

THE PRICE OF LEADERSHIP

BY The Hon. Frank Pace.

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Invocation.

This evening we are here to carry on with the series of the Hon. Frank Nash Memorial Lectures. These lectures which are sponsored by The George Washington University, the National War College, and the Naval War College have now been going on for 4 to 5 some ~~5~~ yrs. They are in honor of a great American who served his country well in many capacities. Among the people who established this series of Memorial Lectures is our lecturer who speaks to us tonight. The Hon. Frank Nash was a very close friend and associate of the Hon. Mr. Frank Pace who will be our speaker tonight. They were very close friends and worked together with the Government for a number of years. Mr. Pace has been the Secretary of the Army and has held many other prominent positions in our Government. He is here with us and I'd like to express my appreciation now to him for finding the time and the opportunity to be with us. It is a great pleasure to me to present to you tonight the Hon. Frank Pace who will give the Frank Nash Memorial Lecture tonight. Mr. Pace...

Lecture: Admiral Melson, distinguished guests, members of the faculty of the Naval War College, their wives, friends of Frank Nash. This is an exciting evening for me, for many reasons. Among them were an opportunity to return to the Naval War College where I have been on six previous occasions and for which I have a deep and abiding affection. It is doubly pleasant for me this evening to have the

Introduction

Lecture

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opportunity to address the wives of the members of the class and the faculty because I feel that I only get a 50% opportunity ordinarily when I come here. Also, it is exciting to me because Frank Nash was a great personal friend of mine. He had an ebullience of spirit. He had a heart so large that I am sure the most modern computer could not measure either~~x~~ its length or breadth. He had a quality of boyish enthusiasm ~~wi~~ for those of us who knew him would always leave us with the sense that he would be perpetually young. And when he died, it seemed appropriate that this quality of heart and mind should be remembered, so the lectures were established at place~~d~~ that meant a great deal to him. He taught law at night in Georgetown when he was serving ^{as} ~~in~~ the Asst Secretary of Defense. He loved the Navy very specially a part of him. He was of course very intimate with the late James Forrestal and became first an Asst Secretary of the international field when those particular positions were established in the Government. And so in the best traditions of this country, it is wise to keep their memory alive. This we are doing tonight.

I'd like to talk to you tonight about a civilization that produces a Frank Nash. That produces thousands of Frank Nashes. Not exactly like Frank or for those of us who knew him, there wasnt anyone quite exactly like him, but it gives me an opportunity as we assess the price of world leadership to talk about the American civilization, because to determine the price of world leadership we have to really know what we are and who we are. It is very difficult for us in this America of ours because we dont spend very much time

thinking about ourselves. We are doers - we have the benefit of a brain - rich land - protection from two oceans - We moved out to find a way to bring a better way of life to people because other than - we really have done so much that we have thought little about what we are, where we stand, and where we're going. So with your permission I'd like to assess this civilization. I think we qualify as such in the sense of something that has made a permanent imprint on the sands of time and the ~~industry~~^{history} of man. I don't believe that this civilization will pass without being recorded as one of the great civilizations and I think it is about time that we began to think about why this might be.

It seems to me that there were 3 fundamental institutions that really set us apart in the beginning and probably set us apart today. First was the form of our political democracy; second, was the form of our economic democracy; the third was our compelling belief in and enforcement of the freedom of the individual. I'd like to talk about all three. Talk about how each has been affected by the requirements of world leadership and then maybe venture an assessment of what we might look forward further down the road.

