

The original documents are located in Box 202, folder “Events, July 1-2, 1974 - American Foreign Service Association/Community Relations Service/Center for the Study of the Presidency” of the Gerald R. Ford Vice Presidential Papers, 1973-1974 at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Gerald R. Ford donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

File Cy.



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

PROPOSED SCHEDULE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICES ASSOCIATION
July 1, 1974

ADVANCEPERSON: SALLY QUENNEVILLE

12:30 PM DEPART EOB Office enroute Dept. of State

12:40 PM ARRIVE Dept. of State .

PROCEED to the HOLDING ROOM (Madison Room)

You will be met by:

Mr. Thomas D. Boyatt, President

Mr. F. Allan (Tex) Harris, Vice President

12:44 PM PROCEED to Ben Franklin Dining Room

Announcement

Be seated at Head Table

12:45 PM Lunch is served

1:05 PM Introduction of Vice President

1:07 PM Vice Presidential Remarks Begin

1:17 PM Vice Presidential Remarks Conclude

1:19 PM DEPART Ben Franklin Room enroute motorcade

1:22 PM DEPART Dept. of State enroute EOB Office



~~Sally will do~~

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Monday 12:30 P.M.

State Dept. Am. Foreign Service Assn.

Rick Williamson Contact

338-4045

Lunch in Beng. Franklin Room.

17 People At Head table

Full Press

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

- 12:20 Depart E.O.B.
12:30 Arrive State Dept.
12:35 Arrive Holding Room
Madison Room
12 to 15 people to
Great U.P.
12:40 Depart Holding Room
12:41 Arrive Lunch
1:05 Introduction of U.P.
1:07 U.P. Remarks Begin
1:17 U.P. Remarks End
1:19 Depart For Motorcade



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

1:22 Arrive Motorcade
1:23 Depart Enroute EOB



~~1320522~~

— "C" St. Dipl. Entrance

Greet: Pres., Thomas Boyette

(15) hd table guests
Cong Anderson
Mr. Harris, V.P.
Ingersoll
Sisco
USIA Dir.
AID Dep Dir.

(Hm.) Rick - 265-2839

Mr. Boyatt
F. Allen Harris, V.P.
(Dep)



AMERICAN
FOREIGN SERVICE
ASSOCIATION

2101 E Street, Northwest



Washington, D. C. 20037 • 338-4045

Mr. Vogel
632-9672

Rick Williamson
338-4045

Bozatt-632-0529

event file

June 13, 1974

Bill S/W.R.

The Vice President
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

Ambassador Davis, Director General of the Foreign Service, has informed us that you have graciously agreed to speak at a luncheon in the Diplomatic Reception Rooms of the Department of State on Monday, July 1, 1974, at 12:30. I would like to thank you on behalf of the Association and the Foreign Service. It is a great honor for us, and I know that Secretary Kissinger is most gratified that you are able to help us commemorate the golden anniversary of the Foreign Service of the United States.

The Rogers Act, which established a united Foreign Service of the United States from the then existing Diplomatic and Consular Services, was signed into law on July 1, 1924. The first of July of this year thus marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Foreign Service of the United States. It also marks the fiftieth anniversary year of the American Foreign Service Association as the professional spokesman of the 11,000 men and women of the Foreign Service and, in recent years, their duly-elected exclusive representative.

The past fifty years have seen the gradual development and growing professionalization of the Foreign Service under the Rogers Act and the Foreign Service Act



of 1946. The same period has witnessed the growth of the United States into the preeminent position it now holds in world affairs. We believe it is appropriate and indeed essential that this anniversary date be properly recognized. It is therefore a great honor for the Association and for the men and women of the Foreign Service that you are able to be our guest and speak to the Association on July 1.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Thomas D. Boyatt', written in dark ink on a light-colored background.

Thomas D. Boyatt
President



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

June 29

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Mr. Seidman:

This is another reply from the DOJ invitation the V.P. is Sponsoring. Since you are replying to another response of the same nature, I thought you would want this for the file.

Sally
Sally
anne



Sch JUN 28 REC'D

HUTCHINSON

POST OFFICE BOX 1567; 67501
TELEPHONE 316 663-6151

OFFICE OF: Human Relations

June 25, 1974

Honorable Gerald Ford
Vice-President of the U. S.
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Vice-President Ford:

We are in receipt of your most gracious invitation to the CRS Tenth Anniversary Benefit Dinner. Naturally, we are pleased at receiving such a great honor. Unfortunately, our agency is small, and we cannot really afford to travel to Washington for the occasion.

Regardless of the financial reality of the situation, we are deeply honored, because we have never before even been invited to take our place amongst such illustrious personages as yourself and the other honorary sponsors.

I will be in Washington on the 14-18th of July for the Annual Meeting of the International Association of Official Human Rights Agencies. Perhaps you will be there and our paths will cross.

Thank you for the invitation; we shall put it on prominent display in our office. I'm sure the dinner will be a great success, and good luck to you in your service to America.

Peace and blessings,

John W. Davis
John W. Davis, Director
Hutchinson Human Relations Commission

JWD:bw



4/29

2ND
ANNUAL

EQUAL
OPPORTUNITY

=

COMMUNITY
PROGRESS

REPORT

1973

HUTCHINSON HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION



CITY OF HUTCHINSON

City Commissioners

Lawrence P. Knipe, Mayor

Kenneth M. Keast

Jim P. Martinez

David R. Mackey

John R. Nickelson

City Manager

George W. Pyle

Hutchinson Human Relations Commission

Theda Y. Brown, Chairman

Darrell Pope, Vice Chairman

Wayne Lee

Doby Hall

David Razo

Joe Juarez

Martha Woodard

Department of Human Relations

John W. Davis, Director

Betty Wickliffe, Secretary



THE COMMISSION

The Hutchinson Human Relations Commission was created by city ordinance in October of 1971. The formal HRC was the outgrowth of many months of work by an interracial group of citizens called the Community Forum for Equal Opportunities, which was appointed by then - Mayor Jim Martinez in 1970. The function of the Mayor's Forum was to serve as an agent for the promotion of equal opportunity in employment, education and housing. The Forum met regularly to hear and consider complaints, suggestions and observations which individuals or groups brought before it. The forum sought to identify areas of concern and attempted to bring together those persons or agencies in the community having resources and expertise in those areas of concern in order to chart courses of community action to alleviate the problems.

There was also an informal Human Relations Commission appointed by Mayor Merl Sellers in 1966, but that group was later absorbed by the Mayor's Forum. It was a direct result of the Forum's activity that led to the City of Hutchinson's formal adoption of an ordinance establishing a seven-member Human Relations Commission and a paid director to implement the programs of the Human Relations Commission.

The seven (7) Human Relations Commissioners are appointed by the Mayor, and serve as volunteers. The Commissioners function primarily as policy-makers and priority-setters in carrying out the purposes of the city human relations ordinance. The Commissioners also elect their own officers; select their staff (with the advise and consent of the City Manager); maintain an office; and make a final determination on the disposition of each complaint of discrimination investigated by the staff.

The Human Relations Commission receives, initiates, investigates and conciliates complaints of discrimination based on race, color, sex, religion, national origin or ancestry in employment, housing and public accommodations.

The Human Relations Commission is also charged with the responsibilities of reviewing the employment practices of City contractors; serving as the liaison between out-groups in the community and the City Commission; fostering good will and cooperation among the various groups in the community; studying the problems of discrimination in the community; and making recommendations on human relations policies and procedures to the City government. The HRC is also empowered to publish such results of its investigation and research as it feels will tend to promote good will and eliminate discrimination in the community.

The Hutchinson Human Relations Commission may accept contributions and financial assistance in the furtherance of its aims from any individual, group or governmental unit, and all such contributions are tax deductible because of the tax exempt status of the City, a municipal corporation.

In pursuit of its goals, the Human Relations Commission launched 1973 with a new director, some new priorities, and renewed hope. Shortly after the year began, the Commission hired its first full-time secretary, Betty Wickliffe, and her addition proved invaluable to the Commission's activities. 1973 was by far the Commission's most active year, and saw the completion of a fairly comprehensive Transportation Study, complete with program recommendations for action by the City Commission. The Commission was also responsible

for securing Federal funds whereby 100 disadvantaged youth were put to work in non-profit agencies for nine weeks during the summer, at the minimum wage (\$1.60 per hour).

Among the other programs in whose success the commission played a significant role are Meals on Wheels, the Hutchinson NAACP Sickle Cell Program, the Reno County Halfway House, the Reno County Council on Aging, the Legal Aid Program, and the Kansas Human Relations Association. In all, the Human Relations Commissioners and their staff were active members of over 45 community civic and church organizations, all involved in efforts to fully develop the potential of Hutchinson and its citizens. Through its committee system, the Commission was also able to recruit and enlist the assistance of over 200 of their fellow Hutchonians in carrying out individual or collective programs of the commission.

The following table gives the statistical picture of the daily activities of the HRC in 1973:

Speaking Engagements.....	48
Total Audience (approximately).....	3200
Radio and Television Appearances.....	12
Request for Information and Assistance (Telephone and walk-in) Approximately.....	500
Individual Consultations.....	353
Meetings Attended.....	198
Human Relations Training Courses Conducted for Police Department.....	1
Human Relations Seminars and Workshops Conducted.....	9

The figures presented are for staff activities only, there being no feasible way of keeping account of the Human Relations Commissioners' activities in these areas. Also, the police training course was three separate installments of three hours each.

In 1973, the Human Relations Commission received 67 formal complaints, whose nature and disposition are reflected in the following table:

Complaints of Discrimination:

Type	Received	Referred to KCCR	Handled Informally	Dismissed	Conciliated
Housing	7	6	1		
Employment	53	39	7	4	3
Public Accommodations	4	3	1	1	
Miscellaneous	3	1	1	1	
Total	67	48	10	9	3

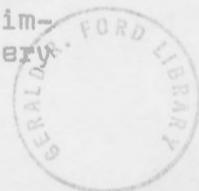


Additionally, the Commission handled over 100 informal complaints, with attempts being made to resolve all of them to the satisfaction of the complainants.

Although 1973 was the Commission's busiest yet, we expect 1974 to be even busier, because in addition to continuing our widespread involvement in community service activities, we will resume the formal handling of discrimination complaints. At this writing, negotiations are underway to enter into an agreement with the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights to have a number of Hutchinson complaints deferred back to the jurisdiction of the Hutchinson Human Relations Commission. As soon as that happens, those complaints will receive priority for investigation and processing.

We cannot make projections for 1974 without somehow attempting to assess 1973. Assessing 1973 is a difficult task, because human relations work is not easily quantifiable. Many people think that 1973 was a year of public relations for the Human Relations Commission. Those people do not really understand what human relations is all about. Human relations involves working with the basic human problems of our society: unemployment and underemployment, housing conditions, health problems and health care delivery, inadequate education - all of the socio-economic conditions that affect the poor and disadvantaged. These problems are not limited to any one race or ethnic group, nor to any one age group or sex. These problems are the result of the institutional subordination of one element of our society by the other. The Hutchinson Human Relations Commission is concerned with Hutchinson humans and their relations with one another. All of our efforts in the social services area have been exerted because we feel that our second most important function is the expansion and development of programs which will bring about broad-scale changes in the principal institutions of our community through voluntary affirmative actions and community organization. In this regard we think that 1973 was successful for us, and we think that Hutchinson is better for it. But there is still much that needs to be done in order to make our community agencies and community leaders truly responsive to the needs and wants of our disadvantaged citizens. There is still a substantial lack of job training programs in Hutchinson. We still dream of a low-cost, out-patient health care center here. There still remains the gigantic task of making our educational system begin to be sensitive to minorities. As yet there is no organized vehicle to advocate for the rights of our senior citizens. Our Legal Aid Program is about to get organized, but that is only the first critical step towards making legal justice for the poor a fact instead of a lie. We still need a transportation system for all of Hutchinson. We have made a lot of progress, but that should only make us even more conscious of all that needs to be done in order to improve the quality of life and socio-economic status of our less-fortunate brethren.

We have dealt with our second most important area. Our most important (and most obvious) function is to provide prompt, just and effective service to aggrieved individuals who have been discriminated against because of race, color, sex, religion, national origin or ancestry. Our most important task is also our most difficult: equal opportunity is still very



far from being a reality in Hutchinson. 1973 saw very little improvement for minorities in the area of jobs, housing and public accommodations. The largest employers in the city still hire very few minorities, and those who do hire significant numbers of minorities keep them in lower echelon positions. Discrimination in employment continues to be the number one opponent of the Commission. Discrimination in education continues, with the public schools and the Junior College still absent courses in minority studies, and each with less than a representative complement of minority employees. Housing complaints numbered 10% of all of our formal complaints, but housing and public accommodations so closely follow economic lines, that to solve employment discrimination would go a long way towards ending discriminatory practices in housing and public accommodations.

In 1974, the Hutchinson Human Relations Commission can and will do a better job of guaranteeing legal equality. We will seek to use our powers to achieve affirmative action in all aspects of employment in the city. We shall stimulate and prod the public and private institutions in Hutchinson to undertake programs which will provide for equal opportunity - but we are very cognizant of the reality that we ourselves cannot provide the economic, political and social resources which form the bases of achieving equality in fact.

To paraphrase Boyard Rustin, we need a coalition of a lot of people, both Black, White and Mexican-American. There's room in this struggle for everybody, so let's get on with it.



★

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

6-27

Dorothy:

The United Nations Assn is fully aware that the Vice President and Mrs. Ford will not be at the July 2nd dinner, but wanted him to see their invitation.

thanks

marba



Thanks

people in communities to cooperate with each other, to take an honest look at their problems, and to work earnestly to put an end to discriminatory practices. To do this job, CRS maintains a staff of skilled Conciliators and Mediators who are widely experienced in race relations and intergroup relations, and such fields as education, law, social work, and police-minority relations.

CRS may offer its assistance whenever in its judgment the peaceful relations among the citizens of a community are threatened, and it may do so on its own motion or at the request of local or State officials or other interested persons.

The Ralph Bunche Awards Program

Francis M. Lee
Director

The Ralph Bunche Awards Program is the first national program designed to actively seek out and increase the number of black Americans in the decision-making process of international affairs. It was created as a memorial to the work of the late Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ralph J. Bunche—an educator, scholar, diplomat, peacemaker and Nobel prize winner.

A multi-level approach, the Ralph Bunche program grants Fellowships for a year of independent study, holds seminars, and informs the community of relevant issues in the international arena. Participants in the Ralph Bunche Awards Program are expected to carry to positions of responsibility in all fields a commitment to renewal, to change and to humanize the American role in our world. It is a program of the United Nations Association of the United States of America which is organized to stimulate constructive interest in, and support for the ideals embodied in the Charter of the U. N.

Vice President and Mrs. Gerald R. Ford
Honorary Chairpersons

and the

Community Friends

of

Community Relations Service

United States Department of Justice

cordially invite you to dinner in celebration of

The Agency's Tenth Anniversary

for the benefit of

The Ralph Bunche Awards Program

Tuesday, the second of July

seven o'clock

The Sheraton Park Hotel

Washington, D. C.

Principal Address

The Honorable Maynard Jackson

Master of Ceremonies

Ossie Davis

Black Tie



HONORARY SPONSORS

The Honorable Herman Badillo
The United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Theodore Berry
Mayor, City of Cincinnati

Mrs. Ralph J. Bunche, Sr.

The Honorable Yvonne B. Burke
The United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Jimmy Carter
Governor of Georgia

The Honorable Clifford P. Case
The United States Senate

Dr. James E. Cheek
President, Howard University

The Honorable John Conyers, Jr.
The United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
The United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Don Edwards
The United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy
The United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Johnny Ford
Mayor, City of Tuskegee

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Mr. Robert F. Lewine
*President, The National Academy
of Television Arts & Sciences*

Mr. Edward Lucero
President

Colorado Economic Development Association

The Right Reverend Paul Moore, Jr.
Bishop of New York

The Honorable John A. Nevius
Chairman, City Council, Washington, D.C.

The Honorable Marjory H. Parker
Member, City Council, Washington, D.C.

Miss Flaxie M. Pinkett
President, John B. Pinkett, Inc.

The Honorable Elliot L. Richardson

Governor Nelson Rockefeller

Mr. Carl T. Rowan

The Honorable Walter E. Washington
Mayor, City of Washington, D.C.

Mr. Roy Wilkins
*Executive Director, National Association
for the Advancement of Colored People*

Mr. Elmer Winter
President, American Jewish Committee

The Honorable Lester L. Wolff
The United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Andrew Young
The United States House of Representatives

Community Relations Service

10th ANNIVERSARY BENEFIT DINNER COMMITTEE

Vice President and Mrs. Gerald R. Ford
Honorary Chairpersons

Attorney General William B. Saxbe Senator Edward W. Brooke
Honorary Vice Chairpersons

Mrs. Edward C. Mazique
General Chairman

Executive Committee

Mrs. Stanley P. Bridges
Mrs. Valerie P. Brown
Mrs. John F. J. Clark

Mrs. C. David Hinton
Mrs. Wendall A. Parris
Mrs. Winston C. Willoughby

Committee

Mrs. Jacqueline Altemus
Mrs. Lonis C. Ballard
Mrs. Frank Brown
Mrs. Ada C. Carson
Mrs. Charles S. Cogan
Mrs. T. R. Conner
Mrs. Albert H. Dyson, Jr.
Mrs. Ernest T. Eiland
Mrs. Samuel J. Hazelett
Mrs. Everette C. Hunt
Mrs. Stewart J. Johnson

Miss Joyce A. Key
Mrs. Arthur A. Peltz
Miss Mildred J. Pickett
Miss Jane B. Redmon
Miss Ruth L. Richmond
Mrs. Radcliffe J. Robinson
Mrs. Kenneth H. Shannon
Mrs. Huestis H. Smith
Miss Marcia Smith
Mrs. Eugene Tyson
Mrs. Harold H. Whitted

Miss Ernestine L. Williams

Community Relations Service

Ben Holman

Director

The Community Relations Service—commonly called CRS—was created in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to help communities to resolve “disputes, disagreements, or difficulties relating to discrimination based on race, color, or national origin.” The agency does not enforce laws, regulate practices or grant funds for programs. It helps to settle racial conflicts and end discriminatory practices by persuading the parties involved to take the necessary voluntary action.

CRS is not restricted to concern with the provisions of any single civil rights statute. Its mandate extends to all conflicts stemming from discrimination based on race, color, or national origin which impairs persons’ rights “under the Constitution or laws of the United States.”

The agency works to resolve racial conflicts through both conciliation and mediation. In the CRS definition, *conciliation* means performing a variety of steps to help move the parties involved to a peaceful settlement—for example, opening up communication between them, providing pertinent facts and information, suggesting alternatives, and helping identify sources of specialized or technical assistance. *Mediation* refers to the formal process of setting up and moderating negotiations between disputing parties to try and reach a mutually satisfactory settlement to a conflict through a written agreement.

CRS carries out its conflict-settling function working directly in communities with the parties involved, a task which is obviously not very abstract. Its effectiveness depends on the ability of its professional staff—frequently under extremely difficult circumstances—to persuade

Chairman of the Association
Earl Warren
Chief Justice
of the United States (retired)

Co-Chairman of the Association
Robert S. Benjamin
Chairman of the Board
United Artists Corp.

Chairman, Board of Governors
Joseph M. Segel
Chairman
Segel Foundation

Vice Chairmen
Oscar A. de Lima
Chairman of the Board
Roger Smith Hotels Corp.

Leonard F. McCollum
Former Chairman of the Board
Continental Oil Co.

Porter McKeever
Associate
John D. Rockefeller, 3rd

Secretary
Mrs. Harvey Picker
Interchange Foundation

Treasurer
Harry W. Knight
President
Hillsboro Associates, Inc.

Governors
I. W. Abel
President
United Steelworkers of America

Adele Allen
Former President
Student Government,
Wellesley College

William T. Coleman, Jr.
Partner
Dilworth, Paxson, Kallish,
Levy and Coleman

Patricia K. DiGiorgio
President
San Francisco Chapter, UNA

Walter E. Hanson
Senior Partner
Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co.

Edward Lamb
Chairman of the Board
Lamb Communications, Inc.

John E. Leselle
Chairman of the Board
Beche & Co.

Franklin A. Lindsay
President
Itek Corp.

James S. McDonnell
Chairman of the Board
McDonnell-Douglas Corp.

G. William Miller
President
Textron, Inc.

William S. Renchard
Chairman, Executive Committee
Chemical Bank

Robert V. Roosa
Partner
Brown Brothers, Harriman & Co.

Donald A. Schmechel
Partner
Davis, Wright, Todd,
Riese & Jones

Cyrus R. Vance
Partner
Simpson, Thacher and Bartlett

Honorary Co-Chairmen
Arthur J. Goldberg
Paul G. Hoffman
Henry Cabot Lodge
Anna Lord Strauss
Charles W. Yost

Executive Vice President
Robert M. Ratner

Vice President, Policy Studies
James F. Leonard

Vice President, Development
and Program Planning
Joe Byrns Sills

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA

345 EAST 46th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017
Cable Address UNASAMER • (212) OXford 7-3232



National Chairman, UN Day 1974
(By appointment of The President of the U.S.A.)
Frank T. Cary
Chairman of the Board
International Business Machines Corporation

June 21, 1974

JUN 25 REC'D

*no commitment to attend
CSR 6-26*

The Vice President and Mrs. Gerald R. Ford
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Vice President and Mrs. Ford:

We wish, once again, to thank you for consenting to serve as Honorary Chairpersons for the CRS 10th Anniversary Dinner for the benefit of the Ralph Bunche Awards Program.

The time - July 2, 1974, is drawing near and the responses are exceeding our expectations.

Many will be disappointed that you will not be there to greet them.

We have enclosed an invitation so that you can see what we have done publicly and the people involved. This invitation was mailed to 9,250 people across the Nation.

Should there be any change in your schedule we would be so honored to have you drop in for a few moments. Please try.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Edward C. Mazique

Mrs. Edward C. Mazique
General Chairman

CRS 10th Anniversary Benefit
Dinner Committee

Enclosure

3800 13th Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20017
Phone: 739-4057

*6/26 - Called &
said V.P. has
P/C - they
understand -
this was to get
V.P. re invitation*



people in communities to cooperate with each other, to take an honest look at their problems, and to work earnestly to put an end to discriminatory practices. To do this job, CRS maintains a staff of skilled Conciliators and Mediators who are widely experienced in race relations and intergroup relations, and such fields as education, law, social work, and police-minority relations.

CRS may offer its assistance whenever in its judgment the peaceful relations among the citizens of a community are threatened, and it may do so on its own motion or at the request of local or State officials or other interested persons.

The Ralph Bunche Awards Program

Francis M. Lee
Director

The Ralph Bunche Awards Program is the first national program designed to actively seek out and increase the number of black Americans in the decision-making process of international affairs. It was created as a memorial to the work of the late Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ralph J. Bunche—an educator, scholar, diplomat, peacemaker and Nobel prize winner.

A multi-level approach, the Ralph Bunche program grants Fellowships for a year of independent study, holds seminars, and informs the community of relevant issues in the international arena. Participants in the Ralph Bunche Awards Program are expected to carry to positions of responsibility in all fields a commitment to renewal, to change and to humanize the American role in our world. It is a program of the United Nations Association of the United States of America which is organized to stimulate constructive interest in, and support for the ideals embodied in the Charter of the U. N.

Vice President and Mrs. Gerald R. Ford

Honorary Chairpersons

and the

Community Friends

of

Community Relations Service

United States Department of Justice

cordially invite you to dinner in celebration of

The Agency's Tenth Anniversary

for the benefit of

The Ralph Bunche Awards Program

Tuesday, the second of July

seven o'clock

The Sheraton Park Hotel

Washington, D. C.

Principal Address

The Honorable Maynard Jackson

Master of Ceremonies

Ossie Davis

Black Tie

File
WSR 6-20
JUN 17 REC'D



6-21

HONORARY SPONSORS

The Honorable Herman Badillo
The United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Theodore Berry
Mayor, City of Cincinnati

Mrs. Ralph J. Bunche, Sr.

The Honorable Yvonne B. Burke
The United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Jimmy Carter
Governor of Georgia

The Honorable Clifford P. Case
The United States Senate

Dr. James E. Cheek
President, Howard University

The Honorable John Conyers, Jr.
The United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
The United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Don Edwards
The United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy
The United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Johnny Ford
Mayor, City of Tuskegee

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Mr. Robert F. Lewine
*President, The National Academy
of Television Arts & Sciences*

Mr. Edward Lucero
President

Colorado Economic Development Association

The Right Reverend Paul Moore, Jr.
Bishop of New York

The Honorable John A. Nevius
Chairman, City Council, Washington, D.C.

The Honorable Marjory H. Parker
Member, City Council, Washington, D.C.

Miss Flaxie M. Pinkett
President, John B. Pinkett, Inc.

The Honorable Elliot L. Richardson

Governor Nelson Rockefeller

Mr. Carl T. Rowan

The Honorable Walter E. Washington
Mayor, City of Washington, D.C.

Mr. Roy Wilkins
*Executive Director, National Association
for the Advancement of Colored People*

Mr. Elmer Winter
President, American Jewish Committee

The Honorable Lester L. Wolff
The United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Andrew Young
The United States House of Representatives

Community Relations Service

10th ANNIVERSARY BENEFIT DINNER COMMITTEE

Vice President and Mrs. Gerald R. Ford

Honorary Chairpersons

Attorney General William B. Saxbe

Senator Edward W. Brooke

Honorary Vice Chairpersons

Mrs. Edward C. Mazique

General Chairman

Executive Committee

Mrs. Stanley P. Bridges

Mrs. C. David Hinton

Mrs. Valerie P. Brown

Mrs. Wendall A. Parris

Mrs. John F. J. Clark

Mrs. Winston C. Willoughby

Committee

Mrs. Jacqueline Altemus

Miss Joyce A. Key

Mrs. Lonis C. Ballard

Mrs. Arthur A. Peltz

Mrs. Frank Brown

Miss Mildred J. Pickett

Mrs. Ada C. Carson

Miss Jane B. Redmon

Mrs. Charles S. Cogan

Miss Ruth L. Richmond

Mrs. T. R. Conner

Mrs. Radcliffe J. Robinson

Mrs. Albert H. Dyson, Jr.

