ress of Herbert Hoover Accepting the Republican Nomination for President

oblems of Past 7 roblems of Recon-on; Those of Fu-, Construction

, Mr. Chairman, formal ny nomination by the party to the Presidency d States. I accept. It honor to be chosen for n that party which has ade the history of our these last 70 years.

rman, you and your as- ve in four days traveled across the continent to h notice. I am remind- order to notify George of his election, Charles secretary of the con- seven days on horse- ver that important in- 220 miles from New unt Vernon.

er way, too, this occa- nates the milestones of By the magic of the ination was heard by our fellow citizens, not after its occurence, nor e even one minute. They l intents and purposes, the hall, participants in ings. Today these same ve heard your voice a I earing mine. We stand een presence. It is fit- er, that the forms of l life, hallowed by gen- usage, should be jeal- rved, and for that rea- ve come to me, as simil- ons have come to other through the years.

visible millions have al- d from Kansas City the our party principles, wish to hear from the urse upon the platform h I fully concur—but of the spirit and ideals it is proposed to carry inistration.

blems of the past seven been problems of recon- our problems of the fu- roblems of construction, problems of progress. gantic forces have come ational life. The world ed ideas of government with our principles. We n to financial and phys- which compels us into ing among nations. Sci- ven us new tools and a inventions. Through come to each of us wid- ship, no neighbors, e, broader vision, higher greater problems. To these tools shall not be it liberty has brought a of questions in govern-

ts of contact between ment and the people are multiplying. Every ear mental policies become in ordinary life. As our grew to do our tempta- to venture away from ciples upon which our was founded and upon has grown to greatness. we must direct economic n support of moral and ogress.

Nation of Homes

rty platform deals mainly omic problems, but our not an agglomeration of of ships, of factories, of or statistics. It is a na- mes, a nation of men, of f children. Every man ht to ask of us whether d States is a better place his wife and his children because the Republican conducted the govern- nearly eight years. Every s a right to ask whether her home, her man's job, , her happiness, will be ured by the continuance publican party in power, to discuss the questions in that light.

is occasion we inaugurate ign. It shall be an hon- ign; every penny will be counted for. It shall be mpaign. We shall use convey our meaning, not

publican party came into nearly eight years ago. ssary to remind ourselves ritical conditions of that e were confronted with pleted peace and involved and dangerous disputes home and abroad. The overnment was spending te of five and one-half er year; our national debt the staggering total of ar billions. The foreign re unsettled. The coun- in a panic from over ex- due to the war and the inflation of credit and after the armistice, fol- a precipitant nation-wide which in half a year the prices of commodities by one-half. Agriculture trated; land was unsale- mmerce and industry were t; our foreign trade ebbed e millions of unemployed the streets. Discontent and against our democracy spant. Fear for the fu- nied every heart.

rty ever accepted a more task of reconstruction the Republican party in he record of these seven half years constitutes a rare courage in leader- constructive action. Never litical party been able to k upon a similar period ore satisfaction. Never look forward with more e that its record would red by the electorate.

has been made. The heal- urses of good will have ex- d the fires of hate. Year n our relations with other we have advanced the law and of peace, in sub- for force. By rigorous federal expenses have uced by two billions per The national debt has uced by six and a half The foreign debts have tled in large part and on terms which have regard for our debtors and for our taxpayers. Taxes have been reduced four successive times. These reductions have been made in the particular interest of the smaller taxpayers. For this purpose taxes upon articles of consumption and popular service have been removed. The income tax rolls today show a reduction of 80 per cent in the total revenue collected on income under $10,000 per year, while they show a reduction of only 25 per cent in revenues from incomes above that amount. Each successive reduction in taxes has brought a reduction in the cost of living to all our people.

