

ADDRESSES  
UPON  
THE AMERICAN ROAD  
BY  
HERBERT HOOVER

1955-1960

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*PART I*  
FOREIGN RELATIONS

# An Appraisal of the Changes in the Charter of the United Nations

*[Statement of April 20, 1954]*

THE Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has before it the revisions of the United Nations Charter. The charter provides that revision may be proposed at the 1955 meeting.

I have prepared this appraisal at the urgent request of the Committee.

I wish it to be clear that this is not a discussion or appraisal of the foreign or defense policies of the United States except as they are merely incidental to a discussion of the situation within the United Nations organization itself and the problems of amending its Charter.

## RETAIN THE UNITED NATIONS

At the outset I may state that I believe the world should retain the United Nations organization. It has not, however, fulfilled expectations. After 10 years of its service, we have not only had no peace, but a continuing cold war and increasing dissension in the world. The world needs a change of direction before the Charter can be amended to fully meet the hopes of hundreds of millions of people over the earth.

## PARALLEL EXPERIENCES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Any diagnosis of the problems of the United Nations

can benefit from an appraisal of the forces which affected the League of Nations after World War I and the reappearance of these forces affecting the United Nations.

#### SIMILARITY OF STRUCTURE

The structure of the United Nations followed closely that of the League of Nations. Both organizations provided a Council and an Assembly. Their Councils were similar in permanent membership of the great victorious powers. The requirement of unanimous vote of the League Council had about the same effect as the veto in the United Nations Security Council.

There are some differences in the relative authority and procedures of the Councils and Assemblies of the two organizations but in practical working they are about the same.

#### SIMILARITY OF PURPOSE AND AUTHORITY

The major idea of both organizations – the League of Nations and the United Nations – was to substitute worldwide and united "collective action" to maintain the peace in place of balances of power, special military alliances and age-old power diplomacy. Maintenance of peace was to be accomplished in two different ways:

The first was collective action to settle disputes by pacific means.

The second was collective action to stop a military aggressor in his tracks by force.

Both the League and the United Nations were authorized to use a variety of pacific actions to solve conflicts among nations. They included advancement of international law, and disarmament. They included investigation of disputes, conciliation, negotiation, and arbitration of conflicts and in failure of these measures to report on the facts and who is to blame. Added to these is a World Court

to decide matters of international law. I shall refer to this group of activities as "peaceful action."

Both organizations, in failure of peaceful action, were authorized to use force to stop military aggression. The League's provision for force actions embraced economic sanctions and contemplated military action. The United Nations' force actions likewise embraced economic sanctions but spelled out a more definite military procedure and organization.

#### SIMILARITY OF THEIR DIFFICULTIES

Many of the difficulties which beset the League are obviously now besetting the United Nations. Some of them are:

1. The world came out of both World War I and World War II with the illusion that the military cooperation which won victory would continue as unified action to make, organize and keep the peace. After both wars age-old dislikes, fears and grievances, the different racial, economic and political interests and objectives of nations quickly dissolved this unity.

2. Both the League and the United Nations were the product of an idealism which did not contemplate the destructive effect upon peace or upon the organizations by totalitarian governments. Such governments are by nature militaristic and aggressive and, therefore, are poor material upon which to build international law and morals.

After the First World War, at least in part due to their fears of Communist infiltration and conspiracies from Moscow, fourteen nations in Europe turned to Fascist totalitarianism, which corroded the whole League concept.

And the Communist totalitarian governments of today are resolute on conspiring to overthrow other governments onto the Communist-Marxist-Leninist line and even to do it by military aggression. They show no more cooperation

toward building peace than did the Fascist governments after World War I.

3. The dominant influence of the major powers and their differences of national interests in the League rendered it impotent to prevent aggression by a major power. This same difficulty confronts the United Nations.

4. Both the League and the United Nations have found it impossible to make much progress at disarmament and, as a result, the peacetime military forces in the world rose to unparalleled levels both before World War II and are again rising today.

5. The result of these difficulties and differences of interest in the League led the peace-loving nations to negotiate the solution of critical situations outside of the League. The same thing is taking place outside of the United Nations today.

6. Soon after World War I, the special action by many nations to assure their defense led them into a maze of over 10 overlapping military alliances or allied groups embracing two-thirds of the world's population. These actions taken outside of the League brought about a return again to the balance of power and the ancient power diplomacy concepts. The world thus divided into armed camps devitalized the whole collective security concept of the League.

You may observe some analogies in the present situation through the rise again of a maze of defense alliances or military groups.

Today they include the militant Communist group of some 36 races. Most of the other alliances originate in defense measures against the aggressive dangers from this Communist group. They include the North Atlantic Treaty Defense Organization of 14 nations; the defense organization of American States ratified by 17 nations; the partially-overlapping European Defense Community of 6 nations now awaiting signature; the mutual defense pact between the United States and Japan; likewise with Korea; the United States, Australian, New Zealand Defense Pact; the

United States-Pakistan Defense Pact; and the United States defense pact with Turkey. There are other proposed defense alliances not yet completed. Another alliance, that is the Arab League, stands apart from the others. In total they embrace today about three quarters of the world's population.

The United Nations Charter authorizes regional groups of nations for defense or other purposes. Whether these provisions are intended to embrace nations who are not members of the United Nations is not clear. Some of these alliances do include non-member nations. Without discussing the effect of these alliances on the concept of collective action by the world as a whole, it is clear that the Communists are forcing the world into armed camps for defense against them. All of which certainly weakens the strength of the United Nations' own ability to bring peace.

7. The attempt to implement its decisions by force through economic sanctions was the rock which ultimately wrecked the League. The final occasion was when the League attempted those sanctions on Italy for aggression in Ethiopia. The differences of national interests and other disunities caused this action to fail miserably.

I think you can find some analogies to this League experience today. Due to the Communist attitude and in the lack of unity among the other powers in the United Nations we have not fully accomplished the initial purposes for which the United Nations applied economic and military action in Korea. That initial purpose was to secure an independent and united North and South Korea. The lack of unity in the Korean case expressed itself in Communist opposition together with a lack of full unity and differences of strategy in the non-Communist members. This resulted in loading the United States with an undue proportion of the burden. We were compelled to provide 90% of the military force, the costs and the loss of life. The final result was a compromise of the initial purpose.

The United Nations (mostly the United States) did save

South Korea from the aggressor, where the League failed in Ethiopia. But the differences of interest which developed in the Korean case have weakened the prospect of the United Nations itself taking such action again at least in the immediate future.

#### SIMILARITY OF STRENGTH

Both the League of Nations and the United Nations have demonstrated notable strength and success in their pacific actions of investigation and report, conciliation, negotiation, arbitration and judicial decision of disputes which might have led them to war. These successes were principally among the secondary powers and were due to moral leadership and mobilized public opinion. Both organizations contributed to scientific, economic, philanthropic, public health and international law advancement.

So far as I know, unity on these actions has been maintained in the United Nations except in one case.

#### DIRECTION OF CHANGES IN THE CHARTER

In view of the attitude and the purpose of the Communist nations and the difference of interests between non-Communist nations, it does not, at the present time, seem possible to make such changes in the Charter as would remedy the seven difficulties I have enumerated above. The world must await a great change in the whole Communist attitude.

Pending that time the United Nations can build toward more unity in the field of pacific action to settle disputes especially among secondary nations; in the promotion of scientific research; exchange of knowledge; public health; philanthropy; and such contributions to general prosperity as are possible.

The United Nations can continue to serve in these fields and, in so doing, is also making a contribution to the badly

needed building of cooperation among nations outside the Communist complex.

Before the United Nations was concluded, I suggested several secondary ideas which I believed at that time would aid in preserving peace. But in view of the Communist attitudes and division of interest among other nations there would seem little likelihood of adoption of many or any of them at this time.

(a) I suggested a sort of Bill of Rights for nations including some of the provisions of the Atlantic Charter of August 1941 which had been whittled away at Teheran, and Yalta. They included no annexations, no territorial changes without consent of the people concerned, the right of peoples to choose freely their own form of government, equality in trade and freedom of the seas. This was not done in any effective form.

(b) To strengthen this I proposed a clear provision for freedom of nations from interference in their internal affairs either by the United Nations or its subsidiaries. There is a provision which states such interference by the United Nations is *not authorized*, but it is not positive nor inclusive of the whole problem.

(c) Another suggestion was that machinery be provided for the revision of onerous treaties, as the emotional situations after all world wars produce intolerable treaties, which in themselves sow dragon's teeth. This machinery was not accepted. Some indefinite words were adopted instead.

(d) A further suggestion was that there should be precise definition of aggression, and that definition to include such things as Fifth Columns, or foreign-organized conspiracies against other governments as being aggression. The Soviet Government itself at one time submitted a definition of aggression to the League of Nations which was very comprehensive, except it did not include the category of Fifth Column activities. But not even the partial definition by the Soviet was adopted.

Secretary Dulles has called attention to some further revisions which include:

(e) There should be a revision of the Charter by which all independent nations may have membership. The Soviet veto has excluded fourteen such nations.

(f) No nation should have the right to veto pacific settlements among nations.

(g) He suggested that thought should be given to the fact that various specialized agencies set up by the Charter or the United Nations are not under proper control of the Council or Assembly. They mostly act independently and they are a constant source of trouble.

I would add to the Secretary of State's last suggestion one further:

(h) That all treaties suggested by their subsidiary economic, social and other organizations for submission to nations should be subject to revision and approval by the Security Council before their submission to individual nations.

HERBERT HOOVER

## On the 15th Anniversary of the Baltic States Freedom Committee

*Letter to Dr. A. Trimakas, Chairman,  
Baltic States Freedom Committee  
[May 29, 1955]*

My dear Dr. Trimakas:

The Baltic States have been overrun and enslaved time and again in the last 1000 years. Their independence has always come again because their depth of racial character, their cultures and their heroic spirit cannot be extinguished.

I was present in their efforts to reestablish their independence in 1918-1919. I visited them again in 1938. They had, by their own efforts, defended themselves from Communist invasion; they had from hunger and poverty risen to a new renaissance of their own cultures and an economic condition higher than any part of Europe.

They will do it again.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

# Concerning President Eisenhower and the Geneva Conference

*Statement to the Press*  
[July 23, 1955]

PEACE can only be achieved slowly and step by careful step. It would be a mistake for hope to rise too quickly.

HERBERT HOOVER

## Christmas Message to the "Captive Nations"

*Letter to Mr. W. J. C. Egan, Director, Radio Free Europe,  
Broadcast at Christmas Time, 1955  
[November 30, 1955]*

My dear Mr. Egan:

History has constantly demonstrated that virile races cannot long be held in bondage by other nations. The attempt to hold the virile peoples of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Roumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria under Russian domination has all the certainties of a crash that already has met colonialism in other parts of the world.

Hope and faith of freedom never die in great races.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## On the 38th Anniversary of the Independence of Estonia

*Letter to The Estonian National Committee in the United States*  
[February 15, 1956]

To the Estonian National Committee:

I had continued association with Estonia during her entire period of independence. I had some part in their first courageous struggle against the Communists in 1918 and 1919. I visited them twice in their intermediate years as a free nation.

There is a spirit which will live, and someday freedom will come to them again. A nation with a thousand years of struggle to maintain its culture and periodically gain its independence does not die.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## Message to the People of Hungary

*Letter to Mr. Andrew Irshay,  
Hungarian Newspaperman in New Jersey  
[March 31, 1956]*

Dear Mr. Irshay:

A people with a religious background of centuries and a civilization of great accomplishments in every field will never become Communist at heart. We should keep every possible avenue open for their encouragement and sympathy.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

# World Experience with the Karl Marx Way of Life

*Address Before the Inter-American Bar Association,  
Dallas, Texas  
[April 16, 1956]*

I AM naturally awed before a convention so representative of the legal profession from the whole Western Hemisphere.

I am not, however, going to attempt to improve your legal minds. I give you this reassurance, lest you fear that I might try reprisals from the brainwashing that I have had continuously from your profession for nearly sixty years. But every lawyer, like every engineer, by the nature of his profession is interested in every phase of government, of economics and of social life – or he ought to be.

## OUR COMMON PROBLEMS IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

We in this Hemisphere have had many problems in common. For more than a century and a half, we had a common struggle to shake off Colonialism. We have had the problems of maintaining defense of our Hemisphere from reassertion of European or Asiatic domination right down to this hour. We have had need to establish our own distinctive form of representative government. And it differs widely from that of our European forebears. We have had to develop new protections to personal freedom on a better pattern than those brought from Europe.

We have had common problems in the development of

our natural resources to improve the standards of living, and the general welfare of all our people.

We have sought to make this Hemisphere a refuge for the oppressed of all mankind. These problems have haunted us since we began our independence. We have learned much from each other's successes and failures.

#### ENTER KARL MARX

But a new problem has come across the Atlantic to plague us during the past 50 years. That was the invasion of Karl Marx Socialism. While I do not credit him with the original discovery of this philosophic virus, yet he can be credited as its chief carrier. And today its blight takes many shapes and forms over the world.

#### COMMUNISM

I do not need to take your time with a discussion of the theory and practice of the Communist variety of Socialism. Today it is rotting the souls of two-fifths of mankind. The threat to free men of Red Colonialism, with a supply of fission bombs, needs no emphasis from me. The unity of free nations is the only certain defense.

But the Red citadel in Moscow is right now carrying on aggression against the Western Hemisphere by conspiracies among our fuzzy-minded to overthrow our governments. They comprise a cult of disloyalty. Almost daily do we need pluck out these disgusting things which have crawled into our governments.

For the last year the Kremlin has been exuding peace and good will toward all men. But I have not observed that they have called off these conspiracies and corruptions. In the last month the men in the Kremlin have turned Stalin's face violently to the wall. Their next step to righteousness would be to give us the names and addresses of all his collaborators in the Western Hemisphere.

However, without such a gracious act we can take care of this particular manifestation of Karl Marx – although it is a good deal of a nuisance.

The picture of Karl Marx still appears everywhere in Russia in the place of the old religious icons. Possibly the Russians have not read Karl Marx's writing very attentively. In letters to his friend Engels in January 1869, Marx said: "I do not trust any Russian." Also, he said:

"As soon as a Russian worms his way in all hell breaks loose." Possibly in time they will discover that they invented Socialism prior to Marx and turn his picture to the wall also.

#### THE LEGALISTIC SOCIALISTS

But it is on the other forms of Socialism that I propose to speak briefly on this occasion. The advocates of these other forms proclaim that their difference from the Communists is that they would attain their ends by making use of the legal processes of our free institutions.

Recently a meeting was held in Europe of representatives of legalistic Socialists from different nations. They said that they did not like the Communists. Also they kept Karl Marx's picture on the wall. After all, they maintain his philosophy – only they would tread softly. However, every convention has a right to its own Utopia.

Over recent years the words *Socialism* and *Socialist* have become unpopular words in most of the Western Hemisphere. Many of our political parties under the name Socialist have declined or have been abandoned. They no longer have the courage to proclaim their principles as does the Socialist Labor Party in England. That Party frankly declares that its purpose is "Government ownership and operation of all of the agencies of production, distribution and exchange."

## OUR NEW MARXIAN CULTS

Instead of frank advocates, our Socialists have developed new and disguised cults in many of our Western Hemisphere countries. These new cults prowl around under many fronts. They are like hermit crabs. They crawl into our long-accepted phrases and proclaim their sole ownership of human progress. They claim to be "liberals" and "progressives," they vociferously advocate real "democracy" and "public welfare." They have a fondness for the threatening word "Action" in the titles of their political organizations.

Our Western Hemisphere nations have stood for the true, and a far more wholesome, definition of such terms and principles, for a century before these hermit crabs were born. And this hermit crab habit is not confined to words and phrases. They crawl into some of our many associations of citizens advancing some cause. Their leadership embraces the Socialist-minded and those who would flirt with Karl Marx. But they include many persons who are genuinely seeking a better world. I do not believe that one in fifty of the members of their captive groups detects the disguise of Karl Marx.

However, some of these cults and fronts are less subtle in their phrases. They advocate "managed economy," "nationalization" of a particular industry, and "public electric power."

I could give them another phrase for use by their cult – that is "Statism." But the Socialist-minded shy away from such a disclosure of the Karl Marx parentage.

OUR WESTERN HEMISPHERE S ECONOMIC  
AND SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

I suggest to you that we in the Western Hemisphere have developed an economic and social philosophy of our own far different from our Old World inheritances. It has

brought fabulous blessings to this Hemisphere. And for that matter, it is far different from the philosophies against which Karl Marx developed his virus.

I submit to you that our system may be defined as "private enterprise regulated to prevent monopoly and unfair competition."

Free men can no more permit private economic power without checks and balances than governmental power without checks and balances.

And to my definition I would add that "the State must undertake business enterprises in great national emergency or because the size of the undertaking is beyond the abilities of its citizens."

And I submit to you that this philosophy of economic freedom is an indivisible part of all freedoms. You cannot extend the mastery of government over the daily life of men without making it the master of the people's thoughts and souls.

#### THEIR DISGUISED INFILTRATION

Yet the legalistic Socialists with their disguises claim they can maintain all freedoms except economic freedom. These variegated cults promote creeping Socialism through centralizing government and thus weakening the strength of local government. They strive to absorb the income of the people by unnecessary spending and exorbitant taxes.

They seek to continue and amplify the government business enterprises undertaken in crises or in wars after their emergency tasks are completed. Most of these continuing government businesses pay no taxes, seldom pay interest on the tax-payers' capital invested in them or pay any return of the capital itself. Thus by any definition they are unfair competition with taxed and regulated enterprise and tend to drive it from the field.

These cults and fronts work to expand every other form of bureaucratic empire. They divert well-meaning associations

into pressure groups seeking for special privilege.

All of which dulls the initiative and enterprise of the people. And it undermines the safeguards of free men.

#### WORLD EXPERIENCE WITH LEGALISTIC SOCIALISM AND ITS NEW CULTS

The world in our own times has had some experience with these legalistic Socialists and where their cults and fronts can lead.

#### THE SOCIALIZATION OF ENGLAND

We have witnessed the great attempt legally to socialize England. There it so reduced the productivity of the British people as to contribute to years of so-called "austerity." That was simply a polite phrase to cover their constant reduction of the standard of living of all the people by compulsion from the State. Furthermore, the British Socialists touched the Communist ideal when they passed a law compelling labor to work at jobs designated by the State. Fortunately the British people have revolted from it. But they have inherited continuing injuries to their economic and social life.

#### THE FRENCH EXPERIMENT

We witnessed another variety of the Karl Marx tainted experiment in France. Lenin advocated parliamentary coalitions of the Communists with the Socialists and the other dupes of Karl Marx's disguises. Such was the *Front Populaire* of the Blum regime. Under it the economic and moral life of France was so degraded as to contribute to the humiliating defeat of France in World War II. France still suffers from its aftermaths.

## THE CASE OF THE EIGHT SATELLITE STATES

But there is another experience in legalistic Socialism or its cults and fronts in the world of even greater tragic consequence.

The peoples of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Roumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia have descended from free men into the abyss of Communism. There were many steps in common among them during the years of their descent into slavery. And the impulse which the legalistic Socialists or their fronts gave to their downfall has been too little observed.

I have had occasion to deal intimately with the peoples in many of these one-time eight nations at intervals over more than forty years.

The first time was prior to the First World War. I practiced my profession among many of them when they were subject to the old Empires of Russia, Austria and Germany.

The second time was a few years later in 1918 and 1919. Immediately after the First World War, these States had established their independence from the old Empires, with Constitutional guarantees of personal liberty and representative government. My duty was to relieve a great famine and aid in their reconstruction on behalf of the Allied Governments.

The third time was 19 years later when in 1938 I visited most of them to study why many of them had gone Fascist.

The fourth time was 8 years later, in 1946, when all but one of these eight states had gone Communist and that one was on the way. That contact with most of them was on a mission on behalf of the United States Government to relieve the great postwar famine.

## THE FIRST STAGE OF THEIR DESCENT TOWARD THE ABYSS

We may first examine the forces in motion in their descent to Fascism. There was a pattern roughly common

to all of these nations, except one, in their descent from freedom into the Fascist furnace of human rights. It was not always parallel in timing or in sequent steps.

All these nations made progress in every avenue of life during their early years of freedom after the First World War. But at once the Socialists and their various cults and fronts and the Communists organized fractional political parties with representation in their parliaments. The Socialists professed dislike for the Communists, but they joined them in advocating nationalization of industry and one of their joint slogans was "managed economy." Pressure groups of farmers, of labor, of business grew apace, each seeking Parliamentary representation. With these fractional political parties came the next phase. That was impotent parliamentary coalition governments.

The net result of this stage was to create hesitation, uncertainty and fear in every avenue of free enterprise. It made impotent the individual judgment of men. These poisons weakened the initiative, the vitality and the productivity of their people. Unemployment became chronic. More and more Statism was injected as its remedy. Coalition governments could agree only on more spending in frantic efforts to care for the unemployed. Debts, taxes and inflation grew apace.

#### SEVEN OF THE EIGHT NATIONS GO FASCIST

With all these confusions the people themselves, except in Czechoslovakia, welcomed a strong or mild Fascist man-on-horseback with his beatific promises. The Fascists bitterly denounced the Communists but they embraced much from Karl Marx in their programs. And private enterprise was still further eroded away by regimentation.

#### THE EIGHT NATIONS GO COMMUNIST

Just before the Second World War, Stalin took the three

Baltic States with their mild Fascist governments into his Communist bosom by violence. In the latter stages of the war, as Stalin's armies moved westward following the defected Germans, he set up provisional governments in four more of these nations. He agreed with the Western Allies that their ministries should include representation of all the democratic "elements" in addition to the Communists. But when it all washed out, the only so-called "democratic elements" in these ministries were picked selections from legalistic Socialists. And even these have been expelled or executed.

The last of these nations to go under was Czechoslovakia. It had followed all the patterns except full Fascism. It finally fell by a coalition of the extreme Socialists and Communists which seized the Ministry and the democratic "elements" escaped or were assassinated or imprisoned.

One cannot say that the legalistic Socialists or their cults and fronts were wholly responsible for the descent of these eight nations into the Communist pit.

But one thing is certain – and that is that from the beginning of their independence, the Socialists and their cults joined with the Communists to sabotage free men. Certainly the Socialists helped to build the boarding ladders by which the Communist pirates took over the Ship of State. And perhaps the ghost of the Atlantic Charter, by which those nations were assured freedom, now listens to the clank of their chains.

#### OUR WESTERN HEMISPHERE EXPERIENCE

I believe that if looked at broadly there is a proof of these conclusions within the Western Hemisphere itself. I think you will find it is a fairly general rule that those of our countries which have the highest standard of living and freedom have today shed the most Statism. Each of you can name these States for yourself.

## THE NET OF OUR WORLD EXPERIENCE

Thus, there are some conclusions that we might learn from these years of world experience with the Karl Marx virus-infected civilization.

Despite many setbacks and all the disguises of Karl Marx, we in this Hemisphere have in the main sustained the dynamic incentives and creative energies of regulated economic life. We have thereby made it a better place for the masses of our people to live than anywhere else in the world.

Certainly the exhibits of Karl Marx elsewhere would not indicate that his philosophy has anywhere produced a Utopia.

## WHAT OF RELIGIOUS FAITH?

There is far more to all this than just economics. Some people seem to forget that the primary dogma of Karl Marx was atheism and substitution of economic materialism for religious faith. It denies the existence of God. It defiles the ideals and spirit of men.

For six thousand years, since the beginning of recorded time, every civilized race has believed in a Supreme Being. They have realized that the laws which control the orderly movement of the stars were not economic materialism.

Religious faith is deeply imbedded in our Western Hemisphere civilization. The Sermon on the Mount established the transcendent concept of compassion and good will among men. From those principles have come our moral foundations, our obligations as our brothers' keepers, and our respect for the dignity of man.

I would not have you think that I believe our civilization is perfect, or that we do not have a multitude of problems if we would improve the life and invigorate the spirit of our peoples. But these problems can be solved only by free men. And I prefer to go forward with the philosophy of Christ to that of Karl Marx.

## THE FUTURE OF OUR HEMISPHERE

And there are mighty hopes before us.

The last dozen years have seen advances in science, invention and technology which amount almost to revolution in our life and world relations.

If we maintain free minds, free spirits, and direct our steps aright, still other new horizons and new frontiers will open to us. New scientific discoveries, new inventions and new applications of old knowledge will come to us daily.

These new frontiers give us other blessings. Not only have they taken great burdens from the backs of men and expanded the standards of living of all our people. They have opened new opportunities and new areas of adventure and enterprise. They open new vistas of beauty. They also unfold the wonders of the atom and the heavens. Daily they prove the reality of an all-wise Supreme Giver of Law.

## On Recreation

*Message to the International Recreation Congress,  
New York City  
[September 21, 1956]*

THE International Advisory Committee greets and welcomes you with hope and confidence.

The store of knowledge and techniques available for improving human life is tremendous. Here is a superb opportunity for the dissemination and exchange on one important aspect of life – recreation.

Mutual understanding, respect and admiration are attitudes that can be best developed by people to people contact such as we are to have here. Only on such a foundation can the human family flourish or even survive.

Few fields offer greater promise in bridging the barriers of language and culture than that of recreation.

This coming together from the far comers of the world can be an historic milestone in human relations. Let us make the most of it here and in the years to follow.

HERBERT HOOVER  
Honorary Chairman  
International Recreation Congress

## On the Occasion of the 5th Congress in Exile of the International Peasant Union

*Letter to Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Paris, France*  
[October 11, 1956]

Dear Mr. Mikolajczyk:

I would indeed be glad to offer any word of encouragement to the Exiles from the Communist-slave domination of their home countries.

Sometime this wholly wicked and unnatural domination of peoples whose inner hopes are for freedom must fail. But the time of its failure and the salvation of their countrymen may be advanced by years by the sympathetic action of those in exile.

I wish you every success.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## Concerning Hungarian Patriotism

*Message Read at the Protest Meeting for the Hungarians  
at Madison Square Garden, New York City  
[November 8, 1956]*

TO THE International Rescue Committee:

Every people striving for freedom has over our whole national life appealed to the American heart. But seldom in these hundred and sixty years has any people shown such magnificent courage and sacrifice as we have seen in these past few weeks in Hungary.

Whatever we can do to alleviate their suffering and to protest this wickedness must lie on the American conscience.

HERBERT HOOVER

## On the Proposal to Send United States Military Forces to the Middle East to Repel any Military Aggression

*Letter to Senator Alexander Wiley,  
Committee on Foreign Relations  
[January 24, 1957]*

My dear Senator:

I am in receipt of your request of the 23rd instant for my views on President Eisenhower's proposal that the United States should use its military forces to aid Middle East states repel any military aggression. I certainly support this proposal together with continued economic aid to the region.

It is my understanding that no additional funds are being requested from the Congress in this proposal. The President is, however, requesting additional flexibility in administering the funds which have been already authorized and appropriated in the present fiscal year. In view of the rapidly changing conditions in the area, and the unforeseen circumstances which may unavoidably arise, it seems to me necessary that the President should be given every opportunity to expend these funds to the greatest advantage in the present emergency.

## THE INCREASED DANGERS

The dangers of irresponsible actions by the Soviet Government have increased. A long world experience shows that, when governments begin to weaken from the discontent of their people, they too often take to the old Machiavellian doctrine of diverting the minds of their discontented people by more vigorous international action.

History shows that the weakening of the French Revolutionary Government, through discontent of the people and the differences in the Directorate, gave rise to the Napoleonic wars. The discontent of the people and the weakening of the Czarist Government of Russia and the Imperial Government of Austria contributed to the origins of World War I. Later on the weakening of the Russian Government gave rise to militant Communism. The weakening of the Italian Government and the discontents of their people after World War I gave rise to the militant Fascism. Discontent and weakening of the Weimar Republic in Germany was followed by the militant Nazis.

There can be no doubt as to the discontents and the internal weakening of the Soviet Government. It is therefore essential to the peace of the world that the Soviet Government should be under no misapprehension as to our position with respect to any military aggression which they might contemplate in the Middle East.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## On the Death of Jan Sibelius

*Statement Broadcast from the United States to Finland*  
[September 23, 1957]

TO THE People of Finland:

It is a special privilege to be given an opportunity to send a message to the people of Finland. My interest in her problems now extends over nearly forty years. When Finland won her independence after the First World War, it was my duty on behalf of the American people to relieve the terrible famine of that time. In those months I was proud to have a part in securing her recognition as an independent nation. I was then the witness of the rise of Finland to a distinguished place among the nations of the world.

Again with the Second World War it became my duty to aid in the relief of the Finnish people. With her defeat at that time my country never lost confidence that Finland would rise again. And it has been a distinct satisfaction to us that even amid vast difficulties, this has indeed become true.

And I would add that the American people grieve with Finland at the passing of Jan Sibelius, whose magnificent compositions have become a part of our own culture.

HERBERT HOOVER

In Honor of Finland's  
40th Independence Day,  
December 7, 1957

*Letter to Miss Katri Ekman, Central Committee  
Of the Finnish Societies of Greater New York  
[October 14, 1957]*

Dear Miss Ekman:

I am glad you are doing honor to Finland's 40th Independence Day.

After having been an independent nation for three hundred years, she was annexed by Russia for nearly a century. But the spirit of freedom in the Finnish people never failed during that oppression. Her real birth of independence might date from four hundred years ago.

Whatever the date, I wish Finland many more of them.

Yours faithfully,

HERBERT HOOVER

## On General of the Army Douglas MacArthur

*Quotation from Remarks Made at the Presentation  
of the New United States Army Flag to  
General MacArthur at Governors Island  
[November 6, 1957]*

MR. HOOVER, speaking briefly, said that at the end of World War II when General MacArthur entered Tokyo he marched at the head of a conquering army up a street lined with people "who had turned their backs and whose faces expressed their hate." "Ten years later, when he left Japan, those people had tears in their eyes. In the entire history of the United States we have never seen another great conquering general who so turned an entire enemy people into friends and allies."

## On the Occupation of the Baltic States by the U.S.S.R.

*Letter to Dr. A. Trimakas, Committee for a Free Lithuania,  
to be Read at Rally at Town Hall, New York City  
[May 16, 1958]*

Dear Dr. Trimakas:

I certainly would be happy to join in any protest of the three Baltic States that can be made anywhere, any time. There never has been such an outrage and such continued cruelty in the whole history of mankind.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

# On American Ideals

*Address Delivered in Brussels, Belgium, as  
Special Envoy of the President of the United States  
on the Fourth of July Day  
[July 4, 1958]*

MR. CHAIRMAN, honored guests, and my friends in many nations:

It is a high honor for me to come here as the special envoy of President Eisenhower. He extends his greetings and congratulations and those of the American people to the King and the people of Belgium for this great Exposition.

This visit also gives me the opportunity to refresh my friendship with the Belgian people, which has now lasted for more than 44 years. Tomorrow I have the privilege of speaking especially to my friends in Belgium.

Belgium has organized at this Fair a magnificent portrayal of her own achievements and those of many nations. By this great Exposition, she may contribute to lessening the tensions which haunt the world.

## THE INVISIBLE FORCES RADIATING FROM NATIONS

But magnificent as these exhibits are, they cannot in the larger sense visibly portray the invisible forces of governmental, economic, moral, and spiritual values in the daily life of a nation. Nor can exhibits alone show the spread of these invisible forces beyond their frontiers.

Mine has been a long life. In that time I have lived and worked among more than fifty nations. I have not visited them as a tourist; I have had some part in the lives of

their peoples. And I can claim some understanding of their problems, their ideals, and their aspirations.

In these troubled times no one can ignore the crises which beset the world. But here at this Fair, in this climate of friendly competition, criticism of other nations would be entirely out of place.

It is, however, fitting that the representative of a particular nation should interpret here the ideals, the aspirations, and the way of life of his own people. Such discussion adds to this Exposition's panorama of mankind's progress.

I am informed that I am speaking tonight over the radio and through the press to many nations.

And in so doing, I remind you that we Americans are descended from every nation in Europe. Therefore, you have some responsibility for these invisible forces radiating from my country.

I would be proud if on this occasion, I could contribute a mite to the better understanding of my people. And I would be especially happy if I could help the thinking of the on-coming youth in the world, who are today groping for light as to the future.

These subjects are the more appropriate for me on this day which has been set aside by the Exposition to honor the independence day of the United States.

#### INVISIBLE FORCES FROM AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

It was on this day, 182 years ago, that our Founding Fathers consecrated a new Republic "under the protection of Divine Providence." They dedicated it as a stronghold for the dignity of the individual and his rights to religious, economic, social, and political liberty under the rule of law.

But the ideals in a nation do not spring alone from their method of government. They spring also from the depths of their religious faith, from their pride in country,

from their trials, from their glories of victory, and from their memories of their great leaders.

No American is so silly as to claim that the rights of man to freedom were discovered in the United States on July 4, 1776.

Since the dawn of history there has existed in the minds of men the longing and the hope for national independence and for individual freedom. That spark has many times broken through oppression and burst into victorious flame. Tragically, it has been crushed not once but many times, and its flame has often become ashes. But never has the iron foot of oppression been potent enough to stamp out the living spark in the ashes.

That spark again sprang to flame in the New World – never since to be extinguished. It became once more a flame that lighted the skies and all the earth.

#### ENDURING GOVERNMENT IN FREE PEOPLE

One of the problems confronting all free peoples is enduring protection of the rights and liberties of men from destructive internal forces which they themselves create. During the last century, new and revolutionary discoveries in science, great inventions, and the changes in social thought have brought many problems to free governments.

I do not need to recall that we have two major methods of government among free peoples. The United States adopted a method where the executive is separated from the legislative powers, and the election of the individual executive and legislative officials is for fixed terms.

The British hold to the parliamentary method which combines the legislative and administrative powers, and their officials are periodically subject to election – all at the same time. That method has operated admirably where its base rests upon a majority political party.

But, especially since the First World War, the host of internal problems confronting parliamentary government

on the European continent has resulted in the development of a multitude of factional political parties. Their inability to reach determined and constructive solutions of their national problems has brought a strangling chaos in government. Since the First World War fifteen European nations, in despair, have turned to dictatorships. And it has been my fate to witness on the ground the forces which led to their collapse.

The American method is not perfect, but for 182 years it has sustained stability in our country through every crisis and, in the main, brought an orderly progress in the midst of new inventions and ideas.

Perhaps our experience in the separation of executive and legislative powers and the election of officials for fixed terms has uses for other free men.

#### THE WORLD SERVICE OF AMERICAN PRODUCTIVITY

I have little reason to elaborate here upon the success of our system of regulated economic freedom. It has built-in impulses of initiative, energy, ambition, and opportunity. It has brought stupendous benefits to the American people.

But to relate the huge benefits my people have received is not my purpose here. The world's interest is that our productivity has created great margins which have enabled us to support the freedom of mankind, and to help lift the world's burdens of disaster and poverty.

At my time of life and because of my experience in many nations, I know that far more vital than even economic blessings are the spiritual and moral impulses and ideals which motivate the lives of peoples.

#### COMPASSION

In interpreting the ideals of my country, I must include the spirit of compassion towards suffering humanity. It spreads from every American home to all mankind. I need

only to recall the great famines which have inevitably followed these two score years of world wars. The American people with other nations met these emergencies. But the United States carried the major burden. By longer hours of labor they stimulated production. They denied themselves food and clothing that more than one billion of peoples all over the world might have the margins on which to live and to hope for a better day.

This spirit of compassion has contributed also to the rehabilitation of many millions of children, diseased and debilitated by famine. Thereby, the world has been saved from the political and moral dangers of millions of distorted bodies and minds. And this compassion has also been extended to Communist Russia.

#### SHARING SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY AND INVENTION

One of the several tests of a nation's contributions to mankind is its scientific discoveries and the application of these discoveries to all human comfort and progress.

I could recite a long list of such discoveries and inventions that my countrymen have contributed to the world.

And my country in turn has benefited by the application of the great scientific discoveries and inventions of many other nations.

But I am not as much concerned with which nation discovered or invented what as I am with wider distribution of each nation's discoveries and inventions over the world. Thereby sweat is taken from the brows of men and women. Their hours of labor are reduced. Their days of leisure are increased. Their opportunities for recreation and participation in the arts and intellectual life are expanded. And above all, scientific discovery lifts the burden of poverty everywhere.

No longer do these discoveries come only from a solitary scientist or inventor. They are now more often the product of teamwork by many skilled scientists and engineers.

There is now some cooperation in organization of worldwide research. My country desires to see such cooperation expanded. Thus the march of progress in the world would be faster.

#### THE ATOM – AND PEACE

There is one scientific discovery which deeply concerns every human being. The theoretical deductions of European scientists as to the constitution of the atom were harnessed in America into a gigantic source of power.

It can bring benefits to mankind, and it can be used to destroy civilization.

My countrymen pray daily alongside hundreds of millions of other peace-loving people that there should be a real disarmament, which will include disarming the atom.

#### THE NEED TO CORRECT SOME MISREPRESENTATIONS

There can be no interpretation of the American way of life in its effect upon other nations without reference to the false legends, misrepresentations, and vicious propaganda which haunt the free world.

We are often depicted as living under the control of wicked men who exploit our economic life through gigantic trusts and huge corporations. They are supposed to grind the faces of the poor and to exploit other nations. All this ignores the fact that our laws for nearly seventy years have prohibited the existence of trusts and cartels. In few other nations have the fundamentals of fair and open competition been so zealously maintained.

This competition has spurred our industries to adopt every labor-saving device. And to create them, there are more than 5,000 industrial research laboratories that pour out new ideas which become open to all the world.

Insofar as large corporations are concerned, they are the property of millions of our people. The largest of them

has more than 1,500,000 individual stockholders, not one of whom owns more than one-thirtieth of one per cent of the corporation.

Another example of this propaganda is that we are infested with gigantic individual fortunes which dominate the life of our people.

Any regulated free economic system permits men of exceptional ability or luck to accumulate great property. We have had a few hundred such accumulations. But our graduated taxes rise to ninety per cent of their yearly incomes. And up to seventy-seven per cent of their estates are taken by taxes when the owner passes on. Thus, most of these accumulations tend to fade away.

But these large fortunes have been of profound importance to other nations. From them have come many of our great educational and scientific institutions, whose beneficent work has been extended to all the peoples of the world. One of these institutions, through organized research and its world-wide application, practically eliminated yellow fever from the whole earth.

#### THERE IS NO AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Probably the greatest misrepresentation of our ideals is that we are imperialistically-minded and that we daily practice imperialism. It would seem that the world might take account of the Monroe Doctrine, whereby we have aided our Latin-American neighbors to secure their freedoms. I could also recall our giving freedom to Cuba and the Philippines and our urging of independence for Puerto Rico.

Moreover, in the last forty years, invariably at the request of nations struggling against oppression or military aggression, our sons have fought and died in three great wars. They died that more freedom would come to mankind and that the world might have a lasting peace.

Never after victory did we ask for an acre of territory, except a few military bases to protect the free nations.

We have never asked for reparations or economic privileges. On the contrary, we made gigantic gifts and loans to aid nations in war and reconstruction, including Communist Russia.

When it was evident that nations could not repay these loans, we made no demands for repayment.

Our people have willingly borne back-breaking taxes in these efforts without any hope of returns. And they are today continuing this huge burden of taxation to aid in protecting the freedom of mankind and to relieve peoples from poverty.

I would not have believed in the face of this world-wide record that peoples with a free press could be imposed upon by such propaganda.

There is no imperialism in either our hearts or in our government.

#### NOR AGGRESSION

This record of the past century should also prove there is no military aggression in the American mind or heart. Truly, we maintain an enormous military force. But it is maintained solely as a deterrent to attack upon free nations.

#### A CAUTION

It is my hope that this interpretation of my country may aid our friends in free countries to answer this propaganda.

And I would not be your friend if I did not speak frankly now.

These misrepresentations and this propaganda are inciting physical attacks upon American citizens, upon our officials, and abuse of our country. They discourage the American people and increase opposition to cooperation with other nations in maintaining defense and in aiding relief from poverty and want.

#### 44 ADDRESSES UPON THE AMERICAN ROAD

Forty years ago such attitudes contributed to the retreat of the American people behind a barbed-wire entanglement around the Western Hemisphere. I have little fear of such a retreat today. But the danger signal is up.

#### AMERICA HAS NO WISH TO IMPOSE ITS WAY OF LIFE

At this point I may inject another interpretation of the American people. We have no desire to impose our formula of life or method of government upon other nations. We make no claim that our system or our people are perfect. As human beings are not usually perfect, we share the domestic imperfections of all free peoples.

And my countrymen are in constant motion to eradicate our failings – and when I am home I have often joined them. But the purpose of this address is not our domestic troubles but the better understanding of our ideals and aspirations which radiate to other nations.

#### IN CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this address I stated that I would be especially happy if I could help the thinking of the oncoming youth in the world who are today groping for light as to the future.

Therefore, I wish in conclusion to address directly you of the new generation. I recall to you that a great American President pointed out that to assure the progress of civilization and lasting peace, the world must be made "safe for democracy." But the word "democracy" has been so corrupted that I would prefer to say to you:

"We must unceasingly strive by all peaceable means to make the world safe for representative government."

From representative government alone can come respect for your dignity as men and women, your flowering as individuals, your right to a rising chance in life, to self-expression, and to security from sodden uniformity.

May God bless you all.

# On the Commission for the Relief of Belgium

*Address Delivered in Brussels to the  
Belgian People on the Occasion of "Hoover Day"  
[July 5, 1958]*

TO MY friends in Belgium and especially my old colleagues of the C.N., C.F. and the C.R.B.

No doubt the meaning of these cryptic letters has been long forgotten. They are, however, precious to some of us as the short names of our three organizations of forty-four years ago.

There are scarcely a dozen of the Old Guard in this audience. The inexorable passage of time probably makes this our last meeting.

Therefore, I have thought for this occasion and this audience of a later generation, it would be appropriate that I speak of some incidents of many years ago. And also I should point out some extraordinary influences which have flowed from these Belgian relief organizations to the whole world down to this very day. And I bear a special message for the Belgian people from the President of the United States.

This is an occasion and a setting which reaches into the depths of our memories and our emotions. Here in this very room at this very table we worked together for long years in the First World War. Here we managed the supply of food for 10,000,000 people. We cared for the ill, the aged and the destitute. And beyond that our organizations sustained the morale, the unity and the spiritual strength of a people during those four dreadful years.

## OUR MEETING IN 1938

Only twice since have we met here. Twenty years after the First World War, I revisited Belgium at the invitation of His Majesty King Leopold. On that occasion, now twenty years ago, the survivors of the C.N., the C.F. and the C.R.B. came together again in this very room and at this very table for the first time since we had finished our task in the First World War.

Those great Belgians – Ernest Solvay and Emile Francqui – the Chairman and the President of the Comité National had passed away. When our surviving members convened here in their accustomed chairs an acting Chairman Baron Janssen and old war-time Secretary, Firmin Van Bree, presided. With a formality which for the moment covered our emotions the Chairman declared the agenda for the day contained but three items: to call the roll, to honor the dead, and to renew the friendships of those of us who were still living.

Many chairs were empty. In others were men feeble with age. At the roll call came a somber reminder of the passing years in the secretary's oft repeated answer "Passed beyond." Not until that moment did I realize that my American colleagues and I were in our thirties and our early forties, while the Belgian and French members were experienced leaders, twenty years our elders.

Every word and every article in the room breathed of the great men of Belgium and France who had risen to transcendent courage and unsurpassed devotion to the survival of their countrymen.

## OUR MEETING TODAY – 1958

And today this second meeting of the C.N., the C.F., and C.R.B., after still another twenty years has the same agenda – to mention those who still live, to honor those who have passed on, and to renew old friendships. Our

memories of our former colleagues and our emotions here are undimmed by the passing of more than forty years.

OUR OLD ORGANIZATION ACTS AGAIN  
DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

But the joint efforts of our old Belgian, French, and American colleagues over the years since the First World War have not been confined to these two reunions.

When in the Second World War, for a second time, Belgium was ground between the millstones of enemy occupation and the Allied blockade, our American and Belgian colleagues came into action.

We repeatedly and urgently appealed for agreement of the combatant nations that we again restore our organizations of the First World War at least for the children. But the spirit of militarism had so swept the world that we were defeated.

And again with the world-wide famine which inevitably followed the Second World War, my old C.R.B. colleagues and I were given the mission from President Truman to co-ordinate the effort of all nations to defeat the approaching death from hunger of more than a billion human beings in fifty nations.

Belgium and France were again involved in that desperate plight of the world. But in this crisis our old Belgian, French, and American colleagues came into action again, and this time with success.

SOME INCIDENTS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

My visit today to Belgium is a happier one for me than for any of your visitors. That is because I recall the scene I witnessed on this spot forty-three years ago. That morning I had passed for the third time through the gaunt ruins of the city of Louvain. Its homes, its ancient church

and its great University library had been destroyed not in battle but by militarists to terrify a free people.

And for years my dreams were troubled by that monument at Dinant. There hundreds of men, women and children were taken as hostages and mowed down with machine guns. The inscription on that stone memorial can never be erased from the minds of men.

In those days a foreign soldier in hobnailed boots stood at every crossroad and every street corner. Long lines of weary women and listless children stood before the soup kitchens and Commune stations waiting for the meager ration that would preserve the life of their loved ones for one more day.

#### BELGIAN WIT AND GAIETY BREAK THROUGH THE SUFFERING

But even in these grim surroundings, there were moments when the innate Belgian gaiety and wit would break through their suffering like a star-shell in the night over no man's land.

The world will recall that thundering enemy General who paid a visit to Burgomaster Max of Brussels. As preparation for some lecture to the Burgomaster, he unbuckled his belt of ponderous weapons and laid them on the conference table. The Burgomaster solemnly uncorked his fountain pen and laid it beside the revolvers.

One day I stood beside a devoted woman who had charge of a soup kitchen. She pointed to the many children who came on the family mission with the soup bucket and the basket and said gayly, "The emblem of Belgium is now a child carrying a soup bucket." And she added with a touch of pride, "We Belgians make the best soup in the world." And that is still true today – but you do not need a bucket to get it.

And today in passing the site of the old "Pole Nord," I was reminded of the two thousand dedicated women who had transformed it into a gigantic workshop for the making

of clothing from the thousands of tons of materials sent by a generous world through the C.R.B. And even here the irrepressible joyous spirit of Belgian women broke through their hourly reminders of the suffering of a nation. They had sorted from the old clothing every fashion of evening gown over a period of thirty years back. They mounted them on dummies in a fashion parade for all to see.

#### OUR STAFF IN BELGIUM AND NORTHERN FRANCE

And my mind still thrills with memories of every one of my more than twenty war-time visits to Belgium and Northern France. Again and again I witnessed the devotion and courage of those 60,000 Belgian and French men and women who worked in the relief. At most their remuneration was a free ration.

#### OUR PROTECTING AMBASSADORS

I should also pay tribute to the great officials of governments who made our work possible. The ambassadors and ministers of the United States, Spain, and the Netherlands, as our honorary chairmen, gave us unfailing encouragement and support – and they included the beloved Hugh Gibson.

#### OUR SUPPORT FROM ALL THE COMBATANT NATIONS

In our undertakings we received the support of the Presidents, the Prime Ministers, and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Britain, France, Belgium, and the United States. It was they who responded to our appeals for financial support, when the unprecedented outflow of charity from the world proved insufficient for our needs. And I would be remiss did I not also include the German Minister of

Foreign Affairs and other German civilian officials who aided us in many crises.

OUR FLAG ON SHIPS AND OUR PASSPORTS WERE HONORED

It was due to the civilian leaders of both belligerents in that war that the C.R.B. had an unique position as a sort of neutral state. Our C.R.B. flag was honored at sea and our passports on land. And it was the intervention of these civilian officials on both sides of the war that prevented the periodic attempts of their militarists to abolish us.

I do not need recall the many crises through which we passed, and the prayers of the whole people, led by Cardinal Mercier, that we should survive.

THE CONTINUING INFLUENCE OF THE C.R.B.  
AND C.N. OVER THE PAST 40 YEARS

Lasting benefits have come to the world from the experience we gained in those years of the First World War and its armistice.

The Belgian Relief Organization was unprecedented in history. It pioneered the war Food Administrations in the modern world. It pioneered the methods of relief of great famines.

Some day I hope to publish the whole story, because only I know it in full.

OUR METHOD OF REHABILITATION OF CHILDREN  
HAS BEEN USED IN THE WORLD DOWN TO TODAY

Among our problems at that time of grim rations was the appalling spread of disease and degeneration in 2,500,000 children in Belgium and Northern France. Our joint organizations developed a system for their maintenance and rehabilitation through an extra meal a day of special food in canteens for all the affected infants, children, and expectant

mothers. The job was done by thousands of devoted women.

When the Armistice of the First World War came the group of Americans who had served in Belgium were given by the Allied governments the responsibility of relief for most of Europe. We expanded this same system of rehabilitation to 13,000,000 more children under direction of the same Americans who had served in Belgium.

Again, after the Second World War, the same group of Americans from that original staff in Belgium secured the adoption of the C.R.B.-C.N. system of rehabilitation of world-wide war-debilitated children under the United Nations. And that organization is still directed by one of our First World War American Delegates in Belgium. It has served the cause of more than 100,000,000 children.

LASTING INSTITUTIONS WERE CREATED BY THE C.R.B.,  
C.N. AND C.F. AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

And there has been another consequence which flowed from our joint activities at that time. At the end of our operations in August 1919, the Relief Organization had handled more than \$1,300,000,000. And incidentally, in these forty years there has never been a challenge to the integrity of any person in its administration.

At that time we found ourselves with about \$39,000,000 in a special fund built up from the residues of world charity and from our trading with other nations.

Of the \$5,000,000 on the French side, we endowed certain charities in the north of France.

Out of this Fund of about \$34,000,000 on the Belgian side, we replenished the endowments of the Belgian Universities. And in 1920, with these large sums remaining in the Belgian fund we established in Belgium the Fondation Universitaire, a center of academic and scientific cooperation, and in the United States the Belgian American Educational Foundation, to carry on intellectual exchanges

between our two countries. We later established the Fondation Francqui. The C.R.B. and C.N. survivors still participate in the management of these foundations.

I need to mention here only one of the endeavors of these organizations which are so alive in service today.

#### THE BELGIAN-AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION

For thirty-eight years the Belgian-American Educational Foundation, in cooperation with the Fondation Universitaire, has given nearly 2,000 fellowships to Belgian and American graduate students, professors and scientists for study in the other country. Amongst the Belgians who studied in American universities there have been three Prime Ministers and some forty have been members of ministries. Many of your teachers and professional men have received training in America. On our side, many Americans have attended Belgian institutions and many of them have risen to eminence in our universities and our professions.

Is it any wonder that from all this common background of our two nations that an affection and an understanding exist between us unparalleled by any other two nations in the world?

#### A TRIBUTE TO THE BELGIAN PEOPLE

It is difficult for me to express my pleasure at this occasion. It especially comes to me who has so intimately known the Belgian people in times of defeat, trials and suffering and intrepid recovery.

The greatness of a nation does not lie in the numbers of its people, nor in their economic and industrial accomplishments. It lies in the spiritual and moral foundations of its people.

