

Lincoln
Dun
N.Y.

Insert A

But elsewhere in the world large areas
of the homelands of every other major nation
~~and~~ have been ravaged by the scourge of war.

Production has been destroyed and distribution
systems disrupted. ^{To} Countless millions of peoples
word. ~~Countless~~ ~~millions~~ ~~of~~ ~~people~~ ~~are~~ ~~starving~~ ~~for~~ ~~more~~ ~~food~~
what there is no more food. ~~Homeless~~ ~~they~~ ~~seek~~ ~~better~~
shelter but there is no better shelter.

~~They reach for~~ shivering, they reach for ~~warmer~~
clothing and for coal but it is not to be had.

Every ^{other} continent seethes with social and
political unrest.

How can we then be turned
How can we then be selfish
How can we then turn our eyes inward

Insert B.

I do not claim to have the answers. But I do have a deep conviction that we must find the answers on the moral basis of Lincoln's depth of humanitarian vision and the ~~nobility~~ nobility of his compassion as ^{in the closing days of his life} he faced the reconstruction of this nation, its people, and its battlefields in ~~the~~ ~~most~~ parallel of national experience with the devastation of war. And I do recall to you the tragedy and the hatreds and the economic loss within our country. ~~I do~~ I do believe that men of good will within our party and without can find answers on such a moral basis which will in fact prove to ^{also} be the best answers economically and politically. I seek not to impose details of position, but rather to stimulate the search for answers by exposing precise views.

the purpose of this speech is to

Insert C

Let me make my position very clear. I do not open up the question of Republican tariff policy in former years. I do not begin a debate of Smoot Haulley or any other tariff. I do not raise an issue of any ^{previous} votes on trade policy. ~~to be~~

But I do ^{directly} open up for searching study, frank discussion, and ultimate party decision, ~~the question~~ what I consider to be ^{the} ~~the~~ ~~most~~ ~~important~~ ~~issues~~ of our time, ~~what shall America~~. In the light of the new facts, now in the wake

of world war II what shall be the ~~the~~ ~~world~~ ~~economic~~ ~~and~~ ~~trade~~ ~~policy~~? Republican position on Americas

I open it squarely now and ~~welcome~~ ~~to~~ others in our party ^{to join in} ^{thoughtfully} ^{in the} ^{debate} in the discussion because ^{the facts have changed and} ^{it will take} time to search ~~it~~ through. ^{Meanwhile} the world economic situation will not stand still.

In fact even the silence of our party, in view of its ~~past~~ ~~policy~~ earlier policy, would in and of itself have an adverse effect upon the thinking and the trends of policies in the other nations of the world.

Insert C

Let me make my position very clear. I do not open up the question of Republican tariff policy in former years. I do not begin a debate of Smart Hawley or any other tariff. I do not raise an issue of any ^{preference} votes on trade policy. ~~to be~~

But I do ^{directly} open up for searching study, frank discussion, and ultimate party decision, ~~the question~~ what I consider to be ^{the greatest} ~~the~~ ^{addressing} issues of our time, ~~what shall America~~

In the light of the new facts, now in the wake of world war II what shall be the world economic and trade policy?

I open it squarely now and ~~welcome~~ ^{welcome} others in our party ^{to join in} ^{frankly} in the discussion because ^{the facts have changed and} ~~it will take~~ time to search ~~through~~ ^{through}. ^{Meanwhile} ^{the world} economic situation will not stand still.

In fact even the silence of our party, in view of its ~~tentative~~ ^{earlier} policy, would in and of itself have an adverse effect upon the thinking and the ^{framing} of policies in the other nations of the world

Republican position on Commerce

thoughtfully in the study and

ATTENTION: Earl Hart.

HES has revised his Lincoln Day Dinner address. The revisions affect only the first four pages of the mimeographed release. Therefore, it is desired that these first four pages (1, 2, 3 & 4 only) be turned over to the Ex-Speed-Its service, together with all of the releases still on hand, and that they be requested to cut new stencils on those first four pages; unstaple the releases still on hand and ~~destroy~~ the old pages 1, 2, 3 & 4, substituting therefor the newly cut mimeographed sheets.

If the Ex-Speed-Its service deems it advisable to completely re-run the balance of the release (pages 5 and on), and if you feel that we do not have sufficient number of copies left, they can do so. This of course depends on whether or not they have saved the old stencils for pages 5 and on.

But that it is not so important. The important thing is to get the first four pages (as revised) mimeographed. Be sure that they understand that they are not to use the old stencils for any of these first four pages regardless of how similar they may appear to them when compared to the revised sheets. The reason for this precaution is that there have been a number of commas and other punctuation marks inserted and also some additional words have been inserted in various parts of the revised sheets. Principally of course, there have been three major inserts which account for the page numbering of sub-numerals as on pages 3a, 3b.

Inasmuch as the mimeographed release was made in the small type I cannot estimate how many additional pages will be required but in any event the stencils are to be cut so as to fit in with the continuity of numbering from Pages 5 and on, even though page 4 for example would occupy only a half or even smaller fraction of the page.

(See page 2
of this note)

HES wants you to send 25 copies of the revised release to him in New York City just as soon as it is available. I would also suggest that you take a quantity with you when you are leaving for New York. HES wants you to distribute these revised releases to the key papers here in Washington, to the key writers and services, even though they have already received the original release. Particularly, the U. S. News, the Washington Post, the New York Times and New York Tribune, the three wire services, James Reston, Arthur Krock, etc. HES said for you to use your own judgment on who you think HES might want to have the revised copies.

I am attaching to this memo, the revised pages of the release. They are numbered 1, 2, 3, 3a, 3b, and 4.

Tom

AUTHORIZED ADVANCE FOR ADDRESS OF HAROLD E. STASSEN OF MINNESOTA
AT THE ANNUAL LINCOLN DAY DINNER OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CLUB
OF NEW YORK, DELIVERED AT 10:00 P.M., E.S.T., FEBRUARY 12, 1947,
AND BROADCAST OVER THE MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM.

4:36

Judge Erhorn - Pres. Mackay
Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Fellow Republicans: -

I have a very vivid recollection of the first Lincoln Day Dinner that I attended. As I recall, it was a quarter century ago on February 12, 1922. As a lad of 14, I had accompanied my father, who was a Republican leader of our home rural county of Minnesota, to this annual observation of the birthdate of the great humanitarian. The dinner was held in the capital city of St. Paul. At that time, in the wake of World War I, ~~the~~ speaker eloquently discussed Abraham Lincoln's outlook toward the problems of reconstruction in the wake of war. He emphasized the sweep of Lincoln's vision, *the depth and nobility of Lincoln's thinking,* and the frankness and firmness of Lincoln's position. He referred to Lincoln's discussion of the controversy over his Emancipation Proclamation and the numerous conflicting proposals for the postwar policy, and quoted directly from Lincoln's humble but immovable statement, "If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it."

*Mr. Stassen
Mr. Erhorn
Mr. Mackay
Mr. ...
Mr. ...
Mr. ...*

To me this statement and the circumstances under which it was delivered, are representative in a superb degree, of much that I have always admired in Lincoln. In it he recognizes that the will of the people shall govern. But at the same time makes it clear that he will not yield his personal basic convictions to those of others and he indicates clearly that he places principle above public office.

This
61st Annual Dinner
Nat'l Rep. Club
is held

We meet tonight to honor the memory of Lincoln. We meet at an hour of rising strength for our Republican Party. On last November 5th, the people of our country named our Republican Party as once again, after sixteen years, the majority party of these United States. They indicated that decision by their free ballots by electing a clear Republican majority in both the Senate and the House, and a Republican majority of the Governors, including the able and outstanding chief executive of this State of New York, the Honorable Thomas E. Dewey. It is ^{also} worthy of particular note that an unusually large and able group of young veterans of World War II were elected as new Republican members of the House and

Senate. It is clear that the young veterans, moved by their experiences in the years of war, are entering political activity to an increased degree, even as more than a century ago the young veteran Lincoln returned from his service as ^{the} Captain of a company of volunteers in the Blackhawk Indian Wars and promptly entered the campaign for the Illinois Legislature, supported by the men of his generation who ^{had} served with him.

It is well that we do meet as Republicans tonight to honor Lincoln. For any student of history must agree that it is to his humanitarian policies, his forthright, humble, courageous leadership, that we owe a heavy measure of the remarkable success of our party in the 86 years since he led it to its first national victory.

It is my view that our Republican Party can best honor Lincoln today, and best serve the people, by facing in a very frank and forthright manner the great issues of our time. Chief among these is our world economic policy. This is not an easy policy to establish. It involves a very broad re-appraisal of the facts of our position now in the world and a major adjustment

of Republican policy to meet these new facts.

We have attained an amazing productive ability. Through the fundamentals of our ^{American} ~~free~~ economy, with free labor, private capital, individual management, and independent agriculture, we have reached the point where one-sixteenth of the world's peoples within our borders, are producing more than one-fourth of all the world's goods and services. We are now the great creditor nation of the world. By the grace of God, and the stalwart fighting of our armed forces and those of our allies, our homeland is untouched by war.

But elsewhere in the world large areas of the homelands of every other major nation have been ravaged by the scourge of war. Production has been destroyed and distribution systems disrupted. To countless millions of peoples today scarcity is a tragic, cruel word. Hungry, they cry for more food but there is no more food. Homeless, they seek better shelter but there is no better shelter. Shivering, they reach for warmer clothing and for coal but it is not to be had. Every other continent seethes with social and political unrest. We review these facts

with humility, as we seek to think through what this means in terms of policies which we must follow. We seek for answers on the basis of these truths.

