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Schuck calls the ADA's passage an artful dodge by Congress. The legislators could have appropriated funds to upgrade inadequate programs for the elderly. Instead, they supported a broadly written law that they knew would redistribute government money covertly and therefore not antagonize other disadvantaged groups.

*Herbert Hoover
as Promoter*

"The 'Great Engineer' as Administrator: Herbert Hoover and Modern Bureaucracy" by Peri E. Arnold, in *The Review of Politics* (July 1980), Box B, Notre Dame, Ind. 46556.

Most history books describe Herbert Hoover (1874–1964) as "The Great Engineer," a simple technocrat less interested in formulating policies than in perfecting the means to carry them out. But Arnold, a Notre Dame political scientist, contends that the seven-and-one-half years Hoover spent as Secretary of Commerce before he became the 31st President stamp him as a highly "political" bureaucrat.

Hoover, trained as an engineer, won fame as an administrator after World War I as head of U.S. relief efforts in Europe. When he became Secretary of Commerce in 1921, the Department was a sleepy Washington backwater. Created 18 years earlier to give business and labor groups Cabinet-level representation, the department was a hodgepodge of organizations—among them, the Lighthouse Board and the Census Bureau—pulled from other Cabinet agencies. The department's promotional responsibilities put it out of step with the trustbusting and regulatory policies of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. Yet Hoover accepted President-elect Warren Harding's invita-

Cartoonist "Ding" Darling saw Herbert Hoover's 1928 presidential victory as a "Fine opportunity for a modern engineer if they'll let him work."



Courtesy of the J. N. Darling (Ding) Foundation, Inc.

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tion to head Commerce because he felt the country's greatest challenge was to forge a cooperative relationship between business and government. Fearing that stringent federal regulation would ultimately threaten freedom throughout society, he hoped to offer a brand of "gentle guidance" acceptable to business.

To stabilize markets and assure efficient production, Hoover created commodity divisions that churned out statistics on current production, inventory, and equipment for 17 industries. He secured business cooperation by appointing industry representatives to run these divisions. By expanding his personal staff, Hoover gained control over the department's previously autonomous agencies.

Finally, Hoover put Commerce in the public spotlight by building a crackerjack public relations staff. He hired professional newsmen and courted the business press with frequent Washington conferences. And he regularly fed scoops to eminent journalists such as William Allen White and Mark Sullivan.

By the time Hoover became President, Commerce was an influential Cabinet agency. After the Great Depression began in 1929, historians quickly branded Hoover a stubborn advocate of laissez-faire economics. But his term at Commerce showed his firm belief in active—though benign—government regulation of business.

Public Power Over Public Schools

"The Government in the Classroom" by J. Myron Atkin, in *Daedalus* (Summer 1980), American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 165 Allandale St., Jamaica Plain Station, Boston, Mass. 02130.

Twenty-five years ago, federal and state governments generally left teaching to teachers. Now, Congress, various executive agencies, and state officials have gotten into the act—setting standards for math instruction, prescribing agendas for parent-teacher conferences, and defining requirements for high school graduation.

Atkin, dean of Stanford's School of Education, traces Big Government's educational role back to America's near-panic over the Sputnik satellite launched by the Soviets in 1957. Fearing a U.S.-Soviet "science gap," Congress passed the National Defense Education Act in 1958, which provided funds for upgrading science instruction. This made it easy for the federal government to expand its presence in the classroom during the early 1960s. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, for example, established remedial programs for ghetto youngsters—with lesson plans developed by government and academic specialists. By the late 1960s, single-interest groups were pressing government to meet the special educational needs of racial minorities, the gifted, and others. [Thus, in 1975, Congress required all public schools to provide "a free and appropriate education" to all physically and emotionally handicapped children—many of whom