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#### AIDA CASAÑAS O'CONNOR ATTORNEY Two World Trade Center New York, New York, 10047 Tel. 488-7074

#### RESUME

#### SUMMARY:

A woman lawyer with vast experience in both North American and Latin American laws. Can read and write English and Spanish fluently and has working knowledge of French. Married, three children.

#### EDUCATION:

Master of Laws (LLM), George Washington University, Washington, D. C.

Bachelor of Laws (LLB), University of Puerto Rico.

Bachelor of Arts (BA), University of Puerto Rico.

One year graduate courses (Law) at Catholic University of America, in Washington, D. C. As a candidate for the J.S.D. Degree, wrote a dissertation which was based on a comparative study of the New York and Puerto Rican Workmen's Compensation Laws.

Completed courses in Business Administration at R.C.C. Suffern, New York.

#### BAR MEMBERSHIP:

- 1. Supreme Court of Puerto Rico.
- 2. Bar of the State of New York.

3. U. S. District Court of Puerto Rico.

- 4. Supreme Court of the United States.
- 5. U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit.

#### BAR ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP:

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- 1. American Bar Association.
- 2. Federal Bar Association.

3. Puerto Rico Bar Association

4. New York County Lawyers Association

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EXPERIENCE:

September 16, 1974 to date

MEMBER, PRESIDENTIAL CLEMENCY BOARD THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500 (Presidential Appointment)

As a member of the Board I examined cases of persons who applied for Executive Clemency and who (i) had been convicted of violating certain sections of the Military Selective Service Act, or rules and regulations promulgated thereunder, for draft evasion acts committed in the time period of the Vietnam War or (ii) have received punitive or undesirable discharges as a consequence of an AWOL or AWOL related offense during the same time period, or are serving sentences of confinement for such violations. The Board makes recommendations and findings to the President as to whether he should grant Executive Clemency, condition it upon a period of alternative service, or deny it in any case.

July 1, 1974 to June 30, 1975 MEMBER, NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF WORLD POPULATION YEAR, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520 (Presidential Appointment)

The purpose of the Commisssion was to promote in the United States of 1974 as World Population Year.Our task was to create within the United States a better understanding of the causes, nature, scope and consequences of the problem of population growth both national and international, and the relationship of the problem to the quality of human life. I served on two committees of the Commission, namely: (i) Education, and (ii) The Committee for Relations with Professional Organizations. The Commission had two basic . functions. One was to assist various groups in planning their own events in observance of World Population Year. The other was to hold regional conferences on population and hunger in Washington, D.C. and around the country. The Commission participated in the H.E.W. Conference on Population and Education in March, 1975 and in Media Month in April, 1975. I also participated in the Commission's Report to the President in June, 1975.

1959 NEW YORK STATE DIVISION OF HOUSING AND to COMMUNITY RENEWAL, NEW YORK CITY, NEW date YORK, (Assistant Counsel)

General Duties: Review, approve and render advice on legal aspects of all regulations, documents and other matters regarding organization, development, operation and management of municipal public housing and urban renewal programs, limitedprofit and limited-dividend housing company operations, Capital Grant Low Rent Assistance and Non-Profit Housing Corporation Assistance programs, State Financial assistance under Neighborhood Parks Program, etc.; examine and approve applica-tions for financial assistance, loan and subsidy contracts, proposed leases, permits, licenses and similar documents. Review resolutions and minutes of Housing Authorities, audits of operations and appointments of Authority members to insure compliance with law, advice Authorities on legal matters, advice Commissioner of Housing in regard to pending Federal and State legislation, pending litigation involving Housing Authorities and projects, taxpayers' suits against State officials and discriminatory housing practices, as well as such unique and sensitive problems as housing for United States personnel.

Analyze and evaluate specific cases involving discrimination against minority groups under various public housing programs, as well as in rental or lease of accommodations in multiple dwellings to persons receiving financial assistance or support from the State or its political subdivisions. Review and supervise public hearings on application for rent increases, supervise conduct of eviction hearings involving tenants and premises under above programs; advice both Commissioner and Counsel on Landlord and Tenant Condemnation and Rent Control matters, interpretation of building contracts, plans and specifications under dispute, application of FHA Mortgage Insurance to low and middle-income rental and cooperative housing, liability for employee accidents in Stateassisted programs and projects, housing rehabilitation incentives and conflict of interest problems, etc.

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Conduct extensive legal research, prepare legal memoranda and handle related legal work regarding assessments and taxation, contracts, competitive bidding, overall supervision of public housing authorities, limited-dividend and limited-profit housing companies and a host of related legal problems; supervise Senior Attorneys in full range of associated litigation, render legal opinions and advice to Commissioner, Counsel, Housing Authorities and various Bureaus in regard to their powers and duties, allied questions of precedent and procedure. Advice all concerned parties on interpretation and enforcement of State Building Construction Code and conduct of associated hearings, temporary financing of Housing Authority developments from private sources and drafting of legislative proposals. (From 1962 to present time these duties have been diversified due to appointment of new personnel. Tasks at present tiem deal primarily with the legal problems pertaining to the establishment and operation of housing authorities.)

# WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BOARD, SAN JUAN, P. R. (Deputy Counsel)

In full charge of DEATH CLAIMS under WORKMEN'S COM-PENSATION BOARD, personally reviewed and determined eligibility of each claim for compensation, additionally supervising and reviewing correctness of decisions regarding ACCIDENT CLAIMS; supervise both Legal Bureau attorneys and Claims Department personnel in varying numbers as warranted by fluctuating case load. Continued in duties of TRIAL COUNSEL dealing extensively in subrogation cases involving negligence on part of third parties. Throughout this period, tried literally hundred of major cases before the Industrial Commission, represented the Fund on appeal before the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico in about forty key cases; appeared before local courts in prosecution of violations of Workmen's Compensation Act, third party actions for damages and tutorship proceedings, as well as before U. S. District Court in bankruptcy proceedings to recover unpaid premiums. Studied and analyzed specific claims for compensation, prepared formal opinions for signature of the Administrator.

#### PRIVATE PRACTICE:

Associated with Dr. Florencio Pagan Cruz in private practice of law. Advised clients on full range of matters pertaining to contracts, wills, real property, taxed and domestic

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relations, legal aspects of such commercial entities as corporations and partnerships, wide variety of other legal problems including Penal Law, conducted and participated in negotiations, drafted case briefs, memoranda and general legal documents of all kinds. At this time developed and presented a full course of specialized instruction in LABOR PROBLEMS at the University of Puerto Rico, additionally served as EDITOR of the Law Review published by the University's College of Law.

Immediately after above employment, and before appointment to the New York State Division of Housing and Community Renewal, was engaged in private practice of law with the firm of HARLOWE & O'CONNOR, at 291 Broadway, New York City. Active in civil and criminal cases.

# FEDERAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, Washington D. C. (Attorney)

Conducted exhaustive research into interpretation of laws, court decisions, Executive Orders, rules and regulations, presented detailed memoranda on specific problems to concerned authorities; reviewed and commented on various aspects of proposed and existing legislation, regulations, policy releases and business instruments, prepared digests of laws, Attorney General's opinions, provisions of State Constitutions, etc. Evaluated feasibility of criminal prosecution for violation of Social Security Act and related statutes.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD, Washington D. C. (As Counsel to Board)

Analyzed and studied transcripts of hearings held before Board and Trial Examiners in union representation cases, wrote formal decisions appearing in Board's records, prepared wide variety of detailed factual and legal memoranda, as well as drafts and opinions for consideration by the Board.

#### MISCELANEOUS ACTIVITIES:

- A. MEMBERSHIP:
  - 1. Ex-member Board of Directors of the Puerto Rico Capital Corporation.
  - 2. President, Ocaida Corporation.

- 3. Kappa Beta Pi Legal Sorority.
- 4. Instituto de Puerto Rico.
- 5. Citizens Committee for Equal Rights.
- 6. French Institute.
- 7. Young Women Christian Association.
- 8. Comite Pro Ninos Lisiados (Crippled Children).

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9. P. R. Free Shoe Fund.

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- 10. Comite Pro-fiesta de San Juan Bautista.
- 11. Member of the Attorney General's Committee for the Prevention of Frauds.
- 12. Coordinator of Spanish-American Women for Good Government.
- 13. Member of P. R. Association of Women Voters, Inc.
- 14. Honorary Member of Puerto Rico Merchants Association, Inc.
- 15. General Advisor to local Puerto Ricans on housing and legal rights. (Speak every Sunday on related subjects over the radio).