Perhaps as few other men, I know the indomitable spirit, the courage and the character of the Belgian nation with the glorious record of its long past.

A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

The special message to the Belgian people from the President of the United States reads:

DEAR PRESIDENT HOOVER:

I should like you to convey a special message to the Belgian people. Belgium has long been a bastion of free men. But the free world has need to recall the outstanding service of the Belgian people in these last forty-four years.

In 1914 the Belgians under King Albert fought for their independence with the reincarnated spirit of Thermopylae. The world does not forget that their army of 117,000, knowing they could not stem the tide of aggression, fought every inch of the way to a final stand at the Nieuport-Dixmude line with fewer than 40,000 survivors. And they held that fragment of their country during the four years until victory came to the Allies.

Twenty-six years later the Belgians were once more to defend their independence against militarist aggression. Under King Leopold, they again fought until their meager armies were decimated. Even after being overwhelmed, their resistance was continued in the underground and in free Belgian forces in Africa and in Europe.

The admiration aroused in all free countries by these sacrifices contributed to the Allied victories.

After both wars Belgian reconstruction called for valiant effort and still more sacrifices. Hard work, sound financial and economic policies, devotion to democratic processes; on these principles Belgium was twice rebuilt. Each time, the new nation and new economy took its rightful place among the nations of Western Europe, fulfilling its responsibilities to our common heritage.

Belgian governments and statesmen have played a leading role in creating institutions to make more effective the peaceful cooperation of the democratic countries of the West. Belgium is a loyal member of NATO. The world will long remember Belgian contributions to the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Community. These institutions provide the framework for a faster pace of economic advance and the essential unity and strength necessary for the defense of peace and freedom.

It is no wonder that free men everywhere pay tribute to the courage, the fortitude and the ideals for which the Belgians have stood.

Sincerely,  
DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

## On the Use of United States Armed Forces in the Lebanese Crisis

*Statement to the Press [July 15, 1958]*

PRESIDENT Eisenhower has taken the only course possible if the freedom of nations is to be protected from militarist conspiracies.

## On the Arab Refugees

*Letter to Mrs. Helen Reid, Chairman of the  
American Committee to Benefit Arab Refugees  
[November 17, 1958]*

The Chairman of the American Committee to Benefit Arab Refugees:

I have been asked to send a message to your meeting of the seventeenth. The plight of the Arab refugees has long been a black spot in all nations' foreign policies in relation to the Mid-East but even more a trouble to all compassionate minds.

Some years ago I proposed a solution by way of the extensive restoration of irrigation in the Euphrates and Tigris valleys at the expense of these states but with generous aid of the Western nations. In those areas these refugees could be settled on productive lands and among their own race - and only bus transportation distant. I know of no other real solution.

But in the meantime relief of their present situation should be better organized and better supplied.

It is a weight on the world's conscience which should be lifted.

I wish you success in your efforts.

HERBERT HOOVER

# This Crisis in the Principles and Morals in International Relations

*Radio Broadcast*  
[April 5, 1959]

THE SABBATH is a day of reaffirmation of religious faith and the moral foundations of life. It is also a day more free from the routines of life. Therefore it can well be a day for the consideration of some principles of conduct and morals in this world crisis.

The greatest problem before us is to find some road to lessen the repeated tensions created by the Communists over the world. The Communist ultimatum as to the free people in Berlin is only their latest. But in fact it involves all free peoples. For behind these tensions lurk the dangers of war more dreadful than mankind has ever known.

A great conference is now proposed with Russia in the hope that it will bring some relaxation of this world crisis.

For over forty years most of the Western World has been engaged in an effort to find some workable relationship or some basis of peace with the Communists.

In these efforts the Western World has had some bitter experiences and by now should have learned some lessons as to the whole Communist purpose.

During these years, either through my official duties or my interest in peace, there has been imposed upon me some awareness of these problems.

From our long national experience it would seem appropriate to shortly review some of the lessons learned and the principles upon which we must stand fast.

The first of these lessons is a realization of the utterly

different concepts of international relations between the Communists and ourselves. We are a nation whose actions are based upon religious faith and the moral codes which have sprung from it. The atheistic Communists, who deny all religious faith, have no code of morals such as that to which we must adhere.

This reflects itself in our sense of moral obligation to agreements into which we have entered, whereas the Communist concept is that agreements and treaties are an obligation only so long as they are of use to Communists. I do not need to quote the abundant statements of their leaders themselves admitting this bare fact, nor the long list of treaties they have violated.

For a recent example, I need only point to the agreements at Yalta and Potsdam, which provided for free elections in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Rumania to establish their own forms of free governments. Those elections were prevented, or they were never free.

The bitter lesson from this experience was that the Western World failed to stand firm and united in holding to those agreements. And so we stood by and witnessed the death of freedom in five nations.

At this moment we are again confronted with precisely the same Communist concept of agreements. The number of human beings in Berlin is not large. But the principles of decent relations between nations and the moral standards vital to a peaceful world are at stake.

Fortunately, as never before in my recollection have our leaders and the American people been so united in their feeling that the time has come for a determined stand.

President Eisenhower alone can speak for the American people. He has spoken. And our support to him must be unwavering.

The unity of the free world is also today at stake. The agreements as to Berlin must be upheld. They can only be modified by mutual consent in a fashion which truly

protects the free people of Berlin and gives hope of a step toward peace.

Firmness today alone can bring a halt in the creeping Communist conquest of Western Europe, and prevent the breakdown of principles and morals in international life into a third world war.

Our people are not frightened by the unceasing blustering threats and warnings showered upon us from the Kremlin. We are used to them. We can defend ourselves.

I scarcely need mention that in the face of these perils we must maintain such military strength as will deter an attack. And we must continue the development of scientific research and invention which will keep the Western World in the lead in weapons of defense.

Another principle in our relations with the Communists deserves mention. They have at various times proposed "peaceful co-existence," the abolition of nuclear weapons tests, the reduction or limitation of armies, and other seeming ideas of promoting peace. Our people are not adverse to such steps. But, from our bitter experiences, we have learned that if we reach such agreements there must be set up independent machinery to enforce such agreements on both sides. President Eisenhower has stood firm in this principle. The Communists have refused.

I may well spend a few moments on the mystery of the recent visit of Mr. Anastas Mikoyan, the Deputy Prime Minister of the Soviet Union. It has some lessons on our relations with the Communists.

Mr. Mikoyan announced the purpose of his visit was to discuss the expansion of trade between Russia and the United States. He repeatedly stated that such expansion would be an important step in lessening the tensions of the cold war. During his visit he was extended the courtesies and hospitalities due a representative of another nation. Our State Department stimulated a series of dinners or luncheons where he was given the opportunity to freely

discuss his project with our businessmen and to expound his ideas over our radio and in our press.

Mr. Mikoyan is an intelligent, highly informed man and his proposal should be analyzed as to its possibilities as a way toward peace.

It is, however, a down-to-earth fact that there never has been, nor is there ever likely to be, such consequential trade with Russia as would thaw out the cold war.

Russia, like the United States, is a great reservoir of raw materials. We have no need for consequential amounts of Russian raw materials. Their natural market is Western Europe which does need them. And Western Europe can make manufactured goods to exchange for these raw materials cheaper than we can at our wage levels. Therefore any volume of such exchanges is most improbable.

And, in support of this, I may call up a little statistic. In the six years from 1934 through 1939, until the interruption of the Second World War, there were no important restrictions on trade between the United States and Communist Russia. But our exports to their 180,000,000 people averaged only about \$40,000,000 yearly. Our imports from them averaged about \$20,000,000 each year. This microscopic amount of trade is a little less or a little more than our trade today with Denmark or Finland or the Dominican Republic or Ecuador or Liberia.

Also, as to Mr. Mikoyan's proposals to our businessmen, we must remember that there is no such thing as free action between our free enterprises and the Russian people. Our people must deal with a Communist agent in New York.

Further, there arises here again a fundamental difference in moral concepts between the Communists and ourselves.

When the present Department of Commerce building was under construction during my Administration, I chose a sentence from Benjamin Franklin to be emblazoned over one of the portals of the building. It says:

*Commerce among nations should be fair and equitable.*

As to fair and equitable, I may mention that there is an International Patents and Copyrights Agreement among free nations by which discoveries, inventions, and the writings of citizens of the free world are protected for a just and fair return for their contributions of new ideas. These agreements have been one of the great stimulants to progress.

The Communist Governments have not only refused to sign this agreement but they have ruthlessly appropriated these ideas from the whole free world.

In summing up Mr. Mikoyan's visit, it may be that he had in mind something beyond his idea of the expansion of almost nonexistent trade to thaw out the cold war. Perhaps he wanted to discover if our people were united behind the President. Also if we were determined to insist upon certain principles in our foreign relations.

He no doubt discovered an adamant people. And I trust he discovered that we are prepared and that we are not afraid.

As I said at the outset, we continue to strive for world peace. We have great hopes that the impending negotiations may at last bring it to the world.

But the successful negotiator is one who approaches his problems with a clear head, a sharp eye, a long memory. President Eisenhower has that awareness and he must have the unwavering support of a united people behind him and a people who are not afraid.

# Address at Dinner for King of the Belgians

*New York City*  
*[May 28, 1959]*

YOUR Majesty and Friends of Belgium:

I have a great privilege on this occasion. It is perhaps not an overstatement that few Americans have lived my experience with the Belgians. In the last forty-five years I have witnessed their many times of trial and suffering and their times of recovery and triumph.

## THE KINGS OF THE BELGIANS

When Belgium gained its independence a century and a quarter ago, it chose a man from a great family to be the King of the Belgians. Since that time her Kings have given great leadership to her people. From the beginning they have supported a government of free men, buttressed with Constitutional freedoms and representative government.

## TWICE AT THERMOPYLAE

Twice in the last half century the Kings of the Belgians have joined the Belgian people in decisions which electrified free men throughout the world. In the face of military might twenty times their strength, they defied attempts to destroy their independence. Never in history has there been such leadership of a people as that of King Albert and King Leopold who, knowing certain defeat, yet fought on.

## KING ALBERT

Vivid in my memory is a day I spent with King Albert and Queen Elizabeth in their little wooden cottage among their troops just behind the Belgian lines. The King recounted to me how in a rear guard action they fought all the way across Belgium until finally they reached the canal locks at Nieuport on the coast just inside Belgium with a remnant of 40,000 men. Here they stood.

They held the locks – a key position on the Allied lines – for the whole four years of the war. Some Belgians escaped from Belgium to join his army. But their losses by death and casualties numbered more than the 40,000 who first stood fast at the locks.

## WORKING ON AN AMERICAN RAILROAD

During this visit King Albert told me about the year he spent working on a railroad in Montana on orders from his uncle. In that year he rose from a tracklayer to the proud position of fireman on a mountain locomotive. It was here that his Oxford accent became mixed with the American slang. And certainly he knew more about what makes Americans tick than most other leaders in Europe.

## KING LEOPOLD

Twenty-four years ago came the Second World War and again the attack upon Belgium by overwhelming forces. Again the Belgians under the leadership of King Leopold met the same issue. The world still remembers their heroic stand where again they fought. Their final stand was to protect the evacuation of the Allied Armies at Dunkirk until they were overwhelmed.

## NO BELGIANS ESCAPED

At the time of these great Belgian decisions it seemed to many in foreign countries that they were making a useless sacrifice. But the determination of the Belgian people to die on their feet rather than to bow their knees gave Belgium a stature seldom witnessed by men since Thermopylae.

## THE PRICE OF INDEPENDENCE

Twice after these invasions I have been called to aid the Belgian people. No man can know as I know the price which the people paid to hold their honor and their independence. But they paid the price without a whimper and with faith that freedom would come again. And after each war they rebuilt their homes and their factories from the ashes to still greater comfort and prosperity.

## WHAT CONSTITUTES GREATNESS IN A NATION

It is not the square miles nor the number of people in a nation that matters. What matters is the moral and intellectual character of the people; their courage and their fidelity to their national ideals. These are forged by their traditions, their struggles for freedom, the memories of their heroic men and women. They are steeled by their sufferings. They may be oppressed; they may be enslaved; and they may be impoverished. But a nation with a great soul cannot be crushed. The stature of a nation among the peoples of the world comes from these invincible forces. The little nation called Belgium is today acclaimed by all mankind.

## On Russian Famine Relief in 1921-1923

*Statement to the Press*  
[July 2, 1959]

### STATEMENT BY HERBERT HOOVER

THE relief of the Great Famine in Communist Russia from 1921 to 1923 was undertaken by the American people at the direct request of the Soviet Government. The American Relief Administration, under my direction, raised about \$62,000,000 and provided the Russians with over 700,000 tons of food, clothing, and medical supplies as an absolute gift. It was not a loan and not a dime was ever asked for – or paid. The Soviet Government also requested us to purchase \$10,000,000 worth of seed on their behalf which they paid for in gold, but we provided the transport free.

When the work was completed and over 20,000,000 lives had been saved from starvation and millions more from raging epidemics, the Commissars in the Kremlin – in July 1923 – gave a great dinner to our staff. Four of the Commissars in their speeches used this phrase: "The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics never will forget the aid rendered to them by the American People." They presented me with a great scroll of thanks. They have been trying to forget our help ever since.

The text of the letter from the Russian Commissars, addressed to me, reads as follows:

Mr. Herbert Hoover  
Chairman, American Relief Administration  
Washington, D.C.

SIR:

WHEREAS, in the period of a disastrous national catastrophe, the people of the UNITED STATES, represented by the AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION, readily responded to the needs of the population, already emaciated by foreign intervention and blockade, in famine stricken parts of Russia and Confederated Republics;

WHEREAS the AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION did organize, on a most extensive scale, the supply and distribution of food products and other articles of prime necessity;

WHEREAS, due to the boundless, and entirely unselfish efforts of the AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION, millions of people of all ages were saved from death, and entire localities, including many towns, escaped a threatening fearful calamity;

WHEREAS, at this time, with the cessation of the famine, the magnificent relief work of the AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION is being concluded;

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS in the name of the millions of people who have been saved, as well as in the name of the whole working people of Soviet Russia and of the Confederated Republics and before the whole world, to this organization, to its leader MR. HERBERT HOOVER, to its representative in Russia, Colonel HASKELL, and to all the workers of the organization to express the most deeply felt sentiments of gratitude, and to state, that all the people inhabiting the UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS never will forget the aid rendered to them by the AMERICAN PEOPLE, through the agency of the AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION, holding it to be a pledge of the future friendship of the two nations.

ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF  
THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

KAMINEF

CHIEF OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE  
DEPARTMENT OF THE COUNCIL OF  
THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

N. GRBUROV

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL OF  
THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

L. FOTIEV

Moskow, Kremlin  
July, the 10th, 1923.

## Meet the Press

*Nation-wide Radio Broadcast from New York City*  
[August 9, 1959]

MR. BROOKS: Welcome once again to MEET THE PRESS. Our guest today is the 31st President of the United States, the Honorable Herbert Hoover. Tomorrow Mr. Hoover celebrates his 85th birthday, and a legion of friends will celebrate with him. His contributions to the welfare of his fellow men occupy a long and important chapter in world history. But one contribution is written deep in the hearts and minds of men, women and children all over the world – the role he played after two world wars in saving them from starvation and disease. Although Mr. Hoover has a long and fruitful life to look back upon, his thoughts are on the present and to the future. He has completed the first volume of a book series to be titled "An American Epic." He has started the second and is planning the rest. His daily work load is heavy enough to keep six secretaries busy full time. Now, Mr. Hoover, if you are ready, sir, we'll start the questions with Mr. Spivak.

*Mr. Spivak:* As you must know, the number one question in the minds of the American people today is the coming visit of Mr. Khrushchev. What possible hope can the free world get from that visit?

*Mr. Hoover:* On this occasion I want to slightly alter the rules of this session, because I want to be perfectly precise. I have a little script that will just take two minutes, and after that we'll do the usual *ad lib* job.

*Mr. Brooks:* That's all right.

*Mr. Hoover:* The Soviet Premier on this visit could bring

the greatest, most generous gift which mankind has received in a thousand years. He could interpret his oft-repeated statement as to peaceful co-existence as eliminating all international demands, all warnings, all threats and all conspiracies against free people. He could, to make peaceful co-existence effective, agree to cooperate in the United Nations and to the abolition of nuclear warfare, accompanied by subsequent sessions on disarmament in general. All of this would require international inspections, to which we should also be willing to submit, as a guarantee. All the people of the world, after this forty years of death and destruction and famine and pestilence, want peace. Peace would give civilization a greater impulse forward than we have seen in two centuries. It would end the world's problems of hunger and poverty. Thus, it is Mr. Khrushchev's opportunity to win immortality among the leaders of all men.

But this is unlikely to be the result of this visit. The tactics of the communists may change, but their determination to dominate the world continues. Without that the communists would fade away at every point. However, there are hopeful possibilities out of this visit. They may be able to lessen the tensions in the world and, maybe, tide us over for a period in which there may be hopes for greater steps in peace. That is our hope, and it would be helpful to a distraught and disrupted mankind. We may be assured that the President will not compromise with or appease the evil forces in this world. He's not that kind of a man, and our experience with Soviet fidelity to promises is a little disappointing. We must not be lulled into any complacency. We must be alert and armed to the teeth. The American people should convey their traditional courtesy to a leader of another government when he visits us, and we may hope that with his visit he will realize that the real power of the American people is not their economic or military strength; the power of our people is in our religious beliefs,

our devotion to freedom and the ideals which sprang upon this continent five centuries ago.

*Mr. Spivak:* Mr. President, there's always danger of applying the lessons of one period to another period, but you were one of those who urged President Woodrow Wilson not to go to Paris and not to engage in personal negotiations. Do you see any lesson that Mr. Eisenhower can take from that past?

*Mr. Hoover:* I think the circumstances may entirely differ. I urged the President not to go for two reasons: The one is that a President of the United States has no equal position of authority with the Prime Ministers with whom he must sit. He cannot control his legislative body. They, being the heads of their legislative bodies, can exert that control. The second reason was that many of us believed that his voice from the White House would be more thunderous and more effective than in a council room. None of that may apply at the present time, so I wouldn't want to offer it as an objection to the President's proposals.

*Mr. Spivak:* President Eisenhower has said in the past that in dealing with the Soviet Union we are interested in deeds not words. What do you think should be the minimum of deeds before the world can really relax?

*Mr. Hoover:* I tried to outline that here. I think the minimum step is, as I said, to stop threats, stop all this conspiracy, stop all attempts to direct and order the rest of the world about. That would be the very minimum that we could ask for.

*Mr. Huntley:* Mr. President, you certainly have demonstrated a conviction that the experience of former Presidents should be utilized by the nation, but I wonder if you would recommend or propose any formal or Constitutional position for past Presidents? For example, I think ex officio roles in the Senate have been suggested, Cabinet posts, etc.

*Mr. Hoover:* That subject has been under discussion for a good many years, and at one time an investigation

was made as to what would be necessary to establish a former President in the Senate, and it was found that it could be done by statutory law if he had no vote. Most ex-Presidents would be glad to join the Senate without a vote.

*Mr. Huntley:* In all your services to the nation in war and in peace is there any one of which you are most proud?

*Mr. Hoover:* I should think, taking it all together, the various relief operations which I directed, stretching over a period of nearly forty years.

*Mr. Huntley:* And what about the Commission to Reorganize the Executive Branch of the Government?

*Mr. Hoover:* That was a very happy job, but it had some good consequences, and some were indifferent. The first Commission succeeded very largely. It got something like 70% of its recommendations adopted, and there were savings of four or five billion in the government, which were eaten up by the Korean War. But nevertheless, the second Commission's recommendations didn't fare as well in the hands of the Congress. I suppose we got through 30% or 40% of them.

*Mr. Considine:* You spoke of the great relief work of some years back. Russia, of course, was a leading beneficiary of your wonderful work in that line. Dick Wilson and I came back recently from Moscow, and while we were there one of the 150 books thrown out of the American exhibition was your book on Wilson. I wonder if you have any comments as a deposed author?

*Mr. Hoover:* I think they were right about it. If they want to suppress real sound opinions of the communist government and life, they ought not to read Woodrow Wilson. He was about as strong on the subject as anybody we've ever had.

*Mr. Considine:* We had at the same time from all sides pleas from Russian leaders for more trade, and the thought was raised, Mr. President, that if we do trade, if we send some great, heavy single piece of machinery, let's say, that

they don't have, they will order simply one and then reproduce it. Is that an obstacle, do you think, in our trade with the Soviet Union?

*Mr. Hoover:* I should think it is. It places us in a very difficult position. The objective of trade is to stimulate production in the United States, give more jobs to workmen. If we are going to give away one machine and no more it doesn't seem to me we get anything out of it. As a matter of fact, the whole question of trade with Russia has been vastly exaggerated. At no time, even in the time of freest of trade in our history, did we do more than \$160 million worth of trade with Russia. That would be about what we're doing with Liberia at the present moment.

*Mr. Wilson:* You spoke in your statement earlier of the challenge of the Soviet Union. Some of us have been strongly impressed by that challenge and by the competition that the Soviet Union offers to the United States. I would like to ask you if you think that we are working hard enough in this country and if we have enough determination and will to stand against the Soviet Union?

*Mr. Hoover:* My feeling is that we have involved ourselves in too many crises and that our major job today is to clean up our own household, that we are in more imminent dangers from internal causes than we are from the cold war.

*Mr. Wilson:* Which are you referring to, sir?

*Mr. Hoover:* We're fast drifting into inflation, unbalanced budgets, overspending by Congress, the huge growth of crime. There are half a dozen different things that infest the public mind with worry, anxiety, that need to be cleaned up at home.

*Mr. Wilson:* Have these things weakened us so much that we can't stand out strong against Russia?

*Mr. Hoover:* No, I wouldn't want anybody to think for a moment that the American people are not capable of solving any crisis. As a matter of fact, this nation is now in its 183rd year, and it has lasted longer than any representative government.

It has gone through seven wars, has gone through three great depressions. It has had some bad administrations in Washington; it has fallen on evil days in every one of the wars which we've fought, which produced a series of crises, and yet, after all that, we still have of the original heritage of the American people a very large part of what the forefathers established. We still have a freedom of religion, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, freedom of enterprise within the limits of some socialistic tack, freedom of speech within the limits of very mild laws on the subject. Generally, we possess today the same vitality, the genius, the initiative and the ability to solve these crises that we have in the past. We need to be more diligent on the job.

*Mr. Spivak:* Along those lines, you made a speech last year and this is what you said: "Let me stress at once that there is no expenditure, no tax burden, no austerity that we cannot endure in order to protect the United States from the greatest enemy of mankind in all human history." Are you satisfied that we are today making the necessary sacrifices?

*Mr. Hoover:* I think so. I have great confidence in the genius of our military forces. I think they're moving into a complete set of defenses. I wouldn't include an offensive war, but I think they can defend the American people. We have one great difficulty in our competition with Russia that I think is greater than all others, and that is the lag in our training of the best brains we have in the United States, the creation of enough scientists and engineers to carry our productive system forward. The Russians are outnumbering us about five to one in those professions which we are solely dependent upon for our defense and for our progress and well-being.

*Mr. Spivak:* What do you think we ought to do about that?

*Mr. Hoover:* I think we ought to reorganize the high schools of the United States. Our technical institutions –

I wouldn't be sure of these figures – but they turned out about 55,000 scientists and engineers in 1955, or they had that many in session. And I think this year they're likely to have less than 25,000. The Russians have got something like 85,000 right now. If you will make an inquiry amongst the institutions of higher technology, you will find that their complaint is that the material that comes to them for entrance cannot pass their necessary requirements. They go right back to the high schools where we have a system which lacks entirely in discipline and in effective training of youngsters, who have no ability to choose their own life when they're thirteen years old.

*Mr. Spivak:* Isn't that an indication that we are getting a little bit soft?

*Mr. Hoover:* I think we've got soft on the whole educational line. I don't want to enter into a dispute, but we've had a thing around here called progressive education, by which youngsters are to elect what they would like to look at. Naturally they don't like to look at mathematics.

*Mr. Huntley:* Mr. President, as I understand it, one of the primary purposes of farm subsidies and price supports is to keep the smaller farmer on the farm even though, we are told – and there is some evidence – that large farms can produce food and fiber more efficiently. I'd like to ask you: do you think it's worth it to subsidize this stay-on-the-farm program, or should we be subsidizing a get-off-the-farm program for the smaller farmer?

*Mr. Hoover:* No, I wouldn't be in favor of the latter. I think we've got to keep the small farmer on the farm. He's a very fundamental and stable factor of American life. On the other hand, there's only one way to meet the surplus production, and that is to by force reduce production itself, and we haven't been willing to resort to the necessary force to get a diversified agriculture. We've subsidized one crop, especially. The result is we're just drowned in it.

*Mr. Huntley:* Do you think that sometimes these surpluses

of ours could be a strength rather than a weakness?

*Mr. Hoover:* That depends on how much there is, because they're all perishable. It may be turned over and kept for a few years in the shape of grain. On the other hand, one of my suggestions has been constantly that we look over the world and find what the caloric intakes of nations are, and if any of them is below the necessary level of public health, that we just say to them, "Send your ships over here and we'll fill them."

*Mr. Considine:* Mr. President, you spoke of the eternal verities of our great system, and very eloquently too, but in peacetime have you ever noticed as much of a change as we've undergone in our foreign policy in our relations toward Russia and the Iron Curtain countries in the past year or two? For example, we have the Vice President praising Mr. Gomulka of Poland as a great statesman; we have the leader of the great communist intrigue coming here, and we're all looking forward to his visit. Four or five years ago I think the architects of any such proposal might have been called before the McCarthy Committee. Haven't you noticed a great lessening of tension between the two great powers in that respect?

*Mr. Hoover:* I shouldn't think the fundamental tensions are very much relieved. I do think that the President is a man who is willing to explore any channel to get peace. I don't think he's going to find it in the Russian Prime Minister. And so far as some of these matters you mentioned are concerned, I think they're rather superficial. When our officials go back and forth, we have to be nice and complimentary and kind.

*Mr. Considine:* Do you think that it means our congratulatory messages to the likes of, let's say, Gomulka, mean that we no longer extend the thought of liberation to the hundred million people of Eastern Europe?

*Mr. Hoover:* No. I think the American people are very deep in their sympathies and very hopeful that the day

will come when they are free. I don't believe we're prepared to surrender that for a minute.

*Mr. Considine:* We wouldn't help another Hungarian uprising, let's say?

*Mr. Hoover:* I can't answer that. You're talking about the action of a people and the Congress. I'd be in favor of it, if that's what you want to know.

*Mr. Wilson:* Mr. President, what do you think will be the big political issue in 1960?

*Mr. Hoover:* You're getting into a field now that I've been trying to do my best for the last three years to get out of. I'm not a candidate. You can take that as positive, and I'm not going to go into politics any more. I'm too busy writing books.

*Mr. Wilson:* How about the issues in 1960? Do you have any convictions on what it might be?

*Mr. Hoover:* No. I think there are three or four of them that I'd like to see reviewed. This whole question of inflation, and also, I have pretty strong feelings about the treatment of Lewis Strauss.

*Mr. Wilson:* What do you think motivated the rejection of your former Secretary?

*Mr. Hoover:* He was accused of being arrogant and secretive, and I don't know what all. That seemed to be the final charge in the last debate. But it's a curious thing – I think you might find it worth looking into. I think you'll find that the majority of the membership of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of the Congress – those present at the time of that supposed arrogance and secretiveness – voted for the confirmation of Admiral Strauss.

*Mr. Spivak:* Mr. President, this is a semi-political question. The Republican party has in recent years become the minority party. Do you expect them to become once again the majority party?

*Mr. Hoover:* Being a longtime Republican, I'm always in hope.

*Mr. Spivak:* Have you any suggestions as to how they might become a majority party again?

*Mr. Hoover:* No. I don't think it's up to me to be providing them with any advice. They seem to have a lot of committees going already.

*Mr. Huntley:* I know you're very proud of the Hoover War Memorial Library on the campus at Stanford University in California. Going back to the beginning of that, did you find a large collection of that material in Europe at the time of World War I, or was it put together just bit by bit?

*Mr. Hoover:* It was put together bit by bit, but I had the ardent assistance of all of the men who were working under me in Europe for a period of 20 years when I was engaged in those activities, and there were probably 50,000 of those men over the world, and they all took part in collecting that material.

*Mr. Huntley:* Is it the largest collection in the world on the period of the Bolshevik and Kerensky revolution?

*Mr. Hoover:* Far and away the largest, and almost unique because both the French and the German war libraries were destroyed in the second World War, and the British museum, which contained part of their records, also suffered, so today literally hundreds of foreign historians have to come to the library at Stanford to find out what's going on.

*Mr. Considine:* I've got a good question, Mr. President: On the eve of your 85th birthday, how do you feel?

*Mr. Hoover:* I feel physically perfect.

*Mr. Considine:* Good.

*Mr. Hoover:* About 68 I should think.

*Mr. Considine:* Good.

*PART II*

DOMESTIC ISSUES AND  
SOCIAL QUESTIONS

## Our American Way of Life

*Address on the Occasion of Mr. Hoover's 81st Birthday,  
Newberg, Oregon  
[August 10, 1955]*

IT IS indeed a great honor to have been invited by the Governor and Legislature of Oregon to spend my birthday on the scenes of my boyhood. Also, it is a pleasure to take part in the dedication of this cottage. Its restoration and this occasion are due to the effort of my boyhood friend Burt Brown Barker with the co-operation of Reverend Levi Pennington and this community. Mr. Barker has risen high in the service of this State and the nation. Dr. Pennington has given this community years of spiritual leadership.

This is a time and place of stimulated affections and recollections. In this cottage and orchard, with its cherries, its apples and its pears, I spent formative years of my boyhood. Here I roamed the primitive forests with their carpets of flowers, their ferns, their never forgettable fragrance. There were no legal limits on the fish you could catch. No warden demanded to see your license. From those impressions on Oregon boys comes always the call to return to her again and again. I have omitted any reference to my boyhood contacts with poison oak – that is not part of the call.

I was brought here 70 years ago to live in the family of my Uncle Dr. Henry John Minthorn, a country doctor.

My first day in Newberg was spent in making acquaintance with lovable Aunt Laura. My Aunt was rather a stern person with disciplinarian ideas. She had few words and they were mostly devoted to moral requirements. But she

relaxed at moments when I needed to go fishing or to explore the woods.

When I arrived on the Oregon scene she was busy with my girl cousins making the winter store of pear butter, from pears which grew prolifically in this yard. I had never eaten a pear before as my family circumstances in the Midwest did not permit that exotic luxury. She showed me how to stir the kettle and indicated that I had to keep going without any stops. But at the same time she said, "Thee can eat all the pears thee likes." I liked the idea, and I liked it too much. And then she tucked a sick, small boy into bed. I ceased to eat pears – for a while.

One of my chores was to split the wood for stove-size current use. I have had little opinion of split wood as a household fuel ever since. But I can still hear Aunt Laura calling me from much more desirable occupations, "It is time thee gets in the wood."

My activities hereabouts did not make any great transformation of human society. But something else does warrant the restoration and dedication of this cottage. That is expressed in the plaque you have put upon it.

"This House was the Home of  
Dr. Henry John Minthorn,  
a beloved physician  
in this Community"

I am honored to be mentioned on the plaque.

What you have done here is to pay a tribute to all the pioneering country doctors of our Nation. There are thousands of cottages in this land which should be marked with plaques recalling their devotion.

John Minthorn was one of those devoted men. He was born 110 years ago in the Quaker faith. He practiced his healing profession mostly in this State for 45 years and he lies buried in this village.

As a boy he witnessed the undergrounds in the Midwest,

where during the nights the Quakers transported Negroes escaping from slavery northward to the freedom of Canada. He reached maturity during the Civil War and joined the Union Army out of conviction in the matter of human slavery. Quaker pacifism did not extend into that area of thought. Returning from the War, he graduated from the medical schools of Iowa, of Pennsylvania and of Ohio. He was equipped with the full medical skills of his day.

In those early days the patients often could not pay the doctor, and Uncle John at intervals in his life taught school or did missions to the Indians for the Government in order to make ends meet. But even along with these duties, he was still the incarnation of the country doctor.

Let no one think that the country doctor of a generation ago was not a skilled man. Without the amazing modern aids of diagnosis, he was a sure diagnostician of the major ills of mankind. Without anti-biotics, without vaccines – except for smallpox – without vitamins, without the X-rays and fluorescent photographs of your innards, the country doctor did healing in an amazing degree. Hot towels and cold towels were substituted for aspirin and codeine. No doubt Mother Nature used more pain in her healing processes. But statistics show that a host of his charges reached old age safely.

But beyond his healing art, the country doctor did far more. He instilled the community with the common sense of preventive medicine. He brought a sympathy and spiritual strength and courage to the troubled patients. He healed the spirit.

He brought their babies into the world. He piloted the youngsters safely through their measles, chicken pox and mumps without the aids of modern medicine. His major word of comfort was "You cannot have it twice." He gave counsel and courage to the young and helped them to find a job.

He was their life-long friend. He was the confidant of

the family and he healed many a family conflict. He was a leader in the affairs of the community.

The plaque on this cottage is a tribute to a great profession which has made much of the spiritual backgrounds of the American people.

The species of the country doctor is not extinct. With urban life, paved roads and the automobile, he has changed his name to that of the family doctor. He is better equipped to fight disease and accident, but the family doctor has the same qualities of moral strength, friendship and family guidance as of old.

And it is the family doctor's knowledge that these needed moral and spiritual services could not survive socialized medicine that leads him to fight it at every turn.

And this is no disparagement of the great specialists who daily save the lives of thousands of our people. But America needs more family doctors.

This occasion also recalls the part of pioneer men and women in the Northwest. Today we can recall again memories of the courage with which the pioneers felled these forests to make their farms, of their staunch fidelities to the ideals of free men and the moral and spiritual life with which they endowed our generation.

Once upon a time it was the custom of our people to gather on the Fourth of July and someone would read the Declaration of Independence with the Stars and Stripes in the background. Someone spoke on freedom and the greatness of America. It was in this village that I first had that inspiring experience – and from Dr. Minthorn.

In order to do our part we, the oncoming generation, packed a drain tile with appropriate gun powder, tamped both ends hard with clay, and fixed a fuse. The fuse was short – and it proved more powerful than we expected. Dr. Minthorn was busy for hours picking pieces of tile out of the skins of small boys. He engaged in no reprimands.

Dr. Minthorn and his generation had deep convictions on the American way of life. Their fathers were the sons

of men who had fought the war for American Independence. They themselves had fought the Civil War to free the slaves. Their lights along the way of American life were the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, Washington's Farewell Address and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. They held that the function of the Federal Government was to safeguard the individual freedoms and trust to the initiative of men to generate progress.

Probably some will say that the recalling of those times, of those men, and of those beliefs is an expression of longing to go backward in American life. No sane person ignores the shifting scene on our national stage. But do not forget the many thousands of Dr. Minthorns and their wives who sustained and enlarged the spiritual forces which give the impulse to our way of life today.

During the last score of years our American way of life has been deluged with criticism. It comes from our own people who deplore our faults and genuinely wish to remedy them. Among these I myself have joined because of my anxieties over mistaken policies and especially the influence of Karl Marx on our way of life. Criticism comes daily from the habit of our political parties to deplore the opposition. It arises from the forthright refusal of the American people to wash their dirty linen in secret. It comes from our love of sensational incidents where villainy is pursued by law and virtue triumphs.

And it comes from the fuzzy-minded totalitarian liberals who believe that our creeping collectivism can be adopted without destroying the safeguards of free men. It comes bitterly and daily from the Communists at home and abroad who would overthrow our American system. And it even comes from free nations whom we have tried to help.

Altogether, if we look at the criticisms alone, we seem to be in a very, very bad way and engaged in our decline and fall.

But we should lift our eyes unto the hills from whence

cometh our help. We should occasionally mention something good about ourselves.

We could point out that our American way of life has perfected the greatest productivity of any nation on earth; that our standard of living is the highest in the world. We could point to our constantly improving physical health and lengthening span of life. We could point out that the mechanical genius of our people has, by millions of labor-saving machines, taken the sweat from the backs of most of our people.

In the governmental field, we could suggest that our supposedly decadent people still rely upon the ballot and the legislative hall to settle their differences without a secret police with slave camps.

In the cultural field, we could point out that with only about 6 per cent of the world's population we have more youth in our institutions of higher learning than all the rest of the world put together. We could probably enumerate more libraries and more printed serious words than all other 94 per cent of the earth put together.

On the moral and spiritual side, we have more hospitals and charitable institutions than all of them.

And we could suggest that we alone, of all nations, fought in two world wars and asked no indemnities, no acquisition of territory, no domination over other nations.

We could point to our advancement of the spirit of compassion. We could prove it by the billions of dollars we have made as gifts to save millions from famine and governments from collapse.

Much as I feel deeply the lag in giving an equal chance to our Negro population, yet I cannot refrain from mentioning that our 14 million American Negroes own more automobiles than all the two hundred million Russians or the three hundred million Negroes in Africa.

All of which is not boasting, but just fact. And we could say a good deal more.

What does all this mean? It means that freedom of

mind, of spirit and of initiative still lives in America. It means that our people are strong in religious faith. Here alone are the open windows through which pours the sunlight of the human spirit. Here alone, even with all its defects, is human dignity not a dream but an accomplishment. These ideals of freedom and religious faith guarantee there will be no decline and fall of American civilization.

# At the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier

*Address at Arlington Cemetery, Virginia,  
as the President's Representative  
[November 11, 1955]*

I HAVE been requested by the President to represent him on this occasion of great national symbolism. We deeply regret his inability to be here, but we greatly rejoice that he is on the road to recovery.

It was appropriate that this day, for many years dedicated to those who fought and died in the First World War, should be re-dedicated to honor those who served in all our wars.

It was almost this day 92 years ago, on another hallowed ground, that Lincoln made his immortal Gettysburg Address. Never before, or since, have there been such commanding words of dedication to those who died and to us the living. Any words we may say here are dimmed by that transcendent flame.

But in its glow we meet at this shrine each year to express our debt to those who served: pride in the valor of America's sons and daughters; pride in the ideals for which they fought.

And we may also take pride that America neither wanted nor received profit from these wars; pride in the compassion of our country which saved the lives of millions from starvation in the aftermaths of these wars – including even the enemy.

We do not glorify war. No man came back from the

furnace of war who does not pray that war be ended forever.

Today we can rejoice that the shambles of death are suspended. Yet today there is no peace.

On this day we renew our dedication to the eternal quest for the Holy Grail of lasting peace, not for ourselves alone but for all mankind.

And we dedicate ourselves to maintain respect of nations for our preparedness and our might to defend ourselves against aggression.

On this day we reaffirm the Nation's obligation to all those who went into the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Our Nation has never and must never neglect its obligations: to honor those who died; to care for their dependents; to care for those who received lasting injury; and to care for those veterans who are ill and destitute.

We dedicate ourselves again to maintain that pride in our nation which surges from a thousand rills of heroic deeds, of sacrifice and its mighty stream of achievement. Those who fought and died had no belief that patriotism was a sin and pride in nation was an evil. They marched with our flag before their eyes and our national anthem on their lips.

On this day we take these pledges before the symbolic tomb of all who died in our wars.

We say this is the tomb of the "Unknown Soldier." But here lie the bones of a man not unknown to us because his only name is an American.

This American who lies here is of our flesh and blood. His mortal remains were placed here without knowledge of his ancestry, his creed or his color. We know he loved our country and feared no man. His immortal spirit carries on.

What better can we say of any man than that he laid down his life for his country?

We salute your memory. Mister American! And may the Lord permit His countenance to shine upon you and upon this land and the ideals for which you gave your life!

## On Lincoln

*Letter to Lincoln Day Banquet Association, Boise, Idaho  
[February 1, 1956]*

My dear Mr. Nelson:

I would be glad if you would extend my greetings to those who join with you to commemorate the memory of Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. Lincoln laid the foundations of the Republican Party in human liberty. From that renewed inspiration this nation marched to a glorious progress unparalleled in the history of mankind. That task of preserving the liberty of men comes again today to the Republican Party. We shall again triumph from the same common sense and the same moral fibre in our people.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## On Lincoln

*Letter to the Young Men's Republican Club  
of King County, Seattle, on the Occasion  
of Their Observance of Lincoln's Birthday  
[February 6, 1956]*

Dear Mr. Pollock:

I would be happy indeed if you would convey my greetings to the group which will be assembled with you to commemorate the memory of Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln exerts a more profound influence upon the daily life of our nation today than any other of our great statesmen. His immortal phrases in enunciation of the principles of national unity and of human liberty are indelibly woven into the fabric of our national thought and ideas. No phase of his life stands out in bolder relief for our emulation today than that calm confidence of his in the ultimate triumph of the common sense and moral fibre of our people.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## On Presidential Inability

*Night Letter to the Honorable Emanuel Celler, Chairman,  
Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.  
[April 9, 1956]*

THE Committee's questionnaire raised three major questions as to the President's quote inability to discharge his powers and duties unquote.

One. Once the question arises, who shall make the determination of inability?

Two. Who shall initiate action for a successor in case of an inability?

Three. Who shall act in any interim of such inability?

It seems to me this problem may fall into several situations. The President's quote inability unquote may be partial but not exclude essential action. It may be temporary from which recovery may be expected. It may be more serious but for a considerable period there may be hope of recovery. It may be, or may become, so serious as to give no hope of recovery.

We have seldom in our national history had need of any such determination or action as to quote inability unquote. However the question is unprovided for in the Constitution and merits consideration by your Committee.

On December 8, 1955, I replied to your request for my views as follows: Quote

It is my understanding that under Article II, Section I of the Constitution, the Congress has the power to determine who shall take over the Executive powers in case of the inability of the President to serve.

In my view the determination of inability and its termination should rest with the Cabinet, and the Executive powers should be executed by the Vice President during any such period. Unquote.

My reasons for this view are as follows:

One. The Cabinet are in intimate contact with the President during any illness.

Two. They can appraise the national setting as to whether there is any emergency which requires any action beyond the President's abilities.

Three. Ours is a government based on two political parties and is elected with responsibility to carry out definite policies and promises. If the determination of inability or the selection of anyone except the Vice President to act for the President were in the hands of the Congress, it could, in case of a Congressional majority of the opposing party, result in nullification of the will of the people.

The question of inability of the Vice President at the same time as the President seems to me rather remote. In any event, the only assurance of continuity of the party in power would require a revision of the present law as to succession. The whole question would be solved by returning to the Act of 1886 which established the succession within the Cabinet and adopting the above recommendations as to procedure.

# The Uncommon Man

*Article Originally Published in the February 6, 1949  
Issue of "This Week" Magazine and Reprinted in  
Honor of Mr. Hoover's 82nd Birthday  
[August 5, 1956]*

IN MY opinion, we are in danger of developing a cult of the Common Man, which means a cult of mediocrity. But there is at least one hopeful sign: I have never been able to find out just who this Common Man is. In fact, most Americans – especially women – will get mad and fight if you try calling them common.

This is hopeful because it shows that most people are holding fast to an essential fact in American life. We believe in equal opportunity for all, but we know that this includes the opportunity to rise to leadership. In other words – *to be uncommon!*

Let us remember that the great human advances have not been brought about by mediocre men and women. They were brought about by distinctly uncommon people with vital sparks of leadership. Many great leaders were of humble origin, but that alone was not their greatness.

It is a curious fact that when you get sick you want an uncommon doctor; if your car breaks down you want an uncommonly good mechanic; when we get into war we want dreadfully an uncommon admiral and an uncommon general.

I have never met a father and mother who did not want their children to grow up to be uncommon men and women. May it always be so. For the future of America rests not in mediocrity, but in the constant renewal of leadership in every phase of our national life.

# Address before the Centennial Convention of the Republican Party

*San Francisco*  
[August 21, 1956]

THIS IS the seventh time I have had the high honor of addressing the Conventions of the Republican Party. The last two times I have indicated I was making my farewell appearance. I have both a precedent and a request for this appearance. Some of you may recollect that the great singer of yesteryear, Madame Adelina Patti, by request came to America six times to make farewell appearances. But do not get too alarmed over the possibility of three more from me. The excuse for this third such appearance of mine is the special request of President Eisenhower and your Chairman. No greater compliment could be paid to any Republican.

## THE POWER OF IDEAS IMPLANTED IN THE MINDS OF MEN

In each of my former addresses to the Conventions I have stressed our responsibility to maintain the safeguards of free men. That still remains America's most vital issue.

Human history, with its forms of governments, its revolutions, its wars, and in fact the rise and fall of nations, could be written in terms of the rise and fall of ideas implanted in the minds of men.

## THE MOST DYNAMIC IDEA IN ALL HISTORY

In the whole world of ideas the most beneficent and dynamic force since the dawn of history has been man's quest and vigil for freedom. The ancient Greeks and Romans did much to establish this concept. But it flickered out. A spark again arose in England beginning with Runnymede and its Magna Charta.

But the real dawn of freedom came when, after the Middle Ages, our Founding Fathers recovered the tablets of the rights of free men. They added to the text of those ancient tablets. Their genius provided safeguards for their preservation. Our forefathers established the principles of freedom so firmly that despite occasional stumblings, this Republic has had a longer life, and a prosperity for its people unmatched by any other nation in history.

That turning of the pages of history was the fulfillment of God's purpose that the mind, spirit and enterprise of men should be free. It gave courage and hope not alone to our people. It lighted an illuminating flame to guide all the waiting and anxious men and women of the earth.

Not so many decades ago these dynamic ideas of free men were on the march over most of the entire world. Indeed it seemed as if the Golden Age of Man was at the threshold.

Why do I now recite all these facts which are so well known to every school boy and girl?

## THE DESTRUCTIVE IDEAS WHICH THREATEN US

First, this Golden Age is worth striving for. Furthermore, in our generation we have seen mankind's hope of freedom threatened and even overwhelmed by the revival of old ideas and the spread of a host of new ideas dangerous to free men.

I have no need to do more than mention these menacing ideas to remind you of their consequences to free men.

Among them are the ideas of Communism, Fascism, atheism, aggressive nationalism, centralization of government away from men's control, and that veiled sister of Communism – legalist Socialism.

Today the greatest issue in America and all mankind is the encroachment of government in mastery of our lives.

I have often spoken on these subjects. It is not necessary that I repeat my views upon them here. You know where I stand. But I list these malign ideas, now spreading in men's minds, for a serious purpose. It is to remind this Convention of its historic responsibility to keep alive the principles and safeguards of freedom in the face of alien ideas.

For Communism is human slavery. Nor can we have any truck with the other doctrines of Karl Marx – whether Socialism, economic materialism, or atheism.

Our social and economic system is based upon free enterprise regulated to prevent monopoly and unfair competition. The State should only undertake business or public improvement enterprises where they are greater than the people can undertake for themselves.

Ours is a system which holds that human values transcend all others and that there is a public responsibility to the sick, the veterans, the unemployed, to the aged and to dependent children.

#### THE SERVICE OF OUR PRESIDENT

President Eisenhower and his colleagues have done an immense service to our country in reducing international tension. They have stemmed the malign forces which have beset us from within and without. They have increased the prosperity of our people.

Above all else, President Eisenhower and his colleagues have sustained two vital forces in the minds of free men. They are integrity and religious faith. No nation of free men can endure without these pillars of strength.

The pursuit of the Holy Grail of freedom is useless without them.

#### THE BATTLE FOR FREE MEN

It is not my purpose here to argue specific policies and measures which we must adopt to promote the welfare and safeguard this greatest of sanctuaries of freedom. But I do wish with all the force at my command to underline the task itself.

From the day of its founding, men and women of the Republican Party have led our country to safety in many great crises of freedom. Men and women of the Democratic Party, too, many times in that party's long history have served freedom to the full.

And I pay tribute to those men and women of the opposition party who have given their support to the President.

One of the great defenses of free men in our form of government is our system of two major political parties. It is the only method by which change can be made by ballots instead of bullets. It provides the anvil of debate upon which we can hammer out the solutions necessary for progress. To maintain the two party system requires loyalties to certain central ideas and no doubt differences in secondary matters. A dozen free governments have gone on the rocks from having been divided into a multitude of fractional parties of secondary issues.

However, I might observe that there are some members of both parties who are out of their proper spiritual home.

#### THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THIS CONVENTION

But this is the great Centennial Convention of the Republican Party. And upon you is the responsibility of proposing to the American people the course which our Nation shall take amid the dangers with which we are surrounded.

Some persons may believe that you have come here only to select candidates for President and Vice-President. Indeed you have available two great leaders of Americans. But those leaders need the moral and spiritual support of great vision in this Convention.

Not less in its vital importance is your task of giving expression in the Republican platform to American attitudes on the many difficulties which endanger us in the safeguarding of free men.

#### A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

And may I suggest to you that instead of your traditional platform, you should make a resounding Declaration of Principles of American Life. And perhaps separately prepare a short summary of your views on less vital issues.

Those great documents of 180 years ago from our Founding Fathers must still be the foundation of our American way of life. But they need a forceful annex stating the principles which must guide our country amid the forces which beset us in these times.

Cannot this Centennial Convention of the Republican Party, whose whole background has been the preservation of the freedom of men, make such a declaration?

If you face the truth that we are in a critical battle to safeguard our nation and civilization which, under God, have brought to us a life of liberty, then you will be guided step by step to restore the foundations of right thinking, of morals and faith throughout the world. Then you will issue that call to arms given by your political ancestors at your Convention of 100 years ago – that America shall safeguard the freedom of men.

Your even greater task is to generate a spirit which will rekindle in every American a love not only for his country but a devotion to its true ideals. You are here to feed the reviving fires of spiritual fervor which once stirred Americans to live and die for human liberty – Americans

who knew no private interest, no personal ambition, no popular acclaim, no advantage of pride or place which overshadows the burning love for the freedom of man.

Great as are your problems, they are no greater than those which Americans have met before this time. You are not less able or courageous than they were.

#### THE FUTURE OF AMERICA

Fellow Americans, I would not have you feel that because I have recited these ills of the world and these dangers which beset us, that I have any despair for the future of our country.

I have faith that there are principles which neither Communism, nor Socialism, nor Neutralism, nor other evil ideas, nor even the march of time can defeat. These truths came into the universe along with the shooting stars of which worlds are made. They are as inevitable as the existence of the Supreme Being, the forces of gravitation, and the ceaseless struggle of mankind to be free.

I have lived a long life. I have witnessed, and even taken part in, many great and threatening crises. With each time they have been surmounted, the American Dream has become more real.

My faith arises from the genius of our people, their devotion to personal liberty and their sustaining religious beliefs. If the American people are guided aright, there will be no decline and fall in American civilization.

I wish for the guidance of the Almighty Providence in your task. And with deepest sincerity may God bless you.

# On Acceptance of the First International Award of the Systems and Procedures Association

*Letter to Mr. John D. M. Hamilton,  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
[September 25, 1956]*

My dear Mr. Hamilton:

In asking you to accept on my behalf the First International Award of the Systems and Procedures Association of America, I desire that you express to the President and to the members my deep regret that I am unable to be present and to receive it in person.