I do not claim to have the answers. But I do have a deep conviction that we must find the answers on the moral basis of Lincoln's depth of humanitarian vision and the nobility of his compassion as in the closing days of his life he faced the reconstruction of this nation, its people, and its battlefields, in our only parallel of national experience with the devastation of war. And I do recall to you the tragedy and the hatreds and the economic loss within our country caused by other policies after his sudden death.

I do further believe that men of good will within our party, and without, can find answers on such a moral basis which will in fact prove to be also the best answers economically and politically. I seek not to impose details of position, but rather to stimulate the search for answers by exposing precise views.

We do desire for the future in America a continued

high standard of living, with jobs to be had for all who wish to work, with abundant production and wide distribution of goods and of services, with ample profits, and with an excellent parity income for agriculture, all with the maintenance of individual freedom for our citizens in a world at peace.

We also wish to see the peoples in other lands emerge from the ruins of tragic battle and progress toward higher standards of living, with more and better food and clothing and shelter, with an increased measure of individual freedom, and to share with us in a world at peace.

Can these high objectives be met? Without minimizing the obstacles, I am optimistic that they can be met to a remarkable degree, if we have faith in our fundamentals, and intelligence and determination in following through.

How can we have the best hope of attaining these high objectives? It is my view frankly that we have the best hope if our Republican Party, after careful thought and study, definitely leaves behind all remnants of a policy of economic isolation and moves forward in the leadership of America in a new policy of

world-wide economic participation. In plain language this means that we directly say that our Republican Party recognizes that a high tariff policy no longer suits America and that we believe in the increased flow of goods and materials and services and travel around the globe.

Obviously this requires a considerable readjustment in our thinking, and happily, it is a readjustment required by our own attainment of great productive strength and strong credit position rather than by the sudden treacherous blow of an enemy, as at Pearl Harbor. But the need of readjusted economic thinking is just as great as the need of readjusted military and political thinking that arose at the time of Pearl Harbor.

Let me make my position very clear. I do not open up the question of Republican tariff policy in former years. I do not begin a debate of Smoot Hawley or any other tariff. I do not raise an issue of any previous votes on trade policy.

But I do directly open up for searching study, frank discussion, and ultimate party decision, what I consider to be one of the overshadowing issues of our time. In the light of the new facts now in the wake of World War II what shall be the

Republican position on America's world economic and trade policy?

I open it squarely and welcome others in our party joining thoughtfully in the study and frankly in the discussion, because the facts have changed and it will take time to search through. Meanwhile the world economic situation will not stand still. In fact even the silence of our party, in view of its earlier policy, would in and of itself have an adverse effect upon the thinking and the trend of policies in the other nations of the world.

Let us examine in some specific detail what such a new world economic policy will entail and why it is so needed.

I recognize full well that there are a substantial number of people in our party who still follow the old party position and who still applaud the old slogans, which by changed conditions have become half truths, such as, "We cannot compete with Coolie Labor", "American Markets for America", "Protect Our Own", and others of that kind.

But I am convinced that if we begin now to frankly think this through, to face the facts, to talk it over, by the

time we reach the 1948 platform, our Republican Party will take
a new position for vigorous American participation in increased
trade throughout the world.

X X X
Proposed

THE UNITED STATES
SILVER BOND
HARVEY SHUK

Fourth
There are ~~three~~ important factors that make this position essential to the future welfare of the people of America.

First of these is the tremendous increase in our productivity. With the skill of our workmen, the ability of our management, and the vigor of our private capital, we have reached the stage that clearly and definitely in the years ahead, in many lines, we must produce for world markets rather than only American markets, or we will find our economy snubbed in, first glutted and then withering with unemployment and deflation. *This is true of wheat and cotton and pork and dried fruits and machinery and automobiles and machine tools*

Second, we have developed tremendous capital resources and have become the great creditor nation of the world, so that we need high investment of capital at home and world-wide sources of investment as well, else our capital becomes stagnant and idle and reflects in turn in idle men and economic turmoil.

Third, with the extensive drains on our natural resources through war and peace, we are becoming increasingly dependent on raw material sources elsewhere in the world for the sound long term future of our economy. *This is true not only of tin and Crede rubber but also lead and pulp and copper and fibres and zinc*

Fourth, and above all, it is crystal clear to all of us that in this modern one world, we can enjoy that precious peace with justice only in a world at peace. And this world cannot remain at peace unless there be that slow but steady improvement of ~~the~~ standards of living of other peoples everywhere. ~~This can only come~~ in turn through an increased flow of trade and higher world production and increased individual rights and freedoms, which will never develop if America turns back to economic isolation.

Among those of our products for which we need world markets in the years ahead are wheat and cotton and dried fruits and machinery and automobiles, and machine tools. Among the raw materials for which we need to look to the world in the years ahead are not only tin and crude rubber, but also lead and copper and zinc.

By reason of this combination of circumstances, the United States of America has attained a position of preeminent world economic leadership. We must either broadly, intelligently and fairly administer that leadership, or by narrow, blind, repressive action, abdicate that leadership. The result of

abdication would be chaotic conditions in world economy, a
withering domestic economy, with unemployment and bankruptcies,
and less chance of lasting peace for all.

The result of affirmative leadership will be real progress for America and for the other peoples of the world. 49

During this interim period, while the discussions of
our future trade policies proceeds within the Republican Party,
leading to a decision in the platform of 1948, it is of grave
importance that we do not obstruct the existing trade program,
while we share the responsibility of our national administration,
with Republican majorities in the Senate and the House, and an
opposition party President, and Executive branch.

A Republican Secretary of State, the Honorable James
G. Blaine, under Presidents Garfield and Harrison, first initiated
with substantial support the reciprocal trade principle. Currently
and realistically, when our national administration is divided
between Legislative and Executive branches, Republican and Democrat,
it is the only program under which our world economic policy can

Be Reciprocal Trade Program
be advanced. It is not a perfect program. Improvements in the
methods of negotiating the agreements should be developed as

Senators Vandenberg and Millikin have ably pointed out. But the alternative is either to go forward now with the reciprocal trade agreements, or to slide backward in economic isolation. I consider it to be of tremendous importance, therefore, that our Republican Party follow through with interim support of the reciprocal trade program. The impending negotiations between 18 nations at Geneva to open in April should be held, and extensive agreements should be negotiated. Representatives of American industry and American labor and American agriculture and of our Republican Party should be present as observers during those negotiations. 50

Recognizing the difficulties in world trade presented by state-dominated trading agencies and bilateralism and discrimination, we should make it clear that while we intend to move forward on a world trade program, we will at the same time not be blind to discriminating obstruction of world trade by others. We will maintain saving causes to prevent the dumping of goods. We will be interested, not only in the reciprocal relationships of other nations toward us, but in their non-discriminatory relations to each other, as only by

an increasing multilateralism of trade, fair and equal toward each other, can the peoples of all nations hope to restore and develop their standards of living.

Likewise in looking to our future Republican trade policy, we must make it clear that we recognize that adjustments must be gradual, that we must safeguard American industry and labor and agriculture, against sudden and extreme dumping of goods, and maintain quota limitations on any one product. Further we must see to it that our exports and imports maintain a balanced percentage between agriculture and industry and between industry of various sections of the country. In other words our total trade policies must be equitable so that increased imports of agricultural products be met by increased exports of other efficiently produced agricultural products, and not by substitution of industrial products.

Likewise our extension of credit in other parts of the world, our investments, private and public, must be on a sound basis, to be represented and reflected in sound development of resources in other lands, and of restoration of economic systems, and not be representative merely of political maneuvering.

One of the reasons why tariff and trade policy is most difficult to understand, is ^{that} ~~because~~ any individual producer or manufacturer is prone to feel that if he could reduce the competition for his product he could have a greater margin and a better profit. And of course, if all else remained the same at home and abroad and one single product was given an increased tariff, this would be substantially true. But the obvious fact is that no single product can be handled alone, and a program of special ^{high} protection rapidly expands to many products at home and reflects in other lands, with the result that in fact, the total markets around the world for all products are reduced. The total demands for all products declines. The total jobs in the world are cut down. The total profits in the world ^{fall off} ~~decline~~. The standard of living of the people becomes lower.

[The choice is clearly this. Do you wish to share in an expanding market with rising standards of living around the world, or do you wish to hold exclusively a shrinking market with increased unemployment and lowering standards of living.] Do you wish to sell 80% of a large and expanding domestic market or do you wish to sell 100% of a small and shrinking domestic market. It is only natural

that many would wish that they could do both. They would wish that they could hold exclusively a market which was also rising and expanding. But the plain laws of ~~world~~ ^{W.P.} economics in this modern world point out definitely that this is not possible. Just as an attempt to be narrow and restrictive between our states at an earlier day failed, so would an attempt to separate the nations ~~of the world~~ ^{*} in an economic sense in this modern world fail. ⁵²

There is need, however, for each industry and for each section of our economy to be alert so that it is fairly treated in relationship to the rest of the economy.

Another basis of much of the misunderstanding of the effect of world trade arises from ^{assumption} ~~the assumption~~ that world consumption remains the same, while production rises to meet export opportunities. The fact of the matter, of course, is that producers are consumers, that wage earners are buyers, that profit makers need products. And so it is around the world. As activity increases, more goods are produced, and demand increased, and purchasing power rises, and in this process the total standard of living moves upward. Only when pools of capital are held stagnant

or excessive governmental regulation, ^{applies} straight-jackets, ~~developments~~,
or artificial barriers interfere with the flow of goods, do we find
repressive developments. Otherwise, the continuous urge of men is
to produce and to consume more and more of goods and services.

It is of course also true that such an expanding
developing world situation will require constant adjustments and
readjustments in the industry and production of every nation. But
these reconversions and adjustments would not be one particle as
difficult as were the reconversions of war and then for peace at
the end of war.