#### POLITICAL ACTIVITIES:

- 1. Worked during Governor Rockefeller's campaigns.
- 2. Worked with Mrs. Preston Davie on the Advisory Committee for Greater New York during the 1960 presidential campaign.
- Worked with the Puerto Rican Committee for Nixon-Lodge with Mr. Rodman Rockefeller who was the coordinator of this group. I was one of the speakers and also assisted with Public Relations (1960)
- 4. Represented the Puerto Rican community as part of Nationalities for Nixon-Lodge Committee in Washington D. C. (1960)
- 5. Member of Mr. Bernard Newman's Committee of 100 (1961)
- 6. Have been appointed Deputy Attorney-General of the State of New York during several electoral campaigns.
- 7. Was active in the 1960 Congressional Campaign in Reading, Pa., where I spoke to the local Puerto Rican Community on behalf of Mr. J. Mantis, the Republican Congressional candidate.
- 8. Worked with United Citizens Committee of Lefkowitz, Fino & Gilhooley (1961).
- 9. Republican Candidate to 74th Assembly District, 1965.
- 10. Worked for the candidacy of Bernard Newman for the Supreme Court Judgeship.
- 11. Worked during all Congressman Lindsay's Congressional campaigns.
- 12. Ex-member of the Young Republican Women's Club.
- 13. Chairman, Spanish-American Women's Committee for Nixon-Agnew 1972.

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- 14. Member, National Spanish-American Committee for
- 15. Worked with the Spanish-American Committee for the Election of Senator James Buckley.

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17 September 1974

Hon. Charles E. Goodell 12 Elm Rock Road Bronxville, NY 10708

Dear Mr. Goodell;

May I extend my congratulations on your selection to chair President Ford's Clemency Review Board.

I know that with appropriate regard for the historical background of American amnesties, with awareness of political realities, and with full understanding of the President's charge, you will move quickly and decisively to resolve the pressing problems facing the Board.

If there is any way in which I can be of assistance to you in your monumental task--as an unpaid consultant or as a staff member-- I am at your disposal. For references as to my qualifications, I suggest you contact:

Dr. Theodore W. Marrs, Special Assistant to President Ford Dr. M. Richard Rose, President, Alfred University.

With highest esteem,

Wil Ebel

Wilfred Ebel 2475 Virginia Ave NW Washington, DC 20037

#### - Wilfred L. Ebel

Wilfred L. Ebel was sworn in as a member of the Defense Manpower Commission on 4 Sep 1974. From Nov 1973 through Aug 1974 he served with the Guard/Reserve Total Force Study Group in the Office, Secretary of Defense. In Dec 1973 he was tasked to visit the Ministry of Defense, Federal Republic of Germany in connection with the NATO Rationalization/Specialization programs. He served a special tour with the Reserve Forces Policy Board in the Office, Secretary of Defense from July through October 1973.

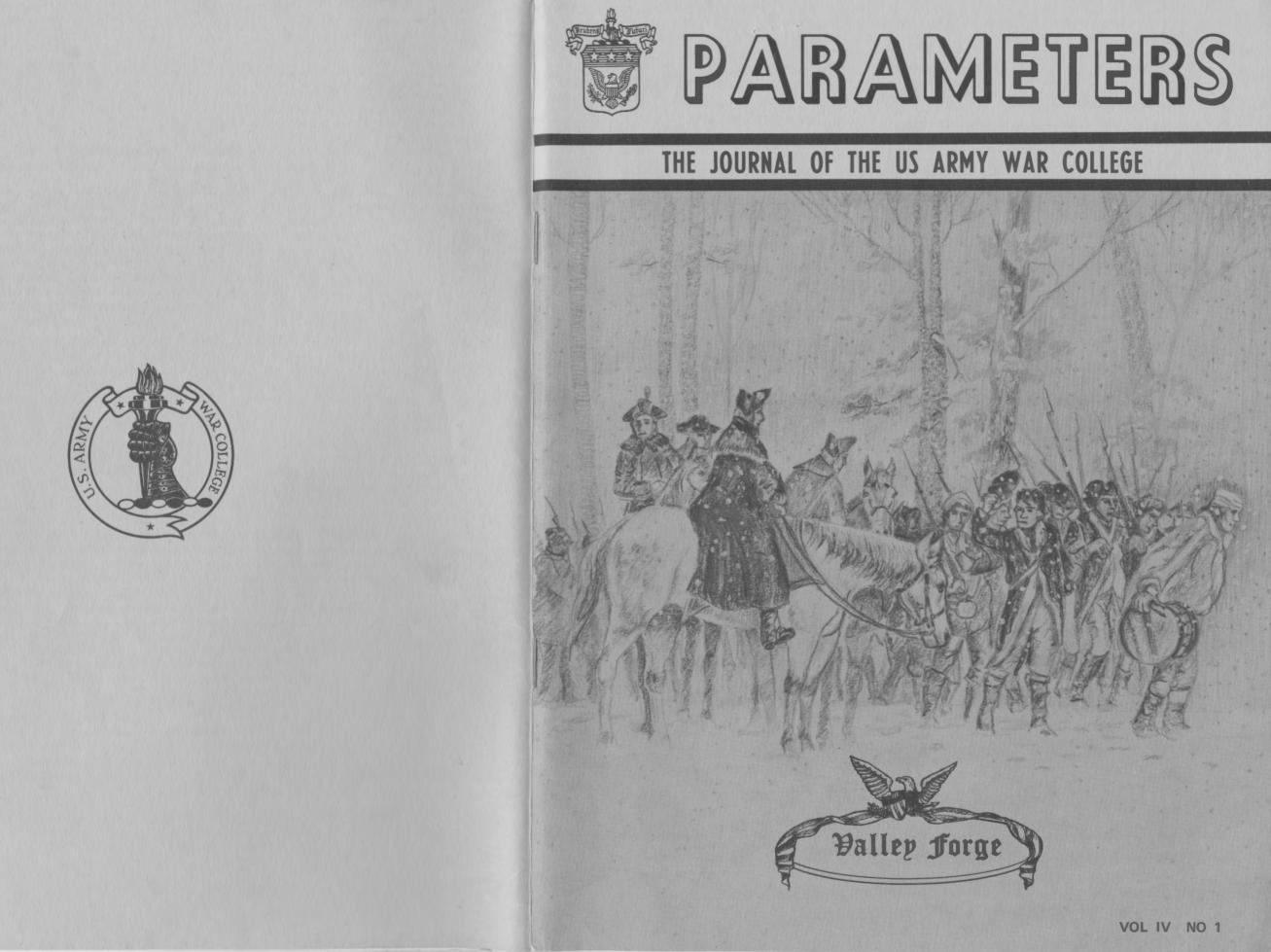
A graduate of the Army War College, he was one of four Army Reserve officers selected to attend the 10 month Resident Class in 1972-73. He graduated from the Army Command and General Staff College in 1968; other military schools completed include the Industrial College of the Armed Forces non-resident program. A native of Falls City, NE, he attended Midland College (NE) and UCLA studying liberal arts and business administration.

From Jul 1971 to Jul 1972 he worked with the Republican Party in California and concurrently held the Army Reserve assignment of Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1, 63d Army Reserve Command. During this period he participated in the Republican National Committee Western States Seminar, the Army National Strategy Seminar and the Army World-Wide Information Officers Conference. Mr. Ebel served on active duty as a member of the Army Staff from Jul 1967 to Jul 1971 as Assistant Executive Officer to the Chief Army Reserve at the Pentagon.

His military decorations include the Legion of Merit, Meritorious Service Medal, Joint Services Commendation Medal and the Army Commendation Medal. Among the honors he has received from patriotic and veterans organizations are the Distinguished Service Citation from the Reserve Officers Association and the Certificate of Appreciation from the Civil Affairs Associations. His memberships include the Company of Military Historians, the Reserve Officers Association, the American Legion, the Association of the United States Army and the Smithsonian Associates. He has been designated a "Kentucky Colonel" and an "Admiral of the Nebraska Navy". His clubs are the Army-Navy Club and the Capitol Hill Club.

The most recent issue of <u>Parameters</u>, the professional journal of the Army War College carries his article "The Amnesty Issue: A Historical Perspective". His monograpah "Amnesty For Those Who Wouldn't Go", prepared for the Strategic Studies Institute, was used by the White House in 1974 in developing President Ford's amnesty program. The Sep 1, 1974 issue of the Des Moines Sunday Register (Circ 500,000) carried a page 1 feature story covering Mr. Ebel's review of previous American amnesties. He has authored numerous articles on the Guard and Reserve Forces.

Mr. Ebel also serves as Vice President of the Ebel Alfalfa Company in Nebraska and manages his personal real estate holdings in Southern California. A bachelor, his Washington DC address is 2475 Virginia Ave, NW., 20037.



#### NOTES

1. Dee Brown, Ft. Phil Kearny: An American Saga (New York: Putnam, 1962), pp. 174-75. This is one of the most complete accounts of the battle between two covers.

2. Brown, p. 150.

3. Brown, pp. 213-14.

4. See John U. Terrell and COL George Walton, Faint The Trumpet Sounds (New York: D. McKay, 1966), pp. 295-310.

5. See the statement of LT E. S. Godfrey, "there was no sign for the justification of the theory, insinuation, or assertion that he committed suicide," collected in William A. Graham, The Custer Myth (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole, 1953), p. 376.

6. See Bruce A. Rosenberg, "Custer: The Legend of the Martyred Hero in America," The Journal of the Folklore Institute, 9 (Fall 1972), 110-32.

