGH TO LICK PROBLEMS TOO BIG OR FAR-REACHING FOR INDIVIDUALS, PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS OR LOCAL GOVERNMENT TO SOLVE. YET IT SAFEGUARDS THE FREEDOM OF INDIVIDUAL AMERICAN CITIZENS AND PROVIDES THEIR STATES AND LOCAL UNITS OF GOVERNMENT WITH THE FLEXIBILITY THEY MUST HAVE TO TACKLE THOSE PROBLEMS WHICH ARE MANIFESTLY THEIR OWN.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE MASTER FORMULA? HAS IT BEEN





FOLLOWED THROUGHOUT THE YEARS?

TODAY THE FORMULA IS TWISTED AND DISTORTED. UNDER ONE OF OUR MAJOR PARTIES, THE POWER HAS SHIFTED STEADILY AND INEXORABLY TO WASHINGTON. THIS HAS HAPPENED, <sup>simply</sup> BECAUSE POWER FLOWS WHERE THE MONEY IS. IT HAS HAPPENED BECAUSE ONE OF OUR MAJOR PARTIES PREACHES THE PHILOSOPHY THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN SOLVE ALL THE PROBLEMS OF THE PEOPLE--BIG AND SMALL. THE POWER IS CONCENTRATED IN WASHINGTON BECAUSE TOO MANY AMERICANS MISTAKENLY BELIEVE THAT ONLY WASHINGTON CAN SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS, *that all wisdom resides on the Potomac.*

I THINK AMERICANS WHO LOOK TO WASHINGTON TO SOLVE ALL OF THE COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS ARE WRONG. THEY ARE LOSING SIGHT OF A GREAT TRUTH--THAT A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WHICH TAKES UNTO ITSELF THE BURDEN OF SOLVING ALL OF THE PEOPLE'S



PROBLEMS WILL INEVITABLY DESTROY INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE,  
INVADE THE LIVES OF THE PEOPLE AND RESTRICT THEIR PERSONAL  
FREEDOM. THEY ARE OPENING THE DOORS TO THE VERY DANGERS  
THE FRAMERS OF OUR CONSTITUTION SOUGHT TO AVOID.

ARE THE LEADERS OF THE PARTY WHICH ESPOUSES FEDERAL,  
CENTRALIZED SOLUTIONS FOR ALL OF AMERICA'S PROBLEMS BAD  
MEN? ARE THEY ACTING OUT OF MALICE? ARE THEY PART OF A  
CONSPIRACY TO DESTROY THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF FREE GOVERNMENT  
AND TO MAKE THE STATES AND CITIES MERE APPENDAGES OF  
WASHINGTON? NOT AT ALL. I FEEL SURE THEY HAVE THE BEST  
OF INTENTIONS. BUT I AM ALSO CERTAIN THEY ARE BADLY  
MISTAKEN.

IN RECENT YEARS THE DISTORTION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL  
FORMULA WHICH GUIDES OUR AMERICAN REPUBLIC HAS BECOME



EVEN MORE SEVERELY DISTORTED. IT HAS BEEN SO PULLED  
OUT OF SHAPE AS TO BECOME GROTESQUE.

THE REASON IS SIMPLE. IT IS WRAPPED AROUND THE MULTI-  
TUDE OF FEDERAL GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS THAT HAVE BURGEONED  
THROUGH THE YEARS AND THE FICTION THAT THE FEDERAL MONEY  
WELL HAS NO BOTTOM.

IT HAS BECOME SO EASY FOR LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS  
TO SAY, 'LET'S GO TO WASHINGTON FOR THE MONEY.'

BUT THEY FIND THAT THE MONEY LIES AT THE END OF A  
LONG BUREAUCRATIC TUNNEL. THEY OFTEN RUN INTO ROADBLOCKS.  
THEY BECOME SNARLED IN A CONFUSION OF RED TAPE. THEY  
DISCOVER THAT MORE THAN ONE AGENCY MAKES GRANTS FOR CERTAIN  
KINDS OF PROJECTS. WHICH AGENCY DO THEY GO TO? <sup>*The spigots, the faucets, and fantasies in numbers.*</sup> HOW MANY  
OTHER CITIES ARE AHEAD OF THEM ON THE APPLICATION LIST?



a long, tedious, <sup>-11</sup>unoperating line.