Mrs. Kenneth H. Shannon

Mrs. Ernest T. Eiland

Mrs. Huestis H. Smith

Mrs. Samuel J. Hazelett

Miss Marcia Smith

Mrs. Everette C. Hunt

Mrs. Eugene Tyson

Mrs. Stewart J. Johnson

Mrs. Harold H. Whitted

Miss Ernestine L. Williams

Community Relations Service

Ben Holman

Director

The Community Relations Service—commonly called CRS—was created in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to help communities to resolve “disputes, disagreements, or difficulties relating to discrimination based on race, color, or national origin.” The agency does not enforce laws, regulate practices or grant funds for programs. It helps to settle racial conflicts and end discriminatory practices by persuading the parties involved to take the necessary voluntary action.

CRS is not restricted to concern with the provisions of any single civil rights statute. Its mandate extends to all conflicts stemming from discrimination based on race, color, or national origin which impairs persons’ rights “under the Constitution or laws of the United States.”

The agency works to resolve racial conflicts through both conciliation and mediation. In the CRS definition, *conciliation* means performing a variety of steps to help move the parties involved to a peaceful settlement—for example, opening up communication between them, providing pertinent facts and information, suggesting alternatives, and helping identify sources of specialized or technical assistance. *Mediation* refers to the formal process of setting up and moderating negotiations between disputing parties to try and reach a mutually satisfactory settlement to a conflict through a written agreement.

CRS carries out its conflict-settling function working directly in communities with the parties involved, a task which is obviously not very abstract. Its effectiveness depends on the ability of its professional staff—frequently under extremely difficult circumstances—to persuade

SCHEDULING

MESSAGE, July 2, 1974

July 2, 1974

Mazique, Mrs. Edward

Community Relations Service
U. S. Dept. of Justice
Dinner-Sheraton Park, D. C.

265-5037

Mrs. Edward C. Mazique
General Chairman
Community Relations Service
10th Anniversary Benefit
Dinner Committee
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017

NOTE: Hand Delivered to Sheraton-Park

Dear Mrs. Mazique:

While I cannot personally be with you tonight, I would like to take this opportunity to extend my appreciation for the fine efforts of the Community Relations Service of the United States Department of Justice, over the past ten years.

The program which has been developed in the name of a great humanitarian, Ralph Bunche, has contributed much to the equal treatment of all our citizens and in helping to bring America closer to achieving its full potential.

I look forward to continued outstanding contributions within the Community Relations Service and its many friends.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

GRF:Cbr



Use address on ltr.

Dear Mrs. Mazique:

While I can not personally be with you tonight, I would like to take this opportunity to extend my appreciation for the fine efforts of the United States Department of Justice Community Relations Service *over the past 15 years*

The program which has been developed ~~over the past years~~ in the name of a great humanitarian, Raph Bunche, has contributed much to ~~American Black involvement~~ the equal treatment of all our citizens, and helping bring America closer to achieving its full potential.

I ~~continue to~~ look forward to ~~such~~ continued outstanding contributions. *in the Community Relations Service and its many friends.* With kind regards and best wishes to ~~all its attendants~~ *all who* ~~have helped to achieve this success.~~

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

GRF:Cbr

hand carry to Sher

It needs to be hand carried to Sheraton Park,



SCHEDULING

ONLY

Honorary Chrmn

ACCEPTANCE: July 2

Spencer, Mrs. A.L.

RE: Honorary chrmn of
Community Relations
dinner

May 6, 1974

Dear Mrs. Spencer:

I would like to express my thanks to the U.S. Department of Justice, Community Relations Service for the invitation extended to me to serve as Honorary Chairman of your 10th anniversary dinner.

I shall be very happy to accept the honor to serve in this capacity. The program which you have developed over the past years in the name of that great humanitarian, Ralph Bunche, has contributed much to American black involvement in world affairs. I commend the Community Relations Service for the past years of activity. Because of an extremely heavy schedule Mrs. Ford and I will be unable to attend your dinner on July 2 and we regret our inability to be with you.

Your thoughtfulness in extending this invitation is appreciated. I also wish to send my warm regards to you for a most successful dinner.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

Mrs. A.L. Spencer
3800 13th Street NE
Washington, D.C. 20017

GRP:Wap



M E M O R A N D U M

May 9, 1974

TO: Dr. S. Margurite Mazique

FROM: Warren S. Rustand

**RE: Community Relations Service Dinner
July 2, 1974**

Thank you very much for your invitation to Vice President Ford to attend the Community relations Service Dinner.

This correspondence is by way of follow up to our phone call to your office indicating that the Vice President would be honored to serve as Honorary Chairman. However, because of a prior commitment he is unable to attend in person. We are enclosing a copy of our letter to Mrs. Spencer.

Your thoughtfulness in extending this invitation is appreciated.



May 9, 1974

TO: Stanley Scott

FROM: Warren Rustand

RE: Community Relations Benefit
Dinner - U.S. Dept. of Justice
July 2, 1974

Thank you for forwarding to us the information on the above event. We are enclosing a copy of the Vice President's letter to Mrs. Spencer. We have also communicated with Mrs. Mazique by phone and with a copy of letter.

We appreciate your interest in this event.



SCHEDULING

ACCEPTANCE: July 2

Boykin, Ulysses

**RE: Community Relations
Service - Dept. of
Justice**

May 9, 1974

**Mr. Ulysses W. Boykin
WGPR -TV
2101 Gratiot
Detroit, Michigan 48207**

Dear Mr. Boykin:

Thank you very much for your endorsement of the invitation extended to Vice President Ford to lend his name to the Community Relations Service dinner on July 2.

The Vice President appreciates your thoughtfulness in your endorsement. We are enclosing a copy of the letter to Mrs. Spencer stating that he and Mrs. Ford will be unable to attend. However, he is pleased to serve as Honorary Chairman.

Sincerely,

**Warren S. Rustand
Director of Scheduling**

**WSR:Wmp
Enc.**



APR 19 REC'D

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 18, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: WARREN RUSTAND
FROM: STANLEY SCOTT *SS*
SUBJECT: Community Relations Benefit
Dinner--July 2, 1974

The attached correspondence is self-explanatory. Would personally recommend this event to the Vice President. Warren, I would appreciate it greatly if someone on your staff would communicate with Mrs. Edward Mazique to let her know that your office is on top of her request.

Thank you.

Attachment

V.P. should see this invitation!! *CSR*
Honorary Chairmanship *4-22*
accept Honorary Chairmanship - but
regret appearance! CSR 5-6



MEMORANDUM

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

TO : Mr. Stanley Scott
Special Assistant to the President

DATE: April 15, 1974

FROM : Mrs. Edward C. Mazique *CEM.*
General Chairman

SUBJECT: Community Relations Service 10th Anniversary
Benefit Dinner

On July 2, 1974 the Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice will observe its 10th Anniversary at a Formal Benefit Dinner, sponsored by community friends at the Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C.

The Community Relations Service was established by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to help communities resolve racial disputes. Thus it is typical that CRS should consent to have its community friends sponsor a benefit in its name on this 10th natal day. The proceeds of this affair to which we hope to attract 1000 people will be used to further the work of the Ralph Bunche Awards Program. This program in international human and community relations is a part of the United Nations Association of the U.S.A. It is named for Dr. Ralph Bunche, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and former Under Secretary General of the United Nations.

Thus, I would like for the Vice President to serve as Honorary Chairman.

Attorney General Saxbe and Senator Edward Brooke have consented to serve as Co-Vice Chairman.

A cross section of prominent national and local citizens will be serving as Honorary Advisors to this community committee, and



I am serving as General Chairman of the community friends of CRS.

I am appealing to you once again for assistance. I would greatly appreciate your bringing the enclosed letter to the Vice President's attention and perhaps encourage him to lend his name to this affair.

A copy of the stationery of the UNA of U.S.A. is attached to show the calibre of people involved. Any suggestions you have will be highly appreciated.

Welcome home - I hope your mission through Africa was successful.

Attachments:



Mr. Scott

THE RALPH BUNCHE AWARDS PROGRAM

For perhaps the first time in U. S. history black youths interested in international affairs and foreign service career jobs will be in line for unprecedented financial and professional assistance.

The aid will come through the annual Ralph Bunche Awards Program of the United Nations Association of the United States of America, the only private organization entirely engaged in non-partisan research and education aimed at making the UN and other international organizations more effective to meet the needs of the times.

First announced last year by UNA, the program is just beginning to gather momentum. It was named for the late UN under secretary for special political affairs, and will have a minimum financing of \$100,000 annually over the next five years, according to Joseph M. Segal, chairman of the Board of Governors of UNA, and its president, Porter McKeever.

Dr. Bunche died in 1971 at the age of 69, the highest ranking American in the UN Secretariat, one of the world's foremost experts on race relations and peace-making, and winner of the 1950 Nobel Peace Prize.

The awards program, UNA says, is aimed at formulating and carrying out a sustained, practical leadership development program in the field of international affairs. Intended as something more than a ceremonial tribute to Dr. Bunche, the program focuses on one of the special needs of the U. S. which the world leader rated as an important domestic priority: the encouragement of increased participation and involvement of American blacks in the general field of world affairs.

Two main components of the program will be Ralph Bunche Associates and Ralph Bunche Fellows. Associates will be college level black students with leadership potential and distinguishable interests in service, study and career opportunities in the field of international affairs. Each Associate, in addition to the normal benefits of membership in the UNA, will receive a variety of educational and informational materials on the UN and current world affairs issues and programs. Associates will be selected in cooperation with the United Negro College Fund, and as funds become available, it is expected that the Associates will provide the field of candidates from which some 20 or more Ralph Bunche Fellows will be selected annually.



Fellowships are of one-year duration and carry a stipend of \$5,000, with additional funds for supplementary needs.

Ralph Bunche, Jr., son of the late world affairs expert, and manager of the Middle East-Africa desk of Morgan Guaranty Trust, and John H. Johnson, president, Johnson Publications, Chicago, are honorary chairmen of the awards program.



Chairman of the Association
Earl Warren
Chief Justice
of the United States (retired)

Co-Chairman of the Association
Robert S. Benjamin
Chairman of the Board
United Artists Corp.

Chairman, Board of Governors
Joseph M. Segel
Chairman
Segel Foundation

Vice Chairmen
Oscar A. de Lima
Chairman of the Board
Roger Smith Hotels Corp.

Leonard F. McCollum
Former Chairman of the Board
Continental Oil Co.

Porter McKeever
Associate
John D. Rockefeller, 3rd

Secretary
Mrs. Harvey Picker
Interchange Foundation

Treasurer
Harry W. Knight
President
Hillsboro Associates, Inc.

Governors
I. W. Abel
President
United Steelworkers of America

Adele Alien
Former President
Student Government,
Wellesley College

William T. Coleman, Jr.
Partner
Dilworth, Paxson, Kallah,
Levy and Coleman

Patricia K. DiGiorgio
President
San Francisco Chapter, UNA

Walter E. Hanson
Senior Partner
Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co.

Edward Lamb
Chairman of the Board
Lamb Communications, Inc.

John E. Leslie
Chairman of the Board
Bache & Co.

Franklin A. Lindsay
President
Itek Corp.

James S. McDonnell
Chairman of the Board
McDonnell-Douglas Corp.

G. William Miller
President
Textron, Inc.

William S. Renchard
Chairman, Executive Committee
Chemical Bank

Robert V. Roosa
Partner
Brown Brothers, Harriman & Co.

Donald A. Schmechel
Partner
Davie, Wright, Todd,
Riese & Jones

Cyrus R. Vance
Partner
Simpson, Thacher and Bartlett

Honorary Co-Chairmen
Arthur J. Goldberg
Paul G. Hoffman
Henry Cabot Lodge
Anna Lord Strauss
Charles W. Yost

Executive Vice President
Robert M. Ratner

Vice President, Policy Studies
James F. Leonard

Vice President, Development
and Program Planning
Joe Byrns Sills

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA

345 EAST 46th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017
Cable Address UNASAMER • (212) Oxford 7-3232



President
Edward M. Korry

National Chairman, UN Day 1973
(By appointment of President Nixon)
Donald S. MacNaughton
Chairman of the Board
The Prudential
Insurance Company of America

April 15, 1974

The Vice President and Mrs. Ford
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mr. Vice President and Mrs. Ford:

On July 2, 1974 the Community Relations Service, U. S. Department of Justice will observe its 10th Anniversary at a Formal Benefit Dinner sponsored by community friends at the Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D. C.

Community Relations Service was established by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to help communities cope effectively with "... disputes, disagreements, and difficulties relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color or national origin..." Thus it is typical that CRS should consent to have its community friends sponsor a benefit in its name on this 10th natal day. The proceeds of this affair to which we hope to attract 1000 people will be used to further the work of the Ralph Bunche Awards Program. This program in international, human and community relations is a part of the United Nations Association of the U.S.A. It is named for Dr. Ralph Bunche, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and former Under Secretary of the United Nations.

Attorney General Saxbe and Senator Edward Brooke have consented to serve as Honorary Co-Vice Chairmen.

A cross section of prominent national and local citizens will be serving as Honorary Advisors to our community committee.

It is our sincere hope that you and Mrs. Ford will consent to serve as Honorary Chairpersons.



The mere thought that you both might serve fills us with exhilaration. To lend your name and support will not only guarantee a successful event but will insure an ongoing vitality of the ideals for which these organizations stand.

Since time is a factor, we shall be anxiously waiting to hear from you.

We have enclosed for your information materials on CRS and the Ralph Bunche Awards Program.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs) Edward C. Mazique

Mrs. Edward C. Mazique
General Chairman
CRS 10th Anniversary Benefit
Dinner Committee

Enclosures

R. S. V. P.
c/o Mrs. A. L. Spencer
3800 13th Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20017



COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

I. General Information

Purpose of Agency

The Community Relations Service (CRS) is an agency of the U. S. Department of Justice. It was created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to help communities cope effectively with "...disputes, disagreements, and difficulties relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin...."

CRS provides technical assistance to both State and local governments and community groups. The agency does not enforce laws, regulate practices, or grant funds for programs. Its primary activities involve employing various techniques of persuasion to help defuse tensions and conflicts within communities. CRS' goal is to help bring about rapid and orderly socioeconomic progress for all American citizens.

II. Assistance Defined

The two fundamental services which the CRS provides are conciliation and mediation.

Conciliation, as defined by the CRS, is the injecting of third-party skills and resources into disputes, difficulties, or disagreements to avoid, minimize and/or remove violence, offer alternatives to involved parties and influence actions or reactions toward peaceful resolution.

Mediation is defined as a technical process, more formal than conciliation, in which a third-party intermediary has sanctions from the disputants and assists the conflicting parties in reaching a mutually satisfactory settlement of their differences, preferably with self-enforcing, built-in mechanisms.

III. Crisis Involvement - Methods and Criteria

A. Conciliation

CRS provides conciliation assistance to communities in crisis in two basic ways:

- (1) When the agency determines on its own initiative that assistance is needed; or
- (2) At the request of State or local officials or of local citizens or organizations, both public and private, with a legitimate interest or stake in the outcome of the dispute.

The criteria on which the agency makes the decision whether or not to respond are determined by answers to these three primary questions:

- (1) Does the assessment of circumstances indicate that the difficulties are likely to be effectively influenced by conciliation?
- (2) Are there resources available, other than those of the CRS, which could have significant bearing on successful resolution of the dispute?
- (3) Is there a reasonable likelihood that an agreement, once consummated, can be promptly implemented?

B. Mediation

CRS provides mediation assistance in a community crisis via three basic routes:

- (1) Upon judicial referral when the court feels there is a reasonable likelihood a dispute can be voluntarily settled through mediation;
- (2) On its own initiative when the CRS determines that mediation assistance is needed; and
- (3) At the request of State and local officials and public and private local citizens or organizations with a legitimate interest or stake in the outcome of the dispute.

To provide mediation services, the criteria which must be satisfied are:

- (1) Satisfactory determination that the nature of the difficulties rest within the agency's legislative mandate and are compatible with its responsibilities under existing policy;
- (2) Availability of agency personnel to perform the required assignment;
- (3) Assessment of the circumstances indicate that conflicting parties are--or appear to be--willing to accept and facilitate mediation, a reasonable possibility that permanent settlement can be reached; and, once consummated, the agreement can be expeditiously implemented.

Although the Community Relations Service is authorized to intercede in a community dispute based upon the agency's own initiative, a request for assistance is virtually implicit in every case to which it responds.

IV. The Crisis Response System

The systematic approach to crisis response begins when an alert is called in by someone who knows of CRS and its mandate or a CRS staff person gains first-hand knowledge of a crisis. At the appropriate regional or headquarters office trained professionals gather pertinent facts needed to determine whether or not the agency should respond. (This is generally done through a telephone assessment, but on occasion, circumstances will justify or require an on-site assessment.)

The kind of facts needed include answers to these questions:

What happened - who is involved and what caused it?

Did the conflict result from long-standing grievances or in response to a particular issue or event?

What law enforcement agency (or agencies) is involved?

Are there lines of communication between officials and protestors?

What is the reaction of local officials toward the protestors and vice versa?

What demands, if any, are being made by the dissidents?

Is anyone doing anything about it?

The people who provide answers to these questions are State and local officials, law enforcement heads and personnel where involved, business and professional leaders, members of the minority community, and civil rights and human relations organizations. The facts gathered are analyzed on the basis of the history of the problems causing the conflict, the potential for escalation of tension or for violence, and the probability that CRS assistance can help solve the problems.

Upon completion of the assessment, the CRS professional presents it along with a recommendation to respond or not to respond. A positive decision results in the dispatch of a CRS conciliation team to the crisis site.

V. CRS Conciliation Activities

Paramount to successful settlement of contemporary conflict issues is the need for an outside source to provide an independent perspective upon which adversaries can mutually depend for detached observation, objective judgment, and balanced responsiveness. Conciliation efforts of the CRS team include such roles and activities as:

- . continuing assessment of the situation as a neutral third party
- . facilitating communications between disputants so that issues and opposing viewpoints are perceived and examined
- . arranging and/or convening meetings between the adversaries
- . helping disputants identify and enlist resources which have a bearing on resolution of the conflict identifying and verifying leadership roles between disputants

- . consulting and advising with law enforcement officials to reduce the likelihood of confrontation or violence when inflammatory conditions prevail
- . intervening in conflicts between and within ethnic/racial groups to seek solutions to such discord
- . assisting adversaries to understand the nature of conflict crisis, and protest, and to overcome inhibiting stereotypes
- . helping to formulate and apply constructive internal disciplinary procedures (self-policing systems) in the planning and execution of protest activities involving large numbers of participants
- . providing a Federal presence in critical situations in which there is a useful purpose served by on-the-scene observation - such as demonstrating a major concern for a particular problem and assuring timely and active Federal involvement should changing circumstances dictate.

After appropriate resolution of its conciliation effort, the CRS team tries to get State, local, Federal, and private resources involved in follow-up activities intended to eliminate or minimize the potential for such future crises in that community.

VI. CRS Mediation Activities

The CRS introduced mediation service as a pilot program during 1973.

In less than a year, the agency successfully completed eleven mediation cases, three of which were referred by the courts--two corrections-related cases and one education-related case.

In mediation, the CRS brings disputants and interested parties together for positive action. Specific activities of the mediator include:

- . establishing recognition by the parties of opposing negotiation spokesmen and participants

- . chairing negotiation sessions
- . presenting and clarifying the issues and establishing priorities
- . arranging for an appropriate mechanism with which to assure followup implementation of agreements reached
- . discussing affirmative steps to prevent and meet future problems
- . persuading parties to maintain a "good faith" posture and to move toward realistic settlement goals.

VII. Structure for Rendering Assistance

CRS has 10 regional offices which are staffed by two to five mediators and conciliators. These professionals are supervised by a Regional Director.

The recommended access point for anyone wishing to receive CRS assistance is the Regional Director for the specific area, as listed in the next Section.

VIII. Technical Assistance Contacts By Region.

<u>Region</u>	<u>Regional Director</u>	<u>Address</u>
I. <u>New England</u> Me., Vt., N.H., Mass., Conn., R.I.	Lawrence Turner 617/223-3008	JFK Federal Building Government Center Room 608-B Boston, Mass. 02203
II. <u>Northeast</u> N.J., N.Y., P.R., V.I.	Edward O'Connell 212/264-0700	U.S. Customs & Court House, Room 3400 26 Federal Plaza New York, N.Y. 10007
III. <u>Mid-Atlantic</u> Pa., W. Va., Md., Va., D.C., Del.	Edmond Haywood 215/597-2344	U.S. Customs House Room 309 2nd & Chestnut Streets Philadelphia, Pa. 19106
IV. <u>Southeast</u> Ky., Miss., Ga., S.C., Tenn., N.C., Ala., Fla.	Ozell Sutton 404/526-6883	75 Piedmont Ave., N.E. Room 900 Atlanta, Ga. 30303
V. <u>Midwest</u> Wis., Minn., Mich., Ill., Ind., Ohio	Richard Salem 312/353-4391	55 E. Monroe Street Room 1440 Chicago, Ill. 60603
VI. <u>Southwest</u> La., Tex., Ark., Okla., N. Mex.	Maurilio Ortiz 214/749-1525	Federal Building Room 13B-35 1100 Commerce Street Dallas, Tex. 75202
VII. <u>Central</u> Kans., Iowa, Nebr., Mo.	John Perez 816/374-2157	Federal Building Room 112 601 E. 12th Street Kansas City, Mo. 64106

<u>Region</u>	<u>Regional Director</u>	<u>Address</u>
VIII. <u>Rocky Mountain</u> Colo., Utah, Wyo., Mont., N. Dak., S. Dak.	Leo Cardenas 303/837-4361	Main P.O. Building Room 278 1823 Stout Street Denver, Colo. 80202
IX. <u>Western</u> Calif., Nev., Ariz., Hawaii	Julian Klugman 415/556-2485	100 Mission Street Room 703 San Francisco, Calif. 94105
X. <u>Northwest</u> Wash., Oreg., Idaho, Alaska	Robert Lamb 206/442-4465	Federal Office Building 909 First Avenue Room 6007 Seattle, Wash. 98104

Additional information about the Community Relations Service may be obtained by visiting the Public Information Office, 550 Eleventh Street, NW., Washington, D. C., or by writing to the Community Relations Service, U. S. Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. 20530.

WGPR-TV Channel 62



WGPR-Radio 107.5 FM

First in Black Television

Soul 'n Stereo

2101 GRATIOT at ST. AUBIN

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

48207

961-8833

DR. WILLIAM V. BANKS

President-General Manager

April 27, 1974

IVY BANKS

Executive Vice President-Secretary

JIM PANAGOS

Vice President-General Sales Manager
Operations Manager

GEORGE E. WHITE

Vice President Programming

ULYSSES W. BOYKIN

Ass't. to President
Public Relations

WILLIAM KIRKSEY

Treasurer

GARY SCHMIDT

Tech. Director

Vice President Gerald Ford
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jerry,

This is relative to an invitation extended to you on April 3, 1974 by my friend Mrs. Edward C. Mazique to lend your name and support to the 10th Anniversary Observance of the U.S. Department of Justice formal Benefit Dinner sponsored by Community Friends at the Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D. C. on July 2, 1974.

Your acceptance to serve as Honorary Chairman would more than insure the success of the celebration. It would also show your concern and interest in problems of the minorities in the United States.

This is the kind of cause you can identify with. I urge your acceptance of this invitation to serve a most worthy cause. This will be a real "show case" and timely affair that will enhance your image with our minorities.

Wishing you continued success and the best of health.

Yours truly,


Ulysses W. Boykin

UWB/yw

**GENERAL  ELECTRIC
COMPANY**

22255 GREENFIELD ROAD
BOX 1316, NORTHLAND CENTER STATION
SOUTHFIELD, MICHIGAN 48075

JAMES I. NIXON
DISTRICT MANAGER
APPARATUS DISTRIBUTION
SALES DIVISION

June 21, 1974

Vice President, Mr. Gerald R. Ford
3191 Westover Drive, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20020

Dear Vice President:

I received your invitation to the dinner scheduled for July 2nd to honor the Tenth Anniversary of the Community Relations Service of the United States Department of Justice and I was pleased that you and the sponsoring organization remembered me and the General Electric Company.

You will probably not specifically recall the incident, but we met last July in Washington when you were still representing the Grand Rapids area of Michigan and when I was still representing the General Electric Company as Manager of Corporate Equal Opportunity and Minority Relations from our New York headquarters office. At that time, we chatted briefly and I mentioned that I would shortly become one of your constituents, since I was being transferred to Michigan as District Manager for the sale of "Electrical Apparatus" (see enclosed announcement.)

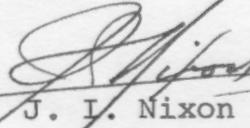
I am happy to say that the job move was made; unfortunately, our paths crossed as you shortly thereafter also moved to a higher position out East. My best wishes for your continued success.

Because of my change in job assignments, I am not directly in a position to accept the invitation to the July 2nd dinner. However, I have taken the liberty of forwarding the invitation to Mr. F. H. Black who now represents the corporation in the area of Equal Opportunity and Minority Relations. If at all possible; however, I will join Mr. Black and others at what I am sure will be the very worthwhile and interesting affair.



If I do not have the opportunity to see you in Washington in July, I do hope our paths will cross again sometime as you and I cover the territory between Michigan and the District of Columbia.