Of course, the Constitution is a document that almost every American takes for granted as the greatest of all the institutional documents. It certainly was a tribute to that remarkable Thomas Jefferson and his confreres who conceived of it. But it is also a tribute to an America that has chosen to make it a living thing, rather than a dead scroll--really thoughtful judiciary that constantly made an expression of social and economic and political growth in a very remarkable way

and equally importantly, a group of men who executed it in a fashion that gave it breadth and meaning in scope beyond even the concept its original ^{When}conceivment. ~~AND~~ one thinks of the men in the early day who made this document live ~~in~~ our political democracy a living thing, Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, the two Adams, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Webster, Clay, Calhoun, even when the luster that comes with the passing ^{age} of time, the minimizing of weaknesses and the maximizing of strengths, one has to recognize that here was a remarkable group of men. Then beyond that it is the great cleavage of our nation, that raw wound of the Civil War was created, there came a quiet humble instrospective man by his character, personality, and giving of his life, healed a wound that could very easily have been permanent. What kind of a system is this that produces a modest man who says, "I cannot conceive of a man who does not feel the lash on another man's back as tho it were his own. Not a very dramatic statement but deeply suggestive of the policy of Lincoln's mind and heart.

And then the system generated a Theodore Roosevelt, a man whose heart was always with the man who was in the arena. His face was covered with dust, sweat, blood. This was the Theodore Roosevelt who turned against his class and his kind to create a new order of economic democracy in the United States. So, thru the depression and other latter day presidents, met the challenge of the times provided us with exciting growth in the political field that is probably unequalled in any other nation in the world.

Imagine that that document created almost two hundred years ago

which was generated to take care of a nation of 2 million people, largely farmers, still to a degree, under the domination of Great Britain, ^{now} expanded to meet the requirements of a turbulent hundred and eighty million people. A world in which communications have brought nations to each other's bedsides where the oceans have shrunk to mill ponds, the atom has made total destruction possible, where world leadership not sought by us, not ordered by us, has cast a burden upon ^{the} political system that it has met and borne ^{with}, with remarkable elasticity.

And then the second leg of the stool. Our economic democracy. We developed in this country a free enterprise system ~~of~~ unlike any that existed anywhere else in the world. Men ^{said} let me free of government to do what I have to do and they went out and did it. And the opportunity for the individual in the economic field was unlimited and the twin requirements of the man who came to this country - freedom and opportunity - were met by a laissez-faire system that made the market place the arbiter of quality and quantity and cost. And we grew with this system and took the riches of the land and ruthlessly turned them into a great industrial society. We created at the same time an industrial revolution, a capital system that organized and managed it and tied both to a democratic process unlike anything that had occurred in the history of the world. And, as with the growth of the corporation and the growth of power, men reached too far, the wise Theodore Roosevelt slowed down the train. Then came the Great Depression and for the first time, big government

moved to control the business process. And labor, for the first time, became a major factor on the national scene and big labor, using political power, vied with big business, for its position in the economic world.

Came World War II and industrial America reached its finest hour. The ploughshare was turned into the sword; the factories of Detroit turned out tanks; shipyards were renovated, rebuilt and great navies leashed the seas and out of nothing a tremendous aircraft industry was created and turned out planes in a fashion that was beyond the concept of the totalitarian Germany. And this enormous flexibility was evidence of both the strength and assets of the system. And when the War was over, a whole new way of economic life existed. Big corporation was the only means of meeting the mass consumption requirements of people who for 4 yrs had been denied the normalcies of a peace~~xxxx~~ time life. So big corporation - mass production - became a part of our way of life and production was no longer a limitation as it had been in the days when Mills laid down his economic tenet, but the limitation lay with the consumer and demand. And so, we've grown in this period since the War, and there has come a remarkable matching of the requirements of the market place and the scientists. The businessman and the scientist were a strange partner; the man in the grey flannel suit and the man with the shaggy beard found that stock options had a common meaning. And so I watched it; I saw the melding of the scientific requirements with the requirements of the market place. Believe me, of consummate importance to the people of the future of this country and we come to this day to the height of our economic strength, with a

mass production capacity ~~of~~ unparalleled in history. Gross national product unparalleled in history. Employment, unemployment at its lowest level in many years, and business with both the knowledge of inventory and market and the capacity for self-discipline that has avoided the over-production of the past, that has been the beginning of the recessions that we have known,... Finally,