Clearly the whole world is as close together now,
industrially, scientifically, and in travel and communication,
as the States of our Union were a century ago. It is equally
clear that if we had insisted that each of the States of the Union
should raise its own wheat, mill its own flour, make its own shoes,
build its own automobiles, tailor its own clothing, the result
would be that the peoples in none of the States would be enjoying
the standard of living they enjoy today. We have now reached the
point where the counterpart of this basic fact is upon us on a

world level. We cannot abruptly change patterns of trade and of industry developed for a century on that world level. Nor are tariffs the only obstacles. The state-controlled trade, bilateralism, quotas, embargoes, are even more restrictive to trade. The adjustments must be gradual, they must be carefully worked out, they must be met by similar adjustments in all parts of the world. ~~But the~~

direction we must travel is clear. It is the direction of increased flow of trade and of travel and of capital, for the benefit of all

people everywhere. Along that path, if coupled with sound domestic economic policies, ^{or} fair and balanced national labor ~~policies~~ ^{program}, the maintenance of our individual freedom of capital and of labor and of

agriculture, with alert and dynamic and humanitarian government, —

along that path

lies a future of jobs and freedom and high standards of living for

the American people. It is a path ^{for us} that will turn other people

increasingly in the direction of individual freedom and away from

dictatorial concepts, economic, social, political or religious.

Above all it is a path which ~~keeps faith, through our fundamental~~ ^{with nobility and compassion}

^{fundamental respect for} ~~concept~~ of the individual dignity of man, ^{ours faith} with men and women and

little children around the world. This is the challenge to our

Republican Party and our Nation in the years ahead. I am confident
that Lincoln's Party and our America will meet that challenge.

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High Production

Freedom

Peace

No Labor Policy

The 1920's

Small Business

Sound Finance

World Trade

Low Budgetary Foreign Policy

(Coy Hill) (Colo)
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~~not like George~~

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Future

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Not state all have Problems
Not like George

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CLUB

BULLETIN

FEBRUARY, 1947

In This Issue

WITH CHARITY TOWARD ALL
LITTLE WAGNER ACT MUST BE AMENDED
AND AFTER ALL THIS WE STILL OWE
BALANCED BUDGET AND SECURITIES
LAWS
COMMUNICATIONS FROM READERS
OBEY THE MANDATE

MONTHLY MEETING—FEBRUARY 25, 1947—8 P. M.

TO THE MEMBERS

THERE has been mailed to the members a mimeographed copy of a report prepared by the Committee on Labor and Industry and the members are urged to study it carefully and come to the meeting on February 25, 1947, and participate in the discussion of this vitally important report.

Mr. David W. Palley, the Chairman, and the members of the Committee met several times and held long sessions during which the data for this report were carefully considered. Whatever the decision of the membership, Mr. Palley and his Committee deserve full-hearted commendation for their assiduous task.

The regular meeting on February 25, 1947, at eight o'clock in the evening will be set aside mainly for this purpose. There will be also presented a brief resolution by the State Affairs Committee advocating the repeal of the so-called Little Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction Act of the State of New York.

WITH CHARITY TOWARD ALL

OUR 1947 Lincoln Dinner was a great occasion. The event was well publicized beforehand through the Nation and although some of the publicity was based on erroneous reports, the sum total of it reminded this Country that we have a National Republican Club and that it is not merely a New York City Republican Club as some people had begun to call it, particularly during the last decade when on occasions it almost ceased to function politically and was in danger of going out of existence.

The attendance at the Dinner was larger than last year.

A deeply moving invocation was pronounced by Monsignor Philip J. Furlong, a representative of Francis Cardinal Spellman. The National Anthem was sung beautifully by Mrs. Victor D. Werner, the wife of the Chairman of our National Affairs Committee. The Chairman, Edward Rager, introduced the following guests of honor: Milton F. Martin, our Third Vice-President, whom we thanked for making the best arrangements for radio broadcasting that we have ever had on any of these occasions, which included a television broadcast by the National Broadcasting Company, broadcasts by the Mutual Network and Radio Station WQXR and coverage by the Pathe News for newsreel purposes; George Frankenthaler, the Second Vice-President of the Club and a Vice-Chairman of the Committee; Glen R. Bedenkapp, Chairman of the New York State Republican Committee; William H. Vanderbilt, former Governor of Rhode Island; W. Kingsland Macy, the President of the Club; Clarence J. Brown, Congressman from Ohio; Harold E. Stassen, former Governor of Minnesota; Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, Minister of the Marble Collegiate Church of New York City; Oscar W. Ehrhorn, a past President of the Club; William M. Chadbourne, a past President of the Club; Mrs. John T. Pratt, well known for her activities as National Committeewoman, Congresswoman and President of the Women's National Republican Club; Thomas J. Curran, a past President of the Club; Hugh Jenkins, Attorney-General of the State of Ohio; Samuel W. Lerer, our Treasurer who did so much to reestablish our financial structure; Lester M. Friedman, a Vice-Chairman of the Committee and President of the building corporation which owns our Clubhouse; William W. Luman, Secretary of the Committee; General James G. Harbord, a past President of the Club and Judge John R. Davies, a past President

of the Club who led the fight to save it in 1938 when the affairs of the Republican Party were at a low ebb and only a few of the very faithful stood by. The Chairman expressed appreciation for all the help in making the arrangements for this successful event to the manager of the Club, James J. Gibson, the ladies in the Treasurer's office, Miss Cecilia Malcolm and Mrs. Mary Jane Gural, the Chairman of the Publicity Committee, Max Ernest Hecht, and Conrad N. Pitcher, the Treasurer of the Committee.

The speaking program began with the following address by Mr. Rager:

We are here to pay tribute to the memory of a great American—one of the noblest human beings in the history of mankind.

The National Republican Club founded the first annual dinner in honor of Abraham Lincoln. This is our sixty-first dinner. It has been our established tradition to invite to these Dinners leaders of our Party and other prominent men and women in this Nation to speak. This year again we extended an invitation to men whom our Lincoln Dinner Committee deemed outstanding in our Party. Among others, we invited the titular head of our Party, Governor Thomas E. Dewey, former President Herbert Hoover, Senator Robert A. Taft, Honorable Harold E. Stassen, B. Carroll Reece, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Congressman Clarence J. Brown, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee. We also invited His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman, to pronounce the invocation and Doctor Norman Vincent Peale, one of the leading ministers in this Nation, to deliver the Lincoln address. Mr. Hoover, Governor Dewey, Senator Taft and Chairman Reece expressed their appreciation for the invitation but could not attend because of other engagements. Cardinal Spellman designated Monsignor Philip J. Furlong as his representative. Mr. Stassen, Congressman Brown and Doctor Peale graciously accepted our invitation and they will speak here this evening. We are also honored to have as a speaker, our President, Congressman W. Kingsland Macy.

In these days of the spread of the pernicious doctrine of paternalism and a new godless gospel that it is more blessed to receive than to give and that the main function of the Government is to control the lives of each individual and guarantee to each one a successful career regardless of his merits, it is an inspiration to remember that Abraham Lincoln, who was born in poverty, rose to the highest office of the Nation through his own hard work and perseverance without any subsidies from anyone. May his example continue to inspire us and help us to win the fight against the immoral and vicious doctrines of

totalitarianism, which destroy the dignity of the human being, his freedom of conscience and of action.

Judge Ehrhorn read the following telegram from B. Carroll Reece, Chairman of the Republican National Committee:

Regret exceedingly that I cannot be with you. Previous commitment schedules me to be at another Republican Lincoln Day Celebration this evening in St. Paul, Minnesota. Even though it is not possible for me to accept your most kind invitation, I wish you, the entire club membership and honored guests to know that I am with you in spirit. As Republicans gather not only in New York but also throughout the nation to pay tribute to our Republic's greatest leader, it is important for us to reflect upon the ideals and principles of Lincoln. His dynamic and unflinching faith in America is a challenge to all Americans today. I am sure that the dinner you are holding tonight will mark a milestone in the history of the National Republican Club and that it will inspire and benefit greatly the Republican cause throughout the nation.

The Chairman then introduced Mr. Macy, who spoke as follows:

So short a time have I allotted myself for remarks that, with your indulgence, I shall proceed forthwith, thus omitting to express adequately to the distinguished guests seated with me here on the dais and the many fine Republicans assembled at this beautiful occasion tonight the privilege and the honor that it is for me to address them. We are met tonight upon this historic Annual occasion of the National Republican Club, with our Party resuming its power in many States, and more especially in the Branch of the Federal Government at Washington where I am just commencing my term. Dinners in commemoration of the birthday of the founder of our Party, on the increase the past few years, have spread all over the country greater in number tonight than ever before. The example that has been set by this dinner of ours which has always been the outstanding Annual Republican event, first at the old Waldorf and more recently here at the new, and held regularly through the long bleak period when conditions were against us, has evidently borne fruit. They say that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery.

While in nowise wishing to diminish or disparage the glorious victory that gave our Party a substantial majority in the House of Representatives and also a narrow margin in the United States Senate, I must sound a note of warning against over-confidence. To paraphrase Wordsworth we are entitled to enjoy the cheerful yesterdays of last November and may be confident, but we should not be over-confident of our tomorrows. Too, I want to emphasize the necessity for carrying out our Party's pledges in the interpretation through Legislation of what the voters clearly indicated last Election in throwing overboard as they did the New Deal and all its works. Particularly in this great

State of New York, without which Presidential success is never assured, we have had an administration that has commanded the support of our people in increasing numbers. It is coming to be generally recognized that this fortunate result for our Party has been due in large measure to a man who is a great humanitarian, a great patriot, an administrator and statesman of a very high order. To fit this distinction it seems hardly necessary to mention the name of Thomas E. Dewey, who supplies in abundance what we might well term election insurance for our Party.