It is indeed a great honor. And I particularly appreciate it as many of the members have been associated with me in related activities during my years in the Department of Commerce and the two Commissions on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government.

To be present would have given me an opportunity to express to them the obligation which I have for their devoted service.

Beyond that, however, I would have wished to express my great admiration for the work of their organization.

The organization contributes mightily to strengthening our American system of private enterprise by constantly perfecting it and by constantly increasing its productivity. It thus greatly serves the whole American people.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## A Cornerstone Statement on Free Enterprise

*Dedicated in Los Angeles, California,  
at the Union Oil Center  
[October 17, 1956]*

THE American way of life is based on representative government and personal liberty, and its economic and social system can be stated as:

"Free enterprise regulated to prevent unfair competition and monopoly. The State should not undertake business enterprises except in great national emergencies or because the size of the undertaking is beyond the abilities of the citizens."

The Union Oil Company of California is a magnificent demonstration of the product of this system.

But there are many enemies of this system and many encroachments upon it in our midst. No one can say that when the documents of this cornerstone are opened, sometime in the distant future, that this system will still prevail. But if it does, it will be because of the determination of men like those who head the Union Oil Company to maintain our system of free enterprise and the American way of life.

# Reasons for Support of the Republican Party

*Nation-wide Radio Broadcast from New York City  
[October 29, 1956]*

FROM the political side lines and from campaign echoes I often wonder what the American people really want from their Federal Government. Just as an old observer, I should think that their needs could be reduced to a few objectives:

First, advancement of peace in the world, and preparedness for defense in the meantime.

Second, maximum employment and an ascending standard of living.

Third, economy in government, reduction of taxes, a balanced budget and, therefore, protection of the purchasing power of their dollar.

Fourth, the care of the sick, the disabled Veterans, the aged, the children, and public improvements which the people or the States cannot accomplish for themselves.

Fifth, integrity in Government – both financial and intellectual.

Sixth, among the great issues of mankind today is the encroachment of governments in the mastery of men's lives. This issue has many fronts. Vital to free men is free enterprise in social and economic life, which, of course, must be regulated to prevent abuse.

In all these vital segments of American life the Eisenhower Administration has already succeeded or is driving toward these objectives. There are, and always will be, some weaker spots in our

economic and social life, and there will always be anxious problems confronting us from abroad. On all of these President Eisenhower and his associates have also acted with both courage and sincerity.

Our Government functions upon the two party system. From it comes the periodic review of national policies. I admire the diligence of the opposition. But they have an uphill job against these accomplishments.

And if the two party system is to be effective, these gains held and these objectives diligently pursued, President Eisenhower should be supported by the election of the Senators and Congressmen of his own Party.

My fellow countrymen, I have lived a long life. I have lived in many lands and under many kinds of governments. I have worked under governments of free men, of tyrannies, of Socialists, and of Communists. I was not a tourist. I was associated in their working lives and problems. I had to deal with their social systems and their governments. I have had to deal with many princes, kings, despots and dictators. I have worked with great spiritual leaders and great statesmen.

The first half of my life was spent in a period of peace when everywhere there was increasing freedom of men. The second half of my life I have been a constant witness to the malevolent forces of greed of men and nations which brought us to total war with its terrible aftermaths and no peace.

Out of all this experience, my final words to you are:

Go to the Polls. And I believe you will be happier if you vote for President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon and a Congress friendly to them. Anyway may God bless you all.

## On the Centennial of Woodrow Wilson

*Statement Sent to Major General E. Walton Opie,  
Chairman Woodrow Wilson Centennial Celebration  
Commission, Washington, D.C.  
[December 28, 1956]*

I AM GLAD of the opportunity to contribute to the Centennial of President Woodrow Wilson.

I served for nearly two and one-half years directly under Mr. Wilson in administrative problems in Washington during World War I and during the Peace Conference in Paris. I also was a member of his "War Council" in Washington and a member of certain committees connected with the American Peace Delegation in Paris. In these circumstances and being of another political faith, I consider I am in a position objectively to appraise the man and his work.

At once I may say that Mr. Wilson was one of the best administrative minds we have ever had in The White House.

But it is for more vital matters that he will be measured in history. Mr. Wilson was the personification of American traditional opposition to subjection of peoples, whether by colonialism or imperialism. From his passion that peoples should be free to govern themselves came many of his difficulties at the Peace Conference. But to his everlasting credit was his large part in the freedom of the Finns, the Estonians, the Latvians, the Lithuanians, the Poles, the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Slovenes and most of the Arab States.

I do not need to recite Mr. Wilson's large part in the formulating of the League of Nations and its Covenant, which in turn created the World Court.

Later the Charter of the United Nations was adopted by more than sixty nations, including the United States which had rejected the League. The Charter of the United Nations follows every major pattern of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

No greater monument than this could be erected to the ideas and ideals of Woodrow Wilson.

## On Presidential Pensions

*Letter to The Honorable Edward H. Rees,  
United States House of Representatives  
[March 10, 1957]*

My dear Mr. Congressman:

I have your inquiry as to my views on H. R. 4401, which would, if enacted, provide retirement allowance, certain staff, and other aids for former Presidents and pensions for Presidents' widows.

I believe such a provision is long overdue.

I do not need such a provision unless I give it to charity, and therefore I can speak with objectivity.

When I look back over the situation in which many former Presidents and their widows have found themselves, I find many of them certainly needed such a provision. After all, it is a minor burden on the taxpayer when income tax is paid on it.

To have been President of the United States imposes certain calls to public service, continuing throughout one's life. My experience with such calls does not differ from the several other former Presidents I have known and may perhaps be of use to the Committee. There are some four major varieties of them.

First, there are constant calls upon former Presidents both from the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government for information, experience, and advice. And these calls are not limited to experience in Presidency, as former Presidents have always had long public service prior to election.

In my case, I have probably been requested to appear forty or fifty times before Congressional Committees and

hundreds of times to give such aid to the Executive departments. Also, several times I have been requested to undertake missions for the Executive branch. All these activities require research, clerical staff, travelling, and other outlays.

Second, there is a constant call on former Presidents to help in the administration or sponsorship of many worthy nonpolitical institutions and movements. For instance, at the present time I am active Chairman or member of the Board of nine educational, scientific, charitable or welfare institutions, and I am sponsor to another ten of them. None of them can properly give remuneration. Yet there is a certain responsibility to the public in all these instances, which requires staff assistance to make sure there is adequate management of such organization.

Third, former Presidents are under constant call for public addresses and statements relating to public questions entirely outside the political field. These again require research and clerical staff.

Fourth, added to all this is the constant flood of letters from citizens asking for information or guidance which a former President can give to them.

Lest anyone should think these matters entail but small financial outlay, I requested my staff to estimate the out-of-pocket cost of answering these various calls to service. Taking the past ten years as a base, they state that I have signed each year more than 20,000 communications and paid for the stationery and postage about \$1,800 annually. The cost of research and secretarial staff has averaged about \$14,000 annually. They made no estimate of out-of-pocket travelling expenses required by these calls.

If anybody believes that a President, after paying income tax on his Presidential salary, can save enough from it to provide say \$20,000 a year of such costs for the balance of his life plus board and lodging for his family, he certainly is under an illusion.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

# Remarks before Annual Dinner Of American Newspaper Publishers Association

*New York City*  
[April 25, 1957]

MR. CHAIRMAN, my old friends and those new ones who come to me daily:

I deeply appreciate your most generous welcome. Such spontaneity is warming to one's heart.

Your Chairman threw me into complete panic by saying he might ask me to pinch hit for Mrs. Luce tonight. No one, much less a man, can pinch hit for her wit, her grace, her understanding of our national problems and her beguilement in public addressing.

Nor am I going to transgress on the time of Senator McClellan. But I would be remiss if I did not state that I had the honor to be associated with the Senator for ten years in efforts to reform, or at least improve, the Federal Government. We made some dents in it.

And may I add that today the Senator is performing an unparalleled service to good government – and far beyond that, to freedom of men in our country.

I might also add an observation on American life. Ours is, or is supposed to be, a system of constitutional government based on free enterprise in both the economic and social fields. The survival of that system depends in its largest degree upon the men and women present in this room. And it is not alone with free enterprise in the economic system that we are concerned. Free enterprise in

the social system is also your responsibility. Yours is the job of sustaining our great voluntary health and educational system and its control by our local communities. And above all these protections is free speech. And that responsibility you carry forward with steadfast courage.

It is not my purpose to make an address. Certainly you had no proper warning of it. You will hear really distinguished addresses in these next minutes.

My duty is only to express my appreciation for the kindness and graciousness of your reception.

## How to Build a Better Tomorrow

*Article in "This Week" Magazine*  
[May 26, 1957]

PEOPLE often wonder why historians go to so much trouble to preserve millions of books, documents and records of the past. Why do we have libraries? What good are these documents and the history books? Why do we record and save the actions of men, the negotiations of statesmen and the campaigns of armies?

Because, sometimes, the voice of experience can cause us to stop, look and listen. And because, sometimes, past records, correctly interpreted, can give us warning of what to do and what not to do.

If we are ever to create enduring peace, we must seek its origins in human experience and in the record of human idealism. From the story of the fortitude, courage and devotion of men and women, we create the inspirations of youth. From stories of the Christian martyrs, right down to Budapest's heroic martyrs of today, history records the suffering, the self-denial, the devotion and the heroic deeds of men. Surely from these records there can come help to mankind in our confusions and perplexities, and in our yearnings for peace.

The supreme purpose of history is a better world. History gives a warning to those who would promote war. History brings inspiration to those who seek peace. In short, history helps us learn. Yesterday's records can keep us from repeating yesterday's mistakes. And from the pieces of mosaic assembled by historians come the great murals which represent the progress of mankind.

## On the 25th Anniversary of the Federal Home Loan Bank System

*Statement Upon Receiving Medallion  
Commemorating Founding of the System  
[October 31, 1957]*

HAVING originated the recommendation to Congress which established the Federal Home Loan Bank System, I naturally take great pride in its accomplishments. Not only do I have pride in the System for its public service but as a demonstration that beneficent agencies organized in the government can be transformed into private enterprises.

And may I add that the men who have operated the banks, and the men who have served upon their Boards have given the country a magnificent example not only of good banking but of the highest rectitude in a public trust.

I hope you will extend my congratulations and good wishes to your colleagues.

# The Strengths of America

*Address Before the Grocery Manufacturers of America, Inc.,  
New York City  
[November 11, 1957]*

THE MINDS of Americans are today greatly troubled. We have many domestic shortcomings. Many troubles beset us from abroad. They are indeed most serious, and it is urgent that we exert all our national strength to meet them.

But on this occasion it would be happier for me and possibly more comfort to some troubled minds if I were to review some of the great fundamental sources of strength of our country. If we have the will to use them we can meet our dangers. And I would be glad if I could add reassurance to troubled minds which President Eisenhower has so greatly inspired by his recent statements.

I have lived a long life and I have seen our country exert its strengths to overcome as great dangers as those which beset us today.

Despite the troubles of our past and despite the fact that we are only seven per cent of the peoples on earth, we have developed one of the most powerful nations in all history.

The signs of strength on the spiritual side may be found in the increasing attendance upon the worship of God. And in my lifetime I have seen our voluntary organizations and institutions engaged in charity and public welfare increase by tens of thousands in numbers and billions of dollars in service.

I have witnessed our people deny themselves to save the world, including our enemies, from the inevitable and

gigantic famines which followed two of these wars. And among them we saved the lives of 15,000,000 Russians, then under the Communistic Government, from their terrible famine in 1922-1923. And there is no less humanity in the American heart today.

Within my years I have seen our institutions of higher learning expand until today they turn out more trained men and women each year than all the world combined.

In my adult lifetime I have passed through several economic recessions and two great economic depressions which swept over our country. Each time we came out economically stronger than ever before.

With some training and understanding of science and technology, I have witnessed a vast growth of scientific discovery and its application to invention. They have given us the highest standard of living in the world. And with the advances of medical science our youth are taller than their fathers, and the span of life has been greatly extended.

I have watched our countrymen rise and fight two world wars to victory in defense of our country. The skill of our military leaders, the courage of our men and the willingness of our people to make sacrifices are no less today than then.

We can well respect the accomplishments of Russian technicians. But we need not forget that they got the telegraph, the telephone, the electric lamp, the speaking sound track, the radio broadcast tube, the airplane, the atom and nuclear bombs from us. They secured the guided missile from the defeated Germans. They got their method of metal treatment and their radar from us and the British. They got their plastics, their antibiotics, their anti-viruses, their pain killers either from us or from the Germans, the British and the French.

But with our own discoveries in science, our inventive genius, and our productive capacity, our country has risen to a position of effective retaliation to any irresponsible nation which might contemplate attacking us.

We possess many eminent scientists and engineers of great ability and ingenuity. We have more research laboratories in action than all the rest of the world put together. Our country has had a great warning. It is on the alert. I have no doubt of our ability to invent any other horrible weapon necessary to deter our enemy.

If you take a worm's eye view of the ills in American life and our foreign relations, you may worry that we are entering the decline and fall of the greatest nation in history.

If you take a bird's eye view you will see the increasing skills, growing productivity, and the expansion of education and understanding, with improving health and growing strength of our nation.

And from whence comes this strength? It lies in freedom of men's initiative and the rewards of their efforts. It comes from our devotion to liberty and religious faith. We will have no decline and fall of this nation, provided we stand guard against the evils which weaken these forces.

But we have need to exert all the strengths which God has given us.

## On Home Ownership

*Quotation Published in "Newsweek" Magazine  
Sponsored by the Savings and Loan Foundation, Inc.  
[January 6, 1958]*

ONE OF the sacred rights and aspirations of free people is to own their own homes. Every realization of this aspiration is a major contribution to stable government. And to own one's own home is not only a spiritual stimulant to family life but a bond within the home. And if the home is built through savings, its attributes are even more precious.

## On Presidential Powers and Duties

*Letter to the Honorable Estes Kefauver, Chairman,  
Standing Subcommittee on Constitutional  
Amendments, United States Senate  
[January 20, 1958]*

My dear Senator:

I have received your kind note requesting my views on the proposed bills you sent me.

I assume that the question is solely the method of determining the "inability" of the President "to discharge the powers and duties of his office," and contained in it also the method of determining the "removal of disability."

All questions of succession seem covered by Article II, Section 1, paragraph 5 of the Constitution, and therefore legislation on this subject seems to me unnecessary.

1. There seems to be some question as to whether remedy can be found by statutory law or must be through Constitutional amendment. The Congress will need decide whether the above-mentioned section in the Constitution would be sufficient authority for a statutory solution.

2. It seems to me that the method of determining "inability" or "recovery" requires consideration of the spirit of the separation of powers in the Government and certain traditional practices which have become fixed in our national life during the past 150 years.

3. The President and the Vice President are elected as the chosen leaders of a political party with declared mandates, principles, solutions of issues, and promises to the people.

4. The Congress, in one or both Houses, is often controlled by an opposition political party, and thus by those who are, in practice, mostly opposed to the mandates or promises upon which the President and Vice President are elected by the people.

5. All of which leads me to the generalization that a President's inability to serve or his possible restoration to office should be determined by the leading officials in the Executive Branch, as they are of the party having the responsibilities determined by the election.

6. I believe that a simple amendment to the Constitution (or possibly statutory law) could provide for such a commission made up from the Executive Branch to make the determinations required. I do not suggest that the individual persons be named but that the Departments or Agencies be enumerated, whose chief official or head should be a member of such a commission. The number could well be limited to not less than seven and not more than fifteen such heads of Departments or Agencies. There could be a further provision that they should seek the advice of a panel of experienced physicians or surgeons.

I cannot conceive of any circumstance when such a defined body of leaders from the Executive Branch would act in these circumstances otherwise than in the national interest.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

# The Meaning of Valley Forge

*Address at Freedoms Foundation,  
Valley Forge, Pennsylvania  
[February 22, 1958]*

MR. CHAIRMAN:

I wish to express my appreciation of the honor which you and the Freedoms Foundation have conferred upon me. I shall speak briefly but with a surprise statement for you at the end of this address.

We gather here on this 22nd day of February, 1958 to pay our homage to the 226th anniversary of the birth of George Washington. There is no place which more greatly marks his immortal grandeur than these fields of Valley Forge.

This national shrine needs no description; the events enacted here require no recounting to the American people. The very name, Valley Forge, swells within us pride in our nation.

These peaceful fields hold a glory peculiarly their own. It was not the glory of war for which these fields are remembered. No great battle was fought here. It was not the pomp of victory, for no martial triumph was won here. It was not the scene where peace was signed by which independence of a great nation was won. A thousand other fields mark the tombs of the courage, the glory, the valor, the skill, the martial triumph of our race. Yet the instinct and the judgment of our people after the abrasion of the years has appraised this place as a foremost national shrine.

It was the transcendent fortitude and steadfastness of these men who in adversity and in suffering through the darkest hour of our history held faithful to an ideal. Here

men endured that a nation might live. It is a shrine to the things of the spirit and of the soul.

George Washington and his men at any moment could have surrendered their ideals to the widespread spirit of despair and discouragement. They could have abandoned their claims to freedom. They could have deserted their hopes and forsaken their faith.

Here Washington and his little band of hungry and almost naked patriots kept alive the spark of liberty in the world. They met this, the deepest crisis of the Revolution, with steadfast fortitude; they conserved their strength; they husbanded their resources; they seized the opportunity which, with the turn of the tide led on to victory. It was a triumph of character and idealism. Here was one of those moral victories that are the glory of the race. Without such victories the life of man would descend to a sheer materialism for "where there is no vision the people perish." There mankind could claim no distinction, sing no songs, dream no dreams, inspire no hope, and grasp no faith.

Our citizens in every war have flocked to arms at the call of country. They have responded willingly, because in every emergency they have had before them an ideal of liberty and the freedom of their country. Some wars in history have been instigated by old and cynical men for cruel or selfish reasons. Some wars have been fought for power and possessions. But war for liberty has endowed our race not alone with the precious possession of freedom but has inspired every succeeding generation with that idealism which is the outpouring of man's spirit.

An ideal is an unselfish aspiration. It is a thing of the spirit. Our ideals are the cement which binds our society. They provide the mainspring of progress. It is this spirit which has made possible the success of our great democratic experiment. They have tempered our acquisitiveness, have strengthened our sense of civic responsibility, and have made service to fellow man a part of our national character.

This peculiar significance of Valley Forge should strike with especial force in this particular moment of our national life. To each and every one of us it is an hour of unusual stress and trial. The nation is beset with difficulties and confusions. These temporary reverses in the march of progress have been in part the penalty of the malign inheritances of world forces beyond our control.

Many have doubt and grave concern for the future. But no one who reviews the past and realizes the vast strength of our people can doubt that this, like a score of similar experiences in our history, is a passing trial. From this knowledge must come the courage and wisdom to improve and strengthen us for the future.

Numerous are the temptations under the distress of the day to turn aside from our true national purposes and from wise national policies and fundamental ideals of the men who built our Republic. Never was the lure of the rosy path to every panacea and of easy ways to imagined security more tempting.

For the energies of private initiative, of independence, and a high degree of individual freedom of our American system we are offered alluring substitutes with the specious claim that everybody collectively owes each of us individually a living rather than an opportunity to earn a living.

And the equally specious claim that hired representatives of scores of millions of people can do better than the people themselves, in thinking and planning their daily lives.

Our government was an experiment in securing to a people the maximum of individual freedom. And the human spirit has blossomed in independence and self-respect. It brought America to a greatness unparalleled in the history of the world.

Amid the scene of vastly growing complexity of life we must preserve the independence of the individual from the deadening restraints of government, yet by the strong arm of government equally assure his fair chance, his equality

of opportunity from the encroachments of special privileges and greed or domination by any group or class.

We must not be misled by the claim that the source of all wisdom is in the Government. Wisdom is born out of experience, and most of all out of precisely such experience as is brought to us by the darkest moments. It is in meeting such moments that are born new insights, new sympathies, new powers, new skills. Such conflicts as we are in the midst of today cannot be won by any single stroke, by any one strategy sprung from the mind of any single genius. Rather must we pin our faith upon the inventiveness, the resourcefulness, the initiative of every one of us. That cannot fail us if we keep the faith in ourselves and our future, and in the constant growth of our intelligence and ability to cooperate with one another.

The memory of Americans who glory in Valley Forge even as they glory in Yorktown tell us the truth which echoes upward from this soil of blood and tears, that the way to the Nation's greatness is the path of self-reliance, independence, and steadfastness in time of trial and stress.

Valley Forge met such a challenge to steadfastness in times and terms of war. Our test is to meet this challenge in times and terms of peace. It is the same challenge. It is the same test of steadfastness of will, of clarity of thought, of resolution of character, of fixity of purpose, of loyalty to ideals and of unshaken conviction that they will prevail.

We, too, are writing a new chapter in American history. If we weaken, as Washington did not, we shall be writing the introduction to the decline of American character and the fall of American institutions. If we are firm and far-sighted, as were Washington and his men, we shall be writing the introduction to a yet more glorious epoch in our Nation's progress. If, by the grace of God, we stand steadfast in our great traditions through this time of stress, we shall insure that we and our sons and daughters shall see these fruits increased many fold.

Valley Forge is our American synonym for the trial of

human character through privation and suffering, and it is the symbol of the triumph of the American soul. If those few thousand men endured that long winter of privation and suffering, humiliated by the despair of their countrymen, yet held their countrymen to the faith, and by that holding held fast the freedom of America, what right have we to be of little faith? God grant that we may prove worthy of George Washington and his men of Valley Forge.

And now, Mr. Chairman, I turn to the surprise which I promised at the closing of this address.

You may recollect that 27 years ago the world was in the depths of the greatest economic depression in our history. It was an inheritance from mistakes in the peace and the aftermath of destruction from the First World War. Again today we inherit the mistakes of the peace and the aftermaths of destruction from the Second World War. Our people are today again confused and some are discouraged.

The address I have just made to you is, with slight elimination of less pertinent paragraphs, the identical address which I delivered on this spot on Memorial Day, 27 years ago in the depths of that period of anxiety and discouragement. But we rallied to a period of greatness as we will again today.

## Some Observations on Business Slumps and Recessions

*Address Before the New York Chamber of Commerce*  
[February 27, 1958]

ASIDE from Communists, Defense, Sputniks, Explorers, and missiles, the major conversation in the country is on this minor slump in business and employment. The debate is largely on where, when and how we will get out of this hole or whether our activities will dig it deeper. In joining this discussion I shall be hopeful and friendly and throw no dead cats.

Our country has invented a special nomenclature to describe the stages of this sort of misfortune. We use the terms business dip, slump, readjustment, recession and depression. If we use the terms dip, slump, readjustment or recession, it makes the business world and the unemployed feel better. The term depression carries reminiscent terror.

Just for your comfort I may mention that even as a partly free economic system proceeds down the highway of progress it occasionally bursts into a joyride of excessive speed. Then a tire leaks and we have a bump. The spectators engage in extreme pessimism. In terms of time the bumps come about every seven or ten years. Seldom in our history have the bumps developed into a depression.

And on the subject of depressions I may mention that once upon a time my political opponents honored me as possessing the fabulous intellectual and economic power by which I created a world-wide depression all by myself. At least I might claim from these tributes that I must know something about depressions.

In that great depression we were on our way out of a normal dip, slump, readjustment or recession, whichever term you prefer. But in the midst of our recovery we were struck by a cyclone from Europe. That was the result of the aftermaths of World War I, the Treaty of Versailles, and sequent follies in armaments, unbalanced budgets, inflation, and other governmental foolishness. They gave birth to a panic in most of Europe. In that panic practically every bank in Europe, including the Bank of England, ceased international payments. And those countries suspended buying our commodities.

With my acknowledged expert qualifications I have looked over the world, and I may say that there are no such economic cyclones being hatched today – provided of course we keep our great enemy intimidated from making a war.

There are some lessons that can be had from our own and the world's experiences and vicissitudes with booms and slumps.

The first lesson is that a people by their own actions can get themselves into considerable trouble. That can be done by the route of inflation.

We by devaluation and the expenses of the Second World War had reduced the purchasing power of the dollar by about fifty per cent. Then inflation was stopped for a while. But it has struck again. That is the result of pressure groups creating excessive expenditures and irresponsible action in the operations of our productive facilities.

In the last twenty-one months inflation has cut the purchasing value of the dollar about \$70 from every income and pension of \$1,000. If we want to stop it and at the same time stop this recession in its tracks, we need some homework in the industrial world.

First, we must have no wave of wage and fringe rises. This is not a new idea. I might remind you that labor and employers made and loyally carried out such an agreement for three years beginning in 1929. It was a great

contribution to the recovery we had started before the cyclone.

Second, there should be no lifting of prices by industry. There are some old and proved wonder drugs useful both to prevent inflation and to speed recovery from recessions. The most useful of these economic wonder drugs is the elimination of waste and the reduction of non-essential Federal spending until we have a balanced budget.

President Eisenhower prescribed this remedy in his address in Oklahoma last November when he declared that the increased expenditures for defense would have to come out of non-defense programs, saying:

"Savings of the kind we need can come about only through cutting out or deferring entire categories of activities. This will be one of the hardest and most distasteful tasks that the coming session of Congress must face, and pressure groups will wail in anguish."

The President added to this prescription a further proposal in his State of the Union message where he included also:

"Reducing expenditures on less essential military programs and installations."

But let me stress at once that there is no expenditure, no tax burden, no austerity that we cannot endure in order to protect the United States from the greatest enemy of mankind in all human history.

I can expand the President's point as to anguish. These pressure groups include every segment of the Government bureaucracy. Their very nature is to avoid anguish. And they are supported by more than 1,200 citizens' pressure groups quartered in Washington wishing to safeguard the Senators and Congressmen from anguish.

But to speed up recovery, we need go much further

than this – and that is the job of the Congress where great economic statesmanship will be needed.

We should cut government expenditures not only to provide for additional weapons and balance the budget, but also to the point where we can have a tax reduction. This would be the greatest possible stimulant to recovery. However, there is an opiate drug being proposed that should be resisted with horror. That is to reduce taxes without corresponding reduction of government expenditures or a balanced budget. That opiate will poison you with more inflation. No doubt the voices of the pressure groups will rise in even greater anguish over any such cut in government expenditures. And may I add that when we have the joyride of a boom, we must just stand up and work out our readjustments. In the meantime we must see that no one in the country goes hungry or cold. Readjustment from economic sins is a tough operation.

Those who do not know how these cuts in expenditures can be done without injury to any essential service, can find the answer in plain language in the Reports of the Commission on Organization of the Government. These reports can be had from the Public Printer for a few cents each. Most of you in this audience do not need to be bored by quotations by me from them. You helped to make them. And they still stand. And many of them with great savings await action by the Congress.

Tonight you have heard from two of our great national leaders. Senator McClellan and former Postmaster General James Farley, who were members of the Commission. There are here other members of the Commission and the leaders and members of the Task Forces whose experience and devotion made those reports possible.

You have in the last few days received a great compliment from Mr. Meyer Kestnbaum, President Eisenhower's able assistant whose purpose is to secure the adoption of the administrative part of these recommendations. He says:

"The benefits which will flow from the work of the Commission cannot be measured adequately in terms of dollar savings. . . . important recommendations are addressed . . . to more effective performances of the process of government. This is an area where the Commission has made an enduring contribution."

In addition to our economic problems, the nation is faced with another and parallel crisis. Man's curiosity to explore the unknown and his impulses under freedom to do it, have led him further and further into the discovery of the fundamental laws of Nature. Today the scientists with the aid of the engineers have introduced new and gigantic forces into our civilization. But as yet the ethical standards of mankind and its governmental methods have been unable to control these forces.

And in closing may I say that the American people have often in the past dealt with many recessions and with great crises from development of scientific discoveries and their new inventions. We have come out bigger and stronger than ever before. And we will again.

## On Presidential Pensions

*Statement to the Press on the Congressional Act  
Providing Pensions for Former Presidents  
[August 27, 1958]*

PRESIDENT Eisenhower has signed the generous Congressional Act providing for a pension of \$25,000 a year for former Presidents. It also provides for offices, clerical assistance and a franking privilege for mail.

My situation differs from other, and probably future, former Presidents. America provided me with an education including a profession. I practiced that profession in years when there was no income tax or only a small amount. I was able to save a competence. I have considered that I have a great debt to my country for the opportunities it has given me. Therefore, I have made it a practice to devote all personal compensation derived from our government to public service or charity.

Any residue from this \$25,000 a year, after income taxes resulting from it, will be again devoted to such public purposes.

My case is not a precedent for public officials. Most public servants could not live and serve but for their salaries. Former Presidents have deserved and they have often badly needed such a pension. No man can make any substantial savings from being President of the United States.

Like many other former Presidents, my energies are almost wholly employed in meeting demands for public and charitable activities. The franking privilege for such activities, the allowances for office rent and secretarial staff will be most helpful if I am to carry on.

# On Nutrition

*Remarks at the Opening Meeting of the  
Institute of Nutrition Sciences, New York City  
[October 1, 1958]*

I AM GLAD this Institute of Nutrition Sciences has been organized. And from our joint activities in the field of mass nutrition of peoples, I know that Dr. William Sebrell is the outstanding person to be its Director.

I can claim some practical experience in nutrition, having at one time or another directed the organization of food supplies to about 1,500,000,000 people of some fifty nationalities in two world-wide famines following the two great wars.

These famines provided a huge laboratory on nutrition and proved that there is an immense field in the study of nutrition about which we need to know much more.

We need to have standards of nutrition, applicable on a nation-wide scale, in order to direct our economic aids to other nations. While I pray we will never again see a world war, a part of our preparedness should be to learn the answers to many questions, for should there ever be such a war we will again see world-wide famine.

And we need to have better terminology. For instance, the word "starvation" is in common use. My belief happens to be that the word "starvation" should be applied only to that level of food supplies which means wholesale death. We need terms and definitions of the levels of food shortage above starvation, which produce nationwide food ills.

There is a host of scientific questions to be answered. What is the minimum of calories, of carbohydrates, fats,

proteins, and salts, upon which the survival of peoples can be based? How long can public health be sustained? With what minimums and with what balance of component parts? How can these necessities be augmented? There are many other problems including adequate food supplies and safeguards for the children of nations.

There is only one question to which I can suggest an answer. In a country of such abundant food supplies as in the United States, some of the nutritional problems for adults can be referred to the family doctor – and you can refer relief measures to him.

I feel honored to be a part of this team as its Honorary Chairman – and I wish you all success in this needed service. And your assurance of success is the Directorship of Dr. Sebrell, the chairmanship of Clarence Francis, and the backing of a great University and its President Dr. Grayson Kirk.

## On Bernard Baruch

*Letter to Judge Meier Steinbrink to be Read at  
Dinner Given by B'nai B'rith for Bernard Baruch  
[October 27, 1958]*

My dear Judge Steinbrink:

Mr. Baruch and I have been friends since before World War I – about forty-five years. We served together in the First World War and on civilian occasions since. What can I say of him?

He is a gentleman in every sense of the word; he is a great administrator; he is a great advisor; he is an outstanding American Statesman.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## On the Impact of Malnutrition on Civilization

*Remarks Before the 8th Annual Meeting  
of the Food Forum, New York City  
[November 6-7, 1958]*

MR. CHAIRMAN Anderson and Members of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Food Forum:

I have been asked to join in your discussion on "The Impact of Malnutrition on Civilization." I understand that Dr. Sebrell will address you. No words of mine can even supplement the address of so great an authority.

However, in my lifetime I have had some adventures in the nutritional field aside from those of my own digestive tract.

Two of these have been with the gigantic famines which followed the two world wars. They certainly had an impact on civilization. The overthrow of two score governments in those periods was contributed to by mobs of hungry people. Some of them still jeopardize us – the Communist governments.

The problem in which I took a part was, with the cooperation of many nations, to find and channel the margin of food in these two famines which would prevent mass starvation among 1,500,000,000 human beings caught in these two total wars. We thereby contribute to stability of their governments and the continuity of civilization.

We were compelled to deal with nutritional problems at their worst level. To these masses of people the announced number of grams in the daily ration was the barometer which indicated hope of life or created despair

of starvation. Calories, fats, carbohydrates, proteins and vitamins haunted our hourly vocabulary. We had to learn by hard knocks the minimum upon which human beings in each nation could weather the storm.

There was one nutritional problem which we were to learn quickly. That was that children wilted quickly under the grim ration which would maintain life in adults. Early we set up a supplemental meal for debilitated children in every schoolhouse. In the famine from the First World War these canteens fed daily over 20,000,000 debilitated children. They furnished the food and they were operated by women who were inspired to save their race.

And you would be surprised how quickly a child with rickets or diseased glands could by proper food be transformed from a pitiful mite into a kid chattering with glee.

We applied these methods again in the famine from the Second World War and finally the United Nations took over the job of subnormal youngsters and they have served a hundred million of them.

There is therefore something to be learned about the impact of food on civilization by research in the experiences with food in war and famine.

To come nearer home, you will recall that in both World War I and World War II over 30 per cent of the men called to arms were rejected as physically deficient. They were the 4-F's. I can prove that a large part of their disabilities came from lack of medical attention and malnutrition when they were kids. The Boys' Clubs of America, in which I have a hand, provide half a million boys with frequent medical inspections and give them some training in what is nutritionally good to eat. After the war we collected statistics from about 200,000 men who had been members of Boys' Clubs and were called to arms. The figures showed there were under five per cent of 4-F's among them. I think this figure was too low but you can multiply it and still find a lesson in medical care and nutrition in its impact on civilization.

For twelve years after 1921, I was head of the American Child Health Association. A large part of its efforts were directed to municipal protection of milk, proper water supplies, provision of medical inspection, nutritional instruction of children, and the advocacy of supplemental feeding of children in schools. We found that little of the malnutrition of children in the United States was due to poverty – the large end of it was ignorance of parents, the failure of municipal authorities, and the schools. We examined 87 cities in the light of standards presented by the best ten of them. On these standards we rated the deficiencies in the other 77. They were found wanting all the way from indifferent to utterly bad. The mothers in these cities at once began to speak their minds. It is time for another impact of mothers on the civilization of public officials.

I know there are many fields of needed research into nutrition and agencies to deal with it, if we are to lessen the blows to civilization. They run into chemistry, into agriculture, into food processing, its distribution, and into medical and other great fields.

And before I close I have a remark to make about Dr. Sebrell. He was a member of my staff where he dealt with one of the worst postwar situations which ever happened. This group numbered probably 100,000,000 people. He did a magnificent job. And he knows what the impacts of food on civilization are.

## Integrity and Courage

*Address at Dedication of the Robert A. Taft  
Memorial, Washington, D.C.  
[April 14, 1959]*

POSSIBLY I knew Robert A. Taft during his public life longer than any living person. But I never think of him as Robert. As with millions of Americans he was Bob to me. And, on this occasion, I shall speak of him as Bob as I have always done during the 36 years of our close friendship and deep affection.

When our country joined the First World War in 1917, Bob was rejected for service in the Army. Seeking some place for service, he joined the legal staff of the war organizations under my direction. That included not only service in Washington, but also service in Paris during the negotiation of the Treaty of Versailles. That great conference on the fate of the world was going on almost next door. Part of Bob's duties were to work with the American Delegation and, at times, the delegations of other nations. Here began his first experience in international conflicts.

In those overcrowded days in Paris, the principal members of my staff and I dined together as the only moment when we could consider our overall plans and policies. On one of these dinner occasions, Bob joined in with an impressive advocacy of the League of Nations. One of his observations I remember well was an analysis of Article 10 of the Covenant and his fears that it might be a stumbling block in Senate ratification.

Later I watched with great pride his rise in public life through the Ohio State Legislature to the United States

Senate, and his manifold services to our country ever since.

But it is not my purpose to discuss his great record of service to the American people. That has been done and will be done again many times.

As indicative of Bob's character, it is not inappropriate for me to relate my relation with him in his last days.

As Bob was very ill some of us had urged that he come to New York to consult specialists of the medical profession. On June 12, 1953, he hobbled into my apartment on crutches saying he had arranged the appointment for a check-up at a leading hospital later in the day. During two hours we mainly reviewed our American situation at home and abroad. He gave not the slightest indication of anything other than that he expected to continue in the battle for his ideas and principles.

I visited him at the hospital where again his conversation bore on these subjects which dominated his mind.

I thought he intended to remain in the hospital where he had the aid of the leaders of the medical world.

But on June 24, a few days after these visits, I attended a small conference in Washington on certain public matters. To my astonishment, Bob was there and taking an active and, as usual, a highly intelligent part. I chided him for leaving the hospital. But he stated he must attend to some important matters in the Senate. Incidentally, three days later, he hobbled into the Senate and asked permission to introduce an earlier speech on justice to Poland.

On July 1, I went to Washington especially to see him and urge that he return to the New York hospital. His reply, which remains indelible in my mind, was:

"My friend, you know what is the matter with me. I know what is the matter with me. I am going to die with my boots on."

This anecdote of his courage and devotion to his country

was a passing incident. But to me, who had known him from boyhood, this was but another example of his magnificent courage and devotion which never wavered.

Bob's other outstanding quality of character was his intellectual and moral integrity.

His sense of duty, his acknowledgment of obligation, his essential loyalty and patriotism were unusual in a day when men compromised their souls for the crumbs of popularity.

He believed in political parties as a foundation of our elective system. To the end he remained an outstanding leader of the Republican Party. But his mind soared above the party. He regarded himself responsible to safeguard this nation from the corrosive poisons that were a veritable fall-out from the socialistic and communistic bombs being hurled upon this earth. These poisons not only came from Soviet Russia, but they also came from centers of irresponsible intellectualism which had made a creed of change for no greater purpose than to change. He became in the Senate a bulwark against those forces of reaction that would tear the United States into sects and cults of warring theorists. He brought to the social problems of his country a trained and practical mind.

In these late years of my life, I look back with a glowing memory of those men who early joined with me in the work of relieving human beings from starvation and pestilence. Young Bob Taft came into this work early in his life and from it he learned to what depths of misery human beings can be made to sink, not only by the course of events, but by faulty thinking, by whimsical decisions on the part of those who are in control of governments.

This early experience gave much to Bob's direction. His interest in the rights and dignity of man was paramount; his efforts for the workers and their families were endless; his concern with housing and health, untiring.

Robert A. Taft was an official with a social conscience.

He not only would not desert his post; he never deserted his people.

Of course, he bore his cross. He was denounced as an isolationist, as a reactionary, as an enemy of the poor and a friend of the rich. These attacks never shook *him*, because of his philosophy and moral attitude toward life. His conscience was always clear. He was one who lost no sleep nights worrying that he would be found out. He lost much sleep over the fate of his country. He knew to the end that his was a moral attitude toward life and men and that he had given to his country his last full measure of devotion.

And so upon this hill where long he served the American people stands this monument not to his greatness but to his virtue. Who is great and who is small in a Republic? It hardly matters. What does matter is that the essential virtues among men and women which made this country strong, which built great cities and verdant farms out of a wilderness, which stand for moral principles in public life, be preserved by reminders of such men as Robert A. Taft.

Fortunately, in the belfry of this monument there is a magnificent carillon.

When these great bells ring out, it will be a summons to integrity and courage.

## On Senate Confirmation of Lewis L. Strauss as Secretary of Commerce

*Letter to The Honorable Warren G. Magnuson, Chairman,  
Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the Senate  
[May 9, 1959]*

My dear Senator:

I believe it is my duty to present to the Committee my knowledge of Secretary Lewis Strauss, whose confirmation is before your Committee.

I have known Mr. Strauss intimately for more than forty-two years – ever since he was nineteen years of age. During most of my service under President Wilson, Mr. Strauss served as my secretary. He served in Washington during almost the entire period of American participation in World War I and in Paris during and after the Peace negotiations. He won the respect and admiration of the men with whom he had need to deal during that time. President Wilson often spoke highly of him to me.

Upon completion of this service, he entered business life in New York where he rose to a high position and respect in the business world for his ability and integrity. And during these years he took part in the direction of the great American enterprises in compassion by relief of famine and pestilence in many countries.

At the coming of the Second World War, he was called for active duty in the Department of the Navy in February 1941. He served for four years under President Roosevelt,

and the following year under President Truman. His service in this period was so highly valued that he received the unique distinction for a civilian – the rank of Rear Admiral, an appointment which required the approval of President Truman and the Senate.

In October 1946, Mr. Strauss was called back into public service by President Truman as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission. To take on this assignment he sacrificed his high business positions. Upon his resignation in early 1950, he was publicly commended by the President for his service.

And in June 1953, he was again called into public service by President Eisenhower, as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. He was confirmed by the Senate. He served the Commission until his completion of the statutory five-year term. Upon completion of that work in 1958, he received the highest of public commendation by President Eisenhower and was awarded the Medal of Freedom. President Eisenhower's confidence in Mr. Strauss' abilities and integrity, after five years of association with him, is further attested by his appointment of him as Secretary of Commerce.

Here is a man who has served with unvarying commendation under both Democratic and Republican Presidents.

There has never been in our public service a man so un-political, so dedicated and so able in his tasks, as to command such approvals and commendations upon the completion of every task assigned to him.

I served eight years as Secretary of Commerce. I can say without reservation that Lewis Strauss is the best man who could be selected for that position.

But over all other qualifications, he is a deeply religious man whose integrity is fixed in conscience and religious faith.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## On the Death of John Foster Dulles

*Statement to the Press*  
[May 24, 1959]

MR. DULLES began his service in the foreign relations of our country forty years ago during the negotiations of the Treaty of Versailles in Paris. Ever since that time, whether in public service or not, his uppermost concern has been the protection of the American people. With his passing we have lost our greatest Secretary of State.

# We Must Know More About Crime

*Article Published in "This Week" Magazine*  
[June 7, 1959]

THE Bill of Rights guarantees to all Americans the right "to be secure in their persons."

Surely that must include the right of our people to walk the streets free from holdups, muggers, murderers, hoodlums and teen-age gangs. Our people also should have protection from racketeers, blackmailers, extortionists, kidnapers, forgers, embezzlers, bank robbers and auto thieves. Our children need protection from rapists.

But in actual fact, how secure are we? What do we know about the crimes being committed in our country? What happens to these criminals? And, what can we do about it?

In this article I propose to state the statistics on crime such as I have been able to secure, and to point out the deficiencies in facts which our country needs. I shall also propose a new kind of National Crime Census which will give us these facts and thus help us mount an effective all-out attack on the problem.

## WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT CRIME

Every report of the F.B.I, lists the horrible increase of crime. J. Edgar Hoover has been a magnificent voice crying in this wilderness of multiplying criminals. And there is a host of crime commissions in our cities daily proclaiming

the failure to protect our people. But the forward march of crime goes on and on.

The F.B.I. by herculean effort secures reports from local authorities as to the number of known major crimes. These major crimes are: murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, larceny, automobile thefts and burglary. The reports they receive cover possibly 85 per cent of the population. They do a good job.

These reports show that major known crimes have grown from 1,685,000 in 1946 to approximately 2,800,000 in 1957, or three times as fast as the increase in population. The minor offenses generally follow the trends of the major offenses.

Other F.B.I. reports indicate increases in the number of major offenses in the single year of 1958 alone all the way from 2 per cent to 14 per cent. Rape offenses alone had increased 10 per cent.

#### TEEN-AGE CRIME

The most heartbreaking increase of crime is among the teen-agers under 18 years. During 1957 there were 740,000 of these youngsters arrested. Since 1952 the population group under 18 years of age has increased 22 per cent while arrests of persons under 18 years have increased 55 per cent.

In the face of the F.B.I.'s staggering lists of 2,800,000 known major crimes in 1957, it is interesting to note that the Bureau of Prisons reports that there were on January 1, 1958 only 195,414 persons in federal and state prisons, and only 80,408 were received from the courts the previous year. These exclude county and city jails whose inhabitants are mostly pending cases and minor offenses.

The Bureau of Prisons also reports that in the previous year 43,357 prisoners were paroled and 12,096 were returned to prison for crimes committed when on parole or other reasons.

WHAT WE DO NOT KNOW ABOUT CRIME

There remains a vast area of things about crime which we *don't* know.

What we do not know is what happens *after* those crimes are committed. In other words, how efficient are our procedures and methods of justice in stemming this rising flood of crime? That is the major question in determining any plans for better protection for our people.

OUR INFORMATION ON THIS QUESTION IS  
ABSOLUTELY INADEQUATE

The only data which the F.B.I. is able to secure on this phase of the problem comes from reports sent to them. And, these reports constitute but a "sample" which covers only about 25 per cent of the total population.

The following figures for the total known offenses in the eight categories are from the F.B.I, and cover, as said above, approximately 85 per cent of our population.

CRIME VS. PUNISHMENT: A SHOCKING CONTRAST

*Murder and Non-Negligent Manslaughter:*

There were 6,920 known offenses. Only 48 persons were executed. (No records can be found on how many were serving life sentences.)

*Manslaughter by Negligence:*

There were 5,740 offenses known. About 1,400 defendants were found guilty, or 24 per cent.

*Rape:*

Of the 21,080 offenses known, there were about 7,900 persons found guilty or approximately 37 per cent.

*Robbery:*

Of the 61,410 offenses known, there were about 16,000 found guilty, or 26 per cent.

*Aggravated Assault:*

There were 100,110 offenses known and of these 27,000 were found guilty, which is 27 per cent.

*Larceny:*

There were 1,721,170 offenses known to the F.B.I. Only about 171,000 of these offenders were found guilty. This is approximately 10 per cent of the total.

*Automobile Thefts:*

There were 289,950 offenses known with about 41,000 of the offenders found guilty, or 14 per cent.

*Burglary:*

There were 590,020 offenses known and 72,000 offenders found guilty, or 12 per cent.

However, the figures for the number *found guilty* are mine. These are based on the F.B.I. "sample." I have applied that sample to the total population. I repeat, the estimates are mine, but the reader can discount them by a large per cent and still find them startling and depressing. If so small a percentage of total offenders is found guilty the reader may well wonder as to our processes of government in protecting people.

## WE NEED THE WHOLE TRUTH

Before we can do anything constructive about this terrifying problem we need to know its dimensions. In every war it is necessary to "know your enemy" and nowhere is that more important than in our war against crime.

## I MAKE A SUGGESTION

As to this situation, I venture to make a suggestion. It is not a proposal to reform criminals. It is a proposal to publicly illuminate some of the spots where our governmental machinery fails to provide our Constitutional rights of protection.

This requires a determination of many more facts which we do not have from any public or private agency.

I PROPOSE WE USE THE CENSUS BUREAU

*My proposal is that the Census Bureau be instructed by Congress to conduct a special and separate census by canvassing the police and the prison records.*

The United States Bureau of the Census is skillful, accurate, well-equipped, and long experienced for large undertakings of this kind.

Every ten years the Census Bureau lists every person in the United States, not only making a count (now 170 million of them) but also collects a number of items about each of them. It also collects special data as to our industries and agricultural and educational systems which require information from immense numbers of people.

When it collects such massive information it punches holes in a card. Each hole indicates an item collected. Then when they pass these cards through batteries of machines, the total can be obtained on any item wanted.

WHAT IT SHOULD INCLUDE

Such a Census should include the following: the name of each person who has been arrested for a crime during the past two years (these names should be held confidential so as not to reflect on reformed persons); a record of the nature of the crime; the date of the crime; the date of arrest; the amount of bail set; how many jumped bail; how many committed crime when out on bail; whether tried or not; the date of the trial; whether convicted or not; the date of the sentence; the sentence imposed.

If fine or imprisonment, the amount of the fine or the term of imprisonment; whether an appeal was made to a higher court; whether the higher courts confirmed the sentence or modified it; the date when the fine was paid, or the criminal finally sent to prison; the months served in prison, whether paroled, and whether any crime was

committed during parole, whether the criminal was pardoned, and how many months of the term were served.

Facts should also be recorded on probation and suspended sentences. The information collected should also show whether more than one crime was committed by the same individual.

Holes can then be punched in a card for each of these items or other items as our national crime-prevention agencies might suggest.

#### THE JOB IS NOT GREAT

The job is not so great as one might think since this would not be a personal canvass, but a search of public records.

Today the F.B.I. figures on known crimes are our only important insight into comparative crime between cities and states.

In my proposed Census, these F.B.I. figures could be used, so far as they go, to enable the Census to cover 100 per cent of the population, and in this way eliminate any duplication of work. It would simplify the task and give the F.B.I. a useful index number for its future annual estimates.

Also to further simplify it, persons fined less than \$50 or sentenced to less than 60 days in jail, could be omitted. And, to make it better still, we should have a separate card for youthful delinquents.

As important as the number of known crimes is, the purpose of this Census is far deeper than this.

#### WHAT WE COULD LEARN

The machines would tell us how many of the known offenses resulted in arrests, how long it took from the discovery of the crime until a perpetrator was tried, how long it took from conviction to prison, and how long was

the average length of time in prison for each category of crime.

*From such data we could judge whether the courts were being lax or effective.*

The Census could show as far as possible what races the offenders come from. It might stir the leaders of the various racial groups to action and we might be surprised as to where the great fault lies. It would show the weakness or strength of the present parole systems. It might show the failure of the courts to give adequate confinement in cells so that these criminals could no longer trespass on our Constitutional rights.

#### THE TEEN-AGERS

The teen-age cards should show what are the family situations of our teen-agers who are arrested. The cards should show how many have lost one or both parents, how many have divorced parents, how many of them have had religious training in our schools, how many of them have had religious training even in reformatories, in fact, how many of them have ever tasted religious training at all.

#### THE FIRST THING TO DETERMINE

What is the matter with our governmental machinery for the protection of our fundamental constitutional rights?

A report of the type I suggest would help every local, state, and federal agency concerned with the prevention of crime to do a better job.

And such a Census would take a load of blame from our generally courageous and efficient police forces and would help relieve their too-frequent frustration.

#### CRIME AND FREEDOM

The story from this Census might bring realization to

the American people that freedom in the United States is in more jeopardy from crime than from all the Communist conspiracies within our borders.

It might show that our freedom and safety are overwhelmed by these eight categories of thugs. It might show whether we have elevated crime into a pastime with occasional free board and lodging. It might show that we have a duty to get tough.

Remember that the enemies of our civilization numbered over 2,800,000 in 1957 alone.

*On every side our freedoms are being eaten away by criminals. We have reached a time when decent Americans have an imperative duty to mobilize all our resources of knowledge and power to check this inner blight of crime.*

## Some Observations on Current American Life

*Address Before the National Council of United  
Presbyterian Men, New York City  
[February 13, 1960]*

THE minds of thoughtful Americans today are greatly troubled. It ill-befits these times, or you and me, that I should try to entertain you with the usual after-lunch quips and humor. It is more fitting that I speak bluntly of our difficulties, and try to give you some assurance of the fundamental strengths of America.

We are in the midst of 6 dangerous crises.

We have in the Communist nations implacable enemies, whose determination – despite their disguises of peaceful cooperation – is to destroy and dominate the free world. And they are succeeding at our very doorstep.

We are not only plagued with their conspiracies but with the infection of Karl Marx in both the thinking of our people and the actions of our own governments.

We are in a crisis of inflation, which steadily saps the earnings and savings of our people.

We are in a crisis in our foreign trade – in which competition and an unfavorable trade balance cause the flight of our capital from fear of the stability of the dollar.

