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Lincoln Day Speech - 1955

Abraham Lincoln was a Republican; and Abraham Lincoln was the greatest President this country has produced. Now that is not the mere opinion of Jerry Ford, nor of the Republican National Committee, although we all agree with it wholeheartedly. That is the reasoned judgment of a group of sixty learned American historians who were asked to rate 29 American Presidents of the United States. They rated them as great, near great, average, below average and failure. When they had finished, six men were found among that select group of the "great." And the man heading the list, the unanimous choice of all the authorities, was our own Abraham Lincoln, a Republican, the first Republican President.

As the historians went about the task of selecting the great chief executives of this Republic, they of necessity set up standards of value and of judgment. A great President, they found, was not necessarily a brilliant intellectual, nor an administrative genius, nor even a personality of immense magnetic charm. These non-partisan scholars concluded that a great President is one who exhibits and exercises "moral leadership" in meeting and solving wisely the most pressing problems of the day. Lincoln saw clearly the problems of his day.



He used all the power of his office to face up to these problems and to do something about them. But, and this is most important, what he did was morally right and just. This is what made him great.

John C. Calhoun was a brilliant political thinker, but his doctrines of nullification and secession were wrong, morally wrong. Robert E. Lee was a military genius, but he fought on the wrong side for that which was not morally defensible. Lincoln was morally right - both historians and philosophers agree. And Lincoln was a Republican.

I submit to you, Mr. Chairman, that today we Republicans and we Americans have another great President. Great because he is providing the country with that moral leadership which it needs to survive the day to day crucial problems which constantly beset it.

When Abraham Lincoln became President, the Democrat Party had been in power for a good many years. The American people then, in 1860, turned to the new Republican Party in hopes of finding a better government through the expression of the high ideals of Mr. Lincoln and his new Party.

The major crisis facing President Lincoln was the preservation of the Nation, the saving of the Union. Mr. Lincoln and the new Republican Party took immediate steps to meet the obligations of their sacred oath to preserve and defend this Nation

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and its Constitution. He was morally right. And today all we need do is look around us to observe the bulwark he helped construct so "that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

I submit to you, Mr. Chairman, that the major concern of your government today is the preservation and defense of this Nation. Just as Lincoln attacked the forces of destruction, a Republican President today is attacking the forces of evil threatening our way of life. Lincoln had his Fort Sumter, and Eisenhower has his Formosa. Whether to reinforce Sumter was the first major decision by the Lincoln Administration. To do so was to risk war for a righteous cause. A recent major decision of the Eisenhower Administration and your Congress was whether to protect America by defending Formosa. I can assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that this decision was not made lightly nor in ignorance of the implications.

The problems facing Formosa are intense and changing by the hour.

When President Lincoln decided to fortify Sumter he did what was right. And when President Eisenhower announced our intention of securing and protecting Formosa he did what was right. In Lincoln's day the enemy attacked and a long and bitter war followed. But it is the opinion of the best informed authorities that our decisions regarding Formosa are a step away

from rather than toward war. By definitely announcing our intention of securing and protecting Formosa and the Pescadores, we dispel any false notions by the Chinese Communists that the United States will not defend these strategic islands.

Our military experts contend that if Formosa falls into the hands of Red China, the free world will eventually lose the Philippines, Japan and the other Pacific allies. The loss of this valuable territory means the ruthless and dangerous enemy is thousands of miles closer to the shores of America. Hawaii would be our only outpost; the shores of California, Oregon and Washington would be our defense line. In these circumstances and under these conditions we are one united nation in our determination to halt the march of the Godless Communistic aggressors in the Kremlin or Peiping.

Some Americans have expressed the fear that we are giving Chiang Kai-Shek a "blank check" encouraging him to attack the mainland and thus precipitate a general war. As a Representative in Washington, I am convinced that our government has a firm assurance that no such action will be taken.

But I also want to assure you that this government believes in "preparedness". We do not expect to be weighed in the balance and found wanting at that crucial moment when some fanatic in Moscow or Peiping decides to strike. We do not accept the doctrine of preventive war; but we do accept the responsibility

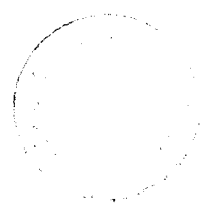


of maintaining an adequate defense of our own soil, and of helping friendly nations preserve their freedom. We will cooperate with the free nations and the established international authority in meeting hostile action throughout the world.

To do all this we must maintain a stability in our defense program. This calls for adequate reserve units, stockpiling of strategic and critical materials, mobile forces with increased firepower, and a well trained career Army, Navy and Air Force. We must be ready at every moment to halt an enemy attack and to take retaliatory measures. Let me re-emphasize that we will remain strong.

On the internal, domestic front Lincoln too, had his weak and misguided souls whose loyalty lay in the direction of the enemy. There were the "copperheads" who would travel in fellowship with the enemy to weaken and destroy a nation. Today we have our fellow travelers and Communist agitators who would destroy us internally by deceitful and treacherous methods.

The Eisenhower Administration has showed its adeptness at weeding security risks out of the government service. The administration has worked on the basic assumption that it is not a right but a privilege to work for the United States government. Individuals are deemed security risks for any of the following reasons - unreliable conduct; deliberate misrepresentation; criminal, infamous or immoral conduct; uncured insanity or mental



disorder; being subject to coercion; attempting, conspiring, or aiding sabotage; treason, espionage or sedition; associating with anyone so doing; advocating the overthrow of the government; associating with anyone so doing; belonging to or associating with any group which shows a policy of subversion; violating security regulations, or serving the interests of another government.

In 1953 the Eisenhower Administration inherited the wreckage of a "soft" policy towards internal subversion from prior administrations. The President and the Republican Congress approached this problem with swiftness and dispatch. For proof, there is the recent case of the conviction of Claude Lightfoot, executive secretary of the Communist Party in Illinois. This and other convictions by the administration are examples of the tight rein our government is drawing daily over traitorous and disloyal Reds as they still seek to operate in America.

The conviction of Claude Lightfoot for violating the Smith Act represents just one more step of the administration's determined fight against disloyalty and subversion in government. This drive has resulted in jail sentences for more than 50 Communist leaders, stripped the Communist party of all legal standing, led to the deportation of more than 100 Communist aliens, many of whom had enjoyed complete freedom of movement in the United States for decades.



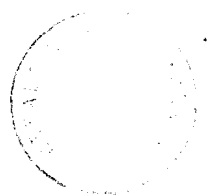
Another step made by the security conscious Eisenhower Administration concerns a man by the name of Joseph Peterson who was a code expert in the National Security Agency. This man was caught and deprived of his subversive activities by means of a routine check made under the new security program of the Eisenhower Administration. Mr. Peterson will be residing behind bars for the next seven years.

Here was a very serious security risk who had been working for the government for years and who would still be on the payroll today, undetected and unapprehended, had this administration not acted promptly and vigorously.

Before we criticize the administration's security program let's remember the cases of Claude Lightfoot and Joseph Peterson.

Vice President Nixon knows a great deal about the Communist threat in this country. It was he who was mainly responsible for the conviction of Alger Hiss. Mr. Nixon has said repeatedly that Communism in government should not be a partisan issue because there is no difference in loyalty between Democrats and Republicans. But the facts are beginning to speak and as a result they reveal that the Truman Administrations were either blind or completely indifferent to the Communist threat to our Nation.

The second fundamental problem in which Abraham Lincoln exercised his moral leadership involved slavery, or freedom



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and equal rights for all American citizens. His Emancipation Proclamation was morally and eternally right, and I submit to you, ladies and gentlemen, that today the Republican Party under President Eisenhower's leadership is the party of Lincoln in extending and expanding the program of civil rights.