Aware that a prophet is not without honor save in his own Country, I shall not attempt to prophesy, but I will say that, without the slightest doubt in my mind, if the Democratic Convention were to be held presently the nominees for President and Vice-President would be respectively President Harry S. Truman and General George C. Marshall. The extremely careful build-up for the General trends unmistakably, without questioning anyone's integrity, as leading to that ulterior purpose. It is, of course, true that the latter is the first high-ranking military man to hold the Office of the United States Secretary of State. He has a difficult task in reconciling the psychology of the soldier with that of the diplomat. We will await with interest, and without too much confidence, the outcome of efforts at such reconciliation.

What Lincoln might have been able to do had he been spared, would undoubtedly have contributed to a speedier resolution of the war-torn internecine hatreds of his day. More of his firm purpose in the right is needed now to salve and assuage the wounds of the conflict so much broader in scope from which we are scarcely yet emerging. May God give to this Nation men of broad vision and stature like unto the martyr President and grant that we as a solid Republican Party may give to them our united backing to the end so fervently sought.

Mr. Macy was followed by Dr. Peale, who delivered the following address:

I have the honor to speak to you tonight about the greatest man who ever lived in the United States of America. Towering among us like some mighty Everest, his colossal figure dominates the landscape of our life and history.

In the Black Hills of South Dakota, Gutzon Borglum has drawn to massive scale the faces of the American immortals—Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt. It has been estimated that if the figure of Lincoln, sized in proportion to the dimension of the face carved in those Dakota hills were to stand in the Hudson River, the waters would reach only to his ankles, and if he were to stride down Fifth Avenue, his eyes would be on a level with the 56th floor of the Empire State building. In such proportions does he tower over this land, and always as succeeding generations come and go do we look upon him in admiration and awe.

There is no new thing to be said about Lincoln. There is no new thing to be said of the mountains, or of the sea, or of the stars. The years go their way, but the same old mountains lift their granite shoulders above the drifting clouds; the same mysterious sea beats upon the shore; the same silent stars keep vigil above a tired world. But to the mountains and sea and stars men turn forever in unwearied homage. And thus with Lincoln. For he was a mountain in grandeur of soul, he was a sea in deep undervoice of mystic loneliness, he was a star in steadfast purpose and service. And he abides.

One wonders if the characteristics of Lincoln which have come down to us clearly portray the visible man. Is it not possible that gross injustice has been done him in the blind and careless use of such phrases as ungainly, uncouth, vulgar, rude, which were commonly applied to him by his contemporaries who did not understand him. These descriptions do not fit the man who was able to master the erudite, urbane and polished Stephen A. Douglas, nor the man whose intellectual power finally awed and humbled such men as the intellectually smug Sumner of Massachusetts and Seward of New York. This man was no rude and ungainly country politician but the most rugged gentleman and scholar who ever lived in this country. With Emerson he was the keenest intellect in our history. His actions, his figure, his deportment and his face were revelations of a superior greatness. Borglum, whose statutes of Lincoln are perhaps accredited as the greatest, who analyzed his face and figure with minute and painstaking detail, says that a person is revealed of such unusual grace and power strangely intermingled that it accounts in part at least for the towering supremacy of this man.

Most of us grew up in school rooms where every hour of the day we could lift our eyes to that rugged, sad, kindly face. We like to think it is imprinted on our own lesser personalities helping to shape and mold us in his likeness.

This great person with the silk hat, this tall figure has become the personification of America. Our political and national philosophy is personified in him. He is the living embodiment of our history, our ideals.

James Russell Lowell said, "Every man is the prisoner of his date." But a few men are dateless. There is in them some universal quality, some innate apprehension of truth which makes them timeless, at home in any century. Lincoln was of that very select company.

Lowell again said that Lincoln was the first American, that he put his impress and his imprint upon America as no other man has ever done and it is so. He is as American as our prairies; as American as our sunlight; as American as the aroma of burning leaves in the autumn, or as the scent of native flowers when spring trips lightly over the midwest. There is in him the breadth and ruggedness of the mighty land itself. There is in him something of the massive heights of the American mountains towering against the sky. There is in him something of the homely, democratic virtues of our people. There is in him something of the boisterous humor of America. There is in him something of the deep religious faith which is perhaps the truest

aspect of our heritage. Indeed Lincoln is not merely a character in our history, he is an article of our faith.

Consider the strange spell that Lincoln casts upon people of every age. Any audience anywhere can be stirred and deeply moved by the mere mention of Lincoln. A few years ago here in New York I saw the play, "Abe Lincoln in Illinois." I happened to sit where I could get a good view of some very modern and sophisticated people and watched them as they were held spellbound. Emotions played over their faces, now a smile and often tears. These people obviously were enthralled by the simple enactment of the life of a prairie lawyer. The thought came to me, "What is there about a man born in a cabin with a dirt floor, born of mountaineer people who could scarcely write their own names, who lived in utter poverty! "What," I asked, "is there about a man who seventy-five years later causes a blase and sophisticated Broadway to be spellbound by the simple recital of his life!" He casts a strange spell upon all manner of people.

Is it the typically American career of Lincoln, than which there is no story more romantic! A poor boy starting with nothing, rising to honor and esteem, finally occupying the highest office in the land. This is the American story and one which must never be allowed to die in this country. It is even yet a very great thing for a man to make something of himself. That is a factor in the romance of his greatness.

He came of good stock; of sturdy people of character. His father Thomas Lincoln, was a good man, though unschooled. He was a man of character and innate gentility.

Lincoln's mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, was one of the loveliest spirits who ever lived. As a small child she was brought up through the valley of the Cumberland by her parents. Her father, a rough and ready man but with the soul of a poet, would lift the little girl onto his saddle as they rode along, pointing out to her in the far distance toward which they traveled the long, wavering, blue shadows of the Cumberland mountains. He would say to her, "Nancy, we are going over yonder beyond the mountains—it is wonderful over yonder beyond the mountains." All her life long Nancy Hanks toiled hard as pioneer women did, everlastingly scrubbing and washing, washing and scrubbing. She wore her young life out in unremitting labor. At evening time, utterly tired, she sat before the fire reading her Bible. She read about the land that is fairer than day and always in her soul beckoned the far off wavering blue line of the mystic mountains. Always for her was something beyond, beyond Indiana and the hard labor of this life, always something beyond the rude wilderness. Then she bore a child and she named him Abraham. She watched his development day by day as is the way of a loving mother. It was her habit to do the family wash in the babbling brook which sang its way over the stones. There she worked and sang hymns while Abraham listened to the loveliness of her voice and to the liquid music of the singing stream. She told Bible stories and ever pointed out to him the mystic mountains and the home over yonder.

Tired and weary, surely before her time, she lay dying at the age of thirty-six. She placed her soft hand on the boy's head. Out of her

very soul an indomitable and deathless thing welled up. It was the everlasting urge of the American to overcome difficulty, to mount above poverty and defeat, the indomitable longing of American mothers of every generation that their sons should know a better day. She said to him a sentence that is immortal, "Abe, be somebody, Abe, be somebody."

That is a deep factor in Lincoln's greatness. That is why he fascinates every generation of Americans. He is the living personification of the American aspiration to "be somebody". If ever a day comes in this land where we no longer urge our boys and girls to rise, to achieve, to attain, to be somebody, this is no longer the America of Abraham Lincoln. If we accept the false doctrine that men should submerge themselves in the mass and that the man who achieves is unsocial and undemocratic, we have become recreant to one of the great philosophies which made this country. "Abe, be somebody" is the heart of this fascinating personality.

One cannot overestimate the effect of good people on Lincoln's career, important among whom was his stepmother, Sarah Bush Lincoln. She was a large, strong woman and when she married Thomas Lincoln she came with her own family of children. A dramatic scene in the life of Lincoln occurs when the long, lanky, motherless, grief-stricken boy meets his stepmother as she comes to the wilderness home of Thomas Lincoln. Her husband handed her down from the great wagon filled with the rude furniture which she was bringing. She stood before Abraham and he looked at her rosy face and into her deep-set kindly eyes. They searched each other's eyes. She loved him from that moment. She put out her arms and drew him to her and his lonely heart was warmed for the first time since his mother died. From that day until he died, he loved her so much so that years later he wrote, "All that I am or hope to be, I owe to my angel mother."

Dimly Sarah Lincoln understood that she had a genius in her keeping. She stood guard over him because instinctively she knew that greatness was amolding. She had a simple, elemental faith in God and in humanity and Abraham drank it in from her. There was a deep spiritual affinity between these two.

Before he went for his inauguration as President, he undertook a two-day journey over rough and muddy roads, far down into the country to see Sarah Lincoln, now a very old woman. When he entered, she stood up to meet him and he took her in his arms and they stood that way for a long time without a word, just feeling each other's heart beats, as they had done on that far away day when first they met. She looked long into his eyes and he into hers and then he went away. When he rode through great throngs in New York and Washington like as not he was thinking of her back in Illinois. When they brought him back to Springfield in 1865 to lay him to rest, she said, "That day I held him to my heart, I knew I would never see him again."

No analysis of Lincoln's greatness is complete that does not draw attention to his strong, mystic quality. There were strange, unexplored

depths in Lincoln, a penetrating discernment, the rare ability to feel the future. It almost suggests clairvoyance.

Some twenty years before the Civil War he attended a religious meeting one Sunday afternoon at New Salem. He heard one of the great pioneer preachers who was reputed to have the gift of prophecy. Reaching a high climax in his sermon, the preacher said, "I see the end of slavery in this land sometime in the sixties." Then he hesitated and solemnly declared, "Perhaps the man who shall lead us in that terrible conflict is even now within the hearing of my voice." Lincoln sat but twenty feet down the aisle. As he rode home with his lawyer friends, he was in deep reverie. Asked his opinion of the sermon, he slowly replied, "It was the most powerful utterance I have ever heard."