THEY HAVE TO GET INTO LINE.

IT IS BECOMING OBVIOUS EVEN TO LEADING MEMBERS OF THE OTHER MAJOR PARTY THAT THE VARIOUS GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS ARE WASTEFUL OF TIME, MONEY AND HUMAN RESOURCES, BEGINNING WITH THE PREPARATION OF THE PROJECT APPLICATION TO THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND THE APPLICANTS HAVE TO RIDE TO GET THE FUNDS.

*Patomac planning advocates*

SOME ~~OF THEM~~ <sup>OF THEM</sup> CONTEND THERE IS A LACK OF BOTH THE WILL AND THE SKILL TO SOLVE AMERICA'S PROBLEMS AT THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVEL, AND THAT WE MUST FORCE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO MODERNIZE.

I CERTAINLY FAVOR THE MODERNIZING OF OUR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS WHEREVER SUCH ACTION IS NEEDED, BUT I DON'T THINK THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD USE A WHIPLASH

*States must up date their constitutions - The legislature & constitutional took 8 100 yrs ago ain't adapt for the 70s*



TO BRING IT ABOUT.

IF THE WILL AND SKILL TO SOLVE STATE AND LOCAL PROBLEMS IS LACKING IN SOME AREAS, I SUBMIT IT IS BECAUSE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS DRAINED THE PEOPLE IN THOSE AREAS OF THEIR DESIRE TO EXERCISE SELF-RESPONSIBILITY.

*It should be added - the sources of state & local tax revenue have been drained dry.*

I SAID EARLIER THAT POWER FLOWS TO WHERE THE MONEY IS. IF WE CAUSED SOME OF THE MONEY THAT FLOWS TO WASHINGTON TO FLOW BACK TO ITS SOURCE THROUGH UNOBSTRUCTED CHANNELS, THEN SOME OF THE POWER WILL FLOW BACK TO THE STATES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES, TOO. IF FEDERAL AID DOES NOT HAVE TO TRICKLE DOWN THROUGH LAYER AFTER LAYER OF BUREAUCRACY, MORE OF IT WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR STATE AND LOCAL USE.

NOT ONLY WILL THERE BE SAVINGS OF TIME, MONEY AND PERSONNEL, BUT IT STANDS TO REASON THAT THE PEOPLE CLOSEST



TO STATE AND LOCAL PROBLEMS ARE BEST EQUIPPED TO SOLVE THEM.

WHAT I HAVE BEEN DESCRIBING FOR YOU IS THE REPUBLICAN PLAN FOR SHARING FEDERAL REVENUE WITH THE STATES--A PLAN THAT CALLS FOR PERCENTAGE TAX REBATES TO THE STATES. THESE REVENUE SHARES WOULD GRADUALLY SUPPLANT THE FEDERAL GRANTS-IN-AID SYSTEM WHICH NOW KEEPS GROWING LIKE TOPSY.

EVERY TIME ANOTHER PROBLEM BECOMES ACUTE, ANOTHER FEDERAL GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAM IS ESTABLISHED AND A NEW LAYER OF BUREAUCRACY IS LAID ON TOP OF ALL THE OTHERS.

THINK OF IT! THERE IS NO END TO IT. *In 1960 - 2,200,000 / 412 billion.  
1967 - 2,800 / 18 billion.*


NOT ONLY DOES CONGRESS KEEP ADDING NEW GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS, BUT NOT ONE OF THE OLD PROGRAMS HAS BEEN LEGISLATED OUT OF EXISTENCE.



WHAT DOES ALL THIS HAVE TO DO WITH PERSONAL LIBERTY,  
THE RESPONSIBILITY OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, THE  
FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONSHIP AND THE DIVISION OF POWERS  
SET FORTH IN THE CONSTITUTION?

EVERY NEW GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAM, EVERY INCREASE IN  
APPROPRIATIONS FOR EXISTING GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS, CONSTITUTES  
ANOTHER STEP TOWARD COMPLETE ABANDONMENT BY AMERICANS OF  
RELIANCE ON INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP RESPONSIBILITY, THEIR  
FAITH IN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, AND THEIR BELIEF  
IN PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.