Mr. Eisenhower's record in civil rights is distinguished and is one of which we may well be proud. The greatest advancements in civil rights have been within the last two years. We are all familiar with the Justice Department's splendid argument before the Supreme Court to the effect that it had ample constitutional power to outlaw racial segregation in the public schools and that it should do so.

The administration has, for the first time in history appointed a Negro secretary to the White House, and also made many appointments of Negroes to high administrative posts.

President Eisenhower created the Committee on Governmental Contracts to help prevent discrimination on jobs covered by federal contracts. Vice President Nixon is chairman of this group. The Defense Department's program to wipe out segregation has made great strides so that segregation no longer exists in Army units. In the District of Columbia 23 governmental agencies were ordered to end discrimination. And again in fulfilling his pledge to end segregation in the District of Columbia, President

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Eisenhower ordered that in new contracts for District of Columbia services, the contractors must pledge no discrimination in employment.

I could go on citing more examples but I will just mention one more. One that I regard as highly important.

President Eisenhower believes segregation in our Nation's schools to be absolutely and morally wrong. At his direction discrimination shall be eliminated in education for the first time next fall when schools open up in the District of Columbia. Regardless of color children will go to the school nearest to their homes. It is the President's intention to make the District a model laboratory which will serve as a shining example to the rest of the nation in pioneering this field.

Further, Mr. Chairman, Lincoln's greatness and his character was marked by faith in the democratic process, and faith in, concern for, and love of the common man. This, I think, is the place to present a challenge to every man and woman of the Republican Party. We must, every one of us, do everything we can to dispel the idea that our opponents form the party of the people, the party of the common man. We must demonstrate that the Republican Party has more to offer the "little people" of our land than the opposition.



This is a challenge, a serious one, but our very existence as a great political party and as a force for the preservation of the Nation depends on its success.

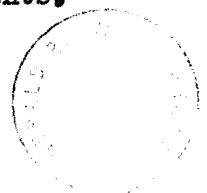
I know that the Republican Administration stands firmly in back of the "little people." There are many areas of action in the Eisenhower Administration which can be used to demonstrate this point. There are many examples, but I have chosen just four because, as a Republican, I am especially proud of the accomplishments in these areas. And after 20 years of "wrong-way" rule by Democrats, these four areas were ripe for progressive Republican legislation.

They are - housing, labor, health, and social security.

The Republican Housing Act of 1954 will raise housing standards of Americans, especially in the lower income brackets. But it will not only help more people acquire homes of their own; but it will assist communities in getting rid of slums and in improving older neighborhoods. In turn this will help strengthen and stimulate the Nation's entire economy, particularly the construction industry.

Probably the cornerstone of this act is the expanded mortgage credit facilities.

This means that provisions make it possible to buy new homes under FHA insured loans with much smaller down payments.



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For example, on a \$10,000 new home under FHA, a buyer previously had to make a down payment of \$1,250. Now the required down payment is only \$700, and 30 years instead of 20 years is allowed for payment.

There are many other interesting and constructive facets of the Republican Housing program - much too numerous to go into here. But the main group of persons affected by this act are those who work mainly with their hands or the man who may take a lunch pail to work with him.

Some groups want America to believe that the Republican^{zn} Party doesn't stand solidly behind the working man. I think anyone who takes this view is either very ill-informed or extremely prejudiced. Let me demonstrate how the Republican record towards labor is constructive and in the best interests of the laboring man.

An editorial in the New York Daily News of February 2nd entitled, "Echo From a 'Recession'," makes an interesting point from statement originating at the annual meeting of the American Federation of Labor's executive council which just met in Miami Beach.

This news comes from the AFL's staff of economists, and concerns what happened to the American working man and woman in 1954, which a lot of labor leaders and Democrat politicians insisted on calling a recession year.

Let me quote in part from the editorial - "According to the AFL economists, U.S. workers did better with the money they made in 1954 than in any other year since World War II. It wasn't that they got huge raises in pay. They didn't. What happened was that the money the workers made was real money - meaning its purchasing power stayed put. The dough they earned in former years since the war looked bigger and bigger, but bought less and less. Inflation was steadily eating away the dollar's buying power. Inflation has now been stopped, the AFL research experts concede, and we have stable money - about the most valuable single asset any nation can have."

The AFL doesn't identify who brought this great boon to the American people. This credit belongs to President Eisenhower and the Republican Administration, and to no other group or individual.

On March 4, 1913, the Act of Congress creating the Labor Department was approved by President William Howard Taft. The purpose of the Department, as it was stated by the 62nd Congress, is "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." Our present Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, describing the importance of this purpose, said, "When the self-expression, the liberty and the prosperity of the working people are assured, it follows that the broader objective - the well-being, strength and greatness of



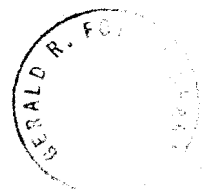
of our country and all its people - is also assured."

Our Department of Labor provides three services to the wage earner. It cooperates in the supervision of a nationwide system of public employment offices of which there are 1800 local employment offices throughout the country. Their services are free to workers and employers alike.

The Department carries on a special employment security program for veterans in order that they may better adjust to civilian life after their discharge from the service. This program includes a special veterans employment service, unemployment service, unemployment insurance system, and re-employment rights program.

Statistical studies published by the Department aid young men and women to plan for careers, provide estimates of manpower resources and demands, provide employers and workers with labor market information, and make available information on the kinds of occupations in which women are employed, their opportunities for advancement and training and other valuable information which is useful to wage earners.

In enforcing labor legislation last year alone three and one-half thousand children between the ages of 16 and 17 were removed from unlawful employment which were declared hazardous by the Secretary of Labor.



But not only has the administration provided better working conditions for children, but it has taken an interest in protecting the health and safety of working men as well.

The safety and health requirements of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act specify that goods are to be manufactured under adequate safety and sanitary standards during the life of the contract. When poor conditions are corrected because of these provisions the improvements remain to safeguard workers after production is resumed for private industry.

Last year, the Department found unsatisfactory conditions in almost 2000 of the 2563 establishments investigated for compliance under the law's safety and health provisions.

President Eisenhower showed his interest in the health of the Nation in his message on that subject to Congress on Monday, January 31st.

Contrast his sound recommendations with the prepaid compulsory program sponsored by his predecessor which was government regimentation and red-tape personified. President Eisenhower believes we must move forward to raise the health standards of all our people by a constructive middle course which steers clear of the pitfalls of socialism.

The Republican Social Security Amendments of 1954 are further evidence of what our party has done and will do for the constructive welfare of the people. The coverage was expanded

10 million, benefits were increased for the ill and physically handicapped, the retired can earn more without losing benefits and other forward looking changes were made. In fact, retired persons can now earn \$1200 a year, instead of \$75 a month, or \$900 a year, without a loss of benefits; and there is no restriction on earning of those over 72 years. It is estimated that this alone will affect 360,000 elderly workers.

The Eisenhower Administration tackled another critical problem when plans were formulated to solve the road improvements and construction problems from a national viewpoint. The nation needs new and better roads, not only to curb our high accident rate, but to promote the best interests of the country as to interstate commerce. And to create an efficient system of roads linking the country requires vast financial expenditures.

The President is scheduled to ask Congress to double highway spending in the next ten years to untangle our national traffic jam. Although the President's highway proposal has not been officially submitted to the Congress, the blueprints for the program are well known. A Presidential fact finding committee on highway, headed by General Lucius Clay, has reported to the White House, and undoubtedly we can count on new Republican highway legislation which will bring roadbuilding results.

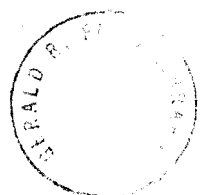
We all know, Mr. Chairman, that Abraham Lincoln has been immortalized as a President who had time for the "little people."