After a sleepless night he came to his law office and said to his partner, Herndon, "Last night I had a dream, and in it I saw myself an important person in the conflict that will end slavery. I saw myself dying for the Republic."

On his election night he lay down upon a couch and turning his head, looked into a mirror. He saw two reflections of his face; one normal and healthy, the other ashen. He arose, went to the mirror, looked at himself, and then lay down again. Again the vision appeared. He told his wife that he had a feeling he would serve one term as President and die during the second term.

One day early in 1865 he was unusually morose and when pressed for an explanation of his sadness said that he had a dream the night before in which he heard about him everywhere the sounds of weeping and of grief. He made his way downstairs in the White House. Everywhere gloom was expressed by black draperies and mournful dirges. He entered the Blue Room where he saw a catafalque with soldiers on guard. He approached and asked, "Is anyone dead in the White House?"

"Yes," was the reply, "the President is dead. He was killed by an assassin's bullet." This dream occurred two weeks before he died.

On the afternoon of the day of his death he was walking with his favorite body guard, a man named Crook. They passed some drunken men. Lincoln commented that there were many people in Washington who would like to take his life and said, "Crook, if they mean to do it, nothing can stop them." At the White House door Lincoln turned to his body guard and said, "Goodbye, Crook." This startled the guard for it had always been heretofore "Goodnight," never "Goodbye."

Lincoln had a particular dream which always preceded great events. It was of a queer shaped vessel passing with incredible speed over an uncharted sea. One day in the cabinet he told his secretaries that on that very day General Sherman was defeating General Johnston in a great battle. General Grant, who was present said, "Mr. President, how do you know that; I have received no such information." Lincoln said, "Last night I had my old dream of a queer shaped vessel going at incredible speed over an uncharted sea."

What is the explanation of this psychic quality. This great man had "a side open to the infinite." He was a man living and moving among other men but there was a stature about him and it was more than physical stature. In a deep sense he was the living embodiment of enormous spiritual force.

Of course you would expect me to say, as indeed I shall for the facts will permit me to do no other, that a basic secret of his greatness was religion. I do not mean a narrow or formal religious attitude and in fact, would prefer to use the word spiritual. God played upon his sensitive and malleable nature so that in the greatest crisis of this country's history the Almighty was able to operate in the stream of our history through his chosen instrument, through whom spiritual power could flow into the affairs of the nation.

Spiritual force was deep in him. I knew an old man who during the Civil War was a soldier on guard at the fort near Washington. During the battle of Gettysburg, he said, Lincoln several times came to that fort and stood upon a parapet looking in the general direction of the little Pennsylvania village where at that moment the ultimate issue was being decided. Lincoln finally would remove his hat and bow his head and for long minutes would remain in prayer. When he came down he had to pass the guard and once the boy said he had a look straight into the eyes of Lincoln. Though I knew this man when he had arrived at a great age, his brain was clear and rational and he stated to me, "I never looked into such eyes in all my life and I can see them to this very day. There was something in those eyes that I have never seen in the eyes of another human being. I was awestruck and the memory has lived with me for sixty years and more."

He visited General Sickles in the hospital following Gettysburg. The General asked him if during the Gettysburg days he was ever afraid. "No," answered Lincoln, "some of my advisors wanted to move the government archives from Washington but I told them it would be all right." General Sickles then asked, "But why, Mr. President, were you not afraid? Why were you so confident?"

Lincoln was silent for a moment and the old sadness same over his face and the old, deep mystic light appeared in his eyes and he said, "Well, General, you have asked me and I will tell you. I prayed and asked God to give me Gettysburg and God said, 'I will give you Gettysburg' and I believed Him, so I was not afraid."

This is simple, almost childlike, yet if I read the Bible right, the Book which was meat and drink to Lincoln, the greatest Teacher of all said that the way to really master life is to be like a child. You have to be simple to be very great. Huxley said, "Only the spirit of genius can be childlike." Lincoln was a genius. Lincoln had a spiritual antenna, sensitive and selective through which Almighty God guided a nation through dark days.

So Lincoln set his mark upon this country and America became unique among nations. In this turbulent and critical era, how desperately we need leaders like him. Be warned that if we are not alert and vigilant we may lose that cherished freedom that bears the

Lincoln mark. Other philosophies cleverly using the old familiar form of words for strange new ideas may displace the genuine and before we realize it we will have parted with those principles and practices upon which this free society has developed.

A friend describes the dramatic visit of two distinguished clergymen to the Lincoln memorial in Washington one stormy night. Due to the inclement evening they were alone in the Memorial save for the attendant. They stood long before the heroic figure of the Emancipator. Suddenly the attendant seized both men by the arms and half pulled, half pushed them out of sight behind the columns. In explanation of his action he pointed toward the entrance where a white-haired, lame old man, leaning heavily on a cane was just making his way up the last step into the Memorial.

"It's Robert Lincoln, only living son of President Lincoln," he whispered.

Robert Lincoln stood long gazing at the sculptured face of his father. Thinking himself unobserved he presently dropped to his knees before his father's statue. His lips moved as in prayer. There he remained silently kneeling. Was it all passing before him in panorama, the great stirring days of yesteryear?

At last the son of Lincoln lamely arose, stood with uncovered head, then raised his hand to his lips and tenderly threw a kiss at the Marble face of his father. He turned and slowly limped his way to the steps. At the exit he paused, turned and threw another kiss and was gone forever. It was the last time Robert Lincoln entered that honored place.

On this birthday of the great Emancipator we pay to him tribute. But we must also carefully determine whether we are kissing goodbye to traditional Lincoln freedom while unconsciously moving in the direction of a superstatism. Let us make our birthday tribute no sad goodbye kiss but a firm and determined rededication to perpetuate into the long future that unique American freedom which Abraham Lincoln called "the Last best hope of earth."

Dr. Peale was followed by Congressman Brown who addressed the gathering as follows:

I deem it a great honor and a rare privilege to be invited to address your patriotic Republican organization tonight on this anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln—the man of destiny given to the nation in an hour of crisis by Divine Providence.

As Republicans and good Americans we meet here to pay tribute to Abraham Lincoln, the man, the President and the true founder of the Republican Party, who gave his life in martyrdom that the nation he loved might survive.

Lincoln not only saved the Union, but he also led the world into a new era of human freedom.

Lincoln was a true liberal, and it is the Lincoln type of liberalism which I would like to discuss with you for a while tonight.

Of course, in this day and age, everybody calls himself a liberal. It seems to be the fashion. But when it comes to definitions of the word *liberal*, they run a dime a dozen. There are as many varieties of liberals as there are kinds of breakfast foods advertised on the radio. Each variety has its own brand and its own label. There are Republican liberals, Democrat liberals, socialist liberals and communist liberals.

Frankly—as I look them over and listen to their preachments—it seems to me they cannot all be liberals. In fact, they do not agree among themselves as to who is or who is not liberal, as well as on anything else.

It used to be, in the days of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, a liberal was a person who believed so much in human liberty that he wanted to share it with all mankind. His greatest desire was to increase human liberty for every human being.

Abraham Lincoln once said—*The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people just now are in need of one.* Were Mr. Lincoln with us here tonight he would probably say the same thing about liberalism. In his amazingly homey manner he would undoubtedly point out that everybody wants to be known as a liberal but refuses to answer why. Undoubtedly there are many different reasons why so many people want to be called *liberal*. From my own experience in Congress I am convinced that the activities and desires of many so-called liberals are limited to being liberal with other people's money.

Now I do not want anyone to misunderstand me. I certainly do not believe—nor do I want you to think—that the Republican Party is either illiberal or reactionary. Instead, ours is a party which believes in the great fundamental of American civilization; that the Government was created by the people, in their common interest, to perform those tasks which they desire and need to perform in common—to do those things which the common weal requires to be done through a common effort.

No true Republican can possibly believe that the Government of the United States rules its people, or that the people are but hostages of government. Rather, we believe that the inalienable rights of the people cannot be weakened or lessened, whittled away or legislated out of existence, in a free country, such as ours is—and must always remain. The so-called liberals of the New Deal differ on that. They believe the Government is the master. This was evidenced by the words of the leader of the New Deal, who once said—"We have forged new instruments of power."

As Republicans and true liberals we deny that any individual, any party, or any group of men within our nation, can forge new instruments of power. To believe otherwise would be a total negation of true Americanism which holds that all power is vested in the people, and

that all public officials—whether elected or appointed—are but instruments of the people.

If that thought describes liberalism, I am for it.

If anything else is liberalism, I am against it.

I speak of this tonight because it has become fashionable in this country, not only for all kinds of diverse persons to call themselves liberals, but for all such folks to look away from their own country and toward the failures of Europe, the foreign experiments which missed fire, the alien trickeries and obscurities that brought to millions of human beings nothing but hunger, misery and death. Why such people think the political and economic systems and theories of the Old World are so much better than our own is hard to understand.

If our form of government, our type of free economy and our way of life are all such poor ones, why is it that we alone, of all the peoples of the world, are able—after two great wars and a depression that lasted ten long years—to feed ourselves and as much of the rest of the world as we are permitted to enter? Why is it that we have been able to contribute more than seventy per cent of the cost of all the operations of UNRRA, in addition to the charitable work of our armed forces and our welfare agencies among both conquered and liberal peoples? Why is it that we have been able to carry the greatest burden of taxation and the heaviest load of debt ever known in the history of man without impoverishing our own people?