We are in a crisis of the domination of some labor unions by hoodlums; and the use of their gigantic funds to influence elections.

We are in the midst of an increasing moral slump as witness the increase in major known crimes. From 1946 to 1957 the increase in these crimes was three times greater

than the increase in population, and in 1958 these crimes increased over 9 per cent. In 1958 over 12 per cent of those arrested for these crimes were under 18 years of age.

We can hardly believe that integrity and moral steadfastness are increasing when we witness the daily exposure of municipal corruption, the operation of some television and radio programs, and even the operation of meat, fuel oil and retail shops.

I could dwell upon this half dozen tribulations at great length – but it is happier to convey some comfort to troubled minds by recalling some of the great strengths of America.

This republic is now 184 years old. It is older than any other great representative government in history. We have gone through seven wars, with series of crises before and after each one. We have gone through three great inflations with crises before and after. We have gone through the inevitable depressions from these inflations, with accompanying crises. We have gone through a dozen crises of corruption in government.

Yet today we still possess most of the Bill of Rights, as handed down by the Founding Fathers 169 years ago. We are well fed, well clothed, fairly well housed; and we have the right to kick about any crisis.

This American way of life has proved to be pretty tough. But it needs to be even tougher right now.

#### THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL STRENGTH

I have lived a long life, and I have seen our nation rally, exert its strengths to surmount dangers as great as those which beset us today.

Among the signs of our moral and spiritual strength, I have witnessed the outpouring of compassion which saved the world from two gigantic famines that followed the two great wars. During forty-five years we provided the necessary margins of food, medical care and clothing to 1,400,000,000 human beings – who would otherwise have

perished. And included among them were millions of people in our implacable enemy – Communist Russia.

And in these efforts we have restored healthy minds and bodies to over 16,000,000 children – who would have died from famine and disease – or would have become a danger to the world with their degenerate minds and dwarfed bodies.

Within my span of years, I have seen our voluntary organizations and institutions – devoted to religious service, charity, education, and community welfare – increase by tens of thousands in numbers and by billions of dollars in support.

I have witnessed elementary education expand to include practically all our children. Whatever complaints may be made about the system, it has practically abolished illiteracy; and it has embedded in children's minds the inspiring names and events of our history.

I have witnessed the growth of higher education until today our institutions of learning are turning out more instructed men and women each year than the rest of the world combined.

I have witnessed great discoveries from scientific research. With the advance of medical science, our youth are taller than their fathers, and the span of life has been greatly extended.

We can well respect the accomplishments of Russian technicians. But let us not forget that they obtained the telegraph, the telephone, the electric lamp, the speaking sound track, the radio broadcast tube, the airplane, atomic and nuclear power from us.

But with all these evidences of the future strength of America, I cannot say to you that we may be without fear.

A WORD TO THE CLERGY ON THE  
INFECTIONS FROM KARL MARX

Upon two of the crises which haunt us, I may say a

word to the clergy of America. These two are within your particular concern.

One of them is the spread of the Karl Marx virus. More leaders of the Christian faiths need realize the ultimate end of this infection among us. The real meaning and purpose of socialism is the governmental operation of all commerce and industry, and the reduction of life to pure materialism. This infection creeps through our nation in deluded and misled men and by disguised organizations, fronts and cults. These agents of infection are like hermit crabs which crawl into such terms as "liberal," "progressive," "public electric power," "managed economy," "the welfare state," and others.

Yet we have before our eyes – both in the preaching of Karl Marx and in the exhibits of government in one-third of the world – the fact that commerce and industry cannot be taken over from the people by the government without dictatorship and the destruction of all independent thought, including religions. They have ostentatiously proclaimed that "religion is the opiate of the people."

The clergy can perform a great service to the American people if they would tear away the disguises and expose the meaning, the ultimate consequences and the destinations of this infection.

#### A WORD TO THE CLERGY ON THE SLUMP OF NATIONAL MORALS

A major crisis I have mentioned is the slump in morals. From the pulpit you strive, hourly and daily, to mend these evils. But the nation is in need of something more.

It needs to awaken from apathy. It needs a great stir of conscience, that certain evils be ended.

For instance I could prove to you by authorities and statistics that our law enforcement machinery has become deplorably weakened. Something is terrifyingly wrong in our law enforcement system when in 1958 there were

2,340,000 persons arrested for major crimes, and only 88,780 of them landed in state and federal prisons. This number does not include our county and city jails which hold mostly pending cases and minor offenses.

I know of nothing in the teaching of the Scriptures which advocates the release of mad dogs onto the streets. In fact, I interpret Christ's words on "casting into outer darkness" to include effective sentences in prison.

The constant exposure and demands of the press for reforms in law enforcement need the impassioned force of the pulpit.

#### TEEN-AGE DELINQUENCY

I will detain you with only one more example where there is urgent need for a stir of national conscience.

J. Edgar Hoover stated that in 1957 an estimated 740,000 youngsters under 18 years of age were arrested.

Those youngsters arrested in 1958 accounted for about 49 per cent of all arrests for burglary and 64 per cent of auto thefts. Their crime rolls include repeated murders, assaults, and rapes.

We are told that the remedy is the job of the parents, the schools, the press, a cessation of corruption through our mass communications and that it is the job of the religious denominations.

But we cannot ignore the fact that with the growth of slums and congested areas in our cities a new problem has arisen which cannot be reached by these remedies. These kids outside their school and waking hours are forced to the streets for air and play. It is here where teen-age gangs and crime are born.

The remedy is by prevention – not by a policeman. And prevention can only come from alternatives to life on the streets. The many agencies working to these ends are not simply alternatives to the street. They give the kids a chance in life. They build character. They awaken moral

conscience, which is the sure guide in life. They need the organized support of the whole clergy of the United States.

#### IN CONCLUSION

In conclusion, in looking over the current scene in our national life, if we take a worm's eye view of the crises and forces which surround us, we may worry that we are approaching the decline and fall of the greatest nation in history.

If we take a bird's eye view, we see the fundamental strength of the American people.

And how can this strength be sustained and expanded?

It must come from growth of religious faith; from our devotion to freedom of men; and from a determined staunch stand against the evils which beset us. With these forces in motion, there can be no decline or fall in this nation.

But we have need to exert all the strengths which God has given our Nation.

## Remarks Before the American Newspaper Publishers Association

*New York City*  
*[April 28, 1960]*

IN REPLY to your agents who extended me your invitation I said I would greatly enjoy this reunion with old friends and hearing so great a scientist as Dr. Von Braun. I assured your representative he need not worry – I had no speech in my bosom. He seemed to get satisfaction from this assurance.

But yesterday they said I must make a two-minute speech. I am grateful for the two-minute limit. That eliminates any discussion of the seven foreign and domestic crises that haunt our sleep. It eliminates any remarks on our current candidates for President. It leaves me free to say something good about the American people, and I can get that into these two minutes.

The American people are making new discoveries in science and invention faster than any other nation. Despite the current gloomy lamentations, we are armed against any attack. We are daily increasing our industrial productivity. We have most of our young in schools and colleges. We have more institutions of higher learning than all the rest of the world put together. Our people in the main still cling to the national goals set by the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. Most of our people still cling to religious faith.

This nation is not in its decline and fall.

## Address at the Republican National Convention, Chicago, Illinois

[*July 25, 1960*]

MY GOOD friends:

Your reception is indeed a demonstration of great friendship. It kindles a great glow in my heart.

I had not expected to speak at this Convention. In each of your last three Conventions I bade you an affectionate good-bye. Apparently, my good-byes did not take. And I have been bombarded with requests to do it again for the fourth time. Unless some miracle comes to me from the Good Lord this is finally it.

It would be unworthy of this gathering if I came here merely to receive your expression of good will.

\* \* \* \*

When I was a boy, under group pressure I was sent regularly to attend the Sabbath Day Quaker meetings. They were mostly sessions of silence. There was little a boy could do about that silence but count his toes. However, occasionally the spirit moved Aunt Hannah to rise amid the silence and say she was "going to speak her mind." She dealt with moral delinquency. She always urged the benefits of right living.

\* \* \* \*

Aunt Hannah loved America. Come Fourth of July she sat on the platform at the village crossroads, where every year the countryside gathered with reverence to hear the reading of the Declaration of Independence.

On these occasions she even tolerated the presence of the only Democrat in our village.

Aunt Hannah, in her way, was "speaking her mind" on the forces and ideas which shape our national destiny.

\* \* \*

I do not need tell you that today our country is faced with the gravest dangers from overseas in all of our history.

I will not comment tonight on these great dangers and the ugly statements which pour upon us, further than to urge that unity of our people on our foreign front is imperative to the preservation of free men and women at home and over the whole world.

And we are confronted with many difficult domestic, political, economic and social issues, which affect all of our lives. But as I look back over my long years of concern with our national problems, I have come to believe that moral forces and certain forces embedded in the soul of America are more important than all of our other issues – for they lay at the base of the solution of all of them.

Tonight I will discuss only this one issue. And I hope it will be believed that I speak not alone to this Convention, but to all my countrymen.

But do not be alarmed. I can "speak my mind" upon it in ten minutes.

Today America is in the midst of a frightening moral slump. During the 14 years following the end of the Second World War, our statistics show that major crimes in most of these years have increased about three times as fast as the population.

During this same period since the end of the war, our cities have become increasingly infested with teen-age

gangs of criminal taints. In a recent year 740,000 of these youngsters were arrested by the police.

Beyond the terrifying warnings of statistics, we can hardly believe that integrity and moral steadfastness are increasing when we witness the constant exposure of state and municipal corruption. And we daily read blazoned headlines in the press exposing corrupt practices in some nationwide services and the fraudulent practices of some distributors of our daily necessities.

\* \* \* \*

All wars, by their violence and disregard for individual rights, bring an aftermath of decline in morals.

Beyond these our courts have been hobbled in the use of punishment as a deterrent to crime by procedures of which one example is sufficient. In a recent year there were over 1,700,000 larcenies known to the F.B.I., yet there were only 170,000 convictions – that is, only one in ten.

\* \* \* \*

But some part of this decline in morals is an infection from Communist Russia.

I do not need to remind you that the doctrines of Karl Marx and of the Communists are a destroyer of all morals. They declare there is no God. They stigmatize religious faith as an "opiate of the people." Lenin himself declared that their foreign policies must be based on "dodges, tricks, and untruths."

And during the 14 years since the war, Communist conspiracies and their "fronts" have poured their Marxist poisons into our people.

We have also been brainwashed with another Communist fundamental tenet. They insist that love of country, pride of a people in their history, their ideals, and their

accomplishments is wicked nationalism. Ever since the war, the Communist "fronts," and the beatniks, and the egg-heads have conducted a national chorus of denunciation of this wicked nationalism.

\* \* \* \*

Manifestly our religious organizations and our agencies for character-building in our youth are giving devoted service to halt this slump in morals. These agencies have need for every assistance. And there is an eternal force in American life which could be summoned for vital help.

\* \* \* \*

This nation needs a rebirth of that great spiritual force which has been impaired by cynicism and weakened by foreign infections.

Call it nationalism if you will. But there is an American kind of nationalism, which is neither isolationism nor aggression and embedded deep within it is compassion for distress both at home and overseas. It is a kind of nationalism which recognizes changes in the world and requires that we meet them with forward-looking measures.

\* \* \* \*

The spiritual force of which I speak is enshrined in the word *America*. We do not use that word merely as a geographical term. At one time – and even now, for millions of Americans – that word summons to mind the whole background of our nation.

This word *America* recalls that millions of people for over 300 years have sought our shores as a refuge from oppression. To these millions the word *America* came to mean a civilization unique on earth by the fusion of the attainments of scores of nations. For centuries the word

*America* among the great masses of people over the world has been an emblem of hope, of more security in life – and more freedom.

The word *America* brings back to our minds the great men and women, who won for us our independence and then created a government unique among nations.

The word *America* means that our wars were not fought for the glory of war but for freedom in the world. It means a country where the doors of opportunity are open to every boy and girl. It means law and order, freedom of choice and callings. It means glorious strides in the advancement of civilization.

The word *America* envisions the rills of freedom springing from our mountains and plains pouring into a mighty river which refreshes not only our own people but the whole of mankind.

\* \* \* \*

Today, we alone among the nations have a multitude of citizens, who have sunk to a posture of perpetual apology and seeming shame for ourselves.

Yet today the fires of nationalism in its higher sense are burning brightly in almost every nation on earth. We have witnessed the spirit of nationalism give birth to the independence of a dozen nations in the last ten years. Within the last five years we have seen its great revival of France.

\* \* \* \*

I do not pretend that a rebirth of that spirit which lies within the word *America* will cure all moral ills.

But with it, we might have a revision of some of our school books.

The re-echo of the word *America* might resurrect conscience away from crime and back to manhood.

It might, by its recall of the rights and ideals of our people, tend to curb excessive demands of pressure groups.

It might stimulate anew the initiative and enterprise of tens of thousands of our youth who from fear of the future seek refuge in the bureaucracies of industry and government.

A revival of the meanings of the word *America* might insist upon a revision of our weakened courts.

A stimulation of American nationalism might give support to our defense of freedom.

\* \* \* \*

Because I lament the evils and dangers which beset us, I would not have you believe that our nation is in its decline and fall. The American people have rallied many times in our history to meet even greater tasks. They can be rallied again.

\* \* \* \*

You are convened here not alone to nominate a President and a Vice President, but to declare anew the principles and ideals which must guide our country.

Yours is the task to stop this moral retreat; to lead the attack and to recapture the meaning of the word – *America*.

Thus can opportunity, and the spiritual future of your children be assured. And thus you will win the gratitude of posterity, and the blessing of Almighty God.

*PART III*

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE  
EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE  
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

# On Reorganization of the Federal Government

*Remarks Before the West Side Association  
of Commerce in the City of New York –  
30th Anniversary Dinner  
[October 18, 1954]*

YOU have referred to my present chore in Reorganization of the Executive Departments. Some 250 leading executives and professional men are taking time off from their daily tasks to aid in this labor. They are mostly volunteers, working without remuneration in a great effort to reduce the costs of government – and taxes. There are in this room several members of our array of some 30 different task forces at work on this task. That job is a fantastic nightmare, whose other name is bureaucracy. That nightmare was bred from Organized Confusion out of Regimented Chaos. Lest you do not think it a nightmare, I may relate that the Federal Government has made loans, guarantees of loans of insurance of various kinds for which it has either financial or moral obligations exceeding 230 billion dollars. And that does not include the national debt or the currency.

The Government holds issuable personal property which costs about \$66 billions and this does not include buildings, naval and other vessels, airplanes, weapons, industrial establishments or vehicles or furniture in use. These items on hand cost over \$100 billion more. And beyond that, the Federal Government has real estate which costs about \$40 billions and that does not include the public domain. Many of the articles on hand are obsolete as a result of new inventions or wear, costing about \$30 billions, which

need to be disposed of. The Army and the Air Force are now trying to make an inventory of their possessions. The magnitude of that job is indicated by the fact that something like 5 million different items are in their records. Until they get an inventory and simplify the number of items, huge losses come out of duplicate buying and other wastes.

The Government is also engaged in about 1,000 business enterprises competitive with private enterprise, and there is probably \$15 billions invested in it.

Among the many other problems are those of personnel. With policies built to protect the lower ranks, yet to pay for the high administrative skill these problems require, the Government cannot compete with private industry.

Five years ago I participated in a similar task of reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government. With the cooperation of Congress, we accomplished a great deal. But since then the Budget has increased by nearly \$40 billions and a lot of new agencies have been created.

At that time, we also thought it a nightmare for in 20 years the Federal Government had expanded its expenditures from \$4 billion a year to \$40 billion; the number of its agencies from less than 400 to over 1,500; and its civil employees from 600,000 to two million.

But I will not bore you with these matters. My object at the moment is to express my own appreciation to your members and guests who are giving so much in finding solutions to the thousand problems which haunt these billions of sums.

And beyond that, I must need again express my appreciation for the honor you have done me this evening.

## On Reorganization of the Federal Government

*Remarks Before the Silver Quill Award Dinner of  
National Business Publications, Washington, D.C.  
[January 29, 1955]*

MR. VICE PRESIDENT and Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the business press and your honored guests. I am indeed greatly honored by this award and by your generous reception and the kind statements that have been made here. Such kindness cannot be requited in words, no matter how eloquent. I am reminded by these eulogistic statements of a story related to me by the late Senator Robinson. He told me of the funeral of the meanest man in five counties in Arkansas. The man was so mean that his wife could not induce a minister to preach a funeral sermon over him. But the neighbors took pity on her and hired a young minister from St. Louis for \$100 to undertake the job. And when the minister was halfway through his eulogy, the wife arose and cried: "Stop, I want to look in that coffin. You cannot be talking about my husband."

Your committee very kindly mentioned my association with the publishers and editors of the National Business press many years ago. I reflect with great pleasure upon the monthly dinners which we held when I was Secretary of Commerce and the yeoman work you did in promoting such of our efforts as were legitimate. Today, one of your leaders asked that I might say something to you on government organization. I'll try to be as brief as your other

speakers but it is a more dull subject than those which they have dealt with so pungently.

I might say that in the 23 years since we met at those dinners together, as a result of the financial medicine for social and economic ills, plus our hot and cold wars, our machinery of government has expanded with a speed greater than any government since Cheops built his sun boat. It may be that we have also built a sun boat by which we may expect to get to Heaven. However, Cheops' sun boat was purely allegorical.

And certainly we have moved into a region of higher dimensional mathematics and the decimal point is being constantly pushed around by all the ciphers, so that out of all this have come a mass of problems in government. And as you know, some six years ago, I was appointed the chairman of a very able body of men to the job of finding some roads through this labyrinth that might possibly lead to some economy or reduction of spending. We did make some progress but we lost ground again with the Korean War and rearmament. And now the Congress has set up another Commission to undertake the same job all over again in some new phases.

I am very proud that some 10 members of that Commission are present here tonight. Also I find in this audience some 20 men out of the 250 who are freely giving their time and abilities to this work.

We, in this work, are dealing with problems in government which require more comprehensive investigation than members of Congress with all their many other responsibilities can undertake. And we are dealing with problems beyond the ability of any one executive official to solve because they stretch over many agencies and require much legislative action. However, this is no witch-hunt. It is a hunt for facts and experience in their innermost liars, I meant lairs.

But it is my conviction, and it was borne out by the results of the first Commission that exhaustive examination

of the fact and national experience lead to irrefutable conclusions. And from these conclusions we ought to be able to draw up further courageous common-sense standards and methods and policies by which the service of the government can be more efficient and we hope to save something for the taxpayers.

Some people will dislike these deductions. But I can get some comfort out of the fact that old reformers never die. They do get thrown out.

These reorganization problems are sort of picture puzzles and in case you are skeptical about it, I'll just mention you two or three.

Today the Federal Government has 104 agencies engaged in the business of lending, guaranteeing and insurance – and the Government is involved in these transactions to an extent of over \$240 billion, and that does not include the national debt or social security. And as you may not know what a billion is, I may explain to you that it is a thousand million.

I might also mention that the Government has accumulated surplus and obsolete real and personal property costing about \$35 billions which inhabits a multitude of government warehouses at rent and cost of operation.

The Congress also specifically instructed us to look into Federal Government's "business enterprises which compete with the citizen." So far we know about 1500 of them, great and small. And the competing citizen has plenty of puzzles to worry over.

We have undertaken a study also in the paper work of the Government. Now that doesn't sound like very much. You would understand it better if it were called "The Birth Control of Federal Documents." The fact is that aside from some hundreds of tons of printed matter, the Federal Government circulates about 25 billion pieces of paper each year at a cost of about 4,000 million dollars. That is the cost of preparing them and sending them out and filing them when you get them back. Some 18 billion

of these are forms – mostly questionnaires by which the Government tries to discover your inner life. So that's where you get the puzzle.

A part of this study will be of interest to you because we are trying to find out about how much it costs you to reply to the Government inquiries by way of clerical services, lawyers, loss of sleep and what not. And we have real reason to believe that we can by cooperation of the Departments, the business world and the Congress, simplify many of these puzzles in such a fashion as to save you a lot of money and a lot of worry.

But you must not forget that the Government must know a lot about your business if it is to operate effectively and if it is to collect taxes.

Now I could go on for hours about these puzzles because there are twenty-six that I haven't mentioned yet but I am not going to disturb your dreams any further.

There are some of these reforms where the members of Congress will be faced with the pressure groups, and consequent electoral difficulties. However, I had a rather pleasant variation of nightmares the other night when there appeared to me the heads of certain great pressure groups who proposed voluntarily to hand the control of the government expenditures back to the President and the Congress. However, that was only a passing apparition.

It is a certainty that if the present Commission is to secure its reforms, it will again need the help of the Business Publications as you did before. And so we are preparing some midnight homework for you which you will be getting pretty quick now. You have an important part in this because you are the men who know that the wages of budget deficits – if not sin – is inflation. The Apostle St. Paul once propounded this question: He said: "O death, where is thy sting?" and I may point out to you the exact spot is the deficit.

But the American people don't need to dwell entirely on their troubles. There are blessings of underlying progress

in motion. Largest among them, in my view, is the fact that in the last few years we have seen such advances in science and technology that they amount to a revolution of expanded productivity.

Very few realize how gigantic this increase has been. Today we have about 12,000,000 adults out of our working force of 65,000,000 who are doing wholly non-productive work. They are the government officials – nation and state – the Armed Forces and those at work making and transporting supplies for Governments. Yet despite all that load our increase in productivity has enabled us to carry the burden of all of this with all its taxes, and at the same time to maintain approximately the same standard of living that we had before we entered this forest of trouble.

And if we maintain free minds, free spirits, direct our steps aright, still new horizons and new frontiers will open up to us. New inventions and new appliances of old knowledge will come to us every day and our burdens will be steadily easier to bear.

But I must return to my major purpose and that is to thank you for the honor that you have given to me by your award and to many of you for the very kind statements that you have made this evening.

Thank you.

# On Reorganization of the Federal Government

*Address Before the United States Chamber  
of Commerce, Washington, D.C.  
[May 4, 1955]*

THE Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, according to the Attorney General, is part of the Legislative Branch of the Government – not of the Executive Branch.

In case you do not know what our job is I may tell you we are not, as some people may think, a lawless body of sleep disturbers.

We operate under a law which may not be familiar to all of you so I will mention some of its provisions. That law says:

It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress to promote economy, efficiency, and improved service in the transaction of the public business in the departments, bureaus, agencies, boards, commissions, offices, independent establishments, and instrumentalities of the executive branch of the Government . . .

Congress obviously did not wish to leave anybody out.

Then the law goes into details of what the Commission must investigate and recommend, saying:

- (2) eliminating duplication and overlapping of services, activities and functions;
- (3) consolidating services, activities, and functions of a similar nature;
- (4) abolishing services, activities and functions not necessary to the efficient conduct of government;

(5) eliminating nonessential services, functions, and activities which are competitive with private enterprise; . . .

You will be interested in that last line about Government competitive enterprises.

The First Commission of five years ago, over which I presided, was inhibited for certain reasons from entering into policy questions and was therefore confined to recommendations for the improvement in the structure and operation of the Executive Agencies. This Second Commission is also directed to deal with policies. That you may see that these authorities are wide open, I may read to you a provision in the present law. It states:

. . . The Commission may propose such constitutional amendments, legislative enactments, and administrative actions as in its judgment are necessary to carry out its recommendations.

But lest you become fearful, I may disclose to you that we do not intend to toy with the Constitution of the United States.

Also if you will sometime read the whole law, you will find that the Congress did not want our forces turned loose upon them for they state that we should look into all agencies "except the Judiciary and the Congress."

In the five years following that First Commission, a very large part of its recommendations were enacted into law. Great improvement as to efficiency resulted. Large savings were effected. The rise in Government expenditures from about \$43 billion to about \$63 billion, due to the Korean Hot War and the general Cold War, obscured our previous work, but this increase of expenditures has been less because of our two years presence in Washington five years ago.

We have organized this Second Commission along a somewhat different approach to the problems. To manage so gigantic a study – a study of 1400 different agencies, spending \$63 billion a year – we have set up some 20 Task

Forces. They comprise, with their research staffs and officials of the Commission, about 400 men, chosen from leading citizens with professional or administrative knowledge of their particular problems. This different approach to our problem was due to the fact that there was less need for structural reorganization because of the work of the First Commission, and because of the wider demands of the Congress; and the wider responsibilities in the present law.

Our setup this time is to organize our investigations and recommendations on functional lines straight across the whole of the Executive Agencies. That is, we have investigated and reported in one document on all the Medical Services of the Federal Government which are 66 in number. We have reported on all the Lending, Guaranteeing and Insurance agencies of the Government, which are 104 in number. We have reported on all the Subsistence activities of which there are many. We have reported on the Use and Disposal of Surplus Property in all agencies. We have reported on all the Legal Services in the Executive Branch. We have reported on all the Transportation agencies. We have reported on all the Personnel and Civil Service agencies. We have reported on all Paperwork Management in the Executive Branch, known in our office as the "Birth Control of Documents."

We have completed 9 Reports by the Commission, and they, together with the Task Force Reports, have been published. If you wish to begin a study of civil government, you can buy the whole lot from the Public Printer at less expense than two good detective stories. I hope they will leave a stronger impression on your minds – that is if you read them.

We have completed three more reports – Warehousing and Storage, Research and Development, and the Business Agencies Competitive with Private Enterprise. They will be available as soon as the Public Printer finishes them and they will cost you less than the price of one novel.

Some people may feel that they are lacking in the "happy endings." If you have the strength and small change left, we will within the next 60 days give you eight or nine more reports for your higher learning.

We have engaged in no witch-hunting of individuals. You will not find the name of any public official in our reports except by way of acknowledgment of his fine cooperation.

Our job is to search out the systems of organization and administration which need repairs and coordination. Some of these systems were efficient enough before the fabulous growth of the Federal Executive Branches by about 14 times the size of 25 years ago. Some of these faulty systems are due to obsolete legislation which obstructs progress. Some are due to the tenacity of Government agencies to the idea that their empires are sacrosanct. Some are due to the pressure groups that profit from the present setup of these agencies, and resent all change. Some of these systems are due to the primary emotion of all bureaucracies that their sleep be not disturbed.

However, all these groups are unanimous that economy and efficiency are needed in every other group.

The problems we deal with are mostly beyond the remedy of any single official. And I may say at once that there are many able and dedicated officials in Government who are struggling to unwind these tangles.

In the reports the Commission has submitted to the Congress there are about 200 specific recommendations. No group of serious men will agree about everything. There has been a small minority of dissents. However, this Commission, comprising distinguished leaders of both political parties, has never divided on political grounds.

And I may add, a great debt of gratitude is owed to the 400 men associated in our work, several of whom are in this audience. They will have taken much time away from their own affairs for nearly two years to help solve some of our most difficult problems.

In demonstrating the weaknesses of certain systems of organization we, in order to prove it, occasionally present a "horrid example" of what is happening. Here is where we depart from abstract discussion into the world of realities. But it makes an unfavorable impression on pressure groups and some agencies – and they do not cling to abstract truth in their remarks about us!

The reports we have so far issued have received extraordinary support from the Press of the Nation. An analysis of a mass of editorials clipped from newspaper circulation of over 45,000,000 from over part of the country shows over 90 per cent favorable against 10 per cent of brick-bats. Some of the brick-bats come from the business world – and I bequeath them to you.

# On Reorganization of the Federal Government

*Address Before the National Industrial  
Conference Board, New York City  
[May 19, 1955]*

YOUR committee of this Conference "Toward Better Government" asked me to review the work of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government up to now.

I wish to read you three passages from the revised edition of Aesop's Fables.

Once upon a time complications happened in the government and the young doctors were called in. They gave all the verbal injections for the viruses, and the verbal antibiotics for balancing the budget. Yet the budget did not balance. So, the old family doctor was called in for consultation. He thumped about a bit and came up with an idea. He said, take two anti-waste pills every morning and night.

But the patients all moaned and said, "But Doctor, that will destroy our morale."

The second fable is:

Once upon a time a mere citizen-reformer tried to quickly reform a political mind. But he said, "You don't know the art of being a reformer. Reforms begin after the next election."

The third fable is:

Once upon a time the Commission on Organization of the Government said some restraining words affecting one of the 1,000 pressure groups represented in Washington.

That pressure group said, "We deeply respect your words. But it is only the other 999 pressure groups that are badly in need of reform and we will help you." They said our appropriations are very necessary. Our Commission opined that they could spell the words "very necessary" with less than 9 ciphers attached to it. Their reply was, "Our spelling is absolutely necessary to save the Republic."

#### THE AUTHORITY

This is the nth-plus-1 Commission on Organization of the Government in which I have participated in 33 years. Most of such Commissions have been set up by Presidents hopeful that the Congress would listen to the words of wisdom.

In time Congress also became annoyed and concluded to express itself. The preamble of the law establishing the Commission, over which I presided five years ago and again today are much alike. This one says:

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress to promote economy, efficiency, and improved service in the transaction of the public business in the departments, bureaus, agencies, boards, commissions, offices, independent establishments, and instrumentalities of the executive branch of the Government. . . ."

They obviously did not wish to leave out anybody in the Executive Branch. Then with a certain air of suspicion, it instructs the Commission as to what it must deal with:

"eliminating duplication and overlapping of services, activities and functions;

"consolidating services, activities, and functions of a similar nature;

"abolishing services, activities and functions not necessary to the efficient conduct of government;

"eliminating non-essential services, functions and activities which are competitive with private enterprise; . . . "

That last line about Government competitive enterprises came back to roost in a report last Monday.

The Commission of five years ago was for various reasons unable to deal with policy questions. The authority of this present Commission is, however, wide open. This law says:

" . . . The Commission may propose such constitutional amendments, legislative enactments and administrative actions as in its judgment are necessary to carry out its recommendations."

But lest you become frightened, I may disclose to you that we do not intend to toy with the Constitution of the United States.

Also, if you will sometime read the whole law, you will find that the Congress did not want our forces turned loose upon them for they state that we should look into all agencies –

"except the Judiciary and the Congress."

This law also contains a new authority absent from the last Commission's law. It says, "the Commission . . . may subpoena witnesses and documents and administer oaths." And this applies not only to the public, but to Government officials. I presume this all means we can report inaccuracies to the Attorney General.

Just to relieve your minds, we have refrained from that form of publicity.

#### ORGANIZING THE WORK

Under the more limited authorities of the First Commission of five years ago, we restricted our efforts to straightening out the structure of the Executive Branch, its housekeeping and the removal of road-blocks to self-reform. That job of repairs was big enough to take two years of labor at that time.

Because of the many problems settled by the Commission of five years ago, and because of the wider demands

and wider authority from the Congress this time, this present Commission undertook a different approach to the problem. This time we mostly organized our investigation and our recommendations not department by department, but along *functional* lines straight across the whole of the Executive front.

In making this straight-across functional investigation, we, for instance, examined and reported upon and made recommendations in one document as to the parts of 71 Agencies which give medical aid and as to the 104 Agencies, parts of which make loans, guarantees and insurance.

This is no trivial job. There are about 1400 different Agencies in the Government spending \$63 billions a year. To do the job I scarcely need to tell you that we set up some 20 Task Forces, many of whose leaders are speaking before your sessions. More than 400 leading executives and professional men have joined in this work. All of them are men of distinguished experience in the task for which they were chosen. They have served devotedly during the last twenty months at great personal sacrifice. The Nation owes them a great debt of gratitude.

Last Monday, after some 18 months of hard work we got around to that remark in the law about elimination of those functions which are competitive with private enterprises. You may have noted that we found them in many agencies of the Government.

There appear to be somewhere between 2,000 and 3,000 of them. We have not had the time to dissect all of them.

When we came to look into the history of these Government business enterprises, we found most of them were created in wars and emergencies for some special needed task. But when the task was completed, each had aboard it an empire-seeking bureaucracy and a large pressure group which benefited from it. With these high inspirations, they developed an extraordinary longevity. One of them lasted 36 years and lost money nearly every year.

Some of these enterprises are necessary; some are non-competitive.

Many of them in their accounts claim they earn a profit and are, therefore, a benevolent institution. But all of them are exempt from Federal taxes. Very few of them pay any interest or amortization of the capital the Government had invested in them. And many of them do not include overhead personnel in their expenditures, or pensions and other "fringe benefits." Also, they do not mention the increased taxes the Government would receive if the business were done by private enterprise. Naturally, they are joyous in the demonstration of their great capacity to compete with private enterprise. Our Commission made the remark that this was a strange proceeding in a Government pledged to fair competition.

In a few cases, having no hope of completely recovering our national philosophy of life, we recommended that the Government competitor at least be put on a self-supporting basis so as to pay his own expenses. The wails of those Agencies and the pressure groups have spread across the land with an accompaniment of impolite remarks.

The loss is not wholly the taxpayers' money. It is also a loss by injury to the vitality of the private enterprise system. It is a destruction of freedoms. Initiative, ingenuity and invention seldom come from Government business enterprises. These qualities are not stimulated by their form of accounting and the open doors of the United States Treasury.

Aside from maintaining an economic system of free enterprise which has produced the highest standard of living in all the history of mankind, this system has amply proved its virility in national defense. It provided the inventiveness and the productivity which, second only to the valor of our officers and men, won for us both World War I and World War II.

## AN EXPERIMENT

As an example of one of these functional cross-sections of the Government and what can be done about it, I may recite an experiment of one of our Task Forces. It belongs in our department of "the birth control of documents." You no doubt have heard of it from a number of the 4,700 different varieties of questionnaires the government sends each year to the commercial world and also to confuse plain people.

Our energetic Task Force on Paperwork Management in Part I of their report made recommendations that would save \$250,000,000 a year. In Part II of their report they relate an experiment. They set up 29 committees in various business groups and secured their views on what could be done to simplify Government questionnaires and still give the Government the information it must have. With these constructive suggestions, our Task Force members, as a catalyst, brought these industrial committees into meetings with 32 different Government agencies concerned. These meetings have already brought about simplifications which the Task Force states will save the Government over \$5 million a year; and save those industries over \$10 million a year. We do not regard that \$15 million as revolutionary but it is 6 times the cost of this whole Commission work.

Having proved its case, the Task Force suggests that there is room for this catalytic action in the 4,000 forms and reports that they did not examine and a few hundred million more savings. We are recommending that the Government set up a catalyst that works 365 days a year less holidays.

The Commission has completed and published reports on nine of these functional cross-sections of the Executive Branch. You will receive five more within the next three weeks and there are several more in the mill.

The recommendations in our reports are of two sorts.

One is: recommendations or suggestions to the administrative agencies which can be carried out within their present authorities. The other is: recommendations to Congress for legislation. There are in the first nine reports about 250 administrative suggestions or recommendations. Many of these have already been adopted. The points for legislative action are about 170 in number. It does not mean 170 bills to be passed. Possibly nine bills would cover these points. Some have already been introduced, and more are to follow.

Now to improve your higher learning as to civil Government you can buy these reports from the Public Printer at prices varying around 45 cents each. Just to indicate that they are not expensive, I may tell you that the Annual Budget documents will cost you about \$6.75. It is no doubt a romantic document. But it weighs five pounds and is set up by the Printer in such a way that you cannot read it in bed.

We believe our reports also relate strange things, but we have had them set up by the Public Printer in pocket form for your easier homework. As a matter of fact you can buy the whole lot so far published for less than a high class novel, and they are a better sleeping pill, provided they do not raise your temperature.

#### SAVINGS

Our job is to search out the systems of organization and administration which need repairs. Some of the ways of managing were good enough before the Government multiplied its size about 14 times in 25 years. Some of these faulty systems are due to obsolete legislation. Some are due to the sacrosanct character of bureaucratic empires. Some are due to the pressure groups that profit from the present setup. Some of these systems are due to the primary human emotion of resentment to being waked up. The problems we deal with are mostly beyond the remedy

of any single officials. And I may say at once that most of the responsible officials in our Government are dedicated and able men and women who are themselves struggling to unwind these tangles.

In demonstrating the weaknesses of certain systems of organization, we, in order to prove it, occasionally presented a "horrid example" of what is happening. Here is where we depart from abstract discussion into the world of furious protest. They make an unfavorable impression on pressure groups and some agencies. So far at least we have not replied to their remarks. That may come later.

Our job is to find ways of saving money. I may tell you that in the reports which we will have completed in the next few days, our separate Task Forces estimate that an aggregate of \$6,000,000,000 of savings could be made to the taxpayer. And beyond that there could be returned to the Treasury about \$7,000,000,000 of money which could be provided otherwise. And there are still more to come.

I may emphasize that when we talk about savings, we talk about the elimination of waste and not the strangulation of either our defense or the stifling of public welfare.

Our Commission is not always unanimous, but when you get a recommendation it is usually by a large majority. Nobody can expect that the 12 serious and eminent men of this Commission will always agree about everything.

At the time the Commission of five years ago finished its work, loud cries went up from most of the buildings of Washington. There was a barbershop blues incorporating such words as "Your figures are wrong." "You are ignorant. You are unrealistic." "You are reactionaries. You are radical. You seek to destroy the foundations of the Republic."

The chorus was:

"It must never come to pass."

Yet five years later 70 per cent of those recommendations had been adopted and great consequences in more

efficient and more economical government have flowed from them.

I am confident that the pressure of American common sense will secure 70 per cent of our present recommendations in the next five years.

We have received extraordinary support from the Press of the Nation. An analysis of a mass of editorials clipped from newspapers from over all parts of the country shows well over 90 per cent favorable as against under 10 per cent of brick-bats. Some of the brick-bats come from the business world.

There is an over-all purpose in this work far above the chatter of upset persons. The Republic is beset by many dangers. There is one danger within our power to control. That is the waste which brings in its train our unbalanced budgets. And as sure as the sun sets, continued deficits will bring decreased purchasing power of wages, salaries and income with all the tumults of striving of groups to protect themselves.

Our job is to show a safe road to a balanced budget. And this is no trivial job. Its accomplishment is vital to every cottage in this land.

But over and above even that, many of these reports spell out ways to strengthen the foundations of the Republic.

# On the Second Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government

*Statement to the Press Upon Termination  
of the Second Commission  
[June 30, 1955]*

IT IS almost two years ago that I undertook to organize this work. This is the first press conference since the work began. I particularly wished to have this session in order that I might express my deep appreciation of the kindness, encouragement and support that we have received from the press in all this time.

Many of the matters we have dealt with are matters permitting many views. But when the press support, measured by circulation, is over 95 per cent favorable to the majority action of the Commission, I have indeed reason to be grateful to the Press.

This Commission comes to an end today. It is not often that a public official has a terminal by law – and I am deeply grateful. Elective officials do not have the privilege of this easy exit from service. They must either die or lose an election.

You will not need to keep notes of my preliminary statement as it will be given to you by Mr. MacNeil before I begin to answer questions. Written statements are better condensed than extemporaneous attempts.

The real founder of both the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government of seven years ago and of the present Commission was Congressman

Clarence Brown. He introduced and secured the passage of the legislation creating both Commissions. He served as a member of the first Commission where the authorities of that Commission were considerably limited. In the creation of the second Commission, Congressman Brown made certain that these authorities be greatly enlarged among other things to include authority to make recommendations on policy questions. He has served again as a member of this Commission and his zeal for economy and efficiency in Government has been an outstanding service to the American people.

The first Commission concerned itself chiefly with reorganization of departments and agencies and their relations with each other. As we were limited in dealing with policies, the first Commission's proposals were directed to consolidating overlapping agencies; defining lines of authority; accounting; budgeting; and generally to removing the road blocks to more effective organizations with the consequences of reduced expenditures. Some 70 per cent of its recommendations have been adopted during the past seven years.

Somebody challenged our authority to deal with policy questions. The reports of the Senate and House Committees to those bodies recommending the enactment of the legislation expressly state that a proposed difference between the first and second Commissions was that the new Commission would deal with functional and policy questions bearing on economy and efficiency.

In the course of its nearly two years' work, the Commission investigated 17 groups of functional activities. For instance, the Federal Medical Services are carried on by 26 different executive agencies; Legal Services by 54 different agencies; Research and Development by 29 agencies; Lending, Guaranteeing and Insurance by 104 different agencies; Transportation by 22 agencies; agencies in competition with private enterprise by a dozen agencies; and so on. Each of these agencies was studied historically, their finance

and their related importance. These studies, therefore, went much further than just the agencies in Washington. Most of them have decentralized installations, such as warehouses, purchasing centers, power plants and hospitals. Our Task Force members personally inspected hundreds of them. For instance, the Task Force on Food and Clothing visited 115 separate installations. In all, we covered over 95 per cent of the expenditures of the Federal Government.

To do this, we organized 20 Task Forces of from 6 to 30 men, each with research and clerical staffs. The Task Forces comprised more than 350 professional men and executives, most of them were chosen because of their previous experience in Government activities. They were from both political parties.

The Commission itself, in its reports to the Congress did not always follow the recommendations of the Task Force, but amplified them from our own research staff and on some occasions modified them from the long public experience of the members of the Commission itself.

There are 350 recommendations in the Commission Reports. Of these 145 are administrative – that is, they are within the authority of the Government departments and agencies to adopt if they wish. About 166 would require legislation, but many items are on the same subjects, so that fewer legislative bills would be required. Some of them could be applied under Presidential procedures. Already over 40 identifiable administrative recommendations have been adopted by the Departments. The Bureau of the Budget is setting up a unit to consider and advance others. The Department of Defense is also setting up an arrangement for the same purpose.

Senator Kennedy has been appointed by Senator McClellan, who is Chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, as Chairman of a subcommittee to consider a number of the Commission's recommendations.

Senator Kennedy yesterday introduced some ten bills, with a very handsome tribute to the Commission.

#### POSSIBLE SAVINGS IN FEDERAL EXPENDITURES

The primary purpose of the Commission was to recommend methods by which savings could be made in the expenditures of the agencies of the Executive Branch without injury to the security or welfare of the country.

Most of the Task Forces have made estimates of such annual savings possible if their recommendations were accepted. It should be noted that not all of their recommendations were adopted by the Commission and in some cases the Commission made recommendations which went beyond those made by the Task Forces.

The following table shows the savings estimates listed in the Task Force Reports:

Budget and Accounting	\$4,000,000,000
Depot Utilization	253,000,000
Federal Medical Services	290,000,000
Lending, Guaranteeing and Insurance Activities	200,000,000
Overseas Economic Operations	360,000,000
Paperwork Management, Part I	255,000,000
Paperwork Management, Part II	33,300,000
Personnel and Civil Service	48,500,000
Real Property Management	185,000,000
Special Personnel Problems –	
Department of Defense	388,800,000
Subsistence (Food and Clothing)	400,000,000
Transportation	151,500,000
Use and Disposal of Federal Surplus Property	2,000,000,000*

\* For the first 4 years; thereafter \$1,000,000,000 per annum.

The following Task Forces indicated that great potential savings could result from their recommendations, but made no dollar estimates:

Business Enterprises in Competition with Private Enterprise  
Business Organization of the Department of Defense  
Intelligence Activities  
Military Procurement  
Water Resources and Power

Any addition of these sums would be misleading because some of these estimates partially overlap, such as the savings estimated by the Budget and Accounting and Surplus Property Task Forces. Some of them represent savings based on business practices not entirely applicable to procedure required by law of Government agencies.

In any event, with all such discounts there are enough possible savings left to enable the balancing of the budget and reduction of taxes.

#### RECOVERY OF CAPITAL SUMS AND AUTHORIZATIONS TO THE TREASURY

In another direction, our various investigations developed the fact that a huge amount of Government capital, tied up in various quarters could be recovered to the Treasury.

There are possibilities of recovery of Federal capital invested in certain Government agencies by methods tested out by experience which at some time would increase the efficiency and stature of these agencies by so doing. For instance, the Government in the past has subscribed the original capital of various lending or financial agencies under an arrangement whereby the beneficiaries of these agencies, by payment of a small premium on loans, have purchased the Government's capital stock. While these agencies have continued under Government regulation, they were gradually blended into the free enterprise system.

Such instances of this transition are the Federal Reserve Banks, the Federal Land Banks, and the Home Loan Banks. The Banks for Cooperatives and the Federal Savings and

Loan Insurance Corporation are under direction from the Congress now going through this process. We have recommended the extension of this principle to other agencies such as the Federal Housing Administration, Federal Intermediate Credit Banks, Federal National Mortgage Association, and the Rural Electrification Administration.

There are several agencies to which the Government has given authorizations to draw funds from the Treasury in larger sums than are needed for their activities.

We also recommended that certain lending agencies be more rapidly liquidated; this would result in more speedy return of an additional sum to the Treasury.

Our reports point out that the disposal of Federal enterprises competitive with private enterprise and the speedy disposal of all surplus personal and unneeded real property would return huge sums to the Federal Treasury. While real property can be disposed of at considerable proportion of the cost, personal property, mostly obsolete or scrap, would return only a minor percentage of cost. The Task Forces roughly estimate proceeds from the sale of such property at a possible total of \$10,000,000,000 to be returned over a number of years.

Altogether a strong drive to recover investment, unnecessary liabilities, liquidations, and the realization of property assets should expedite benefits to the Treasury by somewhere about \$15,000,000,000.

We have proceeded with the idea that if we determined the essential facts and experience, the conclusions from them made recommendations inevitable.

We have engaged in no witch-hunting of individuals. You will not find the name of any public official in our reports except by way of acknowledgment of his fine cooperation.

A large part of our wasteful methods in the Government arise from systems of administration which were efficient enough before the fabulous growth of the Federal Executive Branch by about 14 times the size of 25

years ago. Some of these faulty systems are due to obsolete legislation which obstructs progress. Some are due to the tenacity of Government agencies to the idea that their empires are sacrosanct. Some are due to the pressure groups that profit from the present setup of these agencies and resent all change.

The problems we deal with are mostly beyond the remedy of any single official. And I may say at once that there are many able and dedicated officials in Government who are struggling to unwind these tangles.

And I would add a word as to the great debt of gratitude that is owed to the 400 men associated in our work. They will have taken much time away from their own affairs for nearly two years to help solve some of the Nation's most difficult problems.

The final statement of the Commission is:

"The problems before the Commission have by no means been purely financial. In our recommendations we have sought six objectives:

First—To preserve the full security of the Nation in a disturbed world.

Second—To maintain the functioning of all necessary agencies which make for the common welfare.

Third—To stimulate the fundamental research upon which national security and progress are based.

Fourth—To improve the efficiency and eliminate waste in the executive agencies.

Fifth—To eliminate or reduce Government competition with private enterprise.

Sixth – and perhaps the most important of all – To strengthen the economic, social, and governmental structure which has brought us, now for 166 years, constant blessings and progress."

# Government Is Too Big

*Interview with the Board of Editors of  
"U.S. News and World Report"  
[August 5, 1955]*

Q. As you look over the work your Commission has done, Mr. Hoover, how would you describe the main purpose? Was it to save money for the taxpayer through more effective use of appropriations?

A. In the Commission's work, the large majority favored the philosophic foundation under which we would operate. It's very simple – that the whole social-economic system of this country is based on private enterprise, properly regulated to prevent unfair competition and to prevent monopolies; that the Government should provide those services which the people cannot do for themselves. And with that test we examined all the agencies as to whether they were violating those principles. That part of our work was not so much a matter of savings as strengthening our vital structure of individual, State and local government rights.

Q. And you found many instances in which the Federal Government –

A. About 3,000 cases of the Government being in business enterprises in direct competition with the citizens.

Q. Would it be a catastrophe if the Government ceased to be in those businesses?

A. I think the functions could be performed better by private initiative.

Q. Do those 3,000 cases include the public power facilities?

A. They would. I might say, however, that we made

no recommendations that they should be sold, because it's impractical, and, in any event, we didn't approach the problem from that point of view.

Q. Do you find that Government tends to encroach more and more if given the chance?

A. To answer that I'll give you a little background. Most of these business enterprises in the Government were born of emergency and war. When they came out of their immediate task and had it done, they ought to have quit, but they were equipped with a large bureaucracy, in love with an empire, and they had behind them a pressure group, in every case, of business people or some pressure group who were benefiting by it.

Therefore, there has been consistent opposition to their dissolution. With the instincts of a vegetable they keep spreading and growing. They sometimes make an appearance of earning a profit. But they are exempt from taxation, most of them pay no interest to the Federal Government on capital invested. They pay no amortization of the capital advanced to them.

Q. They don't pay any rent, either, do they?

A. And usually no rent. And they don't pay any of the fringe benefits that come to the Government employees.

And they don't pay for the top supervision. If you apply such tests to these businesses, you will find they are all losing money, and, beyond that, if that particular function were carried on by private enterprise, then they would have to pay taxes to the Government.

It becomes difficult to calculate the saving. But it would amount to considerable.

There is a certain longevity in these things that I told you about. There is one of them that lasted for over 30 years – after the first World War – and lost money nearly every year.

Q. What was that one?

A. Mississippi Barge Lines.

Q. Finally that was sold?

A. Yes. I suppose the Government got a few per cent of what it had invested and lost.

Q. What else has been your objective – the efficiency of administration?

A. Well, we were trying to strengthen the philosophical foundations of our country; we were trying to bring about a reduction of expenses; we made no recommendation that would in the slightest degree injure the security of the American people, and we did nothing that would in any way disturb the justifiable social services to the country. What we were looking for was waste. We were not looking for revolution.

Q. Have you found enthusiasm in Congress for your recommendations for savings?

FOR STRONG NATION, PRIVATE ENTERPRISE . . . ONLY TASKS  
OF GOVERNMENT: THOSE THE PEOPLE CAN'T DO FOR SELVES

A. I couldn't say one way or the other. With the philosophical foundation I told you about a minute ago, I imagine that all the "left-wingers" in the Congress are opposed to everything that we suggested.

Q. Aside from all the waste procedures and the competitive enterprises, do you find that the Government is attempting to engage in too much social-welfare activity and trying to do too much for people?

A. No, I wouldn't make any broad statement like that. I've been in favor of old-age pensions and Social Security. I've been in favor of developing all the water resources in the country. I've had reservations about the way they did the latter, but I don't belong to the group that opposes all Government activity in the public interest.

Q. Do you think there is a dividing line?

A. Yes, and the dividing line is one of practical statesmanship and the Government limiting itself to undertakings which the people cannot do for themselves.

Q. We've had for a number of years a trend toward

expansion of social services by Government. Should that continue to expand?

A. I really wouldn't like to answer that because I haven't examined it. Our examinations have been directed to what is, and not what is proposed.

Q. Do you think the Government is too big today?

A. Oh, I think the Federal Government is immensely too big. It has undertaken functions which ought to be left to the States and the people.

Q. You think that it's too many functions there, or that the Congress has loaded upon them too many burdens – which?

A. I don't think that Congress has loaded it on them. I think the States and pressure groups have come here and got them out of the Congress.

Q. What are some examples of functions that should be left to the States?

A. In the history of this country, up to about 1920 – 1910, perhaps – the States and local communities did practically all of their own flood control and navigation work – all of the flood control, certainly. And now the Federal Government has been loaded with the whole works. That is a typical example of the States coming here and loading it off on the Federal Government. Any amount of flood control is local to the State. It's not interstate. Where it is interstate, it ought to be supported by the Federal Government.