Regards,



J. I. Nixon

JIN:kr

cc: F. H. Black
G. E. Company



ANNOUNCING THE APPOINTMENT OF

JAMES I. NIXON

District Manager - Detroit
Apparatus Distribution Sales Division



GENERAL  **ELECTRIC**



From the office of John F. Smith
Manager - Central Region

Apparatus Distribution
Sales Division

August 20, 1973

JAMES I. NIXON

The General Electric Company announces the appointment of Mr. James I. Nixon as District Manager of the Company's Apparatus Distribution Sales Division in Michigan with offices in Detroit, Saginaw, and Grand Rapids.

A native of Pittsburgh, Pa., Jim served as a Construction Foreman in the Army Corps of Engineers during the Korean War. He was awarded a B.S. in Mechanical Engineering by Carnegie Institute of Technology in 1956, and took additional studies in Nuclear Plant Technology and Business Administration at the University of Cincinnati and Union College.

Mr. Nixon joined G.E. in 1956 and, until 1960, was assigned to the Flight Propulsion Business Division where he designed components and systems for military and commercial jet engines. From 1960 to 1970, he held various positions on the Engineering Staff of the Company's Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory, where he was responsible for the design of various nuclear power systems and sub-systems including, ultimately, supervisory responsibility for reactor servicing teams. Jim is a registered Professional Engineer in New York and Ohio.

Since 1970, he has been assigned to General Electric Corporate Headquarters staff in New York City, where he was most recently Manager of Equal Opportunity and Minority Relations Programs for the Company. Jim represents the Company on committees of the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Chamber of Commerce.

Jim and his wife Joan are in the process of relocating to the Detroit area from their present home in Croton-on-Hudson, New York. Their son, James III, is a freshman architectural student at M.I.T. in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Mr. Nixon and his staff of sales engineers and customer service representatives market what is generally considered to be the industry's broadest line of electrical apparatus. These products are sold through General Electric franchised electrical agents and distributors throughout Michigan.

Mr. Nixon's office will be located at: 22255 Greenfield Road, Box 1316 Northland Center Station, Southfield, Michigan 48075. Phone (313) 355-4400



Bill J & W, R

I'm not scheduled

for this dinner,

Am I?

No

I have nothing

on my date book
You are honoring
Chairman - no
attendance
JWB

~~Answer~~

Q. Why a Candidate?





FOR EQUAL



OPPORTUNITY

New York Urban League

OFFICERS

- Board Chairman**
William H. Toles
- Board Co-Chairman**
Charles E. F. Millard
- President**
John W. Murray
- Vice Presidents**
Mrs. William R. Anderson
Robert Arrindell
John T. Patterson, Jr.
Mrs. Cyrus Vance
- Secretary**
Mrs. Theodore W. Kheel
- Assistant Secretary**
John Bess, III
- Treasurer**
Robert L. Rawlins
- Assistant Treasurer**
George M. Brooker
- General Counsel**
John J. Barrett

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Livingston L. Wingate

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

- Frederick W. Beinecke, II
- Robert A. Bernhard
- Robert Brimberg
- Michael Burke
- William M. Chisholm
- Mrs. Dolly Christian
- Mrs. Joseph Clark, Jr.
- Edward Cleary
- Victor Collymore
- Larry Dais
- Donald Dammond
- Mrs. Evelyn P. Davis
- Edward R. Dudley, Jr.
- Mrs. Mildred L. Edwards
- Ahmet M. Ertegun
- Frederick W. Eversley, Jr.
- Mrs. Raymond Z. Fahs, Jr.
- Hon. George M. Fleary
- Richard Gallup
- Dr. Bernard Gifford
- Ernest Green
- Richard T. Greene
- Ralph C. Gross
- Mrs. Randolph Guggenheimer
- Mrs. Gabriel Hauge
- John A. Herrmann, Jr.
- Mrs. James L. Hicks
- Rev. Samuel Holder
- Bernard H. Jackson
- Eugene Jackson
- Ron Johnson
- Paul L. Kendall
- Schuyler M. Meyer, Jr.
- Michael Molina
- Dr. Patricia Morisey
- Mrs. John Mosler
- Mrs. Willene Murphy
- Waldemar A. Nielson
- George Norford
- Miss Barbara North
- Rev. Robert Polk
- Mrs. John L. Procope, Jr.
- James W. Randolph
- Mrs. Maude B. Richardson
- Geraldo Rivera
- Mrs. Rita Robinson
- Robert J. Samuels
- William G. Sherwell
- Charles R. Sherwood
- Mrs. Stanley Simon
- Miss Karen Pamela Smythe
- Austin Sobers
- Mark Stroock
- Louis Stulberg
- Mrs. Arthur O. Sultzberger
- Mrs. Cyrus Tanner
- Eldridge Waith
- Adam Walinsky
- Mrs. Arnold Wells
- Joseph Willen
- Claude Young

CENTRAL OFFICE

24 June 1974

6/28/74
Thank

file

Vice President and
Mrs. Gerald R. Ford
Washington, DC 20501

My dear Mr. Vice President and Mrs. Ford:

I appreciate your most kind invitation to be present on Tuesday, July 2, for the Community Friends of Community Relations Service Dinner for the benefit of the Ralph Bunche Awards Programs

I regret that I shall be, on this most important occasion, unable to attend due to the fact that I will be attending a Long-Range Planning Session in preparation for the National Urban League Conference, which will be held in San Francisco the last week in July.

Please express my regrets to the committee and inform them that I shall be honored to attend any subsequent events.

Sincerely yours,

Livingston L. Wingate
Livingston L. Wingate
Executive Director

LLW/lp



MGMWSHT HSB
2-010924E182 07/01/74
ICS IPMBNGZ CSP
6122984323 MGM TDBN SAINT PAUL MN 140 07-01 1105A EDT
ZIP 20501

 Mailgram
western union



VICE PRESIDENT GERALD FORD
OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON DC 20501

JUL 1 REC'D

DEAR MR VICE PRESIDENT THANK YOU FOR YOUR KIND INVITATION TO ATTEND THE JULY 2ND DINNER CELEBRATING THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE I REGRET THAT I WILL BE UNABLE TO ATTEND I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS MY ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT OF THE WORK OF THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE DURING THE COURSE OF THE WOUNDED KNEE TRIALS IN SAINT PAUL COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE PERSONNEL UNDER THE EXPERT AND SENSITIVE GUIDANCE OF REGIONAL DIRECTOR RICHARD SALEM HAVE BEEN OF INVALUABLE ASSISTANCE IN MAINTAINING A TRANQUIL CITY THE CRS HAS WORKED UNOBTUSIVELY BUT TIRELESSLY TO MAINTAIN COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN ALL OF THE GROUPS INVOLVED IN THE TRIALS THEY ARE TO BE HIGHLY COMMENDED SINCERELY
MAYOR LAWRENCE D COHEN OFFICE OF THE MAYOR CITY OF SAINT PAUL

1105 EDT

MGMWSHT HSB



MS. DELPHINE L. MCKENZIE
REGRETS
SHE IS UNABLE TO ACCEPT THE KIND
INVITATION
OF
VICE PRESIDENT AND MRS. GERALD R. FORD
HONORARY CHAIRPERSONS
AND THE
COMMUNITY FRIENDS
OF
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICES
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
TO DINNER ON
TUESDAY, THE SECOND OF JULY
SEVEN O'CLOCK
THE SHERATON PARK HOTEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.



HOUSTON
COUNCIL ON
HUMAN RELATIONS



629 W. ALABAMA
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77006
(713) 526-5547

JUL 9 REC
1974

Sal

June 25, 1974

1974
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Andrew Jefferson
President
Tom Forrester Lord
First Vice-President
Mrs. Carole Pinkett
Second Vice-President
Phil Frank
Secretary
Felix Fraga
Treasurer
Roger D. Armstrong
Hector Garcia
Sloan Hill
Dr. Gurney Pearsall
William Walker
Howard Wolf

BOARD MEMBERS

Milton Bermann
Garvin Berry
Mrs. David Bourgin
Mrs. Louis Brazelton, III
George S. Bruce, III
Walter E. Calne
Lyonel J. Castillo
Mrs. Bertie Crosby
Robert Darden
Jonathan Day
Peter B. Fisher, M.D.
J. W. Hershey
Gerald D. Hines
Richard Jennings
Dean Otis H. King
David Knapp
Mrs. Livingston Kosberg
Mrs. Ninfa Lorenzo
Ben F. Love
Dr. William Martin
Mrs. Frank Metyko
Mrs. Rita Paddock
Letitia Plummer
Ben T. Reyes
Pablo Sanchez, Jr.
Frederico Souflee
Harwood Taylor
Larry Thomas
Daniel K. Trevino
Ernesto Valdes
Dr. George Walker
Mrs. Bernard Weingarten
Sonný Wells
John Wildenthal

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Lawrence D. Spencer

The Honorable & Mrs. Gerald R. Ford
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue North West
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Ford:

Today I received your invitation to the Department of Justice Community Relations Service's tenth anniversary dinner on July 2, 1974. It was addressed to Mr. Roger D. Armstrong, former Executive Director of the Houston Council on Human Relations.

Mr. Armstrong, who will be unable to attend, forwarded the invitation to me. Due to prior commitments I shall also be unable to be present for the benefit.

You have my thanks for your involvement with the Community Relations Service and that agency has my best wishes for its continued service.

Sincerely,

Lawrence D. Spencer

Lawrence D. Spencer
Executive Director

cc Mrs. John Clark





RICHARD GORDON HATCHER
MAYOR

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
GARY, INDIANA

July 17, 1974

*Sold
Credit full
WR 7-24*

Vice President and Mrs. Gerald R. Ford
Office of the Vice President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20501

Dear Vice President and Mrs. Ford:

2

It was with deep regret that I was unable to attend the Community Relations Service Tenth Anniversary dinner. A previous commitment made it impossible for me to be present.

You have, however, my thanks for extending the invitation. I trust the evening was a success and that the Ralph Bunche Awards Program will continue to represent America's commitment to humanize our role in international affairs.

Sincerely,

Richard Gordon Hatcher

Richard Gordon Hatcher
Mayor, City of Gary

RGH:ver



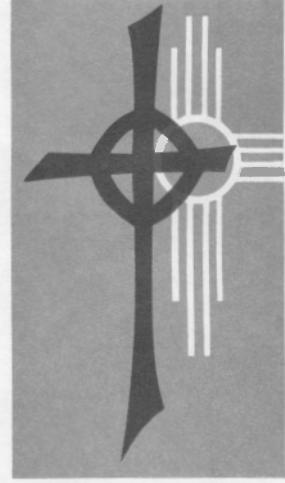
sch

PRESBYTERY OF SANTA FE

901 PENNSYLVANIA NE, ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO 87110

Robert N. Allen, *Executive* Marilyn Jackson, *Secretary*

Phone 505-265-6738



AUG 5 1974

*never
file
WDR 8-10*

July 31, 1974

The Honorable Vice-President and Mrs. Gerald R. Ford
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20510

Honorable Sir and Madam:

Thank you very much for your kind invitation to the dinner in celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Community Relations Service held on July 2, 1974.

Mrs. Allen and I were both able to attend this fine occasion. We were sorry that your duties with the President made it impossible for you to attend.

I am impressed with the purpose of Community Relations Service and the Ralph Bunche Awards Program. We are much involved in these kinds of things with the Chicano community in New Mexico. I certainly hope that you will put the weight of your office behind a continued program in these matters.

Sincerely,

Robert N. Allen

RNA/mj

MODERATOR
Virginia Stovall
363 Andanada
Los Alamos, NM 87544

VICE MODERATOR
John D. Browne
P.O. Box 1155
Socorro, NM 87801

CHM. MISSION COUNCIL
Kenneth W. Gephart
7702 Euclid St. NE
Albuquerque, NM 87110

STATED CLERK
Harold M. Daniels
5301 Ponderosa NE
Albuquerque, NM 87110

TREASURER
William C. Knobloch
9315 Candelaria Rd. NE
Albuquerque, NM 87112



Synod of the Southwest
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

July 2, 1974

11:00 AM - Meeting with the Vice President

Center for the Study of the Presidency

Please clear the following people:

Mary M. Allen
Anna M. Farias
Mora Maura E. Heaphy
Walter L. Jacobson
Karolyn W. Greeland
Michael J. Nizolek
Dr. Brodaus N. Butler
Dr. S. Douglas Cornell
Ralph D. Howell
Dr. Gordon Hoxie
Mr. Andrew O. Miller
Mr. Robert Lindgren



Boy Metz

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY

- Mary M. Allen
- Anna M. Farias
- Mora Maura E. Heaphy
- Walter L. Jacobson
- Karolyn W. Greeland
- Michael J. Nizolek
- Dr. Brodaus N. Butler
- Dr. S. Douglas Cornell
- Ralph D. Howell
- Dr. Gordon Hoxie
- Mr. Andrew O. Miller
- Mr. Robert Lindgren

11 Am

q

Int TO
may Ann
might Center

Press - Butler M.



Yale boxing coach - Miller student was student

Minna.
See
Mich.

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY

926 FIFTH AVENUE - NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021 - 212 249-1200

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 18, 1974

Honorable Gerald R. Ford
Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20500

JUN 21 RECD

Dear Mr. Vice President:

Very much a delegation from our Center's Board of Trustees and from our Student Co-chairmen and myself are looking forward to our meeting with you on Tuesday, July 2, at your office in the Executive Office Building at 2 p.m. On this occasion, it will be our honor to present to you the Center's Distinguished Public Service Medal. An artist's rendering of the Medal appears on the cover of the enclosed issue of the Presidential Studies Quarterly. The same issue, Pages 3-8 and Pages 13-15, features your splendid role in keynoting our Fifth Annual National Student Symposium. Believing this issue may be of particular interest, an additional copy is enclosed herewith.

75¢ copy
confused

Mr. Vice President, we have one small problem related to our presentation. There has been such a great interest in being in the presentation party that we have had to disappoint some of the Co-chairmen and Trustees since the agreed limit of persons attending was ten. Would it be possible to add an old friend of yours, from the Board of Trustees, Andrew O. ("Ott") Miller, who you will recall was a member of your boxing team at Yale and who is the Secretary of our Board of Trustees. Also, could we possibly add one of the Co-chairmen from your home state, Robert Lindgren from Muskegon, Michigan, now attending the University of Florida, who has made a most eloquent plea to be included. The problem is you have so many admirers.

yes

Perhaps Ms Quenneville can advise me regarding this request. We should further be grateful for appropriate press coverage of this ceremony.

It will be very good being with you.

Sincerely yours,


R. Gordon Hoxie



6/26 Sharon

RGH/sac

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY

926 FIFTH AVENUE - NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021 - 212 249-1200

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 11, 1974

Ms. Sally Quenneville
Office of the Vice President
Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20500

JUN 14 REC'D

Dear Ms Quenneville:

Confirming our telephone conversation, we are much looking forward to our visit with the Vice President on Tuesday, July 2, at 2 p.m. On this occasion, we shall confer the Center's Distinguished Public Service Medal on the Vice President.

As we agreed, we are limiting to ten the Center participants on this occasion. These will be five student co-chairmen of our Annual National Student Symposium and five members of our Center Board, including myself. All of the co-chairmen were with us at the Reston Symposium as were all of the Board members. Two of the students, Mary Allen and Maura Heaphy, served as co-chairmen at the 1974 Reston Symposium, and the other three with us at Reston have now been selected as co-chairmen for 1975.

Under separate cover, we should be sending on next week a description of the Medal as featured in the new issue of our Presidential Studies Quarterly. It is our understanding that a White House photographer will be present. I assume that you will alert the Vice President's press people. The citation for the Medal was presented to the Vice President at the Reston Symposium, and as was there indicated, he is to be the first recipient of the Center's Public Service Medal (the first recipient of the Center's other highly regarded award, the Distinguished Service Medal, was Mr. DeWitt Wallace, founder of the Reader's Digest).

The following is a list of participants:

Students
Mary Allen
Anna Farias
Maura Heaphy
Walter Jacobsen
Karolyn Vreeland

Center Board Members
Broadus Butler
S. Douglas Cornell
Ralph Howell
R. Gordon Hoxie
Harry J. Sievers, S.J.

Very much we look forward to being with you.

Sincerely yours,

R. Gordon Hoxie
R. Gordon Hoxie

RGH/sac

cc Vice President's Press Office



Appointment
July 2

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY

926 FIFTH AVENUE - NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021 - 212 249-1200

APR 03 RECD

April 1, 1974

OK WSR 9-10

Hon. Gerald R. Ford
The Vice President of the United States
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Vice President:

It was wonderful having you as our guest of honor to deliver the keynote address at this Center's Fifth Annual National Student Symposium on the Presidency.

Each and every report which we have received in this regard has been most enthusiastic, and the young people have now returned to their respective campuses throughout the United States with a fuller understanding, not only of the office in which you so eminently serve, but also both of your own kindness and statesmanship.

The Center's Distinguished Public Service Medal for which we presented you the authorizing certificate and citation is being designed and struck by Tiffany and Company, a member of the Center.

On an appropriate early occasion, hopefully at your office during the first two weeks in June, a representative group of the student council chairmen would like to join with me in personally presenting the medal to you, and we look forward to hearing from you in this regard.

Sincerely yours,

R. Gordon Hoxie

R. Gordon Hoxie

RGH/sh

4/10 - Would it be possible to schedule this?
sig

5-34 w.c.b.
~~June 10 (am)~~ not ready (W.H. Photo.)
July 2 - 2:00 PM (EOB)



Hoxie - 4-12

(Center for ST
of Pres)

wants to present
medal to VP-

late May → m
anytime

(212) 249-
1200

Edw



[EVENTS THANK YOU]

SCHEDULING

Thank you for medal- July 2

Hoxie, Gordon R.

July 10, 1974

**~~Study for Grant~~
Center for the Study of the
Presidency -**

**Mr. R. Gordon Hoxie
President
Center for the Study of the Presidency
926 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021**

Dear Mr. Hoxie,

**I enjoyed meeting with you and your group on July 2nd
and appreciated the views exchanged on the Study of
the Presidency.**

**It was most gracious of you to present me with the
beautiful Public Service Medal which will occupy an
appropriate place in my home.**

**Thank you again for the most thoughtful gift. Please
extend my best wishes to the other members of your
organisation for continued success in their endeavors.**

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

GRF:an



1) Miss Leonard
2) Scheduling

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY
926 FIFTH AVENUE - NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021 - 212 249-1200

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 27, 1974

Honorable Gerald R. Ford
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20500

Thank for
↑

Dear Mr. Vice President:

We are much appreciative to you and to Ms. Sally Quenneville for the affirmative response to enlarge our little visiting party to twelve members, that is, five Board members and seven students, for the Distinguished Public Service Medal conferral. We do look forward to being with you next Tuesday, July 2, in this regard.

In the interim, Mr. Vice President, may I share with you the enclosed copy of a letter received today from Professor Philip Nicoll, a Center member from Dickinson College. I shall be particularly grateful if you, or a senior member of your staff, could find a few minutes to see the two faculty members and the fifteen students from Dickinson, on either the 8, 9, or 10 of July, as requested. I hope that your office will communicate directly with Professor Nicoll in this regard.

possible

Mr. Vice President, although you and I will not have the opportunity this Tuesday to discuss possible larger areas of service of this Center, I hope on another early occasion that we might. We do receive so many inquiries from scholars both at home and abroad, seeking to study various aspects of the presidency. By way of example, I enclose herewith a copy of a letter from Dr. Paul Smith and also a copy of a letter from Dr. Robert Kurlander.

You are striving so ably and honorably to establish a bridge between this administration and the academic community. I do believe that this Center is uniquely positioned to work with you in this regard, while at the same time complimenting our goal of scholarly students. The support which you have given, we do, indeed, appreciate.

Warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

R. Gordon Hoxie

R. Gordon Hoxie

RGH/sac
Enclosures



JUN 27 1974

DICKINSON
COLLEGE



25 June 1974

Dr. Gordon Hoxie
Center for the Study of the Presidency
926 Fifth Avenue
New York NY 10021

Dear Dr. Hoxie:

It was a real pleasure talking to you yesterday on the telephone. I can't tell you how much I think of the work you have been doing to build the Center for the Study of the Presidency up to the stature it deserves. With this letter, I am fulfilling your request that I remind you of the details of our discussion yesterday.

My colleague, Professor Bruce R. Andrews, and I are teaching a course this summer entitled "The Crisis of the Presidency." We have 15 students, and we are exploring many facets of the contemporary presidency. One of our hopes is to visit with someone connected with the Nixon administration or else someone who is otherwise knowledgeable about the presidency in general. As I said in my discussion with you on the phone yesterday, this is where I was hoping you could help us. We could visit Washington on the 8th, 9th or 10th of July. We would prefer to do whatever we wind up doing on the 9th of July. However, I thought it would increase our chances of seeing someone worthwhile if we provided some flexibility in our plan by permitting a visit on the 8th, the 9th, or the 10th. I certainly hope that you can help us out, but if you don't, I am deeply grateful to you for your concern and your efforts. If I can ever return the favor, please let me know.

I look forward to hearing from you soon. In the meantime, I hope that you have a good trip and enjoy your visit with Vice President Ford.

Respectfully yours,

Philip D. Nicoll

Assistant Professor of Political Science

PDN:vk



JUN 19 1974

ITHACA COLLEGE

Ithaca, New York 14850

SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES & SCIENCES

12 June 1974

Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie
President
Center for the Study of the Presidency
New York, New York 10021

Dear Dr. Hoxie:

During the Spring semester 1975 I will be on sabbatical leave from Ithaca College. The purpose of my leave is to undertake research into the impact of the Nixon presidency on the presidential office. Moreover, I intend to examine the exercise of "extra-constitutional" authority by President Nixon and to seek comparison with the exercise of that type of authority by other twentieth century presidents, notably Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, and Lyndon Johnson.

I have been a member of the Center for several years now, and would appreciate an opportunity to use its facilities in conducting my research. Since this would necessitate travel and also accommodations in New York, I wonder whether the Center has funds which might be available for those purposes?

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,



Robert Kurlander
Associate Professor of Politics

RK:cws



JUN 21 1974

Paul S. Smith

14314 BRONTE DRIVE, WHITTIER, CALIFORNIA 90602

June 18, 1974

Center for the Study of
the Presidency
926 Fifth Ave
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Friends:

Since I am doing a manuscript on the system of presidential election with special reference to the Nixon years, I would appreciate information concerning the nature and work of your organization as well as a list of any publications or studies which you have made on the presidency.

Thanks for whatever help you can give, I am,

Sincerely,

Paul S. Smith

Paul S. Smith



Sally

This Hoxie guy
is nuts!!

He is upset about
this letter not
being seen by
the VP. Do you know
anything about the
contents of this letter?
Sorry to burden you
w/this.

MARY ANN

**MEMORANDUM
OF CALL**

TO: _____

YOU WERE CALLED BY _____

YOU WERE VISITED BY _____

OF (Organization) _____

PLEASE CALL →

**PHONE NO.
CODE/EXT.** _____

WILL CALL AGAIN

IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

RETURNED YOUR CALL

WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE _____

RECEIVED BY _____

DATE _____

TIME _____

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY

926 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

212 249-1200

June 27, 1974

Honorable Gerald R. Ford
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Vice President:

We are much appreciative to you and to Ms. Sally Quenneville for the affirmative response to enlarge our little visiting party to twelve members, that is, five Board members and seven students, for the Distinguished Public Service Medal conferral. We do look forward to being with you next Tuesday, July 2, in this regard.

In the interim, Mr. Vice President, may I share with you the enclosed copy of a letter received today from Professor Philip Nicoll, a Center member from Dickinson College. I shall be particularly grateful if you, or a senior member of your staff, could find a few minutes to see the two faculty members and the fifteen students from Dickinson, on either the 8, 9, or 10 of July, as requested. I hope that your office will communicate directly with Professor Nicoll in this regard.

Mr. Vice President, although you and I will not have the opportunity this Tuesday to discuss possible larger areas of service of this Center, I hope on another early occasion that we might. We do receive so many inquiries from scholars both at home and abroad, seeking to study various aspects of the presidency. By way of example, I enclose herewith a copy of a letter from Dr. Paul Smith and also a copy of a letter from Dr. Robert Kurlander. You are

You are striving so ably and honorably to establish a bridge between this administration and the academic community. I do believe that this Center is uniquely positioned to work with you in this regard, while at the same time complimenting our goal of scholarly students. The support which you have given, we do, indeed, appreciate.

Warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

R. Gordon Hoxie

RGH/sac
Enclosures

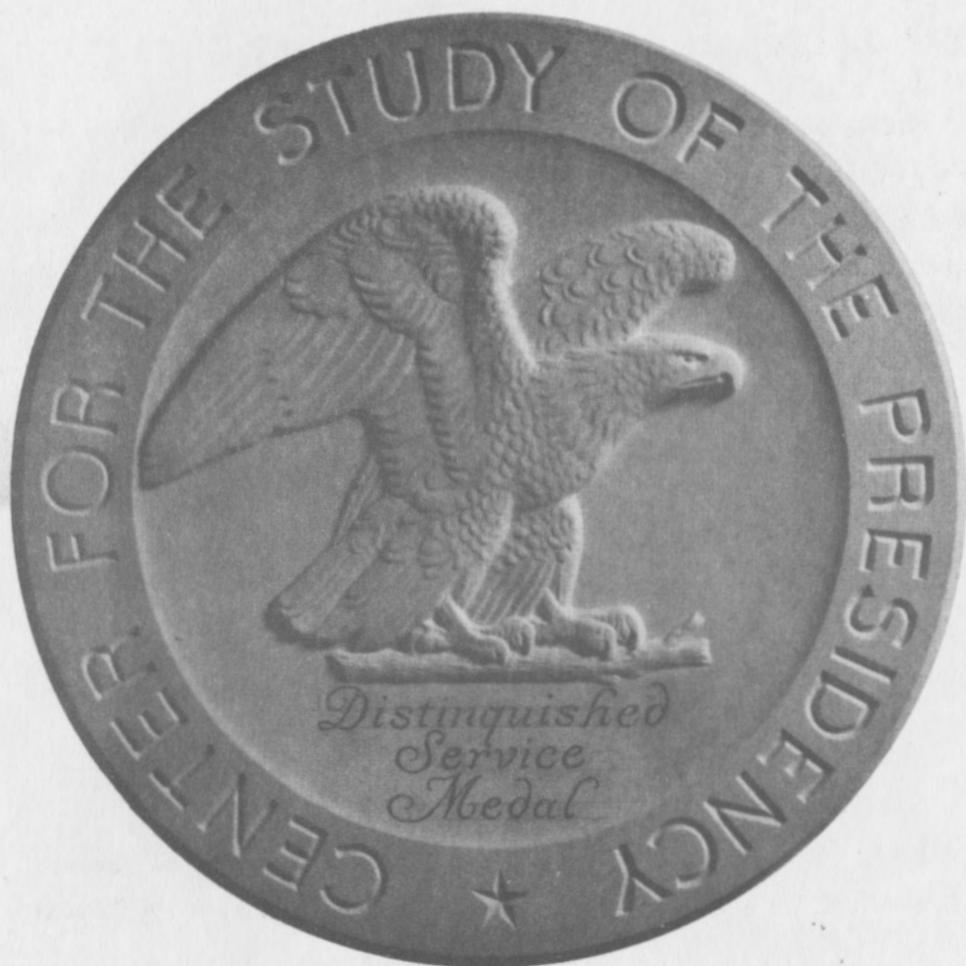


VOLUME IV • NUMBER 2 • SPRING, 1974

Presidential Studies Quarterly

combined with
Center House Bulletin

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY



Presidential Studies Quarterly

combined with
Center House Bulletin

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRESIDENCY

Editor: Sheila M. Halpin

Associate Editor: Sharon A. Coleman

Board of Educators

Luther H. Evans, Chairman

James E. Check	Jacob I. Hartstein	Curtis P. Nettels
Kenneth W. Colegrove	G. Alexander Heard	George H. Skau
Andrew W. Cordier	Theodore M. Hesburgh	John O. Stigall
John A. Davis	J. Martin Klotsche	John J. Theobald
Kenneth E. Davison	Louis W. Koenig	C. Dwight Waldo
Charles F. Gosnell	Richard H. Logsdon	W. Allen Wallis
C. Lowell Harriss	Edward W. Mill	Irving G. Williams

The *Center House Bulletin* is published quarterly; Winter, Spring, Summer, and Fall, by the Center for the Study of the Presidency, 926 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10021. Commencing with this issue, the *Center House Bulletin* is combined with a new Center publication, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. R. Gordon Hoxie, President; Sheila M. Halpin, Editor; Sharon A. Coleman, Associate Editor. Subscription is included with Center membership. Additional copies may be secured at \$2 each.

Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent to the Membership Secretary of the Center within three months of the date of publication of the issue. Change of address should be sent to the Membership Secretary. The Center is not responsible for copies lost because of failure to report a change of address in time for mailing.

Correspondence: Inquiries should be addressed to the Editor, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 926 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10021.

The Center cannot accommodate changes of address that are effective only for the summer months.

The Center for the Study of the Presidency disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by contributors.

COVER ILLUSTRATION: Clay Model of Artist's rendering of Center's Distinguished Service and Distinguished Public Service Medals (by Tiffany).



I. Fifth National Student Symposium	3
II. Distinguished Service Awards	8
III. New Board Members	9
IV. The President and Center Publications	9
V. Fifth Annual National Leadership Symposium	10
VI. Center Member Guest Editorial	11
VII. Contrasting Views on Impeachment	12
VIII. Public Members Association of the Foreign Service	12
IX. Vice President's Keynote Address	13
X. Senator Bentsen's Plenary Message	15
XI. Bergen Presidential Program	20
XII. Memorial Day Address	21
XIII. Bibliographical Essay	23
XIV. Woodrow Wilson and the American Presidency	35
XV. Book Reviews	41

RECORD ATTENDANCE AT FIFTH ANNUAL NATIONAL STUDENT SYMPOSIUM

A new record of more than 425 persons from throughout the United States participated in the Fifth Annual National Student Symposium on the Presidency at Reston, Virginia, the week-end of March 29-31, 1974. Approximately 300 undergraduate and graduate students, representing as many colleges and universities, were in attendance, along with 125 distinguished guest observers and program participants.

This year's program theme, selected by the student co-chairmen, was "The People, The Congress, and the Presidency." The Friday evening keynote was delivered by the Vice President of the United States, Gerald R. Ford, following a reception and dinner in his honor. [See text of Vice President Ford's address in this issue of the *Bulletin*.] Vice President Ford had high praise for the Center's "impressive programs" and paid especial tribute to his old friend, Center Trustee, James C. Hagerly, whose illness had prevented his being there. Emphasizing both the need to secure political leaders of integrity and status and to rebuild confidence in both the Congress and the Presidency, the Vice President emphasized:

"We need the talented young people assembled here. . . . We need educators like the Center's own Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie to promote the quality of our national life—and the quality of our politicians."

In relating his own office to the theme of the symposium, Mr. Ford declared that the Vice President has a reconciliation role among and between the Congress, the President, and the people.

In response to student questions, the Vice President urged outstanding young people, such as those represented at the symposium, to enter upon careers in the profession of politics. He counselled that while sound education is imperative, a college degree is of itself no guarantor of political positions. There is no substitute for hard work, for expending shoe leather, for getting acquainted with not just political leaders, but with the people, one's constituency. He further counselled that young people in entering upon political careers should expect to begin at the bottom rung on the ladder, building on a firm foundation, and rising through dint of hard work and exceptional service.

During the question period Mr. Ford voiced opposition to governmental financ-



Vice President of the United States, Gerald R. Ford, keynoting Fifth Annual National Student Symposium, with from left to right: Earl Washington, Jr., symposium co-chairman and Dillard University representative; Dr. Milton B. Flemings, Professor of Biology, C.W. Post College, who introduced dais members; and Maura E. Heaphy, symposium co-chairman and Marymount-Nanhattan representative.

ing of elections. He observed that labor unions are bigger political donors than business. With regard to possible impeachment of the President, Mr. Ford reasserted his conviction that the President is innocent of any impeachable offense. In the matter of the selection of Presidential candidates, he reaffirmed his faith in the nominating process through the political parties and the election by the people. He emphasized the vital importance of a strong two-party system. One party that is wounded or a Congress that is overwhelmingly of a party opposing the President would serve no constructive purpose. He also reaffirmed his support for revenue sharing, asserting that in the area of public improvement, allocation and administration of funds can usually be done better at the local level; he called attention to seven principles for allocation of public funds.

The Vice President, in his concluding remarks in the question period, expressed his desire to keep in touch with the Center and the students. He departed, three hours after his arrival, with a standing ovation.

The symposium included three major round tables and discussion groups. The First Round Table focused on "The Congress and the Presidency as Viewed by Educators and the Media." It was moderated by Mr. Robert B. Semple, Jr., Deputy Na-

tional News Editor, *the New York Times*, with the following participants: Mr. Lloyd R. Armour, Executive Editor, *The Tennessean*; Dr. Broadus N. Butler, Director, Office of Leadership Development in Higher Education, American Council on Education; Dr. Raymond English, Director, Social Science Program, Educational Research Council of America; Mr. Martin S. Hayden, Editor and Vice President, *The Detroit News*; Mr. Bruce Herschensohn, Deputy Special Assistant to the President; and Mr. John K. Jessup, CBS Commentator, formerly chief editorial writer, *Life*.

Although all three newspapers represented have editorially opposed the present President, there was general agreement on the part of all of the panelists in the following nine points:

1. Press and government have always had adversary roles; and as James C. Hagerty has often pointed out in this Center's programs, it is healthy that they do;
2. There is a liberal bias in the media;
3. Such bias should not be disguised;
4. The bureaucracy is overwhelmingly of one party: liberal and Democratic;
5. The bureaucracy lobbies for its own growth;
6. There is in the land today a dangerous increase in factional party spirit;



Mr. Robert B. Semple, Jr., Associate National News Editor, *New York Times*, addressing Fifth Annual National Student Symposium with, from left to right: Center President, Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie; Mr. Martin S. Hayden, Editor-in-Chief, *Detroit News*; Mr. John K. Jessup, CBS Commentator; and Mr. Bruce Herschensohn; Deputy Special Assistant to the President.



Dr. Raymond English, Director, Social Science Program, Educational Research Council of America, with Center Board Member Ralph Howell in student discussion group at Reston Symposium.

7. It would be tragic if impeachment were carried out on a political basis.

In addition to the foregoing seven points, Dr. Broadus Butler, one of the nation's foremost black educators; and Dr. Raymond English, distinguished political scientist, emphasized that knowledge must be balanced with integrity to prevent an erosion of morals. They concluded that education must share in the responsibility for the nation's moral tone including that of its politicians!

The Second Round Table had as its subject "Formulation of National Security Policy." It was moderated by Hon. William J. Casey, President of the Export-Import Bank, and had the following participants: Hon. Carol C. Laise, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs; Lt. Gen. Daniel James, Jr., USAF, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs; Rear Admiral George E. R. Kinnear, II, USN, Assistant Chief of Naval Personnel for Financial Management and Management Information; Mr. Eugene P. Kopp, Deputy Director, United States Information Agency; Dr. Adam Yarmolinsky, Ralph Waldo Emerson University Professor, University of Massachusetts; and Mr. Brandon Grove, Jr., Deputy Director, State Department Policy Planning Staff.

Led by Ambassador Laise, the panel emphasized that the firm foundation for

foreign policy, as well as domestic policy, must be based upon the understanding of the American people. Mr. Casey, General



White House Reception for Fifth Annual National Student Symposium, from left to right: Dr. Broadus N. Butler, Director, Office of Leadership Development in Higher Education, American Council on Education; Earl Washington, Jr., symposium co-chairman and Dillard University representative; Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie, Center President; and Mrs. Broadus N. Butler.

James, and Admiral Kinnear asserted that we must negotiate from a posture of strength. Mr. Grove explained that in establishing national security policy, many departments, beyond State and Defense, are involved. He expressed the belief that the President made effective use of the National Security Council. Professor Yarmolinsky was highly critical of this President's leadership. In response to inquiry regarding the Nixon Doctrine he questioned whether in reality such a doctrine even existed.

In response to questions regarding budget, it was emphasized that the relative share of the total budget allocated to the military has since the end of the Vietnam War substantially declined. In response to a statement from one of the students that "you are feeding us a bunch of military propaganda," General James, the nation's highest ranking black military officer, countered that "one of the reasons for which our armed forces serve, is to make sure that your right to hold that opinion is protected."

The Third Round Table was on "The Presidency and the Congress: Future Organization and Relationships." Dr. C. Lowell Harriss, Professor of Economics, Columbia University and former President, National Tax Association—Tax Institute of America, served as moderator with the following participants: Hon. John B. Anderson, United States Congressman from Illinois; Dr. Luther H. Evans, former Librarian of Congress; Dr. Alfred de Grazia, Professor of Politics, New York University; Hon. Dwight A. Ink, Jr., Deputy Administrator, General Services Administration; Hon. Elmer B. Staats, Comptroller General of the United States; and Hon. Frederick L. Webber, Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs.

This final round table, while portraying the growth of Presidential power during the past 40 years, cautioned that we must guard against over zealous reaction, stripping the Presidency of necessary power. The irresponsibility, the lack of leadership role of the Congress, was noted. There was general agreement for: (1) reduction in size and authority of White House staff; (2) greater reliance on cabinet and agency heads; (3) regular meetings of the President with Congressional leaders; and (4)

reduction in length and expenditures for Presidential campaigns.

Quite surprisingly the panel found Presidential impoundment of funds justifiable, particularly if such expenditures would exceed budget ceilings. In response to the question as to whether impeachment would weaken the Presidency, the grounds for impeachment were emphasized. If it were to be decided on political issues and Presidential popularity, then the Presidency would, indeed, be weakened. A searching question in this and in all of the Round Tables and Discussion Groups was with regard to whether limitations can, indeed, be placed upon all-pervasive, all-powerful government. This particular panel cautioned that we must not lose sight of our national priorities and that we do run the risk, in the present climate of coercion, of replacing intelligent action with emotion.

Hon. Lloyd Bentsen, Jr., United States Senator (D) Texas, delivered the concluding plenary session address. [See complete text in this issue.] Preceding it, in a televised interview, he announced his candidacy to receive the Democratic Party nomination for President of the United States.

In his address to the students Senator Bentsen emphasized the recent reversal of the trend towards increased presidential power, with Congress asserting itself increasingly regarding the budget and war powers. He enunciated the following principles:

- (1) A President must appreciate the art of politics, the science of government;
- (2) A President must have the loyal support of his party;
- (3) A President is responsible for the power he delegates;
- (4) A President must avoid the pitfalls of special privilege; he must be exemplary;
- (5) A President must be both an analyst and a planner; he must both lead and anticipate problems;
- (6) A President must take his hopes and aspirations, his plans and information to the people, but must guard against disseminating misinformation.

Senator Bentsen recommended greater delegation of Presidential authority and a return to what he termed the Cabinet as compared to the staff system. He concluded that if we are to have good government then all branches of government must be strong and in-balance.

Like Mr. Ford, Senator Bentsen singled out the Center and its leadership with laudatory remarks, "I commend Dr. Hoxie and the Center for the Study of the Presidency for both the concept and the implementation of this annual symposium.

... It would," Senator Bentsen asserted, "encourage all 'viewers-with-alarm' to know that this symposium is taking place. . . . This is a far more constructive approach to citizenship," Bentsen concluded, "than the one advocated by Gordon Strachan when he advised young people to stay away from government."

The Center invited the student participants to evaluate the symposium. More than three-fourths of them wrote to the Center, in some detail, sending constructive suggestions. Many advised that they had prepared oral and/or written reports for their campuses regarding the conference. Many termed it the most valuable single experience of their four years in college.

The following are excerpts from random samplings of the student evaluations:

Robert Richmond Fisher, West Virginia Wesleyan College:

"My thanks and sincere appreciation for a once in a lifetime experience."

April 27, 1974

William J. Burns, La Salle College:

"The Reston Student Symposium was undoubtedly one of the most enjoyable learning experiences in my life. I commend the Center's administration. . . . I am not one to give false praise. . . ."

April 28, 1974

Dan DeNofrio, Utica College:

"I truly believe the Center is doing the nation's colleges a true service by planning these symposiums. . . . Overall the conference was the most rewarding experience of my life."

April 29, 1974

Stan Mayra, Montana College of Mineral Science and Technology:

"The experience at Reston has no doubt been a beneficial one for me as an individual. I applaud R. Gordon Hoxie and all those who have provided such an experience for a college student."

April 28, 1974

Karolyn W. Vreeland, Skidmore College:

"I held a meeting for all who were interested when I returned and it was well attended. . . . I consider my experience at the conference as a monumental part of my education in American government."

April 27, 1974

Helen Hartnett, D'Youville College:

"This being my first participation in the symposium, I was overwhelmed, enlightened, and honored to attend. I learned a great deal and wish that more people were able to participate."

April 28, 1974

Connie Barnhart, University of Minnesota:

"Your founding and continuation of the Student Symposia on the Presidency . . . is a great contribution to American education and to the future of American public policy. Thank you for this unique educational experience."

April 5, 1974

The students also expressed their pleasure at the White House Reception which included not only access to all of the state rooms in the East Wing, but also permission from Mrs. Nixon's staff to take pictures. Music was by the Marine Corps string ensemble and refreshments were served in the State Dining Room.

Originally David and Julie Eisenhower were to have hosted the White House Reception. Subsequently, Julie Eisenhower underwent emergency surgery. Writing to Dr. Hoxie on April 11, 1974, the President declared: "I know that Julie and David deeply regret that they were unable to attend the reception for the outstanding student leaders who participated in this year's National Student Symposium on the Presidency."

CENTER ESTABLISHES DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARDS

On the recommendation of the Board of Educators and the National Advisory Council, the Board of Trustees of the Center for the Study of the Presidency has established two distinguished service awards. The one is for service in the public sector; the other for the private. The common denominator of both is contribution towards the fulfillment of the expression contained in the Preamble to the Constitution: "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

Both medals, of gold over silver, bear this inscription from the Constitution, on the reverse, along with the name of the recipient surrounded by a laurel wreath. The front has the American eagle and the Center's name. The medals are designed and being struck by the world famous jeweler, Tiffany, under the personal direction of Tiffany's Board Chairman, Walter Hoving. Tiffany is a corporate member and Mr. Hoving a long time friend of the Center.

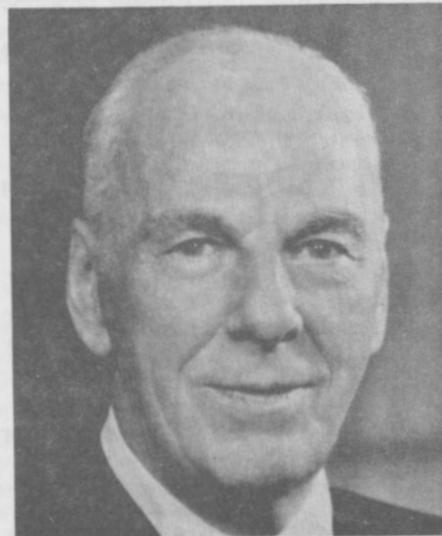
Announcement of the medals was made at the Center's Fifth Annual National Symposium. After careful screening of numerous nominees, the Vice President of the United States, Gerald R. Ford, was selected to be the first recipient of the Dis-

tinguished Public Service Medal. In introducing the Vice President as the keynoter for the symposium, Center President, Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie, read from the citation for the award, noting Mr. Ford's "complete integrity, hard work, political skill, and statesmanship. . . ." The medal will be presented to the Vice President at an appropriate ceremony at the Vice President's Office.

In the selection of the first recipient of the Distinguished Service Award, there were likewise many nominees. The Student Co-chairmen, in planning the National Student Symposium, proposed that appropriate recognition be given to a pioneer advocate of and supporter for the symposium and its concept. It was unanimously agreed by the Center Boards, in keeping with the student recommendation, that DeWitt Wallace, *Reader's Digest* founder, be the first recipient. Announcement of the award was made at the Saturday, March 30th luncheon session of the Fifth Annual National Student Symposium, in the presence of Mr. Wallace's representative, General Paul Thompson, President, the Reader's Digest Foundation. There Mr. Wallace was cited for "his early encouragement for this Center's annual



Vice President of the United States, Gerald R. Ford, first recipient of the Center's Distinguished Public Service Medal, at the conclusion of his keynote address.



Mr. DeWitt Wallace, *Reader's Digest* founder, first recipient of the Center's Distinguished Service Medal.

student symposium, conditioned only that it seek to become an educational instrument of the highest standards. . . ." Further emphasis was given to Mr. Wallace's lifetime fulfillment of a pledge made in his earliest youth to serve his "fellow man"

and to his exemplary ideals of responsible citizenship.

Representatives of the Student Co-chairmen will make the medal conferral to Mr. Wallace at the *Reader's Digest*, Pleasantville, New York headquarters.

NEW BOARD MEMBERS ELECTED

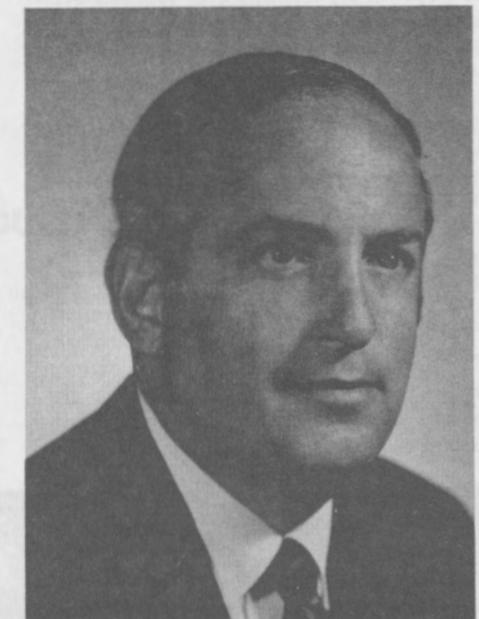
At the Spring Quarterly Meeting of the Board of Trustees, the National Advisory Council, and the Board of Educators of the Center, held May 2, 1974, at the Metropolitan Club in New York City, new members were elected to each of these bodies.

Dr. Broadus N. Butler, Director, Office of Leadership Development in Higher Education, American Council on Education; and Dr. Harold Wendell Lady, consultant, were elected members of the Board of Trustees. Dr. Butler had previously been elected a member of the Center's Board of Educators, and Dr. Lady of the National Advisory Council.

Elected to membership on the Board of Educators were Dr. Kenneth E. Davison, Professor of History and American Studies and Chairman of the Department of American Studies at Heidelberg College; and Dr. C. Lowell Harriss, Professor of Economics at Columbia University and former President of the National Tax Association—Tax Institute of America.

Elected to membership on the National Advisory Council were Hon. Dwight A. Ink, Deputy Administrator, General Services Administration; Mr. Paul Sonnabend, hotel executive; Admiral John S. McCain, U.S.N. (Ret.), former Commander-in-Chief, Pacific; and Edward F. Howrey, Esq., Washington, D.C. attorney.

In commenting on the election of these new members, Center President R. Gordon Hoxie observed that "all of these persons, leaders in their respective professions, have exhibited considerable interest in the Center's programs and will add strength to their respective Boards."



Paul Sonnabend, President, Sonesta International Hotels Corp. and Chairman, The Plaza Hotel, elected to Center's National Advisory Council.

PRESIDENT REGULARLY READS CENTER HOUSE BULLETIN

Among the regular readers of the *Center House Bulletin* is the President of the United States. He has also commented in some written detail about the Center's volumes, including *The White House: Organization and Operations* and also *The Presidency of the 1970's*.

Even during the past strenuous year, the President has sent the Center written comment about almost every issue of its quarterly. On April 11, 1974, he wrote

Center President, Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie, "I read with interest the articles in the [Winter] issue of the *Center House Bulletin*. . . ." As a life-long admirer of Woodrow Wilson and an old friend of philosopher-historian Russell Kirk, the President said he "especially appreciated . . . the Woodrow Wilson article [by Dr. George Skau], and Russell Kirk's book review [on A. M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s, *The Imperial Presidency*] which appeared in this issue."

PLANS BEING MADE FOR FIFTH ANNUAL NATIONAL LEADERSHIP SYMPOSIUM

With Center Board of Educators member Dr. Kenneth E. Davison in charge of local arrangement, plans are being made for the Center's Fifth Annual National Leadership Symposium. Professor Davison, the biographer of President Rutherford B. Hayes, has made arrangements for the symposium to convene at the beautiful Spiegel Grove estate of President Hayes in Fremont, Ohio, the weekend of October 18-20, 1974.

The theme for this year's symposium will be political leadership, with special evaluations of the role of the Congress and of the Executive Branch.

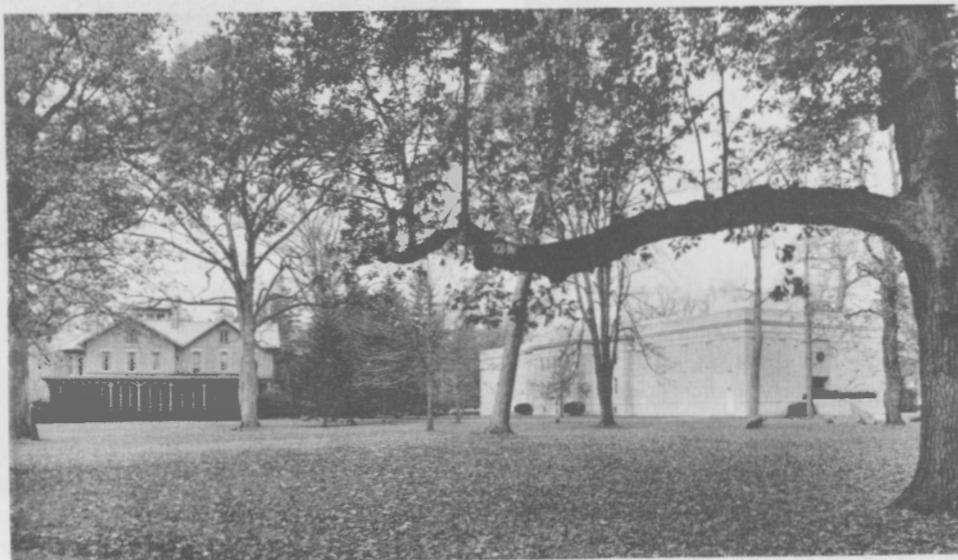
Dr. James MacGregor Burns, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government at Williams College and Pulitzer Prize winning author, will deliver the keynote address. Dr. Burns is the author of *Congress on Trial*; *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*; *John Kennedy: A Political Profile*; *The Deadlock of Democracy: Four Party Politics in America*; *Presidential Government: The Crucible of Leadership*; *Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom*; and *Uncommon Sense*. His articles have appeared in numerous journals, and he has been a consultant to many governmental agencies

including the Hoover Commission. He has also been awarded the Francis Parkman Prize, the National Book Award, and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award.

Through the courtesy of the Rutherford B. Hayes Association, the inaugural re-



Dr. James MacGregor Burns, Pulitzer Prize winning historian, to keynote National Leadership Symposium.



Spiegel Grove, the Hayes Mansion and the Rutherford B. Hayes Library, Fremont, Ohio, site of Fifth Annual National Leadership Symposium, October 18-20, 1974.

ception and dinner will be held at Spiegel Grove, and the committee on local arrangements have secured the Ramada Inn at Fremont, providing attractive motel accommodations in the area. They have also made arrangements to meet flight arrivals at both the Toledo and Cleveland Airports.