Why, may I ask, have we, among all the peoples of the Earth, been strong enough to safeguard the liberties of man, to preserve his civil rights, and to protect him from tyranny of government which elsewhere has enslaved him?

Certainly our American system must have real virtue to have accomplished all of these things. It must have real value if, in an era when opposition is being ruthlessly trampled under foot by those in power, the people of this country could, in a free election, choose and give to the opposition party a majority in the Congress, while leaving the new minority in control of the Executive Department. It must have real worth, when these two political parties, without compromising their position, can cooperate fully and patriotically in forming and supporting a national foreign policy.

It is free men who can, with dignity and high principle, choose their pathways and walk them without fear. And, if the necessities of national welfare require that these paths converge and meet, that, too, is accomplished—not in terror and in trembling—but in the true spirit of free men who unite in love of country without in any way sacrificing the individuality of their convictions.

If this is liberalism, I am for it.

But any system or theory which involves compulsion of mind and spirit, as it does in many lands, and as some would have it here, cannot properly be called liberalism, and I desire a more accurately descriptive label.

You have undoubtedly noted that after the election of last November fifth the New Deal liberals broke up into many groups. One group is called ADA, as was announced at a meeting in Washington. Another is called PCA, which seems to be PAC somewhat twisted. That group was organized in New York. These ancient so-called liberals now designate themselves as Progressives, but they hate each other.

The ADA group say they refuse to associate with known Communists. The PCA folks are not so particular. One group is headed by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt; the other by Henry Wallace. It appears as though the object of each is the defeat of the Democratic Party in 1948 on the theory that if they and their New Deal friends cannot own the Democratic Party, then they will smash it.

If that be liberalism, I say, let them smash away.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am convinced that the people of America are sick and tired of slogans, catch-phrases and tricky words. I feel certain that they are weary of charm without substance, of prose without philosophy. They are fed up with the schemers, the clever manipulators and the poll followers.

What the people of the United States seek today is honest political leadership based upon home-spun American principles. They want a government that serves but does not master them. They want public officials who, adhering to the ideals of this nation, apply practical common sense to its management. They desire a President who is frank, out-spoken, honest, fearless—one who says what he means and means what he says without regard to the momentary flurries of popularity. Most of all they want to be permitted to attend to their own affairs; to provide for their own families by their own labor; to determine and supervise the education of their own children; and to take an active part in restoring friendly relations among differing human beings, each of whom is endowed with certain inalienable rights by the Creator in whom all Americans believe.

Those of us who belong to the Republican Party, differing from those who prate so loudly of their liberalism, recognize the imperfections of man and are able to refrain from attributing to ourselves those qualities of omniscience which only the Deity can possess. We appreciate that the people may not always be right, or always act wisely, but that out of necessity they have the right of choice—the right to decide for themselves—as to the pattern their own lives shall follow.

No Republican desires to control the life or acts of anyone else.

As Abraham Lincoln so wisely put it: "Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this war, we shall have those who are as weak and strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good."

There are one hundred and forty million of us who are like that today. We have our weaknesses and our strength. We have our foolishness and our wisdom. We are both bad and good. But together we have produced the freest, happiest, most prosperous country on earth—the envy of all the world.

Let us keep America great, happy and prosperous, but even more, let us keep her free.

Judge Ehrhorn was called on by the Chairman to introduce Mr. Stassen. He made the following remarks:

It was on Lincoln's Birthday in 1933 that as the then President of this Club I stood in this place and greeted you and our guests in its behalf.

Need I remind you that conditions generally were not favorable for men of our political beliefs after the election of November 1932, nor were the prospects of a successful Lincoln Day Dinner in 1933 propitious. Yet when our then President of the U.S. accepted my transmitted invitation and attended with his (and our) gracious First Lady of the land, they appeared on this platform together with the members of the President's Cabinet and their ladies, to greet an up to that time unsurpassed attendance of well over 1500 diners.

Although a defeated candidate for re-election, President Hoover and we all were thrilled by an enthusiastic ovation to him as a man and a statesman that I am sure has not faded from his memory, as it has not from mine, and we rejoice that this Administration has recognized and used, in fact is at this moment using, his great talents for the benefit of our country and of humanity.

Today, I need not tell you, we meet under other and better auspices; and although our Lincoln Dinners are not political in purpose, and we meet to laud and honor the great Emancipator and his memory, as well as to be instructed and inspired by the contemplation of his life and works, yet we cannot forget, that though he may *now* belong to the ages, he *did* belong to the party whose principles the most of you profess.

Throughout the 61 years since this Club inaugurated the celebration of Lincoln's natal day by appropriate programs, Republicans of all shades of thought and beliefs, and yet other great Americans have here found an appreciative, thoughtful and generous audience.

Tonight is no exception to that rule.

We are honored to have with us a man who served with distinction as Governor of the great State of Minnesota and who abandoned for several years an illustrious political career to volunteer for service for his Country and its cause, in the last war. Upon his return from the United States Navy to civilian life, he again resumed his interest and activities in the affairs of our Country. I present to you, former Governor of Minnesota, Harold E. Stassen.

Mr. Stassen spoke as follows:

I have a very vivid recollection of the first Lincoln Day Dinner that I attended. As I recall, it was a quarter century ago on February 12,

1922. As a lad of 14, I had accompanied my father, who was a Republican leader of our home rural county of Minnesota, to this annual observation of the birthdate of the great humanitarian. The dinner was held in the capital city of St. Paul. At that time in the wake of World War I, the speaker eloquently discussed Abraham Lincoln's outlook toward the problems of reconstruction in the wake of war. He emphasized the sweep of Lincoln's vision and the frankness and firmness of Lincoln's position. He referred to Lincoln's discussion of the controversy over his Emancipation Proclamation and the numerous conflicting proposals for the postwar policy, and quoted directly from Lincoln's humble but immovable statement, "If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it."

To me this statement and the circumstances under which it was delivered, are representative in a superb degree, of much that I have always admired in Lincoln. In it he recognizes that the will of the people shall govern. But at the same time makes it clear that he will not yield his personal basic convictions to those of others and he indicates clearly that he places principle above public office.

We meet tonight to honor the memory of Lincoln. We meet at an hour of rising strength for our Republican Party. On last November 5th, the people of our country named our Republican Party as once again, after sixteen years, the majority party of these United States. They indicated that decision by their free ballot by electing a clear Republican majority in both the Senate and the House and a Republican majority of the Governors, including the able and outstanding chief executive of this State of New York, the Honorable Thomas E. Dewey. It is worthy of particular note that an unusually large and able group of young veterans of World War II were elected as new Republican members of the House and Senate. It is clear that the young veterans, moved by their experiences in the years of war are entering political activity to an increased degree, even as more than a century ago the young veteran Lincoln returned from his service as a Captain of a company of volunteers in the Blackhawk Indian Wars and promptly entered the campaign for the Illinois Legislature supported by the men of his generation who served with him.

It is well that we do meet as Republicans tonight to honor Lincoln. For any student of history must agree that it is to his humanitarian policies, his forthright, humble, courageous leadership, that we owe a heavy measure of the remarkable success of our party in the 86 years since he led it to its first national victory.

It is my view that our Republican Party can best honor Lincoln today, and best serve the people, by facing in a very frank and forthright manner the great issues of our time. Chief among these is our world economic policy. This is not an easy policy to establish. It involves a very broad re-appraisal of the facts of our position now in the world and a major adjustment of Republican policy to meet these new facts.

We have attained an amazing productive ability. Through the fundamentals of our free economy, with free labor, private capital, indi-

vidual management, and independent agriculture, we have reached the point where one-sixteenth of the world's peoples within our borders are producing more than one-fourth of all the world's goods and services. By the grace of God, and the stalwart fighting of our armed forces and those of our allies, our homeland is untouched by war. We are now the great creditor nation of the world. We review these facts not boastfully, not arrogantly, but with humility, as we seek to think through what this means in terms of policies which we must follow. We seek for answers on the basis of these truths.

We desire for the future a continued high standard of living, with jobs to be had for all who wish to work, with abundant production and wide distribution of goods and services, with ample profits, and with an excellent parity income for agriculture, all with the maintenance of individual freedom for our citizens in a world at peace.

We wish to see the peoples in other lands likewise make progress for higher standards of living, with more and better food and clothing and shelter, with an increased measure of individual freedom, and to share with us in a world at peace.

Can these high objectives be met? They constitute a "large order". But, without minimizing the obstacles, I am optimistic that they can be met to a remarkable degree if we have faith in our fundamentals and intelligence and determination in following through.

How can we have the best hope of attaining these high objectives? It is my view frankly that we have the best hope of attaining these objectives if our Republican Party, after careful thought and study, definitely leaves behind all remnants of a policy of economic isolation and moves forward in the leadership of America in a new policy of world-wide economic participation. In plain language this means that we directly say that our Republican Party recognizes that a high tariff policy no longer suits America and that we believe in the increased flow of goods and materials and services and travel around the globe.

Obviously this requires a considerable readjustment in our thinking, and happily it is a readjustment required by our own attainment of great productive strength and strong credit position rather than by the sudden treacherous blow of an enemy as at Pearl Harbor. But the need of readjusted economic thinking is just as great as the need of readjusted military and political thinking that arose at the time of Pearl Harbor.

Let us examine in some specific detail what such a policy will entail and why it is so needed. I recognize full well that there are a substantial number of people in our party who still follow the old party position and who still applaud the old slogans, which by changed conditions have become half truths, such as, "We cannot compete with Coolie Labor", "American Markets for America", "Protect Our Own", and others of that kind.

But I am convinced that if we begin now to frankly think this through, to face the facts, to talk it over, by the time we reach the 1948 platform, our Republican Party will take a new position for

vigorous American participation and increased trade throughout the world.