It was a little girl in the East who suggested he grow a beard. He listened to her. The stories of his considerations to the pleas of mothers for soldier-sons is known to all of you. The consternation to which his Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, was brought by the kindness and humanity of the President is familiar indeed. One of the last acts he performed in the White House as he left for the Ford theatre was to assure a distressed mother that she would have an audience with him the following morning.

Eisenhower and the Republican Party of today also have time for the "little people." It was an Eisenhower who could apologize to a high school girl in Michigan for a State of the Union speech much too long. So, too, Mrs. Nettie Moulden who at age ten shook the hand of Lincoln, a few days ago shook the hand of Mr. Eisenhower at the White House on her 100th birthday anniversary. Her simple expression of a desire to see the President brought an immediate and favorable response from our leader.

The Republican Party is a humane party; it is concerned with human beings and their welfare. But the Republican Party does not sponsor a wasteful, inefficient, socialistic scheme of things. We accept the President's premise that we are liberal in matters of human rights and conservative in the sphere of economics. We are moderate progressives with a dedication to the American philosophy of government and freedom of its citizens.



The gist of Fair Deal thinking, which Aclai Stevenson hopes to perpetuate in action, is that the federal government should blueprint the future of the American people and the national economy through a system of centralized planning and controls masterminded in Washington.

Republicans believe that the American competitive system of free enterprise can be more productive and profitable for our citizens without piling up bureaucratic regulations from Washington. We want to provide the individual citizen with a climate favorable to economic activity which encourages private initiative. The federal government can help generate confidence in its people when it relies on a free economy with its great capacity to create jobs, incomes and increase production to raise our standard of living. We want to establish the best possible climate in which labor and management can work together profitably. We have no desire to set class against class.

We oppose more and more handouts to TVA which has never paid interest on the money it receives from the taxpayers of Michigan and other states. It is legitimate to ask why should we in Michigan subsidize the Tennessee Valley so it can grow and develop without paying interest charges on the money borrowed from the federal treasury.

It is paradoxical that while we thus assist them financially they are urging Michigan manufacturers to move their



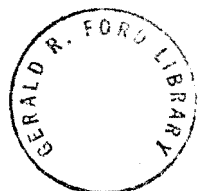
factories to the Tennessee Valley.

Our tax revision of 1954 was a step in the right direction. It is not perfect by any means. But dozens of inequities were rectified that had been legislated in the past 20 years of Democrat rule where taxes only went up and personal exemptions down. The Republican tax reduction legislation was a real attempt to promote justice, thrift, savings and investments in order to expand the Nation's economy.

We think, too, that the men and women in state government, and those serving on the local level also have the best interests of the people at heart. All wisdom does not reside in Washington. You who know your local problems should have the opportunity to solve those problems in your own way. We trust "the people" back home.

But where a real need on a national scale can be demonstrated, we will not hide behind the fence of "state rights." In fields of health reinsurance, school construction, highway improvement, we must go forward. Likewise, the progress in social security, health, labor and housing already discussed, would indicate the humanitarian interests of this administration.

Mr. Chairman, there is one final and solemn thought. This American way of life of ours rests ultimately on a fundamental belief in God. Lincoln knew this, and, we are told, carried his Mother's old Bible around with him in Washington. He especially liked the Psalms. I think most of you know that above all else Dwight D.



Eisenhower's leadership has been toward a stronger moral and spiritual emphasis in our way of life.

His act of becoming a full member of a Washington church, his attention to worship on the Sabbath, his proclamation of days of prayer, his sincere interest in things of the spirit are well known to all of you. His prayer at the opening of the Inaugural Address was a statement of humble and sincere reliance on the power of God.

Then there came the first informal meeting of the Eisenhower Cabinet. The President turned to his Secretary of Agriculture and asked him to deliver a prayer. This was done reverently. As he concluded his supplication, Mr. Benson spoke these words; "Gratefully we dedicate our lives to thee and to thy service; guide and direct us in our deliberations today, and always help us to serve with an eye single to thy glory" ... Then followed a period of silence. The President sat in contemplation, To break the silence, he spoke with that Eisenhower genuineness, "I want this house to be an example to all the homes of our country." That, Mr. Chairman, is our President; that is our Republican leader; that is our Lincoln of today.

Address Of Hon. Theodore R. McKeldin Governor Of Maryland

Delivered At The Lincoln Day Dinner Of The Kings
County Republican Organization In Brooklyn,
N. Y., On February 12, 1955

In the heart of the capital city of the two super-powers that bestride the world today stands a monumental structure dedicated to the memory of a great man. In Moscow's Red Square, and at the foot of the Mall in Washington they stand, two masses of stone, silent, yet each clamoring for the attention of a vast nation. These structures of stone are dumb, yet each voices the aspirations of a people dominating half the world.

They are symbolical, but it is precisely in its symbols that one may see most clearly displayed the heart and mind of a civilization. The Parthenon in Athens, the Forum in Rome, Westminster Abbey in London, and Napoleon's arch in Paris speak to us more eloquently of their epochs than do the rhetoric of orators and the tomes of historians. So may the two symbols of our own time, if we will pause long enough to study them and to understand.

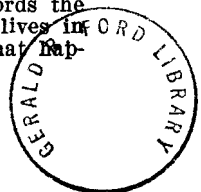
In certain respects they are similar. Both are massive. Both stand foursquare, planted solidly on the solid earth, built not for the uses of the moment but for all time. Both are focal points of history and patriotic shrines. But beyond these superficialities they are as widely different as the men they memorialize and as the civilizations that erected them.

The memorial in Red Square is secret, shut in and without doors, fortified at every point to resist vandals and containing two mummied corpses. Like the Egyptian pyramids, it is eloquent of the most futile, yet most persistent of human delusions, the idea that men can be erected into gods,

eternal and unchanging. Scornful of life, because the law of life is change, it is indeed a tomb in which are buried not only the remains of two mortals, but also freedom of the mind and spirit. It is a reminder that although Lenin and Stalin are dead, yet they claim rulership of the future, dominion over the souls of the Russian people, and it is blasphemy to dispute the claim. It is in reality a monument to what the law calls mortmain, the grip of the dead hand upon the living spirit.

The Lincoln Memorial in Washington is doorless, too, but because it is wide open, — The light may enter, storm and sunshine may enter, the winds of heaven may sweep through it, and the people may enter. High or low, rich or poor, venerable patriarch or babe in arms, none is shut out for race, or color, or creed, and the only price of admission is humanity. Save for a marble statue, it is physically empty; but it seems to me that its emptiness might well be described in the phrase that the Arabian storytellers often applied to deserts and mountain heights — "filled with nothing but the presence of God."

For the walls are covered with certain great truths that I believe Abraham Lincoln was inspired of God to utter. His dead body lies elsewhere, but the living truth is in the memorial; and it is our faith that "man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live." He who has put into unforgettable words the truth of the living God, lives in that truth and nothing that hap-



pens to his mortal frame can extinguish that life. It is to this principle as exemplified in the man that the American people have erected a memorial to the living Lincoln who, although he suffered the common fate, still lives in the truth that shall never die.

From the walls of the memorial I take some words spoken, shall I say on March 4, 1865, or this morning? For when words apply to a situation the precise moment in time when they were first uttered is not important; they are living words at the moment when their wisdom and utility become apparent. Consider the situation in which our country finds itself in 1955, 90 years later, and then imagine, if you can, that you read in today's newspapers this counsel: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work that we are in * * * to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Abraham Lincoln did not face the problem of co-existence with a world half of which is dominated by Communism, but it is my belief that if he had done so he would have altered not one word of that carefully studied utterance. He was, in fact, facing an enemy whose armies had come closer to inflicting final defeat upon this republic than any other armed force has come, before or since, British, Mexican, Spanish, German, Austrian, Italian and Japanese foes we had, or we have since dealt with effectively, and without ruinous strain; but when Americans rose against us we almost went under. It was to a badly shaken and almost exhausted nation that Lincoln addressed his words; it is unthinkable that he would be less insistent upon justice and moderation were he addressing a nation superbly armed and possessing economic power that towers over the world.