FEDERALIZED, CENTRALIZED SOLUTIONS ARE SUBSTITUTED  
FOR LOCAL INITIATIVE AND LOCAL PROBLEM-SOLVING EFFORTS.  
IN FACT, THE ENTIRE PROBLEM-SOLVING PROCESS IN AMERICA  
TENDS TO BOG DOWN IN ONE HUGE BUREAUCRATIC MORASS.



THE MEN WHO FOUNDED OUR REPUBLIC DID NOT INTEND THAT  
STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD SHRIVEL AND DIE.

THEY WERE SELF-RELIANT INDIVIDUALS AND SAW OUR AMERICA  
AS A LAND IN WHICH EACH MAN WAS GUARANTEED EQUALITY UNDER  
THE LAW BUT OWED HIS LIVING TO NO ONE.

I BELIEVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE NOW ARE APPROACHING A  
CROSSROADS IN AMERICAN POLITICAL HISTORY. IT SEEMS TO  
ME THEY ARE NEARING A FORK IN THE ROAD, A TURNING AWAY  
FROM CENTRALISM, STATISM AND THE DICTATED FEDERAL SOLUTION  
FILTERED DOWN THROUGH GOVERNMENT BUREAUS AND REGIONAL  
OFFICES.

BECAUSE THE POLITICAL SIGNS NOW POINT IN NEW DIRECTIONS,  
I FIRMLY BELIEVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL FULFILL A WISH  
EXPRESSED BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AS THE CONSTITUTIONAL





CONVENTION FINISHED DRAFTING THE BASIC LAW INTENDED  
TO GOVERN AND GUIDE THIS NATION.

AS HE LEFT CONSTITUTION HALL, FRANKLIN WAS ASKED:  
"WHICH HAVE YOU GIVEN US--A MONARCHY OR A REPUBLIC?"

AND FRANKLIN REPLIED: "A REPUBLIC--IF WE CAN KEEP IT."

THIS IS THE OBLIGATION GIVEN TO ALL OF US. THIS IS  
THE RESPONSIBILITY WE BEAR AND SHARE--TO KEEP AND PRESERVE  
OUR REPUBLIC.

I SAY THAT WE MUST REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO THAT HIGH  
PURPOSE. AND IT IS MY DEEP CONVICTION THAT YOU--ALL OF YOU--  
WILL CAUSE THE LAMP OF LIBERTY TO BURN MORE BRIGHTLY EVERY-  
WHERE BECAUSE YOU DARE TO STAND UP AND BE COUNTED FOR AMERICA.

THANK YOU.....

---END---



ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., BEFORE THE SUNDAY EVENING FORUM, TUCSON, ARIZ.

OUR REPUBLIC - A REVIEW AND PREVIEW

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a distinct pleasure to be with you here tonight. It is always delightful to be in Arizona, and not just because I occasionally have sinus trouble. After all, if sinus relief were the only attraction, I could always take some of those pills that the television commercial says will pop a person into a suitcase and transport him to Arizona where he can breathe again.

No, I love Arizona because it is a bastion of the old West. It is reminiscent of the day when America was an uncluttered land whose people were fiercely independent and strove to do for themselves. It is a symbol of that philosophy so simply yet eloquently expressed by Abraham Lincoln when he said: "Government should do for the people only that which they cannot do for themselves, or cannot do so well for themselves in their separate and individual capacities."

Today we have Big Government. Bigness in itself is not bad. This is a big country. You don't run it on a shoestring. But that form of Big Government is bad which is so paternalistic that it makes moral cripples of its citizens--gives them crutches which make them dependent upon the federal government for everything. And that kind of Big Government is bad which creates layer upon layer of bureaucracy so that the voice of the people is muffled or even stilled.

We used to be a proud people. I think we still are, but we have strayed from the philosophy of Lincoln. It is so easy to be lured into dependency, into believing that all of our problems should be turned over to the federal government. Individual responsibility is a burden. How natural it is simply to avoid it and lean on someone else--be it another individual or the federal government.