In Association with Dr. Broadus N. Butler, Director, Office of Leadership Development in Higher Education, American Council on Education; and Dr. Thomas M. Stauffer, Director, Academic Administration Internship Program, Office of Leadership Development in Higher Education, American Council on Education, present and former interns in higher education are being invited to participate. Dr. Butler and Dr. Stauffer observed that there is considerable enrichment value in an experience of this character for these present and future leaders of higher education in

focusing on aspects of decision making and leadership through the programs of this Center.

It is anticipated that both Democratic and Republican leadership of the Congress and the Executive Branch, and high-ranking members of the present and former administrations will also participate.

In the light of the interest in this event, which will be limited to 150 participants, early reservations are recommended. The total cost of the weekend, including all meals, receptions, motel accommodations, and transportation to and from the Cleveland or Toledo airports, is \$100. Persons not members of the Center will pay, additionally, a \$20 registration fee, and Center members a \$10 registration fee. Reservations should be addressed to Miss Jamie Joslyn, Program Coordinator, Center for the Study of the Presidency, 926 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10021.

CENTER MEMBER GUEST EDITORIAL

FROM CBS RADIO NETWORK
APRIL 8, 1974

Gerry Ford is one Vice President who at least lends interest to that notoriously vacuous office. His problem was illustrated in a recent Harris Poll, which found that while 55 percent of the people thought him qualified to be President, only 37 percent thought he was doing a good job as Vice President. Normally, to be qualified as President is the only job description a Vice President must answer to. But that poll was taken after his Atlantic City speech defending President Nixon and before his Chicago speech attacking CREEP—at a time when a lot of people thought he was just being Nixon's yes-man. The anti-CREEP speech puts some healthy daylight between Ford and Nixon. Nowadays he has his own speechwriters and is clearly his own man. And as Nixon becomes an increasing liability to the Republican Party, so Ford becomes its chief asset. More than anyone since the late Senator Taft, he is earning the title of Mr. Republican.

Ford has two main jobs these days. One is greasing the wheels that could get some of Nixon's bills through Congress. To that end he is opening an office on the House side of the Capitol so its members won't have to walk way over to his Senate office

to see him. His other job is making speeches around the country on behalf of his Party. The one thing that comes through in these speeches is his honesty. He is Mr. Square and Mr. Straight Arrow. That in itself is a morale booster for Republicans, who are homesick for those qualities nowadays.

One of Ford's favorite themes is the danger that lies in the possibility of a Democratic landslide this fall and a veto-proof Democratic majority in the 94th Congress. That, says Ford, "would make the executive branch ineffective" and produce some very one-sided and ill-considered legislation. You don't have to be a Republican to see the point of that argument.

Meanwhile, Ford is not seeking support for the Presidential nomination in '76. To do that, he says, would diminish his credibility as Vice President. But his neutrality also enables him to do more than Rockefeller or Reagan or Percy can do to restore the respectability of the Republican Party. And that's good for the system. I'm not prepared to say whether Ford would make a good President or not. But I do think he's becoming a very useful Vice President—perhaps the first useful one we've ever had.

This is John K. Jessup with Spectrum.

TWO CONTRASTING VIEWS ON IMPEACHMENT

BY CENTER MEMBERS RESIDING IN CALIFORNIA

1. "... Neither resignation nor temporary departure from office seem to be the best ways to settle the nation's present dilemma. As Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) has observed, pressuring the President to resign not only would be unfair but it would evade, rather than resolve, the moral and legal issues underlying this nation's unprecedented plight.

"Impeachment is the constitutional remedy and, for his [Richard M. Nixon's] sake and the country's, it should be encouraged to run its course."

Thomas E. Cronin, Visiting Professor of Political Science, University of California at Santa Barbara. (Reprinted from *Los Angeles Times*, May 19, 1974).

2. "... Watergate at best can now be looked upon as the politicians' private game plan. Rather than continue with the destruction of the Presidency, which is our national symbol of unity, would not the country's best needs be served in the finding of a common meeting ground (short of impeachment) on which to resolve those current problems of Watergate with which Congress has become so obsessed? This has been to the great detriment of carrying on with the nation's more urgent business.

"Let the Congress proclaim, if they must, that the President erred (a human trait in everyone's lives); then set to the task of legislating the necessary remedial acts, in reform measures to be all-inclusive to cover those past decades of political excesses. Then, and only then, will Watergate have been responsibly dealt with to serve the best interests of the American people. ..."

Joseph G. Freiburger,
Lcdr, U.S.N. (Ret.)
Arcadia, California

CENTER PRESIDENT NAMED PRESIDENT OF PUBLIC MEMBERS ASSOCIATION

At the annual meeting of the Public Members Association of the Foreign Service, held at the U.S. Department of State in Washington, D.C., Center President, Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie, was named President of this unique body. The Public Members Association consists of persons who have served on boards, commissions, or inspection teams with the Department of State and/or the United States Information Agency. A number of such persons have been tapped for ambassadorships and other high ranking government posts.

The Association engages in a number of volunteer projects including a Speaker's Bureau which is under the direction of Center member, Edgar K. Orr, Grand Rap-

ids, Michigan industrial leader. Through it, Association members arrange talks on American foreign policy throughout the nation. Another major program is management development for developing countries. The initial program in this field will be launched in the Republic of Korea and was designed by Center member, Joe L. Jessup, Professor of Business Administration at George Washington University, in association with Mr. Orr.

In heading the 100 member Public Members Association, Dr. Hoxie succeeds Kenneth Youell, former General Motors Corporation and public relations executive, who is also a Center member.

VICE PRESIDENT'S KEYNOTE ADDRESS

FIFTH ANNUAL NATIONAL STUDENT SYMPOSIUM ON THE PRESIDENCY

RESTON, VIRGINIA—FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1974

Dr. Hoxie, Delegates, Distinguished Guests, and Friends: I am honored by your invitation to address the Fifth Annual National Student Symposium on the Presidency and to meet with so many outstanding young people from nearly 300 academic centers of America.

I deeply regret the absence of one of the real moving spirits in the development of the Center, my good friend Jim Hagerty. I am well aware of Jim's valuable work as an early and present member of the Board of Trustees for the Center. I hope and trust he will soon be helping again in the continuation of this impressive program. He participated in your first national symposium four years ago and has, I believe, in each since.

Dr. Hoxie, I want to express my sincere thanks to you and the Center for the Study of the Presidency for your kind invitation to speak in the context of this year's theme, "The People, The Congress, and The Presidency." This is a difficult assignment for a Vice President aware that he was not elected by the people, who is no longer a Member of the House, and is certainly not to be confused with the high office of the President.

Many distinguished political leaders—including some former vice presidents—had little regard for the office.

President Harry S. Truman would have been amused by your selection of a Vice President to address the theme you have chosen. President Truman, speaking from his own experience, said that "the relationship between the President and the Vice-President is complicated, and it is complicated further by the fact that the Vice President is in between the legislative and executive branches of the government without, in the last analysis, being responsible to either."

Harry Truman went on to say that while the Senators look on the Vice President as their presiding officer only, he is actually "outside the pale as far as the Senatorial club is concerned."

Vice President Alben W. Barkley, upon assuming office, commented that "Inasmuch as I am about to enter upon the discharge of duties that require four years of silence, I will be brief."

Woodrow Wilson said that "the chief embarrassment" in discussing the Vice President's office is, that "in explaining how little there is to be said about it, one has evidently said all there is to say."

Wilson's Vice President, Thomas Marshall, said he "would rather be made a regent of the Smithsonian Institute so that he could compare his fossilized life with the fossils of all ages." Incidentally, I am now a regent of the Smithsonian, so I don't face that choice. And I would point out that Mr. Marshall's main claim to fame is his comment "what this country needs is a good 5 cent cigar."

Benjamin Franklin was against having a Vice President at all. Franklin said that "if they insist upon having one, I shall address him as 'Your Superfluous Excellency'."

Thomas Jefferson took a philosophical view. He said that "the second office of this government is honorable and easy; the first is but a splendid misery."

Theodore Roosevelt thought the vice presidency was "really a fifth wheel." He said "it is not a stepping stone to anything but oblivion." And he went on to comment that he would rather be anybody, say a professor of history, than Vice President.

With all respect to Theodore Roosevelt, I am not seeking to become a professor. I am honored to be Vice President. I agree more with a Vice President who said the Vice Presidency is not "a spare tire on the automobile of government."

Accordingly, I would like to share some personal thoughts. I commend the Center for pursuing citizenship education. We are living at a time when confidence in the public service professions has eroded. The word "politician" is today almost a diatribe. Many are voicing distrust of our political system.

What is to happen to our form of Government if too many persons in public office are suspected of corruption and self-interest? I make no excuse for bumbling bureaucrats or dishonest politicians. But I do point out that our political system works so well that a few rotten apples cannot turn it sour.

The body politic of America is healthy. It contains the strength to heal itself. It can find renewed vigor and energy.

But we need new blood. We need the talented young people assembled here tonight from universities throughout the Nation. We need educators like this Center's own Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie to promote the quality of our national life—and the quality of our politicians.

America can expect no more of its leaders than the full measure of their capacities and integrity. We must not only expect that full measure—we must demand it.

I regret there is such a widespread disappointment in our political system and in politics generally. Much has been made of the President's low rating of only about 26% in a recent popularity poll. But notice that the polls also disclosed that the people rated Congress at a mere 21%—several notches below the President.

This indicates the public is not only unhappy with the Executive Branch but even less pleased with the Congress.

It also indicates that the time has come to restore our political system to a status that will generate public confidence.

That is a tremendous challenge to those who choose a career in politics. We simply must do a better job. And I refer both to the Executive and Legislative branches and to both major political parties.

Americans are tired of rhetoric. The people want results. They do not care whether Republicans or Democrats do the job. But they want the job done. Elected officials must perform or face rejection at the polls.

This is a government of separate but equal branches, of checks and balances. Our strength lies in the two-party system. It requires the competition bred by free enterprise. We need two viable parties if each is to monitor the other. We also need an element of mutual trust to unite Americans in a bi-partisan spirit to face problems at home and abroad.

The freedom of the American people is most directly asserted through representation in the Congress, in the co-equal power the legislative branch shares with the executive branch. And, because of my previous experience on Capitol Hill, I must warn against the danger of a so-called veto proof Congress. An effective Congress requires internal checks and balances.

I have now spent a little more than 100 days as Vice President. As I continue to familiarize myself with my role, it appears less constricted by history and more determined by emerging needs. We must look forward rather than backward. We see new perceptions.

Of course, we learn from the past and cherish our great history—and even sometimes regret our mistakes. But we live for the present and the future. I do not believe in endlessly replaying last Saturday's game but in training hard for next Saturday's. The upcoming game is the most important of all.

But the game must not be a spectator sport involving too many passive viewers. It is not a super bowl to be played by a few and watched by many. It is actually a massive test of our concept of self-government in which all must participate in every corner of America.

When I became Vice President, I pledged to use whatever reputation for truth and fairness I acquired in the House along with whatever capacity for reasonable compromise I might possess to make this Government work better for the good of all Americans. I refer not only to the differences between the House and Senate, between the Congress and the Executive branch, but also among the individuals of both parties.

I believe the Vice Presidency presents a unique opportunity as its perspective is both legislative and executive, making possible communication and compromise.

As Vice President, I seek reconciliation, not recrimination.

While this may not be a spectacular role for the next three years, it is the way I see it. I do not share the pessimism or withdrawal syndrome of some of my predecessors. I envisage a vice-presidential function involving solid and responsible work for

the future, at home and abroad, while mediating and moderating differences, remaining open and flexible, to keep America great.

To achieve this, the Vice President must remain his own man. The only pledge by which I have bound myself in accepting the President's trust is the commitment by which we are all bound, before God and the Constitution, to do our best for America.

I share these thoughts with you tonight because I am convinced that the United States is *not* finished. We *are* a nation with troubles. But we *will* prevail because I see in this hall the evidence of continuity of leadership. I see young men and women who will enter the process of politics and

give new energies to the national redemption that we will achieve. We stand on the threshold of a better tomorrow.

The structures of government and their relationship, one to the other, ultimately rest upon the human quality and character of the government's personnel. And I believe that this is a Nation of talent and virtue. Such a nation will assert its bountiful future in terms of self respect—mutual respect—and your involvement will redeem America.

I congratulate you on your participation in this unique symposium of the Center for the Study of the Presidency. May much good come from your deliberations. I thank you.

SUMMARY PLENARY ADDRESS by LLOYD BENTSEN

United States Senator (D.) Texas

Dr. Hoxie, students, and friends, it is a pleasure to join you in this very timely and important discussion of the Office of the Presidency, which is being viewed with alarm on all sides these days.

On the one hand, there is widespread fear that the Office of President has become overpowerful. On the other, there is fear that it is on the verge of losing the power it needs to be effective.

I think it would encourage all viewers-with-alarm to know that this symposium is taking place. It certainly encourages me, and your Center for the Study of the Presidency does more than encourage me with its sound work.

This is a far more constructive approach to citizenship than the one advocated by Gordon Strachan when he advised young people to stay away from government.



Final Plenary Session Speaker at Reston Symposium, U.S. Senator Lloyd Bentsen, (D) Texas, with, on the left, Center President, R. Gordon Hoxie, and, on the right, Michael G. Dorow, symposium co-chairman and Western Michigan University representative.

I want to congratulate all of you, from approximately 300 higher educational institutions from throughout the United States, not only for having been chosen to represent your colleges and universities here, but also for having placed the serious study of government high on your personal priorities.

This kind of commitment, plus such opportunities as this forum for the exchange of ideas, is promising for the future of the presidency and of democracy.

So I commend you for being here. And I commend Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie and the Center for the Study of the Presidency for both the concept and the implementation of this annual symposium.

I am grateful for the opportunity to participate in it.

Like many citizens, I have been giving a great deal of thought to the presidency—how it was conceived, what it has become, and what it can be, and must be in the future, if democracy is to flourish.

In sharing some of those thoughts with you, I want to make it clear that I am talking about the *office*, rather than any specific President. And I want to make it clear that there is a disturbing trend in the concept of the Presidency which started many years ago. It wasn't something that cropped up under the current Administration. And it was as much the fault of the Congress—a failure of Congress to assert its Constitutional role, over an extended period of time—as it was the fault of the Executive Branch.

I recognize that it is all too easy for a member of the Senate to take a critical view of the Executive. The adversary relationship between the two was built into our Constitution and the function of government depends on it.

Members of the Senate are not expected to always agree with the President—even if they belong to the President's Party. But we are expected to respect his concept and conduct of the office.

The concept of the Presidency has been changing over a period of time—and from my viewpoint, much of the change has not been for the better.

The recent turmoil surrounding that office is a clear signal that it is time to re-

examine the role of the President in exercising the "just powers" conferred by the consent of the governed.

Before I continue, I would like to say that when I speak of the Presidency, I don't think of it as an office restricted to males only, and I have no difficulty visualizing a woman executive, especially when I see these bright young ladies here. But since such terms as "spokes-person" and "chairperson" don't trip naturally off my tongue, and I find "he-or-she" and "him-or-her" awkward encumbrances to communication, I will simply ask you to accept my remarks as applying to both sexes.

A President is required to be many things—to millions of people.

First of all, he must be a *politician*.

That may be a rash statement to make, in view of the distrust of politicians that is so rampant today. But I know you are mature enough to recognize the difference between good and bad politics, and to realize that *no politics* is a code for chaos.

A politician—in the best sense of the word—understands the forces that motivate people to action in a common cause. A politician has a philosophy of government, and the ability to translate that philosophy into programs.

To do this, he has to be able to work with the Congress, in a spirit of respect for the elected representatives of the people and respect for the balance of powers provided by the Constitution.

Moreover, he must be able to work with the leaders of his own party. To function effectively, he has to be the leader of his party. But he must also be willing to subject himself to the discipline of the party.

The President cannot conduct his office in a vacuum. He must have the support of his party to initiate programs and to make programs workable. Votes are not enough. Votes win elections—but they do not guarantee good government.

Our form of government depends on a strong two-party system, and on a sound working relationship between elected officials of both parties.

The President is in a unique position to promote that kind of relationship. Lyndon Johnson understood that very well. He was most effective in mobilizing bipartisan support for legislative programs.

In spite of all the jokes about his arm-twisting techniques and his "Come-let-us-reason-together" slogan, history can't ignore the unprecedented program of domestic legislation enacted during his administration.

His greatest successes were achieved by working with party support; his worst failures, by proceeding without it.

The role most commonly ascribed to the President is that of *Chief Executive*, charged with responsibility for executing the laws passed by the legislative branch. And executing them—as my friend Hubert Humphrey has said—does NOT mean killing them off, by arbitrary means of impoundment and freezing of funds allocated for authorized programs, or by the unconstitutional exercise of the veto power.

The Constitution does not give the President the prerogative of executing only those laws he happens to approve.

Respect for democratic principles demands that the President be *willing* to execute the laws enacted by Congress. That implies an understanding and appreciation of the separation of powers.

We have seen what I consider a dangerous erosion of that separation over the past three decades; since the end of World War II.

Americans have accepted this without undue concern because they tend to favor a strong President. But I think there has been some confusion in the past about what a strong President is.

Is it one who rides roughshod over the principle of separation of powers? One who extends the power and authority of his office at the expense of other branches of government that are presumed to be co-equal?

We can't afford to be confused over the distinction between a strong PRESIDENT and a strong GOVERNMENT, a strong COUNTRY.

My view of a strong President is one who acts decisively and competently within his constitutionally assigned limits, taking full personal responsibility for the conduct of the executive branch, its successes and its failures.

In what has been described as the most powerful and the most demanding job in the world today, this naturally requires a high degree of executive ability—which does not imply that the government should be, or can be, run as a business. The politician-President knows this is not so.

Governing is an art—not a business—although some of the lessons and techniques of the modern business world could certainly be used to better advantage in government.

But the executive-President knows, as Harry Truman knew, that the buck stops at his desk.

He is responsible for maintaining the structure of the executive branch at a manageable level, for supervising the functions of all the departments that are answerable to him—as he is answerable to the people.

So he must be skilled in delegating authority and in selecting capable people to whom he can delegate authority.

I think the measure of a President can very well be taken by the quality of his appointments.

As a wise man once remarked: A dishonest man cannot keep honest employees, for they will expose him; an incompetent man cannot keep competent employees, for they will be frustrated; and an inferior man cannot keep superior employees, for they will outshine him.

A strong President will surround himself with strong and effective advisers. He is, after all, the *Chief Executive*—not the *sole* executive.

Every member of the Cabinet, every agency head, should be an executive—and a highly competent executive—as well as an adviser to the President, who is then free to fulfill his function as *Chief Executive*.

And right here I would like to say that it is high time to return to the Cabinet system.

It has been downgraded and bypassed for too long.

Government is far too complex, and events move far too rapidly, to be managed by a White House clique.

The country is dangerously weakened when the Cabinet is supplanted by a team of faceless, anonymous advisers who pay allegiance only to the President.

There is no place in a democracy for an elite palace guard composed of men who have never been elected to office, and who have never been formally appointed to office with the Constitutional safeguard of Senate review and confirmation.

I believe we have had too much spotlight on the White House and not enough on the Executive Departments.

The press is inclined to focus on the White House as the power center. That focus could be changed by a President who—by his appointments and his actions—turns the spotlight on the members of the Cabinet as spokesmen for their departments and for the Administration, in the areas of their expertise.

It is an unwise President who bypasses or usurps the function of the Cabinet. A President who is strong on foreign policy may be said to be "his own Secretary of State." I have heard that remark made of various Presidents, in tones of admiration.

But I am reminded of the saying that is popular in medical circles: "He who doctors himself has a fool for a patient."

No President—no matter how knowledgeable he is in foreign affairs—can serve as Secretary of State and Chief Executive at the same time.

Both jobs are more than full-time.

Personal diplomacy is at best a limited tool in a democratic government.

We have seen how government can fall apart at home while attention is focused abroad.

Moreover, the suggestion that one person and *only* one person can maintain good relations between our country and any foreign power is antithetical to democracy.

It denies the principle of continuity and advances the myth of indispensability.

Working agreements and alliances must be forged between *governments*—not the *heads* of governments, with their limited tenure on life and office.

Now let me say a word about the President in his traditional role of *Commander-in-Chief*. That title does not demand a special background in military strategy, nor does it confer on him instant wisdom in military affairs.

It is, of course, essential for him to be able to act quickly and decisively when the nation's security is actually at stake. In such cases, he must rely on the best military advice he can get—plus his own good judgment. That judgment must be based on political as well as military considerations. The two can rarely be separated. It is a strength of our system that authority is vested in a civilian Commander-in-Chief who can make military decisions on the basis of his knowledge of political realities at home and abroad.

I see the President of the United States as an *analyst* and a *planner*. He must be constantly assessing the state of the nation, determining how well the laws are serving their intended purpose, and where they need to be amended or augmented and improved. From that viewpoint, he makes recommendations to the Congress. He presents a program. He does not necessarily wait for a program to be presented to him for approval, though he doesn't always oppose one simply because he didn't think of it first. He does not wait for public clamor to spur him to action.

While he deals with the realities of the present, he is always looking down the road, anticipating future problems and needs and moving forward to meet them. When the President fails to do this, the country lives in a perpetual state of crisis.

Every President has to look far beyond his own term of office. Continuity is the very essence of the Office of the Presidency.

The President must also be an *educator*, recognizing that the strength of a democracy depends on an enlightened electorate. Thomas Jefferson said, "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, it expects what never was and never will be."

The issues on which a citizen needs to pass judgment today must be more complex than they were in Jefferson's time, but the citizen's capacity to grasp those complexities should never be underrated.

It is not enough that the *President* understands the issues. He must be willing and able to present them to the people, to win support for government policies, and to give citizens the background for making free choices.

Information is not to be confused with propaganda. The first requirement for information is truth—the good news and the bad. When the White House becomes a Good News Machine, the people are quick to detect it and to lose confidence.

Frequent press conferences, when the President and his Administration are subjected to open questioning by reporters, are essential to the free flow of information. Franklin D. Roosevelt made good use of the press conference as a medium of education, and supplemented it to good effect with his Fireside Chats to bring government closer to the people.

The President's attitude toward people is as important as his attitude toward information. Adlai Stevenson said: "Trust the people. Trust their good sense . . . Trust them with the facts, trust them with the great decisions."

The President must trust the people . . . and inspire their trust.

In short, he must be a *leader*. He is guided — he *must* be guided — by public opinion. But he would be a poor leader if he changed course with every shift in the polls. He has to have the courage of his own convictions, plus the ability to evaluate public opinion surveys, which can be impediments to leadership as well as valuable tools for decision-making.

A leader today must be able to recognize when the polls are inaccurate or inadequate reflections of public opinion—or when they are accurate reflections of *uninformed* opinion. Obviously, the man in the street doesn't have access to all the information that is available to the man in the Oval Office. This information cannot always be made public; but I believe the trend toward greater secrecy in government has weakened the credibility of leadership. A leader who expects people to follow has to level with them about where they are going—and why.

There is probably no office in the world today with greater potential for influence

by example than the Office of President of the United States. I am not referring to moral example alone; I think we are all agreed that character and integrity are prerequisites for the job. But the President has a unique opportunity to set an example of the democratic ideal for our own citizens and for people around the world, rejecting all the trappings of royalty and avoiding the slightest taint of special privilege.

The Office of the Presidency has deviated considerably from the original intent. It has become more remote, more exalted, more powerful. And it has become more distrusted and feared—both at home and abroad.

George Washington painted no mystical aura around the office. He insisted that "Mr." was a sufficient title for any American.

Thomas Jefferson walked from his hotel to his inaugural ceremony—and afterward sat at the cold end of the table at his boardinghouse, because no man there would give the new President a place at the warm end. No one thought of yielding one to the new President, any more than he would have thought of demanding it.

Of course we cannot go back to the simplicity of the old days. But it is still within the power of the President to set a tone that is in keeping with a democratic society, where hardships and sacrifices are equally shared.

During World War II, meatless days were observed in the White House as they were in any other household. When the King and Queen of England came to visit, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt entertained them with a picnic on the grounds of Hyde Park—where the guests dined on hot dogs.

In spite of modern demands for protection and security, Harry Truman was one of our most accessible Presidents. He got his exercise by taking brisk early morning walks through the streets of Washington—followed by a breathless retinue of reporters and a barrage of questions.

He kept his perspective by reminding himself, when faced with crucial decisions, that he was just an average American citizen—who happened to be occupying the Office of the Presidency at that particular time in history.

It is this perspective that needs to be restored and re-emphasized—by an open President, an accessible President, a democratic President spelled with a small “d,” who makes no apology for democracy.

I realize I have placed a heavy burden on the shoulders of the President, requiring him to be not only Chief Executive and Commander-in-Chief, but skilled politician, analyst, planner, educator, leader, and example.

And you may wonder if there are any Americans who can fit the job description.

My answer is yes—thousands of them.

I reject categorically the undemocratic idea that there is only one person in either

BERGEN PRESENTS BROAD RANGING PRESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

In close association with the Center, Bergen Community College, Paramus, New Jersey, inaugurated during the 1973-74 academic year, an outstanding program on the Presidency.

This program has been established under the direction of Dr. Philip C. Dolce, Assistant Professor of History at Bergen, with the cordial support of Dr. Sidney Silverman, President, and Dr. George H. Skau, Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences.

The program has included radio and television presentations, symposia, and academic courses. The highly successful WPAT radio series, “Pinnacle of Power,” included broadcasts by Center Board members Dr. Harry J. Sievers, Dr. Irving G. Williams, Dr. Louis Koenig, Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie, and Dr. Skau. At the completion of the series, at a luncheon hosted by President Silverman, presentation of the tapes for the series was made to the Center by Mr. Donald LeBrecht and Mr. Robert Leeder from WPAT. In accepting them Dr. Hoxie noted that they will make a splendid addition to the Center’s already quite extensive tape collection.