When enemy tanks, the modern substitute for cavalry, have penetrated the suburbs of Baltimore and circled within sight of the Washington monument, then we

may begin to feel what Lincoln's hearers were feeling when he urged upon them "malice toward none and charity for all," and dismissed victory in favor of "a just and lasting peace." If his counsel was wise and good then, it is wiser and better now; his body was consigned to the earth long ago, but "by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live," and words of wisdom and righteousness proceed from the Lord. The living Lincoln is still our counsellor and guide.

His profound fear is implicit in every word of that passage. It was not fear of the Confederacy. "With firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right" he was ready to face any armed foe steadily and calmly. But he knew that more dangerous enemies were advancing upon the nation as he spoke. He knew that hatred in our own hearts is a willier and more elusive foe than Stonewall Jackson and that prejudice and vengefulness can crush a nation that the military genius of Robert E. Lee could not overcome. If that was true in 1865, it is not a whit less true in 1955.

Let us, as Saint Paul advised, "think on these things" in a day when it is boldly proclaimed that "there is no substitute for victory" not even a just and lasting peace. Let us remember them when a President's efforts to restrain the hasty and proceed in accordance with the law of nations are denounced as "shrinking weakness." Let us bear them in mind when the merchants of hate are asserting that any attitude toward an opponent save one of blind fury is a betrayal of the nation. For if the day ever comes when Americans reading the Second Inaugural react with nothing but incredulous scorn, then indeed Lincoln will be dead — and the greatness of our country will be dead with him.

Our position is difficult and perilous, but this is not the nation's darkest hour. That came when Abraham Lincoln was President of the United States and nothing since has approached it. We shall do well now to remember that in the most fearful crisis through which the country has passed the most

steadfast man in America was none of the fire-eaters who had passionately demanded war to the death. It was the man who valued a just and lasting peace far more than victory. It was the man whom they accused of worse than shrinking weakness. It was the man whom they called trimmer, time-server and coward; but who, when the war had grown red-hot, and the braggarts and swash-bucklers had fled in panic, stood undaunted "with firmness in the right."

Lincoln saved the Union, not with his muscular, but with his spiritual strength; and he was spiritually powerful precisely because he lived "with malice toward none, with charity for all." Lincoln will save the Union again, will save it whenever it is threatened if we allow his spirit to govern our thoughts and deeds.

For he understood as only our greatest men have understood how the destiny of America is oriented toward the rising, not the setting sun, toward the future struggling to be born, not toward the dead past. His mind was large enough to comprehend all the implications of Jefferson's dictum that the earth belongs to the living. One of those implications is that government is a living organism that must assume new shapes if it is to flourish under new conditions. Lincoln would have been distressed and alarmed at the suggestion that his words were to be received as the law of the Medes and Persians, that altereth not. In this famous letter to Greeley he expressed his readiness to adopt any policy that would assure preservation of the Union; and because he was always ready to shape his policy according to the facts he was accused of wavering and inconstancy.

Of course we know today that Lincoln was the steadfast figure and it was those men who were willing to subvert the truth rather than surrender one of their pet theories who were inconstant. We know it of Lincoln, but it is hard for us to realize that those men of our own generation who adhere to the standards of reason and justice, even if it means a shift in

policy every day, are more steadfast than those who quote, but misapply the words of Lincoln, or Washington, or Jefferson, to justify measures that are neither reasonable nor right.

There are among us, of course, men so obsessed by the love of novelty that they will approve any change merely because it is a change. These are men who have never come fully alive, just as those who would subvert truth to tradition are already half dead. Neither immature minds, nor senile minds can comprehend the mind of the living Lincoln which is neither for nor against change, neither scornful of nor dedicated to tradition, but committed to the search for truth and to nothing else.

This is the essence of that much-abused word "liberalism." The liberal believes that the American form of government is not like the Statue of Liberty, finished and complete, but is like a tree, a living and growing thing. Normally, the liberal looks toward the future, but this does not mean that he never glances at the past. Truth is one and immortal; but it has more shapes than Proteus and he who would hold it firmly must turn now this way, now that. Yet if his grip upon it is never broken, he is the most consistent of men for he steers a true course, although the short-sighted will call him today a radical and tomorrow a reactionary.

No man is today striving with more might for the peace that justice brings, or with more realization of the overwhelming necessity for the achievement of this goal, than our President, Dwight D. Eisenhower. By his actions and by his words he is seeking to do in our day what Lincoln sought to do in his.

Only last month, in his State of the Union message, President Eisenhower named as first among the purposes of our Federal Government his obligation "to maintain justice and freedom among ourselves and, to champion them for others so that we may work effectively for enduring peace." He further placed particular stress on

our national obligation, "to labor earnestly, patiently, prayerfully, for peace, for freedom, for justice, throughout the world." Many times has President Eisenhower reiterated, since his inauguration, that we cannot hope to achieve these goals unless our Government in all its dealings acts with "integrity and decency and dignity." Just as Lincoln recognized the importance of spiritual strength, so has President Eisenhower, who recently summarized his philosophy of government in this striking phrase: "To keep America strong, our Government must have a heart as well as a head."

Thus, President Eisenhower follows the path which the living Lincoln continues to illuminate.

The man whose only policy is to do what seems to be reasonable and right in any situation that may arise is a follower and spiritual heir of Abraham Lincoln, although he may never parrot Lincoln's words or imitate any of his deeds. The ways and means that any great man uses to attain his ends are, like his physical body, part of the time, adopted to the time, and passing with the time. It is the goal at which he aims that endures through generations, and all who aim at the same goal are his successors, although their ways and means may be different.

"To achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations" was Abraham Lincoln's goal. Note well the qualifications—it was not merely peace that he sought, it was the

kind of peace that should be just and lasting. A man who is for peace at any price is a stranger to Lincoln, for justice is more important than peace, and stability and order cannot be maintained without justice. But whenever an American strives with all his might for the peace that justice brings, in that man Lincoln lives again, speaks again, labors again.

So we have left the Lincoln Memorial wide open, knowing that no tomb, however, stately, could contain his living spirit. "The whole earth," said Pericles, "is the sepulchre of famous men, not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stone but in the hearts of men."

It is true of this man. In all the world there is no country so remote that it has not heard some whisper of his fame and been illuminated by the radiance of his character. The work that we, his fellow-country-men are in, and that we should strive on to finish, is to make all men in all lands realize that he is not dead, but lives in the nation that he saved; for its lordly ambition is today what it was yesterday and will be tomorrow and forever—not empire, not dominion, not the power of arms or of gold but "to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

(Reprint from THE DAILY RECORD, Baltimore, Md., February 15, 1955.)

Lincoln Day Speech - 1955

Abraham Lincoln was a Republican; and Abraham Lincoln was the greatest President this country has produced. Now that is not the mere opinion of Jerry Ford, nor of the Republican National Committee, although we all agree with it wholeheartedly. That is the reasoned judgment of a group of sixty learned American historians who were asked to rate 29 American Presidents of the United States. They rates them as great, near great, average, below average and failure. When they had finished, six men were found among that select group of the "great." And the man heading the list, the unanimous choice of all the authorities, was our own Abraham Lincoln, a Republican, the first Republican President.

As the historians went about the task of selecting the great chief executives of this Republic, they of necessity set up standards of value and of judgment. A great President, they found, was not necessarily a brilliant intellectual, nor an administrative genius, nor even a personality of immense magnetic charm. These non-partisan scholars concluded that a great President is one who exhibits and exercises "moral leadership" in meeting and solving wisely the most pressing problems of the day. Lincoln saw clearly the problems of his day.