Q. Have they done the same thing with the indigent people, the poor?

A. I would not say that what we were concerned with was their wasteful administration. There's a great deal of duplication in administration of the social field between the States and the Federal Government. Many States have old-age relief systems and the Federal Government has one, and organizations duplicate at many points.

Q. You have been in the Government 35 or 40 years.

What has impressed you most about the Government? Has it been a constant expansion?

A. The major expansion of this Government has taken place in the 20 years before the present Administration. It multiplied 14 times its size. Its civil employees increased from about 600,000 or less up to about 2,400,000. The armed forces have increased from about 300,000 or 350,000 to 3 and a half million. Some of those expansions are absolutely necessary. Our defense today requires the present strength. I wouldn't denounce all expansion.

Q. The State governments have increased at the same time –

A. Yes, but not in the same ratio.

Q. Now, in a broad-gauged way, how far have you come toward accomplishing the objectives of your commission?

A. We have only just completed our recommendations. The Congress in setting up this Commission was guided by the success of the first Commission and the number of uncompleted tasks that it left behind. That Commission succeeded in about 70 per cent of its recommendations, but it took six years. In the first Commission we were practically inhibited from discussion of policies. This time the Congress wanted a study of the executive departments both as to functions and policies.

Q. About their functions, was your aim to find out what these agencies are doing, or whether they are doing what they are supposed to do?

A. Both. When we speak of functional examination, we mean, for instance, group study of all the agencies engaged in medical care or all the agencies engaged in lending, guarantees, loans or insurance. In the latter case we gave the country a summation of the national direct or indirect transactions.

Q. And what did you find in that particular inquiry?

A. We found that the Government has direct and indirect and moral liability for about 240 billion dollars.

That does not include the public debt, nor the Social Security.

Q. Does that include mortgages?

A. The Government has a mass of securities for these loans, guarantees, etc., except perhaps the loans to foreign governments.

Q. What assets would you say it had available to offset that?

A. Well, there is a great mass of assets, and there are some reserves set up, but whether or not in time of a catastrophe or time of a depression you could collect on all those assets is open to question.

Q. But has anybody ever in the Government pulled all this together and looked at it as a responsibility and seen whether it is working?

A. Nobody ever put it together before. This is totally a new story.

#### WHO READS THE REPORTS –

Q. Who reads your reports?

A. We certainly tried to make the Commission report in readable form. We presented the discussions of each activity right at the beginning, hoping to get the public educated as to what kind and size of activities the Government is engaged in.

Q. Congress, of course, should examine these reports, shouldn't it?

A. Certainly, they are made at the request of the Congress.

Q. What about the executive branch – who do you think in the executive branch ought to be designated to read all these reports and see whether any improvements can be made?

A. You need to go back a little on that. There are about 350 recommendations in the Commission report, and about 160 of them, or something like that number,

are purely administrative recommendations – that is, those which could be carried out within the authority of the present officials. On that problem the Bureau of the Budget is setting up a unit to see how far the departments should put them into action. Incidentally, the departments have already adopted 50 of them out of the 160. I imagine that we will have many more of the administrative recommendations adopted by the departments.

Q. But there is no general manager in the Government of the United States to whom these reports should go for examination – you wouldn't expect the President to read these reports, would you?

A. Oh, no.

Q. Shouldn't he at least become familiar with them?

A. I assume that it is the Budget Bureau and the different departments who will read and digest these reports.

Q. There is an executive order requiring them to, is there not, sir?

A. Not that I know of – except the Bureau of the Budget.

Q. But there is no general manager in the Government whose business it would be to see that these things are properly distributed and properly allocated, is there?

A. Except the Director of the Budget. Under the law, the Budget Director has a certain managerial function outside of his preparation of proposed appropriations. We have, I think, in five or six different reports recommended that the managerial function of the Budget Bureau should be strengthened and the authorities of the Director should be increased. Thus, there would be a sort of business manager in the Government. That would come about the nearest possible to what you are talking about. Of course, he is acting directly under the President; that is as far as we thought practical.

Q. Do you think that the size of the Government can be reduced?

A. We made a lot of suggestions about that. I don't know to what extent our recommendations would affect

the number of employees. I am confident that it would decrease them. We didn't express it in those terms.

We have secured an estimate from each of our task forces of the savings that they believe could be made if their recommendations were carried out. The different task forces estimated about 8.5 billion dollars. That, however, is subject to a good deal of discount, because a good many of them overlap with each other.

The Budget and Accounting Task Force – which, by the way, makes one of the most revolutionary proposals in government accounting and budgeting – said that if their recommendations were carried out there would be about 4 billion dollars of saving. That included having a stronger management in the Bureau of the Budget to carry out the recommendations of the task forces.

The only statement on which I am willing to pledge myself is the statement in our final report, that, after all deductions are made for overlap or other reasons, there is still enough possible savings left to balance the budget and make a very substantial reduction in taxes. As a matter of fact, the budget would only require about 3.5 billion dollars, and a couple of billion in tax reductions would be well received. That is certainly far within the limit of the savings that are recommended in these reports.

Q. Would action by Congress be necessary to effect those savings?

A. In these recommendations there are about 160 legislative recommendations of which a good many would be necessary to make these savings. That doesn't require 160 separate bills, because many of them relate to the same agency. The drafting of legislation in the Commission may be of a little interest. The law setting up the Commission required that we draft legislation which would give expression to the recommendations of the Commission.

We set up a drafting unit under the retired head of the Senate Drafting Committee, with more men from those experienced groups. They will shortly complete drafting

all such legislation. The Commission, of course, could not go over those drafts sentence by sentence. Therefore we furnish them to the committees and Congressmen who are interested merely as an aid from the Commission with the statement that they carry no responsibility.

Those bills are being introduced rapidly, as many Congressmen and Senators have applied for the drafts. I think something over 30 or 40 have already been introduced and sent to committees. Congress is giving serious consideration to the one on surplus property.

WHERE U.S. COMPETES –

Q. Would the functions of the Government be reduced sharply?

A. We are paring something out of many different functions – for instance, the Government enterprises in competition with private industry. I think there are 24 departments or agencies engaged in this field with about 3,000 competitive enterprises. We didn't have time to examine more than 1,000 exhaustively, but our recommendations would curtail about 1,000. Thus these recommendations would curtail the activities of many different agencies. I should think in that the Government could recover somewhere about 15 billions of invested capital. It would reduce the number of Government employees. Naturally, private enterprise would need to employ more people.

Q. What are some of the large assets involved? Are they in the lending activities of Government mostly?

A. Our reports give such estimates. The recovery of capital would come most largely from the defense, lending and guaranteeing agencies. There are many sources for such recovery. For instance, the Government sets up a corporation and starts it off in business by subscribing its capital. That corporation turns around and invests part of that capital in Government securities. Thus the Government

is paying interest on its own money, which amounts to a hidden subsidy to that agency.

There is about 500 millions of such money lying around. We said very emphatically that they ought to hand those securities back to the Treasury, diminish the national debt by that amount.

There is another source of returnable capital. There are several lending, credit or insurance agencies which could be mutualized in the same fashion as was done in the Home Loan Banks and the Federal Land Banks and others. A premium was charged to the borrowers for loans. The premium was translated into stock of the corporation and given to the borrower. The result was that the Government received back its capital. The Government today has no capital invested in the Home Loan Banks or the Land Banks. There are several agencies where this could be done, and I think the Government could get back several billion of invested capital.

Q. Would that show up in the debt?

A. Why, sure. It would lower the debt because the Government had to borrow the money to invest it in such activities.

We recommend that a number of such agencies should go to the public market for their future finance. There are a number of Government activities which have established assets and earnings, such as electrical power and others. We followed the President's recommendation about the TVA [Tennessee Valley Authority], and recommended several activities instead of coming to the Treasury to get more capital. They could get it from the public, and at about the same rate that the Government pays.

There is another phase of savings in this area. Several agencies make loans at lower rates of interest than the Government has to pay on the money it borrowed to make these loans. This constitutes a hidden subsidy to those particular agencies and their beneficiaries. We recommended that the Secretary of the Treasury be authorized to set

a rate of interest for all agencies which would be equivalent to the rate the Federal Government has to pay to get the money for them. There would be a considerable saving.

Q. Your report pointed to Rural Electrification Administration and Farmers Home Administration –

A. Yes. Also we recommended that many agencies be brought under the Government Corporation Control Act, in order that there should be more businesslike management, budgeting, auditing. Also we recommended that where there was authority to Government agencies to borrow from the Treasury, then these amounts ought to be carried openly on the Treasury's statements as contingent liabilities. They are not given a very prominent place at present. They amount to probably 4 billions.

SAVING: 150 MILLIONS A YEAR—

Q. You said the recommendations of the first Commission were carried out about 70 per cent. How much of a saving did that involve, do you recall?

A. I don't know. You could cite some specifics. We recommended the General Services Administration be set up. They show specific savings since they were set up of above 150 millions a year. We recommended many consolidations of agencies and other processes of economy which brought about savings.

The trouble with any estimates on those savings is that the Korean war and the "cold war" have intervened, and the budget went up about 40 billions at that time to as high as 75 billions. That obscured everything. Also many agencies that could have been shrunk up or eliminated were expanded to take care of those emergencies.

Q. Then, if war is avoided now you can expect real savings?

A. Real peace might reduce the budget by 20 billion a year.

Q. Well, suppose we just avoided active war?

A. We have made the statement that the present budget deficit could be eliminated and a substantial reduction in taxes made continuing our present security and other public activities.

Q. Have you given any thought to the functioning of the President's Cabinet? These men have so much work to do in administering departments, when do they have time to think as the President's advisers on national policy?

A. We didn't go into that this time, but we canvassed that suggestion in the first Commission, and we set up just exactly the safeguards that you probably have in mind, and they've been carried out in some departments. For instance, I think we were the first to recommend that there should be more top under-officials in order to give the Cabinet officers more freedom of time to think. And my recollection is we recommended the reorganization of the National Security Council.

Q. The National Security Council was set up in the first Defense Act. When did you begin functioning?

A. My recollection is we recommended a reorganization of that setup.

Q. Would you say that the present Cabinet members are able to devote time to policies other than their own departments under our present setup?

A. They are supposed to advise the President on the general policies of the Government. I don't believe they have the necessary time to do it, but, nevertheless, that's one of their functions.

#### NEED FOR THINKERS –

Q. Wouldn't we be better off if we had administrators for the departments and Cabinet members without portfolio to advise the President?

A. I made a suggestion some years ago that it would be well to have about three Cabinet officers without portfolio, who would just have the job of thinking. They would

need a little research staff and full liberty to call on all departments for information. Their job would be to think. I thought that would be a better scheme than trying to revolutionize the long-established Cabinet setup.

Q. What would become of their thoughts? Would they transmit them to the President?

A. Yes. They would be members of the Cabinet.

Q. Isn't that what Harold M. Stassen, Special Assistant to the President, is doing?

A. No, he is handling just one problem.

Q. Isn't that, in effect, what the White House presidential staff does?

A. They may. But we had the concept that you might get three eminent, experienced statesmen of long governmental experience, rather than a group of specialized youngsters, although they would be needed also.

Q. Isn't that part of the system now at the White House in Special Assistants Joseph M. Dodge and Nelson Rockefeller?

A. They, too, have specific responsibilities. That isn't the point. We wanted men free to do the broad thinking.

Q. Was it your idea that they should be able to deal with the entire national policy – whether it's taxation today, polio tomorrow, and foreign policies next day – providing constant assistance to the President?

A. Well, I thought that if it were at the Cabinet level and they were men of stature it could have an influence on the broad policies of the Government and be of great assistance to the members of the Cabinet.

Q. One of the great deficits of the Government is in the Post Office – did you have any specific recommendations there?

A. Only one. We recommended they put up their rates on parcel post such as to pay its expenses. It is competing with private enterprise and it is a carrier of advantage to a special group. The entire structure of the Post Office was entirely reorganized from the recommendations of the

first Commission. The present Postmaster General has put all of our first Commission recommendations into action.

Q. But he is still not able to balance his budget because the rates aren't high enough?

A. Well, he's got a deficiency, but he's got it in much better shape than it was.

Q. Should the Post Office be made self-supporting?

A. I wouldn't want to be arbitrary about that, because the original concept in setting up the Post Office was that it should be an educational institution for people at large as well as a carrier of communications. I have always, therefore, favored a low rate on second-class mail. I don't have any sympathy with losses on the third and the fourth classes and the auxiliary services.

Q. What about first class? It carries its way –

A. It carries its way. If you look at the early debates when the Post Office was set up, you'll find the intent in second-class mail was as I have stated.

Q. Did you get as much co-operation when you were working under the Truman Administration as you're getting now, or an equal amount, or how would you describe the co-operation between the preceding Administration and this one?

A. I had fine co-operation out of the Truman Administration. All of the departments did what we wanted them to do by way of information, and Mr. Truman supported the work of the Commission as a whole.

Q. Would you say that somebody should take up and continue the study where you've left off – or should we stop now and digest it a while?

A. I know that Congress would not have a continuation at present. They have enough to digest already.

Q. Do you expect as much success with this second report as you got from the first one?

A. I expect more, because we have a more emphatic public opinion behind us now.

## WHY "LEFT WING" DISSENTS –

Q. Why is Congress disinclined to go forward with this kind of work?

A. Mind you. Congress has not had time yet to go into these matters. It required five years to effect the first Commission recommendations. Also, in view of our beliefs as to the foundations of our economic and social life, there is a very considerable element who are on the "left wing" side who do not believe in these recommendations.

Q. What does the "left wing" want? What is their objective?

A. That depends upon what degree of their "leftish" ideology they propose. There are all degrees. There are men who are in Congress who are wittingly or unwittingly Socialist. There are not many of them. It is difficult to analyze their degree of "leftishness."

Q. How did your Commission divide? You said it wasn't unanimous this time. Was it split on party lines?

A. The first Commission was not always unanimous. The recommendations represent the views of the majority. This Commission comprised five members of the Democratic Party and seven Republicans. That was more or less an accident than anything else. In any event, we never divided on a single occasion on political lines.

Q. We were talking about the Cabinet members a little while ago, and whether they had time to think. What about the President himself – has he become so burdened with details that he no longer has time to think?

A. I think the President's staff tries to keep the details off his back as much as they can. If a man is overburdened with details, he begins to lose weight, and I haven't noticed that –

Q. Your first Commission made a number of recommendations which were carried out to relieve the President of a lot of small details, didn't it?

A. Yes. We had offered another substantial idea on

that line in this last report. Sixty-four different agencies in the executive branch report directly to the President. He has the sole responsibility for their conduct. We calculated that there are about 31 the responsibility of which he cannot escape, but we are recommending that he set up some official in the White House who should take charge of the other 33 agencies and relieve him of that detail.

Q. That would be an official in the White House, on the President's staff – would that require legislation?

A. No. He could choose one of his own officials if he wanted to and just tell all these agencies they had to take orders from him.

TOO MUCH HANDSHAKING? –

Q. Do you think the President has too much handshaking to do?

A. Well, I had always thought he did. Q. Is there anything that can be done about that? A. Well, I don't know much about that phenomenon at present. I carried out two revolutions in that direction. George Washington established the unfortunate habit of giving a New Year's reception to the entire population. He is said to have shaken hands with about 120 people at his first reception. I had 11,000 come to my first New Year's reception. Therefore I decided that reception had to be abolished. President Theodore Roosevelt had established the custom that at 12 o'clock each day he would shake hands with anybody who'd come. That only involved a few people at the start, but it rose to 2,000 in my time.

That is quite a handshaking job, and it was right in the middle of the work day. I took several immediate steps. One of them was very foolish. I ordered that these callers must have an introduction from a Congressman, a Senator or some responsible person. Immediately the Congressmen and Senators used it as an occasion to entertain their guests from home. So, I had to abolish that reception.

I do not believe Presidents have those two fixed affairs any more. They do have the evening socials at the White House.

Q. What about these receptions – do you think they could do away with those?

A. Some people like those receptions. They are usually about 1,200 people. I never was keen about all of them.

Q. Is it the wives who want them?

A. I don't know. There are certain admirable customs in that area; the receptions of the foreign ambassadors, the Supreme Court, etc.

Q. Did you find sentiment in the country favoring your work?

A. We have now sent out all of our reports. We have had the most amazing press support – 95 per cent of the editorials, measured by circulation, have been behind us in every particular. I think the country is for it in all of its aspects. We get criticized by the "left wing" press. There is no doubt about that.

Q. Don't you also get opposition from some of the groups which benefit – for example, as I recall, the building people were almost horrified by your recommendations on what should be done about mortgage lending in the Government –

A. Well, some of them did object, but they didn't affect the opinion of the country. We made a very modest suggestion. The Government has obligations out for probably 25 billion dollars of home mortgages – and a considerable part of them have little equity. The initial equity in a large number of them was reduced to 5 per cent. Even that was finally abolished by Congress for special cases.

We made the modest suggestion that a person looking for a home should have established his ability to save and meet his obligations by having saved at least \$1,000 to pay down. And that was what they were kicking about. They wanted to have people buy houses and to build

apartments without any equity whatever – and in some cases millions in windfalls by Government lending above costs.

Q. Do you find, since you have started on this study of reorganization of the Government, an increasing interest in Congress and an increasing interest in the Government itself in pursuit of this subject?

A. The Administration has been very helpful. How much we can get through the Congress you know as well as I do.

PRESSURE GROUPS' POWER –

Q. Are the pressure groups very powerful in Congress?

A. Oh, there's no question or doubt about that.

Q. And is the pressure usually on the side of enlarging the Government activity?

A. They are certainly able to express themselves. However, that does not bother the majority of the Commission. The pressure groups, of course, are very vocal and sometimes they atrociously misrepresent our recommendations. The veterans, for instance, passed 12 resolutions of denunciation, five of which were absolutely false. We had never suggested anything of the kind. Four of these resolutions were distortions of what we recommended. That's the sort of stuff you have to meet.

Q. You have given us a survey of the job of the Commission. Now what would you say should be done to continue this kind of work in the future?

A. I am in hopes that the Budget Bureau will examine our administrative proposals and do what it can to effect them.

Q. Would you favor some kind of continued study by citizens such as you have been doing? What is the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report going to do?

A. They are a group of leading citizens devoted to securing the adoption of these reports.

Q. There's no plan, then, to have another commission

appointed to keep on inspecting the Government?

A. I hope nobody suggests anything like that as a duty for me.

Q. Isn't this the sort of thing we should look for every five or ten years?

A. I think that should be done, and I think that is one of the things that influenced Congress to set up this Commission – the belief that periodically there ought to be a broad survey of the whole executive machinery.

Q. How many people were there in total on these task forces?

A. There were about 325; probably, with their consultants, 350.

Q. These people were all outside the Government, weren't they?

A. Yes. And as far as I could find them, they were men who had had actual experience in the Government at one time or another.

Q. You had no trouble getting them?

A. No, that was one of my great satisfactions. I had to call most of these men on the telephone and ask them if they would serve. I had only two refusals out of all the men I requested to take on a job. Those two had ample reasons. This work has been a severe call on these men. They have been at it now about 18 months, and it has involved much time away from their professions and their business. They have shown most extraordinary devotion.

Q. They are the unsung heroes of your Commission, aren't they?

A. Yes.

Q. The public generally doesn't even know who they are –

A. Well, we published their names in every report with a short biographical sketch of each one of them so that the public might know their names and qualifications.

Q. So, these men really performed a service for the Government –

A. Exactly. And any tribute to them would not be overdone.

Q. Maybe you should give them a decoration for what they have done –

A. We gave them each a citation, but that is little compensation.

PROBLEMS IN DEFENSE –

Q. What about your recommendations on the Defense setup – didn't you have a good deal of controversy over that?

A. I have heard little controversy over the major report on the Department. It's a major operation, but it happens to be in line with congressional thought. If you want to go into that, I might say that, when the Unification Act was passed in 1947 and again when it was amended in 1950 according to our recommendations, and, further, when the O'Mahoney Amendment was under discussion, the Congress thought there should be a unification of the common-use services of that Department. They were trying to set up a unification in military strategy on one side and business activities on the other.

Well, the departments have not made much progress on the business side. Our over-all Committee on the Business Organization of the Department of Defense under Mr. [Charles R.] Hook comprised 23 men who included representatives of other task forces concerned. As I remember, 21 had served in the Government during the last war. They didn't come down here as amateurs.

They came to the conclusion that there was only one thing to do, and that was to set up a sort of business manager under the Secretary of Defense who should have the full and complete authority to co-ordinate the whole of the common-use agencies and services of a business character. That does not include procurement of weapons.

I feel certain that Congress, having been for this idea

and constantly complaining about the lack of such organization, is likely to be favorable to that report.

Q. Will the Congress have to take action to implement that report?

A. It is one of the proposals which will require legislative action.

OFFICIALS OUTSIDE TIES –

Q. Did you encounter in any way the question of whether public officials should divest themselves of securities in private companies?

A. We did, and to clear the way to secure good and experienced men into the Government we made a recommendation about it. We said that in many instances officials could take an oath not to have any relations in any concern in which they had any financial interest, either directly or indirectly or any other way. That, having taken that oath, they ought to be welcomed into the service of the Government. A man who violated that oath would have a penalty hung upon it. This would not apply in cases of dominant relationship between the department and some concerns.

As a matter of fact, one of the greatest difficulties in this Government is to get competent men to come here in view of the fact that they've got to sell everything they've got.

Q. Wouldn't men be afraid that they might inadvertently help a company that they had an interest in?

A. I don't assume that any jury would convict a man on an inadvertent act. Otherwise, I don't see how we are going to get the best of men to conduct the executive branch.

Q. Have there been under secretaries and assistants leaving the Government?

A. Yes, they have left.

Q. We can't keep them here –

A. We're asking too much sacrifice of them.

Q. Would the fact that the pay is too low in Government have anything to do with it?

A. Oh, no. There are many men to whom pay is a secondary question when their country calls for service.

Q. Aren't there lots of frustrations that they meet here in the way the Government operates?

A. Often men are not able to fulfill all the aspirations and hopes with which they came.

Q. They find the Government a pretty difficult thing to operate in –

A. They find the Government is pretty difficult to move ahead.

Q. Do you think that these people in Government have any time to think?

A. Well, some of them do.

Q. How many years have you devoted to this work of the Commission?

A. I served two years or a little more on the first Commission, and I came to Washington on this Commission on the twelfth of July two years ago.

Q. They always talk about what to do with our ex-Presidents. You seem to have found a lot to do –

A. Well, I have the notion that anybody who is physically able to be of service to the American people should not refuse any call.

## On the Vice Presidency

*Remarks on the Presentation of the West Side Association  
Gold Medal to Vice President Richard Nixon,  
New York City  
[October 27, 1955]*

TONIGHT we meet with the glad knowledge that the prayers of our whole people for President Eisenhower's recovery are being answered. That he should be able to carry on his work to safeguard the world from an atomic war is the greatest blessing that can come to mankind.

This occasion, however, concerns a legal relative of the President. It is a great honor to participate in this tribute to the Vice President of the United States.

On these occasions it seems usual to review the life history of the man chosen for his honor. In case you do not know, I may tell you Mr. Nixon was born in California. No doubt whatever, he was a lusty kid. He went to school. He went to college. He married a wonderful lady. He practiced law. He served in the Navy during the last war. He was elected to the Congress. From there on, if you read any newspaper at all, you know all about him. You can even find him mentioned in the DAILY WORKER.

His rise on the ladder of public service has been unique in American public life. But every step has been won by merit and meeting every responsibility with courage and intelligence.

### A PROBLEM OF PRESIDENTS AND VICE PRESIDENTS

One of the problems in our Government is what to do

with our Vice Presidents; also, how to lighten the burdens imposed on our Presidents.

The excessive burdens on the President should be of great concern to the American people. The job no doubt was difficult even in Washington's time when there were about 4,000 employees in the Federal Government. But today's President must manage about 5,000,000 of them.

There are many unnecessary weights loaded on the President's shoulders, and I mention but one. The President has the sole personal responsibility for the conduct of 70-odd different agencies in the Federal Government. If he gave each agency one hour a week for its house-keeping problems, he would have a 12-hour day, six days a week. And he works also on Sunday. Among these household chores, he has to appoint the major officials of the agencies and sign many of their certificates of office so that they may frame them for their children. He must write each official a nice letter when he resigns, also to be framed.

In his extra time he must protect the Constitution, be Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, keep the world at peace, protect the national resources, be the leader of his party, personally inspect all disasters, dedicate public works, give leadership and encouragement to all reforms and good causes, and advise Congress on the country's needs and the cost thereof. He must listen to all Senators and Congressmen. In his evenings he must provide food for officials, citizens and ambassadors. He must meet all foreign potentates at airports.

Two Commissions on Organization of the Government, over which I have presided in recent years, have made many recommendations on this subject. We need to do something about it.

And there is also the problem of what to do about Vice Presidents. Instead of being the No. 2 man in the Government, he has been regarded as a sort of stage property stowed away in the Capitol building for emergencies. His Constitutional duty is to preside over the Senate according

to the advice of their Parliamentarian. As his powers of decision are greatly limited, that is a peaceful duty. The Sergeant at Arms presides over fights.

I can claim a little merit for attempting to impose some anxieties on the office of Vice President. During my term in the White House, the Vice President was installed as a member of the Cabinet in order to give him information and an injection of administrative troubles. The idea was later abandoned.

But President Eisenhower has not only reinstated Vice President Nixon in the Cabinet but also drawn him much further into active responsibilities in the Executive arm of the Government. That action has helped to lighten the President's load and given the country the advantage of additional talent and experience in public affairs. By so doing the President's action proved a great good fortune for the American people during this temporary illness, for Vice President Nixon was prepared and has been able to coordinate the work of the administrative team. Great credit for such foresight belongs to President Eisenhower. But credit also is due to Richard Nixon, for he has accepted increased obligations without fear, and he has fulfilled them cheerfully and with distinction.

Mr. Vice President, it is a special privilege to have been invited to confer on you this deserved mark of the appreciation of the West Side Association for your great service to our country.

## Why Balance the Budget?

*Article in "This Week" Magazine  
[December 11, 1955]*

ANSWER: To help answer that question, let me say that we now have for the first time a complete stem-to-stern, top-to-bottom picture of the *functions* of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government.

In the past there have been plenty of studies and surveys – I've made some myself.

But this one is different. The First Commission study of six years ago was conducted for the most part department by department, agency by agency. This resulted in better organization *within* the Executive office and the Departments, in greater efficiency and considerable savings. But our second investigation took a look *across* practically the entire picture, *from* department *to* department, to find out how and where similar functions are being carried on in other departments or agencies.

When these similar functions are arranged cheek by jowl the waste and overlapping show up in a spectacular manner. For instance:

There are 26 agencies engaged in some kind of medical care with five separate hospital systems and 40 per cent empty beds.

Some 104 agencies engage in lending or guaranteeing loans, or insurance activities, amounting to some \$240 billion – apart from the public debt and Social Security.

Various U.S. agencies conduct some 3,000 businesses in competition with private enterprise.

These are only three instances of the functions we investigated. There are 17 other investigations and reports, with recommendations. Added together, if we could eliminate the waste, we *could* balance the budget and make a handsome reduction of taxes for every family in our country, without lessening our defense or welfare activities. Of course, we stepped on the corns of some pressure groups, but most of the proposals are not controversial.

All this leads to a whole set of questions that often comes my way:

*"Why balance the budget anyway? What difference does it make? Aren't we having good times? And if so, what is wrong about going along as we are with an unbalanced budget – what's wrong about a budget deficit?"*

The answer is that for any nation there is great danger in unbalanced budgets. Without going into the detailed steps, the poison of an unbalanced budget is that every time the Government borrows money from the banks to meet a deficit it inflates credit or currency or both. This process has a twin poison also when the Government expands installment credit by loans without sufficient equity or other checks. We are doing *both* these things. For most of 23 years we have had deficits and for some 10 years constant inflation through installment credit.

A theory is advanced that we can keep down prices and the cost of living and thus inflation by increased production and consequent sharper competition. It might conceivably work in some circumstances if the industries by lowering prices could still earn enough to increase their plants – but this is doubtful. We have tried a similar theory in agriculture with dire results to the farmer, the consumer and the Treasury.

For the last two years we had a fairly steady cost of living – the best index of purchasing power. But we should not fool ourselves. That period has proved to be only temporary. Again, wages and prices are increasing, and they will express themselves in increased cost of living.

There is only one way to stop this upward spiral. That is, to keep taxes sufficiently high, reduce government expenses and curb credit inflation generally until we are in balance.

Those hardest hit by this inflation spiral are the people in the white-collar, salaried groups and those who live on pensions, savings, interest, rents and other fixed income. The value of all savings-bank deposits, life-insurance policies, annuities and retirement funds, the purchasing power of our college and hospital endowments go down, all amid tragedies and distress for millions of families.

#### WHAT \$3,840 BUYS TODAY

If anyone does not believe this, he had better look at the past 20-odd years of unbalanced budgets, expanded credit and taxes. Today, a family requires an annual income of almost \$3,840 to obtain the same goods provided by \$1,500 23 years ago.

I could cite a dozen nations whose economies and representative governments have been wrecked because of failure to apply these brakes. The difficulty of all representative governments the world over is that the legislative representatives find no political profit in keeping taxes up, reducing expenses, or curtailing easy loans.

Moreover, the host of debtors *like* inflation for, in effect, it reduces loans and mortgages. And there is another ally of inflation in the host of holders of equities in lands and stock who like it also. So also do speculators.

In 1927-29, when I had the duty to warn and protest against the inflation then going on, I was frequently told, "This time it is different; this is a new economic era." I read the same slogans again today. Even in a partly free economy, Old Man Economic Law is a grim reaper. It is time to Stop, Look and Listen.

## On the Proposal for an Administrative Vice President

*Statement Before the Senate Committee on  
Government Operations, Washington, D.C.  
[January 16, 1956]*

MR. CHAIRMAN, I had prepared a written statement with a view to simplifying the discussion a little, but in thinking it over I made some changes, particularly in the opening of that statement, which do not appear in the copies which you have.

Also I have made some changes in arrangement, which I think will be helpful to the discussion.

It is my understanding that the major purpose of this hearing is to consider the relief of the unnecessary burdens on the President. I notice that both the White House and Mr. Truman have expressed disapproval of a recent proposal of mine that an effective step in that relief of burdens could be attained by the creation of an administrative Vice President.

I am certain that these dissents are based on a misimpression of what my proposal really was. And I would certainly welcome any other effective method, because some method is required.

I think I can demonstrate to you that a huge unnecessary burden still remains which calls for remedy in the national interest.

The nation's experience with seven of our recent Presidents can constitute a call for some sort of act. Four of them have been incapacitated at critical periods. Such a

calamity would not likely have happened to any one of these men in private life.

Now, for some forty years I have had rather unique opportunity to study and know something about the duties imposed on Presidents. As early as 1921 I had to do with a committee set up to recommend methods to relieve some of the pressures of work on Presidents, and as you know, I presided over two Congressional Commissions which have also dealt with that subject.

Every administration that I know of has sought to relieve the unnecessary burden and has sought ways to ease the President's unnecessary work load. But what I have recommended today is not directed towards any person or office of any administration, but rather towards the solution of the problems that have worried students of American Government over these many years.

In making the suggestion that the President be relieved of many burdens by the establishment by the Congress of an office of administrative Vice President, I set up certain limitations and somewhat elaborated a description of his possible duties. I suggested that he be appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate, and that the President be authorized to delegate to this new official such administrative and coordination duties, within the law, as he might see fit.

That proposal in no way conflicts with the duties or prestige of the constitutional Vice President. Regularly the constitutional Vice President has been brought more and more into policy consultation and public representation of the President. That has been a great advance. But for several reasons he could not undertake executive duties.

He is an individually elected official, and with his constitutional duties as a member of the legislative branch, he could not be made subject by law to the President, such as would be required in any administrative or executive responsibility.

Moreover, he is already loaded with work in which he is of the greatest possible service to the Nation.

Throughout this discussion I have, incidentally, tried to make a discrimination between the terms "administration" and "executive."

Obviously, the administrative Vice President could not be placed in authority between the President and the great policy-making agencies of the Government.

You well know that the burdens on the President have fabulously increased since the Constitution was enacted, and even in the last 23 years the Executive Branch has expanded from 400 administrative entities to more than 1,900, with an increase in civil employees from 580,000 to 2,250,000, and the military personnel from 254,000 to nearly three million persons.

Beyond this, the President's burdens have been enormously increased by the rising demand that he lead in all good causes at home, many of them being new inventions, and by the obvious expansion of American activities abroad, and especially by the tensions in the international world.

Now, Congress and the various administrations have taken a great many steps in this direction, but in my view there are many unnecessary burdens still outstanding.

The problem here is not to diminish the Constitutional responsibilities of the President, but to simply reduce the unnecessary activities and detail imposed upon him.

The purpose should be not only to lessen physical strain, but to allow him time for a determination of important executive policies in this multitude of Government agencies, and for the cooperative work and preparation of recommendations to Congress, and the undertaking of the enormous problems of international welfare.

Recommendations of this kind were made by the first Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch six years ago. Some have been made by various other committees and commissions, and again the second commission

during the past year made some recommendations. Many recommendations of this kind have been adopted, but still we do not seem to have attained the end that we need.

The greatest step in relief, of course, was the McCormack Act of August 8, 1950, which authorized the President to delegate to heads of agencies or other officials whose appointment was subject to confirmation by the Senate, certain duties hitherto required of the President.

Action under this law has been taken in six or seven major executive orders which transfer some 100 items of law to various agencies, and the Administration has simplified many processes of bringing problems up to the President.

But this relief does not reach even to all of the minor unnecessary burdens imposed on the President, much less to the major burdens, which I will outline to you later.

I have been furnished with two lists of 25 minor unnecessary burdens. The first list refers to existing laws which impose legal duties on the President to approve and sign, which are probably unnecessary, and while enumerating them to you, I will give you later the citations, so as not to take any more time than we have to.

The first one of these relates to transfer of land acquired by the Department of Agriculture under Section 32 of Chapter 517 of the laws of 1937. It seems to be a minor duty capable of being administered by some agency in the Government.

The second relates to the approval of terms and conditions of loans made by the Commodity Credit Corporation. It does seem to be possible of being undertaken by the Secretary of Agriculture.

The third concerns the approval of regulations governing hearings for modifications of orders under the Agricultural Marketing Act. That again seems to relate to the Department of Agriculture.

The fourth requires that he approve the actions of the

Personnel Board, of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, on matters affecting officer personnel.

The fifth requires the approval of recommendations for retirement of officers of the Coast and Geodetic Survey as proposed by the Personnel Board; and the sixth requires the approval of rules governing the acquisition, transportation and melting of gold, and in the seventh the same is true for silver.

The eighth requires that he determine the time and quality of items that go to make up the Army ration.

The ninth requires that he approve all contracts for the purchase of land made by the National Park and Planning Commission.

The tenth requires he designate an engineer for the fleet – each fleet or squadron in the United States Navy.

The eleventh requires that he approve or disapprove or modify sentences of courts-martial in certain types of cases.

The twelfth requires that he approve of certain types of bonds issued by the Territory of Hawaii or its political subdivisions.

The thirteenth requires that he approve of certain public works contracts for Hawaii and the Panama Canal Zone.

The fourteenth requires that he approve concert tours of the Navy Band.

In addition to these, I have listed eleven other items which have come to my attention in the course of various research work, the first one of which is that the President is required to designate individuals from Latin American countries for appointment to United States Merchant Marine Cadet Corps.

He has to deal with dismissals from the Naval Academy.

He has to make determinations as to the loan of Naval vessels to foreign nations; and he has to approve the disposal of Naval vessels.

He also has to deal with temporary promotions in the Armed Services and the Public Health Service.

Further, he has to pass upon agreements as to production of the various Naval petroleum reserves.

Seventh, he is required to consider the induction of doctors and dentists into the Selective Service.

Eighth, he is required to sign the diplomas for the graduating class at Gallaudet College.

Ninth, he must sign certificates for graduation classes of the Capitol Page School.

Tenth, he must approve releases of purchase authority to the Federal National Mortgage Association for support of FHA rehabilitation and neighborhood conservation housing programs.

Eleventh, he must approve or amend regulations concerning production and sale of helium.

Now, I do not have the research staff to check each one of these items, but they are at least indicative. To this list I would add nine more important major burdens which might be relieved.

The first of these appears in both the first and second Commissions on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government that made recommendations as to the reduction of the number of agencies which, by law, report directly to the President.

There are some 65 of these departments and agencies. One hour a week on them would be a week's work for any man.

The practical fact is that many of them do not get much attention or supervision. Some 31 of them have been enumerated as being in the category over which the President must, for executive and policy determination, maintain his direct relationship.

Others have been enumerated from the remaining 34 which could be delegated. I am not certain how many of them could be delegated, but certainly a great many of them could.

Second, the President is required to appoint several thousand minor officials of the Government, some parts of which

task could be delegated by Congress for appointment under the Civil Service merit system.

And third, another great burden on the President and on Congress as well might be considered by your committee, and that is the field of private relief legislation.

According to the information given to me, during the past three sessions of the Congress, a total of 2,202 legislative bills has been passed. Of these, 1,491 were private relief bills. In number, of course, but not in importance, that is about 65 per cent of the legislative action.

As you know, the ordinary course of many of these bills is that they are referred by the committees of Congress to the Department of Justice for investigation and action.

The committees of both Houses must agree and the Congress then must act.

They then go to the White House. The White House again refers them to the Department of Justice for advice, and then a conscientious President must study and act on each one of these 491 bills.

That he does act conscientiously is indicated by the fact that he has vetoed 38 of them.

Now, I would suggest that you might consider relieving both the Congress and the President by having the Congressional committees refer many additional private claims to the Court of Claims, as they do in certain other types of claims against the Government.

The decisions of that court would provide payment or rejection of the claim, and the referral of such commissions to the court would save enactment by Congress and would relieve the burden on the President.

Of course, if Congress did not like any particular action of the court, it could always reconsider those claims by legislation.

Now, this plan is probably not applicable to immigration cases. However, it would indeed relieve the President if some kind of machinery could be developed for decision on these bills without having to pass them up to him.

Now, fourth, one of the great burdens on the President in practical administration of the Government is the coordination of activities in policies of these 1,900 agencies, and there have grown up a mass of interdepartmental committees for this purpose. These committees in one segment of the Government may conflict with committees in another.

The President cannot sit and listen to all these sessions, but he has the burden to decide on divided views. Certainly an administrative Vice President could sit in all the sessions and could be helpful to the President in coming to conclusions.

And, fifth, another job for an Administrative Vice President lies in the reports made by the commissions that have been set up by the Congress to investigate and make their recommendations on the Executive Branch. There have been several of those commissions, and in respect only to the last two there were 150 such recommendations which we believe could be carried out by the agencies within themselves, without legislation. All these commissions died when their work was over, and there was no one, no official, responsible in the Government for the adoption of these recommendations.

The President has temporarily appointed the very able gentleman, Mr. Meyer Kestnbaum, to forward the recommendations of the recent commission, but Mr. Kestnbaum is a volunteer; he is not a permanent official of the Government in his responsibilities and, obviously, he cannot spend five years arguing with reluctant agencies.

There are hundreds of millions of dollars to be saved in these proposals, and an Administrative Vice President could be of great service in securing their adoption.

And, seventh, among the reasons which lead me to the proposal of an Administrative Vice President, is the fact that under the McCormack Law and other authorities of delegation to the President, there is no appropriate agency

in which many possibilities of delegation can find an appropriate home.

This applies not only to many of the 25 items that I have listed, but also to the delegation and supervision over some of the 65 independent agencies which are now directly the President's responsibility.

A great many of these delegated possibilities could find an acceptable home under an Administrative Vice President.

And eighth, another of the reasons for this proposal is the vast labor imposed on the President of deciding conflicts in coordinating the work of the 1,900 different agencies. I have already mentioned that the Administrative Vice President could sit on those and, at least, offer some advice.

Ninth, another type of a job which an Administrative Vice President could be helpful with and, perhaps, could coordinate, is the matter of supervising authorized liquidations of agencies in the Executive Branch of the Government.

Commissions of agencies often expire with residue funds and assets on hand, and they may be ordered to be liquidated by the Congress. They hold many millions of assets in cash, and you will find that if you would examine the time of liquidation that they are very long, drawn out.

The recent Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government at one time considered recommending the establishment of a special liquidation office which could expedite these liquidations. Their difficulty was to find a departmental home for such an agency where it could be vigorously looked after.

Most of the major departments dissented entirely from having that responsibility, but if there was a vigorous Administrative Vice President, he could certainly drive a stream of money toward the Treasury.

I am sure that Presidents will find even more fields for an Administrative Vice President to be of service; and to

accomplish this purpose it seems to me necessary to have an official who is clothed with dignity and prestige. Incidentally, he might approve the concert tours of the Navy band.

## Statement to the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report

*Washington, D.C.*  
*[January 16, 1956]*

IT IS A great tribute to the righteousness of a cause when you will leave your responsible work and come to Washington to devise methods for the advancement of the cause. Certainly those of us who have worked in these fields over many years deeply appreciate your dedication to the work. Many of the men who have worked over the years on these investigations and recommendations are present here with you today. I know I express their gratitude as well.

I am sure you are pleased at the steps being taken and the prospect of many adoptions which have been given to you by Mr. Hughes and Mr. Bryant. When we know what has been done in Washington, we will need engage in persuasion as to those not yet adopted. All reforms, especially those in spending the taxpayers' money are difficult. They are doubly difficult because most Government agencies have instinctive opposition to reduction of empire or of the authority and pleasure that go with spending. Furthermore, most of the important agencies have a pressure group support which is interested in keeping the expenditures going. Therefore, the job we have to do consists of education of the public, ventilation of the truth as to opposition, and persuasion to travel upon the roads of national civic righteousness.

# Problems of the Presidency and Vice Presidency

*Transcript of Interview with the Associated Press*  
[February 25, 1956]

1. (As to the Vice-Presidency):

Until recent times the Vice-President was a sort of stage property with no real duty except to preside over the Senate, settle tie votes, and take over the Presidency in case of need.

I think I was the first to try to enlarge the field of the Vice-president. I invited Mr. Curtis to join in sessions of the Cabinet, so that he would know what was going on in the Executive arm of the government, and would be better prepared to take over the Presidency if necessary.

Now President Eisenhower has greatly enlarged the Vice-President's field in two directions. He represents the President in public occasions both at home and abroad. He has been brought into the Cabinet, the National Security Council, and some other policy-making agencies of government. So today he takes part very extensively in policy-making, but, of course, not in international negotiations.

2. (As to the Burdens of the Presidency): Mr. Hoover said there are a host of unnecessary details and burdens on the President.

The Executive Branch of the Government is divided into about 65 "independent" establishments (including the White House) for each of which the President is responsible. And these 65 establishments are divided into about 1,900 different agencies or functions.

The President must lead in making foreign and domestic policies. He must make a multitude of important administrative decisions. He must see that the laws creating these establishments and agencies are enforced. He must coordinate the work of these 1900 agencies.

He must appoint about 18,000 officials who are outside the permanent civil service and the military forces. He must sign a host of documents. He must keep his policies and methods before the country in speeches and statements.

The problem here is to take the unnecessary burdens off him so that he may have time for major policies, major decisions, major coordination's and major appointments.

There are three categories of activity where real relief could be found:

First: The thought of the Commission on Organization of the Government was to place about one-half of the 65 independent establishments under some new official. Among them are the Fine Arts Commission, the Smithsonian Institution and others. Sixteen of these establishments employ less than 500 persons each and yet the President is supposed to look after each one himself.

Second: I suggested to the Senate nine major categories of duties which would be reduced.

I suggested to the Senate some twenty-five minor activities, required by law to be handled by the President, be delegated somewhere else.

The difficulty is that most of these three categories do not fit into existing establishments or agencies. I therefore suggested that there be an Administrative Vice-President to take over a large part of them. He was to be appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate and removable by the President. Whatever name is given to him, he should have the prestige to enable him to do such jobs as take over the detail of the half of the "independent establishments" and the coordination of the work at the lower levels of 1900 agencies. Of course the President must supervise the major establishments, must coordinate such major establishments as the military and State Departments.

3. (As to the Problem of this Title):

There has been some confusion over the term "Administrative Vice-president." Some of the discussion has lost sight of the real need – to lighten the burdens on the President.

I envisioned an official as somewhat of a free-wheeling Cabinet Officer, but I could not invent a title that would exactly cover that.

Some people seemed to think that I was superseding the elective Vice President; others thought the duties I outlined could be undertaken by the elected Vice-president. The elected Vice President

could not undertake executive duties, as that would divide the Executive authority – the unity of which is fundamental.

4. (A Constant Problem):

This delegation of unnecessary burdens to subordinate officials has been a constant problem of all Presidents because the Federal Government has grown steadily from 15,000 civil and military employees under President Washington to about 5,000,000 under President Eisenhower.

I have seen autograph collectors have bills of lading of outgoing ships signed by President Washington. I surmise President Adams got rid of this burden.

I struggled with the same problem when I was in the White House. At the beginning of my term I was required to sign all Army and Navy commissions, to attest the wills of Indians – they being wards of the Government. Sometimes one thousand documents piled up to be signed. And there were minor duties such as the "Duck Law" under which the President was required to determine the length of the duck shooting season and how many ducks per day the sportsmen could take. The sportsmen disputed among themselves, and I had to give a day to hearings. I made some progress in getting rid of unnecessary burdens, just as all Presidents have had to do with the constant growth of the Government. President Eisenhower's Administration has also gotten rid of some – but there are many still existent.

5. (As to a President's Incapacity): Mr. Hoover said he thought the Cabinet should determine when a President is incapable of administering his office.

The Cabinet is made up of the President's friends, who could be trusted to decide also when he was capable of resuming his duties. They are all highly responsible men who are not going to act from political motives.

Mr. Hoover said he believed this could be done by statutory law, and that an amendment to the Constitution is not necessary. He cited Article II of the Constitution as the authorization.

6. (Why Should Not Congress Make This Decision?):

Because a President might have a Congress of the opposition party when he was taken ill. You might have the total destruction of the four-year continuity that our system has achieved, the lack of which has been a curse in Europe.

Mr. Hoover said he did not know of any time in our history when the question of the President's incapacity was "vital." He cited the long period when President Garfield was dying. He added, however, that with the increasing dangers in the world legislation is warranted.

7. (Progress on the Hoover Commission Recommendations): Mr. Hoover said many of the Administrative recommendations have been approved by the Departments. That the Commission's work was not completed in time for the last Congress to consider the legislative recommendations but that bills have been introduced and hearings upon them are scheduled.

## Reforms in the Civil Service and In Budgeting-Accounting

*Address Before the Chamber of Commerce  
of the United States, Washington, D.C.  
[March 15, 1956]*

I SHOULD first pay tribute to the Chamber for its energetic and understanding support of the recommendations of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. Time does not permit that I traverse the whole wide area of the Commission's recommendations.

There are, however, reforms in two areas of Government that were dealt with by both the First Commission and the Second Commission. They reach into every agency of the Government. They have been the scene of nearly two years' investigation on both occasions. Reforms have been recommended in each case by able and experienced men. There is no ideological conflict in them. There is no political controversy in them. They permit much lament and little oratory.

They are reforms in the Civil Service and in Budgeting and Accounting. These are housekeeping jobs. The usual practice is to sweep such reforms under the carpet, but now they eat holes in the carpet.

They are technical and bristle with statistics. But of all men in the country, you are best fitted to understand them. And you can save billions of dollars of taxes if you can get them adopted.

## REFORM IN THE CIVIL SERVICE

There are about 2,300,000 employees in the Federal service, of whom 2,000,000 entered through some merit test. As a body, they are industrious and devoted public servants. But they have increased from 600,000 in 24 years and have increased the pay-roll cost from about \$1 billion per annum to \$9 billion. During this vast and rapid growth, their organization has failed to keep pace with the shift in improved methods, the economic and political experience of the nation.

There were twenty men on the combined Task Force and Commission membership of the First Commission who agreed on many needed reforms, and some of these were adopted. The Task Force of the Second Commission, under President Dodds of Princeton University, was comprised of ten members, and ten of the members of the Commission itself supported its recommendations. These twenty men included three former Civil Service Commissioners from both political parties, fourteen who had had previous important governmental experience, and six who were appointed for their experience in personnel service in private enterprise. They comprised men from both political parties. No political issues were ever raised or discussed.

These men agreed on three major weaknesses in the Government Personnel Service:

1. About 500,000 persons leave the Service every year, a turnover of over 25 per cent per annum. That percentage of turnover would bankrupt any private enterprise twice a year.
2. The method of promotion and pay fails to produce and hold the kind of top executive skill and talent needed in any great organization. Ours is a Government of changing political parties, and it is the Civil Service which must carry on the Government housekeeping from administration to administration.

3. Ours is a two-party Government. Political parties come into power with a mandate as to policies which the majority of the people wish established. There are not enough policy-making positions today subject to party choice to carry out these mandates.

Do not get scared that we are proposing a spoils system, as I shall show you later; we wish merely to change less than one tenth of one per cent of the total number.

#### OUR RECOMMENDATIONS

While these twenty men on the Task Force and Commission made many recommendations for improvement, I propose to discuss only their recommendations on these three major weaknesses. They are revolutionary. To make the Civil Service an attractive, life profession, and thus to decrease turnover and especially to retain talent for the top administrative jobs, we proposed to create a Senior Civil Service. Employees in this group would be chosen from the Civil Service on the basis of character and talent alone, irrespective of the present basis of promotion. We propose that they should receive pay security and prestige, which would keep Government talent from being constantly grabbed by business.

The value of such a policy has been shown by our military forces which recognize seniority and other automatic bases of promotion up to certain levels. Beyond those levels a senior military service is chosen from the force by an autonomous board on the basis of character and talent. If our top military officers had been chosen on the Civil Service basis of promotion, the deadwood at the top could have lost us two world wars; thus our Senior Civil Service proposal has warranty in national experience.

The present salaries and fringe benefits in our top Civil Service are below those in the top military service, and worse still, they are far below those in private enterprise.

I have made a rough canvass of a number of large private enterprise concerns as to the number of top men they require and the salaries they pay. I sought answers to four questions:

1. What were their total annual expenditures?
2. What was their total number of employees?
3. How many employees did they have receiving \$15,000 a year and over?
4. Likewise, receiving \$20,000 a year and over?

Adding up these concerns I found that on an expenditures basis we ought to have 14,000 employees at \$15,000 per annum and over in the Federal Government.

Based on the proportionate number of employees, the Federal Government ought to have 8,000 receiving \$15,000 and over.

The Federal Government has 1,364.

On the basis of \$20,000 a year and over, I found that on an expenditures basis the Federal Government ought to have 6,100, and based on the number of employees it ought to have 3,500.

The Federal Government has 633.

I also found that private enterprise has about 1,000 persons at \$40,000 a year and over.

The Federal Government has only one.

This was not a complete investigation, but from these rough figures you can get a glimpse of why talent leaves Government service and why we have this gigantic turnover.

However, I am not talking about \$40,000 a year in the Civil Service. In the Senior Civil Service we propose that we should start with \$15,000 per annum and rise to \$22,000.