7. A number of writers, none of them really impartial, have written about Custer's raid, and the "truth" has to be pieced together from their accounts: Charles J. Brill, Conquest of the Southern Plains (Oklahoma City: Golden Saga, 1938); George B. Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes (Norman, Okla.: Univ. of Okla. Press, 1956); Don Turner, Custer's First Massacre: The Battle of the Washita (Amarillo, Tex.: Humbug Gulch Press, 1968).

8. William A. Graham, The Story of the Little Big Horn (2d ed.; Harrisburg, Pa.: Military Service Publishing Co., 1941), p. 19. The definitive account of the battle is to be found, however, in Edgar I. Stewart, Custer's Luck (Norman, Okla.: Univ. of Okla. Press, 1955).

9. Graham, p. 33.

10. See Terrell and Walton, pp. 8-13.

11. Most conveniently collected in Graham, The Custer Myth, p. 211.



Custer's dawn attack on the Washita.

## THE AMNESTY ISSUE: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

#### LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILFRED L. EBEL, USA

The question of the utility or futility of amnesty has been posed by the refusal of a small percentage of America's youth to serve in the Armed Forces. Some said No to the Selective Service System-they evaded involuntary induction into the military. Some said No to a military superior-they call themselves self-retired veterans; the military calls them deserters. Other servicemen-volunteers as well as conscripts, commissioned officers as well as enlisted men-have been confined to military prisons. convicted of such violations as refusing assignment to combat duty in Southeast Asia, soliciting other service personnel to desert. making disloyal statements, and sedition.

Amnesty for American draft evaders and deserters of the Vietnam era is one of the most sensitive of contemporary issues. To place this problem in its proper perspective, it is necessary to set aside the emotionally charged question of the rightness or wrongness of US participation in the Vietnam conflict. Similarly we need not now determine the degree of innocence or guilt of those who would not go. What must be done is to leaf through the pages of history and take note of how Washington, Lincoln, Truman, and other presidents of the United

LTC Wilfred L. Ebel, AGC, USAWC '73, attended Midland College (Nebraska) and UCLA, studying liberal arts and business administration. Colonel Ebel, a reserve officer temporarily on active duty as a member of the Total Force Study Group at the Pentagon, has served in a

variety of reserve assignments, including duty in the Office of the Chief of Army Reserve and on the Reserve Forces Policy Board in OSD. In civilian life, he is Vice-President of the Ebel Alfalfa Company and manages real estate in California.

Before attempting an analysis of amnesty, we will find it useful to explore the nature and background of conscription, since conscription was a primary cause of the war-resistance phenomenon. Of ancient origin, conscription is described in the Old Testament in a dictum of the Lord to Moses:

States addressed amnesty. They, too, found it to be an extremely controversial issue, for amnesty has always stirred deep emotions in American hearts.

By a careful consideration of the motives underlying past grants of amnesty, perhaps we can anticipate more intelligently the timing, the recipients, and the conditions of any future proclamation of amnesty. At the very

> A HISTORICAL REVIEW WILL REVEAL THE EXTENT TO WHICH AMNESTY HAS BECOME A PART OF OUR POLITICAL HERITAGE ....

least, a historical review will reveal the extent to which amnesty has become a part of our political heritage; perhaps the insight gained from such an examination will contribute to enlightened opinion concerning the merits of amnesty for those who refused to serve in the Armed Forces in the 1960's and 70's.

#### CONSCRIPTION

Take a census of all the congregation of the people of Israel, by families, by fathers' houses, according to the number of names, every male, head by head; from twenty years old and upward, all in Israel



Secretary of War Baker drawing a number for the WWI draft, the Nation's first large-scale conscription.

who are able to go forth to war, you and Aaron shall number them, company by company.1

#### The Continental Congress resolved on 18 July 1775

That it be recommended to the inhabitants of all the united English colonies in North America, that all able bodied effective men, between sixteen and fifty years of age in each Colony, immediately form themselves into regular companies of Militia, to consist of one captn, two lieutenants, one ensign, four serjeants, four corporals, one clerk, one drummer, one fifer, and about 68 privates.<sup>2</sup>

The United States Supreme Court has

consistently upheld the constitutionality of compulsory service. Although conscription is an encroachment upon personal freedom, the legal consensus has unswervingly been that it is a justified method of maintaining those armed forces necessary to safeguard the Nation's freedom and to fulfill international commitments. It has been held that Congress possesses the power to conscript the Nation's citizenry not only to wage war, but to maintain an adequate peacetime army. A

> THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT HAS CONSISTENTLY UPHELD THE CONSTITU-TIONALITY OF COMPULSORY SERVICE.

formal declaration of war is not required to validate involuntary induction. The conscientious objector is not given the legal option of refusing to serve his country, though he may qualify for a noncombatant military assignment or be eligible to perform civilian work in lieu of military service. But he must serve. Those who defy the Selective Service law are subject to fine, imprisonment, or both.

#### AMNESTY: DEFINITION AND PURPOSE

Amnesty, a concept of public law..., which means forgetfulness or oblivion and implies an act of the legal sovereign conceding, from grace, a voluntary extinction from memory of certain crimes committed against the state. It is a legal oblivion, usually of political offenses.3

Amnesties may be classified as general or particular, and as absolute or conditional:

> ... first, general or particular, that is, they may demand the performance of certain conditions before their provisions enter into legal effect.4

Individuals and organizations urging amnesty for draft evaders and deserters generally cite the purpose of amnesty as being the restoration of national unity. Traditionally, this healing of social wounds by a restoration of political and civil rights to former enemies of the State has been the purpose of amnesty. Among the more militant resisters, contemporary references to conditional amnesty are sometimes construed as meaningless political sloganeering or as deceitful plots designed to divide the resistance community by proposing the inclusion of draft resisters but not military deserters.

Amnesty effectively wipes the slate clean. As far as the public interest is concerned, once amnesty has been granted, it is as if the criminal act had not been committed. Pardon differs from amnesty in that it is a remission, in whole or in part, of punishment, while

amnesty obliterates the crime itself. The Supreme Court stated in Burdick vs. United States, 236 US 79 (1915): "The one (amnesty) overlooks offense; the other (pardon) remits punishment." Generally, pardon is extended to individuals while amnesty is offered to categories of offenders. American presidents, however, have commonly used the words "amnesty" and "pardon" interchangeably; hence, that practice will be followed here. Thus, many Presidential "amnesties" were in fact acts of individual pardon.

Article 2, Section 2 of the Constitution confers the authority to pardon upon the President:

The President ... shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.<sup>5</sup>

President Washington and several of his successors used this Section as Constitutional authority to issue proclamations of amnesty. Congress also has the authority to amnesty Federal offenders:

Congress cannot limit the effects of Presidential amnesty.... On the other hand. Congress itself, under the necessary and proper clause, may enact amnesty laws remitting penalties incurred under the National Statutes.6

Let us turn to a review of amnesty practices from the earliest days of the republic.

AS FAR AS THE PUBLIC INTEREST IS CONCERNED, ONCE AMNESTY HAS BEEN GRANTED, IT IS AS IF THE CRIMINAL ACT HAD NOT BEEN COMMITTED.

#### AMNESTY UNDER WASHINGTON AND ADAMS

Looking back through American history,

we find that the Executive and the Legislative branches of government have been neither hasty nor generous in exercising the amnesty power. The first presidential pardon in American history covered individuals in western Pennsylvania who were at odds with the Federal government over payment of taxes. President Washington viewed the Whiskey Rebellion as a "contest whether a small portion of the United States shall dictate the whole Union." By a proclamation published 25 September 1794, Washington promised to treat "with the most liberal good faith" those offenders who would henceforth obey the law. His follow-up proclamation of 10 July 1795 extended pardon to those insurrectionists who had followed the terms of his earlier proclamation.<sup>7</sup>

In 1799 Pennsylvania was again the scene of insurrection. The laws pertaining to the valuation of houses and land precipitated the insurrection which became serious enough to require troop intervention. President Adams, by his Proclamation of 21 May 1800, pardoned all insurrectionists except those then under indictment or standing convicted. Adams stated that future prosecutions were unnecessary since "peace, order, and submission to the laws of the United States were restored,... the ignorant, misguided, and misinformed counties [having] returned to a proper sense of their duty."8

#### **THOMAS JEFFERSON**

Although Washington pardoned participants in the Whiskey Rebellion and Adams issued pardons to certain Pennsylvania insurrectionists, Thomas Jefferson was the first US president to grant a pardon to military deserters. On 15 October 1807 Jefferson offered deserters full pardon in exchange for their surrender to the military and return to duty. Twelve days after signing the proclamation, in the Seventh Annual Message of the President to the Senate and the House of Representatives, Jefferson cited circumstances which "seriously threatened the peace of our country."9 Thus, it may be conjectured that Jefferson offered the pardons as a means of building up the size of the Army in a time of national peril.

#### MADISON: AMNESTIES, DESERTERS, AND PIRATES

During his tenure as president, Madison issued amnesty proclamations on four occasions: 7 February 1812, 8 October 1812, 17 June 1814, and 6 February 1815. The first three were granted with the understanding that the deserters had "become sensible of their offense and desirous of returning to duty."10 To receive pardon, deserters were required to surrender at a military post. These three pardons may have been intended to return deserters to duty so that they could participate in the war with Great Britain.