He used all the power of his office to face up to these problems and to do something about them. But, and this is most important, what he did was morally right and just. This is what made him great.

John C. Calhoun was a brilliant political thinker, but his doctrines of nullification and secession were wrong, morally wrong. Robert E. Lee was a military genius, but he fought on the wrong side for that which was not morally defensible. Lincoln was morally right - both historians and philosophers agree. And Lincoln was a Republican.

I submit to you, Mr. Chairman, that today we Republicans and we Americans have another great President. Great because he is providing the country with that moral leadership which it needs to survive the day to day crucial problems which constantly beset it.

When Abraham Lincoln became President, the Democrat Party had been in power for a good many years. The American people then, in 1860, turned to the new Republican Party in hopes of finding a better government through the expression of the high ideals of Mr. Lincoln and his new Party.

The major crisis facing President Lincoln was the preservation of the Nation, the saving of the Union. Mr. Lincoln and the new Republican Party took immediate steps to meet the obligations of their sacred oath to preserve and defend this Nation



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and its Constitution. He was morally right. And today all we need do is look around us to observe the bulwark he helped construct so "that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

I submit to you, Mr. Chairman, that the major concern of your government today is the preservation and defense of this Nation. Just as Lincoln attacked the forces of destruction, a Republican President today is attacking the forces of evil threatening our way of life. Lincoln had his Fort Sumter, and Eisenhower has his Formosa. Whether to reinforce Sumter was the first major decision by the Lincoln Administration. To do so was to risk war for a righteous cause. A recent major decision of the Eisenhower Administration and your Congress was whether to protect America by defending Formosa. I can assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that this decision was not made lightly nor in ignorance of the implications.

The problems facing Formosa are intense and changing by the hour.

When President Lincoln decided to fortify Sumter he did what was right. And when President Eisenhower announced our intention of securing and protecting Formosa he did what was right. In Lincoln's day the enemy attacked and a long and bitter war followed. But it is the opinion of the best informed authorities that our decisions regarding Formosa are a step away



from rather than toward war. By definitely announcing our intention of securing and protecting Formosa and the Pescadores, we dispel any false notions by the Chinese Communists that the United States will not defend these strategic islands.

Our military experts contend that if Formosa falls into the hands of Red China, the free world will eventually lose the Philippines, Japan and the other Pacific allies. The loss of this valuable territory means the ruthless and dangerous enemy is thousands of miles closer to the shores of America. Hawaii would be our only outpost; the shores of California, Oregon and Washington would be our defense line. In these circumstances and under these conditions we are one united nation in our determination to halt the march of the Godless Communist aggressors in the Kremlin or Peiping.

Some Americans have expressed the fear that we are giving Chiang Kai-Shek a "blank check" encouraging him to attack the mainland and thus precipitate a general war. As a Representative in Washington, I am convinced that our government has a firm assurance that no such action will be taken.

But I also want to assure you that this government believes in "preparedness". We do not expect to be weighed in the balance and found wanting at that crucial moment when some fanatic in Moscow or Peiping decides to strike. We do not accept the doctrine of preventive war; but we do accept the responsibility



of maintaining an adequate defense of our own soil, and of helping friendly nations preserve their freedom. We will cooperate with the free nations and the established international authority in meeting hostile action throughout the world.

To do all this we must maintain a stability in our defense program. This calls for adequate reserve units, stockpiling of strategic and critical materials, mobile forces with increased firepower, and a well trained career Army, Navy and Air Force. We must be ready at every moment to halt an enemy attack and to take retaliatory measures. Let me re-emphasize that we will remain strong.

On the internal, domestic front Lincoln too, had his weak and misguided souls whose loyalty lay in the direction of the enemy. There were the "copperheads" who would travel in fellowship with the enemy to weaken and destroy a nation. Today we have our fellow travelers and Communist agitators who would destroy us internally by deceitful and treacherous methods.

The Eisenhower Administration has showed its adeptness at weeding security risks out of the government service. The administration has worked on the basic assumption that it is not a right but a privilege to work for the United States government. Individuals are deemed security risks for any of the following reasons - unreliable conduct; deliberate misrepresentation; criminal, infamous or immoral conduct; uncured insanity or mental



disorder; being subject to coercion; attempting, conspiring, or aiding sabotage; treason, espionage or sedition; associating with anyone so doing; advocating the overthrow of the government; associating with anyone so doing; belonging to or associating with any group which shows a policy of subversion; violating security regulations, or serving the interests of another government.

In 1953 the Eisenhower Administration inherited the wreckage of a "soft" policy towards internal subversion from prior administrations. The President and the Republican Congress approached this problem with swiftness and dispatch. For proof, there is the recent case of the conviction of Claude Lightfoot, executive secretary of the Communist Party in Illinois. This and other convictions by the administration are examples of the tight rein our government is drawing daily over traitorous and disloyal Reds as they still seek to operate in America.

The conviction of Claude Lightfoot for violating the Smith Act represents just one more step of the administration's determined fight against disloyalty and subversion in government. This drive has resulted in jail sentences for more than 50 Communist leaders, stripped the Communist party of all legal standing, led to the deportation of more than 100 Communist aliens, many of whom had enjoyed complete freedom of movement in the United States for decades.



Another step made by the security conscious Eisenhower Administration concerns a man by the name of Joseph Peterson who was a code expert in the National Security Agency. This man was caught and deprived of his subversive activities by means of a routine check made under the new security program of the Eisenhower Administration. Mr. Peterson will be residing behind bars for the next seven years.

Here was a very serious security risk who had been working for the government for years and who would still be on the payroll today, undetected and unapprehended, had this administration not acted promptly and vigorously.

Before we criticize the administration's security program let's remember the cases of Claude Lightfoot and Joseph Peterson.

Vice President Nixon knows a great deal about the Communist threat in this country. It was he who was mainly responsible for the conviction of Alger Hiss. Mr. Nixon has said repeatedly that Communism in government should not be a partisan issue because there is no difference in loyalty between Democrats and Republicans. But the facts are beginning to speak and as a result they reveal that the Truman Administrations were either blind or completely indifferent to the Communist threat to our Nation.

The second fundamental problem in which Abraham Lincoln exercised his moral leadership involved slavery, or freedom



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and equal rights for all American citizens. His Emancipation Proclamation was morally and eternally right, and I submit to you, ladies and gentlemen, that today the Republican Party under President Eisenhower's leadership is the party of Lincoln in extending and expanding the program of civil rights.

Mr. Eisenhower's record in civil rights is distinguished and is one of which we may well be proud. The greatest advancements in civil rights have been within the last two years. We are all familiar with the Justice Department's splendid argument before the Supreme Court to the effect that it had ample constitutional power to outlaw racial segregation in the public schools and that it should do so.

The administration has, for the first time in history appointed a Negro secretary to the White House, and also made many appointments of Negroes to high administrative posts.

President Eisenhower created the Committee on Governmental Contracts to help prevent discrimination on jobs covered by federal contracts. Vice President Nixon is chairman of this group. The Defense Department's program to wipe out segregation has made great strides so that segregation no longer exists in Army units. In the District of Columbia 23 governmental agencies were ordered to end discrimination. And again in fulfilling his pledge to end segregation in the District of Columbia, President



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Eisenhower ordered that in new contracts for District of Columbia services, the contractors must pledge no discrimination in employment.

I could go on citing more examples but I will just mention one more. One that I regard as highly important.

President Eisenhower believes segregation in our Nation's schools to be absolutely and morally wrong. At his direction discrimination shall be eliminated in education for the first time next fall when schools open up in the District of Columbia. Regardless of color children will go to the school nearest to their homes. It is the President's intention to make the District a model laboratory which will serve as a shining example to the rest of the nation in pioneering this field.