the last leg of the stool that is the essence of the unique civilization that is America is the individual. This was an interesting person in the beginning of country; men and women full of raw courage, venturesome, to a high degree, questing, else they never would have left the comfortable safety of the world they knew to seek out the unknown; highly insistent on personal freedom, highly insistent on the right of freedom for others. Religious, strong Puritan Calvinistic strain, family, ~~or~~ very strong unit where the discipline pattern of their European heritage was very much the order of the day. This was a rural man; not an urban man. A man of the soil, a man used to solving his own problems. This was a man who believed deeply in education and felt as particularly Jefferson did that education was the essence of the growth of the society that was so important. This was a man above all else who believed in his own destiny and his nation's destiny. He believed that America was a land of promise and that by the example she set, other men would live. And he believed that he was the instrument of that destiny. Many years have passed and the individual is quite different today. I believe probably the price of world leadership has been paid most heavily of the three institutions by the individual. We find him today more likely to be looking for security than for the ventures. p. 7

Not necessarily by reason that it is his nature but by reason of the basic requirements of the society. We find that courage while the opportunity to expose it is less regular, is still with us. We find that the religious pattern has been reduced substantially and that the strictures of society have sought to provide a really unsatisfactory substitute. We find him or her better educated than any person at any time in history but probably we find too that the family structure is no longer what it was. We find that the unit, the family unit, is to a degree dissipated. We find that the center of responsibility in a family unit has shifted from ^{the} father to the mother. We find discipline basically no longer a compelling ~~factor~~ with the young negotiating with their parents for the price of obedience. But most of all I think the change has come in the fact that the ordinary American no longer feels that his nation is a nation of destiny., or that he is ~~his~~ its ~~x~~ instrument. This, I think, is born of many reasons; one, because when we were facing our own problems, they seemed soluble; they seemed understandable; now that the world is our problem, they are now no longer either comprehensible or within the scope of the individual to find the solution. Great tendency to naturally say, "Leave it to the President; it's too complicated for me." Communications have added to this because when one knows each morning of the violations of the cease-fire in Kashmir, brutalities in So. Vietnam and a war that seemingly has no end, the antics of Sukarno and the hidden fuze that lies in Cyprus--terribly difficult to see a clear solution to the problem. And so of all the institutions that have been the real hallmark of American uniqueness,

American growth, possibly the individual is the most deeply challenged. ~~of all the institutions that have been the real~~
From the point of view of the political system it seems to me that internally it is well organized to meet the requirements of the future. We fear from time to time that the two-party system is losing its vitality, too much dominance exists in the Democratic Party but in a nation such as this, with the passage of time these things have a way of ^{re-}orienting themselves. The real danger lies from this leadership that is ours. ~~Are~~ ^{the} Russians still ^{is} our most dangerous foe? ^{likely} to be a little taken for granted and might very well unwisely ~~the~~ ^{days}/with the passage of the longer time come to find a way of life not too unlike our own. They never will in the field of economics, certainly in my lifetime effectively compete with us. Possibly noted that there has been a major move in the Russian system to accept the incentive system. This, I am sure, will be helpful, but is only a superficial step in ~~the~~ ^{the} direction we have taken. By and large, they believe that economics can be managed by the slide rule; we believe it can be managed only by the market place and decisions ^{of} millions of individual human beings. Their system is built to mechanics; our is built to the human spirit. Neither in politics nor in economics can this system in my estimation ever approach ours.

Nevertheless we would err greatly if we felt that the quiescent man can be easily disregarded. I fear him most when he is quiet and believe me, he is the only one who is capable of a kind of technical break through that could subject us to blackmail from the outside that could be maybe a major danger to the survival of our system.

Beyond that the greatest outside danger is the proliferation of the atomic weapon or any in the hands of China, France, Israel or it is so closely related to the functioning of the peaceful atom that its availability around the world is both deeply distressing and a matter of concern to thoughtful men and women. The thought that one day any penny-ante dictator can have this capacity for destruction at hand is something that is going to call for the highest degree of statesmanship and the most intelligent use of power, at which we have not yet been to date too proficient..that the world has known.