A career in Government has attractions of its own, but if we want executive talent and character to stay in Government, we must do much better than we are doing now.

We need a much larger number of these top executives.

A good top executive at any salary can save ten times his salary.

Now to turn to the third weakness, that of policy-making positions. In my view, the President needs to have perhaps 2,000 more policy-making positions subject to appointment by him. As I have said, that would be about one tenth of one per cent of the present Civil Service, but it relates to the fundamental responsibility of maintaining two-party Government. Nonpolitical Civil Service people should not be required to make policy or to defend administration policy.

You can make a rough calculation as to what this gigantic turnover of 500,000, or over 25 per cent per annum, costs. The Commission found that the machinery of replacement costs the Government about \$500 a person. You can add to that at least \$1,000 of the beginner's salary, which produces no results while he is learning his job. If this turnover could be reduced by 200,000 a year, you could multiply it into billions of dollars in savings.

#### BUDGETING AND ACCOUNTING

The vital subject of budgeting and accounting was exhaustively canvassed by the First Commission six years ago, aided by a Task Force of outstanding public accountants already familiar with Government methods. Their major recommendations originally were opposed by the Comptroller General, the Budget Director, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Chairman of the Congressional Appropriation Committees. It took three years even for parts of it to sink in. Legislative and Presidential acts since did make improvements, but these reforms are wholly incomplete.

Still more reform seems needed, since many of the principles and practices of present Budgeting and Accounting are inherited from the Budgeting and Accounting Act of thirty-five years ago, when the Government was certainly

much smaller. In this time Government expenditures have increased from \$4 billion to \$65 billion, and the number of civilian and military employees from about 850,000 to more than 5,200,000. Moreover, the budget is so complicated that the very book which describes it annually comprises 1,200 pages of fine print, with millions of figures, and weighs over five pounds. If the average man can understand it, he is fitted for the \$64,000 prize.

Budgeting is much more than just preparing figures and estimates of proposed expenditures. The budgeting functions are vital to the whole management of Government. In the preparation of the budget lies not only the control of departmental expenditures but also the power to insist on efficient methods of conduct in the spending agencies. And within a more effective budgeting system lies the restoration of the fuller control of the national purse to the Congress, which has in great degree been lost. Ever since Runnymede, the control of the purse by the legislative body has been a foundation stone in liberty itself.

The Second Commission again had the aid of a Task Force of seven outstanding accountants and business executives under Colonel J. Harold Stewart, with three competent consultants. They adopted many of the recommendations of the First Commission but went further to wider reforms. Nine members of the Commission joined in their major recommendations, so that here are nineteen experienced men who spent much of their time for two years on this problem. And this time I am told that the recommendations are approved by the Comptroller General, the Director of the Budget, and most of the other executive leaders in the Government. The question now is adequate legislation.

Their major recommendations are:

1. To strengthen the Bureau of the Budget.
2. The full adoption by the Administration and the Congress

of the performance budget based on functions, activities and projects which was recommended by the First Commission in 1947 and adopted by the Defense Department in 1950.

3. An Annual Accrual Budget based on actual costs, not upon obligations and contracts awarded, and services which require future payment of money or departmental assertions of probable long, future obligations. Private industry generally does this, and it has been successfully adopted by the Atomic Energy Commission.

The purpose of the Commission's recommendations is to greatly simplify the budget and in that way the people can understand it and, as I have said, can restore to the Congress the control of the purse.

As one example of loss of control of the purse, the departments at the end of the fiscal year 1954 had an estimated \$68 billions of unspent appropriations which they could use over future years without review by the Congress, and of this an estimated \$22.8 billions had not even a suggestion of being obligated. Here is where Congress lost control of the purse.

#### ACCOUNTING

Efficient accounting is also one of our Government problems. Accounting means more than just tabulating expenditures. Proper accounting methods are needed in Government, as well as in industry, to provide the information for effective management. It has been estimated that 90,000 full-time employees and tens of thousands of additional man-years in part-time efforts are required to compile the financial facts which Government agencies now need and to assure the public of integrity in Government spending.

The present law governing accounting was passed in

1950 and includes part of the First Commission's recommendations, but the Government accounting still needs:

1. A plan of uniform accounting by the agencies so that an accurate, intelligent statement of expenditures can be presented to the public.
2. Advancement of more modern accounting methods through the appointment of a director for accounting in the Bureau of the Budget whose specific duty would be to work out a planned system jointly with the Comptroller General and the Treasury.
3. Appointment of comptrollers in more of the larger agencies to advise the head of the agency on financial matters and to enforce the policies laid down by the Comptroller General and the new Assistant Director of Accounting from the Bureau of the Budget and to recruit and train qualified accounting personnel.
4. A number of reforms affecting the present allotment system, the Revolving Funds Property Accounting, and other problems.

You are surely aware by this time that budgeting and accounting are important matters, but I can throw in a little added interest by reading to you the last paragraph of the Task Force's introduction to its report:

"The benefits which would result from improved financial management cannot be calculated with any degree of precision, but we believe the resultant dollar savings could reasonably be expected to amount to \$4 billion, which is approximately 8 1/2 per cent of the controllable budget expenditures."

#### IN CONCLUSION

Your Chamber is comprised wholly of men to whom personnel problems, budgeting and accounting problems are

your daily toil and the haunt of your sleep. I am sure that in these reforms the Congress will value your opinions. Here are two goals at which to aim at once, and they reach much further than saving money and taxes. Competence and leadership in the housekeeping of our Government are a contribution to freedom in every American home.

## Our Stake in Better Government

*Address Before the United States Junior  
Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D.C.  
[April 27, 1956]*

I DEEPLY appreciate this heart-warming occasion you have created for me. We served together for the greater part of two years in a mission of vital importance to the American people.

Men cannot engage in a common task of such order without renewing old friendships and creating new ones. A few brickbats and the yelps from hit dogs cement the allegiances which we have together.

I am proud of the work which you did, and I am certain that it will stand up and gain increasing respect over the years.

Before commenting on the progress we have or have not made in the adoption of your recommendations, I will first tell you a fable which has symbolic implications.

You will get the symbolism if you consider that the husband was the Washington bureaucracy bestowing gifts.

That the Commission on Organization was the psychiatrist.

That the wife was the members of the Senate and House who like eggs.

The Department of Defense has given more attention to your reports than any other government agency. As there were 9 Task Forces in attack on their outmoded business methods and policies, finally headed up by Mr. Hook's Overall Committee and as there is intelligence in that department, we could expect attention. Up to date their education has been advanced all along the line except on

our major recommendation of a single business manager for all the common use services, such as food, clothing, transportation, medical services, etc. They still need higher education.

It has adopted the many times tried, and abandoned, plans of cross services. The Army is to handle all food, its purchase, warehousing and issue to the forces units.

A similar plan is proposed for clothing. The Navy is to control all sea transport.

The Air Force is to control all air transport. Ground transport is to be partially unified under the Army.

Many of the detailed recommendations as to Depot Utilization have been accepted but not its top organization as you recommended.

I understand the recommendations of our Task Force on Research and Development have been practically adopted in full.

Within these proposed organizations most of your detailed recommendations are to be adopted. Personally, I have never believed cross servicing was the answer from the time I tried it when in the White House.

In an effort to make these things work, a directive has been issued that directives must be obeyed in the future and making some particular official in each service responsible for carrying them out.

Without going into more detail, thus something has been gained in the Defense Department from the work of the many Task Forces by these reforms. Our staff thinks they may amount to \$700,000,000 savings a year as against the over \$2 billions which you estimated if your plans for common use services were carried out in full.

I doubt if the Congress with its years of background of legislating and urging unification of common use services will be wholly content with these arrangements.

In other quarters the Administration favors our recommendations as to reorganization of the Civil Service. That

requires legislation, and the bills are before Congressional Committees.

On Budgeting and Accounting there is general support in the Executive side and by the Controller General. It is one of the most important of our reforms and recently 20 Senators backed a bill intended to give our recommendations effect. The bill needs study, but also the reform might be adopted by Executive order.

On Surplus Property most of the Departments are favorable and, in any event, hearings on our proposed legislation will soon begin in the Senate.

I wish I could report more actual progress. But you have been the witnesses to bureaucratic lethargy and the desire of each agency to reform everybody except itself.

On the other hand, we are making some substantial progress. The Citizens Committee, by its organization and its educational work, has maintained strong support for our work both in the public and the press.

I cannot speak too highly of the zeal and the leadership in this work of Chairman Clarence Francis, the State Chairmen, the staff in Washington under the direction of Robert McCormick and Harold Metz, and in New York under Charles Coates. And in all directions through the abilities of Neil MacNeil. They have my unbounded admiration.

Certainly the American people are receiving a fresh education as to civil government. And that education has been greatly expanded by the many public addresses of our Task Force members.

## On Water Resources and Government

*Foreword to "Our Nation's Water Resources –  
Policies and Politics," by Admiral Ben Moreell  
[May 1956]*

WITH our growth in population and industry, our water supply and its use have become an urgent national problem.

Participation by the Federal Government in the development of water resources began with improvement of navigation soon after the founding of the Republic. As time has gone on, the Federal interest has expanded to flood control, irrigation, hydroelectric power and pollution abatement. Such major activities as were originally the mission of the States have been largely absorbed by the Federal Government. Over the years it has expended enormous sums and built a multitude of great and useful public works for better use of our water. As it stands today, the Federal Government practically controls the water resources of the Nation.

But in this huge expansion of Federal activities, there has been created a score of competing and overlapping agencies; there has been a lack of coordination of the different phases of development in the different river basins, and there is a great need for defined Federal policies.

In 1953, when by unanimous action the Congress created the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Admiral Ben Moreell was requested by the Commission to assemble a Task Force for

exhaustive investigation and recommendations on the whole national water problem.

Admiral Moreell was a most distinguished Naval officer; he is a great executive and was an engineer by training. Under his chairmanship, the Task Force embraced a membership of three Governors or former Governors, thirteen engineers, five lawyers, one accountant, two publishers, one business executive and one consultant in utility economics and finance.

Further, consultants to the Task Force and its research staff included eleven engineers, three lawyers, and six specialists in economics, government and agriculture. Almost all of the Task Force members gave their services without remuneration. None of them was connected with private utilities, but one had been connected with public power.

Their report, in fact, is the most far-reaching and penetrating inquiry into our water problems ever made in our history. From the assembling of the basic factual material, the Task Force made many recommendations as to the vigorous development of our water resources and the better organization of Federal Executive Agencies.

There is little contention as to their recommendations for development and administration in the fields of navigation, flood control and irrigation. There is, naturally, contention over some of the Task Force recommendations regarding public power. The Commission, in its recommendations to Congress did not follow all of the Task Force recommendations in this field.

But the majority of the Commission and the unanimous views of Admiral Moreell and his Task Force were in complete agreement with President Eisenhower that "creeping Socialism" — to use the President's expression — had found great expansion in the power field.

Admiral Moreell and his colleagues took a strong stand in their recommendations that our latent water power should be developed but that it should be developed within

the frame-work of the traditional American philosophy; that is, that the whole economic and social foundation of our country is based on private enterprise, regulated to prevent unfair competition or monopoly, and that the Federal Government should undertake no private enterprise type of business except when the people cannot do it for themselves. That often implies that the Government should construct huge multi-purpose dams for flood control, navigation, irrigation and power; but it also implies that private enterprises should be brought into partnership to carry on the electric power end of such projects.

Admiral Moreell's lectures are the embodiment of this philosophy, of which he is one of the Nation's leading evangels. But in these lectures he goes further to present an over-all policy for the constructive development of all our water resources. He also sounds a strong warning that the present generation should not freeze the water uses of the future by indiscriminate and ill-advised, short-term proposals.

I commend this book to our citizens as a beacon in the search for a solution of our water problems. The Nation owes a great debt to Admiral Moreell and his associates.

## On Reform in Budgeting and Accounting

*Telegram to The Honorable William Dawson, Chairman,  
House Committee on Government Operations,  
Washington, D.C.  
[July 11, 1956]*

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I understand that the Bill providing for reforms in government budgeting and accounting are now before the Committee. The Congressionally-created Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government of six years ago gave long and searching investigation to this subject. That 1947-49 Commission included two members of the cabinet, two members of the Senate and two members of the House, together with civilians experienced in government. It was aided by a Task Force of eight or ten leading accountants of the country, most of whom had experience in government accounting. The conclusions of that Commission were essentially the same as those of the second Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government of 1953-55. This recent Commission included in its membership, present and former Cabinet officers, Senators and Congressmen, who were again aided by a Task Force of leading accountants experienced in government.

The recommendations were I understand approved by the Controller General, the Director of the Budget, Cabinet Officers, and the President.

Its purpose was to eliminate much inefficiency by setting up a basis of accounting which would provide intelligent

comparisons of efficiency in government agencies. Its further major purpose was to enable the Congress to regain control of the purse through an accrual basis of accounting.

I greatly hope the Committee can see its way to enact the bill which has already passed the Senate with support from both political parties.

HERBERT HOOVER

# On Inflation

*Remarks Before The American Society of Newspaper  
Editors, San Francisco  
[July 11, 1957]*

YOUR Committee requested me to make some remarks. As my own ghost writer, I prepared a script for this occasion. The reason for a script is that *ad lib* remarks seldom have their proper terminals. But take comfort, I will be less than ten minutes.

I note by the morning papers that your members have expressed great anxiety over the inflation movement now going on. You are warranted in that anxiety for the purchasing value of the dollar has lost probably four or five cents during these recent months – and it still is going down.

I do not need to tell you that one of the major forces in this particular inflation is government spending. The Federal budget of \$71 billions is only a part of this spending. You must add about \$14 billions expenditure through trust funds. Then you need add some \$30 billions state and local spending. By all of which you reach over \$ 110 billions. And there is still another item of expenditures which I will explain in a moment.

The only effective way to stop this particular inflation movement is to reduce this spending. I agree with Senator Byrd that anywhere from \$6 to \$10 billions could be cut from the Federal expenditures without damage to any essential function of the Government.

There is one cannon-ball item on the dock of those expenditures where you gentlemen could take an immediate hand. The Commission on Organization of the Government called attention to the fact that over recent years

the Federal Government has developed the practice of making forward appropriations extending over years for various purposes. These are not the annual budget appropriations such as those now before the Congress. The total of these advance appropriations is now estimated to be about \$70 billions – mostly in the defense and foreign aid agencies. These monies can be spent during any fiscal year in addition to the annual appropriations in the budget. You should read the testimony of the Controller General before a Senate committee as to what actually happens in the use of these appropriations. But the worst of it is that the Congress by this device has lost control of the purse. And since Runnymede that has been the first protection of fundamental liberty.

There are budget and accounting bills in the Congress to remedy this evil. They have no tear-jerking attachment and they move very slowly. And these bills do more than restore the control of the purse. They provide the Federal Government with simplification and improvements in both budgeting and accounting. Our task force of the most eminent accountants in the country estimated these changes would save \$3 billions a year.

These bills have been recommended by the Commission, by President Eisenhower, by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Budget, and the Controller General. Under Senator Kennedy's leadership, they passed the Senate unanimously. They have passed the House Committee concerned, and they are now hung up. Here is where you come in. You can wring this concession to the common man from King John of the Pentagon and King John of the Foreign Aid.

I will not go into the 385 other ways the Commission recommends by which our Federal Government can cut expenditures. You have by your news columns and your editorials already given yeoman service. In recent years I have often remarked that ours has become

the worst mechanism of government in the world – except all the others on earth.

But there is something fundamentally far more dangerous going on among free men than even wasteful expenditures. Man's curiosity to explore the unknown and his impulses under freedom to do it have led him further and further into discovery of the fundamental laws of Nature. Today the scientist with the aid of the engineers have introduced new and gigantic forces into our civilization. But as yet the ethical standards of mankind and its governmental action have been unable to control these forces. Think it over.

Don't think I am a pessimist. This Republic has gone through great trials in the past. It has even rectified legislative mistakes. It has even changed Supreme Court views. By its religious faith and its love of liberty, it has always made a comeback to increased greatness.

## Foreword to "The Hoover Report 1953-1955"

*By Neil MacNeil and Harold Metz*  
[1956]

TO WRITE a readable and interesting book on the extraordinarily complicated problems of reorganization of some 1,900 Federal Government agencies is an accomplishment in itself.

This book does two things:

First, it presents the philosophic background enunciated by the Commission in approaching its problems. These philosophic backgrounds are indeed the backgrounds of our form of government and our way of life. Unless every recommendation of change had been tested by these touchstones, they would lead only to confusion both in concept and in administration.

Second, the authors have done an amazing job in condensation and lucidity of presentation of the Commission findings and recommendations. About 3,300,000 words giving the facts, findings, and recommendations were presented to the Commission by its task forces and research staff. The Commission, in giving their majority views in reports to the Congress, condensed these to about 600,000 words. The authors of this book further condense them to 100,000 words, and in so doing cover the major issues. If the reader wants to know more, he can go back to the Commission reports and thence to the Task Force reports, each of which can be had from the Public Printer.

One of the important purposes of the Commission was to open the doors of understanding of the functions of

our government to our people at large. They are a lesson on civil government of significant educational value. And this book is a condensation of those lessons and the arguments over them.

One reason for the high standards of this presentation is the men who did it. Mr. Neil MacNeil, with a life background in editorial work on most important journals, was the Commission's editor in chief over its entire life. In that capacity every report passed through his hands not once, but often two or three times. Dr. Harold Metz, with a background of twenty years of research into problems of government, was the chief of the Commission's research staff during its entire life, and his duty was to check every statement of fact in the reports.

In addition to their contacts with documents, the two of them attended every one of scores of Commission meetings and many Task Force meetings. They know more about the work of the Commission than any other mortal. They are both men dedicated to the service of the American people.

## On Reduction of Government Expenditures

*Radio Interview with Paul Manning Sponsored by  
the N.A.M. in Their Series – "It's YOUR Business!"  
[December 15, 1957]*

MANNING:

"This is Paul Manning.

"One of the wisest living Americans tells me that the expenditures of government can be reduced to an extent where we can carry our additional military burdens and at the same time reduce taxes. Herbert Hoover who is now 83 years old and certainly one of the most erudite elder statesmen in the nation today, made this and other provocative observations in an exclusive interview on the state of the nation. I was on a dual assignment – a filmed interview for the Rockford, Illinois, Chamber of Commerce – and this interview for 'It's YOUR Business!' I sat for close to an hour in Mr. Hoover's study, and our conversation ranged over many topics. But the one theme which dominated our thoughts was government spending and high taxes. Because this subject is so vital to national welfare, I'd like you to hear what former President Hoover had to say about it.

"But first, a word from our announcer."

ABC ANNOUNCER:

"The National Association of Manufacturers, in public service time afforded it by the American Broadcasting Network and its affiliated radio stations, presents 'It's YOUR Business!' with Paul Manning, writer and commentator

on national affairs. This week Mr. Manning brings you a special interview with former President Herbert Hoover on the need for greater efficiency in our Federal Government and the steps which are being taken to bring about reforms in spending in order to make possible a program of tax reduction."

MANNING:

"A conversation with a wise man is an illuminating experience. There is no waste talk. Everything is to the point. For time, somehow, is precious – there is so much to do and say, and the demands on his time are continuous. Sitting with Herbert Hoover in his study, you are reminded of the past. Mementoes line the walls. The young mining engineer out of Stanford University making his first big strike in Australia. His success as a businessman . . . and pride in his family as evidenced by warm, intimate snapshots. . . . His rise as a public figure, and his statement made just recently that in his lifetime he'd seen the country pass through two world wars and two calamitous depressions and come out of them stronger than ever.

"But, in our conversation, we spoke of the waste and inefficiency which can bankrupt a nation if it isn't checked. We also discussed the Hoover Commission which was set up to arrest this very process. I asked him to sketch its background. Here is his answer and my interview."

HOOVER:

"You know that two commissions on organization of the Federal Government were created by the unanimous acts of Congress, and I presided over both of them. These Commissions were bipartisan. The men were men of eminent public service and, in addition to the members of the Commission and its own research departments, we appointed task forces in both Commissions of somewhere about three hundred men, who had all of them had experience in the Federal Government.

"Now the object of all this was to eliminate waste from the Federal Government in the hope that we could, of course, reduce taxes. Reducing taxes is the ultimate end. But we also need to preserve every essential function of the Federal Government. So that ours was a problem of recommendations around the edges of every department of the government as to where savings could be made.

"Now the two Commissions produced a multitude of recommendations, and up to date it is estimated that the result of the recommendations which have been adopted amount to about three billions a year. It's utterly impossible that we should risk—in this crisis—our national defense. Nevertheless, there are important savings that could be made in that department. So that our job has been to search vigorously for any possibilities of reducing waste and eliminating unnecessary functions of government."

MANNING:

"Mr. Hoover, if the recommendations of the Second Hoover Commission were put into effect, how much do you estimate would be saved in government operating costs?"

HOOVER:

"We relied on the estimates of the Task Forces. There were eighteen of those groups, and they comprised three hundred and fifty men, every one of whom had had experience in government. And that aggregate of the savings which they recommended was somewhere between six and seven billions per annum."

MANNING:

"Well, that's astonishing! But tell us, just where do these recommendations stand now?"

HOOVER:

"A good many of the minor recommendations have been

accepted and are in operation. However, the major recommendations will require action by the Congress, and it is that problem that we're confronted with now. The Congress has enacted some of our recommendations, but the major ones are still unfulfilled."

MANNING:

"Well, I suppose the Citizens' Committee for this Hoover Report will be working very hard when Congress reconvenes to push through some of those measures."

HOOVER:

"The Citizens' Committee is an organization of the best of American citizenry. It comprises nearly thirty thousand people. And they are working day and night, trying to get a public understanding of the importance of these proposals.

"Now, there are many obstacles in accomplishing these recommendations with the Congress. We necessarily step on the toes of a lot of pressure groups. There is naturally a lot of inertia in the country. And Congress is busy on a thousand other problems.

"So that what we need is the support of your Senators and your Congressmen in an entirely non-partisan action, the purpose of which is to reduce expenditures of this government to such an extent that we can carry the additional load of military service which has been imposed upon us by our enemies and still have a hope of reducing taxes. All of that is to be brought about only by an informed public and the activity of individuals throughout the country."

MANNING:

"Well, you believe, then, that the cost of government can be reduced to the point that income taxes can be reduced, Mr. Hoover?"

HOOVER:

"I feel sure, and our task force members, who are men of great eminence, all believe that the expenditures of the government can be reduced to an extent where we can carry our additional military burdens and at the same time reduce taxes."

MANNING:

"Well, speaking as an average individual citizen, Mr. Hoover, what could I do to help bring about greater efficiency in government. In other words, how could I, and a lot of other people like myself, get into the act?"

HOOVER:

"Well, if you would only call the attention of your Congressman and Senator to the fact that the accomplishment of their own commission depends on their taking action."

MANNING:

"Thank you very much, Mr. Hoover.

"This then is the man whose philosophy, evolved in a lifetime of public service, is centered around the belief that government is too big and that our nation's strength stems directly from private enterprise. It is the premise upon which two separate Hoover Commissions functioned. The Hoover test, which was applied to all agencies of government, was this: 'The whole social-economic system of this country is based on private enterprise, properly regulated to prevent unfair competition and to prevent monopolies'; consequently, 'the government should only provide those services which people cannot do for themselves.' The two Hoover Commissions, one appointed in 1947 under President Truman, the other created in 1953 by President Eisenhower, examined the operations of government to see if agencies were violating those principles. They obviously had been, because in the 20 years before

the present Administration, the United States Government multiplied 14 times its size.

"Today, Mr. Hoover will tell you, 'I think the Federal Government is immensely too big. It has undertaken functions which ought to be left to the States and to the people.' Mr. Hoover found about 3000 cases of the government being in business enterprises in direct competition with the citizens. He describes their growth this way:

" 'Most of these business enterprises in the government were born of emergency and war. When their immediate task was done, they ought to have been folded up. But they were equipped with a large bureaucracy in love with an empire, and they had behind them a pressure group. With the instincts of a vegetable they keep spreading and growing. Sometimes they make an appearance of earning a profit. But they are exempt from taxation. Most of them pay no interest to the Federal Government on capital invested. They pay no amortization of the capital advanced to them.'

"Mr. Hoover believes that world conditions today require a strong defense establishment. Yet by a careful pruning down of non-essential services in other areas, he says we can still have a balanced budget and tax reductions without impairing the defense structure in this new era of missiles. Our Senators and Congressmen certainly should be behind such a program for the simple reason that the rewards of good government are great. Not only would the adoption of the Commission's recommendations save the taxpayers some six billion dollars a year, as Mr. Hoover stated, but the elimination of unfair government competition would also vitalize our whole economy."

## On Perry Shoemaker

*Letter to Mr. Harold McGraw, The West Side Association  
of Commerce, on the Occasion of a Tribute to  
Mr. Shoemaker, New York City  
[November 18, 1958]*

Dear Mr. McGraw:

The tribute of The West Side Association of Commerce to Perry Shoemaker should be repeated a score of times all over this country.

When you work with a man for five years on an unpaid job for our Government you come to know his make-up of intellectual and moral courage, stamina, understanding, and consideration of other people. He has been all that in the work of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government.

If I had to appoint a man who had adequate authority to reorganize the Federal Government and thereby save billions a year for the taxpayer, his name would be Perry Shoemaker.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

*PART IV*

ENGINEERING AND SCIENTIFIC MATTERS

## Radio Gets A Policeman

*Article Published in "American Heritage"*  
[June 1955]

IN THE years immediately following the first World War, I had a boy who, like all boys of that period, had gone daft on wireless; and the house was cluttered with the apparatus which he had assembled. It was demanded of me that I listen in on his crystal set, which I did, so I had some interest in wireless before I became Secretary of Commerce.

On January 15, 1921, some six weeks prior to my taking that office, I delivered an address from the Duquesne Club of Pittsburgh. That speech was broadcast. It was probably one of the earliest broadcast speeches.

Before I became Secretary of Commerce, I was very much aware that I would control broadcasting as a part of my administrative work. I had examined the functions of that department before I went into it.

Wire and wireless transmission had been put under the Department by the law of August 13, 1912. At that time the use of wireless was in the international telegraph area to some extent, but was mainly used for ship-to-shore communications. The law at that time provided for the licensing of operators; punishment for unlicensed operators; and the regulation of wave lengths – although it was a pretty vaguely phrased law. It was not, of course, adapted to the general broadcasting. That had not yet been heard of.

When I came into the department no special policies had been determined by my predecessors. They were administering the law through, I think, the Bureau of Navigation.

As I said, it was mostly confined to ship-to-shore use.

I soon became aware of the importance of broadcasting. Two stations had been erected, one by the Westinghouse Company of Pittsburgh and one by the General Electric Company of Schenectady. There were probably at the time that I came into the Department of Commerce less than fifty thousand full-sized receiving sets. They were not too good.

The American boy, however, had enthusiastically taken up radio and his crystal sets and earphones were spreading interest all over the country.

Suddenly a great public interest awoke in radio and my recollection is that in six months after I came into office there were three hundred and twenty broadcasting stations. Fortunately, in view of interference difficulties, most of them were of low power and short range.

The law proved a very weak rudder with which to steer the development of so powerful a phenomenon as this, especially as it so rapidly developed over the next few years.

I was, of course, at this moment – when we had three hundred and twenty stations – greatly impressed with the immense importance of its contribution to the spoken word and the vital necessity of seeing that new channels of communication should be under public control. We in the Department realized the difficulties of devising such control in a new art and in some phases of vital importance.

The radio world was anxious for regulation to prevent interference with each other's wave lengths. A good many of those then broadcasting were insisting on the right to a title to the channels through the air as private property. I concluded that would be a monopoly of enormous financial value and that we had to do something about it.

In order to do something, I called a conference of the representatives of all the radio people – the broadcasters, the manufacturing industry, the representatives of the Army

and Navy, the amateurs – in general, all of the interested groups. This conference was called for February 27, 1922. About a year after I became Secretary of Commerce I stated in my address to that conference, "We have witnessed in the last four or five months one of the most astonishing things that has come under my observation in American life. The Department estimates today that there are over six hundred thousand persons – one estimate being a million – who possess wireless telephone receiving sets, whereas there were less than fifty thousand of them a year ago.

"The comparative cheapness of receiving sets bids fair to make them almost universal in the American home." I went on to say, "I think it will be agreed at the outset that the use of the radio-telephone for communication between single individuals, as in the case of the ordinary telephones, is perfectly hopeless. Obviously if ten million telephone subscribers are crying through the air for their mates, they'll never make a junction. So that wireless telephone between individuals must be suppressed, or limited to very narrow use.

"We are here primarily interested in broadcasting. It becomes a primary public interest to say who is to do the broadcasting and under what circumstances and with what type of material. It is inconceivable that we should allow so great a possibility for service and for news and for entertainment and education, for vital commercial purposes to be drowned in advertising chatter."

I continued in that address, saying: "The problem is one of the most intensely technical character, and even if we use all the ingenuity possible, I do not believe there are enough permutations to allow an unlimited number of sending stations. So this is a problem of regulation. Regulations will need to be policed, and thus the celestial system, or at least the other part of it (we always referred to the medium as 'other' in those days) comes under the province of a policeman. Fortunately the art permits such

a policeman, by licensing it, to detect those who either hog or endanger the traffic.

"There is in all of this the necessity of establishing public right over the ether roads. There must be no national regret that we have parted with so great a national asset."

The conference agreed to a voluntary system of regulations and between conferences to abide by my decisions as an umpire, no matter what the legal right may have been, until we could devise the needed legislation. The first conference agreed that certain parts of the wave bands be set aside for public broadcasting, certain parts for the Army and Navy, the public services and we gave a wave band to the boys, or more properly, the amateurs. We agreed to forbid the use of person-to-person telephoning.

As far as the art had developed, there were sufficient wave lengths for all the purposes then known. Then the Department set itself to solve the picture puzzle of allotting the wave lengths to the broadcasting stations, so that they would not interfere with each other.

Very fortunately, at that time, owing to the weak sending, the same wave lengths could be used in different cities situated at only a little distance from each other. So we were able to accommodate everybody who came along for a while.

Subsequently in March, 1923, a year later, I called a second conference. I called a third one a year later in November, 1924 and a fourth in November, 1925 where we reviewed and expanded the voluntary system.

Perhaps a little later than 1922, but certainly before 1924, the British had established governmental broadcasting. My statements made at that time bear out the fact that I objected to such a system for the United States. I thought that free speech and general communication would be safer in private hands. While that system would be most advantageous to free speech, obviously the only method of support would be advertising. But I found it necessary

to constantly object to the amount of time devoted to commercials.

As to advertising, I announced what proved a foolish thought. That idea was that the advertiser should at the opening of a broadcast confine himself to the announcement that he was contributing his program to public service. I thought he could then omit interference with the program until the end. At that moment he could again make a simple statement as to what kind of business he had and what goods for sale. I felt that such a practice would commend itself to more customers than annoying the public with the immediate and the long commercials we were receiving.

I have often felt when I listen to present-day commercials that I will never buy that produce. I have thought the receiver would have a more favorable reaction to the advertiser if he said simply: "We are now presenting you with the following program which we hope that you will enjoy, but remember that we are a commercial concern in business and if our products commend themselves to you, we would be glad to have your custom." I believe something of that kind would attract far more purchasers of goods than this hideous repetition. But it was a futile idea and received little attention.

In this whole period of conferences from 1921 to 1924, I held that we should have more experience before we attempted to draft legislation. At the 1924 conference I proposed a draft bill which had in the main met the approval of that conference. I found however, that Congress was overburdened with more urgent work and that they did not rush to take up such a complex subject, especially as they would have to resist pressure from various interests.

One of our difficulties in securing legislation was the very success of the voluntary system. Members of congressional committees kept telling me, "It's working all right;

why do you bother us?" Thus there was a long period of delay.

One bill died between the House and the Senate in 1925. But finally a Chicago station broke away from our voluntary system. They pre-empted a wave length for themselves and established in the courts their contention against our weak legal authority. Then Congress woke up, and finally in February, 1927, it passed the law which was recommended by the Department of Commerce with the advice of our annual conferences.

The law which Congress passed firmly established the public ownership and regulation of wave channels.

One of my most vivid experiences in the early days of radio was with the evangelist, Aimee Semple McPherson, of Los Angeles. She was one of the first to appreciate the possibilities of radio and she established a small broadcasting station in her temple. That station, however, roamed all over the wave band and caused interference and bitter complaints from all the other stations in Southern California. We repeatedly warned her to stick to her assigned wave length. But the warnings did no good. Finally our inspector sealed up her station with the great seal of the United States and this fearsome act stopped it.

At any event the next day I received this telegram from Miss McPherson. She said, "Please order your minions of Satan to leave my station alone. You cannot expect the Almighty to abide by your wave length nonsense. When I offer my prayers to Him, I must fit in with His wave reception. Open this station at once."

Our tactful inspector finally persuaded her to employ a capable manager for her station to keep her on the proper wave length.

Another case with a little humor in it was when the representative of a religious sect in southern Illinois came to Washington to secure a wave length. They were ushered in to see the head of our radio division and myself. They said that they were going to build a broadcasting station.

They explained that the world was coming to an end in about six months and they felt that to broadcast the news would be the way to notify as large a number of people as possible to get ready.

I inquired if they had the money to build such a station and they said that they had. Most of them had sold their property and they had about two hundred thousand dollars. We suggested to them that they use the two hundred thousand dollars to buy time on existing stations instead of building a single station for themselves. Thus they could get a lot wider audience and a station would be of little use to them after the world came to an end.

About this time, in 1926, it became evident that much interference was coming in from abroad and that there had to be some kind of international regulation. Through the State Department, I secured the calling of an international conference which assembled in Washington on October 4, 1927. It was attended by delegates from seventy-six nations and I was elected to preside. The task proved so difficult that the sessions extended over five months.

We finally signed the treaties which established world order in radio by the assignment of wave bands and of certain principles of conduct. The curious thing is that most of these treaties have lasted to this day, in spite of all the wars and turmoil.

The small boys had a constant interest in radio. Having their own wave band they had established an association of radio amateurs with whom we dealt constantly.

One day I asked them how they were going to deal with enforcing the assignments of their wave band to prevent interference.

The President of the Association said, "Well, I don't think you'd like to know what we do."

"Oh, yes," I said, "I would."

He said, "Well, we just take the fellow out and beat him up."

The American system of radio has worked out pretty

much as I envisaged its possibilities in my addresses to the conferences from 1922 to 1925. It has made, of course, a fabulous contribution to American life. But it has developed certain liabilities that have always distressed me. Aside from the abuses in advertising which I have already mentioned, the question of truth is far less safeguarded in the radio than in the press. Too often broadcasters disseminate mendacity, malice and defamation of character that no newspaper would ever countenance. To make things worse, there is no adequate answer to a lying microphone because the audience is never the same on any two days, or hours, whereas the newspaper can make a correction the following day reaching the same people. Thus there are great injustices perpetrated over the radio and in any event the privilege of answer to misrepresentation is practically limited to people of importance. Persons who do not have the influence to secure time for refutation do not have a chance to answer.

But remedy in the courts to libel and slander is very feeble. The common law on this subject has been attenuated by court rulings over the last fifty years to the point where the remedy does not amount to much. At the present moment, most plaintiffs must show actual financial damage. Whereas in Great Britain, which has almost the same libel laws, people can secure moral damage. Often enough the British courts award great sums for moral damage. If our libel and slander laws were restored on the British basis, we would have less of such rotten statements poured out over the radio.

The radio also lends itself to propaganda much more easily than the press or the platform. Officials currently in office have the preponderant time before the microphones. Theirs becomes the dominant voice. Propaganda, even when it sticks to facts, can be slanted by the magic of the human voice. All which can be accomplished by emotion and emphasis on words and phrases.

Often enough nobody is interested in providing counter-propaganda.

In any event few people can get access to radio to answer propaganda.

Another difficulty in radio is its instantaneous character. There is no time to check up on the reliability of information.

But despite these minor faults, the radio has been an enormous contributor to the advancement of the human race.

## On the Thomas A. Edison Foundation

*Letter to The Honorable Charles Edison to be Read  
at the National Awards Dinner, New York City  
[December 13, 1955]*

My dear Governor Edison:

Every citizen is concerned that the youth of our country be equipped to fulfill the great responsibilities they have inherited. Therefore, every citizen should support the program and approach being advanced by the Thomas Alva Edison Foundation.

If our boys and girls are to survive in freedom, it is imperative that they be given the competence and vision to master the challenges presented by the tremendous technological advances made in our century. The mass media, developed to huge proportions through high speed printing presses, films, radio and television, has a deep responsibility to foster this competence and vision in our young people. To a large extent the mass media has met this responsibility effectively. The full potential has yet to be reached. It can only be achieved through the articulate cooperation of the general public with the producers of the mass media – a working together to properly carry out the grave responsibilities that our generation has to the young.

The awards program that the Thomas Alva Edison Foundation begins this year is a step towards this cooperation. It is particularly appropriate that this Foundation, which bears the name of Thomas Alva Edison through whose efforts much of the mass media we speak about was made

possible, should take the lead in this type of activity. I believe that the Edison Foundation, working as it is with the great organizations and communications industries represented here tonight, can significantly contribute toward gaining wide-spread recognition of those works which make the heritage of our nation live and which awaken the imagination and encourage the diligent curiosity of our young people. Theirs is the future. It can be as bright and promising as we help them make it. Godspeed to all of you.

# Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

*Foreword to "The Role of Government in  
Developing Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy,"  
by Dr. Arthur Kemp  
[April 1956]*

The implacable march of scientific discovery with its train of New inventions presents every year new problems to government and new problems to the social order. Questions often arise whether, in the face of the growth of these new and gigantic tools, democracy can remain master in its own house, can preserve the fundamentals of our American system. I contend that it can; and I contend that this American system of ours has demonstrated its validity and superiority over any system yet invented by human mind.

Almost a quarter century ago I tried to express the general principle outlined above. It is equally valid today. Now, as then, the best hope of saving the American way of life lies in stimulating increased productivity per capita while avoiding those policies of spending, taxing, inflation and economic regimentation which can only result in decreased productivity for the nation.

There is glory in our productive past. The engineers and scientists can be proud of both the material progress and the spiritual richness which it has endowed. A possible vast field of scientific discovery and invention lies ahead of us. The engineers and the scientists can make possible further major productive strides – if their minds and spirits are kept free from the stifling of government burdens and bureaucracy.

This is a timely booklet, ably written and sincerely dedicated to the proposition that our productive future can

match its great past – if we have the courage and the wisdom to preserve and maintain our political and economic traditions.

## On the Shortage of Engineers

*Remarks at Dedication of Herbert Hoover Junior  
High School, San Francisco, California  
[June 5, 1956]*

NO GREATER nor more affectionate honor can be conferred on an American than to have a public school named after him. I deeply appreciate the honor and affection that go with your action. Some people have to endow a school to get their name on it. But this is a great gift. And I doubly value your honor because while often a transient I have for 60 years bragged about San Francisco as my home town.

My steps in education came through the public schools and a great university which was then also free. Without those generous services from my country I could never have attained a profession. And I can prove my faith in the American public school system for my two sons also trod that path in making their way to success in life.

After all these years, I have a lingering affection to my devoted teachers. And the friendships made in school have been staunch over the years. To these institutions of free men, and their able and devoted teachers, I owe an un-repayable debt.

As I here am speaking to both the elders and students, I will take on the elders first.

I do not need to say that we elders have a great responsibility for the education of all the children of America. And this magnificent building is proof that the elders in San Francisco assume these responsibilities.

It is a further monument to the devotion of California and the State educational authorities.

OUR POSSIBLE NATIONAL FAMINE IN TRAINED  
SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS

I would like to speak for a few moments to the elders upon a critical problem in education with which our whole Nation's public schools could help.

Our country is running into a famine of trained scientists and engineers. Ten years ago our universities and technical colleges graduated about 50,000 men and women into these professions. This year they will probably turn out less than 30,000. The country needs a minimum of 50,000 each year. Communist Russia claims that she graduates 85,000 into these professions annually.

There are many explanations for this national failure. Many of our higher institutions complain that they are not able to secure adequately trained youngsters from the public schools. To meet the entrance requirements of our universities and technical institutions, students must have a basic training in mathematics and elementary physical sciences. Admiral Hyman Rickover, who is in a position to know, states that in 1950 only 4 per cent of our high schools teach physics, 7 per cent chemistry and 13 per cent geometry. They do a little better in algebra but that figure is only 27 per cent.

There are other causes of our national failure and the blame does not all rest upon our public schools. I realize that our high schools must graduate over 1,200,000 youngsters every year; that they must look at the needs of the whole 1,200,000 more than preparation for only the 50,000 scientists and engineers. I realize the difficulty of the public schools in securing teachers in science. I realize also that the cost of training in these professions in our universities and colleges has risen above the resources of many parents and many youngsters. Not every youngster wishes, or is adapted, to enter these professions. But it is a pity that those who are adapted, any of them, find their public schools have failed in their preparation.

To finish this scolding, I say at once that none of this assault is directed to this school. But somebody must be a public scold.

I suggest that unless somebody attends to this job, many of the wheels in the United States will some day stop going around.

To the youngsters I, as an engineer, would suggest that there are no professions of greater satisfactions. The engineer has the fascination of watching a figment of imagination emerge into a plan on paper. Then it moves to realization in cement, in metal or energy. Then it brings new jobs and better homes. And I might add that on the average it is the highest paid profession in the country – and there are today five bids to a job for every graduate.

#### THE YOUNGSTERS

I can turn from scolding elders to a much more cheerful subject. That is, the chattering, fun-loving, ambitious youngsters in this school. Even to look at them is a relief from thinking about national problems.

And I can say something to youngsters which perhaps they will appreciate more in a few years.

Somebody will tell you of the failures of our Government – and it is often justified. No government is perfect because human beings are not perfect. But I may remind such persons that despite many disheartening things, under our American system of government we have given more opportunities to every boy and girl than any other government on earth.

Somebody will tell you that the older generations have made a mess of things which must be reformed. I have often agreed with that idea. But you should remember that it was the older generations who built all these schools, these libraries, these playing fields, these homes, these farms, these factories, these stores, these radios and orchestras, with all these ways of earning a living and enjoying life.

Some day all these elders are going to die. Some day you will inherit all these things and the jobs of managing them. And do not forget, it was the older generation who gave you the greatest heritage than can come to man – national independence and personal liberty.

Some day you will be the Older Generation. As the new older generation, you can undertake to reform our national ways – and they will need it.

And finally I would like to assure you that you need have no fears of your future.

Do not think it is a cold, hard world you are going into. You will find a kindness and helpfulness from your elders as you venture into your callings in life. Your elders want you to succeed.

From the astonishing advances in science and technology, you will enter into a world of constantly new frontiers, new opportunities and new adventures, besides managing your inheritance.

Many of you will become great leaders, great artists, great baseball players and, I hope, great engineers. But more important than becoming great is the everyday toil of carrying on our American way of life.

And again I express my gratitude for your affectionate honor.

## On Peter Cooper – and Engineering

*Remarks at the Cooper Union Convocation Dinner*  
[October 9, 1956]

PETER COOPER, in his many and wise benefactions, made a major contribution to human progress which has had little recognition. A hundred years ago the engineers rose from the skilled trades by apprenticeship to other engineers. Engineering as a profession was totally unrecognized as being in the same class with the law, the clergy, medicine, or the military officers.

Peter Cooper was early, and perhaps the first, to realize that to make engineering such a profession it must be founded upon long training in mathematics and the physical sciences. And he insisted that its systematic technical learning must be supported by foundations in morals and its vision enlarged by knowledge of the humanities.

By degrees the vision of Peter Cooper spread into all our American universities. They began the creation of a great profession far in advance of all other nations. Oxford and Cambridge did not adopt engineering as a worthy profession until after the First World War. That was fifty-eight years after Peter Cooper. And in the meantime, thousands of American engineers from the Cooper Union and our universities were in demand by every progressive foreign nation. At one time I could enumerate over two thousand of them abroad in forty countries.

Today the engineering profession is faced with a great crisis which involves the fate of America. We have a heartbreaking decrease in our young men and women willing

to enter our universities and face the rigors of engineering and scientific training. Other nations today are outstripping us, and unless we find a remedy we shall have a decline in industrial progress and public improvements.

I shall not elaborate this particular subject, for this Convocation celebrating this one hundredth year of the Cooper Union has brought many distinguished minds to consider the problem. Moreover, my constant friend and often my associate over forty years, will most ably discuss this subject with you. That is Admiral Lewis L. Strauss. And I wish to add that there has never been a more able, a more devoted American and public servant, nor one of such sensitive integrity than the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

I belonged to that happy profession of an engineer until I was drafted onto the dangerous road of public life. But no engineer loses the love of his profession. It is a profession of great satisfactions. Every engineer looks back at the unending stream of goodness which flows from his successes with gratification that few other professions know.

His is a profession where he has the fascination of watching a figment of the imagination emerge through the aid of the sciences to a plan on paper. Then it moves to realization in stone, or metal, or energy. Then it brings jobs to men. Then it adds more and better homes. Thus it spreads progress and opportunity over the land. That is the engineer's high privilege among professions. And Peter Cooper greatly contributed to its foundations.

That is why we are here – not only to pay tribute to his vision but to the expansion of the work of the institution he founded.

# On Providing for a New Building for our United Engineering Societies and on the Reason and Cure for our Great National Shortage of Engineers and Scientists

*Address before the United Engineering Societies  
New York City  
[November 21, 1957]*

THIS meeting has been called for the promotion of new and adequate national headquarters for the engineering profession and for discussion of some of our national engineering problems.

Today marks the launching of a drive by the United Engineering Societies for the funds to erect a new building. We need the support of all our members. And especially do we need support from industry.

The activities of these Societies are of vital importance to the American people, to the engineers and to the industries.

We have about 200,000 engineer members in these Societies, and the membership is constantly increasing. We are overcrowded in our present headquarters. It has become clear that we must have more room if we are to effectively conduct what has become one of the nation's greatest educational centers. Our library – the greatest engineering library in the country – is overflowing. Our present building is inadequate to provide for the great meetings

of our members. At these meetings new steps of progress in engineering are presented to the world and the road to further advance over new frontiers is illuminated.

Our present building has insufficient quarters for housing, food facilities, and for social gatherings of the profession. From these personal associations spring many new and useful ideas for service to the American people. We have a site. We urgently need to start our new building. It is of national importance.

#### OUR DEFICIENCY IN THE TRAINING OF ENGINEERS AND SCIENTISTS

You no doubt have listened to the recent explosions over the failure of our educational system to provide this country with adequate scientific and engineering staff. I need not tell you that for ten years the engineers of America have been relating our agonies over this to everyone who would listen. It seems that it required Sputnik to awaken the country to certain facts of life. The answer, however, is not more Sputniks, but something right down to earth.

The subject has been investigated, reported upon, and its critical necessity thundered by the scientific and engineering professions during all these last ten years. I am not going to repeat the statements of our committees or even my own shrieks of alarm during these years.

The trouble is that we are turning out annually from our institutions of higher education perhaps fewer than half as many scientists and engineers as we did seven years ago. The greatest enemy of all mankind—the Communists – are turning out twice or possibly three times as many as we do.

Tonight I am going to state bluntly my own views as to one of the major causes of our predicament. One of the roots of our problem is in our high schools. Today they are turning out more than 1,500,000 graduates

annually. No one can tell me that these youngsters are of less mental ability and ambitious character than the youngsters were ten years ago. Unless we have so degenerated in those racial qualities beyond saving our American way of life and our national defense, there must be 60,000 or 70,000 more young men and women of this quality and ability who could be channeled into these professions every year.

Our higher institutions of learning have the capacity to train the recruits we need. The harsh fact is that the high schools are not preparing youngsters for the entrance requirements which must be maintained by our institutions training scientists and engineers.

The origin of this deficiency is well indicated by a careful sampling taken not too long ago, which showed that under 12 per cent of the high school students were being taught the elements of algebra and geometry; something under 9 per cent were being taught elementary chemistry, and under 5 per cent were being taught elementary physics.

And this wretched record has further implications than simply the failure to produce the professional skills. We live in an age where every side of our daily life touches on physics, chemistry and mathematics. No youngster stepping into maturity can enjoy or, in fact, adequately live in our civilization today without some training in these sciences.

But beyond this essential education of our youngsters is the pressing question of more scientists and engineers. In my view there is a fundamental weakness from the too prevalent high school system of allowing a thirteen or fourteen year old kid to choose most of his studies. Academic freedom seems now to begin at fourteen. A youngster's first reaction in school is to seek soft classes, not the hard work of science and mathematics. Also, he has a multitude of extracurricular activities which he considers more beguiling than hard work. You simply cannot expect

kids of those ages to determine the sort of education they need, either for daily living or for the professions, unless they have some guidance.

Once upon a time our curriculums in high schools provided a minimum of certain essential subjects and still left the youngsters a wide area for supplementary choice. Such curriculums are not strange to our civilization, for they are today insisted upon in our universities and technical institutions as fundamental to the training of men and women.

We are told that there are not sufficient numbers of teachers for even minimum instruction in science in our high schools. We are told that our teachers are underpaid. We are told that there are insufficient elementary laboratories. This is all true.

#### SOME REMEDIES

But if this nation is *not* to degenerate intellectually and to lose its strength for daily life and defense against our enemies, the taxpayers, the school boards, the Parent-Teachers Associations had better wake up.

Now that we have plenty of busses and street cars, one of the remedies would be to consolidate some of our high schools in more of the larger cities into institutions for the special training for the entrance requirements of our universities and technical institutions. Another remedy is an appeal to engineers and scientists by the school authorities to volunteer two or three lessons a week in the schools of their own localities. Two or three hours a week with eager kids is recreation – not a tax on professional work.

We are also told that the cost of training in our universities and technical schools has risen beyond the reach of sufficient numbers for the national supply. That is also true, and industry is striving generously to remedy the situation. However, if we are to refill our vacant university and technical institutions which train engineers

and scientists, it cannot be done by offering scholarships – as helpful as they are. It requires also sufficient preparatory training for them to enter institutions of higher instruction.

The parents in this country are allowing talented youngsters to be educated as desk workers – a career already overcrowded – at less future pay than they can earn as a bus driver. And this at a time when the scientific professions yield great rewards and great dignity.

But this is an old story to all engineers, and we are grateful to Sputnik and to President Eisenhower for his vigorous statement of this national need.

In ending, I will return to the first purpose of this meeting – a proper and stimulating home for the engineers of America.

## Remarks at the Annual Dinner of the National Institute of Social Sciences

*Upon Acceptance of the Gold Medal for the Second Time*  
[November 13, 1958]

CHAIRMAN Pace and my friends:

This is a unique after-dinner occasion. You have not been compelled to listen to a single ghostwritten speech.

I do not condemn all ghostwritten after-dinner speeches. They may be an improvement in some cases of "do it yourself." In particular, those which comprise selections from the joke book and the encyclopedia, clothed with oratorical embroidery by selections from Chauncey Depew.