On Saturday, April 27, Bergen conducted an all-day Symposium at the College featuring Dr. James MacGregor Burns, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government at Williams, together with Dr. Robert S. Hirschfield, Chairman of the

party who is uniquely qualified for the Presidency.

We may have shortages in this country, but there is no shortage of leadership. There is an abundance of talent to be tapped—and it is the responsibility of the political parties to tap it, so that they can offer the American people a choice of highly qualified candidates to occupy the Office of the Presidency.

Again I congratulate all of you participating in the unique programs of the Center for the Study of the Presidency. Your very presence augurs well for the future. Good luck in this and your future endeavors on this vital subject.

Political Science Department, Hunter College, and Center members: Drs. Dolce, Hoxie, Koenig, Skau, and Williams.

The television series, in association with CBS, is in 54 parts, ranging from Background and Origins of the Presidential Office through The Limits of Presidential Power. Entitled “The American Presidency: The Men and the Office,” the series is televised on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays from May 21 through September 21, 1974. It is suggested that Center members consult their local papers for the time of this series which is listed as “Summer Semester.” In the New York City area the time is 6:30-7:00 A.M.

Center Board of Educators members appearing on the series included Dr. Koenig, Dr. Williams, and Dr. Skau. Center President, Dr. Hoxie, discusses Presidential Greatness, on August 29, with special reference to President Eisenhower.

Persons desiring to receive three semester hour college credits for the series may address inquiries before June 15 to:

The Registrar's Office
Bergen Community College
400 Paramus Road
Paramus, NJ 07652

In speaking at the College on May 8, Dr. Hoxie observed that during the course of this academic year “by its creative series Bergen had emerged in the front rank of higher educational institutions engaged in studying the American Presidency.”

“A Just and Lasting Peace Among Ourselves”

TEXT OF MEMORIAL DAY ADDRESS

by Dr. R. Gordon Hoxie, Brig. Gen., USAFR
President, Center for the Study of the Presidency

Bryant Park, Roslyn, New York

May 27, 1974

Commander Jacobs, Major Kaufmann, reverend clergy, members of the patriotic and service organizations gathered here, friends and neighbors, it is for me an honor and a privilege to participate with you in the 1974 Memorial Day Program in this beautiful and historic setting. My good friend, Dr. Thomas Sheldon, Deputy Commissioner of Education of the State of New York, who like myself wears the Air Force blue uniform with pride, had, you may recall, delivered the address here last year, and I know that occasion meant a great deal to him, as this does to me.

Many of you, now grandparents, have fondly recalled to me, when your children participated in the annual parade formed at Garden Street and Mineola Boulevard. Now, in turn, those children have young people who helped form the parade today. Yours is a great tradition. Frank Kaelin, former Commander of the James A. Lyon Post of the American Legion, can recall each of these parades and programs in which the Legion has participated for the past 54 years. And before that he can recall the leadership role of the veterans of the Civil War and of the Spanish American War.

And what more appropriate setting is there than this lovely park and this community that has always revered the memory of those persons who paid the supreme sacrifice in service to their country. The Bryant Library here in this park was built in 1920 to honor the veterans of the first World War. And Bryant Park, or Roslyn Park as it was then called, was one of the first in the nation to erect a plaque to an American killed in Vietnam. We may well recall today the words on a plaque erected in 1966 on a small boulder here in this portion of the park where we are meeting:

*Sergeant First Class Bernard J. Kelley;
killed in Vietnam in an effort to pre-
serve a free world for free men.*

Lest we forget, Sgt. Kelley was a 37 year old veteran of the Korean War, when he again answered the call to duty. He was the son of your neighbor Mrs. Lucy C. Kelley, who lives nearby on Old Northern Boulevard, Roslyn. It was in May 1965, that he died half-way round the world, after suffering multiple wounds in a Viet Cong ambush.

Yes, here in Roslyn, you do revere the memory of your honored dead, and not just on Memorial Day. And your appreciation of your heritage has inspired your splendid preservation of so many historic landmarks, including those related to our nation’s first President, George Washington. Most students of history consider him one of our two greatest Presidents. It was with the greatest reluctance that he accepted the American Presidency, the first chief executive of any nation elected by its people.

From earliest youth Washington had been called again and again to take up arms to defend his homeland. At age 22, in 1754, as a lieutenant colonel in the Virginia militia he had been sent by Governor Dinwiddie to contest the French position on the frontier, precipitating the French and Indian War, or as it was called in Europe, the Seven Years War. Twenty-one years later he was called to take command of the American Revolutionary Army, always outnumbered except in the final crucial campaign at Yorktown six years later.

Grimly, Washington had learned the lesson which in his final days as President he had tried to leave for his fellow-countrymen: “To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.” Jimmy and Dolly Madison better understood that statement in 1812, when they fled the White House, saving Washington’s portrait. When you view that portrait in the White House today it still bears the scorched marks from the fire set by the advancing British Army, mute testi-

mony of our ill-preparedness for the War of 1812, more derisively termed "Mr. Madison's War." Yes, founding father James Madison did not escape derision during his Presidency. Nor, indeed, did Washington, who in his second term was subject to the most severe political attack and abuse.

But it is with that other of our two greatest Presidents, Lincoln, that Memorial Day, or Decoration Day as it was officially called until 1882, had its beginnings from the American Civil War. Here in the North we generally recognize the little upstate New York community of Waterloo as the first to observe the day. They did so on May 5, 1866, with stores closed, flags at half mast, and flowers for each veteran's grave. But it was a compassionate act of a few ladies in Columbus, Mississippi the following year, that inspired national attention. The women had gone to decorate the graves of their own Confederate dead. Seeing the bare and forgotten graves of Union soldiers nearby, they decorated those also. Such an act, only two years after the most bitter Civil War, touched the hearts of the Nation. The result, next year, by proclamation of General John A. Logan, first commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, the Union Veterans organization, was Decoration Day.

One of the vivid memories of my own earliest youth in Waterloo, Iowa was the annual "Decoration Day" program in our school participated in by the handful of remaining Civil War veterans. By that time Memorial Day had become a salute to the military dead of all of our wars.

As we today revere our soldiers, sailors, and airmen killed far from home, we should also remember those missing in action, more than one thousand such persons, not yet heard from in Southeast Asia. This is a solemn reminder of an unfinished task in a world of divided ideologies. In that world we do, indeed, seek better understanding, or detente as it is called. But, as former Secretary of Defense and Counsellor to the President, Melvin Laird, now of the *Reader's Digest*, so well put it, "Detente without defense is delusion."

After every war we have severely cut back our armed forces. We have already reduced our military strength to the lowest level in a quarter century; these have been

reductions of nearly 50 percent since 1968. We have each year since then reduced the relative portion of our national budget allocated for defense. Already there are again voices in the land asking why do we need our armed forces. The question might better be: Why do we need America? We need America for human dignity, for freedom, for opportunity. These are the things our men and women in uniform stand in defense of. They and all of us fervently hope for a world in which there can be further reduction of armed forces. But can we keep faith with those who died in Flander's fields in 1918, or those who 50 years later defended Khe Sanh in 1968, if we allow ourselves to have the second best Air Force, Army, or Navy? There is no security in second best, and this we came perilously close to becoming as two years ago we concluded Part I of the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks with the Soviet Union. Therein we agreed upon numerical inferiority of 50 percent in such categories as ICBM launchers.

In assessing our strength and our weakness, moreover, there is the added dimension of moral and spiritual qualities. Our President is acutely aware of this fact. In his own Memorial Day remarks delivered to the nation only an hour ago he emphasized that "lasting peace can be achieved only through lasting awareness, lasting preparedness and lasting strength, both physical and moral."

Here in Roslyn we have nearby a landmark in which we take especial pride, the Clock Tower at the corner of Old Northern Boulevard and Main Street erected in 1895 by the children of Roslyn resident Ellen Ward. There I witnessed Command Kaelin lay a wreath this morning by the plaque which states in eloquent simplicity, "In memory of our Roslyn boys. . . ." As the parade resumed the bell in the clock tower sounded the hour, and I could not help but think of the age old question: "For Whom the Bell Tolls?" In asking it, John Donne, the English poet and clergyman, nearly four centuries ago reminded us that we are all part of humanity, that the bell tolls for each of us.

Soon our nation will be observing the 200 anniversary of its birth. Standing on the fields of the most severe battle of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln recalled that

birth of "a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Recalling those, North and South, who had fallen on that battlefield, Lincoln expressed the fervent hope,

that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

The American Presidency: A Bibliographical Essay

Part Two

Reprinted (with revisions) from *American Studies*, Winter 1973

by Dr. Kenneth Davison, Department of American Studies, Heidelberg College, Tiffin, Ohio.

[The first part of Dr. Davison's essay, of which the following is a continuation, appeared in the Winter 1974 issue of the *Center House Bulletin*.]

□ Until the present generation, the literature on the office of the American presidency was extremely limited. During the entire first century and a half of the national experience (1789-1939), only fifteen titles on the presidency appeared, but in the single election year of 1960, an additional fifteen books were published, most of them of enduring value. Since 1960, the quantity and quality of research and publication on presidential history and contemporary presidential politics has expanded at an extraordinary rate. Many excellent articles and monographs, detailed histories and biographies, as well as source books are now readily available to students and scholars of American civilization.

Contemporary Sources on the Presidency

For contemporary analysis of the presidency, a good place to begin is with the government documents:

1. *Federal Register* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1936—). Published five times each week. Includes pres-

Sixteen months later, in his second inaugural, just a month before his death, Lincoln urged reconciliation. "With malice toward none; with charity for all . . . let us . . . bind up the nation's wounds . . ."

May this spirit of Lincoln prevail in this land, this Memorial Day, as the bell tolls and as we seek, in Lincoln's words, "a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations." It is regrettably later than we realize. It is time for quiet reflection, not strident voices, as, here at home, we seek "peace among ourselves," and for those who come after.

idential executive orders, proclamations, reorganization plans, and rules and regulations issued by executive departments and agencies.

2. *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965—). Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register. Contains presidents' addresses, remarks, announcements, appointments and nominations, executive orders, memoranda, meetings with foreign leaders, and proclamations, as well as reports to the president, released by the White House up to 5:00 P.M. the preceding Friday.

3. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1958—). A series inaugurated by publication of the 1957 Eisenhower volume. Now complete for Truman (1945-53); Eisenhower (1953-61); Kennedy (1961-63); Johnson (1963-69); and Nixon (1969-71).

4. *United States Government Organization Manual* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935—). An annual publication which describes the current organization and functions of each of the departments and agencies in the executive branch, as well as the legislative and judicial branches. It also is helpful in understanding the transfer of responsibilities from discontinued or reorganized government agencies.

5. *Monthly Catalogue of U.S. Government Publications* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895-). The basic index to the thousands of pamphlets, books, and periodicals published by the Government Printing Office, still the largest paperback publisher in the U.S.

6. Schmeckebier, Laurence F., and Eastin, Ray B. *Government Publications and Their Use* 2nd rev. ed. (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1969). The best guide to government publications. Especially helpful in explaining the rapid changes and growth in the number of such publications in recent years; also calls attention to many special series.

In addition to the Presidential Libraries discussed earlier, three private organizations conduct extensive research, publication, and other activities relating to the study of the contemporary presidency:

1. The Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, is an independent research organization founded in 1927 to aid in the development of sound public policies and to promote public understanding of issues of national importance. Among its recent publications are five volumes in a new series called "Studies in Presidential Selection" (1970-) entitled *Voting for President; Financing Presidential Campaigns; The Convention Problem; Perspectives on Presidential Selection; and Convention Decisions and Voting Records*.

2. Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1735 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Publisher of *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1945-). The most authoritative and easy to use source of information on Congress. The president's position on all major legislation and roll call votes is given, plus his messages to Congress, press conferences, and vetoes. An annual digest is published under the title *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*. Other special publications include: *Congress and the Nation*, a resumé of congressional and presidential actions from 1945 to 1972; the semi-annual *Congressional Quarterly Guide to Current American Government*; and the weekly *Editorial Research Reports* on current controversial issues.

3. Center for the Study of the Presidency, 926 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10021. Formerly the Library of Presidential Papers, the Center conducts several outstanding lectures and symposia each year, featuring distinguished political scientists and leaders of government. It issues a quarterly newsletter, the *Center House Bulletin*, excellent annotated bibliographies on the Presidency, and occasional books including conference proceedings. The first two volumes, both edited by R. Gordon Hoxie, are: *The White House: Organization and Operations: Proceedings of the 1970 Montauk Symposium*, (New York: Center for the Study of the Presidency, 1971), and *The Presidency of the 1970's: Proceedings of the 1971 Montauk Symposium* (New York: Center for the Study of the Presidency, 1973).

Certain newspapers have built a reputation for excellent coverage and interpretation of events. *The New York Times* maintains a consistently high standard of independent political reporting. It normally prints complete texts of all important presidential statements. The *Christian Science Monitor* is strong on international news coverage and political analysis. The *Washington Post* has frequently won acclaim for its investigative reporting, while the *Wall Street Journal* is the nation's best known paper for financial and business affairs.

Magazines and professional journals frequently carry articles bearing directly on the contemporary presidency. Of these, the most prestigious are *The American Political Service Review* (Menasha, Wisconsin: American Political Science Association, 1906-) and *Foreign Affairs* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations 1922-).

The Political Science Quarterly (New York: Columbia University 1886-) and the *Public Administration Review* (Washington: American Society for Public Administration, 1940-) also frequently feature articles and book reviews on the Presidency. Presidential Papers are often mentioned or discussed in *Prologue, the Journal of the National Archives* (Washington: National Archives, 1969-) and *The American Archivist* (Washington, D.C.: Society of American Archivists, 1938-) which

devotes a section in each issue to recent manuscript accessions by the presidential libraries. A new magazine, the *Washington Monthly* (Washington: Washington Monthly Co., 1969-) offers a liberal interpretation of the contemporary scene which may be counter-balanced by William F. Buckley's conservative *National Review* (Bristol, Connecticut: National Review, Inc., 1955-).

General Bibliographical Guidance

For basic bibliographical guidance in the study of the Presidency, three tools are available. Donald H. Mugridge (comp.) *The Presidents of the U.S., 1789-1962: A Selected List of References* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1963) is an annotated listing of 1453 items pertaining to the presidency and individual presidents, including their writings as well as writings about them or their administrations. An excellent way to keep abreast of current presidential literature is to subscribe to the Library of Congress Card Service which automatically insures monthly notification of all new titles catalogued by the nation's leading reference library. Finally, a recent dissertation by David Alan Heslop. *The Presidency and Political Science: A Critique of the Work of Political Scientists in Three Areas of Presidential Politics* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1969) offers a fundamental survey of the more important books and articles dealing with the President as chief legislator, administrative chief, and party leader.

A good encyclopedia volume of personal and comparative data on all American chief executives through Lyndon B. Johnson is provided by Joseph Nathan Kane, *Facts About the Presidents: A Compilation of Biographical and Historical Data* 2nd edition (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1968). Another excellent source is Howard F. Bremer, editor, *Presidential Chronology Series* 32 vols. (Dobbs-Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications Inc., 1968-72).

Many unusual and entertaining facts about Presidents are to be found in Don Smith, *Peculiarities of the Presidents, Strange and Intimate Facts Not Found in History* (Van Wert, Ohio: Wilkinson Printing Co., 1938). Famous presidential statements may be traced through Caroline Harnsberger, *Treasury of Presidential Quotations* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Co., 1964).

Campaign and election data is readily available in Donald E. Cooke, *Atlas of the Presidents* (Maplewood, N.J.: Hammond Inc., 1967); the Congressional Quarterly Service special publication, *Presidential Candidates from 1788 to 1964, including third parties, 1832-1964* (Washington, 1964); Svend Petersen, *A Statistical History of the American Presidential Elections* (New York: Ungar, 1963); and Richard M. Scammon (ed.), *America at the Polls: a Handbook of American Presidential Election Statistics, 1920-1964* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965).

Useful reference collections of important presidential speeches are assembled in the Library of Congress Legislative Reference Service volume, *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the U.S. from George Washington, 1789 to John F. Kennedy, 1961* (Washington: Government Printing Office 1961); and Fred L. Israel (ed.), *The State of the Union Messages of the Presidents, 1790-1966* 3 Vols. (New York: Chelsea House, 1966).

Diaries and Autobiographies

Only five presidents kept diaries which cover the presidential period:

Washington, George. *Diaries, 1748-1799*. Edited by John C. Fitzpatrick. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925).

Adams, John Quincy. *Memoirs . . . comprising portions of his Diary from 1795 to 1848*. 12 Vols. Edited by Charles Francis Adams. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1874-77).

Polk, James K. *The Diary of James K. Polk During His Presidency, 1845 to 1849*. Edited and annotated by Milo Milton Quaife. 4 Vols. (Chicago: McClurg, 1910).

Hayes, Rutherford B. *Hayes: The Diary of a President, 1875-1881, Covering the Disputed Election, the End of Reconstruction, and the Beginning of Civil Service*. Edited by T. Harry Williams (New York: D. McKay Co., 1964).

Garfield, James A. *The Diary of James A. Garfield*. Edited by Harry James Brown and Frederick D. Williams, 3 Vols. (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1967-).

Of a dozen presidents who have prepared autobiographical accounts, only five

are significant for their reflections on the presidency. Theodore Roosevelt's *Autobiography* (New York: Macmillan, 1913) is outstanding. Hoover's three volume *Memoirs* (New York: Macmillan, 1951-52) and Truman's two-volume *Memoirs* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1955-56) broke fresh ground and remain primary sources of considerable value. Eisenhower's *Mandate for Change, 1953-1956: The White House Years*, and *Waging Peace, 1956-1961: The White House Years* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1963-65) continued the tradition. Lyndon B. Johnson's *The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency: 1963-1969* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971) is helpful on understanding some aspects of the decision-making process in the modern presidency.

Recordings and Pictorial Works

A few documentary recordings, especially concerning presidents since Grover Cleveland, deserve mention:

Election Songs of the United States (New York: Folkways Records, 1960).

FDR Speaks. 6 records (Washington: Washington Records, Inc., 1960).

Four Days that Shocked the World (New York: Colpix Records, 1964).

If I'm Elected (New York: Heritage, 1953).

The Inaugural Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and John F. Kennedy 3 records (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Spoken Arts, Inc., 1962).

The Invention of the Presidency (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., 1968).

I Can Hear It Now: The Sixties (New York: Columbia Records, 1970).

Years of Lightning, Day of Drums (Hollywood, Cal.: Capitol Records, Inc., 1966).

Of the many pictorial works on the American Presidency, a few are notably outstanding. The White House Historical Association booklets, *The Living White House* (Washington; 1966) and *The White House: an Historic Guide* (Washington, 1969) are both inexpensive and authoritative. Herbert R. Collins details

presidential vehicles in his delightful *Presidents on Wheels* (Washington: Acropolis Books, 1971). Margaret Bassett offers brief biographical vignettes and excellent pictures in her *Profiles and Portraits of American Presidents and Their Wives* (Freeport, Maine: The Bond Wheelwright Company, 1969).

The two best general pictorial treatments of the presidency are Kenneth W. Leigh, *The American Heritage Pictorial History of the Presidents*, 2 Volumes (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., 1968) and Stefan Lorant's superb *The Glorious Burden: the American Presidency* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), a revision of his earlier *The Presidency: a pictorial history of presidential elections from Washington to Truman* (New York: Macmillan, 1951).

General Histories

The best general surveys of the historical developments and present position of the presidency may be found in Wilfred E. Binkley's masterful *The Man in the White House: His Powers and Duties* rev. ed. (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1964) and *President and Congress* 3rd rev. ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1962); Clinton Rossiter's highly readable *The American Presidency* 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1960); and Sidney Hyman's careful study, *The American President* (New York: Harper, 1954). Interesting anecdotes and comparative appraisals presented in lively fashion are the hallmark of both Thomas A. Bailey, *Presidential Greatness: The Image and the Man from George Washington to the Present* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966) and Holman Hamilton, *White House Images and Realities* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958).

Morton Borden (ed.) *America's Ten Greatest Presidents* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1961) and Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York: Knopf, 1948) present provocative interpretations of the more-famous American presidents. Asa E. Martin, *After the White House* (State College, Pa.: Penns Valley Publishers, 1951) traces the careers of America's retired presidents in an interesting manner.

The definitive analysis of the office of President is provided in Edward S. Corwin, *The President: Office and Powers* 4th ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1957) and Louis W. Koenig, *The Chief Executive*, rev. ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace, & World, 1968).

Comparative studies of the presidential office are offered by Harold Laski, *The American Presidency* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940) and Joseph E. Kallenbach, *The American Chief Executive: The Presidency and the Governorship* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966). The classic study of the functioning of the executive branch is the four-volume administrative history series by Leonard D. White, *The Federalists, a Study in Administrative History*; *The Jeffersonians, 1801-29*, *The Jacksonians, 1829-61*, and *The Republican Era, 1869-1901*. (Macmillan, 1948-1958).

For the intentions of the Founding Fathers with respect to the Presidency, see *The Enduring Federalist*, edited and analyzed by Charles A. Beard (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1948). For an analysis of how the President may effectively use his great powers see: Richard E. Neustadt, *Presidential Power, the Politics of Leadership* (New York: John Wiley, 1960).

Contrasting contemporary judgments on the future of the presidential office, by former White House aides, are given by George E. Reedy in his two books, *The Twilight of the Presidency* (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1970) and *The Presidency in Flux* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973); by Emmet John Hughes, *The Living Presidency* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc., 1973), and very recently by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Imperial Presidency* (Cambridge: Houghton-Mifflin, 1973).

A basic introduction to party history is provided in Wilfred E. Binkley, *American Political Parties: Their Natural History* 4th ed. enlarged (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963). For more of a political science approach, see the standard work by V. O. Key, *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1964). The nominating process is analyzed with great care in Paul T. David, et al, *The Politics of National Party Conventions* (Washington: Brookings Institution,

1960). Individual conventions are scrutinized with mathematical accuracy and tables in Richard E. Bain and Judith H. Parris, *Convention Decisions and Voting Records* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1973). Possible reforms in the presidential selection system and the convention nominating process in an age of television are considered in Judith H. Parris, *The Convention Problem* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1972) and Donald R. Matthews (ed.), *Perspectives on Presidential Selection* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1973).

Thorough summaries of presidential campaigns and elections are available in Herbert Eaton, *Presidential Timber* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964); Eugene H. Roseboom, *A History of Presidential Elections* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957); and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *History of American Presidential Elections, 1789-1968*. 4 vols. (New York: Chelsea House, 1971). The very real threat of increasing campaign costs to democratic electoral processes, and possible reforms is examined in Delmar D. Dunn, *Financing Presidential Campaigns* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1972).

A good historical introduction to the electoral college system is Lucius Wilmerding, *The Electoral College* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1958). Two modern reappraisals of the system with alternative suggestions for reform are: Wallace S. Sayre and Judith H. Parris, *Voting for President: The Electoral College and the American Political System* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1970) and Neal R. Peirce, *The Peoples' President: The Electoral College in American History and the Direct-Vote Alternative* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972).

A spirited history of defeated presidential aspirants is contained in Irving Stone, *They Also Ran: The Story of the Men Who Were Defeated for the Presidency* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1945).

Students interested in inauguration events will find a good guide to the literature in Ruth S. Freitag, *Presidential Inaugurations: A Selected List of References*. Third edition, revised and enlarged. (Washington: The Library of Congress,

1969). Pictorial books of interest are *The Inaugural Story, 1789-1969* (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., 1969), and Louise Durbin, *Inaugural Cavalcade* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1971).

Monographs on Special Aspects

Excellent monographs on many special aspects of the modern presidency have been published during the past two decades. With the increasing complexity of government, an institutionalized presidency has developed to rival the older cabinet system. The only recent book on the cabinet is Richard F. Fenno's *The President's Cabinet: An Analysis in the Period from Wilson to Eisenhower* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959). Just one book has appeared on a particular president's cabinet, but it is a very fine study: Burton J. Hendrick, *Lincoln's War Cabinet* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1946).

The new trend toward studies of other presidential advisors and staff began with Louis W. Koenig's, *The Invisible Presidency* (New York: Rinehart, 1960), a case study of seven influential "favorites" from Washington's Alexander Hamilton to Eisenhower's Sherman Adams. Patrick Anderson continues the practice in his light-hearted, *The President's Men* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1968). A much more sophisticated, generalized approach is Thomas E. Cronin and Sanford D. Greenberg (eds.), *The Presidential Advisory System* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969). Recent special studies include: Norman C. Thomas and Hans W. Baade, (eds.), *The Institutionalized Presidency* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, 1972); Joseph Coffey and Vincent P. Rock, *The Presidential Staff* (Washington: National Planning Association, 1961), and Frank Popper, *The President's Commissions* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1970).

No one as yet has made a comprehensive study of presidential private secretaries, but several of the latter have written interesting accounts of their superiors. Especially recommended are: Grace G. Tully, *F.D.R., My Boss* (New York: Scribner, 1949); Evelyn Lincoln, *My Twelve Years with John F. Kennedy* (New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1965); and Lady Bird Johnson's Press Secretary, Liz Carpenter, *Ruffles and Flourishes* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1970).

The standard work on presidential press relations is James E. Pollard, *The Presidents and the Press* (New York: Macmillan, 1947). A brief account emphasizing the recent period is Meyer L. Stein, *When Presidents Meet the Press* (New York: Messner, 1969). A pioneering book that also gives attention to presidential speech-writing and use of radio and television media is Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr., *Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965). Pierre Salinger, *With Kennedy* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1966) includes some excellent comments on press relations by President Kennedy's press secretary.