Further, Mr. Chairman, Lincoln's greatness and his character was marked by faith in the democratic process, and faith in, concern for, and love of the common man. This, I think, is the place to present a challenge to every man and woman of the Republican Party. We must, every one of us, do everything we can to dispel the idea that our opponents form the party of the people, the party of the common man. We must demonstrate that the Republican Party has more to offer the "little people" of our land than the opposition.



This is a challenge, a serious one, but our very existence as a great political party and as a force for the preservation of the Nation depends on its success.

I know that the Republican Administration stands firmly in back of the "little people." There are many areas of action in the Eisenhower Administration which can be used to demonstrate this point. There are many examples, but I have chosen just four because, as a Republican, I am especially proud of the accomplishments in these areas. And after 20 years of "wrong-way" rule by Democrats, these four areas were ripe for progressive Republican legislation.

They are - housing, labor, health, and social security.

The Republican Housing Act of 1954 will raise housing standards of Americans, especially in the lower income brackets. But it will not only help more people acquire homes of their own; but it will assist communities in getting rid of slums and in improving older neighborhoods. In turn this will help strengthen and stimulate the Nation's entire economy, particularly the construction industry.

Probably the cornerstone of this act is the expanded mortgage credit facilities.

This means that provisions make it possible to buy new homes under FHA insured loans with much smaller down payments.



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For example, on a \$10,000 new home under FHA, a buyer previously had to make a down payment of \$1,250. Now the required down payment is only \$700, and 30 years instead of 20 years is allowed for payment.

There are many other interesting and constructive facets of the Republican Housing program - much too numerous to go into here. But the main group of persons affected by this act are those who work mainly with their hands or the man who may take a lunch pail to work with him.

Some groups want America to believe that the Republican²ⁿ Party doesn't stand solidly behind the working man. I think anyone who takes this view is either very ill-informed or extremely prejudiced. Let me demonstrate how the Republican record towards labor is constructive and in the best interests of the laboring man.

An editorial in the New York Daily News of February 2nd entitled, "Echo From a 'Recession'," makes an interesting point from statement originating at the annual meeting of the American Federation of Labor's executive council which just met in Miami Beach.

This news comes from the AFL's staff of economists, and concerns what happened to the American working man and woman in 1954, which a lot of labor leaders and Democrat politicians insisted on calling a recession year.



Let me quote in part from the editorial - "According to the AFL economists, U.S. workers did better with the money they made in 1954 than in any other year since World War II. It wasn't that they got huge raises in pay. They didn't. What happened was that the money the workers made was real money - meaning its purchasing power stayed put. The dough they earned in former years since the war looked bigger and bigger, but bought less and less. Inflation was steadily eating away the dollar's buying power. Inflation has now been stopped, the AFL research experts concede, and we have stable money - about the most valuable single asset any nation can have."

The AFL doesn't identify who brought this great boon to the American people. This credit belongs to President Eisenhower and the Republican Administration, and to no other group or individual.

On March 4, 1913, the Act of Congress creating the Labor Department was approved by President William Howard Taft. The purpose of the Department, as it was stated by the 62nd Congress, is "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." Our present Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, describing the importance of this purpose, said, "When the self-expression, the liberty and the prosperity of the working people are assured, it follows that the broader objective - the well-being, strength and greatness of



of our country and all its people - is also assured."

Our Department of Labor provides three services to the wage earner. It cooperates in the supervision of a nationwide system of public employment offices of which there are 1800 local employment offices throughout the country. Their services are free to workers and employers alike.

The Department carries on a special employment security program for veterans in order that they may better adjust to civilian life after their discharge from the service. This program includes a special veterans employment service, unemployment service, unemployment insurance system, and re-employment rights program.

Statistical studies published by the Department aid young men and women to plan for careers, provide estimates of manpower resources and demands, provide employers and workers with labor market information, and make available information on the kinds of occupations in which women are employed, their opportunities for advancement and training and other valuable information which is useful to wage earners.

In enforcing labor legislation last year alone three and one-half thousand children between the ages of 16 and 17 were removed from unlawful employment which were declared hazardous by the Secretary of Labor.



But not only has the administration provided better working conditions for children, but it has taken an interest in protecting the health and safety of working men as well.

The safety and health requirements of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act specify that goods are to be manufactured under adequate safety and sanitary standards during the life of the contract. When poor conditions are corrected because of these provisions the improvements remain to safeguard workers after production is resumed for private industry.

Last year, the Department found unsatisfactory conditions in almost 2000 of the 2563 establishments investigated for compliance under the law's safety and health provisions.

President Eisenhower showed his interest in the health of the Nation in his message on that subject to Congress on Monday, January 31st.

Contrast his sound recommendations with the prepaid compulsory program sponsored by his predecessor which was government regimentation and red-tape personified. President Eisenhower believes we must move forward to raise the health standards of all our people by a constructive middle course which steers clear of the pitfalls of socialism.

The Republican Social Security Amendments of 1954 are further evidence of what our party has done and will do for the constructive welfare of the people. The coverage was expanded



10 million, benefits were increased for the ill and physically handicapped, the retired can earn more without losing benefits and other forward looking changes were made. In fact, retired persons can now earn \$1200 a year, instead of \$75 a month, or \$900 a year, without a loss of benefits; and there is no restriction on earning of those over 72 years. It is estimated that this alone will affect 360,000 elderly workers.

The Eisenhower Administration tackled another critical problem when plans were formulated to solve the road improvements and construction problems from a national viewpoint. The nation needs new and better roads, not only to curb our high accident rate, but to promote the best interests of the country as to interstate commerce. And to create an efficient system of roads linking the country requires vast financial expenditures.

The President is scheduled to ask Congress to double highway spending in the next ten years to untangle our national traffic jam. Although the President's highway proposal has not been officially submitted to the Congress, the blueprints for the program are well known. A Presidential fact finding committee on highway, headed by General Lucius Clay, has reported to the White House, and undoubtedly we can count on new Republican highway legislation which will bring roadbuilding results.

We all know, Mr. Chairman, that Abraham Lincoln has been immortalized as a President who had time for the "little people."



It was a little girl in the East who suggested he grow a beard. He listened to her. The stories of his considerations to the pleas of mothers for soldier-sons is known to all of you. The consternation to which his Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, was brought by the kindness and humanity of the President is familiar indeed. One of the last acts he performed in the White House as he left for the Ford theatre was to assure a distressed mother that she would have an audience with him the following morning.

Eisenhower and the Republican Party of today also have time for the "little people." It was an Eisenhower who could apologize to a high school girl in Michigan for a State of the Union speech much too long. So, too, Mrs. Nettie Moulden who at age ten shook the hand of Lincoln, a few days ago shook the hand of Mr. Eisenhower at the White House on her 100th birthday anniversary. Her simple expression of a desire to see the President brought an immediate and favorable response from our leader.

The Republican Party is a humane party; it is concerned with human beings and their welfare. But the Republican Party does not sponsor a wasteful, inefficient, socialistic scheme of things. We accept the President's promise that we are liberal in matters of human rights and conservative in the sphere of economics. We are moderate progressives with a dedication to the American philosophy of government and freedom of its citizens.



The gist of Fair Deal thinking, which Adlai Stevenson hopes to perpetuate in action, is that the federal government should blueprint the future of the American people and the national economy through a system of centralized planning and controls masterminded in Washington.

Republicans believe that the American competitive system of free enterprise can be more productive and profitable for our citizens without piling up bureaucratic regulations from Washington. We want to provide the individual citizen with a climate favorable to economic activity which encourages private initiative. The federal government can help generate confidence in its people when it relies on a free economy with its great capacity to create jobs, incomes and increase production to raise our standard of living. We want to establish the best possible climate in which labor and management can work together profitably. We have no desire to set class against class.

We oppose more and more handouts to TVA which has never paid interest on the money it receives from the taxpayers of Michigan and other states. It is legitimate to ask why should we in Michigan subsidize the Tennessee Valley so it can grow and develop without paying interest charges on the money borrowed from the federal treasury.

