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THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF

PhD Thesis Submitted To
THE UNIVERSITY OF KEELE

VOLUME III

S BENN SUMMER 1983

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THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF

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AGGREGATE REPORT ON PERSONNEL

The White House FY 1979

The following is a facsimile copy of the first official report ever issued to the Congress by any President on the subject of his White House staff. This historic first ever report was transmitted on behalf of President Carter in pursuance of Public Law 95-570 (see Appendix 7.2).

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

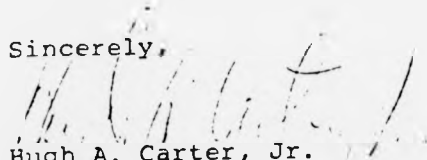
November 29, 1979

2942

Dear Mr. Speaker:

On behalf of the President, pursuant to Section 113 of Title 3, United States Code, I hereby transmit the following information concerning personnel employed in the White House Office, the Executive Residence at the White House, the Office of the Vice President, the Domestic Policy Staff, and the Office of Administration, as shown on the attached reports. These reports are being made available to the public.

Sincerely,


Hugh A. Carter, Jr.
Special Assistant
to the President
for Administration

The Honorable Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
Speaker of the
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

RECEIVED
NOV 30 1979

AGGREGATE REPORT ON PERSONNEL
PURSUANT TO TITLE 3,
UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 113

For the Fiscal Year 1979

Pursuant to Title 3, United States Code 113 the White House Office, the Executive Residence at the White House, the Office of the Vice President, the Domestic Policy Staff and the Office of Administration ("Reporting Offices") must report data on the total number of employees who were at any time employed in these offices during fiscal year 1979.

In accordance with that section, the following data are submitted:

(1) the number of employees who were paid at a rate of basic pay equal to or greater than the rate of basic pay then currently paid for level V of the Executive Schedule of section 5316 of title 5 and who were employed by the reporting offices at any time during the fiscal year, and the aggregate amount paid to such employees:

<u>Reporting Office</u>	<u>Cumulative Number of Individuals Covered</u>	<u>Total Compensation Paid</u>
White House Office	44*	\$1,642,000
Executive Residence	1	\$ 5,481
Office of the Vice President	7	\$ 380,496
Domestic Policy Staff	3	\$ 150,634
Office of Administration	<u>6</u>	<u>\$ 251,030</u>
TOTAL	61	\$2,429,641

* This cumulative number covers all individuals including the turnover who occupied positions in this category regardless of length of service during this 12-month period. The statute permits 50 such employees at any given time with no limit on the cumulative total.

(2) the number of employees employed at any time during the fiscal year by the reporting offices who were paid at a rate of basic pay which is equal to or greater than the minimum rate of basic pay then currently paid for GS-16 of the General Schedule of section 5332 of title 5 but which is less than the rate then currently paid for level V of the Executive Schedule of section 5316 of title 5 and the aggregate amount paid to such employees:

<u>Reporting Office</u>	<u>Cumulative Number of Individuals Covered</u>	<u>Total Compensation Paid</u>
White House Office	32*	\$1,270,257
Executive Residence	--	--
Office of the Vice President	1	\$ 44,997
Domestic Policy Staff	10	\$ 471,887
Office of Administration	<u>2</u>	<u>\$ 59,390</u>
TOTAL	45	\$1,846,531

* This cumulative number covers all individuals including the turnover who occupied positions in this category regardless of length of service during this 12-month period. The statute permits 50 such employees at any given time with no limit on the cumulative total.

(3) the number of employees employed at any time during the fiscal year by the reporting offices who were paid at a rate of basic pay which is less than the minimum rate then currently paid for GS-16 of the General Schedule of section 5332 of title 5, and the aggregate amount paid to such employees:

<u>Reporting Office</u>	<u>Cumulative* Number of Individuals Covered</u>	<u>Total Compensation Paid</u>
White House Office	402	\$ 6,960,605
Executive Residence	97	\$ 1,621,232
Office of the Vice President	19	\$ 337,945
Domestic Policy Staff	44	\$ 983,345
Office of Administration	<u>165</u>	<u>\$ 2,682,162</u>
TOTAL	727	\$12,585,289

* This cumulative number covers all individuals including the turnover who occupied positions in this category regardless of length of service during this 12-month period.

In addition, the White House Office employed 62 different individuals as part-time or intermittent clerical personnel to meet periodic peak workloads. Total compensation paid was \$266,293.