Presidential views on racial questions are surveyed in George Sinkler, *The Racial Attitudes of American Presidents from Abraham Lincoln to Theodore Roosevelt* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1971). Less comprehensive is Melvin Steinfeld, *Our Racist Presidents: from Washington to Nixon* (San Ramon, California: Consensus Publishers, 1972).

Law and order issues are discussed in Bennett Milton Rich, *The Presidents and Civil Disorder* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1941) and Ruth Morgan, *The President and Civil Rights: Policy-making by Executive Order* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1970).

The President's role as commander-in-chief is reviewed through eight case studies from Madison to Eisenhower in Ernest R. May (ed.), *The Ultimate Decision* (New York: George Braziller, 1960). Nathan D. Grundstein, *Presidential Delegation of Authority in Wartime* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961) is also instructive.

Possible reorganization of the Executive branch is the theme of Herman Finer, *The Presidency: Crisis and Regeneration* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960), and Rexford G. Tugwell, *The Enlargement of the Presidency* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1960).

Dorothy Louise Tomkins, *Presidential Succession, a Bibliography Rev. ed.* (Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, 1965) provides a starting point for yet another area of contemporary concern. The older standard work is by Ruth Silva, *Presidential Succession*

(Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1951). Senator Birch Bayh recently headed a committee investigation of the problem with a resulting book, *One Heartbeat Away: Presidential Disability and Succession* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, Inc., 1968). Studies of specific succession crises of the past are summarized in Richard Hansen, *The Year We Had No President* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), and John D. Feerick, *From Failing Hands: The Story of Presidential Succession* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1965).

Authoritative monographs on the vice-presidency are Louis C. Hatch, *A History of the Vice-Presidency of the United States*, revised and edited by Earl L. Shoup (New York: American Historical Society, 1934), and Irving G. Williams, *The Rise of the Vice Presidency* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1956).

A book which greatly influenced President Kennedy's administration is Laurin L. Henry, *Presidential Transitions* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1960) which describes four transitions from one presidential administration to another in which a change of party was involved, from 1912-13 to 1952-53. The Eisenhower-Kennedy transfer of power is detailed in Paul T. David (ed.), *The Presidential Election and Transition, 1960-1961* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1961).

The physical and health histories of the various Presidents is given in a fascinating series of medical profiles by a Los Angeles surgeon, Rudolph Marx, in his *The Health of the Presidents* (New York: Putnam, 1961). The work of the Secret Service in protecting the person of the president is the subject of two books: U. E. Baughman, *Secret Service Chief* (New York: Harper, 1961), and Edmund W. Starling, *Starling of the White House* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946). The best overall history of attempted and successful presidential assassinations is Robert J. Donovan, *The Assassins* (New York: Popular Library, 1964).

The religious affiliations and convictions of the Presidents are set forth in Bliss Isely, *The Presidents: Men of Faith* (Boston: W. A. Wilde Co., 1953) and Olga Jones, *Churches of the Presidents in Washington*. Second enlarged edition. (New York: Ex-

position Press, 1961). Peter Odegard documents the historic impact of religion in his *Religion and Politics* (New York: Oceana Publications, 1960), while Robert S. Alley concerns himself with the twentieth century story in *So Help Me God: Religion and the Presidency: Wilson to Nixon* (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1972).

Edmund Lindop and Joseph Jares, *White House Sportsmen* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1964) catalogues the leisure time pursuits of the Presidents.

White House social history is the subject of several volumes. One of the best is still Bess Furman, *White House Profile, a Social History of the White House, Its Occupants and Its Festivities* (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1951). A fine pictorial and personal history of the first families is Amy La Follette Jensen, *The White House and Its Thirty-Four Families* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970). Of the various collective biographies of presidential wives, the student should especially consult Mary O. Whitten, *First First Ladies, 1789-1865, a Study of the Wives of the Early Presidents* (New York: Hastings House, 1948) and Ona Griffin, Jeffries, *In and Out of the White House, from Washington to the Eisenhowers; an Intimate Glimpse into the Social and Domestic Aspects of the Presidential Life* (New York: W. Funk, 1960). Claudia ("Lady Bird") Johnson has provided her memoirs in *A White House Diary* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970).

Biographical Studies

In recommending each of the following titles, I have sought to apply three basic criteria: sound scholarship; eminent readability; and emphasis upon the presidential years.

1. George Washington (1789-1797):

Flexner, James Thomas. *George Washington and the New Nation (1783-1793)* and *George Washington: Anguish and Farewell (1793-1799)*. Volumes III and IV (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969-1972). Comprehensive treatment with both praise and blame.

Freeman, Douglas Southall. *George Washington: A Biography*. 7 Vols. (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1948-1957). Classic

study emphasizing Washington's human qualities. Volume seven was written by two of Freeman's associates, John Alexander Carroll and Mary Wells Ashworth. A one-volume abridgement, *Washington*, by Richard Harwell was issued in 1968 by Scribner's.

2. John Adams (1797-1801):

Chinard, Gilbert. *Honest John Adams* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1933). Good for Adams' political philosophy.

Smith, Page. *John Adams*. 2 Vols. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1962). Authoritative, but harder reading. First comprehensive biography based upon the Adams Papers opened in 1952.

3. Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809):

Malone, Dumas. *Jefferson and His time*. 4 Vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1948-1970). Definitive treatment by a master historian.

Peterson, Merrill D. *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970). Stresses the many contributions of Jefferson to the nation.

4. James Madison (1809-1817)

Brant, Irving. *The Fourth President: A Life of James Madison*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970). Abridgement of the author's earlier (1941-1961) six-volume life of Madison. Definitive and sympathetic.

Ketcham, Ralph. *James Madison: A Biography*. (New York: Macmillan, 1971). Most recent study. Massive detail and thorough acquaintance with source materials.

5. James Monroe (1817-1825)

Ammon, Harry. *James Monroe: The Quest for National Identity*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971). Especially good on Monroe's relationship with Jefferson and Madison.

Cresson, William P. *James Monroe*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1946). Strong on foreign affairs.

Dangerfield, George. *The Era of Good Feelings*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952). Excellent personal and political history covering the years, 1814-1829.

6. John Quincy Adams (1825-1829)

Bemis, Samuel Flagg. *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy and John Quincy Adams and the Union*. (New York: Knopf, 1949-1956). Pulitzer Prize winner. One of President Kennedy's favorite biographies. Bemis had access to the Adams Papers.

7. Andrew Jackson (1829-1837)

James, Marquis. *The Life of Andrew Jackson*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1938). Well-written. Strong on personal and family life.

Schlesinger, Jr., Arthur M. *The Age of Jackson*. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1945). Pulitzer Prize winner. Pictures Jackson as an intelligent as well as courageous champion of the laborer and the farmer against speculative capital and entrenched privilege.

8. Martin Van Buren (1837-1841)

Curtis, James C. *The Fox at Bay: Martin Van Buren and the Presidency, 1837-1841*. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1970). The first detailed examination of the Van Buren presidency.

Van Deusen, Glyndon G. *The Jacksonian Era, 1828-1848*. (New York: Harper, 1959). Good synthesis of many monographs on the period.

9. William Henry Harrison (1841)

Cleaves, Freeman. *Old Tippencanoe: William Henry Harrison and His Time*. (New York: Scribner, 1939). Standard treatment.

Gunderson, Robert Gray. *The Log-Cabin Campaign*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957). Colorful accounts of famous Whig triumph in which they outwitted the Democrats.

10. John Tyler (1841-1845)

Chitwood, Oliver Perry. *John Tyler, Champion of the Old South*. (New York: Appleton-Century, 1939). Very favorable interpretation based on family papers.

Seager, Robert. *And Tyler Too*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1963).

Excellent social history of President Tyler, his wife Julia Gardner, and their large family.

11. James K. Polk (1845-1849)

McCormac, Eugene Irving. *James K. Polk, A Political Biography*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1922). The only complete biography to date.

Sellers, Charles Grier. *James K. Polk, Jacksonian, 1795-1843 and James K. Polk, Continentalist, 1843-1846*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957-1966). Authoritative. Will become the standard work when completed.

12. Zachary Taylor (1849-1850)

Dyer, Brainerd. *Zachary Taylor*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1946). Especially good on Taylor's executive-legislative struggle.

Hamilton, Holman. *Zachary Taylor*. 2 vols. (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1941-1951). Admirable, well-researched and written study based upon twenty years' work.

13. Millard Fillmore (1850-1853)

Rayback, Robert J. *Millard Fillmore: Biography of a President*. (Buffalo: H. Stewart, 1959). Readable. Dispels image of Fillmore as an anti-Catholic bigot.

14. Franklin Pierce (1853-1857)

Nichols, Roy F. *Franklin Pierce, Young Hickory of the Granite Hills*. 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958). Excellent scholarship by one of the great masters of nineteenth century American political history.

15. James Buchanan (1857-1861)

Klein, Philip Shriver. *President James Buchanan, A Biography*. (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University, 1962). Definitive, yet very readable.

Nichols, Roy F. *The Disruption of American Democracy*. (New York: Macmillan, 1948). Pulitzer Prize winner. Excellent vignettes of major and minor political leaders. Outstanding analysis of the party process.

16. Abraham Lincoln (1861-1865)

Randall, James Garfield. *Lincoln, the President*. 4 vols. (Dodd, Mead, 1945-1955). Critical and yet sympathetic. Pictures Lincoln as a moderate liberal.

Sandburg, Carl. *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years*. 4 vols. (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1939). Excellent. Stresses Lincoln's human qualities.

Thomas, Benjamin P. *Abraham Lincoln, A Biography*. (New York: Knopf, 1952). The standard one volume treatment.

17. Andrew Johnson (1865-1869)

Lomask, Milton. *Andrew Johnson: President on Trial*. (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1960). A readable account concentrating on the presidential period. A good overall, up-to-date biography of Andrew Johnson is still needed.

McKittrick, Eric L. *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction*. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960). The best account of President Johnson's struggles with the Radical Republicans and hostile Democrats.

18. Ulysses S. Grant (1869-1877)

Hesseltine, William B. *Ulysses S. Grant, Politician*. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1935). The standard biography. Favorable.

Nevins, Allan. *Hamilton Fish: the Inner History of the Grant Administration*. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1936). Solid political history from the vantage point of Grant's key cabinet officer and Secretary of State for eight years.

19. Rutherford B. Hayes (1877-1881)

Barnard, Harry. *Rutherford B. Hayes and His America*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1954). Excellent on the disputed election of 1876 and the family background of President Hayes. Limited discussion of presidential period.

Davison, Kenneth E. *The Presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes*. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972). Standard work. New material on Hayes' early life, nomination for President, White House staff, Indian policy, use of executive power, and travels.

20. James A. Garfield (1881)
Caldwell, Robert G. *James A. Garfield, Party Chieftain*. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1931). Still the standard one volume work.
- Smith, Theodore Clarke. *The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield*. 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925). Good for details on Garfield's early years.
21. Chester A. Arthur (1881-1885)
Howe, George Frederick. *Chester A. Arthur: A Quarter-Century of Machine Politics*. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1934). The only existing twentieth century biography. Limited by paucity of Arthur Papers.
- Reeves, Thomas C. *The Gentleman Boss*. (New York: Knopf, forthcoming). Destined to be the standard biography. Based upon intensive research and new manuscript finds.
22. Grover Cleveland (1885-1889; 1893-1897)
Merrill, Horace Samuel. *Bourbon Leader: Grover Cleveland and the Democratic Party*. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1957). A well-written brief biography.
- Nevins, Allan. *Grover Cleveland, A Study in Courage*. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1932). Pulitzer Prize winner. Definitive.
23. Benjamin Harrison (1889-1893)
Sievers, S. J., Harry J. *Benjamin Harrison: Hoosier Warrior, 1833-1865*. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1952); *Benjamin Harrison: Hoosier Statesman, 1865-1888* (New York: University Publishers, 1959); *Benjamin Harrison, Hoosier President, 1888-1901* (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1968). The first comprehensive biography based upon intensive use of the Harrison Papers.
24. William McKinley (1897-1901)
Leech, Margaret. *In the Days of McKinley*. (New York: Harper, 1959). Pulitzer Prize winner. Gives a balanced view of McKinley's presidency. Excellent personal vignettes, especially of Mrs. McKinley.
- Morgan, H. Wayne. *William McKinley and His America*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1963). Particularly strong on McKinley as a political leader and President.
25. Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909)
Blum, John Morton. *The Republican Roosevelt*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954). A very good brief political biography.
- Gatewood, Jr., Willard B. *Theodore Roosevelt and the Art of Controversy*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970). An examination of seven episodes from the Roosevelt years in the White House.
- Harbaugh, William Henry. *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*. Revised edition. (New York: Collier Books, 1963). A solid book, emphasizing Roosevelt the man and the political leader.
- Lorant, Stefan. *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt*. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959). A superb pictorial biography seventeen years in the making.
- Mowery, George F. *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900-1912*. (New York: Harper, 1958). Excellent treatment of Roosevelt's philosophy and policies as a national leader.
- Pringle, Henry F. *Theodore Roosevelt, A Biography*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1931). Pulitzer Prize winner. Well grounded in the sources.
26. William Howard Taft (1909-1913)
Coletta, Paolo E. *The Presidency of William Howard Taft*. (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1973). The first volume in a new series on presidential administrations.
- Pringle, Henry F. *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft, A Biography*. 2 vols. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1939). Definitive. Based on Taft Papers in the Library of Congress.
27. Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921)
Bailey, Thomas A. *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* (New York: Macmillan, 1944) and *Woodrow Wilson and the*
- Great Betrayal* (New York: Macmillan, 1945). Highly readable accounts of Wilson's inflexibility at the time of the fight for the League of Nations.
- Baker, Ray Stannard. *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters*. 8 vols. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1927-1939). Authorized biography. Very informative first-hand volumes by Wilson's literary executor.
- Link, Arthur S. *Woodrow Wilson*. 5 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947-1965). Critical, but far from hostile biography, destined to be the definitive account when the series, now up to 1917, is completed.
- Smith, Gene. *When the Cheering Stopped: the Last Years of Woodrow Wilson*. (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1964). Fascinating account of Wilson's last years and crippling illness, based upon documents found after his widow's death.
28. Warren G. Harding (1921-1923)
Downes, Randolph C. *The Rise of Warren Gamaliel Harding, 1865-1920*. (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1970). The best account of Harding's career before he became President. Based upon the recently opened Harding Papers in the Ohio Historical Society.
- Murray, Robert. *The Harding Era: Warren G. Harding and His Administration*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969). The most up-to-date and scholarly account of the Harding Presidency.
29. Calvin Coolidge (1923-1929)
Fuess, Claude. *Calvin Coolidge, the Man from Vermont*. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1940). Interesting and well-written, but uncritical.
- McCoy, Donald R. *Calvin Coolidge: The Quiet President*. (New York: Macmillan, 1967). A recent reassessment well researched and presented.
- White, William Allen. *A Puritan in Babylon*. (New York: Macmillan, 1938). A sardonic view of Coolidge's shortcomings.
30. Herbert Hoover (1929-1933)
Romasco, Albert U. *The Poverty of Abundance: Hoover, the Nation, the Depression*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965. A revisionist view of what happened between 1929 and 1933, sympathetic to Hoover and more critical of the nation's institutional leadership as a whole.
- Warren, Harris G. *Herbert Hoover and the Great Depression*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959). The best secondary account, but written without access to the Hoover Papers. A definitive Hoover biography has not yet appeared.
31. Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945)
Burns, James MacGregor. *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1956) and *Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom* (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1970). The first scholarly biography, informative and critical, of President Roosevelt. Excellent descriptions of the political scene.
- Freidel, Frank. *Franklin D. Roosevelt*. 4 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1952-1973). Excellent biography to July 1933. To be completed in three more volumes.
- Lash, Joseph. *Eleanor and Franklin*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1971). Personal and family history based upon Eleanor Roosevelt's Papers.
- Leuchtenburg, William E. *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1963). The best short account of the New Deal.
- Schlesinger, Jr., Arthur M. *The Age of Roosevelt*. 3 vols. (Cambridge: Houghton-Mifflin, 1957-1960). An exciting series which carries the account to 1936.
32. Harry S. Truman (1945-1953)
Phillips, Cabell. *The Truman Presidency*. (New York: Macmillan, 1966). A journalistic study of the two Truman administrations with modest use of the Truman Papers.
- Rudoni, Dorothy June. *Harry S. Truman: A Study in Presidential Perspective*. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1969). An examination of the ideas and

forces which shaped President Truman's concept of the presidential office.

Steinberg, Alfred. *The Man from Missouri: the Life and Times of Harry S. Truman*. (New York: Putnam, 1962). The best of the earlier books on Truman.

Truman, Margaret. *Harry S. Truman*. (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1972). Interesting for its personal history and the Truman-Roosevelt relationship.

33. Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953-1961)

Adams, Sherman. *Firsthand Report: the Story of the Eisenhower Administration*. (New York: Harper, 1961). Governor Adams functioned as President Eisenhower's White House Chief of Staff.

Donovan, Robert J. *Eisenhower: the Inside Story*. (New York: Harper, 1956). Authorized account of the first Eisenhower administration by a well-known journalist given access to the White House.

Hughes, Emmet John. *The Ordeal of Power: a Political Memoir of the Eisenhower Years*. (New York: Atheneum, 1963). A critical account by a former Eisenhower speech-writer who was allowed to sit in on a number of Cabinet meetings.

Parmet, Herbert S. *Eisenhower and the American Crusades*. (New York: Macmillan, 1972). First major assessment of the Eisenhower administrations based on interviews, oral history recordings, and manuscript sources.

34. John F. Kennedy (1961-1963)

Burns, James MacGregor. *John Kennedy: A Political Profile*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1960). The best account of Kennedy's life before he became President. Based upon interviews and family papers.

Donald, Aida Dipace (ed.). *John F. Kennedy and the New Frontier*. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966). A collection of essays and early appraisals of President Kennedy.

Manchester, William R. *Portrait of a President: John F. Kennedy in Profile*. Rev. ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967). The original edition of this book led to the choice of Manchester by the Kennedy

family to write the account of Kennedy's assassination.

Schlesinger, Jr., Arthur M. *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*. Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965. An important memoir by a distinguished historian and Kennedy Special Assistant, 1961-1963. The best work on Kennedy as President.

Sorenson, Theodore C. *Kennedy*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1965). A superb account of decision-making by John F. Kennedy as Senator (1953-61) and President (1961-63) by his closest assistant and speech-writer.

White, Theodore H. *The Making of a President, 1960*. (New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1961). The first and best of White's four detailed accounts of presidential campaigns from 1960 to 1972.

35. Lyndon B. Johnson (1963-1969)

Goldman, Eric. *The Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson*. (New York: Knopf, 1969). A memoir by Johnson's disillusioned "intellectual-in-residence."

Steinberg, Alfred. *Sam Johnson's Boy: A Close-up of the President from Texas*. (New York: Macmillan, 1968). Uncomplimentary, but exhaustively researched and well-written.

White, William S. *The Professional: Lyndon B. Johnson*. (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin, 1964). Favorable brief biography.

36. Nixon, Richard M. (1969-197—)

Evans, Rowland, and Novak, Robert D. *Nixon in the White House*. (New York: Random House, 1971). A journalistic account of the first Nixon administration.

Mazlish, Bruce. *In Search of Nixon: A Psychohistorical Inquiry*. (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1973). A fascinating effort to probe President Nixon's personality.

Mazo, Earl and Hess, Stephen. *Nixon: A Political Portrait*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1968). A rewritten version of Earl Mazo's earlier *Richard Nixon: A Political Portrait*. (New York: Harper, 1959).

Wills, Larry. *Nixon Agonistes: The Crisis of the Self-Made Man*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970). An analysis of President Nixon's methods and ideology.

WOODROW WILSON AND THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY: THEORY, PRACTICE, AND IMPACT

Editor's Note: This article is deemed particularly timely since the present President has indicated Wilsonian principles as best expressing his own ideal of the Presidency.

The first part of this article appeared in the Winter 1974 issue of the *Center House Bulletin*.

(reprinted from *Community College Social Science Quarterly*, Summer 1973)

George Skau
Chairman, Department of Social Sciences,
Bergen Community College

During the 1920's there was a notable lack of presidential leadership. Congress reacting to the strong personal Wilsonian leadership insisted upon its prerogatives and independence. The Republican Presidents of the period, Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover had Whiggish views of the Presidency and therefore did not exert strong executive leadership. This period, in a sense, represented a Renaissance of Congressional Government.(6)

Herbert Hoover had served as Agricultural Administrator during Wilson's administration. When he was President, Hoover refused to commit the United States government to a policy of personal welfare assistance which he felt would endanger America's liberty and individualism. Like Wilson he refused to compromise on what he considered a matter of moral principle.

After Herbert Hoover's defeat in the 1932 election it was speculated that he considered resigning; Hoover would have utilized that same formula to transfer power which Wilson had planned in 1916.(7) However, this plan was never seriously considered by Hoover,(8) and the Presidential Succession Act of 1947 precluded the Wilson formula(9) from being implemented thereafter.

Wilson's Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt, admitted the influence of his former Chief. Early in his first term as President, Roosevelt wrote to

Joseph Tumulty: "I wonder if you realize how often I think of our old Chief when I go about my daily tasks. Perhaps what we are doing will go a little towards the fulfillment of his ideals."(10) When Ray Stannard Baker, Wilson's authorized biographer, wrote to President Roosevelt urging him to appeal to the moral convictions of the American people as Wilson had done,(11) Roosevelt replied:

Theodore Roosevelt lacked Woodrow Wilson's appeal to the fundamental and failed to stir as Wilson did, the truly profound moral and social convictions. Wilson, on the other hand, failed where Theodore Roosevelt succeeded in stirring people to enthusiasm over specific individual events, even though these specific events may have been superficial in comparison with the fundamental.(12) Franklin Roosevelt, who, like Wilson,

recognized the Presidency as a place of moral leadership,(13) personified the activist American President. Upon taking office he issued a call for action and leadership;(14) this New Dealer later expressed a desire to build "a strong and permanent tie between the Legislative and Executive branches of the Government."(15) Roosevelt, like Wilson felt that the American Government was a living organism, not a machine;(16) Roosevelt was successful in modernizing and reorganizing the Executive office in the Administrative Reorganization Act of 1939.

Just as Wilson's pattern of successful presidential leadership was thwarted after his unsuccessful appeal of 1918 and his attempt to dominate the Senate in 1919-1920, Franklin Roosevelt's Court Reorganization Plan in 1937, the most explosive issue since the League of Nations, fortified the anti-New Deal coalition and signaled the beginning of a series of Congressional setbacks.(17) Furthermore, the Supreme Court fight created distrust for Roosevelt's leadership in foreign policy.(18) Both Wilson and Roosevelt tried to dominate the American constitutional system but the checks and balances of the Newtonian system prevented the complete emasculation of the other branches of government.

Roosevelt, conscious of Wilson's experience as President, was anxious to avoid the mistakes of his former Chief. The ghost of Wilson haunted Roosevelt when he faced the difficult problems of neutrality, the making of wartime policies, and guidance of the United States to membership in the United Nations.(19) F.D.R. and all of his successors have, like Wilson, undertaken some type of summit diplomacy with varying results.(20)

Wilson was counted among the heroes(21) of Harry S. Truman. On a number of occasions President Truman spoke of Woodrow Wilson as a great Democrat,(22) a great President,(23) and a great statesman.(24) Truman studied carefully the Wilson experience in 1919 and 1920 in order to avoid similar mistakes. He stated "I always kept in mind the lesson of Wilson's failure in 1920."(25) Both Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman sought bipartisan senatorial support for the establishment of the United Nations.(26) When the Republicans gained control of Congress in 1946, Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, aware of Wilson's problems in 1919-1920, and fearing a period of stalemate and paralysis with a Democratic President and a Republican Congress, suggested that President Truman resign. Fulbright recommended the implementation of the Wilsonian formula whereby a Republican, preferably Senator Arthur Vandenburg, be appointed Secretary of State and then take over after Truman's resignation.(27) Needless to say, President Truman rejected this idea and pledged to cooperate with the Republican Congress.(28) Fulbright's suggestion, a variation of Wilson's vote of confidence, was an adaptation of the parliamentary system.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, while not known for his strong leadership, did express admiration for the Wilsonian ideal of leadership in an address honoring the memory of Woodrow Wilson.(29) During the Eisenhower administration the Democrats controlled the Congress for six of the eight years. This President of restraint, through accommodation and conciliation, managed to cooperate with the opposition party. During his periods of illness, Eisenhower attempted to benefit from the experience of Wilson's illness. He had the public informed and he provided for close coopera-

tion with his Vice President during his short periods of incapacitation.(30) This persistent problem of Presidential inability, after much discussion, debate and many proposals was finally dealt with by the Twenty-fifth Amendment.(31) However, while this constitutional amendment does provide for procedures for the declaration of Presidential inability, it would seem that even these procedures may not solve all contingencies—such as Wilson's illness and complications in 1919. Given the personalities and circumstances involved, it seems unlikely that the constitutional procedures would have been implemented smoothly during this critical period of American history.

John F. Kennedy had developed some concrete ideas on the office before assuming the presidential office. In an address before the National Press Club on January 14, 1960, Kennedy said that the Chief Executive must be the vital center of action in the American system of government. He further explained his ideas on the President as a legislative, party, and moral leader.(32) It was probably this expressed Wilsonian-like concept which caused James MacGregor Burns, shortly after Kennedy's election, to answer a question concerning Kennedy's model as a President:

He likes certain aspects of each of several strong Presidents. If I had to name one, it might be Woodrow Wilson . . . Now, Wilson grew in the Presidency. He grew in self-confidence. The President-elect has confidence, but I think he is impressed by the Wilsonian image of a man who could not only articulate policy magnificently, but could work closely with party leaders.(33)

Ironically, however, when President Kennedy read the results of a poll of historians and political scientists rating the Presidents(34) he was surprised by Wilson's high rating—fourth on the list and among the great Presidents; Kennedy thought that Wilson had failed in a number of his objectives, particularly the League of Nations fight; Kennedy's measure of presidential success appeared to be concrete achievement.(35) Paradoxically, Kennedy had difficulty in getting a number of his New Frontier programs through the Congress. During a television interview on December 17, 1962, he stated that the problems and responsibilities facing

the President were more difficult than he had previously imagined. The power of Congress and the obstacles within Congress looked more awesome when viewed from the White House.(36) Many of Kennedy's important programs which had been stalled in Congress(37) were later brought to fruition after his tragic death. What Kennedy symbolized and his political style may well count for more than his concrete achievements as far as historians of the future are concerned.