Some Industries Still Lag

Commerce and industry have revived. Although the agricultural, coal and textile industries still lag in their recovery and still require our solicitude and assistance, yet they have made substantial progress. While other countries engaged in the war are only now regaining their prewar level in foreign trade, our exports, even if we allow for the depreciated dollar, are 55 per cent greater than before the war. Constructive leadership and cooperation by the government have released and stimulated the energies of our people. Faith in the future has been restored. Confidence in our form of government has never been greater.

But it is not through the recitation of wise policies in government alone that we demonstrate our progress under Republican guidance. To me the test is the security, comfort and opportunity that has been brought to the average American family. During this less than eight years our population has increased by 5 per cent. Yet our national income has increased by over thirty billions of dollars per year or more than 45 per cent. Our production—and therefore our consumption—of goods has increased by over 25 per cent. It is easily demonstrated that these increases have been widely spread among our whole people. Home ownership has grown. While during this period the number of families has increased by about 2,500,000 we have built more than 3,500,000 new and better homes. In this short time we have equipped nearly nine million more homes with electricity, and through it drudgery has been lifted from the lives of women. The barriers of time and distance have been swept away and life made freer and larger by the installation of six million more telephones, seven million radio sets, and the service of an additional 14 million automobiles. Our cities are growing magnificent with beautiful buildings, parks, and playgrounds. Our countryside has been knit together with splendid roads.

We have doubled the use of electrical power and with it we have taken sweat from the backs of men. The purchasing power of wages has steadily increased. The hours of labor have decreased. The 12-hour day has been abolished. Great progress has been made in stabilization of commerce and industry. The job of every man has thus been made more secure. Unemployment in the sense of distress is widely disappearing.

Most of all, I like to remember what this progress has meant to American children. The portal of their opportunity has been ever widening. While our population has grown but 5 per cent we have increased by 11 per cent the number of children in our grade schools, by 66 per cent the number in our high schools, and by 75 per cent the number in our institutions of higher learning.

With all our spending we have doubled savings deposits in our banks and building and loan associations. We have nearly doubled our life insurance. Nor have our people been selfish. They have met with a full hand the most sacred obligation of man—charity. The gifts of America to churches, to hospitals, and institutions for the care of the afflicted, and to relief from great disasters, have surpassed by hundreds of millions any totals for any similar period in all human record.

Near Triumph Over Poverty

One of the oldest and perhaps the noblest of human aspirations has been the abolition of poverty. By poverty I mean the grinding by undernourishment, cold, and ignorance and fear of old age of those who have the will to work. We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land. The poorhouse is vanishing from among us. We have not yet reached the goal but given a chance to go forward with the policies of the last eight years, and we shall soon with the help of God be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this nation. There is no guarantee against poverty equal to a job for every man. That is the primary purpose of the economic policies we advocate.

I especially rejoice in the effect of our increased national efficiency upon the improvement of the American home. That is the sanctuary of our loftiest ideals, the source of the spiritual energy of our people. The bettered home surroundings, the expanded schools and playgrounds, and the enlarged leisure which have come with our economic progress have brought to the average family a fuller life, a wider outlook, a stirred imagination, and a lift in aspirations.

Economic advancement is not an

HERBERT HOOVER

end in itself. Successful democracy rests wholly upon the moral and spiritual quality of its people. Our growth in spiritual achievements must keep pace with our growth in physical accomplishments. Material prosperity and moral progress must march together if we would make the United States that commonwealth so grandly conceived by its founders. Our government, to match the expectations of our people, must have constant regard for those human values that give dignity and nobility to life. Generosity of impulse, cultivation of mind, willingness to sacrifice, spaciousness of spirit—those are the qualities whereby America, growing bigger and richer and more powerful, may become America great and noble. A people or government to which these values are not real, because they are not tangible, is in peril. Size, wealth, and power alone cannot fulfill the promise of America's opportunity.

The most urgent economic problem in our nation today is in agriculture. It must be solved if we are to bring prosperity and contentment to one-third of our people directly and to all of our people indirectly. We have pledged ourselves to find a solution.

