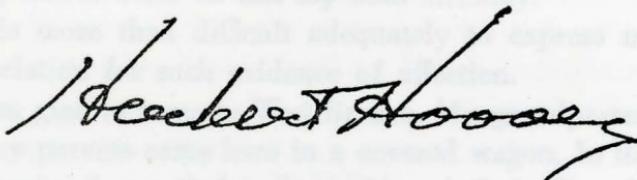


THE PROTECTION *of* FREEDOM

ADDRESS BY

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Herbert Hoover". The signature is written in a cursive style with a prominent, sweeping initial 'H'.

AT THE RECEPTION

GIVEN BY THE STATE OF IOWA

ON HIS 80TH BIRTHDAY

WEST BRANCH, IOWA • AUGUST 10, 1954

THE PROTECTION *of* FREEDOM

THE LEGISLATURE AND THE GOVERNOR OF IOWA did me the great honor of inviting me to a reception by my native State on this my 80th birthday.

It is more than difficult adequately to express my appreciation for such evidence of affection.

I am glad to come to West Branch. My grandparents and my parents came here in a covered wagon. In this community they toiled and worshipped God. They lie buried on your hillside. The most formative years of my boyhood were spent here. My roots are in this soil.

This cottage where I was born is physical proof of the unbounded opportunity of American life.

My first paid job was in this community picking potato bugs at one cent a hundred. I was not inspired by altruism to relieve the world of a pest. Such altruism as was attached to that labor was to secure firecrackers with which to commemorate properly the Declaration of Independence. But Iowa is a progressive State. Its mothers, anxious to avoid repairs to small boys, secured a law abolishing that kind of tribute to the Founding Fathers. Moreover, by insecticides, the slave wage of only a cent a hundred has been overcome.

Iowa has made fabulous progress since I left here. I can prove it by statistics—and all speeches must have

statistics because nobody can defy a statistic.

Since that time, the people of Iowa have multiplied the wealth of the State nine times over. That statistic is weakened by the decrease in purchasing power of money. In the meantime with the blessing of "the tall corn" you have sent to market enough hogs to cover the Chicago Stock Yards 5,045 feet deep. You can vary that statistic as you like.

Also, you have sent forth a host of men and women who have distinguished themselves in every State in the Union and every foreign country. Their quality is proved by the fact that I have never seen Iowa attributed as the origin of any of our leading bank robbers, gangsters or Communists.

A VARIED LIFE

Eighty years is a long time for a man to live. Mine has been a life of work in many lands under many kinds of governments, both good and bad. I have been honored by my countrymen in many public offices and with many opportunities to serve outside the Government. I have watched the two great world wars with their holocausts of death, destruction and famine. I have taken some part in remedy of their terrible aftermaths. I have participated in the search for a healing peace.

I have witnessed the legacy of war in doubting minds, brutality, crime and debased morals. Moreover, I have witnessed on the ground in 20 nations the workings of the philosophy of that anti-Christ, Karl Marx.

THE PROBLEMS OF FREEDOM AND PROGRESS

After these long years and from all these experiences,

there rises constantly in my mind the forces which make for progress and those which may corrode away the safeguards of freedom in America. I want to say something about these forces but I shall endeavor to do so, not in the tones of Jeremiah but in the spirit of Saint Paul.

New forces from science and new ideas, both good and bad, constantly arise in the world. We welcome changes which advance the welfare of our people. Our system always needs repairs.

Also we have to clean up the vast wreckage and disorders of two devastating tornadoes of wars which have swept over mankind during the past 40 years.

And above all, we have need to remedy constant corruption of the safe-guards of free men.

The remedies in America are not revolution. They are except for peace and war mostly jobs of marginal repairs around a sound philosophy and a stout heart.

THE SAFEGUARDS OF FREE MEN

Our Founding Fathers did not invent the priceless boon of individual freedom and respect for the dignity of men. That great gift to mankind sprang from the Creator and not from governments.