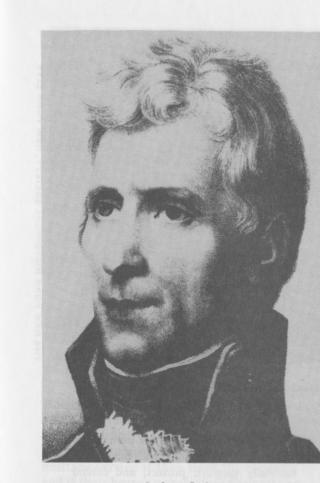
Madison's 1815 Proclamation is unique with respect to the class of offenders pardoned-it is specifically addressed to Jean Lafitte's pirates:

> ... provided, that every person claiming full benefit of this pardon in order to entitle himself thereto shall produce a certificate in writing from the governor of the State of Louisiana stating that such person has aided in the defense of New Orleans and the adjacent country during the invasion thereof as aforesaid. 11

While most amnesties have dealt with war dissenters, Madison amnestied pirates who came to the aid of their country. Lafitte's men had spurned a cash offer by the British. choosing instead to join with General Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans.

#### AMNESTY UNDER JACKSON

Probably the most liberal amnesty granted to military deserters in American history was the amnesty extended by President Andrew Jackson in 1830. Jackson, acting through Secretary of War Eaton, declared the amnesty after Congress had repealed the law imposing the death penalty for peacetime desertion. War Department General Order Number 29, issued 12 June 1830, provided that deserters under sentence of death and all deserters remaining unapprehended were to be discharged from the service and barred from future enlistment. Personnel who were under arrest for desertion were to be returned to



Andrew Jackson

duty. An excerpt from the General Order suggests that forgiveness, compassion, and generosity were not the most compelling motives underlying the grant of amnesty to deserters not then under military control:

> It is desirable and highly important that the ranks of the Army should be composed of respectable, not degraded, materials. Those who can be so lost to the obligations of a soldier as to abandon a country which morally they are bound to defend, and which solemnly they have sworn to serve, are unworthy, and should be confided in no more.12

President Jackson's attitude toward the unapprehended deserters does not appear to meet the generally accepted definition of amnesty-that is, forgetfulness of the offense.

were several amnesties issued during and after the Civil War, they were restrictive and the use of this type today certainly would not satisfy amnesty spokesmen. For example, Confederate leaders remained unamnestied until 1898, having been barred by the Fourteenth Amendment from holding military or civil office.<sup>13</sup> Although never brought to trial, Jefferson Davis was imprisoned at Fortress Monroe from 10 May 1865 to 13 May 1867. Present-day amnesty advocates argue that America cannot afford to force war resisters to remain underground or in self-exile because the country will then be deprived of their potential leadership. Analogously, Jefferson Davis most certainly could have served as a Senator from Mississippi after the Civil War. But it would have been necessary for him to seek restoration of the privilege to hold such office, and he apparently was unwilling to recant and take the necessary oath of allegiance. Davis was still barred from holding office at the time of his death in 1889.14

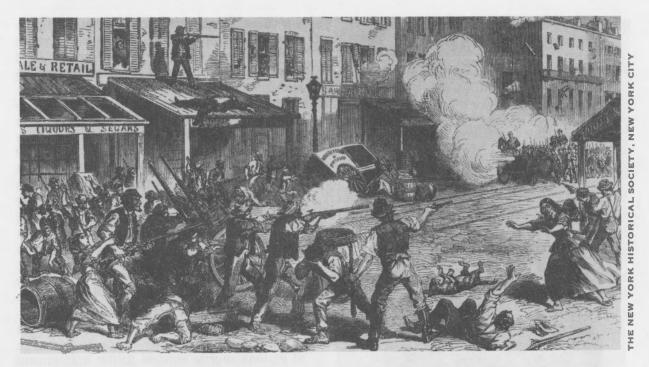
Nor does his motive appear to meet the generally accepted purpose of amnesty, which is to restore national unity. Rather, the deserters still at large were characterized as unworthy and undeserving of redemption through subsequent military service.

#### **CIVIL WAR AMNESTIES**

Current pro-amnesty polemicists frequently cite Civil War amnesties as precedents for a liberal amnesty policy towards the Vietnam-era military dissidents. While there

### WHILE THERE WERE SEVERAL AMNESTIES ISSUED DURING AND AFTER THE CIVIL WAR, THEY WERE RESTRICTIVE ....

During the confusion prevailing during the early stages of the war, a great many persons were detained as political prisoners by the Union. Some of those detained had in fact



New York City Draft Riots, 1863.

aided the Confederacy while others had not; still others had second thoughts about their earlier support of the Confederacy. President Lincoln, acting through Secretary of War Stanton, issued the first Civil War amnesty on 14 February 1862, releasing these individuals provided that they agreed to take an oath of allegiance.15

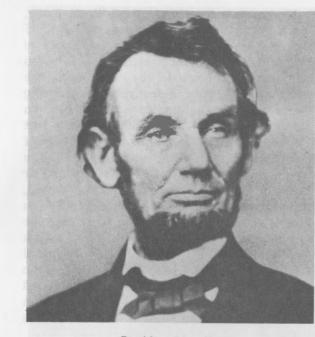
The Confiscation Act of 17 July 1862 contained a section authorizing the President to amnesty persons "who may have participated in the existing rebellion."16 Such authority, of course, was superfluous inasmuch as Lincoln already possessed such powers by Constitutional fiat. By Presidential Proclamation of 10 March 1863, he allowed deserters to return to their military unit without punishment save forfeiture of pay and allowances for the period of their absence.17

In December 1863 Lincoln offered pardon to certain individuals who had participated in the Rebellion. Such individuals could be pardoned only by subscribing to the following oath of allegiance:

I, do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States and Union of the States thereunder....18

Lincoln specifically excluded Confederate leaders from eligibility. Most important, the Proclamation provided that any Confederate state could be returned to the Union when subscribers to the oath equalled in number not less than 10 percent of the number of the state's voters in the 1860 Presidential election. Thus, Lincoln's Proclamation appears to have been designed mainly as an instrument to erode support for the Confederate effort by offering conditions under which a seceded state could be restored to the Union. This Proclamation was clarified on 26 March 1864 with the announcement that certain persons (mainly prisoners of war) were not eligible for amnesty.

A War Department General Order issued in February 1864 established conditions under which Confederate deserters could be



#### President Lincoln.

amnestied. An oath of allegiance was again made a prerequisite to the grant of amnesty. General Grant permitted deserters to proceed to their homes and remain exempt from military service if they took the required oath and if their homes were within Federal lines.<sup>19</sup>

Lincoln acted again by Presidential Proclamation on 11 March 1865, offering pardon to all Union deserters who returned to military duty within 60 days and who served a period of time equal to their enlistment. This pardon may not have been the result of Presidential initiative; more likely it was a response to a law passed by the Congress taking citizenship away from deserters and requiring that the President issue a proclamation offering pardon subject to terms similar to those contained in the 1865 Presidential Proclamation.

On 29 May 1865, shortly after his elevation to the Presidency, Johnson published the first of his series of amnesties. It applied to persons who had participated in the Rebellion, and an oath of allegiance was required. Of the 14 classes of persons declared ineligible for amnesty, one is of special interest:

... all persons who have been or are

Lincoln.22

73

absentees from the United States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion.20

A promise of conditional amnesty was extended by the War Department on 3 July 1866 to Union Army deserters, provided they surrendered before 15 August 1866.21

Although the Civil War ended in the spring of 1866, it was 7 September 1867 before Johnson announced a further amnesty. Once again, an oath of allegiance was a precondition. While Johnson's first amnesty excepted 14 classes of persons from eligibility, few were excluded under the 1867 Proclamation. Principal exclusions were high officials of the Confederacy, persons in confinement or on bail, and individuals involved in the assassination of President

Shortly after the conclusion of his impeachment trial, Johnson discussed a further amnesty with his Cabinet. The idea of a universal amnesty for all rebels was seriously considered but finally rejected. Jefferson Davis and others indicted for treason or felony were excluded from the amnesty

#### BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA -A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, the President of the United States, on the 8th day of December, A. ), eighteen hundred and sixty-three, and on the 26th day of March, A. D., eighteen hundred and sixty-four, did, with the object to suppress the existing rebellion, to induce all persons to return to their loyalty, and to restore the authority of the United States, esue proclamations offering annesty and pardon to certain persons who had directly or by implication participated in the said rebellion; and whereas many persons who had so and in suid rebellion, have, since the issuance of said proclamations, failed or neg-

tablish rules and regulations for administering and

IN TESTIMONY WHERE NO, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, the twenty-ninth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-ninth.