Only two American Presidents compare favorably with Woodrow Wilson as a leader of the Congress. One was Franklin Roosevelt and the other is Lyndon Johnson.(38) With his many years of legislative experience Johnson sought to reach a broad consensus in the nation and the Congress on national purpose and policy. Working with personal friends and large Democratic majorities, Johnson initiated a wave of Great Society reforms.

However successful his domestic program of the Great Society, he, like two of his activist Democratic reform predecessors—Wilson and Roosevelt—was faced with a serious foreign conflict. Once again war—declared or otherwise—had become the nemesis of the liberal tradition in America. Executive actions in foreign affairs alarmed members of the Senate who were concerned about the atrophy of the Senate's constitutional powers in foreign affairs. In particular, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, William Fulbright, took sharp exception not only to the Administration policy in Vietnam but also to its domination of foreign policy. He and members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reasserted Senatorial prerogatives in the formulation of foreign policy.(39)

Certainly the Johnson experiences and problems seem reminiscent of the Wilson era: successful leadership in domestic reforms, foreign policy problems which have led to a clash between the Executive and Legislative branches, a Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee openly criticizing the President's policies and action. Furthermore, the leading spokesman for the administration's policy, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, a southern born son of a Presbyterian minister, and former college professor, seemed imbued with Wilsonian moralistic sentiments and princi-

ples.(40) Of course the circumstances and personalities modified the situation. Discord between the President and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was mainly academic; a major peace treaty was not being considered; partisanship was not at issue—both Johnson and Fulbright were Democrats. Nonetheless, the conflict was real—Executive and senatorial prerogatives were at stake. Johnson, while admiring Wilson as a great Democratic President,(41) realized the problems which Wilson faced nearly fifty years ago.(42) Johnson's decision not to seek re-election in 1968 was influenced not only by the internal division in the United States created by Vietnam, but also by the realization that a man with his medical history could, like Wilson, be disabled at a crucial time in the nation's history.(43)

Richard Nixon considers Woodrow Wilson his political hero(44) and the greatest President of this century.(45) He admires Wilson as an intellectual, a great reformer and international statesman, while recognizing that, at times, Wilson was not practical enough and some Wilsonian ideas today are somewhat outdated. Impressed by Wilsonian idealism, Richard Nixon has selected Woodrow Wilson as his presidential model.(46)

The similarities between Nixon and Wilson are discussed at some length by one of Nixon's biographers, Gary Wills, in his work *Nixon Agonistes: The Crisis of the Self-Made Man*. Wills points out that Nixon "seems to liken himself to Wilson not only in terms of principles but of temperament."(47) Both came from households where religious convictions were emphasized. Wilson's father desired his son to become a minister while Nixon's Quaker mother hoped young Richard might become a missionary in Central America.(48) Nixon, considers himself an introspective intellectual similar to Wilson.(49)

Nixon admires Wilson as a man of thought who could act. In Richard Nixon's concept of the office of President, which he spoke about during the 1968 presidential campaign, he strongly endorsed the activist view of the presidency.(50) He said, "The President's chief function is to lead, not to administer." Quoting Wilson he pointed out that the President must be "the spokesman for the real sentiment and purpose of the country."(51)

Wills has argued that Nixon's Vietnam problems and policies have been similar to Wilson's Mexican and World War I problems and policies. Self-determination and moralism are evidenced in both situations.⁽⁵²⁾ Wilson strove for a just and lasting peace and Nixon's plea for a "peace with honor and a generation of peace" has an emphatic echo.

The Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, J. William Fulbright strongly criticizes President Nixon's use of presidential power. According to Fulbright, Nixon "had done much toward upsetting the balance between the Legislative and Executive branches of our government . . . he is driven for power and the will to dominate."⁽⁵³⁾ This sounds like Henry Cabot Lodge rebuking Woodrow Wilson.

The growing control and influence of the American Presidency in recent years has been described by James MacGregor Burns in *Presidential Government*. He said that since the Presidency has drawn so many of the countervailing forces under its influence, it is imperative that the United States have both creative leadership and a creative opposition party or Shadow Presidency to challenge it.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Significantly this latter prescription would once again be an adaptation of the parliamentary system.

Strangely enough, many of those who have argued over the years in favor of a strong activist President now are having second thoughts about the President's control over foreign affairs. No doubt as a result of recent foreign policy decisions, many admirers of activist Presidents are sympathetic to Senator Fulbright's attempt to equalize the Congressional role in foreign affairs.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Whether this interest in constitutional equilibrium is ephemeral or persistent remains to be seen. In any case, under the American Constitutional System a sense of balance and interplay is vital, but let it not obstruct responsible, wise, and courageous leadership.

The influence and roles of the Congress and the President have been modified since the days when Woodrow Wilson wrote *Congressional Government*. Wilson not only took notice of that change in Constitutional Government in the United States but played an important role in

revealing the possibilities and dangers of vigorous presidential leadership.

One can contend that President Wilson did fulfill his own theory of the American Presidency. His successful leadership in domestic affairs was unprecedented in American history; his course of action in foreign affairs with executive domination worked successfully until 1918 when he lost his greatest challenge. He did attempt to commit the Senate to follow his lead in the League fight but with unfortunate results. To have hoped for Wilson to have shifted to a bipartisan approach of high statesmanship during these crucial days would have been to overlook his past performance and temperament. Hindered by his temperament and physically weakened body, Wilson was not able to demonstrate successful statesmanship and presidential leadership during a time of crucial importance. The Wilson experience demonstrated the need for resourceful presidential leadership in the future. Richard Neustadt has put it well. In commenting on Wilson's words for the necessity of selecting the Chief Executive from a small group of "wise and prudent athletes," Neustadt concludes:

If we want Presidents alive and fully useful, we shall have to pick them from among experienced politicians of extraordinary temperament—an even smaller class . . . Regardless of the dangers, presidential power in this new dimension still has to be sought and used; it cannot be escaped. We are now even more dependent than before upon the mind and temperament of the man in the White House.⁽⁵⁶⁾

In the twentieth century the American Presidency has become the most powerful and important office in the world. Woodrow Wilson played a significant part in shaping and moulding many of the roles and powers of the modern Presidency. Certainly the ringing Wilsonian plea for responsible Presidential leadership has meaning and relevance decades later. One must hope that the President of the United States will exercise creative and responsible leadership and statesmanship at home and abroad. The future and fate of the United States and the world depend on it.

6. Wilfred Binkley, *The President and Congress*, (New York: Meridian Third edition revised, 1962), pp. 265-288.

7. Washington Evening Star, November 9, 1932, as quoted by Laurin Henry, *Presidential Transitions* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1960), p. 275.
8. New York Times, November 10, 1932, p. 2.
9. Wilson had planned to resign in November 1916 if his Republican opponent, Charles Evans Hughes was elected President. Wilson would have appointed Hughes his Secretary of State before he and his Vice President, Thomas Marshall, resigned. Under the provisions of the Presidential Succession Act of 1886 Hughes would have succeeded to the presidency.
10. Franklin D. Roosevelt to Joseph P. Tumulty, May 19, 1933, Elliott Roosevelt (ed.), *F.D.R., His Personal Letters* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1947), Vol. 3, p. 346.
11. Ray Stannard Baker to Franklin D. Roosevelt, March 6, 1935, National Politics Folder, President's Personal File, Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers.
12. Franklin D. Roosevelt to Ray Stannard Baker, March 20, 1935; Baker Collection, President's Personal File, Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers; Elliott Roosevelt (ed.), *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 466-467.
13. Samuel Rosenmen (ed.), *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, (New York: Macmillan, 1938), Vol. 1, pp. 759-760.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 11-16.
15. *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 14.
16. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 675.
17. James Paterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal* (Lexington, Kentucky University of Kentucky Press, 1967), pp. 126-127, 165-166.
18. William E. Leuchtenburg, "Franklin D. Roosevelt's Supreme Court 'Packing' Plan," address delivered at the Third Annual Franklin D. Roosevelt Symposium, Marist College, October 14, 1967, p. 29. Curiously Homer Cummings had a hand in both Wilson's appeal of 1918 and the Court Reorganization Plan of 1937.
19. Robert Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1950), pp. 227, 360, 697, 756-757, 855.
20. For some comparisons with Wilson see Kurt Wimer, "Wilson and Eisenhower: Two Experiences in Summit Diplomacy," *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 199 (June, 1961), pp. 284-295; "Can Kennedy Succeed Where Wilson Failed?" *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 202 (November, 1962), pp. 224-229.
21. Cabell Phillips, *The Truman Presidency* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), pp. 398-399.
22. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961-66), 1948, p. 259.
23. *Ibid.*, 1948, pp. 379, 849; 1951, p. 7; 1952-53, p. 203.
24. *Ibid.*, 1945, p. 143.
25. Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
26. Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs*, (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955), Vol. 1, p. 272.
27. *New York Times*, November 7, 1946, p. 3; *Ibid.*, November 10, 1946, p. 7.
28. *Ibid.*, November 8, 1946, p. 19; *Ibid.*, November 12, 1946, pp. 1, 33.
29. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States; Dwight D. Eisenhower 1960-1961* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 813.
30. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *White House Years: Mandate for Change* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963), pp. 538, 540; *Waging Peace* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965), p. 230.
31. Ratified February 10, 1967.
32. *New York Times*, January 15, 1960, p. 14.
33. Interview with James MacGregor Burns, "A Size Up of Kennedy," *U.S. News and World Report*, Vol. 22 (Nov. 28, 1960), p. 76.
34. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., "Our Presidents: A Rating by 75 Historians," *New York Times Magazine*, July 29, 1962, pp. 12, 13, 39-41, 43. President Kennedy

BOOK SHELF

- was sent a ballot but decided not to complete it. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), p. 674.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 675.
36. *The Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 889-904.
37. This deadlock between Kennedy and the Congress is analyzed in James MacGregor Burns, *The Deadlock of Democracy* (Revised edition, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1964).
38. Journalists have noted the comparative legislative records of Johnson and Wilson. See Tom Wicker, "L.B.J. and Congress," *New York Times*, Section 4, August 29, 1965, p. 13; William V. Shannon, "Johnson After Two Years," *Ibid.*, November 22, 1965, p. 36.
39. "The Foreign Relations Committee—Advice But No Consent," *New York Times*, February 25, 1968, Section 4, p. 1; *Ibid.*, August 1, 1967, pp. 1, 4; *Ibid.*, August 17, 1967, pp. 1, 5; *Ibid.*, November 17, 1967, pp. 1, 2; *Ibid.*, November 26, 1967, pp. 1, 12; *Ibid.*, March 8, 1968, pp. 1, 8; J. William Fulbright, *The Arrogance of Power*, (New York: Random House, 1966), pp. 44-65.
40. Rusk's application of Wilsonian principles in Vietnam is discussed by James Reston, "New York: Secretary Rusk on a Durable Peace," *New York Times*, January 5, 1968, p. 34.
41. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963-1964* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 529-596.
42. *Ibid.*, 1966, Book I, p. 504; *New York Times*, November 18, 1967, p. 18.
43. Lyndon Baines Johnson, *The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency 1963-1969* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), p. 425.
44. Richard Reeves, "Nixon's Men Are Smart But No Swingers," *New York Times Magazine*, Sept. 29, 1968, p. 28.
45. Garry Wills, *Nixon Agonistes: The Crisis of the Self-Made Man* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1970), p. 20.
46. Russell Kirk, "Conversations With the Presidents," a lecture at the Center for the Study of the Presidency, June 29, 1972; *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Richard Nixon 1969* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 876, 880. Wills, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 33, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, *Nixon in the White House: The Frustration of Power* (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 5.
47. Wills, *op. cit.*, p. 432.
48. Richard Nixon, *Six Crises* (New York: Pyramid Edition, 1968), p. 317.
49. Wills, *Ibid.*
50. *New York Times*, Sept. 20, 1968, p. 33.
51. *Ibid.*
53. J. W. Fulbright, "Dear Constituent: I Support McGovern," *New York Times*, October 27, 1972, p. 41.
54. James MacGregor Burns, *Presidential Government*, (Boston: Houghlin, Mifflin Co., 1965), pp. 335-351.
55. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Alfred de Grazia, *Congress and the Presidency: Their Role in Modern Times* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Policy Research, 1967), January 24, 1968, p. 44.
56. Richard Neustadt, *Presidential Power* (New York: Signet Edition, 1964), pp. 183, 189.

THE SPEECHES OF THUCYDIDES.

By H. F. Harding. Coronado Press. Box 3232, Lawrence, Kansas, 1973. 5 maps. 376 p. \$12.50

Reviewed by Dr. Kenneth W. Colegrove Senior Research Associate, Center for the Study of the Presidency.

A favorite theme of some cynics is that history has no lesson to teach except the fact that history has no lesson to teach. This sophistry has been refuted by our greatest historians from Herodotus, Thucydides and Polybius in ancient times to Macaulay, Channing and Turner in modern times. A study of the mistakes in the past will often lead to the avoidance of similar mistakes in the present. The old proverb that experience is a dear school but fools will learn in no other shows how deeply this truth has revealed itself to men of common sense.

In other words, human nature being remarkably consistent through the ages, all citizens, statesmen and politicians of today have much to learn from their counterparts in the past.

Professor Harding has rendered a great service to the student as well as to the general reader by extracting the speeches of statesmen, diplomats and politicians from the monumental history of Greece during the Peloponnesian Wars (431-404 B.C.) as recorded by Thucydides. In this period Athens was a democracy, and the speeches of Pericles, the popular leader of the Athenian democracy, were delivered in order to explain his policies and to persuade his fellow citizens to accept them. The same is true of the other politicians such as Alcibiades.

Professor Harding, in editing the speeches, offers a succinct and accurate in-

roduction, setting forth the reasons for each speech and the result of the oratory. The volume also includes a reprint (of 86 pages) of the famous analysis of the speeches recorded by Thucydides by the classical scholar and diplomat, Sir Richard C. Jebb, which has long been out of print.

Professor Harding does not claim to have discovered any new facts about Greek history in this much studied period of Greek democracy. As a long-time teacher of rhetoric and speech, he simply looks at the record of persuasion in the Athenian city-state and observes the tactics and results of the oratory of the day. In other words, his task has been to set forth the art of political persuasion (propaganda, if you please) in the Athenian democracy. A worthy task indeed, as pertinent today as in a democracy of the Fourth Century before Christ.

There have been six great English translations of the *History of Thucydides*. Professor Harding has chosen the celebrated translation by Richard Crawley (edited by John H. Finley). This reviewer prefers the translation by Charles Foster Smith published in the Loeb Classics as offering a more literal translation of the Greek text. The Crawley-Finley translation, however, is in more idiomatic English. And it is understandable why Professor Harding selected this translation for the student and general reader.

In conclusion, today every student or citizen who wishes to critically observe the persuasion of presidents, senators, representatives, news editors and commentators should examine the oratory of Pericles and his fellow politicians before the Athenian assembly. Has the art of verbal persuasion greatly changed? Has human nature fundamentally changed? What does history reveal?

THROUGH RUSSIAN EYES: PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S 1036 DAYS.

By Anatolii A. Gromyko. International Library, Inc., 2425 Wilson Boulevard, Arlington, Virginia, 22201. 1973. Hard cover, \$9.95. Pages xviii plus 239. Reviewed by Dr. Richard M. Mills, Department of Political Science, Fordham University.

With over 200,000 copies in print in the Soviet Union, Dr. Gromyko's is the most widely available book on American politics there. Son of the Soviet Foreign Minister, Gromyko is currently with the Soviet embassy in Washington working on Congressional relations. He was trained as an academic specialist on American domestic and foreign affairs and has been studying them for over twenty years. In 1957 he published a book, *THE CONGRESS OF THE USA: ELECTIONS, ORGANIZATION, POWERS*, to date the most comprehensive Soviet analysis of that body, but not yet translated into English.

Whereas the 1957 study was an essay in Soviet scholarship, the Kenedy volume, originally published in 1968 and reprinted in 1971, is a popularization intended for a mass audience. The first half of the book is primarily a political biography of Kennedy's formative and pre-presidential years in politics, except for one chapter on the attitudes and political role of the American "ruling circles." The last half treats the Kennedy administration's foreign policies comprehensively.

To read *THROUGH RUSSIAN EYES* through American eyes is a dizzying experience. The book is an extraordinary conglomeration of facts and misconceptions, insights and blind spots, empathy and unfair accusations. It is natural that American readers will be appalled by the misconceptions, blind spots and accusations. But it ought not to be forgotten that a portion of this volume's original Soviet audience, those who have developed an expertise in sorting out the elements of information presented them in books of this sort, can develop an incomplete but essentially valid picture of *some* of the issues, traditions and processes of American domestic politics.

That is true even though Gromyko's view of American politics is strangely reminiscent of the long-standing aristocratic

critiques of democracy: The politician, motivated by his greed for success, manipulates issues and people, engaging in unseemly campaign fights which do not address themselves to the real issues; he hides his true thoughts until he is in a position to put them into practice. Alas, when President Kennedy was finally in that position and "began to put into practice the positive aspects of his ideas" (p. 28) he was faced with a major struggle which "perhaps" cost him his life. So were the positive ideas thwarted.

Gromyko's analytical vagaries are illustrated in his treatment of the primaries. It is a misconception to describe them exclusively as struggles between economic monopoly groups attempting to secure the nomination of "their" candidate. Similarly, it is not a fact that the primaries came into existence because the "ruling circles" were dissatisfied with the older method of selecting the candidates—and, what is worse, Gromyko says not a word about the origin of the pressures for electoral reform leading to the primaries' adoption.

On the other hand, there is much hard information on the role and function of the primaries in Kennedy's strategy and on the reasons why he succeeded in the primaries. The book also contains data showing that primaries involve far more than just a struggle among monopoly groups.

Still, American politics are seen as dominated by centers of economic power identified as either "the monopolies" or "monopolistic groupings." These are large manufacturing and financial organizations which allegedly dominate the economy and politics of the nation in general, and the President in particular through financing campaigns and via prevailing upon him to staff the higher appointive positions in his administration with persons suggested by the monopolies. Together with the Pentagon (i.e. as the military-industrial complex), the CIA and the Cold War-oriented Washington bureaucracy, the monopolies dominated Kennedy, constraining him to continue the foreign policies of President Eisenhower until 1963. When in that year, for reasons which Gromyko does not make clear, Kennedy decided to initiate an independent policy of improv-

ing relations with the Soviet Union, he produced a wave of discontent among Cold War advocates. The assassination took place under those circumstances.

This conveniently simplistic analysis has understandably outraged American reviewers of the book already. In some ways, however, the analysis is too simple even for Gromyko. For example, while stressing heavily the controlling role of big money in politics he quickly runs into what he calls an apparent paradox: In the 1960 primary the billionaire Rockefeller was defeated by the relatively impecunious Richard Nixon. Of course, there is no paradox here for those who do not subscribe to the ideological interpretation of American politics which creates the apparent paradox for the author. Indeed, he has an explanation (ingenious or disingenuous, depending on one's point of view) of this seeming paradox—but the reader may savor those delights for himself on pages 41-43 of the book. Gromyko's extended explanation does not save his ideological assumption that economic power is automatically translated into political power.

Actually, although he does so almost in passing with no commentary as to its significance regarding his ideological stand, Gromyko does recognize that professional politicians have a measure of independence (or try to establish it) from the "ruling circles." Gromyko gingerly asserts that neither the monopolists nor the politicians are uniformly big, bad wolves. He characterizes one element among them as being "sensible" and "realistic" in its perception of foreign and domestic politics, while another is torn between being sensible and extremist in its views. Then there are the extremists.

In the context of Gromyko's writing the points which I have noted in the preceding paragraph can be considered as discriminating distinctions which ought not to be overlooked (for reasons to be given below), even though these are still far from taking into account the kaleidoscopic variety of forces influencing American politics.

Once the author begins discussing foreign policy his analysis becomes consider-

ably weaker. No longer is his focus the interaction of monopolists, some of whom are not as bad as others, but he is comparing the policies of the United States and the Soviet Union regarding the gamut of international problems in John Kennedy's day.

The comparison is made in such a naive, biased way that the book's second half is a tale of virtue and vice juxtaposed. Despite his unrelievedly dark portrayal of American conduct in international affairs, Gromyko allows for the slight possibility that one day the forces of moderation, sobriety and reasonableness will prevail in American domestic and foreign politics—even though they face a stiff, uphill fight.

Dr. Gromyko has written a special introduction to this edition in which he notes the recent changes in Soviet-American relations. These he attributes to greater American realism and sobriety. However, he does not take this opportunity to relate these changes to the domestic political processes he studied in the body of the book.

The book's availability in English provides a splendid opportunity for Americans to learn how to read Soviet publications, to learn how not to allow ritualistic ideological assertions to deflect one's attention from whatever attempts at discrimination a Soviet author is trying to make, nor to fail to see whatever flexibility is tucked away among the more militant materials. In short, the effort must be made to see everything that is there, then to consider and calculate the possibilities and probabilities therein contained while at the same time keeping one's powder dry—just in case.

Professor Morgenthau's Epilogue may already have begun to create a conventional wisdom regarding the book. The Epilogue's argument is: If the Soviet leaders look at the United States the way Gromyko does, how is "the improvement of United States-Soviet relations without illusions on either side" possible? (p. 231)

Part of the answer lies in the 1972 and 1973 summit agreements. The agreements are limited, cautious and in some cases

even tenuous: These are the necessary prices to be paid for improvement *without* illusions. The agreements were an acceleration of trends which appeared several years before, but only time and events will tell whether the trends will become stronger or weaker, whether there will be an expansion or contraction of cooperation, contacts and mutual restraint.

Further improvement of relations will entail many difficulties, much misunderstanding which will have to be cleared up gradually, and will involve a mixture of setbacks and advances. If Dr. Gromyko's book illustrates the colossal difficulties facing improved relations it does not necessarily demonstrate the impossibility of the undertaking.

Center for the Study of the Presidency

Board of Trustees

Mamie Doud Eisenhower, *Honorary Chairman*

James A. Farley, *Honorary Chairman*

William J. Casey, *Founder Trustee Emeritus*

Edouard L. Courmand, *Founder Trustee Emeritus*

Arthur T. Roth, *Chairman*

Joseph S. Lindemann, *Vice Chairman*

Henry H. Wilson, *Vice Chairman*

R. Gordon Hoxie, *President and Chief Executive Officer*

Andrew O. Miller, *Secretary*

Howard F. Cerny, *Treasurer*

Broadus N. Butler

Luther H. Evans

J. Roy Price

Anna M. Chennault

James C. Hagerty

Harry J. Sievers

S. Douglas Cornell

Leonard W. Hall

Thomas C. Souran

Vincent D. Draddy

Ralph D. Howell

John A. Wells

Harold W. Lady

National Advisory Council

J. Roy Price, *Chairman*

James M. Davis

Joe L. Jessup

Leonard P. Moore

Seymour Halpern

Kathleen Kane

Thomas S. Moorman

Robert E. Hill

Morris I. Leibman

Henry Regnery

Richard V. Horan

Robert B. Mautz

Paul Sonnabend

Edward F. Howrey

John S. McCain

James J. Wilson

Dwight A. Ink

John W. McCormack

Stephen J. Wright

Louis G. Milione

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Sally

To: WSR and Sally

From: Colonel Walker via Nia

Date: 6/24/75

Time 4:45 a.m.
p.m.

Re: Admiral Moorer's retirement
party - on July 2nd.

The Vice President must arrive at
Andrews Air Force Base promptly
by 11:45.

Colonel Walker will advise later
in what hangar the ceremony will take place.

ATTENTION



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

To: WSR and Sally

From: Colonel Walker via Nia

Date: 6/24/75

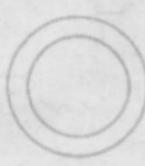
Time 4:45 a.m.
p.m.

Re: Admiral Moorer's retirement
party - on July 2nd.

The Vice President must arrive at
Andrews Air Force Base promptly
by 11:45.

Colonel Walker will advise later
in what hangar the ceremony will take place.

INFORMATION



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

6/19

Sal - please
schedule -
I have sent
cc to Corder
Kane

mef



★

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

June 18, 1974 - 5:45 pm

Mr. Ford:

You are attending the Navy League luncheon on June 27 honoring retiring Admirals Zumwalt, Moorer and Bender. Because this was a review and we had held the first week of July open for personal wedding plans we recommended a regret. However, we shall make proper rsvp for you if you would like to attend.

marba

*He does want to
go*



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

6-17-74

Mr. Ford:

We have phoned regrets on these invitations (I talked with Nancy Howe), but Warren felt you should see them.

marba



*Why can't I attend
Admiral Ingersoll's retirement?
I would like too.*

Regen



*U.P. Should See
WSR 6-13*

*The Secretary of Defense and the Deputy Secretary of Defense
request the pleasure of your company
at a Retirement Review*

in honor of

Admiral Thomas Hinman Moore, United States Navy

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

on Tuesday, the second of July

at twelve o'clock

Andrews Air Force Base

JUN 18 1974



R.s.v.p. by card or call

(202) 697-7685

(202) 697-9847

6/19/74

accepted phone

MSP.

Service Dress White

or Equivalent

Civilian Informal