The Founding Fathers, with superb genius, welded together the safeguards of these freedoms.

They were mostly concerned with the dangers of political tyranny. With the coming of the industrial age our people welded in new safeguards. We could no more have economic tyranny than political tyranny.

And with these safeguards our people were at one

time closer to the goals of human welfare than any other civilization in all history.

POWER OF FEDERAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The progress of freedom is a never-ending struggle to prevent the abuse of power whether by individuals, by groups, or by government or nations.

Our Founding Fathers created unique restraints on power by the Bill of Rights and a structure of built-in checks and balances. Among these new concepts was a division of power between the Federal and State Governments and between the three branches of government. I do not need to tell you that. But what I have to tell you is that these separations of power became seriously confused, corroded and weakened during the 20 years before this Administration.

These confusions have included Executive encroachment on the Legislative and Judicial branches. There has been judicial encroachment on the States' rights. There has been Congressional encroachment on the Executive. The Federal Government has grasped many of the vital functions of State and local government.

Some of the corrosions of our division of power are the aftermaths of our wars. Some of them come from the various infections of Socialism. I will tell you more of that later.

Some of the corrosions come from the discovery that it is easy for the Federal Government to light the magic power of Federal credit. But the flame that warms can also consume the safeguards of free men.

Some of these encroachments come from a long era of beguilement by pressure groups and local govern-

ment for subsidies from the Federal Government.

One of the end results of all this is the growth of a huge centralized Federal bureaucracy. It has expanded in 20 years from 600,000 to 2,300,000. Some increase is necessary. Most of them are fine men and women. But innate in bureaucracy are three implacable spirits. They are self-perpetuation, expansion of their empires, and demand for more power. Bureaucracy rushes headlong into the visions of the millennium and sends the bill to the Treasury.

Today we have more Federal employees in nearly every state than all the local officials, including constables. They penetrate every part of local government. They produce great waste of the taxpayers' money. They create a vested interest or a vested habit for some pressure group. They interfere in politics and too often are infected with corruption.

Their magics invade personal freedom of every citizen, every moment of every hour.

The remedy is to restore the checks and balances of power, to reinvigorate State and local governments and to deflate the bureaucratic empires.

Many of these confusions of power are today under vigorous investigation in which I have some part.

My countrymen, all these corrosions of the checks and balances of power call for constant battle from you, the people. They must be wiped out if you would stay fully free.

POWER IN OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS

In our foreign relations there are great dangers and also vital safeguards to free men. During the last war

we witnessed a special encroachment of the Executive upon the Legislative Branch. This has been through a new type of commitment of the United States to other nations. I am not going to argue legalisms, for they do not go to the center of the issue. The real issue is whether the President, through declaration or implication or by appeasement or by acquiescence, or by joint statements with foreign officials, can commit the American people to foreign nations without the specific consent of the elected representatives of the people.

There has been a grievous list of such commitments. They include international agreements which shackle our economy by limiting a free market. But more terrible were such executive agreements as our recognition of Soviet Russia which opened the headgates for a torrent of traitors. Our tacit alliance with Soviet Russia spread Communism over the earth. Our acquiescence in the annexation by Russia of the Baltic States at Moscow and the partition of Poland at Teheran extinguished the liberties of tens of millions of people. Worse still was the appeasement and surrender at Yalta of ten nations to slavery. And there was the secret agreement with respect to China which set in train the communization of Mongolia, North Korea and all of China.

These unrestrained Presidential actions have resulted in a shrinking of human freedom over the whole world. From these actions came the jeopardies of the Cold War. As a by-product these actions have shrunk our freedoms by crushing taxes, huge defense costs, inflation and compulsory military service.

We must make such misuse of power forever impossible.

And let me say, I have no fears of this evil from President Eisenhower, but he will not always be President.