Johnson's Amnesty Proclamation of 29 May 1865.

announced 4 July 1868. A political motive can be perceived in this amnesty, since it was issued on the opening day of the Democratic National Convention. However, Southerners apparently resented the restricted scope of the amnesty, for Johnson failed to receive the Democratic nomination.<sup>23</sup>

On Christmas Day 1868, Johnson extended

... to all and to every person who, directly or indirectly, participated in the late insurrection or rebellion a full pardon and amnesty for the offense of treason against the United States or of adhering to their enemies during the late civil war....<sup>24</sup>

With respect to draft dodgers, no action was ever taken granting them amnesty.

By legislation in 1896, Congress enabled former Confederate military officers to seek commissions in the US Armed Forces. The law may have ensued from Congressional fear that differences with Great Britain were about to come to war. Many ex-Confederate officers were in their declining years by this time and probably would have proven of minimal value had a conflict erupted.<sup>25</sup>

In June 1898 President McKinley signed the final amnesty bill for Confederates. This bill, no doubt prompted by the war with Spain, repealed the bar imposed by Section 3 of the Fourteenth Amendment.

#### **TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMNESTIES**

The first US amnesty of the twentieth century was President Theodore Roosevelt's amnesty of the Philippine Insurrectionists. At an Independence Day gathering in Pennsylvania in 1902, Roosevelt announced that he had on that day issued a "proclamation of peace and amnesty."<sup>26</sup>

> NO GENERAL AMNESTY FOLLOWED WORLD WAR I, WORLD WAR II, OR THE KOREAN WAR.

No general amnesty followed World War I, World War II, or the Korean War. On 15 December 1923 President Coolidge commuted the sentences of all prisoners who had been convicted for opposing the government and the Selective Service during World War I. The pardons were rooted in recommendations submitted to the President by a committee appointed by President Harding before his death in August 1923. The committee, composed of ex-Secretary of War Baker, Bishop Brent, and General Harbord, was formed after President Harding had been subjected to political pressure to release the prisoners. The Coolidge decision, which affected only 31 prisoners, was announced after Presidential consultation with the Attorney General.<sup>27</sup> Senators Pepper and Borah and the American Civil Liberties Union had led the pro-amnesty faction in this battle.28

A few months later, on 5 March 1924, President Coolidge, acting upon the advice of his service secretaries, restored citizenship rights to approximately 100 military deserters. However, this action did not cover military personnel who deserted prior to the World War I Armistice, nor did it remit or commute court-martial sentences. Only those who deserted after 11 November 1918 and before 17 November 1921 benefited by the Proclamation. Secretary of the Navy Denby apparently had convinced President Coolidge that loss of citizenship was an "uncommonly harsh and severe" punishment for desertion *after* the fighting had ceased.<sup>29</sup>

In a 23 December 1933 proclamation affecting only those who had served prison terms for violating the Draft and Espionage Acts, President Franklin D. Roosevelt restored civil rights to about 1,500 war resisters. There was no reduction of prison terms since all those affected by Roosevelt's "Christmas Amnesty Proclamation" had already completed their sentences. In view of the current large number of self-exiled war resisters, it is interesting to note the effect that the Roosevelt Proclamation had on the family of Mrs. Emma C. Bergdoll. Restoration of citizenship was granted her son Erwin, who had served a



#### President Roosevelt.

4-year prison sentence for draft-dodging. But another son, Grover, who had fled the United States to avoid the draft, remained outside the pale of amnesty since persons who had evaded indictments or sentences were not within the purview of the Proclamation.<sup>30</sup>

Several thousand former convicts were the beneficiaries of a Christmas Eve Proclamation issued by President Truman in 1945. The President restored citizenship rights to ex-convicts who had served at least one year in the military after 28 July 1941 and were subsequently awarded honorable discharges. Included in this amnesty were over 2,000 Federal prisoners who had been paroled for induction into the Army during World War II.<sup>31</sup> Observe that this amnesty was granted to war supporters, not war resisters!

Although President Truman established an Amnesty Board in 1946, the Board confined itself to recommending individuals by name for pardon. The Board, headed by former Justice Owen J. Roberts, reviewed the cases of 15,805 individuals who had been convicted of violation of the Selective Service Act. The Board recommended pardon for less than 10 percent of that number.

their duty to come to the defense of the nation."34 America's most recent amnesty came in the midst of the Korean War. On 24 December 1952 as he began to prepare to vacate the White House and return to civilian life. President Truman restored civil rights to all persons convicted of having deserted between 15 August 1945 and 25 June 1950, No pardon, remission, or mitigation of sentence was involved; the sole effect of Truman's action was to restore citizenship. An estimated 8,904 deserters were covered by the amnesty. In his Christmas Message the next day, Truman also announced the restoration of civil rights to Korean War veterans who had been convicted by civilian courts prior to their military service. The McCarren Immigration Act also became effective on that date and Truman's motive for restoring citizenship to this group of offenders may well have been to preclude deportation of veterans who had been naturalized citizens prior to their convictions.<sup>35</sup> There has been no presidential or congressional amnesty since the 1952 Christmas announcements.

Most of those who benefited by the proclamation were religious conscientious objectors. Others were Japanese Nisei, draft evaders who subsequently served honorably in the armed forces, and others who proved that their evasion was due to ignorance.<sup>32</sup>

A partial remission of prison sentences was involved in only three cases: the remaining 1520 pardoned had already completed their terms.<sup>33</sup> Interestingly, a *New York Times* editorial commented favorably on the severe action of Truman's Amnesty Board:

> It stated a principle that is fundamental in a democracy, where the majority rules with due regard for the rights of a minority, when it decided that it would not recommend restoration of civil rights to those persons who "thus have set themselves up as wiser and more competent than society to determine their duty to come to the defense of the nation."<sup>34</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

This brief historical review of amnesty offers no sanguine expectation to those who desire an immediate, unconditional, and general grant of amnesty to all Vietnam-era Armed Forces deserters and Selective Service violators. In light of the precedents, any attempt to enlist the aid of history to support such a view rests on a slender reed. The most cursory analysis of historical data on American amnesties indicates that present rationales for amnesty represent a departure from, rather than an appeal to, precedent.

Amnésty for military deserters and violators of conscription laws has generally been granted only to those who had been previously convicted and had served their terms. Remission or commutation of sentence has been exceptional rather than customary, and beneficiaries of amnesty have received little more than a restoration of their civil rights. Deserters at liberty have generally been required to return to military authority as a condition precedent to the grant of amnesty, although President Jackson did punitively

discharge some deserters and prohibit their ever serving in the military again. Desertion during an armed conflict has traditionally been dealt with as a far more serious offense than desertion in peacetime. Finally, it should be carefully noted that Presidents Madison and Truman granted amnesty for crime as a reward to persons who had served honorably in the Armed Forces, rather than as a mechanism of forgiveness to those who willfully failed to answer their Country's call.

The issue of amnesty for those who refused military service or fled their assigned posts during the Vietnam era will not, like old soldiers, simply fade away. The emotional impact has seared the consciences of too many at both poles of the issue for that to be a reasonable expectation. Nor will the issue be resolved speedily-amnesty has historically been granted only after prolonged and frequently bitter and divisive debate. But it has generally been the case that the longer an amnesty has been postponed, the more liberal have been its terms.

Amnesty will continue to be sought by political leaders who opposed the American



Anti-Vietnam Demonstration, Washington, 1967.

involvement in Vietnam, by pacifist groups advocating non-participation in all wars, by civil libertarians who believe that conscription is an unjust erosion of individual rights, and by religious organizations preaching forgiveness. American history can comfort these persons to a degree; some form of amnesty probably will be granted in the unspecified future. But whatever form the amnesty takes, it will be no panacea for its beneficiaries unless there is an abrupt departure from historical trends. Any appeal for an immediate, general, and unconditional grant of amnesty on the grounds of historical precedent is not an appeal to fact. It is a resort to historical myth.

#### NOTES

#### 1. Numbers 1:2.

2. US Selective Service, Special Monograph No. 2, in Backgrounds of Selective Service (Washington: GPO, 1947), I. 89.

3. "Amnesty," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1950.

4. Ibid.

5. US Congress, Senate, The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation, Document No. 39, 88th Cong., 1st session, 1964, p. 461.

6. "Amnesty," Encyclopedia Brittanica, 1968.

7. James D. Richardson, ed., Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897 (Washington: GPO, 1907), I, 161-62, 181.

8. Ibid., pp. 289-92, 303, 304.

9. Ibid., p. 425.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 512, 514, 543. 11. Ibid., p. 559. 12. War Department General Order No. 29, 12

June 1830.

13. The Fourteenth Amendment, Section 3: "No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the

45-51. 1923, p. 1. 262-63.

United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability."

14. Jonathan T. Dorris, Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson (Chapel Hill: Univ. of N. C. Press, 1953), p. 387.

15. Ibid., pp. 9-11.

16. Ibid., pp. 6-7.

17. Richardson, VI, 163.

18. Dorris, p. 34.

19. Ibid., p. 63.

20. Ibid., pp. 111-12, 117.

21. John C. Etridge, Amnesty: A Brief Historical Overview, Congressional Reference Service (Washington: GPO, 1972), p. 13.