It is paradoxical that while we thus assist them financially they are urging Michigan manufacturers to move their



factories to the Tennessee Valley.

Our tax revision of 1954 was a step in the right direction. It is not perfect by any means. But dozens of inequities were rectified that had been legislated in the past 20 years of Democrat rule where taxes only went up and personal exemptions down. The Republican tax reduction legislation was a real attempt to promote justice, thrift, savings and investments in order to expand the Nation's economy.

We think, too, that the men and women in state government, and those serving on the local level also have the best interests of the people at heart. All wisdom does not reside in Washington. You who know your local problems should have the opportunity to solve those problems in your own way. We trust "the people" back home.

But where a real need on a national scale can be demonstrated, we will not hide behind the fence of "state rights." In fields of health reinsurance, school construction, highway improvement, we must go forward. Likewise, the progress in social security, health, labor and housing already discussed, would indicate the humanitarian interests of this administration.

Mr. Chairman, there is one final and solemn thought. This American way of life of ours rests ultimately on a fundamental belief in God. Lincoln knew this, and, we are told, carried his Mother's old Bible around with him in Washington. He especially liked the Psalms. I think most of you know that above all else Dwight D.



Eisenhower's leadership has been toward a stronger moral and spiritual emphasis in our way of life.

His act of becoming a full member of a Washington church, his attention to worship on the Sabbath, his proclamation of days of prayer, his sincere interest in things of the spirit are well known to all of you. His prayer at the opening of the Inaugural Address was a statement of humble and sincere reliance on the power of God.

Then there came the first informal meeting of the Eisenhower Cabinet. The President turned to his Secretary of Agriculture and asked him to deliver a prayer. This was done reverently. As he concluded his supplication, Mr. Benson spoke these words; "Gratefully we dedicate our lives to thee and to thy service; guide and direct us in our deliberations today, and always help us to serve with an eye single to thy glory" ... Then followed a period of silence. To break the silence, he spoke with that Eisenhower genuineness, "I want this house to be an example to all the homes of our country." That, Mr. Chairman, is our President; that is our Republican leader; that is our Lincoln of today.



Lincoln Day Speech, 1955

By - Rep. Gerald R. Ford, Jr.,
Fifth District - Michigan

Abraham Lincoln was a Republican; and Abraham Lincoln was the greatest President this country has produced. Now that is not the mere opinion of Jerry Ford nor of the Republican National Committee, although we all agree with it wholeheartedly. That is the reasoned judgment of a group of sixty learned American historians who were asked to rate 29 American Presidents of the United States. They rated them as great, near great, average, below average and failure. When they had finished, six men were found among that select group of the "great." And the man heading the list, the unanimous choice of all the authorities, was our own Abraham Lincoln, a Republican, the first Republican President.

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The major crisis facing President Lincoln was the preservation of the nation, the saving of the union. Mr. Lincoln and the new Republican Party took immediate steps to meet the obligations of their sacred oath to preserve and defend this nation and its Constitution. He was morally right. And today all we need do is look around



us to observe the bulwark he helped construct so "that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

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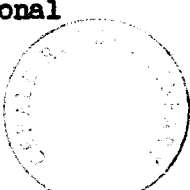
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Before we criticise the administration's security program let's remember the cases of Claude Lightfoot and Joseph Peterson.

Vice-President Nixon knows a great deal about the Communist threat in this country. It was he who was mainly responsible for the conviction of Alger Hiss. Mr. Nixon has said repeatedly that Communism in government should not be a partisan issue because there is no difference in loyalty between Democrats and Republicans. But the facts are beginning to speak and as a result they reveal that the Truman Administrations were either blind or completely indifferent to the Communist threat to our nation.

The second fundamental problem in which Abraham Lincoln exercised his moral leadership involved slavery, or freedom and equal rights for all American citizens. His Emancipation Proclamation was morally and eternally right, and I submit to you, ladies and gentlemen, that today the Republican Party under President Eisenhower's leadership is the party of Lincoln in extending and expanding the program of civil rights.

Mr. Eisenhower's record in civil rights is distinguished and is one of which we may well be proud. The greatest advancements in civil rights have been within the last two years. We are all aware of the tremendous support the President gave to Attorney General Herbert Brownell at the time the Supreme Court considered the school segregation issue. We are all familiar with the Justice Department's splendid argument before the Supreme Court to the effect that it had ample constitutional power to outlaw racial segregation in the public schools and that it should do so.

The administration has, for the first time in history appointed a Negro secretary to the White House, and also made many appointments of Negroes to high administrative posts.

President Eisenhower created the Committee on Governmental Contracts to help prevent discrimination on jobs covered by federal contracts. Vice President Nixon is chairman of this group. The Defense Department's program to wipe out segregation has made great strides so that segregation no longer exists in Army units. In the District of Columbia 23 governmental agencies were ordered to end discrimination. And again in fulfilling his pledge to end segregation in the District of Columbia President Eisenhower ordered that in new contracts for District of Columbia services, the contractors must pledge no discrimination in employment.

I could go on citing more examples but I will just mention one more. One that I regard as highly important.

President Eisenhower believes segregation in our nation's schools to be absolutely and morally wrong. At his direction discrimination shall be eliminated in education for the first time next fall when schools open up in the District of Columbia. Regardless of color children will go to the school nearest to their homes. It is the President's intention to make the District a model laboratory which will serve as a shining example to the rest of the nation in pioneering this field.

Further, Mr. Chairman, Lincoln's greatness and his character was marked by faith in the democratic process, and faith in, concern for, and love of the common man. This, I think, is the place to present a challenge to every man and woman of the Republican Party. We must, every one of us, do everything we can to dispel the idea that our opponents form the party of the people, the party of the common man. We must demonstrate that the Republican Party has more to offer the "little people" of our land than the opposition.

This is a challenge, a serious one, but our very existence as a great political party and as a force for the preservation of the Nation depends on its success.

I know that the Republican Administration stands firmly in back of the "little people." There are many areas of action in the Eisenhower Administration which can be used to demonstrate this point. There are many examples, but I have chosen just four because, as a Republican, I am especially proud of the accomplishments in these areas. And after 20 years of "wrong-way" rule by Democrats, these four areas were ripe for progressive Republican legislation.

They are - housing, labor, health, and social security.

The Republican Housing Act of 1954 will raise housing standards of Americans, especially in the lower income brackets. But it will not only help more people acquire homes of their own; but it will assist communities in getting rid of slums and in improving older neighborhoods. In turn this will help strengthen and stimulate the Nation's entire economy, particularly the construction industry.

Probably the cornerstone of this act is the expanded mortgage credit facilities.

This means that provisions make it possible to buy new homes under FHA insured loans with much smaller down payments. For example, on a \$10,000 new home under FHA, a buyer previously had to make a down payment of \$1,250. Now the required down payment is only \$700, and 30 years instead of 20 years is allowed for payment.

There are many other interesting and constructive facets of the Republican Housing program - much too numerous to go into here. But the main group of persons affected by this act are those who work mainly with their hands or the man who may take a lunch pail to work with him.

Some groups want America to believe that the Republican Party doesn't stand solidly behind the working man. I think anyone who takes this view is either very



ill-informed or extremely prejudiced. Let me demonstrate how the Republican record towards labor is constructive and in the best interests of the laboring man.

An editorial in the New York Daily News of February 2nd, entitled, "Echo From a Recession," makes an interesting point from a statement originating at the annual meeting of the American Federation of Labor's executive council which just met in Miami Beach.

This news comes from the AFL's staff of economists, and concerns what happened to the American working man and woman in 1954, which a lot of labor leaders and Democrat politicians insisted on calling a recession year.