However, some reforms are needed in this matter. Your Society which is dedicated to human progress might give the problem some consideration. Reform is not difficult. My suggestion is that progress should be made by regulation rather than suppression. All that is necessary is to require the after-dinner speaker to announce at the beginning who the ghost writer was. Applause would advance the professional standing of the ghost. Silence would indicate to the speaker that he should get a new ghost.

To relieve your minds I may tell you at once that I am my own ghost and that I am going to detain you only two minutes and thirty seconds longer.

The Social Sciences are sometimes looked upon by the Physical Sciences as rather nebulous and lacking in realism or positive conclusions. By your Chairman's presentation

to me of a gold medal for the second time in forty years, your Society has shown great realism and very positive performance. I have not often personally experienced this gold medal practice in the Physical Sciences – certainly not repeats after appropriate intervals.

There is something more to be said about gold medals. From the dawn of history down to this hour mankind has been on the lookout for gold. One of the basic freedoms of man was that he could hoard it and get satisfaction and even joy by gloating over his hoard. Also, he had perhaps a mite of social security hidden in the teapot buried in some secret spot. Americans were at one time allowed these freedoms and joys. But on April 5, 1933 these freedoms and joys were abolished by the Government of the United States. The citizen was compelled by penalty of jail to disgorge his mite of social security except for gold medals and wedding rings.

And by your generosity I can at this moment gloat over my increasing and at the same time legal gold hoard.

Moreover your presentation tonight of a second medal after this forty-year interval should be construed by those who come after me as a certificate of the propriety of my conduct when on this earth.

I will not trouble your minds on this happy occasion by remarking on what I think of some social forces now in motion. Nor will I lecture you upon the prevention or cure of social and economic ills.

My purpose is only to leave you with the cheerful note that your twice conferred expression of approval has my deepest appreciation and gratitude.

And this is tripled by your associating me this evening with three great Americans: Robert Anderson, James Killian, and Marian Anderson.

# On Mining

*Foreword to "Economics of the Mineral Industries"*  
[December 1958]

PERIODIC books which sum up the advancement of science, invention, and improved methods in an industry are an important impulse to further progress. Such is this book on the mining industry.

In the past, there have been such periodic summaries, and no doubt there will be more hereafter. But each of them has a vitalizing influence on progress.

The earliest of these summaries by the comprehensiveness of its survey of the advance in every branch of the industry was that of Georgius Agricola almost exactly 400 years ago. And it was a text book for centuries. An instance of the specific influences of that old summary is that the Spaniards under Pizarro, thanks to a translation from the Latin by the Catholic priests, learned a process to work the silver ores at San Luis Potosi. And with the spread and improvement of this process through Latin America the method came to the Comstock Lode.

Agricola, in addition to his summary of the science and technology of his time, made some remarks in the Introduction of his book that are appropriate here. He was solicitous for the reputation and recognition of the importance of the mineral industry, saying:

. . . those who condemn the mining industry say that it is not in the least stable, and they glorify agriculture beyond measure. But I do not see how they can say this with truth, for the silver-mines at Freiberg in Meissen remain still unexhausted after 400 years, and the lead mines of Goslar after 600 years. The proof of this can be found in the monuments of history. The gold and

silver mines belonging to the communities of Schemnitz and Cremnitz have been worked for 800 years, and these latter are said to be the most ancient privileges of the inhabitants.

Agricola also had ideas as to the comparative importance of this profession to others, saying:

. . . inasmuch as the chief callings are those of the moneylender, the soldier, the merchant, the farmer, and the miner, I say, inasmuch as usury is odious, while the spoil cruelly captured from the possessions of the people innocent of wrong is wicked in the sight of God and man, and inasmuch as the calling of the miner excels in honour and dignity that of the merchant trading for lucre, while it is not less noble though far more profitable than agriculture, who can fail to realize that mining is a calling of peculiar dignity?

As to this the latest summary, there is little I could add to the contributions from so many leaders of the profession, because I was removed from it to public life now forty-five years ago.

No engineer loses the love of his profession. He looks back to it with longing to be in its ranks again. And that is because only the engineer has the fascination of watching a figment of the imagination emerge from the laboratory. Then through the aid of technology it moves to a plan on paper. Then comes its realization in stone or metal or energy. Then it brings jobs and homes to men. Then it adds to the necessities and comforts of homes.

Also, because of his know-how, the engineer becomes an administrator of great enterprises where grow again his opportunities for human betterment.

From his rigorous training in the exact sciences he learns the imperative need of intellectual integrity. Also by his experiences with many sorts of men and governments he learns much about mankind. And he is sometimes called into high places in the public service.

These are the engineer's high privileges among the professions.

Because of these lingering memories, I am happy to have been one of the first to read this summary – and to commend it to a great profession.

## On Acceptance of the Hosea Ballou Medal of Tufts University

*New York City*  
*[March 11, 1959]*

IT IS A great honor to receive the Hosea Ballou Medal from Tufts University. And it is a special honor because it has been so rarely bestowed and because I received it from the hand of so great an engineer and scientist as Vannevar Bush.

I do not need to state that Tufts has a special place in American institutions of higher learning. Its magnificent contributions to American life have now extended seven years beyond a whole century. And I am proud to have held its honorary degree now for nearly 40 years.

This occasion is devoted to the problems of the Tufts engineering departments. That naturally interests me because once an engineer – no matter what length of time one departs from the profession – one never loses pride and interest in it. There were but few institutions which recognized engineering as a profession when Tufts established its engineering departments now nearly 94 years ago. At that time, engineering was generally regarded as a trade, not a profession ranking with the lawyers, clergymen, teachers, doctors, writers and artists.

By Tufts' recognition of engineering as a profession, it has contributed to the expansion of learning in the profession and the development of ethics in the profession which have added to its high place today.

To my knowledge the recognition of engineering as a profession has not been universal.

Some years ago when crossing the Atlantic, I was seated at the dining room table with an agreeable English lady who contributed greatly to the enjoyment of the voyage. As we came into New York harbor during breakfast she said to me:

"Will you pardon my curiosity if I ask what is your profession?"

I replied I was an engineer.

She exclaimed: "Why, I thought you were a gentleman!"

I do not need to dwell upon the urgent need in American life for highly trained engineers. Our economic advancement and our defense have become more dependent upon the engineers and the scientists than ever before in our history.

Tufts has an engineering school of highest excellence, and it has a great tradition of national service. The project under discussion today has been presented by President Wessell. That is the need at Tufts for new facilities and further expansion to meet the national need. That appeal warrants the support of every thinking American.

## On the 100th Commencement of the Cooper Union

*Letter to Mr. Irving S. Olds, Chairman of the  
Trustees of Cooper Union, New York City  
[June 2, 1959]*

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I especially regret that I am unable to accept your kind invitation to take part in the one hundredth Commencement of The Cooper Union. In your invitation you stated:

"If you should feel disposed to do so, a few informal words of welcome or otherwise from you would be most appropriate and would be highly welcomed by everyone."

Hoping to attend, I had prepared the following:

I would like to convey a word of encouragement to you young people now entering upon a new world. My mind goes back to sixty-four years ago when I attended my Commencement at Stanford University. Incidentally, I faced the world with total assets of a diploma certifying to my preparation for my profession and cash amounting to \$20.22.

On that occasion my mind was mostly concentrated on what I was going to do next. The night before graduation, my classmates met to celebrate the coming event. They lustily sang a song entitled "Going Into the Cold, Cold World" with barbershop chorus emphasis. It was the father song of all modern blues.

But in a more serious vein, I would like to make these

observations to you who are graduating from this great institution:

*Observation No. 1.* You are stepping into your second great adventure in life – the first being when you came here. It will be a new adventure every day of your lives.

*Observation No. 2.* You will not find this a cold, cold world. It is full of elders, who wish our country to grow in grace and mind with your help. They will gladly help you.

*Observation No. 3.* God bless you.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## On the Cooper Union

*Address Delivered at Cornerstone Laying of the New  
Building of the School of Engineering at Cooper Union  
[September 17, 1959]*

FRIENDS of the Cooper Union:

I am proud of any association with Cooper Union. But I can add little to the informative and elegant presentation of the history, the purposes and the ideals of the Union which have already been expressed by your speakers.

However, perhaps I might express what I know to be the satisfaction and gratitude which the American people owe to Peter Cooper and the Union. From his vision this Institution became the father of systematic training of youth in the Arts, in Science, in Engineering and in community leadership. We indeed have a great national debt for the more than 200,000 creative minds with added technical training which have been poured into American life. They have created untold wealth – and even more precious – they have brought religious faith and high ideals to our people.

And the contributions of the Union to the broad scene of education in our country have not stopped at the class room. The public discussions and lectures in this Hall have reached tens of millions of people. I do not need to remind you that in a few months the Union will celebrate the 100th Anniversary of Lincoln's great speech in these halls which contributed greatly to making him President of the United States.

Great as the Union's contributions to the building of

America have been in the past, the need for the service of the Cooper Union is greater today than ever before. Today, in the midst of great international dangers, these trained minds with their capacity for research and invention are the very foundations of our sustained defense.

Cooper Union is the product of faith in God and individual freedom with its self-reliance, its initiative, its private enterprise and its productivity, which have made the greatness of America. The daily renewal of that faith alone can save mankind from the tide of collectivism and agnosticism which has spread over a large part of the world.

To President Burdell and the faculty; to Mr. Olds and the Trustees; you have created another great milestone on the Union's progress of leadership in American education and this nation is grateful to you.

## Remarks at Groundbreaking Ceremonies of the United Engineering Building

[*October 1, 1959*]

MR. FLETCHER and Fellow Engineers-and that essential part of the Profession – the wives:

The presence of so many of you here proves, as is universal in our profession, nothing like Hurricane Grade can stop the works. But, out of respect for Grade, I will not detain you long.

This is an event of national importance. The engineering societies in our country compose a great army of over 250,000 creative minds covering almost every branch of the profession. I need not repeat that they are the foundation of security in our defense and the increase of our standards of living and comfort. The engineering societies are in reality a great educational institution. And in this enterprise they are demonstrating their unity and purpose. Within the societies is the constant exchange of discovery, improvements and experience. Their findings are printed for all the world to see. These societies also constitute a gigantic post-graduate course for engineers. It continues all their professional lives. I have attended this course for more than sixty years with intellectual profit.

I have said before now that the job of the engineer is to take from the scientists their discoveries and from the inventors their findings, and to apply them for the use of the people everywhere. The engineer starts with these stimulants to his imagination. He makes a plan on paper.

Then he moves to its realization in cement, in metal, in stone and in energy. Thus he brings jobs and better homes. That is a high privilege among all professions.

The purpose of this great building is to facilitate these goals. It will play a great part in American life. It will serve all mankind.

# Address at the Cornerstone Laying of the United Engineering Center

[*June 16, 1960*]

MR. MAYOR, you have done great honor to the Engineering profession in your wonderful statement as to the Engineering profession in our civilization.

And to Mr. Fletcher, may I say that I know that my engineering colleagues are grateful for the efforts of yourself, the Committee members, and especially Dr. Kelly, by which the funds for this building have been raised and I must not fail to mention the scores of engineers who have rallied to your support.

Mr. Chairman, one of your colleagues requested that I prepare a statement for deposit with the other papers in this cornerstone as a forecast of what this world may be like when this receptacle is opened one hundred years hence. I had supposed this document of mine would be a secret not to be disclosed until long after I had passed on. However, one of your colleagues read it and your Committee suggested that I read it instead of making a speech. I welcomed this idea enthusiastically as it would take only five minutes! Slightly paraphrased, the statement is:

. . . It happens that mortals have seldom been equipped with the gift of prophecy and the past records of prophets are not too

reassuring as to the reliability of "run-of-the-mine" members of that profession!

In any event, one can only appraise some of the forces in motion today and speculate on their effect during the next century. We can say with assurance that the progress of the world in the last hundred years has come from free and productive minds in the civilized part of the world – that is, the nations possessed of independence and personal freedom. If these freedoms be preserved, they will bring more and more discoveries into the fundamental forces in the universe and then the engineers will apply these discoveries to release from the more laborious tasks and bring more comforts to mankind.

Even the problem of adequate food supply to a world faced with increasing numbers may yield to scientific discovery and invention. A century ago 80 percent of our population was employed on farms producing food and raw textiles, while today, thanks to advances in science and engineering, less than 20 percent of our population is required for this duty. Perhaps our methods which have produced such a result will spread in nations yet primitive in their food production.

During the last century our profession of engineering has advanced from the status of a trade to a great profession ranking with all other great professions.

And with the training required for an engineer a great contribution for the future has come to the world. The very nature of training for our profession demands intellectual integrity and minds to whom truth has become an instinct. The leaven of this sort of mind will contribute to continuing progress in a free world.

We can be sure that scientific discovery and invention will produce many changes in life, will impose new economic and social changes, and will necessitate changes in the methods of government in this next century.

However, civilization is faced with a major danger: at least 600,000,000 people have adopted Communism which denies religious faith, which finds its inspiration in rank materialism and whose primary tenet is that, by conspiracy or military action, free nations will be extinguished on the earth.

But within all the problems of the free nations, and of international life, there are stabilizing forces. They are: religious faith, its inspiration to moral virtues, and the unextinguishable spark in man to be free. These forces may well be the salvation of progress and civilization. We can at least bid our successors to make sure these forces live.

*PART V*  
EDUCATIONAL AND CHARITABLE  
ACTIVITIES

## On the Dedication of a School

*Remarks Read Over the Telephone for  
Herbert Hoover School in Tulsa, Oklahoma  
[November 8, 1955]*

SUPERINTENDENT Setzepfandt, I deeply appreciate your introduction.

I regret that I cannot come to Tulsa for this dedication. I have, however, to thank my friend of many years, Mr. Richard Lloyd Jones, for this opportunity to speak to you.

No greater honor can come to an American than to have a public school named for him. My first steps in learning were in a public school. To this day I have a lingering affection for my teachers of that time. Many of the friendships made in school have stood staunch over all these years.

To you, boys and girls, let me say that someday you will inherit all the homes, the farms, the stores, the factories, the churches and the schools in our country. You will need to carry them on. You will find in them good jobs, comfortable living and great opportunities.

You are sometimes told that the older generations have made a mess of things. I have often agreed with that idea. But you must bear in mind that it was the older generation who built for you all these millions of ways of making a living, obtaining an education and of enjoying life. Above all, they gave you the greatest heritage that can come to man – national freedom and personal liberty. And some day you will be the Older Generation – and the generation after you will try to reform your ways.

During my life I have worked under many governments,

but in all the world ours is the best. The essence of our American System is that you are free to do whatever you like, choose any calling you like, and go into any enterprise you like, so long as you do not injure your neighbors and so long as you cooperate for the common good.

And again I thank the School Authorities, the Superintendent, and the citizens of Tulsa for this mark of affection and this honor.

## On the Naming of a School in His Honor

*Letter to the Principal of the Herbert Hoover Schule,  
Berlin, Germany  
[December 15, 1955]*

Dear Herr Neesemann:

I have been informed that the school of which you are principal is being named after me. I am deeply appreciative of this honor and feel that it is accorded me as a representative of the American people who made possible my two missions to Germany after both world wars.

The location in Berlin of the school gives me special gratification. When I visited your city a year ago, I was indelibly impressed with the spirit of its people, with their love of freedom and their dedication to the belief in human dignity in the face of all threats and blandishments of totalitarian ideologies.

I am certain that you, my dear Herr Neesemann, and your colleagues, will instill this same spirit in the young people who will pass through your school. Your students will grow up into citizens who will represent the best qualities of their land and will become dedicated to the common ideal of our two countries – a peaceful world where individual and national freedom and prosperity can flourish.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## On the Dedication of a School

*Letter to the Herbert Hoover School  
in Wedding, Berlin, Germany  
[January 30, 1956]*

There is no greater honor that can come to a man than to have a school named for him. There is no part of our life with which I would rather be associated than the education of our young people, for within it lies the basis for our future.

I am particularly pleased that education is playing such an important role in this embattled city, and I feel certain that the students of this school will hold firmly to the maintenance of freedom and justice, even under these most trying of circumstances.

I am indeed deeply honored by your action in naming this school in Wedding after me.

I send you all my very best wishes.

HERBERT HOOVER

## On Small Colleges

*Letter to President of the Council for the  
Advancement of Small Colleges, Washington, D.C.  
[May 2, 1957]*

Dear Mr. Hurley:

I have long been convinced that the failure of our great foundations to develop and support adequately the some fifty odd small non-accredited colleges is the greatest gap in their otherwise great contributions to American education.

These are colleges close to the people. They have served our people for long years through dedicated and self-denying teachers. Their intimate relations with the students enable them to do a better job in character building than our great institutions with their high attendance.

Their students come from those unable to meet the costs of the larger institutions. They represent an already invested capital of \$65 million, and they are providing for about 25,000 students.

We are short of higher educational facilities in every state for enlargement of mind and professional training, and students are being turned away every autumn.

To put these small colleges on their feet would probably cost less than \$75,000,000 which is probably not 10 per cent of the annual gifts to our larger institutions.

You have my best wishes for success in the Council's efforts.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## On the Truman Library

*Remarks at the Dedication of the Harry S. Truman Library,  
Independence, Missouri  
[July 6, 1957]*

MR. TRUMAN'S generosity has opened a large and important contribution to a period of American history to our people.

There is great reason why the documentation of these special epochal periods in American history should not be concentrated in Washington. In recent years man's quest into the fundamental laws of nature has no doubt opened great vistas of benefit to mankind. But also man has not risen to the moral levels of their control for peace purposes, nor have governments been able to assure their control. The dispersal of the previous records of our history into local communities has greatly added to their safety.

Moreover, the creation of such institutions assures that somebody will be interested in their expansion with collateral material. And they come nearer to the people themselves.

The inspiration and lessons of the upbuilding of our nation have received a real contribution through Mr. Truman's gift.

## On Education for Public Responsibility

*Letter to President of The Fund for Adult Education*  
[April 1, 1959]

Dear Mr. Fletcher:

I am heartily in accord with the statement, "Education for Public Responsibility," prepared and signed by the Directors of The Fund for Adult Education, because it calls attention to a pressing national need.

No matter how adequate our schools and colleges may be, they cannot encompass the whole range of learning. In fact, the necessity to specialize when in these institutions in order to earn a living is in itself a limitation on wide learning.

Constant new scientific discoveries, new inventions, and new ideas steadily change the world about us and for the most part can only be included in our minds by adult education as they happen.

The down-to-earth fact is that individuals with a purpose in life must continue "adult education" all of their lives. From it can come the satisfactions of participation in the world around us, and from it must come competence for participation in the problems of our government and our society. To understand these problems and the wisdom and insights of the ages as expressed in the great works of literature and the arts, is a part of enlarging our lives.

Government in a free society is not only a protection of freedoms and an aid to the advancement of public welfare. A large part of the government of free peoples lies

in the voluntary activities of our people outside of government. The more things we impose on the government, the more our freedoms will be impaired. The more we accomplish through participation in the great voluntary associations of our people, the less will be the encroachment of government in our lives. Today there are probably half a million religious, educational, scientific institutions, national societies, trade associations, and community welfare organizations operating for public good outside of the government. Preparation for participation in them is a fundamental part of adult education.

And beyond these activities is the national need for individuals who have prepared themselves for public service. Their preparation is, again, in part "adult education."

I wish The Fund for Adult Education success in this important endeavor.

Faithfully yours,  
HERBERT HOOVER

# On the 50th Anniversary of the Special Libraries Association

*Letter to the President of the Association*  
[June 1, 1959]

Thirty-eight years ago I wrote a statement to the Association. It has been approved by its long use and by many re-publications. I cannot improve its text, and I again suggest the same text to you:

In the organization and management of every business, statistical and fact information plays a most important part. Business executives must know the character and the location of the demand for the products made by their concern; they must know the sources for labor and raw materials; they must know credit and financial conditions, and a host of detailed facts about all current operations of the business. Fact information of all kinds must be salvaged from a wide variety of sources both inside and outside the organization. In proportion as this information is promptly received and accurately compiled the business will tend to prosper and the organization to function smoothly.

While the truth of the foregoing has always been recognized by successful business men, they have differed in the methods which they have employed to secure facts and statistics and to prepare such information for current use. In many cases there exists more or less adequate machinery for the initial collection of business data but the importance of organizing and preserving this material for future reference is not realized. Short-sighted policies in this respect have frequently resulted in financial loss to the company concerned.

The function of the business library, as I understand it, is to collect and to preserve data of value to the business executive and to so organize this information that it will be available for use with a minimum of delay. There can be no question of the value of such service to the larger business firms when the work is properly

organized and the librarian in charge has a clear conception of the possibilities of his position. The statement that "knowledge is power" is as true for business as for the learned professions, and the business librarian who can make his service an integral part of his firm's organization may become a positive factor, both in the increase of profit and in the development of constructive business standards.

The Special Libraries Association has grown in public service and public esteem all these many years since its founding. And I trust it may live to serve the American people for a century more.

HERBERT HOOVER

## Thank You, Miss Gray

*Article Published in "Reader's Digest"*  
[July 1959]

I HAVE received a request from the "Reader's Digest" for "the best advice I ever had."

There is another method of changing the shape of things to come than just raw advice for both kids and grownups. And that is the field of tactful suggestion.

At 15 years of age I left school to practice the profession of Office Boy in a business firm in Salem, Oregon. One day there came into the office a Miss Gray. She was a tall lady, in her thirties, with graying hair, agreeable manners, kindly eyes and a most engaging smile. I was alone in the reception office. She announced that she was a school teacher and asked me about my schooling. I told her I had to work, but I hoped to go to a night school that was soon to open in the town. Later I found that Miss Gray's extracurricular occupation was in advising – or just being interested in – the young working boys in the town.

She asked if I were interested in reading books. She must have thought some wider scope in book reading was desirable from my replies to her questions as to what I had read. As a matter of fact, under my austere Quaker upbringing, my book reading had been limited to the Bible, the encyclopedia, and a few novels which dealt with the sad results of Demon Rum and the final regeneration of the hero.

Presently, as Office Boy, my reading had been confined to the morning paper when my superior finished with it. I also mentioned that outside my office hours I had duties with sand-lot baseball and fishing.

Notwithstanding all this, Miss Gray asked me if I would go with her to the small lending library in the town. At the library she said she wished to borrow a copy of *Ivanhoe*, and she gave it to me saying I would find it interesting to read. I took the book and read it at the office between chores and in the evenings. It opened a new world filled with the alarms and excursions of battles, the pomp of tournaments, the tragedy of Rebecca's unrequited love, the heroism of the Black Knight and Locksley, and the destiny of Ivanhoe. Suddenly I began to see books as living things and was ready for more of them.

A few days later Miss Gray dropped in again and suggested *David Copperfield*. I can still remember the harshness of Hardstone, the unceasing optimism of Micawber and the wickedness of Uriah Heep. I have met them alive many times in after years.

And so, through books, my horizons widened, sometimes with Miss Gray's help and sometimes at my own selection.

Between my duties as Office Boy and in evenings, Sundays and holidays I devoured samples of Thackeray and Irving, and biographies of Washington, Lincoln and Grant.

At the night school the principal introduced me to textbooks on mathematics, elementary science and Latin. But, looking back, I realize that it was books inspired by Miss Gray which had also great importance. While textbooks are necessary to learning, it was those other books which stimulated imagination, the better understanding of life and made the whole world a home. They broadened my scope of life from country to country and made me feel a part of the mighty stream of humanity.

At 17 I went to Stanford University to study engineering. My time was occupied with the required reading and the extracurricular duties of managing the baseball and football teams and earning my way. But occasionally Miss Gray wrote to me and often suggested certain books to read.

Miss Gray's influence widened when I began the practice

of my profession as an engineer, and it extended over the eighteen years which followed. In that work I had long days of travel, and many hours of waiting for things to happen on ships, railways, and canal boats all over the world – from the United States to China, to Burma, to Mexico, to Australia, to Africa, to Canada and to Russia. On one journey, thanks to Miss Gray's inoculation, I armed myself with paper-bound volumes of DeFoe, Zola and Balzac; on another, such less exciting books as those of Herbert Spencer, James Mills and Walter Bagehot. Another time I took along Carlisle's *French Revolution*, Gibbon's *Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and some popular histories of Greece and Egypt. I also read some books on Mohammed, Buddha, Confucius, and more American history.

With the coming of the First World War and with official duties devouring me thereafter for many years, my book reading slackened due to a multitude of official documents and government reports.

Nonetheless Miss Gray's influence penetrated even as far as the White House. When I arrived at that residence in 1929 I found it was mostly bare of books except for the published papers of former Presidents – incomplete at that. One day I mentioned this famine of representative American literature in the White House to John Howell, an old friend and a leading bookseller. Under his leadership and with the cooperation of the American Booksellers Association, they selected some 500 leading books of American literature. Most of these I had read long ago, but they were enjoyed by other inhabitants of that place.

To me they were always a reminder of Miss Gray, and the words of John Milton – "A good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."

I repeat the title of this article – *Thank You, Miss Gray* – thank you for guiding me to the rich world of wonder, beauty, wisdom and imagination that can be found in books.

# On the Hoover Institution On War, Revolution, and Peace

*Broadcast over American Broadcasting Company  
[February 7, 1957]*

THE INITIAL inspiration of this Library was Andrew D. White, President of Cornell. It was while reading his works one day when crossing the North Sea in 1914 that I was greatly impressed with a complaint of his that there was so little of the contemporaneous literature and documentation of great events ever preserved.

However, this Library is the work of thousands of devoted people. There are the scores of men and women in many nations who, at my request during the First World War, collected materials. There are the host of young professors who were released by General Pershing from the Army to storm Europe under the direction of Professor Adams during the Armistice. And there are the officials of forty governments who cooperated since the War in an extraordinary way to furnish these records.

There are the donors of several millions of dollars from a multitude of people which enabled us to purchase many collections and to erect this building. There are the in-defatigable services of the staff in collecting and conducting the Library. There are the donors of its endowment, now amounting to about \$1,000,000. There are the liberal contributions of the Stanford Trustees.

The result is probably more than 20,000,000 items, of which my personal files alone contain probably 5,000,000 items.

These records cover the foreign relations of the United

States and the records of two World Wars and the Korean War and the Cold War. Here are the records of the aftermaths of war and the growth of Fascism, Nazism, and Communism. Here are the records of Peace Conferences and of treaties and the inner documents of war councils and peace negotiations. Here are the records of propaganda which involved America and other nations in two World Wars and prevented other nations from entering these wars.

Here are the records of forty years service of the American people in battle with famine and pestilence during and after these wars.

Here are the records of dictators, despots, and great statesmen. Here are the records of what might have brought peace to the world. And here are the records of the highest idealism and self-sacrifice of great principles which failed. Here are the records of the suffering of men, their heroic deeds and their supreme sacrifice.

Out of these files the world can find great warnings of what not to do and what can be done to promote peace.

The purpose of this Library is to promote peace and freedom among men.

I therefore dedicated this institution to those who search for peace and free men.

## On the Hoover Institution On War, Revolution, and Peace

*Letter to Mr. William K. Whiteford, Gulf Oil Corporation,  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania  
[November 30, 1957]*

Dear Mr. Whiteford:

I regret that I cannot be present at the meeting where you are considering aid to the Hoover Institution.

Over these forty-three years many thousands of men and women, scores of governments and hundreds of public officials all over the world have aided in the collection of these materials. This Institution is unique. Its resources which are of value to the American people have been too little explored.

The purposes of the Institution are:

*As to War:*

A collection of materials which would not normally appear in publications of governments and military officials (it also contains such documents). The purpose of these special materials is to aid the defense of the U.S.

*As to Revolution:*

The archives contain the most complete collection on Communism, Socialism, Nazism, Fascism, and efforts of people to secure independence, self-government, personal and economic freedom. The purpose is, by research and publications, to protect the American way of life from evil ideologies and to reaffirm the validity of the American system.

*As to Peace:*

To build up the most complete record of peace-making and the failures and successes of such efforts. By research and publications to present the world's experience.

We have scarcely tapped the possibilities of these 20,000,000 items, documents, and books, which cover all the nations in the world during this period.

It is the policy of the Institution, by publishing its documents without comment or attempt at interpretation, to thus provide the raw materials upon which official action can be guided and historical studies can be founded.

I am indeed grateful that our friends should assemble tonight to consider our problems and purposes.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## The Scope and Purposes of the Hoover Institution On War, Revolution, and Peace

*Statement Made at the Request of the Trustees of  
Stanford University and Included in the Resolution  
of the Board of Trustees of May 21, 1959*

DURING this century there have developed forces and events which, as never before in our national life, have had so profound an effect on our independence, our form of government, our social and economic system, and the setting of the American people in the international world.

Here in this Institution is the greatest amassing of the records of these forces and events, which exist in the world. Its upbuilding and preservation have become doubly precious to the world because of the wholesale destruction of libraries and historical material during the Second World War. Over fifty organizations and sixty nations have contributed to the building up of this two score millions of documents, books, and items covering the two great wars and their aftermaths.

Here are the records of the causes of war, their destructions, and their consequences to mankind.

Here are unique military records which have and can contribute to the defense of the United States.

Here are the records of nations striving for independence and constitutional protection of the liberties of men.

Here are the records of men's strivings, their ideals, and

their negotiations and failures to make and sustain peace in the world from these two world wars.

And here are the documents which record the great drama of superlative sacrifice, of glory, of victory, of sorrow, of death, which inspired the idealism of men in both the making of war and the hopes of peace.

Here are also the most complete existing records of revolutions to Communism, Nazism, Socialism, aggressive nationalism, the concentration of power in governments, their reduction of men to slavery, their denial of government by their people, their denial of the dignity of the individual man, and their destruction of the foundations of religious beliefs through atheism and agnosticism.

And here are the records of the lowest of trickery and conspiracies to overthrow the governments of free men and the repeated violations of promises and agreements.

Before the purposes of the Institution can be summarized, there must be some review of the purposes of the American people which must be sustained by this Institution. It scarcely needs to be stated that this Institution supports the Constitution of the United States, its Bill of Rights, and its method of representative government.

Both our social and economic systems are based on private enterprise from which springs initiative and ingenuity. Freedom in our economic system is limited by provision of law that there shall not be hurt to others through harmful monopoly or unfair competition.

But the American system goes far beyond the provisions of the Constitution and laws. Our people hold concepts of voluntary and cooperative associations far beyond the range of government.

In the social and intellectual advancement of our people, such associations contribute great institutions devoted to religious, educational, and scientific purposes; they provide for the sick, the aged, and the dependent children. In the economic field, our associational activities create skills and the diffusion of knowledge among the people.

Ours is a system where the Federal Government should undertake no governmental, social or economic action, except where local government or the people cannot undertake it for themselves.

A purpose of this Institution is to support these great associational activities.

The purpose of this Institution must be, by its research and publications, to demonstrate the evils of the doctrines of Karl Marx – whether Communism, Socialism, economic materialism, or atheism – thus to protect the American way of life from such ideologies, their conspiracies, and to reaffirm the validity of the American system.

The over-all mission of this Institution is, from its records, to recall the voice of experience against the making of war, and by the study of these records and their publication to recall man's endeavors to make and preserve peace and to sustain for America the safeguards of the American way of life.

This Institution is not, and must not be, a mere library. But with these purposes as its goal, the Institution itself must constantly and dynamically point the road to peace, to personal freedom, and to the safeguards of the American system.

And finally, among the many other materials in the Hoover Archives is the record of the compassion of the American people, who, by self-denial and long hours of labor, provided the margins of food, medicines, and clothing which, in the wars of the present century, have enabled over one billion four hundred million human beings to survive who otherwise would have perished.

## On C. R. B. Alumni Fellows

*Letter to the Commission for the Relief of Belgium Alumni  
Concerning Endowment of a C.R.B. Alumni Fellow  
[February 15, 1956]*

Gentlemen:

I have noted with interest that the C.R.B. Belgian Fellows who have studied in the United States under the auspices of the Belgian American Educational Foundation have organized a close association in Belgium. I understand that one of your principal objectives at present is to collect funds from your membership to endow a C.R.B. Alumni Fellow who will in the future come to the United States for the opportunity of benefiting as you yourselves have done from your study and travel in this country.

It is well to recall that the source of the funds that endowed the four Belgian Universities and two technical schools as well as the Foundation Universitaire and the Belgian American Educational Foundation was the result of the close cooperation of Belgians and Americans in World War I. The funds for these endowments were largely the profits made from C.R.B. sales of food outside of Belgium and certain residues of American charity. The arrangements then made were passed on by the Comite' National and approved by the Belgian authorities. I trust that the present authorities will continue to lend their aid to the efforts of your group since today this close cooperation continues in the educational field.

May I take this opportunity of advising you that this action on your part is particularly gratifying to me and my associates. This will further strengthen the bridge of

fine and high relationship that our joint efforts through the Foundation have made enduring. I wish you all success in your efforts.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## On the Belgian American Educational Foundation

*Statement Upon Acceptance of an Award to the  
Foundation by the Institute of International Education  
[November 29, 1956]*

TO THE Institute of International Education:

My colleagues and I are honored by this award and we are deeply appreciative. Our Foundation was planned in 1916 in Brussels during the first World War by the Belgians and Americans who were active partners in the Belgian relief work. After the Armistice, the Foundation commenced operations in an atmosphere of good will in university circles in both countries. Today we can confidently state that we have helped to develop a creative intellectual minority in Belgium of persons who have studied and traveled in the United States with the result that there is hardly a country in Europe where the ideals and purposes of the American people are so well understood and so respected as they are in Belgium. And although Belgium is a small country there is a much greater understanding of it and respect for it in the United States than for some larger and more powerful states. The exchanges have resulted in a bridge of fine and high relationship between these two countries.

I commend the work of the Institute of International Education in furthering such a relationship between foreign countries and our own.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## On the Belgian American Educational Foundation Work In Exchange of Students

*Letter to the Alumni of the Commission for the Relief  
of Belgium Upon Acceptance of Award Presented to  
Belgian American Educational Foundation  
[February 19, 1957]*

Dear Mr. Coremans:

I have asked Perrin Galpin to present my greetings to, the Alumni of the C.R.B. in Brussels when they meet to celebrate the award to the Belgian American Educational Foundation for its good work in the field of exchange of persons.

The cumulative effect over the years of building up a great body of influential men and women who understand our country as well as their own has generated great benefits.

The C.R.B. spirit carries on in the next generation – the sons and daughters of the Americans who served in the wartime relief and the children of our Belgian Fellows of the twenties are all concerned with the maintenance of our unique organization.

The work of the Comité National de Secours et d'Alimentation and The Commission for Relief in Belgium is fittingly commemorated.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## Here Is the Cure of Delinquency and the Making of Good Citizens

*Address at the Cornerstone Laying of the New Building  
of the Columbia Park Boys' Club of San Francisco, California  
[August 28, 1955]*

IT IS AN honor to participate here in the laying of the cornerstone for a new building of the Columbia Park Boys' Club. This was one of the earliest Boys' Clubs established in the United States. It was due to that great San Francisco spirit, Major Sidney Peixotto, and it has shed blessing on this city now for 61 years. Among its good deeds was the start in life of Mr. John Costello, who is today the Chairman of the Board of Directors and A. J. Shragge, co-chairman of the building committee, both eminent Californians, who were members of the club as boys.

Major Peixotto was one of the founders of the national organization of the Boys' Clubs of America. I have been on this team for only twenty years, as Chairman of the National Board. In my time alone I have witnessed the number of Clubs double – from 200 to about 400. I have seen them established in 300 towns and cities. This is no paper organization. To build and equip a Club like this costs from \$300,000 to \$500,000. We have in this twenty years had the satisfaction of the growth of a nation-wide investment in these Clubs from \$20,000,000 to over \$120,000,000.

The Clubs have become one of the great character building institutions of our country. They turn out every year thousands of assured loyal and patriotic citizens. And every Club is a voluntary institution supported by the generosity of the citizens of their city. There is no governmental hand in them.

Our country is greatly agitated over the growth of teenage delinquency. There are a multitude of proposed remedies. Most of them gyrate around ideas of how mothers and fathers and teachers can do a better job. Most of these remedies ignore four primary forces insofar as our congested districts are concerned.

First. These boys are endowed with dynamic energy. The world is new and must be fully explored. They have an impelling desire for adventure, discovery and great undertakings. They have competition and combat in their bones. Their primary instinct is to hunt in a pack in search for adventure and joy.

Second. We have laid pavements and cement over most of their out-of-door space in our congested city districts.

Third. These boys can no longer find outlets for their energies in the woods or on the streams and the animals to be captured.

Fourth. We send these youngsters to school for six or eight hours during the day and we leave them to the paved streets for the evenings, and Saturdays and Sundays.

Do you wonder that with these innate qualities and the surroundings that these boys conspire by gangs to engage in destructive joy and the excitement of battle?

This is where the Boys' Clubs come in. Here we provide a place where gang spirit and competition expend themselves in organized games. If the youngsters need to do combat, they are given the gloves and operate under rules of sportsmanship. Here in these Clubs they expand their creative spirits through the mysteries of wood working, machine tools, books, and musical instruments. Here they find their bent for future life. Here they conduct

their own government and their own discipline. Here they receive constant sympathetic friendliness and guidance from a trained staff of devoted men and women. When they are in these rooms, mother has no anxieties and father broods over no home-coming chastisement.

These Clubs are the greatest cure for delinquency in our country. I could prove it to you by the statistics from 300 cities. In one Chicago district alone, the number of boys in the hands of the police every year decreased from 80 per cent to only 12 per cent.

There are facts which cannot be ignored. The boy members of these Clubs cannot afford street car or bus fares. Their walking distance is about one mile. Thus the Clubs become a bright spot of decency within a two-mile radius or a little more. And there are 3,000,000 pavement boys in the United States. The Nation needs, and San Francisco needs, more of these Clubs.

Two years ago I had the pleasure of participating in the dedication of the new San Francisco Boys' Club on Page Street. Today is the day of the Columbia Park Boys' Club. Its Chairman, Mr. Costello, its Board of Directors of leading citizens, and its Director, Mr. Julian Hargrove have undertaken to erect this modern building and equipment at a cost of about \$500,000. Their support has come from generous citizens of San Francisco, the contribution of materials from many manufacturers and contractors. And especially among these contributions has been the free labor from the Labor Unions. The Club needs more support to complete its new building and its operation. That support costs less than police, the courts and the reformatories for here is a white spot in delinquency, a stimulant and a training and creation of good citizens. This will be a better city because of it.

My admiration goes out to all who have a part in it.

## On Boys

*Address at the 50th Anniversary Banquet of  
The Boys' Clubs of America, New York City  
[May 10, 1956]*

THIS is the Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of the national organization of the Boys' Clubs of America. My association of twenty years as the Chairman of your Board gives me the pleasure of reviewing the purposes and the progress of the movement.

This has become a great contribution to American life. Its purpose is to help provide an equality of opportunity for the boys in the congested areas of our great cities.

Our civilization has made a difficult environment for these boys by covering their world with bricks and cement. We have equipped it with trucks, cabs, lamp posts and policemen. And we have constantly increased the number of boys per acre in these spots. To me, as a boy who grew up ranging the fields, tracking the rabbits and prairie chickens with the help of an unregistered mutt, these places in our cities are particularly depressing. There boys must go to pavements to find air supply, constructive joy or destructive glee.

The need for their education and the law require that they go to school six or seven hours a day, five days a week. But they must go to the pavements for evenings, weekends, and holidays and vacations.

These boys, like all boys and their sisters, are somebody's most precious possession. A boy presents joys, hopes and especially paradoxes. He strains our nerves, yet he is a complex of cells teeming with affection. He is a periodic nuisance. He is a part-time incarnation of destruction

yet he radiates sunlight to all the world and can become a joy forever. At times he seems the child of iniquity, yet generation by generation he produces a great nation.

A boy has two jobs: one is just being a boy, the other is growing up to be a man. Therefore, we better start our discussion by a diagnosis of what these boys are made of and what they need besides parents, food, clothes, a bed and the pavements.

First: He has an unbelievable amount of dynamism in his muscles and is equipped with a complete self-starter. With his impelling desire to take exercise, what he will do next is unpredictable. He needs to exhaust these surplus energies in an indestructible place.

Second: He has an insatiable curiosity. At times he seems to be the incarnation of an illuminated interrogation point. That requires that his newly discovered world be explored all over, including remote ideas. He needs a place for adventure without the use of brickbats.

Third: He is born with a large supply of imagination. He needs a chance to enter the land of make believe.

Fourth: He is an affectionate being. He needs companionship and friendship.

Fifth: He has a yen for battle, strife and competition. That battle instinct needs to be channeled into constructive competition with due recognition of his prowess.

Sixth: He wants to belong to something. The delinquency minded gang is at his door step. That danger needs to be diverted to a team of sports.

Seventh: He likes to play games. He needs every implement from checkers to a baseball bat.

Eighth: He takes to water and should have a periodic bath. The summer spray of hydrants by friendly firemen or dives into the muck around the docks is not the answer. He needs a sanitary swimming pool open the year around.

Ninth: He is often musical. He needs instruments all the way from a mouth organ to a violin.

Tenth: He is equipped with all the known physiological

organs. They need to be periodically inspected by a doctor.

Eleventh: He has a sense of orderly conduct, or he can be instilled with it. That needs a place to try his hand in the problems of self-government.

Twelfth: He must some day learn a skilled occupation at which he can earn a living. He needs a chance to taste many trades in shops that are equipped and under the guidance of friendly workmen to find his occupational bent.

Thirteenth: He is an American citizen from birth. He needs to be sprinkled with its responsibilities, devotion to the flag and information about Karl Marx.

Fourteenth: He has a soul, and it needs moral and spiritual guidance. And in the land of sportsmanship he can learn moral precepts which are second only to those from religious faith.

Fifteenth: He comes from every race, color and religion. He needs a place to go where the dignity of all of them is respected.

The purpose of the Boys' Clubs is to provide for these fifteen needs. We want them to have an equal chance with all other boys to grow to good and useful manhood.

To provide these fifteen needs is no part-time job of lectures or excursions. The needed equipment costs from \$250,000 to \$500,000 for each club. It requires skilled and sympathetic leadership to help these boys to be happy boys and to guide them into being good men.

I know that statistics are dull things – but in them is proof of the vitality and the need for these Clubs for pavement boys.

When this national organization was founded fifty years ago by Jacob Riis, there were 52 clubs in 41 communities, with probably 20,000 boy members. Few of them owned their own clubhouses, none were equipped in our modern way. The value of their property probably did not exceed \$1,500,000. The national organization had a budget of \$765.05 its first year. It had an advisory council of 15

devoted men under the chairmanship of Arthur E. Ward well. And the spirit of service to pavement boys was within these men.

In the tenth year of its history – 1916 – Mr. William E. Hall became President, and under his leadership the movement took on a new life. Twenty years later – 1936 – when I joined the team, I found that the foundations of the movement had been builded soundly by Mr. Hall, supported by a Board of Directors, with a deep sense of responsibility for these boys. In that 30-year period the organization had expanded to 140 clubs (which still live) with a membership of 140,000 boys. The annual budget of the national organization in 1936 was \$85,000, subscribed by 1,820 persons, and the balance sheet showed \$168,678 net assets. The replacement value of the Clubs' property had increased to about \$20,000,000. The annual budgets of the Clubs themselves, provided for by gifts from their local communities, were about \$2,500,000.

In the 20 years since that time, I have been in a position to watch the growth of the movement with affection and pride. With Mr. Hall and Mr. Armstrong at our side and now with Mr. Cole, we have made further great strides. The clubs have multiplied three times in numbers – to 437 – and are now in 287 communities. The number of boy members has been multiplied to over 420,000. Most of the clubs own their own properly equipped buildings, the replacement value of which is today probably over \$125,000,000. The support given to them by gifts in their local communities has grown to about \$11,000,000 annually.

Our national organization last year had a budget of \$668,763, subscribed by 43,000 different persons. There are today over 300 members of the combined Board of Directors and our National Associates representing 218 cities.

And each club has its own Board of Directors. It has full-time trained and paid leaders with a host of devoted part-time volunteers. Thus there are nearly 18,000 persons, national and local, working for these boys, besides

the host of subscribers to the national and local expenses.

I could demonstrate the importance of this service in many more ways than by reciting the growing demand for its expansion.

I could prove to you by statistics the immense improvement we make in the health of these boys.

I could give you reports from authorities in twenty cities as to the invariable decrease in juvenile delinquency where Clubs have been established. But I will leave that subject to the greatest authority in the United States – J. Edgar Hoover.

I could give you the names of great editors, scholars, musicians, legislators and civic leaders who owe a debt to the Boys' Clubs. I could give you the names of five Boys' Clubs boys who made the major baseball leagues.

But ours is a deeper purpose than even the blossoms which this human garden produces or even keeping boys from going bad. We are giving America each year an army of good citizens.

# What Is a Boy?

*Article for "The San Francisco Examiner"  
And The Hearst Newspapers  
[July 2, 1956]*

A BOY presents joys, hopes and especially paradoxes. He strains our nerves, yet he is a complex of cells teeming with affection. He is a periodic nuisance. He is a part-time incarnation of destruction, yet he radiates sunlight to all the world and can become a joy forever.

At times he seems the child of iniquity, yet generation by generation he produces a great Nation.

He has an unbelievable amount of dynamism in his muscles and is equipped with a complete self-starter.

He has an insatiable curiosity. At times he seems to be the incarnation of an illuminated interrogation point.

He is born with a large supply of imagination, he is affectionate, he has a yen for battle, and he wants to belong to something.

He likes to play games and he needs every implement from checkers to a baseball bat.

He takes to water and he should have a periodic bath.

He is often musical, but he needs a chance to taste many trades.

He has a soul, and he needs moral and spiritual guidance.

He comes in every race, color and religion. He is an American.

He has two jobs: One is just being a boy. The other is growing up to be a man.

Boys, and their sisters, are somebody's most precious possession.

## On General Robert Wood

*Dedication of the General Robert E. Wood Boys' Club,  
Chicago, Illinois  
[November 19, 1956]*

THIS is a great occasion. General Robert E. Wood has received many tributes in his long life, but none so appealing to our hearts as this.

General Wood and I served together in the First World War – he as Quartermaster General of the American Army and I as United States Food Administrator. In my job I had much to do with saving food, and believe it or not, we – the General and I – were at once fast friends. That proves his innate patience. From that experience I came to know of his great abilities, his nobility of character, and his devotion to our country.

And I might add that different from two of our wars previous to World War I, the Army was well fed. There were no embalmed beef scandals, and there was not a dime of corruption. That was General Wood's job, but to make sure, I had all army food double checked before he got it.

General Wood and I, during that war, the Armistice, and the subsequent peace-making, were in unique positions to observe the consequences of wars in general. And we came out of that experience with a profound and justifiable distaste of war and all its aftermaths. When World War II began to loom up, both of us, simultaneously and without any previous collaboration, opposed every step of America being involved in that war. And I know the General, like myself, has slept better for having made the fight against it.

I still treasure the warm approval of the General of a

speech on that subject which I made on June 29, 1941. On that occasion I said in short that Britain was now safe from German invasion due to Hitler's diversion to his attack on Stalin. I said the Gargantuan jest of all history would be if we should give aid to Stalin in the war. I said the result would be to spread Communism over the world. I urged that we stand aside while these two monsters exhausted each other, that if we stood aside, the time would come when we could, by our strength, bring lasting peace to the world. That was our gospel, and we have no regrets.

But the General and I in our forty years of friendship have a connection much more pertinent to this occasion. For nearly 20 years now we have both been deeply interested in furthering the Boys' Club movement in our country. In this period we have seen these clubs multiply four times in number until they have reached over 450,000 slum boys in 300 of our cities. And we witness the national movement now growing at the rate of a new club and another 1,000 boys every ten days – and a new club costs, for equipment alone, from 3 to 5 hundred thousand dollars.

And I wish to make one thing clear. These clubs are for the purpose of greater privilege to boys in our slum and congested areas. There the outlet is only the street and the team is a gang.

Each of these clubs has proven to be the center of an oasis where juvenile delinquency is replaced by the building of character and the making of real manhood.

General Wood has been the leader of this movement in Chicago for many years. And, as a result, Chicago leads all American cities in the number of its clubs and the number of its boys within their walls.

By turning the innate desire of a boy from joining the gang to joining a sports team, Chicago today is less infested with juvenile crime than many other American cities. But it is not alone to stem the tide of youthful crime that is

the concern of General Wood; it is to create wholesome men of initiative and character for America's future.

And there are great compensations to us oldsters in this movement. There is great refreshment of spirit in watching these less fortunate boys blossom under the opportunities given to them. Also, once upon a time we were boys and the world was a place of great adventure. It had to be discovered all over again. No doubt the General and I experienced these adventures in a different world than confronts these boys of the pavements. We roamed the fields and tampered with the birds, the rabbits, and the bees. Today the world of these boys is built of bricks, cement, and asphalt. Yet they have the same yearning for friendship, the same consuming desire to belong to something, and the same irrepressible determination to take exercise. To turn these instincts into constructive joy instead of destructive glee has been the purpose of General Robert E. Wood.

## On Boys' Clubs

*Message to the Boys' Clubs of America*  
*Annual Convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey*  
[May 6, 1958]

My dear President Cole:

I am filled with regret that I cannot attend this Annual Convention. I can, however, report a year of unprecedented progress, the result of the devoted service of all of you.

Our country is realizing that here is the one positive cure of teen-age delinquency. That is the team instead of the gang.

But our purpose is far greater than a cure for crime as important as that may be. We are making from the pavement boys, men of high ideals, high ambitions and great contributors to the future of America. And we are giving the kids a good time while we are doing it.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## Boys' Club Ideals Combat Spread of Youth Crime

*Article written for United Press International  
[October 8, 1959]*

TWENTY-NINE years ago, when assembling a White House conference on health and problems of children and youth, I said:

If we could have but one generation of properly born, trained, educated and healthy children, a thousand other problems of government would vanish.

That was an ideal a long way from realization. But it was a great ideal. That conference reviewed the whole of the problems to be solved. It suggested remedies for our ills. It issued a "children's charter" which was circulated to millions through the press and otherwise.

Today another White House conference is struggling with the same problems. The obstacles to the attainment of the ideals of 1930 are the same now as they were then. But the situation has grown worse. In 1957 the number of teen-agers arrested for crime was 740,000.

### CAUSES THE SAME NOW AS THEN

The causes are the same now as they were twenty-nine years ago; parental neglect; lack of religious training as the base of morals, and slum areas where the only outlets for kids are the pavements and where the gregarious instinct of youngsters leads to the forming of gangs which drift into crime.

The basic solution twenty-nine years ago was, and is

now, to organize prevention whatever the merits of punishment may be.

The weeding out of the slums is helpful, but that does not cure the street problem. The creation of playgrounds is also helpful, but playgrounds without organized sports and their systematic direction are not the whole answer. Despite these efforts teen-age crime is increasing.

Kids are not born criminals. But they are dynamos of energy, curiosity and adventure.

#### CHANNELING OF ENERGY IS VITAL

One aid to the solution of their problems, as I see it, is to create facilities by which their explosive energy has an alternative to the streets and pavements; a place where character-building can overcome the failure of parents; where sportsmanship, second only to religious faith, is a teacher of morals and can be substituted for the gang. And don't blame parents too much. They cannot keep the kids off the streets after school and Saturdays, Sundays and holidays.