22. Richardson, VI, 547-49.

23. Dorris, pp. 352-55.

24. Richardson, VI, 708.

25. Dorris, p. 386.

26. US, President, A Compilation of the Messages and Speeches of Theodore Roosevelt, 1901-1905, ed. Alfred H. Lewis (Washington: Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1906), Supplemental Volume,

27. "Coolidge Releases All War Offenders as Christmas Gift," New York Times, 16 December

28. William Preston, Jr., Aliens and Dissenters (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1963), pp.

29. "Grants Amnesty to 100 Deserters," New York Times, 6 March 1924, p. 3.

30. "Roosevelt Proclamation Restores to Citizenship 1,500 Wartime Violators," New York Times, 25 December 1933, p. 1. See also "Proclamation No. 2067," The Statutes at Large of the United States of America (Washington: GPO, 1934), XLVIII, Part 2, 1725-26.

31. "Truman Pardons Ex-convicts Who Served with Merit in War," New York Times. 25 December 1945, p. 1.

32. Anthony Leviero, "President Grants Pardons to 1,523 Who Escape Draft," New York Times, 24 December 1947, p. 1.

33. Ibid.

34. "The Duties of Citizenship," New York Times, 25 December 1947, p. 20.

35. "Truman Yule Plea," New York Times, 25 December 1952, p. 1.

### 17 Sep 74

Charlie,

Excuse the recycled paper. Trying to support the President's energy conservation program!

If you need staff help and will be hiring from outside government instead of transferring within, Ted Weihe, whose papers are attached, would be an asset, I believe. I've known and worked with him for several years.

He's a "Democrat", which you may not be looking for, and a citizen activist, which you may not be looking for, but he served military time during Vietnam in spite of strong feelings against the war, and worked to reform the military, as you will see from the enclosed materials. I think his attempted reforms were aimed in the right direction and had some effect. You can count on him to surface issues but work on the team, **Tethink** 

He's available immediately and doesn't expect any specified term of appointment. Because of special circumstances, he doesn't feel compelled to obtain a "permanent" job.

Jon Hord

COGAT

2.5. He would appreciate return of the news magazine. Actumal to Zon Floyd

#### RESUME OF THEODORE F. WEIHE

WORK OBJECTIVE: Staff position on Clemency Board. Valuable Vietnam era military experience. Authored articles concerning missile corps in <u>Washingtonian Magazine</u> and military publication <u>Family</u>. "...The launch officer has been relegated to a bureaucratic, dehumanizing way of life which leads to demoralization and unreliability in our deterrent force."

January 1974 to August 1974: <u>Political Consultant</u> to Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority, examined political climate of Prince William County towards gaining its membership within the Authority. Also, edited major report for Urban Land Institute.

July 1972 to January 1974: <u>Executive Director</u> (currently President) of Coalition on Optimum Growth, Inc., a non-profit organization for better citizen involvement in land use planning. Duties: all administrative functions; press, public and community relations; speeches and testimony, publication of monthly newsletter, etc.

November 1969 to July 1972: <u>Capitol Hill Reporter</u>, Independent Natural Gas Assn. of America. Legislative aide to former Congressman Walter E. Rogers. Covered Capitol Hill and other Federal agencies for weekly trade publication. Also, prepared press releases and managed press room at annual conventions.

April 1969 to November 1969: <u>Speech Writer/Press Secretary</u>, Virginia gubernatorial candidate and Fairfax Co. Democratic Party.

June 1965 to March 1969: <u>Captain. U.S. Air Force</u>, Minuteman Deputy Missile Combat Crew Commander. Duties: maintain high state of alert readiness and, if ordered, launch Minuteman ICEMs.

Other paid positions: Campaign Director and legislative aide to Virginia State Senator Edward Holland, 1971-72; and reporter (part-time) Globe Newspapers, 1969-70.

EDUCATION: Georgetown University, School of Foreign Service, 1961-65. B.S.F.S. in international affairs (tri-disciplinary studyles in economics, government and history). Graduate work at Central Missouri State in history. Metropolitan Training Institute: Community Development Planning, 1972-73.

AFFILIATIONS: Chairman, Arlington Citizens for Parks, 1972-73; V.P. Ashton Heights Civic Assn., 1974-75; very politically active; member: Committee of 100 and numerous citizen groups.

PERSONAL: Born on July 19, 1943 (31); married; excellent health; references on request. At Armed Services hearings (April 30, 1971) described by Senator Symington as "one of the typical intense but sincere young men of the day."

ADDRESS: 617 N. Kenmore St., Arlington, Virginia 22201 525-5835

Resume of

STEPHEN D. SCHREIBER

 1315 N.Kirkwood Rd.
 Home Address: 265 Wall Street

 Arlington, Va. 22201
 Corning, N.Y. 14830

 703-525-4532
 (607) 962-1388

Single

Age 24

Excellent Health

Education

1971-74 ALBANY LAW SCHOOL, Albany, New York. J.D. degree in June 1974. Member, Law Review. Moot Court Competition. Class Rank: 23/196.

1967-71 COLGATE UNIVERSITY, Hamilton, New York. Bachelor of Arts in History, June 1971. Dean's List final three semesters. Freshman and three years varsity wrestling. Freshman and varsity golf.

R. FORD LIBRATO

Work Experience

Nov. 173- May 174	NEW YORK STATE ASSEMBLY, Albany, New York. Research Assistant, Office of the Counsel to the Speaker of the N.Y.S. Assembly. Part-time work involving research on pending legislation.
Summer 1973	UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, Washington, D.C. Law Clerk, Organized Crime and Racketeering Section of the Criminal Division. Work involved a major research project, and a series of research problems.
Spring 1973	NEW YORK STATE ASSEMBLY, Albany, New York. Clerk in the office of New York State Assemblyman Charles D. Henderson. Part-time work primarily involving constituent relations.
Fall 1972	NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF LAW, Albany, New York Part-time clerk in the Records Department.
Summer 1972	DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE, STEUBEN COUNTY, Bath, New York. Summer Intern. Work involved general research and extensive observations of local criminal courts.
Fall <b>1971</b> & Spring <b>197</b> 2	NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF LAW, Albany, New York. Part-time librarian for the Division of Claims and Litigation.
Summers 1967-71	Greenskeeper. Inventory and other clerical jobs. Traveled abroad.

Personal Background

Interests include competitive golf, reading, sports and structure.

References

Available on Request.

November 12, 1974

Dear Senator Goodell:

Just want to tell you how much I appreciate your speaking with Steve.

He tells me that he was impressed with your advice and comments, and that he has started to follow your suggestions. I am sure they will be very helpful to him.

He so enjoyed meeting you, and I really can't thank you enough for your assistance and consideration.

Most sincerely,

Hope Schreiber

Mrs. Charles L. Schreiber 265 Wall Street Corning, New York 14830

Hon. Charles E. Goodell Hydeman, Mason & Goodell 1225 Nineteenth Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20036

April 10, 19 55000 Dear Senator Goodell Part Goldman tells me that you for the Amerty Board. On her recommendation, I am enclosing a copy of my resume. I an quietly looking around for an opportunity in the Executive Branch to put my administration interests + skill. to work on a larger and more complex scale than maning a House Spice. While the Amnesty Goad is to be short lived, it could present some challenges. If my resume and background appear to fit with your needs, I would appreade

an opportanity to discuss This further. Juncerely, Waring Farting

B. WARING PARTRIDGE, III

2016 - 37th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007 Tel. Off: 202-225-2565 Res: 202-333-7553

PROFESSIONAL OBJECTIVE: Line management position or top staff position with policy and line responsibilities.

EXPERIENCE: Jan. 1975 - present: Administrative Assistant to Congressman Gary A. Myers, Pennsylvania. Recruited entire staff for Washington and three Pennsylvania offices for new Congressman. Established all job descriptions and operating procedures. Responsible for overall operation of staff and offices.

June 1973 - Dec. 1974: Administrative Assistant to Congressman Richard W. Mallary, Vermont. Took over general management and reorganization of Congressional staff. Instituted several procedural and personnel changes. Hired new people for 75% of the staff positions in the first five months. Tripled the size of the professional legislative staff. Developed specific job definitions, office procedures. Implemented a positive control system for all correspondence, incoming and outgoing. Reduced response time by twenty to forty percent and virtually eliminated problem of "lost" or unanswered mail (250 to 2000 first class letters per week incoming). Responsible for budget of two to three hundred thousand dollars and the direct management of a high pressure, volatile staff of about 15 college or graduate school trained individuals.

Sept. - Nov. 1974: <u>Campaign Manager</u>, Vermont U.S. Senate campaign. Assumed overall responsibility for campaign strategy, media, scheduling, organization, personnel and fund raising. Hired staff and created an organization on short notice. Campaign performance raised candidate's standing in the polls up to election day.

Dec. 1972 - June 1973: <u>Congressional District Manager</u>. Replaced, reorganized and enlarged staff of two Congressional offices in Vermont. Instituted new operating procedures to make the Vermont offices compatible with the Washington office. Conducted fifty half-day, highly publicized "mobile office" visits to towns in Vermont, publicly representing the Congressman.