Our early great leaders spoke for a people who had just burst the bonds of tyranny when they wrote our federal constitution. They were deeply sensitive to the dangers of too much government and carefully phrased this Nation's document of basic law so as to guard against it.

That is why they chose a republican form of government for this country--because in a republic laws are written by and administered by men and women elected to represent all the people and to protect the rights of all.

A republican form of government is a limited form of government. The word "republic" is derived from the Latin phrase, "res publica," which means "public affairs."

(MORE)



This in turn means that in a republic the government should concern itself only with the public affairs of the Nation and not intrude into the personal lives of its citizens. Another way to put it is that a republican form of government is supposed to safeguard the personal liberties of the people.

The wise men who wrote our Constitution selected their words most carefully. They intended that the power of the federal government be limited. They formulated a document based on the concept of restraint of government power and protection of individual liberty.

It was to carry out this concept of restraint of power that the framers of the Constitution cautiously delegated the powers of the federal government, spread the power among three coordinate branches of government in what amounted to a delicate balancing act, and sought to assure the states and their people the freedom to promote their own welfare with only such federal regulation as might serve the best interests of all the people.

Over the years there has developed the two-party system in American government. This is a great strength. It undergirds our republic. We have avoided the loss of freedom that exists in one-party government. We have avoided the chaos and confusion that results from multi-party government.

Perhaps the late Winston Churchill best described the functioning of the American system of government when he said: "Democracy is the worst form of government except for any other that has ever been tried."

Of course democracy as a form of government has flaws. Naturally, the functioning of government in this great republic of ours often leaves much to be desired.

But the careful balance of decentralized, divided power conceived by the framers of our Constitution was the springboard for development of a Nation and a People mightier than any other on earth.

The American dream, the American success story became reality because the wise men who wrote the theme for it were opposed to the concept of massive power in the hands of centralized government.

It is a master formula that is contained in our Constitution, if we will only follow it. It offers stability and a federal government strong enough to lick problems too big or far-reaching for individuals, private organizations or local government to solve. Yet it safeguards the freedom of individual American citizens and provides their states and local units of government with the flexibility they must have to tackle those problems which are manifestly their own.

What has happened to the master formula? Has it been followed throughout the years?

Today the formula is twisted and distorted. Under one of our major parties, the power has shifted steadily and inexorably to Washington. This has happened because power flows where the money is. It has happened because one of our major parties preaches the philosophy that the federal government can solve all the problems of the people--big and small. The power is concentrated in Washington because too many Americans mistakenly believe that only Washington can solve their problems.

I think Americans who look to Washington to solve all of the country's problems are wrong. They are losing sight of a great truth--that a central government which takes unto itself the burden of solving all of the people's problems will inevitably destroy individual initiative, invade the lives of the people and restrict their personal freedom. They are opening the doors to the very dangers the framers of our Constitution sought to avoid.

Are the leaders of the party which espouses federal, centralized solutions for all of America's problems bad men? Are they acting out of malice? Are they part of a conspiracy to destroy the American system of free government and to make the states and cities mere appendages of Washington? Not at all. I feel sure they have the best of intentions. But I am also certain they are badly mistaken.

In recent years the distortion of the constitutional formula which guides our American republic has become even more severely distorted. It has been so pulled out of shape as to become grotesque.

The reason is simple. It is wrapped around the multitude of federal grant-in-aid programs that have burgeoned through the years and the fiction that the federal money well has no bottom.

It has become so easy for local and state governments to say, 'Let's go to Washington for the money.'

But they find that the money lies at the end of a long bureaucratic tunnel. They often run into roadblocks. They become snarled in a confusion of red tape. They discover that more than one agency makes grants for certain kinds of projects. Which agency do they go to? How many other cities are ahead of them on the application list? They have to get into line.

It is becoming obvious even to leading members of the other major party that the various grant-in-aid programs are wasteful of time, money and human resources,

beginning with the preparation of the project application to the Washington merry-go-round the applicants have to ride to get the funds.

Some of them contend there is a lack of both the will and the skill to solve America's problems at the state and local level, and that we must force state and local governments to modernize.