OUR PRESENT FOREIGN SITUATION

Our dangers from the Communist source of gigantic evil in the world are unending. All of the peace agencies we have created and all of the repeated conferences we have held have failed to find even a whisper of real peace.

Amid these malign forces, our haunting anxiety and our paramount necessity is the defense of our country.

It is not my purpose to define the foreign policies of our government.

Sooner or later a new line of action will become imperative.

I have disagreed with, and protested against, the most dangerous of our foreign political policies during the whole of the 20 years prior to the last Presidential election. I opposed and protested every step in the policies which led us into the Second World War.

Especially in June 1941 when Britain was safe from a German invasion due to Hitler's diversion to attack on Stalin, I urged that the gargantuan jest of all history would be our giving aid to the Soviet Government. I urged we should allow those two dictators to exhaust each other. I stated that the result of our assistance would be to spread Communism over the whole world. I urged that if we stood aside the time would come when we could bring lasting peace to the world.

I have no regrets. The consequences have proved that I was right.

THE COMMUNISTS

Today the Socialist virus and poison gas generated by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels have spread into every nation on the earth. Their dogma is absolute materialism which defies truth and religious faith. Their poisons are of many sorts. The preservation of the safeguards of liberty makes it imperative that we give heed to their every variety.

The bloody virus type, radiating from Communist Russia, is today rotting the souls of two-fifths of all mankind which it has enslaved.

From the day Lenin rose to power in Moscow, the Communists have carried on an underground conspiracy against every other nation. The rank and file of our people are immune from this infection. The recruiting grounds for their agents are from our minority of fuzzy-minded intellectuals and labor leaders. Over a thousand such Communist agents have already been rooted out of responsible positions in our Government and other spots of influence.

Many of these spies and traitors when exposed sought sanctuary for their infamies in the Fifth Amendment. Such a plea of immunity is an implication of guilt. Surely these people should not have the right to vote or to hold office, for thereby they use these privileges of free men against the safeguards of freedom.

Despite the clamor over ferreting out these persons, you must not be led into the mistake that Moscow has closed down its recruiting offices for American agents. Or that continued action of the F.B.I. and Congressional Committees is not equally imperative.

I have little fear that these Communist agents can

destroy the Republic if we continue to ferret them out. Our greater concern should be the other varieties of Karl Marx virus.

THE SOCIALISTS

Among them are the Socialists. They assert they would proceed only by Constitutional means.

The Socialists prowl on many fronts. They promote the centralized Federal Government, with its huge bureaucracy. They drive to absorb the income of the people by unnecessary government spending and exorbitant taxes. They have pushed our government deep into enterprises which compete with the rights of free men. These enterprises are endowed with exemption from control of state and local governments. Congressional Committees have listed hundreds of these Federal activities. But only a drop of typhoid in a barrel of drinking water sickens a whole village.

Every step of these programs somewhere, somehow, stultifies the freedom, the incentives, the courage, and the creative impulses of our people.

Beyond all this, there is proof in the world that the end result of Socialism can be bloody Communism. In the Iron Curtain States, it was the Socialist intellectuals who weakened the freedom of men by destroying free enterprise. Thus they furnished the boarding ladders by which the Communists captured the Ship of State.

THE WELFARE STATE

One of the postwar cousins of Socialism is the so-called "Welfare State." This poison gas is generated by the same sort of fuzzy-minded intellectuals. Its slogan

is "Planned Economy." The phrase itself was borrowed from totalitarian governments. The end of it would at least be a government wherein whatever is not forbidden would be compulsory.

One of the annoyances of this cult is its false assumption that our nation has never been heedful of the welfare of our people. That we are our brother's keeper was rooted in religious faith long before these fuzzy-minded men were born. Since the foundation of the Republic, we have recognized and practiced both private and government responsibility for the unfortunate and the aged; for the education of our youth and the health of our people.

Moreover, this cult has a host of gimmicks for giving away the people's money. Among their idea is that government should guarantee every citizen security from the cradle to the grave.