Sept. - Nov. 1972: Executive Secretary of Vermont Republican Party and Executive Director of presidential campaign. General responsibility for state-wide management of campaign operations in Vermont presidential campaign.

Jan. - Aug. 1972: Legislative/Executive Assistant to newly elected Congressman from Vermont. Researched variety of legislative issues, reviewed all issue oriented mail. Developed initial organization of internal and external communication procedures for quick turn around, high volume, client oriented service organization.

Nov. 1971 - Jan. 1972: Assistant to Campaign Manager for Vermont primary and special election congressional campaigns. Supervised and organized volunteer phone bank operations and direct mailings. April - Oct. 1971: established, incorporated and managed small retail/ wholesale enterprise in Washington, D.C.

1967 - Oct. 1971: U.S. Navy, Lieutenant. Awards included Navy Achievement Medal with combat "V", Vietnamese Cross of Gallantry and other general campaign and unit awards. Presently in U.S. Naval Reserve. Active duty included:

Director, Minority Affairs Division, Navy Office of Information, Pentagon. Served as the only Lieutenant, Division Director directly under the Chief of Information. Responsible for press and public relations between Navy and minority communities. Managed active minority press program and represented the Navy at conventions such as the NAACP and the Urban League.

Assistant Public Affairs Officer, U.S. Naval Support Activity, Danang, Vietnam. Supervised twelve to eighteen Navy journalists and photographers. Worked on a daily basis with national and international press representatives in Danang and I Corps. Served as command briefer for visiting senior military and civilian officials. At the time, Danang Naval Support Activity was the largest overseas Naval facility in the world.

Deck Division Officer, aircraft carrier USS Wasp. Supervised forty men. Also public affairs officer following a collision at sea and during a major NATO exercise covered by European and American press.

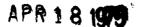
Jan. - June 1967: Designed and conducted a data use survey for the Bureau of the Census and the New Haven Redevelopment Agency. Analyzed source, type and use of demographic data needed by thirty private and governmental agencies.

Sept. 1964 - June 1966: <u>Consultant</u> to College Market Consultants, New York City. Assisted in improving campus promotions of products for several clients.

Jan. 1964 - June 1966: <u>Manager of Yale Student Laundry</u>. Executive Manager and then Chairman of largest business enterprise on campus. Employed several people full time and over a hundred students part time. As Chairman headed a six person board and supervised nine line managers who were selected through sales competition. Negotiated contract for linen rental, laundry and dry cleaning services. Overall gross was a quarter of a million dollars (in 1966 dollars). As Chairman, set salaries and prices and approved all operating procedures. Improved profit in the face of declining sales by controlling costs.

OTHER ACTIVITIES: Write a weekly news commentary column for Vermont newspapers.

- EDUCATION: Yale University, B.A., Economics, 1967 Harvard University, summer courses, 1964 Kent School, Kent, Connecticut, 1962
- MISCELLANEOUS: 1962-67: Student activities including elected student government, a varsity sport (crew) and Navy ROTC 1973: Who's Who in American Politics 1974: Outstanding Young Men in America



#### VASSAR COLLEGE

POUCHKEEPSIE . NEW YORK 12601

April 14, 1975



Hon. Charles B. Goodell Presidencial Clemency Board The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Goodell:

How have you been? I'm busy finishing my first year at Vassar, trying to pull all my academic loose-ends together.

I've also been looking (frantically) for a summer job. Vassar has a free-housing program in Washington, and I am eager to work there this summer. I wrote Steve Martindale, and he informed me that the Presidencial Clemency board may be hiring some people. It sounds like fascinating work, and I would very much like to be a part of it. As I informed Steve, I can type, am generally capable and adaptable, and can be counted on to wear a smile most of the day!

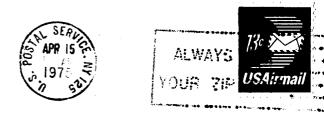
Thank you for your time and consideration.

Best regards,

Margaret Cadoux

Margaret Cadoux Raymond 212

### VASSAR COLLEGE POUCHKEEPSIE · NEW YORK 12601



Hon. Charles B. Goodell Presidencial Clemency Board The White House Washington, D.C. 20005

· Att: Larry Baskir

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April 15, 1975

R. FO

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Dear Ray:

Thank you for your letter of March 26, 1975. I am sorry it did not reach me antil you were scheduled to be in Washington.

As to your plans for the future, I am afraid I can't offer any advice based upon your letter alone. You can apply directly to any agency in which you have an interest whether in Massachusetts or Washington. If you are interested in working in Washington for a short period of time, it is possible we could use you at the Clemency Board.

If you wish to come to Washington, I would be glad to **weak** to you about your future.

With kind regard, I am

Sincerely,

Raymond J. Kimball, Esq. The Superior Court Commonwealth of Massachusetts Boston, Massachusetts 04108 COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS THE SUPERIOR COURT BOSTON 02108

MAR 31 117

582

68 Butler St. Boston, Mass. 02124 March 26, 1975

Charles E. Goodell Chairman, Presidential Amnesty Board White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Goodell:

By this letter I hope to reestablish contact with you and explore how I might offer my services to you and to the Ford Administration. Since interning with your Senate staff during my junior year at Williams College, I hoped that there might be an opportunity to work with you again. In December, 1973, I accepted a one-year clerkship with the Massachusetts Superior Court for 1974-75. This committment precluded my remaining in Washington after graduation from law school during the beginning of the Ford Administration. As the law clerk responsibilities near an end, it seemed appropriate now to contact you.

Briefly, I would be interested in your thoughts on how I might work with the Administration either in Washington or Massachusetts. Having attended George Washington University's National Law Center, I developed special interests in administrative law and intergovernmental relations. My areas of concentration were intergovernmental relations, grants-inaid, and budget policies with Prof. Ralph Nash, supervisor for the Government Contracts and Intergovernmental Relations programs at the Law Center, and communications law with Prof. Jerome Barron, former Dean of Syracuse Law School. I was head of the appellate moot court programs in my senior year at the Law School, and have been law clerk to the Massachusetts Superior Court (the State trial court) this year. Should I remain in Massachusetts rather than returning to Washington, I would be interested in how I might serve the Administration in Massachusetts. I am impressed with the Ford Administration's programs in this difficult first year, and I firmly support the Administration's goals and approach to governing the Nation. I would look forward to meeting with you in Washington at your convenience. I will be visiting Washington next Thursday, April 3, through Saturday. April 5, but would return to Washington at any time. I will call your office next week, and would be pleased to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Canzima

Raymond J. Kimball, Esq.

Raymond J. Kimball COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS THE SUPERIOR COURT BOSTON 02108

4, 5 - 245 M





Charles E. Goodell Chairman, Presidential Amnesty Board White House- 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. Washington, D.C.



April 15, 1975

Dear Vinny:

In response to your letter of March 28, 1975, I would be glad to try to be of assistance in Washington should you decide to come down here. It is possible that I might even be able to provide you two or three months interim employment on the Clemency Board staff while you look at other prospects. We now have close to 19,000 cases which must be disposed of by September. That means our big pressure will be in May, June and July.

If you wish to proved immediately, I would suggest you give me a ring and we can talk about it.

Give my best to Betsy, and I wish her lots of luck onhhere application to G eorgetown Law School. Also, of course, give my warmest regards to your mother.

With kind regard, I am

Sincerely,

Vincent L. Morgan, Esq. 94 Warren Avenue New York, N.Y. 14217

94 Warren Avenue Kenmore, New York 14217 March 28, 1975

Charles Goodell, Esq. Hydeman, Mason & Goodell 1225 Nineteenth Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Charles,

Fran has probably told you of my charming wife's endeavor to enter the field of law. To this end she has scored a 736 on the Law School Aptitude Test and that, along with her excellent undergraduate record, assures her acceptance by a law school. In fact, Buffalo already has accepted her.

Betsy's other application was to the Georgetown Law School and we are fairly certain she will be admitted despite the tardiness of her application.

With that expectation, and in light of our growing dissatisfaction with practice in Buffalo, we are very interested in coming to the Washington, D.C. area. Therefore, we seek your assistance in directing me to a position of some kind in Washington. I am as equally interested in government and politics as I am in law practice and therefore my sights are not necessarily set on a position with a firm. To be more specific, prison reform and the plight of Indians interest me a great deal. Similarly so with media journalism and international law and diplomacy. If you would like a copy of my resume, please let me know.

I hope this letter finds you in good health - and me a job. We send our regards and hope to hear from you soon.

> Sincerely, Vincent L. Morgan

May 1, 1975

Dear Sherry:

Thank you very much for sending along the material on Chuck Bigler.

The Clemency Board is hiring only lawyers, but I shall certainly pass this along to the person hiring to see if the staff can use someone with his qualifications.

I was very sorry to hear of your personal problems and certainly hope things do settle down for you shortly.