In my mind most agricultural discussions go wrong because of two false premises. The first is that agriculture is one industry. It is a dozen distinct industries incapable of the same organization. The second false premise is that rehabilitation will be complete when it has reached a point comparable with pre-war. Agriculture was not upon a satisfactory basis before the war. The abandoned farms of the northeast bear their own testimony. Generally there was but little profit in midwest agriculture for many years except that derived from the slow increases in farm land values. Even of more importance is the great advance in standards of living of all occupations since the war. Some branches of agriculture have greatly recovered, but taken as a whole it is not keeping pace with the onward march in other industries.

Farm Troubles Defined

There are many causes for failure of agriculture to win its full share of national prosperity. The after-war deflation of prices not only brought great direct losses to the farmer but he was often left indebted in inflated dollars to be paid in deflated dollars. Prices are often demoralized through gluts in our markets during the harvest season. Local taxes have been increased to provide the improved roads and schools. The tariff on some products is proving inadequate to protect him from imports from abroad. The increases in transportation rates since the war has greatly affected the price which he receives for his products. Over six million farmers in times of surplus engage in destructive competition with one another in the sale of their product, often depressing prices below those levels that could be maintained.

The whole tendency of our civilization during the last 50 years has been toward an increase in the size of the units of production in order to secure lower costs and a more orderly adjustment of the flow of commodities to the demand. But the organization of agriculture into larger units must not be by enlarged farms. The farmer has shown he can increase the skill of his industry without large operations. He is today producing 20 per cent more than eight years ago with about the same acreage and personnel. Farming is and must continue to be an individualistic business of small units and independent ownership. The farm is more than a business; it is a state of living. We do not wish it converted into a mass production machine. Therefore, if the farmers' position is to be improved by larger operations it must be done not on the farm but in the field of distribution. Agriculture has partially advanced in this direction through co-operatives and pools. But the traditional co-operative is often not a complete solution.

Differences of opinion as to both causes and remedy have retarded the completion of a constructive program of relief. It is our plain duty to search out the common ground on which we may mobilize the sound forces of agricultural reconstruction. Our platform lays a solid basis upon which we can build. It offers an affirmative program.

An adequate tariff is the foundation of farm relief. Our consumers increase faster than our producers. The domestic market must be protected. Foreign products raised under lower standards of living are today competing in our home markets. I would use my office and influence to give the farmer the full benefit of our historic tariff policy.

A large portion of the spread between what the farmer receives for his products and what the ultimate consumer pays is due to increased transportation charges. Increase in railway rates has been one of the penalties of the war. These increases have been added to the cost to the farmer of reaching seaboard and foreign markets and result therefore in reduction of his prices. The farmers of foreign countries have thus been indirectly aided in their competition with the American farmer. Nature has endowed us with a great system of inland waterways. Their modernization will comprise a most substantial contribution of midwest farm relief and to the development of 20 of our interior states. This modernization includes not only the great Mississippi system, with its joining of the Great Lakes and of the heart of midwest agriculture to the Gulf, but also a shipway from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic. These improvements would mean so large an increment in farmers' prices as to warrant their construction many times over. There is no more vital method of farm relief.

But we must not stop here.

Pledged to Marketing System

An outstanding proposal of the party program is the whole-hearted pledge to undertake the reorganization of the marketing system upon sounder and more economical lines. We have already contributed greatly to this purpose by the acts supporting farm co-operatives, the establishment of intermediate credit banks, the regulation of stockyards, public exchanges and the expansion of the department of agriculture. The platform proposes to go much farther. It pledges the creation of a federal farm board of representative farmers to be clothed with authority and resources with which not only to still further aid farmers' co-operatives and pools and to assist generally in solution of farm problems but especially to build up with federal finance, farmer-owned and farmer - controlled stabilization corporations which will protect the farmer from the depressions and demoralization of seasonal gluts and periodical surpluses.