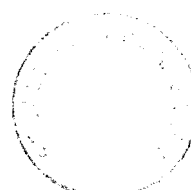
Let me quote in part from the editorial - "According to the AFL economists, U.S. workers did better with the money they made in 1954 than in any other year since World War II. It wasn't that they got huge raises in pay. They didn't. What happened was that the money the workers made was real money - meaning its purchasing power stayed put. The dough they earned in former years since the war looked bigger and bigger, but bought less and less. Inflation was steadily eating away the dollar's buying power. Inflation has now been stopped, the AFL research experts concede, and we have stable money - about the most valuable single asset any nation can have."

The AFL doesn't identify who brought this great boon to the American people. This credit belongs to President Eisenhower and the Republican Administration, and to no other group or individual.

On March 4, 1913, the Act of Congress creating the Labor Department was approved by President William Howard Taft. The purpose of the Department, as it was stated by the 62nd Congress, is "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." Our present Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, describing the importance of this purpose, said, "When the self-expression, the liberty and the prosperity of the working people are assured, it follows that the broader objective - the well-being, strength and greatness of our country and all its people - is also assured."

Our Department of Labor provides three services to the wage earner. It cooperates in the supervision of a nationwide system of public employment offices of which there are 1800 local employment offices throughout the country. Their services are free to workers and employers alike.

The Department carries on a special employment security program for veterans in order that they may better adjust to civilian life after their discharge from the service. This program includes a special veterans employment service, unemployment service, unemployment insurance system, and re-employment rights program.



Statistical studies published by the Department aid young men and women to plan for careers, provide estimates of manpower resources and demands, provide employers and workers with labor market information, and make available information on the kinds of occupations in which women are employed, their opportunities for advancement and training and other valuable information which is useful to wage earners.

In enforcing labor legislation last year alone three and one-half thousand children between the ages of 16 and 17 were removed from unlawful employment which were declared hazardous by the Secretary of Labor.

But not only has the administration provided better working conditions for children, but it has taken an interest in protecting the health and safety of working men as well.

The safety and health requirements of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act specify that goods are to be manufactured under adequate safety and sanitary standards during the life of the contract. When poor conditions are corrected because of these provisions the improvements remain to safeguard workers after production is resumed for private industry.

Last year, the Department found unsatisfactory conditions in almost 2000 of the 2563 establishments investigated for compliance under the law's safety and health provisions.

President Eisenhower showed his interest in the health of the nation in his message on that subject to Congress on Monday, January 31st.

Contrast his sound recommendations with the prepaid compulsory program sponsored by his predecessor which was government regimentation and red-tape personified. President Eisenhower believes we must move forward to raise the health standards of all our people by a constructive middle course which steers clear of the pitfalls of socialism.

The Republican Social Security Amendments of 1954 are further evidence of what our party has done and will do for the constructive welfare of the people. The coverage was expanded by 10 million, benefits were increased for the ill and physically handicapped, the retired can earn more without losing benefits and other forward looking changes were made. In fact, retired persons can now earn \$1200 a year, instead of \$75 a month, or \$900 a year, without a loss of benefits; and there is no restriction on earning of those over 72 years. It is estimated that this alone will affect 360,000 elderly workers.

The Eisenhower Administration tackled another critical problem when plans were formulated to solve the road improvements and construction problems from a national viewpoint. The nation needs new and better roads, not only to curb our high accident rate, but to promote the best interests of the country as to interstate commerce.



But to create an efficient system of roads linking the country requires vast financial expenditures.

The President is scheduled to ask Congress to double highway spending in the next ten years to untangle our national traffic jam. Although the President's highway proposal has not been officially submitted to the Congress, the blueprints for the program are well known. A Presidential fact finding committee on highway, headed by General Lucius Clay, has reported to the White House, and undoubtedly we can count on new Republican highway legislation which will bring roadbuilding results.

We all know, Mr. Chairman, that Abraham Lincoln has been immortalized as a President who had time for the "little people." It was a little girl in the East who suggested he grow a beard. He listened to her. The stories of his considerations to the pleas of mothers for soldier-sons is known to all of you. The consternation to which his Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, was brought by the kindness and humanity of the President is familiar indeed. One of the last acts he performed in the White House as he left for the Ford theatre was to assure a distressed mother that she would have an audience with him the following morning.

Eisenhower and the Republican Party of today also have time for the "little people." It was an Eisenhower who could apologize to a high school girl in Michigan for a State of the Union speech much too long. So, too, Mrs. Nettie Moulden who at age ten shook the hand of Lincoln, a few days ago shook the hand of Mr. Eisenhower at the White House on her 100th birthday anniversary. Her simple expression of a desire to see the President brought an immediate and favorable response from our leader.

The Republican Party is a humane party; it is concerned with human beings and their welfare. But the Republican Party does not sponsor a wasteful, inefficient, socialistic scheme of things. We accept the President's premise that we are liberal in matters of human rights and conservative in the sphere of economics. We are moderate progressives with a dedication to the American philosophy of government and freedom of its citizens.

The gist of Fair Deal thinking, which Adlai Stevenson hopes to perpetuate in action, is that the federal government should blueprint the future of the American people and the national economy through a system of centralized planning and controls masterminded in Washington.

Republicans believe that the American competitive system of free enterprise can be more productive and profitable for our citizens without piling up bureaucratic regulations from Washington. We want to provide the individual citizen with a climate favorable to economic activity which encourages private initiative. The federal government can help generate confidence in its people when it relies on a free economy with its great capacity to create jobs, incomes and increase production to raise our

standard of living. We want to establish the best possible climate in which labor and management can work together profitably. We have no desire to set class against class.

We oppose more and more handouts to TVA which has never paid interest on the money it receives from the taxpayers of Michigan and other states. It is legitimate to ask why should we in Michigan subsidize the Tennessee Valley so it can grow and develop without paying interest charges on the money borrowed from the federal treasury?

It is paradoxical that while we thus assist them financially they are urging Michigan manufacturers to move their factories to the Tennessee Valley.

Our tax revision of 1954 was a step in the right direction. It is not perfect by any means. But dozens of inequities were rectified that had been legislated in the past 20 years of Democrat rule where taxes **only** went up and personal exemptions down. The Republican tax reduction legislation was a real attempt to promote justice, thrift, savings and investments in order to expand the Nation's economy.

We think, too, that the men and women in state government, and those serving on the local level also have the best interests of the people at heart. All wisdom does not reside in Washington. You who know your local problems should have the opportunity to solve those problems in your own way. We trust "the people" back home.

But where a real need on a national scale can be demonstrated, we will not hide behind the fence of "state rights." In fields of health reinsurance, school construction highway improvement, we must go forward. Likewise, the progress in social security, health, labor and housing already discussed, would indicate the humanitarian interests of this administration.

Mr. Chairman, there is one final and solemn thought. This American way of life of ours rests ultimately on a fundamental belief in God. Lincoln knew this, and, we are told, carried his Mother's old Bible around with him in Washington. He especially liked the Psalms. I think most of you know that above all else Dwight D. Eisenhower's leadership has been toward a stronger moral and spiritual emphasis in our way of life.

His act of becoming a full member of a Washington church, his attention to worship on the Sabbath, his proclamation of days of prayer, his sincere interest in things of the spirit are well known to all of you. His prayer at the opening of the Inaugural Address was a statement of humble and sincere reliance on the power of God.

Then there came the first informal meeting of the Eisenhower Cabinet. The President turned to his Secretary of Agriculture and asked him to deliver a prayer. This was done reverently. As he concluded his supplication, Mr. Benson spoke these words: "Gratefully we dedicate our lives to thee and to thy service; guide and direct us in our deliberations today, and always help us to serve with an eye single to thy glory" Then followed a period of silence. To break the silence, he spoke with that Eisenhower genuineness, "I want this house to be an example to all the homes of

our country." That, Mr. Chairman, is our President; that is our Republican leader; that is our Lincoln of today.