There are many character-building institutions working in these fields. They have proved by innumerable statistics that they are an effective method of prevention. But all of them lack sufficient financial support.

I can cite some experiences in one of these organizations where I have taken a part for some twenty-five years. That is the Boys' Clubs.

#### GROWTH PROVES CLUBS' WORTH

These clubs, built in slum areas, offer sports, games, recreation, fun and comradeship; they give preliminary training in handicrafts, in the enjoyment of reading and music and in methods of health – all under skilled and sympathetic guidance and direction. And these facilities are open that part of the day, every day, when the boys are out of

school and until they should go to bed in their own homes.

The astonishing growth of these clubs in the last quarter of a century is proof that they are a contribution to the solution of the problem.

They have grown from a boy membership of about 150, 000 to over 500,000. The number of clubs has increased from 140 to 560. Despite the fact that a club costs from \$200,000 to \$500,000 to build, the national association – the Boys' Clubs of America – is receiving an average of one new club member every 10 days. In other words, the citizens in our cities are convinced that these clubs are one direction from which solution can come.

#### CHICAGO ADOPTS BOYS' CLUBS

For instance, the citizens of Chicago have adopted the Boys' Clubs as one of their solutions of the delinquency problem. That city, in proportion to the population, has three times as many clubs as has New York City, and Chicago's delinquency is far less in proportion to the population.

I do not claim that this particular movement is alone in this field. There are many other organizations, and they are all in need of support. The brake on their growth is inadequate finance.

I would hazard that if New York City were adequately equipped with the character-building institutions, the big end of the delinquency problem could be solved in six or seven years. It might cost many millions to do it, but it would save that much in law enforcement, the costs of punishment and the care of criminals.

There are millions more of these pavement boys and girls for whom we should reach. And their dynamic instincts of energy, play and glee, and their gregarious instincts can be directed to channels of prevention far more effectively than by punishment.

## Remarks at the Cornerstone Laying of the National Headquarters of the Boys' Clubs of America

*[New York City, May 1, 1960]*

I HAVE been greatly honored that the Directors of the Boys' Clubs of America have asked me to lay this cornerstone, and that they insist this building bear my name.

I hope no one will consider me immodest in presiding at this ceremony. But you may be reassured, I am not dedicating this building to myself.

This building is a mark of accomplishment by tens of thousands of men and women who have created this great character-building institution during nearly a century.

Our devoted staff has worked for years in cramped and inadequate offices. To have a national headquarters building of our own is a dream of many years now come true.

Generation after generation of devoted Americans have expanded and strengthened this great character-building institution. Its major purpose has always been to serve the boys in the congested areas of our cities where moral leadership is at its lowest. Its main object is to give these boys a chance.

This building has been made possible by gifts of the members of the Board of Directors, thousands of boy members of the Boys' Clubs, the Hayden Foundation and other Foundations, and our many other friends. On behalf of

17,000 men and women in the nation, who carry the burdens of administration of this great institution, I express our gratitude and our appreciation to them.

## On Boys' Clubs

*Address Before the 54th Annual Convention  
of the Boys' Clubs of America, New York City  
[May 5, 1960]*

THIS is the annual meeting of the men and women who have the responsibility of carrying on a great character-building institution. Its organization and methods are familiar to you. But not so well known to the outside world.

This organization now reaches to 600,000 boy members mainly in the congested areas of over 300 great cities. We build character and make good citizens of these boys who otherwise have little chance.

### APPROVAL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The Boys' Clubs have received the approval of the American people. This organization has a special charter from the Congress. Adequate clubs cost from \$150,000 to \$500,000 to build. This association is receiving a new club about every 12 days. It costs about \$16,000,000 a year to maintain the present clubs and the national organization. The cost of new clubs and their maintenance is provided by gifts of nickels, dimes, and small sums. The donors come from every group in American life.

Time and again organized labor has given freely of its time and services on weekends and holidays. Recently I dedicated a club building which would have cost \$250,000 to build. But it was built by the joint free service of employers and organized labor. When inspecting the 1,000 boys already at work in this Club, I complimented the labor

leader who headed their part in its construction. His reply was: "Do not forget that these are our boys."

#### YOUTH DELINQUENCY

We hear much these days as to the causes and the growth of youthful delinquency. The blame is usually put on the failure of parents; the failure of religious training and the infections from the TV and radio.

But one cause is too often overlooked. That is that the boys in many of our slum or congested areas have no place to go for air and play except the streets. Being self-starting dynamos of energy and also being gregarious, they join in groups. These groups too often step first into mischief and from there to crime.

The purpose of these clubs is to give them an alternative to the life on the cobblestones and pavements. Under skilled guidance the boys receive two great services: They are organized into sport teams. And the rules of sports are second only to religion as moral training. The second great service is in our shops and reading rooms where the boys are given opportunity to determine their bent in life, whether mechanics, musicians or the wide spaces of the literary world. We transform destructive glee to constructive joy. The Boys' Clubs are not a cure; they are a preventive of youthful delinquency. Every club has proved to be an oasis of decreased delinquency.

#### OTHER CHARACTER-BUILDING AGENCIES

The Boys' Clubs are but one of the many character-building institutions for youth. There are the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Campfire Girls, the Girls' Clubs, and many religious groups.

All these character-building institutions are short of adequate funds. The great charitable foundations should be supporting them with millions of dollars.

NATIONAL GOALS

These days we hear much about establishing National Goals. The greatest national goals of all human history were established in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. All these character-building institutions give their support to these goals. Millions of these kids only learn of these goals from these institutions.

In the Boys' Clubs, the boys of every race and religion take pride in this pledge:

I believe in God and the right to worship according to my own faith and religion.

I believe in America and the American way of life . . . in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

I believe in fair play, honesty, and sportsmanship.

Is not the upbuilding of these character-building institutions also a National Goal?

## Remarks upon Receiving the Frank H. Lahey Memorial Award

*Presented by the National Fund for Medical Education,  
New York City  
[October 19, 1955]*

MR. COLT:

I appreciate deeply the honor you have paid me on behalf of the Fund for Medical Education and its affiliated organizations. My contribution to the work of the Fund has been small indeed, compared to the service you and your colleagues have given in its creation and administration.

But I can at least claim some familiarity with the problems which you are seeking to solve. And I can, therefore, affirm the vital necessity of your success.

For over forty years I have been a trustee of Stanford University whose medical school has presented every year all the problems which you are seeking to solve. Indeed, it presents not only the problem of financing the medical school's upkeep and growth, but is a good example of the drain which the annual deficit makes upon the other departments of the University.

I could make some other claims to knowledge of the necessity of your endeavors. In the forty years I have been in public service, I have had ample contact with both the shortage in our medical education and its finance as it affects our Federal Government. Our Government is the most extensive protector of public health, the greatest

keeper of hospitals, the greatest employer of doctors, nurses and medical technicians, and the greatest research institution in medical problems in the world.

I could make still further claims to information on the necessity of your mission. I presided six years apart over two Congressional Commissions which exhaustively reviewed the Federal services and made recommendations for their improvement. Three matters stood out of these investigations: First, the Federal Government is constantly short of medical men and women. Second, it is dependent upon the privately supported medical schools for supply of them. Third, in research, as able as the Federal laboratories may be, they cannot equal the discoveries or values which have come from our private institutions.

The last Commission expressed great concern over the inadequate support of our medical schools.

And I may well quote three of the Commission's conclusions:

First, "The Nation is today short of both technicians and doctors. And there are today a large number of youths who have completed their premedical education and cannot find admission to medical schools."

Second, "We cannot afford stagnation of our medical research in our medical schools or the training of our technicians."

Third, "We must make sure of support to this field which daily demonstrates such potential benefits for mankind."

I do not need to review the considerations that guided those of us who sat in at the establishment of the National Fund and selected you, Mr. Colt, for its leadership. And we were in strong agreement with the other associations represented here today, that is, the American Medical Association and the Association of American Medical Colleges. But the responsibility for finding funds does not lie upon our medical men but upon laymen and industry.

To you, Mr. Colt, and to you, Dr. Hess and Dr. Hinsey, I express my great satisfaction in receiving the Frank H.

Lahey Memorial Award. Dr. Lahey contributed greatly to the advance of his profession and to the work of this organization. And to all of you, the nation is indebted for this great effort to set medical education and medical research on the road to solvency for upon it rests the health and security of our people.

## On the American Red Cross

*Letter to National Headquarters, Washington, D.C.*  
*[December 15, 1955]*

Dear Mr. Bunker:

The Red Cross is the keeper of our national conscience in our responsibilities to veterans, for the training of nurses, and many other services.

Beyond this, it is our national insurance against the human suffering of all disasters.

It must be supported in full vigor.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## On the Salvation Army

*Remarks Before the Salvation Army Luncheon,  
San Francisco, California  
[June 22, 1956]*

NO ONE needs explain the Salvation Army. No one needs describe its multitude of good works. The main thing to do is to give them more money to do more good works. In addition to our money, we can give encouragement to all its members for their devotion. We can express our gratitude to them and our confidence in them.

My knowledge of them goes back over a long span of years. I had the good fortune to have the acquaintance, and I might even say the friendship of General William Booth, and both his son and daughter who headed the Army. I have seen the Army's battalions at work in almost every country of the world. I have seen them fighting in disasters of flood and famine. I have seen them giving comfort to our boys behind the front line trenches. I said *first* lines, not the second. I have seen them everywhere in the less dramatic toil of helping the unfortunate, the sinful, and the discouraged. In their Christ-inspired service, they search the byways for those who have fallen lowest, binding their wounds of body and soul, lifting them back into the stream of useful and Christian life.

No matter what Utopian government men may dream of, governments live on statistics, and averages and politics. They do not reach into the human heart. Governments cannot regenerate character or faith or courage which restores the dignity of individual men and women.

Moreover, no matter how perfect our many private institutions

of charity may be, *The Salvation Army* performs a unique service that no others can so magnificently do.

The world is today invaded by uncertainty and dread. Yet redemption comes not through the blight of fear but through the light of faith. In that service every lover of humanity respects the Army. Even to witness their devotion invokes a spirit of humbleness to all the rest of us. We must always have *The Salvation Army* at our side.

## Message to the Girl Scouts

*On the Occasion of the Dedication of the  
Lou Henry Hoover Memorial at Camp Wasiu,  
Lake Tahoe, California  
[August 5, 1957]*

THE Lou Henry Hoover Memorial Sanctuaries established by the Girl Scouts are a touching tribute to one who all her life was imbued with the wish that all American girls should have the chance to enjoy our natural wildernesses and the great outdoors. That the Girl Scouts should band together to find and keep such wildernesses for the happiness and use of our girls is indeed a lasting and great honor.

HERBERT HOOVER

## Message to the Girl Scouts

*Letter to the President of the Girl Scouts at the  
Dedication of the New National Headquarters,  
New York City  
[December 16, 1957]*

Dear Mrs. Culmer:

I regret I cannot be present at the dedication of the new national Girl Scout headquarters on January 23. My interest in the Girl Scouts now extends over thirty-five years, including the period when Mrs. Hoover was its President.

I do wish you every good thing that can come to such a wonderful organization.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## Message to Girls' Clubs

*Telegram to the President of the Girls' Clubs  
of America at Conference, New York City  
[April 15, 1958]*

Dear Mrs. President:

I regret that I cannot be with you at your meeting this evening. I would like to be there in spirit for yours is a great instrumentality for good in our national life.

Our most precious possessions are our girls and boys. That opportunity should be given to the less privileged is vital to sustain our American way of life.

The Girls' Clubs of America deserve enthusiastic and active support in this work. I wish you every success.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## On the Salvation Army

*Letter Sent to The Salvation Army, San Francisco,  
in Support of Their Redevelopment Fund of California  
[November 7, 1958]*

Fellow Californians:

All of us whose names appear here have our own particular reasons for being proud to be associated with The Salvation Army.

Some of us have impressive memories of The Army dating back to the front lines of World War I. Some of us think of it as one of the great religion-in-action groups in the world. Others are more concerned that The Salvation Army has great value in the community.

All of this may be summed up: We must always have it at our side.

I am glad to support The Salvation Army's Redevelopment Fund of California.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## On the Children's Aid Society

*Remarks at the Dedication of the  
Dunlevy Milbank Children's Center,  
New York City  
[November 25, 1958]*

PRESIDENT Wheelock, Director Huck, Mr. Dunlevy Milbank, and Ladies and Gentlemen:

Twenty-eight years ago I addressed a White House Conference on the protection of children. You will forgive me if I repeat a paragraph from that address. I said:

We approach all problems of childhood with affection. Theirs is the province of joy and good humor. They are the most wholesome part of the race . . . for they are fresher from the hands of God. Whimsical, ingenious, mischievous, we live a life of apprehension as to what their opinion may be of us; a life of defense against their terrifying energy; we put them to bed with a sense of relief and a lingering of devotion. We envy them the freshness of adventure and discovery of life. . . .

That has been the constant approach to the problem of children by the Children's Aid Society. For over one hundred years the Society has assumed the public duty not only to provide them protection and medical care but also to give them safe outlets for their inquiring minds and their dynamic energies. Today hundreds of thousands of children annually in New York are better in health, morals, and well-being from its service.

And that has been the approach of Dunlevy Milbank

by his part in the management of this Society during the past thirty years.

His gift of this the tenth center of the Society is not his only contribution to its magnificent work. He has been the largest contributor to the Children's Aid Society in all its history. And his interest in the management has not been just the routine duties as a director, but his devotion to its purpose has been expressed as a constant visitor to the Children's Centers.

Nor have Mr. Milbank's years of service to the less fortunate in New York been limited to the Children's Aid Society. Over these years he has given constant aid in the management and support of the great hospitals of this city and many other of its charitable enterprises. And his public service goes back for over forty years as he and I served at the same time at unpaid jobs in Washington in the First World War.

Mr. Milbank comes from a long line of Milbank families who have given devoted service to the less fortunate in the City. In this generation of that family I must also mention his brother Jeremiah Milbank who is present here. By his generosity The Institute for the Crippled and Disabled has given untold benefit to the injured. Also Mr. Milbank has contributed greatly in personal management and financial support of the charities in this city including the Boys' Clubs. New York can well be proud of three generations of generous Milbanks.

I have the following letter from President Eisenhower:

November 18, 1958

DEAR MR. HOOVER:

The dedication of the Dunlevy Milbank Children's Center gives me the opportunity to recognize your devoted service to American youth as Chairman of the National Board of the Boys' Clubs of America.

I have learned that this fine movement now includes nearly one-half million American boys. You must be gratified to see another chapter being organized as part of the recreational service of this

new Center. Here is further evidence of your leadership and the wise planning of the Children's Aid Society.

Please give my congratulations to Mr. Dunlevy Milbank and to all who have taken part in this enterprise. I am sure the gratitude and health of the children who use this Center will more than repay them for their efforts.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

It is a great honor that I have been chosen to dedicate this building. It is not only an honor to have so minor a part in one of the great services of the Society, but it is also an honor to speak of the service of Dunlevy Milbank.

*PART VI*  
ADDRESSES, LETTERS, AND  
COMMENT ON VARIOUS INCIDENTS  
AND PHASES OF AMERICAN LIFE

## On Herbert Hoover, Jr.

*Remarks Upon Acceptance, on Behalf of Herbert Hoover, Jr.,  
of the Gold Award of the New York Board of Trade  
New York City  
[October 13, 1955]*

I AM GLAD to accept this medal on behalf of Herbert, Jr., whose duties as Under Secretary of State have compelled him to be abroad at this time. There is nothing that makes a father's heart glow warmer than accomplishment of his sons. It took me 75 years to achieve such merit as seemed to warrant the Board of Trade to confer this very medal upon me some five years ago. Herbert, Jr., achieved that degree of merit after only 52 years. That you recognize that he is better material than his dad was at that age confirms my own views of him.

Modern government is so complex that one of its never-ending problems is to secure administrators who have the ability and self-sacrifice to serve at housekeeping levels where there are many pains and little glory.

There are other young men in our government who should be encouraged with such approbation as you are giving.

On Herbert's behalf, and my own, I greatly appreciate the distinction and approval you have shown to him.

## On Mark Sullivan

*Statement Read at Unveiling of the Mark Sullivan  
Marker, Pennsylvania  
[October 15, 1955]*

I REGRET that important commitments make it impossible for me to be present at the placing of the Mark Sullivan Marker. I will be there in spirit. He was my loyal and intimate friend through bad times and good times for over thirty-five years.

Mr. Sullivan was one of America's greatest journalists. His insight and his intellectual honesty made him a great guide in the thinking of our people. And he was always on the side of right and righteousness in the conduct of public affairs. There is no one to replace him. But he will be remembered by a grateful people.

HERBERT HOOVER

## On Baseball

*Quotation Inscribed on the Wall of Crosley Field  
in Cincinnati, Ohio, at Request of  
The Cincinnati Baseball Club  
[May 27, 1956]*

THE RIGID volunteer rules of right and wrong in sports are second only to religious faith in moral training . . . and Baseball is the greatest of American sports.

HERBERT HOOVER

## On Oldsters

*Remarks on the Occasion of Mr. Hoover's 82nd Birthday*  
[August 10, 1956]

SEEING that I have now reached 82 years, I think I can give some advice to oldsters who are about to retire or are retired from their jobs. There is no joy to be had from retirement except some kind of productive work. Otherwise you will degenerate into talking to everybody about your pains and pills and income tax. The other oldsters will want to talk about their own pains and pills and income tax.

Any oldster who keeps at even part-time work has something worth talking about. He has a zest for the morning paper and his three meals a day. The point of all this is not to retire from work or you will shrivel up into a nuisance to all mankind.

The problem is – find some other job where your skills and experience can get exercise – and America needs these skills and experience. There is not a town in the United States that does not need helpers in community engaged organizations for good works. Also, I have no patience with laws that prevent retired oldsters with meagre pensions from earning all they can. Their productivity is a contribution to national wealth and comfort.

I have retired by either force or voluntarily from many jobs. I have always been able to find another one. At present I have four jobs in hand. One – to make a third farewell address to the Republican Convention ten days hence. One is promoting the Boys' Clubs of America as a part preventive of teen-age delinquency by directing their energies to constructive joy instead of destructive glee. One is the

promotion of medical education because we are short of doctors. Still another is the promotion of the recommendations of the Commission on Organization of the Federal Government, of which I was Chairman. That Commission not only proposed to save considerable of your income tax, but its principles would preserve the American way of life. And it needs some preservatives.

## On the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel

*Tape Recording for Movie Commemorating the Silver  
Anniversary of the Hotel, New York City  
[September 20, 1956]*

L'TCIUS BOOMER was the Father of the present Waldorf-Astoria. He conceived it as the descendent of the Old Waldorf-Astoria, which after years as the leading American hotel, had outlived its profitable life and was sold to make way for new office buildings.

Mr. Boomer was one of the greatest hotel men in American history. From his imaginative mind he conceived that the American people should have the outstanding hotel in the world. He believed that such a hotel had many greater national purposes than just board and lodging.

Mr. Boomer was an old friend of mine and when he was ready to open the new Waldorf he requested me to push the button from the White House. At that moment, twenty-five years ago today, I made the following statement over the radio to those gathered for the opening of the present Waldorf-Astoria:

"Our hotels have become community institutions. They are the center points of civic hospitality. They are the meeting place of a thousand community and national activities. They have come to be conducted in far larger vision than mere profit earning. If we considered them solely from an economic point of view, we would find them among the nine leaders of American industry.

"The opening of the new Waldorf-Astoria is an event in the development of hotels even in New York

City. It carries on a great tradition in national hospitality. It was 137 years ago that the first so-called great hotel was opened in New York – the old City Hotel, which was then heralded as an immense establishment and comprised 73 rooms. It was visited from all parts of the country as one of the fine exhibits of our national growth. A long line of constantly improving hotels from that day to this has marked the measure of the nation's growth in power, in comfort and artistry.

"The erection of this great structure at this time has been a contribution to the maintenance of employment and is an exhibition of courage and confidence to the whole nation. This occasion is really but the moving day of an old institution with all its traditions of hospitality and service into a new and better structure. I have faith that in another 50 years the growth of America in wealth, science and art will necessitate the institution's moving again to an even finer and more magnificent place and equipment.

"I wish to congratulate the management on the consummation of its plan for the magnificent new home perpetuating the Waldorf-Astoria."

All that was just twenty-five years ago. The dream of Lucius Boomer has come true.

## On the S.S. President Hoover"

*Remarks Aboard the Ship on the Occasion  
of Mr. Hoover's 83rd Birthday  
[August 10, 1957]*

THIS hospitality on my birthday is indeed a mark of affection. But there is still more to this occasion than just happy birthday.

This occasion also marks the great honor of my having a full-sized trans-oceanic liner carry my name to sea. And I appreciate it all the more for I am an old traveler on the seven seas. Within one single period of my life I went around the world seven times in seven years. And that was a minor part of a long life trying to get to remote places by steamships – and seldom with any such comfort as this.

Also, I have delivered billions of dollars to shipping companies to carry overseas cargoes. But up to a few years ago, I did not have my name on a cargo boat. There was a river tugboat named for me, which led an uncertain life with an upright wood-fired boiler.

But the President Line remedied all these neglects in the shipping world by placing my name on a great ship. Unfortunately that ship was a casualty of the last war. It is only in these last months that my name is getting onto the sea again. And it is again carried by the President Lines.

Your difficulty in keeping my name on the sea reminds me of a struggle to hold my name in the skies among the stars and planets. One astronomical observatory in Europe named a star in my honor. Another, to get me nearer at home, named a planet for me. They each placed a Greek

suffix to my name, which seemed to qualify me to associate with the stars and planets named after the Greek gods on Olympus.

Suddenly some committee in some association of astronomers decided living persons could not have such distinctions. Despite the Greek suffix, I was taken off of Olympus. But my astronomer friends, like my American President Line friends, were sturdy men, and now I am back both in the stars and on the sea. But the letters of my name on the sea are visible to the naked eye.

Every once in a while some glib persons tells us that air transport has doomed the ships. I could reach back into my memories when I was Secretary of Commerce of the United States and I could produce a cargo load of convincing arguments and statistics that prove this is not so. But for this occasion I will suggest that some of mankind will not sacrifice comfort for speed. And moreover, life on this planet is dependent upon moving things about in quantities for which there is no room in the air. And after all, there are people who love the adventure and the smell of the sea.

I am proud to be at sea again in such an association, and doubly so as this occasion brings back to me warm recollections of the friendship of Captain Dollar.

I have one remaining duty. That is to express to President Killion, Mr. Davies, their associates and the officers and crew of this great ship, to the Governor, the Mayor and all of my friends, my deep appreciation for this honor today. And I am sure I express also your gratitude for their unique hospitality.

## Upon Acceptance of an Honorary Degree

*Address Upon Receiving Honorary Degree of  
Doctor of Laws from The Citadel, State  
Military College, Charleston, South Carolina  
[January 13, 1958]*

I AM NOT going to worry you with discussion of our national triumphs in war or peace, nor of the evil inheritances we received from failures to make peace after our great wars. I am not going to sound great alarms or discuss the political, economic, and social problems which confront us. I could recite to you events of my forty-four years' civilian participation in military problems, the defense of the United States and the making of peace. That would take days of talk so I shall not do that either.

What I wish to recall is what my feelings, hopes and experiences were when I was at the stage which you are now – on the threshold of the great adventure into American life and living. That was just sixty-three years ago. And you will find when you reach my time of life, your memory is sharper as to your experiences in youth than what was in yesterday's newspaper. And they are more pleasant memories.

During my four years of university training to be an engineer, while the work was hard, the friendships I formed were the most lasting of my life. And with these companionships those four years were the happiest that have come to me, as I know they will be for you.

Some of you may have already started to worry over

what comes next. I may recall that the night before I graduated we gathered and sang a song written by our class poet, entitled "The Cold, Cold World." It was a doleful dirge, but at that stage in life we sang it as you would if you knew the words, with certain accents of defiance. But it was not a cold, cold world which we met, nor which you will meet.

Some of you will no doubt join our military services. That is a career of supreme sacrifice to our country. Some of you will no doubt be looking for a job in our competitive life when you graduate. And if by the grace of God peace should look in on this distracted world, some of you will need be looking for a competitive job. Put in economic terms, what you will want is for some person with a profit motive to give you a try to help him earn a profit. At the risk of seeming counter-revolutionary or as a defender of evil, I am going to suggest that basis of test for a job has some advantages. It does not require qualifications as to either ancestry, religion, good looks, or ability to get votes.

After graduation and after some search I got a job, and at the risk of being a reactionary, I may mention that I missed the discovery that I was a wage slave. I at least had the feeling that it was my option that if I did not like that particular profit taker I could find another one somewhere.

But what mainly interests you is that I found them a cheery and helpful lot of folk who took an enormous interest in helping young people to get a start and get along in life. And you will find that is the case today. For our America is not a cold world. And I may say something on the meaning of this word "America."

America means far more than a continent bounded by two oceans. It is more than pride of military power, glory in war, or in victory. It means more than vast expanse of farms, of great factories or mines, magnificent cities, or millions of automobiles and radios. It is more than our

literature, our music, our poetry. Other nations have these things also. It is more even than the traditions of the great tide westward which pioneered the conquest of this continent. There is an imponderable within it which reaches to the soul of our people and defies measure.

Maybe the intangible we cannot describe lies in the personal experience and the living of each of us rather than in phrases, however inspiring.

Perhaps without immodesty I can claim to have had some experience in what "American" means. I have lived many kinds of American life. After my early boyhood in an Iowa village, I lived as the ward of a country doctor in Oregon. I lived among those to whom hard work was the price of existence. The opportunities of America opened out to me the public schools. They carried me to the professional training in a great American university. I then began by working with my own hands for my daily bread. I have tasted the despair of the first failure to find a job within my profession. I know the kindly encouragement of a humble boardinghouse keeper. I know now that at that time there was an economic depression either coming or going. But nobody told me of it. So I did not have the modern worry of what the Federal Government would do about it.

I have conducted the administration of great industries in many countries with their problems of production and the well-being of their employees.

My profession took me into many foreign lands under many kinds of government. I have seen America in contrast with many nations and many races. I have worked in governments of free men, of tyrannies, of Socialists and of Communists. I have met with princes, kings, despots and desperados. I have worked with their great spiritual leaders and their great statesmen.

I have seen the squalor of Asia, the frozen class barriers of Europe. And I was not a tourist. I was associated in their working lives and problems. I had to deal with their

social systems and their governments. And in those years outstanding everywhere to these great masses of people there was a hallowed word – "America." To them, it was the hope of the world.

In later years I participated on behalf of America in the problems of arising from our great wars. I saw untold misery and revolution. I have seen bitter famine and the worst misery that that brutality of war can produce. I saw liberty die and tyranny rise. I have seen human slavery again on the march.

I have been repeatedly placed by my countrymen where I had need to deal with the hurricanes of social and economic destruction which have swept the world.

But my every frequent homecoming has been a reaffirmation of the glory of America. Each time my soul was washed by the relief from grinding poverty of nations, by the greater kindness and frankness which come from acceptance of equality and belief in wide-open opportunity to all who want a chance. It is more than that. It is a land of self-respect born alone of free men and women.

I have had every honor to which any man could aspire. There is no place on the whole earth except here in America where all the sons of man can have this chance in life.

The meaning of our word "America" flows from one pure source. Within the soul of America is freedom of mind and spirit in man. Here alone are the open windows through which pours the sunlight of the human spirit. Here alone is human dignity not a dream, but an accomplishment. Perhaps it is not perfect, but it is more full in realization here than any other place in the world.

There are today fuzzy minded people in our country who scoff at these meanings of the word "America." They never will understand what that word means. They explain that our qualities were good while there was a continent to conquer, and a nation to build. They say that time has passed and we have become soft. No doubt the

land frontier has passed. But the frontiers of science and better understanding of human welfare are steadily opening.

This new frontier with all its high promise cannot and will not be conquered except by men and women inspired from these concepts of free spirit and free mind.

And those moral and spiritual qualities which arise alone in free men will fulfill the meaning of the word "American." And with them can come centuries of further greatness to America.

And it is such men as you who can aid, can increase, can protect and can preserve America's greatness.

# Myth of the Fourth Horseman

*Article Written with Marie Therese Nichols  
and Published In the "Saturday Review"  
[September 20, 1958]*

ST. JOHN'S Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse is the most pungent and concise warning of war and its consequences in all literature. Its symbolism has haunted the minds and expressions of every race that has read the Bible during the last 1900 years. From his various writings St. John was obviously a pacifist. But either from his own observation or from his reading he knew all about this variety of calamity to mankind. And he summed it up in 184 words, which is far less than usual among the modern writers.

But there has been confusion over these long years as to the exact names of the Four Horsemen. The names attributed to the four by various writers have included: War, Conquer, Conquest, Christ, Famine, Pestilence, Slaughter and Sword.

In search for their names, we may first examine the pertinent words of the text in the Sixth Chapter of Revelation. To add clarity and avoid confusion we have given them letters rather than numbers.

- [A] And I saw ... a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.
- [B] And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword.
- [C] . . . And I beheld, and lo a black horse; and he that sat on

him had a pair of balances in his hand.

And I heard a voice . . . say, A Measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine.

[D] And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him. And power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and hunger, and with death and with the beasts of the earth.

St. John specifically mentions the name of only one of his symbolic riders. That is Death (D) who rode on the pale horse. He was amply equipped with powers of killing. We may accept the name for this one as final – *Death*.

There can be little doubt that the name of the rider on the white horse (A) armed with a bow who "went forth conquering and to conquer" was *War*. However, as "a crown was given unto him" some writers in the past have interpreted him to be the second coming of Christ. They find confirmation in a statement of St. John in Chapter 19 of Revelation as to a rider on a White horse with "many crowns" and upon "his vesture and on his thigh a name was written, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords." But as the Saviour did not carry weapons we may dismiss this interpretation and accept the common view of centuries that his name was *War*.

If St. John had lived through modern total war he could have heard such related names for this horseman as militarism, aggression and dictatorship.

From St. John's description of the rider on the black horse (C) his name was certainly *Famine*, he being the inevitable companion of war. Some modernist might surmise from his "pair of scales," fixing the prices of barley and his conserving of "oil and wine" that in addition to being a symbol of famine he also might have been a symbol of either a profiteer or a food administrator. That could only be resolved by further information as to whether

he was holding up the price of barley or holding it in restraint. In either case a food administrator comes with famine and is one of the torments of war.

Thus from examination of the text we may conclude that the names of three of the riders were *War*, *Death* and *Famine*. And these three names have been accepted for centuries. But what about the fourth?

The most common name assigned in modern times to the remaining horseman (B) is *Pestilence*. We may therefore examine the correctness of this theory at some length. St. John does not use this word anywhere in the Revelation. He was certainly familiar with the term as he knew the old scriptures, where it is used 19 times in nine of the books of the Old Testament from Exodus to Amos. And as the term occurs twice in the gospels, the Hebrew or Greek word was not obsolete in St. John's time.

However, St. John in the other parts of Revelation mentions about all the other disasters and punishments that can come to mankind. He enumerates over twenty varieties: killing by the sword, lightning, hail, floods, fire, brimstone, earthquakes, famine and terrible beasts. His dreadful assembly of evils or punishments also includes rivers and the sea turned to blood; water turned bitter as wormwood; the earth scorched with heat; the bottomless pit; hell; perdition; sorrow; the sun, moon and stars one-third darkened; torments such as bites by scorpions, and a variety of "abominations." *But he does not mention Pestilence.*

True, he twice uses the term "plague," and it might be argued that he used it as a synonym for pestilence. In the first instance (Chapter 11:6) he refers to powers to smite the earth with plagues. In the second instance (Chapter 16:9), he apparently refers to all these abominations collectively as plagues with no implications of disease.

But it can also be contended from examination of the same books of the Old Testament that plague was not a synonym for pestilence. They use the term plague over

60 times, and it is apparently distinguished from pestilence by association with *specific* evils. For example, it is used 38 times in connection with leprosy; at other points, it refers to other specific evils, such as the plagues inflicted on the Egyptians of rats, mice, frogs, locusts and flies. And the term plague is apparently also used for a state of mind. It might be argued that in a few instances it is implied by the writers of the Old Testament as "widespread disease," but in general the connotations given the two words seem to confirm that plague was not a synonym for pestilence.

If we come down to a later period and examine the field of art, there are two especially great representations of the Four Horsemen: the one a wood cut by Albrecht Durer done 460 years ago; the other a painting by Palma II Giovane of over 300 years ago. If we look over the dreadful visages of their horsemen, and the symbols of their activities they give no indication that *Pestilence* was one of them. The red horseman brandishes a "great sword," the symbol of conflict rather than of illness or disease.

From all this inquiry we conclude that the name *Pestilence* for the other horseman vanishes.

However, if we examine St. John's description of the red horseman (B) who had large powers "to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword," we may find a clue to the real name of this remaining horseman. We believe St. John who is so clear as to the other three, and so completely avoids the term pestilence, had some other idea in mind. Our belief is that he was trying to express for the other horseman the name which we know in modern times as *Revolution*. Revolution can of course be good or bad, but St. John's horseman had no good purpose.

We do not allow our imaginations to extend to the idea that St. John was prophesying Communism, even though one is tempted, partly because the horse is red, partly because

of the prophetic statement that power was given to the horseman "to take peace from the world."

We conclude firmly that the names of the Four Horsemen were *War, Death, Famine* and *Revolution*.

## Advice to Youth

*Letter to a Teen-Age Boy in Answer to  
His Inquiry: "What Qualities Should a  
Teen-Ager Strive for to Succeed in Life?"  
[October 16, 1958]*

A teen-age boy should be first just a boy as he can only be a boy once in a lifetime. He should be diligent at discovering the world as he is new in it. He should be active in sports, bull sessions and other joys of boys.

He has also to prepare to be a man. That requires education, religious training, discipline and understanding of the American way of life – much of which must come from Mother.

Yours faithfully,  
HERBERT HOOVER

## Upon His 85th Birthday

*Statement to the Press on Mr. Hoover's 85th Birthday*  
[August 10, 1959]

As you will be asking what I do with my spare time now that I have come of age, I have six jobs as yet uncompleted:

1. Watching the dangers which surround our country – hoping to be of occasional service.

2. Writing three documented volumes under the title, *An American Epic*, in which I show that the American people, by their longer hours of labor on our farms and their self-denial – without any financial repayment – have provided the margin of food, medical aid and supplies, and clothing that have in the last forty-five years saved the lives of 1,400,000,000 people, who otherwise would have perished.

3. Attending to the affairs of the Boys' Clubs of America.

4. Building up the great and unique Library on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University which has 25,000,000 items, documents and books upon World War I and World War II. Its possible publications can carry great lessons of experience to the American people. As a great philosopher said: "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to relive it."

5. I am a trustee, chairman or have other responsibility in about a dozen institutions.

6. Attending baseball games.

I have not retired. Those who retire without some occupation can spend their time only in talking about their ills and pills. And the other fellow wants only to talk about his.

## Advice to Youth

*Letter to a Schoolgirl Who Inquired: "Why Is the Study of Government Important to all Americans?"*

[April 1960]

You ask: "Why is the study of Government important to all Americans?"

There are dozens of reasons. I give you to start with:

1. When you begin to earn a living the Government will take about 30 per cent of your working hours by way of taxes. You might find it profitable to know what the Government does with your money.

2. The Government, beginning at your first grade and continuing to the university, provides for your education. It might be worth knowing something about these matters.

If you do not do so, your life may be solely washing dishes or sewing on buttons at the minimum wage permitted by a law. This minimum wage does not include an automobile.

And in the land in which you have the great fortune to live there have been great men and great women who have given great sacrifice, great courage and great heroism to create your government. It might be good to know about these men and women.

HERBERT HOOVER

*ADDENDUM*

CAN EUROPE'S CHILDREN  
BE SAVED?

## Can Europe's Children be Saved?\*

*Broadcast from New York City  
[October 19, 1941]*

JUST a year ago I and a large committee of American religious and public leaders proposed a plan to prevent wholesale starvation in the German-invaded democracies. They are being ground between the millstones of German requisitions and the British blockade. I appealed for international cooperation to prevent a holocaust of death and stunted bodies and minds in their millions of children.

Since we presented this terrible problem a year ago Serbia, Greece, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have been conquered. Today there are somewhere near 40 million of children in German-invaded democracies. Millions of them are in jeopardy. And these are peoples who fought for their freedom, who were overpowered, who have been subjected to terrible oppressions. Their pleas ascend hourly to the free democracies of the West for food.

According to the press dispatches His Holiness the Pope has raised the powerful voice for cooperation in the future interest of humanity.

The starvation we forecast a year ago and which we hoped to prevent has swept over many of these innocent people during the last winter and spring. I have no wish to recite the heart-breaking reports which come to us daily. I will mention but two of them.

A survey of Belgium three months ago by the leading physicians and health authorities showed the march of the

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\* This address is placed here in this volume because it was inadvertently omitted from the proper volume of *Addresses upon the American Road, 1941-1945*.

tragedy we had tried to prevent. The report reaffirms that strong adults can survive for awhile on a meager ration of bread and potatoes of late mostly furnished by the Germans. The shortage in meats, fats and milk is crucifying the children. This report showed that the people are devoting practically all their meager fats and milk to the children under three years of age. Yet with all this sacrifice there is a deficiency in food for even the little ones. The report continues that the worst effects of starvation show among the children from three years upwards. They say that 47 per cent of the children in the kindergartens, 63 per cent of primary schools, and 42 per cent in the higher schools were in a definitely weak condition. They inform us that many children were unable to come to school at all. There has been appalling stop in growth, rise in disease and mortality among them. The report ends with the statement, "The health of several generations will be irremediably impaired if nothing is done to relieve the present situation."

Then there is a report from Poland. This report concerns the Jews in the city of Warsaw. It shows that in July deaths had increased to 15 times the normal. The municipal newspaper was appealing to the people not to throw the corpses in the streets. Normally the birth rate there exceeds the death rate, yet the death rate among children was ten times the birth rate. The report closes, "If any substantial part of Polish Jewry is to survive the horrors of next winter it can be done only under such a plan as Mr. Hoover has proposed." Does anyone doubt that Greek children are starving in thousands?

I have no desire to repeat horrors beyond indicating the situation.

The situation during the forthcoming winter over Europe will be far worse even than last winter and spring. Except in Germany, the harvests have been less than they were even a year ago. The blockade has somewhat reduced the meats and fats in Germany. But its effect upon

meat, fat and food for children is far greater in the occupied democracies. They bear the full impact.

There are other tragedies of this war. I am not blind to the thousands of women and children killed from the sky. I am not blind to the horrors of sinking ships at sea. I am not blind to the execution of hostages. And I am not blind to the millions of men dying and wounded upon the battlefields. I am not blind to the oppression of occupying armies. I pray all these things may be stopped. But I know they will not be stopped now. There is, however, the possibility that this one horror of the sacrifice of children could be stopped.

I raised the question a year ago in response to an appeal to me from the peoples inside those countries and officials of their exiled governments. That appeal was directed to me and my colleagues because we, with the backing of the American Government, had in 1914 found the method and brought about the cooperation for this purpose of the warring nations. And by that cooperation 10 million people in Belgium and Northern France were saved under precisely the same tragic circumstances of German invasion and British blockade that exist today.

Based on that experience, we have made various proposals in an effort to find a solution. We proposed such methods and safeguards that there could be no military advantage to either side. We originally proposed that the same broad measures which were used in the last war should be adopted. It was to be administered by some non-official body. As this was refused we then proposed that we try a small experiment in Belgium to feed 2,000,000 children and 1,000,000 destitute adults. I clearly labeled it an experiment to determine what could be done. The Germans went a long way toward that agreement. The British decided against it, although it was to be safeguarded to meet their every military objection.

After that time, American relations to the war so shifted that it was no longer possible for an American individual

or any non-official body to conduct such negotiation or operations. To meet these changed conditions I therefore proposed last April to our State Department that our Government should enlist the services of some of the remaining neutral governments such as Switzerland, Sweden, Argentine or Ireland, to act as the trustee for these helpless people. I suggested that such a neutral government should with American encouragement negotiate with both of the belligerents such safeguards that would give no military advantage to either side. As a basis of such negotiation I proposed that the Germans, having a surplus of breadstuffs, should supply from their own stocks what breadstuffs were needed to save these children. I suggested that only the fats and special food for children which, due to the blockade are deficient all over Europe, should be imported overseas. I proposed that the Germans should cease to take any of the native food products of these countries. I proposed that the trustee government should undertake to administer and safeguard the relief by its own agents. I proposed that the Administration take over the whole question. So far as I have been able to learn our Government took no steps in that direction.

During all these discussions many objections have been raised. It is desirable that I deal with these arguments again.

The natural fear of many people is that this food would benefit Hitler, The whole basis of our proposals is that the Germans cease to take food from the countries put under relief. And moreover, that they themselves furnish the breadstuffs needed from their own stocks. Their cooperation thus takes food from them, not to them.

There are others who do not see how this process can be controlled even if agreed to. I, and 300 living Americans know this can be done for we did it twenty years ago. I will explain again, and use our recent proposal for an experiment in Belgium as an example. The food from overseas is to be paid for by the Belgians, and the funds

are available. It is to be brought in ships not otherwise available to supply Britain. It would be shipped over the frontier to central warehouses. These warehouses are to be under neutral control. The warehouse is notified of every shipment. From the warehouses smaller shipments are made directly to soup kitchens. They are notified of every shipment. These kitchens are operated by Belgian women. Every child or its mother who receives food must come to the soup kitchen and eat it on the spot. Those who get it must produce tickets issued by other committees of Belgian women based upon need. None but Belgians are given tickets. The supreme anxiety of every Belgian woman is that no food should escape from the children of her race.

If there is any failure of food to arrive anywhere it is instantly reported to the neutral supervisors.

Part of this plan is that the German army should take no food from Belgium, either native or imported. It is only Belgian farmers who grow food. If it is taken by a German it is taken from a Belgian, and the Belgians know it. They report it at once to the neutral commission. Also under this proposal the Germans must provide the breadstuffs from their own stocks. Obviously the Belgians know if they don't get it, as they don't eat. Thus the neutral commission knows it. If the food stream fails anywhere, it is traced, and if infractions of the guarantees are involved they must be made good. If they are not made good, the whole effort fails. Further shipments are stopped.

But entirely apart from these natural fears, a vast organized propaganda of misrepresentation was spread over the United States and Britain. I have always refused to answer lies and smearing. I could speak with great bitterness. But I shall say only this: the National Committee, of which I am a member, embraces 1,000 leaders of every religious faith. It embraces interventionists and non-interventionists, Democrats and Republicans. There is no politics

in this appeal for the lives of children. If, by the grace of God, governments could be moved to act, relief would be administered by the agents of neutral governments and not by our organization.

And there are other fantastic statements spread across the country by foreign propaganda. It is said the Germans would seize breadstuffs and make alcohol from them and use the alcohol to propel their airplanes. And yet we have never proposed that a pound of breadstuffs should be imported. But, on the contrary, we proposed the Germans should contribute these breadstuffs. The statement has been spread that the Germans could seize the imported fats and transform them into glycerine and thus into explosives. Yet any munitions manufacturer will say that modern explosives are not made from glycerine or fats.

There are lies spread that the Germans took the food from the Belgian Relief Commission in the last war. There were occasional infractions of those agreements. But these infractions were all remedied. And the officials of the British and French Governments, who contributed hundreds of millions of dollars to it, who had everything at stake, are on the public record time and time again expressing their satisfaction. And they based that satisfaction on the reports of their own agents.

There are those who say that decision having been taken by the British Government we should no longer agitate it. When has free speech departed? The British people do not hesitate to differ on the policies of their Government. But more important, this is not solely a British question. It concerns a dozen democracies, including ourselves. In any event, has the time come when we in America cannot discuss the issues of human life and civilization?

These misrepresentations are important only in that they contribute to the death of millions of children.

And I would like to ask those who have opposed these proposals: Is the Allied cause any further advanced today as a consequence of this starvation of children? Are

Hitler's armies any less victorious than if these children had been saved? Are Britain's children better fed today because these millions of former Allied children have been hungry or died? Can you point to one benefit that has been gained from this holocaust? Isn't it time that we realize these attitudes cannot be continued if our own spiritual life is not to be soiled?

There are important events that have happened since I first proposed this action which seem to me to warrant renewed hope that cooperation could be brought about between nations.

America is today furnishing food to the British women and children. We do it gladly, but have not the other women and children of democracies the right to life also?

The British have themselves relaxed the blockade in important ways. For instance, Britain is furnishing food to some 40,000 British prisoners of war in Germany. Thus our British friends themselves open their own blockade to their countrymen. Moreover, the British Government trusts the German Government to distribute this British food. And the British officials state it is distributed with fidelity. These prisoners already have the ration of a German soldier, and indeed they merit every comfort. If it is practical to feed captive British soldiers, is it not practical to feed captive women and children who do not have the ration of the German soldier?

Also the blockade has been relaxed for Sweden. The Swedes occupy a position where all governments are solicitous for their political attitudes. They are allowed to pass needed supplies from American ports through the blockade. But by what logic or humanity can neutrals be given supplies and peoples who have fought and died in the Allied cause be discriminated against?

And the blockade has been relaxed for Greece. Within the last month the Turkish Government, with no great reserves of food, has agreed to large shipments to save the Greeks. They have secured cooperation from both

Britain and Germany. It will be partly paid for by Americans. That food is permitted to pass the British blockade. The Turks are Mohammedans; they are not Christians. I wish that Belgium, Poland, Norway and the others had a friend as compassionate as Turkey.

I may add to this that my colleagues and I have from the beginning of this war until 3 months ago carried a small stream of relief to some 50,000 children in Poland. Initially we were permitted to take food through the British blockade. When that became impossible we purchased food in the Baltic and Balkan countries which did not pass through the blockade. When that became impossible, through their being involved in war, we then appealed directly to Russia. The Russians, because these same associates of mine had fed millions of Russian children in the famine of 1922, allowed us to buy food in their country and ship it to these children in Warsaw.

Indeed it was a small trickle, because our resources were small. That is today ended unless supplies can come from overseas. But this relief functioned during 18 months without interference from the Germans. That experience gives further confidence that international cooperation can still be established to save these millions.

The dead children of last winter and spring are gone. Whatever our bitterness may be for their useless sacrifice, they are past help. Our problem now is to look to saving the millions of others. That can be done if the American, the British, the German and the neutral governments of Europe will cooperate.

To the German people I can say that I know that the great mass of Germans do not wish for this suffering of women and children. To the German Government I can say that they may perhaps remember that I led the fight for the removal of the food blockade from the day of the Armistice in the last World War, that I fed millions of German children after that war.

To the British Government I can say that in the last

World War it was largely their generosity, their compassion, that saved ten millions of Belgians and French during that dreadful time. And I can say more – that I have at this moment advices from many responsible English men and women that they hope I will not stop my appeals, and stating their belief that their government should act favorably upon this question.

And I would like to say something to the exiled governments of some of the small democracies. A year ago officials of each of them appealed to me to lead this cause for their people. I am well aware that they have ceased in these appeals. Some of them inform me they must obey the policies of the Western democracies. But the appeals from their people in their countries have not ceased. They come daily to me in heart-breaking missives. And some day the political leaders of these small democracies will need to face their own people at home.

I can say to the neutral government, whether it might be Switzerland, or Ireland, or Sweden, or the Argentine, or all of them that might be entrusted with the trusteeship of these millions of human beings, that no greater glory could ever come to them than to be entrusted with such a mission.

To the American Government I have the right as a citizen to speak even more freely. I can say that the initiative in the last war which saved millions of lives came from the American State Department. The President at that time, Woodrow Wilson, was the constant guardian of that Relief during all those four years. And I can say to the American Government: You are now in such a relationship to this war that you have a right to a voice. What is more, you are contributing to the blockade of these small democracies. And, deny it if you will, there is some moral responsibility attached to America now. It is not enough to plead international law. I agree Germany has the moral responsibility to feed them. There is a vague legal responsibility. But the overpowering fact is

Germany does not, as the result of the blockade, have the kind of food needed for these women and children. They will not feed them. That stark fact faces the world. And these helpless people cannot eat morals and international law. Those Americans who deny moral responsibility cannot deny the obligations of compassion and self interest in the future of civilization.

I have recently read many statements by American and Allied leaders that large stocks of food will be accumulated with which to relieve these people after they are free from German domination. When that day may come no man can tell. But these promises sound hollow in my ears. Food for dead people has little consequence. I am in favor of providing food with which to fight the inevitable famine which will follow this war. I trust it is not being offered these people as a substitute for action now. It is not necessary to give such promises to people who are suffering and dying. That does not offer hope to them. It adds bitterness to their fate.

I can say further to our own Government that last spring a number of the members of our Senate and House of Representatives became interested in this question. Jointly Democrats and Republicans introduced a resolution into both Houses, making a simple request of our Government that it should initiate negotiations for international action on this question. The resolution in the Senate was signed by 37 of its members, and I understand a majority of the whole Senate favors it. It was endorsed by a majority of members of the House. This resolution was endorsed by some 6,000 public bodies, church organizations, committees and other responsible groups throughout our country. Those resolutions alone represent the voice of at least 20 million people. Surely such an expression of American compassion deserves more adequate attention from our Government than to be dismissed by a curt letter from our State Department.

We have been engaged in much discussion over the freedom

of religion in foreign countries. I learned at my mother's knee that compassion and responsibility for my neighbors was a part of our American faith.

Has hate so entered our souls that we are indifferent to innocent suffering? Have we lost our way entirely? I do not believe it.

We talk much of our responsibility to the future of civilization. Is not the preservation of these children also a part of this responsibility? Hitler cannot be defeated with armies of starving children.

In conclusion, I do not believe it would make the slightest difference in the military outcome of this war if we assured food to the needy among the whole 40,000,000 democratic children in Europe. The Germans will not lose this war from a shortage of food. And eminent soldiers agree with me.

To those who say it is impossible to secure cooperation among nations for this purpose I wish again to repeat two reasons that make it worth trying:

First, it was done for four long years during the last war, and it was done to the satisfaction, publicly expressed, of all the governments concerned.

Second, last February the German Government negotiated favorably upon such action in respect to Belgium. And furthermore there are breaks in the British blockade by the relaxations that I have mentioned.

To doubting Americans let me say this: Suppose the Western democracies should place this problem in the hands of some one of the neutral governments for solution. Suppose that neutral government was not able to make a satisfactory agreement with the German Government. Then an effort would have been made which at least demonstrated the compassion and solicitude of the Western World. There would then be no hate stored against America for failure.

Suppose the Germans did make such an agreement and should subsequently violate it, then at once the effort

would be stopped. If they seized all the stocks of imported food they would not have secured a day's ration for Germany. And again the Western democracies would have demonstrated their ideals to the world.

Our Government should make an effort with every influence in its power. If its effort should fail, its duty is to develop publicly who is responsible for failure. The Administration of Woodrow Wilson did find the solution. It can be done again if there is the will to do it. Our Government has a grave responsibility today.

My countrymen, unless this effort is made our failure to act will some day come back to fill this nation with grief and remorse.

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