I certainly favor the modernizing of our state and local governments wherever such action is needed, but I don't think the federal government should use a whip-lash to bring it about.

If the will and skill to solve state and local problems is lacking in some areas, I submit it is because the federal government has drained the people in those areas of their desire to exercise self-responsibility.

I said earlier that power flows to where the money is. If we caused some of the money that flows to Washington to flow back to its source through unobstructed channels, then some of the power will flow back to the states and local communities, too. If federal aid does not have to trickle down through layer after layer of bureaucracy, more of it will be available for state and local use.

Not only will there be savings of time, money and personnel, but it stands to reason that the people closest to state and local problems are best equipped to solve them.

What I have been describing for you is the Republican plan for sharing federal revenue with the states--a plan that calls for percentage tax rebates to the states. These revenue shares would gradually supplant the federal grants-in-aid system which now keeps growing like Topsy.

Every time another problem becomes acute, another federal grant-in-aid program is established and a new layer of bureaucracy is laid on top of all the others. Think of it! There is no end to it.

Not only does Congress keep adding new grant-in-aid programs, but not one of the old programs has been legislated out of existence.

What does all this have to do with personal liberty, the responsibility of state and local governments, the federal-state relationship and the division of powers set forth in the Constitution?

Every new grant-in-aid program, every increase in appropriations for existing grant-in-aid programs constitutes another step toward complete abandonment by Americans of reliance on individual and group responsibility, their faith in state and local governments, and their belief in private institutions.

(MORE)

Federalized, centralized solutions are substituted for local initiative and local problem-solving efforts. In fact, the entire problem-solving process in America tends to bog down in one huge bureaucratic morass.

The men who founded our republic did not intend that state and local government should shrivel and die.

They were self-reliant individuals and saw our America as a land in which each man was guaranteed equality under the law but owed his living to no one.

I believe the American people now are approaching a crossroads in American political history. It seems to me they are nearing a fork in the road, a turning away from centralism, statism and the dictated federal solution filtered down through government bureaus and regional offices.

Because the political signs now point in New Directions, I firmly believe the American people will fulfill a wish expressed by Benjamin Franklin as the constitutional convention finished drafting the basic law intended to govern and guide this Nation.

As he left Constitution Hall, Franklin was asked: "Which have you given us-- a monarchy or a republic?"

And Franklin replied: "A republic--if we can keep it."

This is the obligation given to all of us. This is the responsibility we bear and share--to keep and preserve our republic.

I say that we must rededicate ourselves to that high purpose. And it is my deep conviction that you--all of you--will cause the lamp of liberty to burn more brightly everywhere because you dare to stand up and be counted for America.

Thank you.

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No, I love Arizona because it is a bastion of the old West. It is reminiscent of the day when America was an uncluttered land whose people were fiercely independent and strove to do for themselves. It is a symbol of that philosophy so simply yet eloquently expressed by Abraham Lincoln when he said: "Government should do for the people only that which they cannot do for themselves, or cannot do so well for themselves in their separate and individual capacities."

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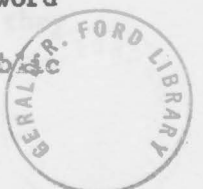
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But the careful balance of decentralized, divided power conceived by the framers of our Constitution was the springboard for development of a Nation and a People mightier than any other on earth.

The American dream, the American success story became reality because the wise men who wrote the theme for it were opposed to the concept of massive power in the hands of centralized government.

It is a master formula that is contained in our Constitution, if we will only follow it. It offers stability and a federal government strong enough to lick problems too big or far-reaching for individuals, private organizations or local government to solve. Yet it safeguards the freedom of individual American citizens and provides their states and local units of government with the flexibility they must have to tackle those problems which are manifestly their own.



What has happened to the master formula? Has it been followed throughout the years?

Today the formula is twisted and distorted. Under one of our major parties, the power has shifted steadily and inexorably to Washington. This has happened because power flows where the money is. It has happened because one of our major parties preaches the philosophy that the federal government can solve all the problems of the people--big and small. The power is concentrated in Washington because too many Americans mistakenly believe that only Washington can solve their problems.