With warm regard, I am

Sincerely,

Charles E. Goodell

QTVN

Mr. Sherwood L. Boehlert 1527 Longworth House Office Building Washington, D. C. 20515 COMMITTEE: APPROPRIATIONS

SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS

# Congress of the United States

WASHINGTON OFFICE: 2202 RAYBURN OFFICE BUILDING 20515 AREA CODE 202 225-3731

DISTRICT OFFICE: Northeastern National Bank Building Scranton, Pennsylvania 18303 Diamond 6-3834

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

July 9, 1975

Mr. Charles Goodell 2033 "M" Street N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Goodell:

It was interesting to hear your talk at a recent Ripon Society meeting, and to learn of the work you have been doing since returning to Washington, D.C. You will remember me as the one who interviewed you for the <u>Jaws of Victory</u> by the Ripon Society about two years ago.

I have been working for Rep. Joseph M. McDade, R--Pennsylvania in a research/legislative asst. capacity, and seek to enhance myself in government. I am writing you to see if you know of any positions for which I might qualify. The work I have been doing has been complementary with my writing experience, and I find being on the inside of government to be quite satisfying. Mr. McDade is aware of my desire and will write me letters of recommendation. I have included my resume for your perusal.

As a result of my work on the Jaws of Victory, I was hired by Dr. Herbert E. Alexander to edit and write his Financing the 1972 Election. Dr. Alexander is the nation's foremost expert on campaign financing. After completing my work on the book, my new bride and I moved to Arlington, and I began working with Mr. McDade.

I thank you for your consideration, and if you wish further information or letters of recommendation you have only to write or call me at Mr. McDade's office.

Sincerely,

Richard Mitykeman

Richard M. Dykeman



DYKEMAN, Richard Mills 845 South Ivy Street Arlington, Virginia 22204 HOME: (703) 521-5995 MESSAGE: (202) 225-3731

- PERSONAL: Age 32; born January 3, 1943, Seattle, Washington; married to Winnifred Saroch Dykeman; eyes, blue; hair, brown; height, 5'9", weight, 155 pounds.
- EDUCATION: Chief Sealth High School, Seattle, college prep, 2.9 GPA; Graduated from University of Washington, Seattle, 1971; Bachelor of Arts Political Science and Journalism, 2.5 GPA; Highline Community College, 1965-68, part-time; 1968-69 fulltime. 3.5 GPA. Seattle Pacific College, 1961-62.

MILITARY: 1-Y, Physical (condition corrected by surgery, 1971)

EXPERIENCE:

- 5/74 to 1/75 Citizen's Research Foundation, 245 Nassau St., Princeton, N.J. Writing, editing and researching the fourth in a series FINANCING THE 1972 ELECTION, for Dr. Herbert Alexander, Director (the nation's foremost authority on campaign finance). The book explores and analyzes the financial aspects of the 1972 election; will be published by Heath Lexington. Duties included: writing, editing, boiling down, research and some production details. Supervised one research assistant. I still consult on the project.
- 10/74 to present: Ralph Packman and Associates, Public Relations, 1918 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa; Freelance edit small health related magazine for Washington, D.C. based association; 135% increase in renewal rates since taking over magazine that was losing before.
- 1/73 to 6/73 THE JAWS OF VICTORY by Clifford W. Brown, published by Little Brown, Boston, June 1974. Researched and wrote several sections of the book, which was favorably reviewed in several publi cations including New York Times Book Review. Specialized in impact of the business community on the political system.
- 12/73 to 4/74 Returned to Seattle to administrate problems resulting from deaths in the family. Worked part-time for Schick Laboratories, Inc., as a smoking therapist, while supervising the relocation of three relatives, repairing and selling real estate.
- 6/73 to 11/73 Freelance writer:, for Stanford Sobel, New York City, industrial movie maker and writer; Brace, Harcourt & Javonavich, DRIVE-IN FAST FOOD Magazine, New York City; Bruce D. Johnson, Ph.D., Manhattanville College, 250 West 94th, NYC, research assistant and writer, drug

**Richard M.** Dykeman **RESUME** page 2

research published in several drug and narcotic journals.

- 9/72 to 5/73 Editor for Boat Owners Assn. of the United States, a subsidiary of AAA; edited and wrote newsletter, news releases and general promotional material; and other administrative duties, including being in charge of the booth at the 1973 Annapolis Boat Show.
- 8/72 Moved east from Seattle to Washington, D.C.
- 7/71 to 8/72 Several editorial capacities, but was forced to move around frequently because of adverse employment situation in Seattle, and because of corrective surgery. Jobs included; reporter, Longview Daily News; news writer, KIRO Television; and administration and PR for Schick Laboratories, Inc. (Schick rehired me when I was in Seattle settling family business.)

Freelanced for Seattle Times, Seattle Post Intelligencer, Associated Press, Tacoma News Tribune and Portland Oregonian.

10/69 to 8/72 Reporter and News Editor for U of W DAILY; part-time U of W Public Relations Dept.; Set-up PR effort for student group who spent Spring, 1970 in Washington, D.C.; wrote for the above dailies and eight weeklies.

> Pre-race publicity, promotion and handled the pess shack on race day for 1970 running of Trans-America Road Race at Seattle International Raceways, Kent, Washington.

Advance work and publicity for Walter Hickel's party, at a banquet speech in his honor, Seattle, 1971.

Sports Editor and writer for Seattle weeklies: Highline Times, White Center News, West Seattle Herald, Des Moines News and Federal Way News.

8/69 Quit work to return to school.

1/65 to 8/69 Electronic Draftsman, The Boeing Airplane Co., Kent, Washington.

AWARDS & ACTIVITIES:

Toastmasters; church work; Who's Who in American Junior Colleges; Outstanding Journalism Award; Scholarship from church.

GSA FORM 43 (4 PART) Jan. 1970 COMMUNICATIONS CONTROL SLIP	<sup>дате</sup> 6 <b>/5</b>	<b>B</b> -143603
FROM		

#### Steven Foote

#### SUBJECT

## applicant for job with Sen. Goodell

PREPARE REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF

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DATE	DATE	DATE	DATE
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REPLY DUE	REPLY DISPATCHED	FILE DESIGNATION	
STAFF OR SERVICE MAIL	<u> </u>	2	FOLLOW-UP COPY 2

# 111N 6 1975

4629 Roundhill Road Ellicott City, Maryland 21043

June 5, 1975

Charles E. Goodell Room 461 Old Executive Office Building Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Senator Goodell:

Several years ago, a secure 38th District Congressman on a brief campaign stop in Fredonia asked me, a "grass roots" worker, what my career objectives were. I told him that I aspired to a career in the (Actually, I really wanted his job!) He told me that if Congress. he could ever be of assistance . . . etc. . .

Much has changed since that time--certainly more dramatically for you than for me. Fortunately, you have been "vindicated" and the purge was temporary--something I am personally pleased to see.

As I did many times in the past, I am calling on you again--this time for assistance in helping me realize my near life-long ambition of a Washington career. I fully realize that the elector-electee relationship no longer exists and I will fully understand if nothing comes of this.

What can I do well enough to make me confident that I am worthy of your consideration? I am especially competent in administrative work of the type required of a good executive assistant or aide. I am experienced in PR, Speech and Report-writing and Liaison functions. In way of a general summary, a brief resume is enclosed for your review.

I would sincerely appreciate any help, guidance or direction you may be able to offer. I can be available at any time to discuss any thoughts you may have.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely yours

Steven P. Foote

enclosure

## STEVEN P. FOOTE

	ndhill Road City, Maryland	21043		Telephone:		(301)547-4943 (301)461-9207
Married		2	Children	6'2'	14	190 lbs.
Health:	Excellent			Bori	n: Febi	ruary 17, 1944

EXPERIENCE: 1973-Present: Executive Assistant to the Director of the Trust Division, Equitable Trust Company, Baltimore. I handle the administrative, corporate planning, policy development and personnel functions of the 186-employee Division and I am the primary financial officer, including budget responsibility, for the \$2 Billion in assets organization.

> 1971-1973: CHIEF of Administrative Support Division for the Army Special Research Detachment at the National Security Agency. In addition to handling all administrative and financial activities of the 60 man unit, I developed an automated information repository for analyst use world-wide. Supervised a staff of 10.

1970-1971: Deputy Senior Intelligence Advisor to a Vietnamese Infantry Division. Edited a daily comprehensive intelligence report for use at the highest Army levels in Vietnam. Supervised 12.

1969-1970: Staff Coordinator for the Commander-in-Chief U.S. Army Europe in U.S. Dealings with the Soviet Military Liaison Mission, West Germany.

EDUCATION: GRADUATE: MBA Candidate, evening school. Will receive degree in August 1975. President of MBA Association.

UNDERGRADUATE: BA in Political Science and Economics, State University of New York.

ADDITIONAL

EXPERIENCE: Consultant for the Small Business Administration. Charter member of Baltimore Chapter of the Active Corp of Executives (ACE). Creative Consultant to a Baltimore TV series.

REFERENCES: Available upon request.

4629 Roundhill Road Ellicott City, Maryland 210,43

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PERSONAL

Charles E. Goodell Room 461 Old Executive Office Building Washington, D. C. 20500