There are three important factors that make this position essential to the future welfare of the people of America.

First of these is the tremendous increase in our productivity. With the skill of our workmen, the ability of our management, and the vigor of our private capital, we have reached the stage that clearly and definitely in the years ahead, in many lines, we must produce for world markets rather than only American markets, or we will find our economy snubbed in, first glutted and then withering with unemployment and deflation.

Second, we have developed tremendous capital resources and have become the great creditor nation of the world, so that we need high investment of capital at home and world-wide sources of investment as well, else our capital becomes stagnant and idle and reflects in turn in idle men and economic turmoil.

Third, with the extensive drains on our natural resources through war and peace, we are becoming increasingly dependent on raw material sources elsewhere in the world for the sound long term future of our economy.

Fourth, and above all, it is crystal clear to all of us that in this modern one world, we can enjoy that precious peace with justice only in a world at peace. And this world cannot remain at peace unless there be that slow but steady improvement of standards of living of other peoples everywhere. This can only come in turn through an increased flow of trade and higher world production and increased individual rights and freedoms, which will never develop if America turns back to economic isolation.

Among those of our products for which we need world markets in the years ahead are wheat and cotton and dried fruits and machinery and automobiles, and machine tools. Among the raw materials for which we need to look to the world in the years ahead are not only tin and crude rubber, but also lead and copper and zinc.

By reason of this combination of circumstances, the United States of America has attained a position of preeminent world economic leadership. We must either broadly, intelligently and fairly administer that leadership, or by narrow, blind, repressive action, abdicate that leadership. The result of abdication would be chaotic conditions in world economy, a withering domestic economy, with unemployment and bankruptcies, and less chance of lasting peace for all.

During this interim period, while the discussions of our future trade policies proceeds within the Republican Party, leading to a decision in the platform of 1948, it is of grave importance that we do not obstruct the existing trade program, while we share the responsibility of our national administration, with Republican majorities in the Senate and the House, and an opposition party President and Executive branch.

A Republican Secretary of State, the Honorable James G. Blaine, under Presidents Garfield and Harrison, first initiated with substantial support the reciprocal trade principle. Currently and realistically, when our national administration is divided between Legislative and Executive branches, Republican and Democrat, it is the only program under which our world economic policy can be advanced. It is not a perfect program. Improvements in the methods of negotiating the agreements should be developed as Senators Vandenberg and Millikin have ably pointed out. But the alternative is either to go forward now with the reciprocal trade agreements, or to slide backward in economic isolation. I consider it to be of tremendous importance, therefore, that our Republican Party follow through with interim support of the reciprocal trade program. The impending negotiations between 18 nations at Geneva to open in April should be held, and extensive agreements should be negotiated. Representatives of American industry and American Labor and American agriculture and of our Republican Party should be present as observers during those negotiations.

Recognizing the difficulties in world trade presented by state-dominated trading agencies and bilateralism and discrimination, we should make it clear that while we intend to move forward on a world trade program, we will at the same time not be blind to discriminating obstruction of world trade by others. We will maintain saving causes to prevent the dumping of goods. We will be interested, not only in the reciprocal relationships of other nations toward us, but in their non-discriminatory relations to each other, as only by an increasing multilateralism of trade, fair and equal toward each other, can the peoples of all nations hope to restore and develop their standards of living.

Likewise in looking to our future Republican trade policy, we must make it clear that we recognize that adjustments must be gradual, that we must safeguard American industry and labor and agriculture, against sudden and extreme dumping of goods, and maintain quota limitations on any one product. Further we must see to it that our exports and imports maintain a balanced percentage between agriculture and industry and between industry of various sections of the country. In other words our total trade policies must be equitable so that increased imports of agricultural products be met by increased exports of other efficiently produced agricultural products, and not by substitution of industrial products.

Likewise our extension of credit in other parts of the world, our investments, private and public, must be on a sound basis, to be represented and reflected in sound development of resources in other lands, and of restoration of economic systems, and not be representative merely of political maneuvering.

One of the reasons why tariff and trade policy is most difficult to understand, is because any individual producer or manufacturer is prone to feel that if he could reduce the competition for his product he could have a greater margin and a better profit. And of course, if all else remained the same at home and abroad and one single product was given an increased tariff, this would be substantially true. But the obvious fact is that no single product can be handled alone, and a

program of special protection rapidly expands to many products at home and reflects in other lands, with the result that in fact, the total markets around the world for all products are reduced. The total demands for all products declines. The total jobs in the world are cut down. The total profits in the world decline. The standard of living of the people becomes lower.

The choice is clearly this. Do you wish to share in an expanding market with rising standards of living around the world, or do you wish to hold exclusively a shrinking market with increased unemployment and lowering standards of living. Do you wish to sell 80% of a large and expanding domestic market or do you wish to sell 100% of a small and shrinking domestic market. It is only natural that many would wish that they could do both. They would wish that they could hold exclusively a market which was also rising and expanding. But the plain laws of world economics in this modern world point out definitely that this is not possible. Just as an attempt to be narrow and restrictive between our states at an earlier day failed, so would an attempt to separate the nations of the world in an economic sense in this modern world fail.

There is need, however, for each industry and for each section of our economy to be alert so that it is fairly treated in relationship to the rest of the economy.

Another basis of much of the misunderstanding of the effect of world trade arises from the assumption that world consumption remains the same, while production rises to meet export opportunities. The fact of the matter, of course, is that producers are consumers, that wage earners are buyers, that profit makers need products. And so it is around the world. As activity increases, more goods are produced, and demand increased, and purchasing power rises, and in this process the total standard of living moves upward. Only when pools of capital are held stagnant or excessive governmental regulation straight-jackets developments, or artificial barriers interfere with the flow of goods, do we find repressive developments. Otherwise, the continuous urge of man is to produce and to consume more and more of goods and services.

It is of course also true that such an expanding developing world situation will require constant adjustments and readjustments in the industry and production of every nation. But these reconversions and adjustments would not be one particle as difficult as were the reconversions of war and then for peace at the end of war.

Clearly the whole world is as close together now, industrially, scientifically, and in travel and communication, as the States of our Union were a century ago. It is equally clear that if we had insisted that each of the States of the Union should raise its own wheat, mill its own flour, make its own shoes, build its own automobiles, tailor its own clothing, the result would be that the peoples in none of the States would be enjoying the standard of living they enjoy today. We have now reached the point where the counterpart of this basic fact is upon us on a world level. We cannot abruptly change patterns of trade and of industry developed for a century on that world level. Nor are tariffs the only obstacles. The state-controlled trade, bilateralism, quotas, embargoes, are even more restrictive to trade. The adjustment must be

gradual, they must be carefully worked out, they must be met by similar adjustments in all parts of the world. But the direction we must travel is clear. It is the direction of increased flow of trade and of travel and of capital, for the benefit of all people everywhere. Along that path, if coupled with sound domestic economic policies, fair and balanced national labor policies, the maintenance of our individual freedom of capital and of labor and of agriculture, with alert and dynamic and humanitarian government, lies a future of jobs and freedom and high standards of living for the American people. It is a path that will turn other people increasingly in the direction of individual freedom and away from dictatorial concepts, economic, social, political or religious. Above all it is a path which keeps faith, through our fundamental concept of the individual dignity of man, with men and women and little children around the world. This is the challenge to our Republican Party and our Nation in the years ahead. I am confident that Lincoln's Party and our America will meet that challenge.

Those present were most responsive to the addresses and the speakers were interrupted frequently by cheers and applause.

The dinner was well served in the tradition established by the famous Oscar of the Waldorf.

The Chairman then made the following statement:

As we are about to adjourn, we must not forget the founder of the first Lincoln Dinner, Colonel Andrew B. Humphrey who attended all the dinners until 1944. A short time before his death, he expressed the hope that the Club would continue in existence as a national institution devoted to the cause of good government and maintain its truly American traditions. He was the last living founder of the Club. He is gone but we must resolve that his indomitable spirit which was that of a true disciple of Abraham Lincoln continues to prevail among us. Let us stand for a moment in silence in memory of Colonel Humphrey and Abraham Lincoln and let us close this dinner "with charity toward all and malice toward none".

Everyone then stood in silence and the dinner was adjourned.

LITTLE WAGNER ACT MUST BE AMENDED

AT the meeting of the Club held on January 28, 1947, the State Affairs Committee under the leadership of Clifton F. Weidlich introduced the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the so-called Little Wagner Act of the State of New York (New York State Labor Relations Act), patterned upon the Federal Wagner Act (National Labor Relations Act), fails to recognize that in industrial disputes the general welfare and the public health and safety are paramount to the interests of either of the parties to such controversies, and

WHEREAS, said Act contains a list of "unfair labor practices" directed against employers only, without similar prohibitions against such practices on the part of labor unions,

NOW, THEREFORE, be it

RESOLVED that the New York State Labor Relations Act be generally amended and revised with the objective of minimizing labor strife and reducing work stoppages in industry in New York State, and be it further

RESOLVED that such restrictions against "unfair labor practices" be made binding on both employers and labor unions alike, and be it further

RESOLVED that the New York State Labor Relations Act be specifically amended to provide that representatives of management, viz., foremen, superintendents or persons acting in defined supervisory capacities shall not be eligible for membership in the same union, or one identified therewith, to which subordinate employees under their supervision belong, and be it further

RESOLVED that copies of this resolution shall be forwarded to the Governor of the State of New York, to the President of the Senate, to the Speaker of the Assembly and to Chairmen of the committees on labor and industry of both the Senate and the Assembly.