In the economic field, our performance has been a little short of miraculous. We're faced now with a period in which our survival depends on the soundness, effectiveness, and continuity of our economic growth. Without the product of the industrial process, the capacity of our nation and the Free World to function effectively and competitively is in grave danger. Not only does the system have to produce, it has to produce continuously. The thought not just of the depression but of even of a recession is a shocking thought in view of the requirements that is put upon our system today. The professional managers of the great corporations are facing problems that the private owners of 50 yrs ago never dreamed of. In the great multi-purpose corporations, the professional manager has to make decisions day after day that are of compelling importance for the survival of the operation and yet at the same time he is being asked to undertake greater and greater responsibilities in the public field, and ~~xxx~~ quite frankly, I think this request is a cinch,

because I have deeply believed for a long time that if we are a long range to survive that genius of private execution has got to be melded in a sensible fashion with the commonness of public planning. How this is to be done; how the age-old distrust between public and private is to be completely allayed; how the concentration of the business requirement is to be melded with the ^{breadth} breath of scope of governmental planning is something we have not tackled or solved.

Beyond that the compelling effectiveness of automation will bring human problems in the field of the individual that we will find increasingly difficult with the passage of ~~the~~ time. Nonetheless these are not in any sense of the word insoluble problems in the sense of what professional management is faced over the years and should be met.

Finally the individual - and here is the key - there are grounds for a real hope here. The urge of the young for the Peace Corps - not just to their fair idealism which is important, but also because it gives them in foreign lands a little bit of the feel that came to the man who tackled the problems in the fields and forests of the USA 150 yrs ago--a sense of contemporary matching of personal strength against the requirements of the land. I remember when I was Secy of the Army that one of the highest place for reenlistment was Alaska which always amazed me but there was a challenge of Nature to man that drew men back to that harsh and blustery land. The urge of the young to enter the scientific field where as very young men, they can achieve a breadth of opportunity and a distinction ~~to~~ lie in the more conventional fields; the willingness of men to venture into space

"And I am willing to hazard a guess if this was opened to civilians as well as military that you could not hold ~~it~~ down the list of applicants who would be prepared to try; the willingness of military ~~men~~ men to volunteer for a difficult, hard, and dirty war in Vietnam; all gives rise to the belief that basic strengths are there and need only to be uncovered.

The sense of destiny is one of the more difficult things, both national and individual. How, in this enormously complicated world where leadership is far more burden than glory, do we find a way to make the individual feel that it is his land, his destiny, that the world is a thing that can be brought properly into focus? This I assure you is one of the great problems that we face. We are at the turning point; we are at a point where new things are facing us every day, but one draws encouragement from the basic wisdom and common sense of the American people; people who support vast funds for defense; pay large taxes; without fully understanding all of the complications, yet do so wisely out of instinct. A people who are prepared to pay vast sums for the exploration of space and support it as opposed to things that might be more valuable to them close at home, are not a narrow minded, materialistic people. A people who time and time again come up with the answer in the political field are strong people. From time to time one finds people who read with furrowed brow the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire and they quite honestly say, "Is the same thing happening to my America?" Well here at least is a place where I can set your mind at rest. The relations , rather the comparison between the decline and fall of the Roman Empire and

the American civilization are superficial and not fundamental. There's was a society without a meaningful middle class, living off the tributes of conquered people; ours is a society with highly educated middle class strong economy with its sinews internally marvellously well established..no...our decline and fall, if it comes, will come with the West as a whole, and not from the dry rot that ~~set~~^{sent} Rome down.

So maybe this is the period when, as ~~Eliot~~ Eliot said, we are like an old man in the dry season, but I dont think so. I rather am prepared to cast my vote with Emerson who a long time ago said, "We think we are the meridian but it is only the cock crowing and the morning star." Thank you.