Objection has been made that this program, as laid down by the party platform, may require that several hundred millions of dollars or capital be advanced by the federal government without obligation upon the individual farmer. With that objection I have little patience. A nation which is spending ninety billions a year can well afford an expenditure of a few hundred millions for a workable program that will give to one-third of its population their fair share of the nation's prosperity. Nor does this proposal put the government into business except so far as it is called upon to furnish initial capital with which to build up the farmer to the control of his own destinies.

This program adapts itself to the variable problems of agriculture not only today but which will arise in the future. I do not believe that any single human being or any group of human beings can determine in advance all questions that will arise in so vast and complicated an industry over a term of years. The first step is to create an effective agency directly for these purposes and to give it authority and resources. These are solemn pledges and they will be fulfilled by the Republican party. It is a definite plan of relief. It needs only the detailed elaboration of legislation and appropriations to put it into force.

During my term as secretary of commerce I have steadily endeavored to build up a system of co-operation between the government and business. Under these co-operative actions all elements interested in the problem of a particular industry such as manufacturer, distributor, worker, and consumer have been called into council together, not for a single occasion but for continuous work. These efforts have been successful beyond any expectation. They have been accomplished without interference or regulation by the government. They have secured progress in the industries, remedy for abuses, elimination of waste, reduction of cost in production and distribution, lower prices to the consumer, and more stable employment and profit. While the problem varies with every different commodity and with every different part of our great country, I should wish to apply the same method to agriculture so that the leaders of every phase of each group can advise and organize on policies and constructive measures. I am convinced that this form of action, as it has done in other industries, can greatly benefit farmer, distributor and consumer.

Farm Relief Essential

The working out of agricultural relief constitutes the most important obligation of the next administration. I stand pledged to these proposals. The object of our policies is to establish for our farmers an income equal to those of other occupations; for the farmer's wife the same comforts in her home as women in other groups; for the farm boys and girls the same opportunities in life as other boys and girls. So far as my own abilities may be of service, I dedicate them to help secure prosperity and contentment in that industry where I and my forefathers were born and nearly all my family still obtain their livelihood.

The Republican party has ever been the exponent of protection to all our people from competition with lower standards of living

Against Repeal of Eighteenth Amendment and Stands for Enforcement of Laws Enacted Thereunder

abroad. We have always fought for tariffs designed to establish this protection from imported goods. We also have enacted restrictions upon immigration for the protection of labor from the inflow of workers faster than we can absorb them without breaking down our wage levels.

The Republican principle of an effective control of imported goods and of immigration has contributed greatly to the prosperity of our country. There is no selfishness in this defense of our standards of living. Other countries gain nothing if the high standards of America are sunk and if we are prevented from building a civilization which sets the level of hope for the entire world. A general reduction in the tariff would admit a flood of goods from abroad. It would injure every home. It would fill our streets with idle workers. It would destroy the returns to our dairymen, our fruit, flax, and livestock growers, and our other farmers.

No man will say that any immigration or tariff law is perfect. We welcome our new immigrant citizens and their great contribution to our nation; we seek only to protect them equally with those already here. We shall amend the immigration laws to relieve unnecessary hardships upon families. As a member of the commission whose duty it is to determine the quota basis under the national origins law I have found it is impossible to do so accurately and without hardship. The basis now in effect carries out the essential principle of the law and I favor repeal of that part of the act calling for a new basis of quotas.

We have pledged ourselves to make such revisions in the tariff laws as may be necessary to provide real protection against the shiftings of economic tides in our various industries. I am sure the American people would rather entrust the perfection of the tariff to the consistent friend of the tariff than to our opponents, who have always reduced our tariffs, who voted against our present protection to the worker and the farmer, and whose whole economic theory over generations has been the destruction of the protective principle.

Having earned my living with my own hands I cannot have other than the greatest sympathy with the aspirations of those who toil. It has been my good fortune during the past 12 years to have received the cooperation of labor in many directions, and in promotion of many public purposes.

The trade union movement in our country has maintained two departures from such movements in all other countries. They have been staunch supporters of Ameri-

(Continued on Page 8 Column 5)

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