Mr. Palley urged that action on this resolution be deferred until the Committee on Labor and Industry has made its report. Mr. Jac Wolff spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution and stated that in view of the fact that the Legislature of the State of New York was in session and might adjourn before the next meeting of the Club, it was important not to delay the decision on this subject any longer. Mr. Davis moved

to table the resolution. The motion was seconded. The motion was submitted to a vote and was declared lost. Messrs. George Williams and Robert Lerer spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution and urged that a definite stand be taken and that the Club avoid straddling and hedging on labor as well as on any other issues. There must be no further delay in according fair and equal treatment both the employee and employer. Mr. Larkin urged that New York State, which is controlled by a Republican legislature, assume the leadership in passing the right labor legislation. Mr. Werner moved the following amendments:

"RESOLVED, that legislation be enacted that will outlaw the closed shop and the check off and that will make sympathetic and jurisdictional strikes illegal because they promote monopoly and jeopardize the economic welfare of the state,

FURTHER RESOLVED, that legislation be enacted that will make illegal strikes in public utilities, communications, transportation and other vital industries where strikes in these industries can paralyze a large part of the entire State economic system."

The motion was seconded. Mr. Werner urged the adoption of these amendments since they affected the freedom of Americans to work. As an illustration for the necessity for passing such legislation, Mr. Werner cited the tug boat strike in New York Harbor in February, 1946, which almost resulted in the cancellation of our Lincoln Dinner which we had held theretofore for fifty-nine years. Messrs. Jac Wolff and William S. Bennet opposed the amendments as not being germane to the resolution before the membership and not timely. Mr. Richter spoke in opposition to the resolution and urged delay. The amendments were submitted to a vote and were declared lost. The resolution was then submitted to a vote and declared carried.

Mr. Weidlich then introduced the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, the present Administration of the State of New York, under the leadership of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, has made great advance in the study and improvement of the treatment and care of the mentally ill and has adopted a practical policy for the betterment of the general health of the people of the State of New York, and

WHEREAS, in part because of the failure of the general public to recognize that the problem of alcoholism is a disease which with proper medical care and treatment in the early stages of its course may be checked or prevented, and

WHEREAS, the whole problem of alcohol addiction, including the treatment and care of chronic alcoholics and the prevention of addiction to alcohol by persons suffering from acute intoxication, has long required special attention in both its medical and legal aspects,

NOW, THEREFORE, Be it

RESOLVED that the National Republican Club recommends to the Legislature of the State of New York the establishment of a Commission, consisting of representatives of the general public and of the medical and legal professions, for the purposes of arousing public interest in the problem of alcohol addiction, the dissemination of knowledge of scientific methods of dealing with alcoholics, chronic or potential, their care and treatment, and a thorough study of the statutory laws and ordinances pertaining to inebriety, to the end that such laws and ordinances may be revised and additional laws enacted, if necessary, as will bring about constructive scientifically approved methods for the care and treatment of persons suffering from alcohol addiction in the State of New York, and further

RESOLVED that copies hereof be sent to the Governor, to the Chairmen of the Committees on Public Health of the Senate and Assembly, and to the New York Academy of Medicine.

AND AFTER ALL THIS WE STILL OWE

CHESTER LANE, Lend-Lease Administrator under our State Department, informs the Country that Soviet Russia has ignored four consecutive requests for a final settlement of some eleven billions of wartime lend-lease aid. But he insists that we "must" ship to the Soviets about twenty-five million dollars' worth of goods ordered originally under lend-lease or violate "agreements made in good faith".

Did you ever hear of any sane merchant, tradesman or laborer who delivered to a customer a substantial amount of goods, the payment for which even in the

distant future was refused, shouting mea culpa Domine and berating himself publicly for not delivering some more merchandise to the delinquent customer? We doubt very much whether even the famous Mr. Milquetoast would be so timorous.

There is one little thing that Mr. Lane and others who think like him and have no regard whatever for the property of the American people overlook and that is that there are certain people in this world who live by the concept "take all you can get and give nothing unless you are forced to" and to whom a promise is merely a device to fool the gullible.

We predict that the Soviets will no more keep their promises as to lend-lease than they have concerning the independence of Poland and other countries and it is time that our Party took a vigorous stand and protected the interests of the American people. There is no reason whatever why Soviet Russia, a country three times the size of ours, with vast natural resources and its so greatly glorified system of so-called economic democracy, should need anything from us.

BALANCED BUDGET AND SECURITIES LAWS

THE National Affairs Committee, under the leadership of Victor D. Werner, introduced at the monthly meeting in January the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted:

Budget

The National Republican Club welcomes the return of a Republican Congress and with it a return to national fiscal sanity,

THEREFORE, Be it

RESOLVED, that the National Republican Club supports such reductions in public expenditures and tax rates as are consistent with a balanced budget, national safety and reasonable annual reduction in the National Debt.

Securities Laws

Since securities markets are important media in providing necessary capital funds for industry to aid in expansion and progress in industry, and

Since it is desirable and necessary that such legislation which has as its purpose the elimination of fraud and other undesirable practices in the sale of securities be retained, enforced and where needed, strengthened, and

Since any undue and unnecessary restrictions upon the free flow of capital funds into industry which hinder and delay the proper and necessary expansion and progress of industry ought to be eliminated,

NOW, THEREFORE, Be it

RESOLVED that the National Republican Club urges Congress to undertake promptly a study and survey of the operation and effect of all securities laws now in force with a view to remedying any defects which experience indicates now exist, and eliminating any unnecessary obstructions to the proper and free flow of capital to industry which obstructions such a survey may disclose are not necessary for the protection of the public.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM READERS

Princeton University requests our Bulletin—

We have just seen a copy of your Bulletin for June, 1946, and should like very much to receive this publication regularly. We shall appreciate it if you can find it possible to place the name of this Library on your mailing list to receive the numbers of this Bulletin as they are issued.

*Vice-Chairman of the Republican National Committee,
Mrs. Katherine Kennedy Brown, comments on
the Bulletin—*

I want to tell you how very excellent I find the Bulletin and how full of helpful information. My heartiest congratulations to you, and my sincere appreciation for this splendid contribution you are making to the Republican cause.

I am especially impressed by your persistence in bringing to the attention of your members the communist threat. The article in January by Mr. Edgar F. Hazelton is most interesting and worthwhile. For nearly two years I have been speaking along these lines, feeling the necessity of warning our people of this danger and that it is my duty as a party official. At first I found a number of people questioning the wisdom of such a course, but as time went on, more and more speakers were sensing its importance. I really believe that Republican success in the 1946 election was in large measure due to the fact that at last

we had finally aroused the voters to this growing menace. I know this is hardly the general conclusion.

On the subject of tipping—

D. E. Douty of Hoboken, New Jersey, writes—

The House Committee's postal in reference to the additional charges which are to be made on Club accounts from February 1st to provide a fund in lieu of gratuities, has just been received. I wish to compliment the Committee upon the wisdom of this plan and the further excellent idea of building up a retirement fund for employees of a substantial period of satisfactory service. One of the most difficult problems of a conscientious executive or executive board is the disposition of superannuated or permanently disqualified, faithful, devoted, loyal employees.

However, to me the greatest benefit to the Club is the fact that it lifts our Club above the common level of the ordinary hotel, restaurant, bar room and barber shop into a gentlemen's Club, ready to properly compensate all of its employees on an equitable basis and to provide, at least to some extent, for those who have grown old, or incapacitated, in long and faithful service to its members.

During the period of the war, your Committee has operated and maintained the Club at charges well below current rates for equal service. You have kept the facilities well within means of the younger Republican business men, whom we wish to attract.

The service of the portion of the staff that comes in contact with the membership has been fully equivalent to that of any Club which I attend.

To me it always seems unjust to hear some of the older members compare the Club with such old and expensive Organizations as the Union League, University, Empire State, Bankers, Lawyers, and other more expensive New York Clubs.

You will receive complaints, criticism and disapproval but I believe a large majority of the considerate and thinking members of the Club will approve your plan.

Keep the policy of no gratuities desired constantly before the membership and guests in a dignified, but evident, manner to the end that the "tipping racket" in the National Republican Club will eradicated.

OBEY THE MANDATE

It is strange indeed that while our communists, anarchists, socialists and so-called liberals clamor for more laws and more laws to establish here an economy, planned and controlled by a bureaucratic, highly-cen-

tralized government in Washington, the rest of the world looks to us for succor from its tragic plight. In Britain, the nationalization program of Mr. Laski has plunged the Country to the brink of bankruptcy. The socialist government has, instead of creating full employment, thrown millions of people out of work.

France, with its conglomeration of nationalistic policies in which the communists and socialists predominate, is going deeper into disastrous inflation and several million civil employees including the police went on strike—this time for a few hours only to show that nation what they could accomplish if they struck longer.

We hope our people will study carefully the crises abroad and that those, who are not as yet convinced that socialism and communism are inimicable to freedom of man and can only destroy our civilization, learn quickly that the only way to progress is in a free economy. We hope these crises will also serve as a reminder to the leaders of our Party that we must live up to the mandate we received in the last election and balance quickly our budget, reduce the burden of taxation, abolish all laws that hamper free enterprise and above all enact the necessary laws to make certain that we are not destroyed by any monopolies be they by industry or labor.

EDWARD RAGER, *Recording Secretary
and Editor of the Bulletin*

MANPOWER WINS! GET A MEMBER

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CLUB
54 WEST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

"The objects of this Club shall be to promote the cause of good government throughout the United States; to advocate, promote, proclaim and maintain the principles of the Republican Party; to promote an active interest in politics among all citizens of the United States; to encourage voting at primaries in order that honest and capable men may be nominated; to defend the purity of the ballot, to advocate, recommend and endorse worthy persons as candidates for public office; and to do such other work as may be to the best interest of the United States of America."

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