But it is solely the initiative and the labor of the physically able in the prime of life that can support the aged, the young, the sick—and the bureaucracy. And this active earning group requires the pressures of competition, the rewards of enterprise and new adventure to keep it on the job. Even if security from the cradle to the grave could eliminate the risks of life, it would be a dead hand on the creative spirit of our people. Also, the judgment of the Lord to Adam about sweat has not been repealed.

When we flirt with the Delilah of security for our productive group, we had better watch out, lest in our blindness we pull down the pillars of the temple of free men.

The British under a Socialist government tried it. Its result was a level of poverty which British Socialists sought to obscure with the term "austerity." Britain is now in retreat from it.

THE COMMON MAN

Among the delusions offered us by fuzzy-minded people is that imaginary creature, the Common Man. It is dinned into us that this is the Century of the Common Man. The whole idea is another cousin of the Soviet proletariat. The Uncommon Man is to be whittled down to size. It is the negation of individual dignity and a slogan of mediocrity and uniformity.

The Common Man dogma may be of use as a vote-getting apparatus. It supposedly proves the humility of demagogues.

The greatest strides of human progress have come from uncommon men and women. You have perhaps heard of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, or Thomas Edison. They were humble in origin, but that was not their greatness.

The humor of it is that when we get sick, we want an uncommon doctor. When we go to war, we yearn for an uncommon general or admiral. When we choose the President of a University, we want an uncommon educator.

The imperative need of this nation at all times is the leadership of the Uncommon Men or Women. We need men and women who cannot be intimidated, who are not concerned with applause meters, nor those who sell tomorrow for cheers today.

Such leaders are not to be made like queen bees.

They must rise by their own merits. America recognizes no frozen social stratifications which prevent this free rise of every individual. They rise by merit from our shops and farms. They rise from the thirty-five million boys and girls in our schools and colleges. That they have the determination to rise is the glorious promise of leadership among free men.

A nation is strong or weak, it thrives or perishes upon what it believes to be true. If our youth is rightly instructed in the faith of our fathers; in the traditions of our country; in the dignity of each individual man, then our power will be stronger than any weapon of destruction that man can devise.

THIS WHOLE SOCIALIST GAMUT

And now as to this whole gamut of Socialist infections, I say to you, the neighbors of my childhood, the sons and daughters of my native State, God has blessed us with another wonderful word — heritage. The great documents of that heritage are not from Karl Marx. They are the Bible, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Within them alone can the safeguards of freedom survive. Safeguard the true spirit of these guarantees for your children, that they may not become the prisoners of a hydra-headed Socialism.

If anyone rises to say that all this is reactionary, you may class him as either fuzzy-minded or an ignorant enemy of free men.

THE NEW FRONTIERS

Amid this recitation of our problems, I would not

have you think that there are not great fields of promise for the future if we can keep out of war.

The last few years have seen advances in science 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 are open to us. New inventions and new applications of old knowledge will come to us daily.

These new frontiers give us other blessings. Not only do they expand our living but also they open new opportunities and new areas of adventure and enterprise. They open new vistas of beauty. They unfold the wonders of the atom and the heavens. Daily they prove the reality of an all-wise Supreme Giver of Law.

CONCLUSION

There are voices in our country who daily sound alarms that our civilization is on the way out. Concentrated on the difficulties of our times, they see an early and dour end for us. But civilization does not decline and fall while the people still possess dynamic creative faculties, devotion to religious faith and to liberty. The American people still possess these qualities. We are not at the bedside of a nation in death agony.

Eighty years is a long time for a man to live. As the shadows lengthen over my years, my confidence, my hopes and dreams for my countrymen are undimmed. This confidence is that with advancing knowledge, toil will grow less exacting; that fear, hatred, pain, and tears may subside; that the regenerating sun of creative ability and religious devotion will refresh each morning the strength and progress of my country.