I think Americans who look to Washington to solve all of the country's problems are wrong. They are losing sight of a great truth--that a central government which takes unto itself the burden of solving all of the people's problems will inevitably destroy individual initiative, invade the lives of the people and restrict their personal freedom. They are opening the doors to the very dangers the framers of our Constitution sought to avoid.

Are the leaders of the party which espouses federal, centralized solutions for all of America's problems bad men? Are they acting out of malice? Are they part of a conspiracy to destroy the American system of free government and to make the states and cities mere appendages of Washington? Not at all. I feel sure they have the best of intentions. But I am also certain they are badly mistaken.

In recent years the distortion of the constitutional formula which guides our American republic has become even more severely distorted. It has been so pulled out of shape as to become grotesque.

The reason is simple. It is wrapped around the multitude of federal grant-in-aid programs that have burgeoned through the years and the fiction that the federal money well has no bottom.

It has become so easy for local and state governments to say, 'Let's go to Washington for the money.'

But they find that the money lies at the end of a long bureaucratic tunnel. They often run into roadblocks. They become snarled in a confusion of red tape. They discover that more than one agency makes grants for certain kinds of projects. Which agency do they go to? How many other cities are ahead of them on the application list? They have to get into line.

It is becoming obvious even to leading members of the other major party that the various grant-in-aid programs are wasteful of time, money and human resources,

beginning with the preparation of the project application to the Washington merry-go-round the applicants have to ride to get the funds.

Some of them contend there is a lack of both the will and the skill to solve America's problems at the state and local level, and that we must force state and local governments to modernize.

I certainly favor the modernizing of our state and local governments wherever such action is needed, but I don't think the federal government should use a whip-lash to bring it about.

If the will and skill to solve state and local problems is lacking in some areas, I submit it is because the federal government has drained the people in those areas of their desire to exercise self-responsibility.

I said earlier that power flows to where the money is. If we caused some of the money that flows to Washington to flow back to its source through unobstructed channels, then some of the power will flow back to the states and local communities, too. If federal aid does not have to trickle down through layer after layer of bureaucracy, more of it will be available for state and local use.

Not only will there be savings of time, money and personnel, but it stands to reason that the people closest to state and local problems are best equipped to solve them.

What I have been describing for you is the Republican plan for sharing federal revenue with the states--a plan that calls for percentage tax rebates to the states. These revenue shares would gradually supplant the federal grants-in-aid system which now keeps growing like Topsy.

Every time another problem becomes acute, another federal grant-in-aid program is established and a new layer of bureaucracy is laid on top of all the others. Think of it! There is no end to it.

Not only does Congress keep adding new grant-in-aid programs, but not one of the old programs has been legislated out of existence.

What does all this have to do with personal liberty, the responsibility of state and local governments, the federal-state relationship and the division of powers set forth in the Constitution?

Every new grant-in-aid program, every increase in appropriations for existing grant-in-aid programs constitutes another step toward complete abandonment by Americans of reliance on individual and group responsibility, their faith in state and local governments, and their belief in private institutions.

Federalized, centralized solutions are substituted for local initiative and local problem-solving efforts. In fact, the entire problem-solving process in America tends to bog down in one huge bureaucratic morass.

The men who founded our republic did not intend that state and local government should shrivel and die.

They were self-reliant individuals and saw our America as a land in which each man was guaranteed equality under the law but owed his living to no one.

I believe the American people now are approaching a crossroads in American political history. It seems to me they are nearing a fork in the road, a turning away from centralism, statism and the dictated federal solution filtered down through government bureaus and regional offices.

Because the political signs now point in New Directions, I firmly believe the American people will fulfill a wish expressed by Benjamin Franklin as the constitutional convention finished drafting the basic law intended to govern and guide this Nation.

As he left Constitution Hall, Franklin was asked: "Which have you given us-- a monarchy or a republic?"

And Franklin replied: "A republic--if we can keep it."

This is the obligation given to all of us. This is the responsibility we bear and share--to keep and preserve our republic.

I say that we must rededicate ourselves to that high purpose. And it is my deep conviction that you--all of you--will cause the lamp of liberty to burn more brightly everywhere because you dare to stand up and be counted for America.

Thank you.

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