(4) the number of individuals detailed under section 112 of this title for more than 30 days to each such office, the number of days in excess of 30 each individual was detailed, and the aggregate amount of reimbursement made as provided by the provisions of section 112 of this title:

<u>Reporting Office</u>	<u>Cumulative Number of Individuals Covered</u>	<u>Number of Days in Excess of 30</u>	<u>Total Reimbursement</u>
White House Office	44	Attachment A	\$ 88,363
Executive Residence	--	--	--
Office of the Vice President	3	See Attachment A	\$ 1,248
Domestic Policy Staff	14	See Attachment A	\$ 30,000
Office of Administration	<u>75</u>	See Attachment A	<u>\$ 2,094</u>
TOTAL	136		\$121,705

(5) the number of individuals whose services as experts or consultants were procured under this chapter for service in the reporting offices, the total number of days employed, and the aggregate amount paid to procure such services.

<u>Reporting Office</u>	<u>Cumulative Number of Individuals Covered</u>	<u>Total Number of Days Worked</u>	<u>Total Compensation Paid</u>
White House Office	6	193	\$33,925
Executive Residence	2	3	\$ 246
Office of the Vice President	5	34	\$ 4,369
Domestic Policy Staff	3	437.5	\$42,315
Office of Administration	<u>3</u>	<u>6.5</u>	<u>\$ 1,080</u>
TOTAL	19	674	\$81,935

In addition, the White House Office made periodic use of 68 different individuals for brief assignments of several days each to work on arrangements associated with official trips. These individuals worked a total of 677 days and total compensation paid was \$39,731.

The White House Office also obtained the services of four experts who served as consultants without compensation. These individuals worked a total of 78 days.

The Executive Residence obtained the services of 63 individuals for intermittent work at official events such as dinners for visiting Heads of State. These individuals worked a total of 1,611 days and total compensation paid was \$56,574.

The Office of the Vice President obtained services of individuals to assist in arrangements for official travel. Forty of these individuals worked without compensation for 133 days. Fourteen individuals worked for 81 days and total compensation paid was \$5,325.

APPENDIX 3.1

The following is an extract from:

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
Executive Order No. 8248 8th September 1939

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and Statutes, and in order to effectuate the purposes of the Reorganization Act of 1939....by organizing the Executive Office of the President with functions and duties so prescribed and responsibilities so fixed that the President will have adequate machinery for the administrative management of the Executive Branch of the Government, it is hereby ordered as follows:

I

There shall be within the Executive Office of the President the following principal divisions, namely: (1) The White House Office, (2) the Bureau of the Budget, (3) the National Resources Planning Board, (4) the Liaison Office for Personnel Management, (5) the Office of Government Reports, and (6) in the event of a national emergency, or threat of a national emergency, such office for emergency management as the President shall determine.

II

The functions and duties of the divisions of the Executive Office of the President are hereby defined as follows:

1. The White House Office

In general, to serve the President in an intimate capacity in the performance of the many detailed activities incident to his immediate office. To that end, The White House Office shall be composed of the following principal subdivisions, with particular functions and duties as indicated:

- (a) The Secretaries to the President - To facilitate and maintain quick and easy communication with the Congress, the individual members of the Congress, the heads of the executive departments and agencies, the press, radio, and the general public.
- (b) The Executive Clerk - To provide for the orderly handling of documents and correspondence within The White House Office, and to organize and supervise all clerical services and procedure relating thereto.
- (c) The Administrative Assistants to the President - To assist the President in such matters as he may direct, and at the specified request of the President, to get information and to condense and summarize it for his use. These Administrative Assistants shall be personal aides to the President and shall have no authority over anyone in any department or agency, including the Executive Office of the President, other than the personnel assigned to their immediate office. In no event shall the Administrative Assistants be interposed between the President and the head of any department or agency, or between the President and any one of the divisions in the Executive Office of the President.....

4. The Liaison Office for Personnel Management

In accordance with the statement of purpose made in the message to Congress of April 25, 1939, accompanying Reorganization Plan No. 1, one of the Administrative Assistants to the President...shall be designated by the President as Liaison Officer for Personnel Management and shall be in charge of the Liaison Office for Personnel Management. The functions of this office shall be:

- (a) To assist the President in the better execution of the duties imposed upon him by the provisions of the Constitution and the laws with respect to personnel management.....
- (b) To assist the President in maintaining closer contact with all agencies dealing with personnel matters insofar as they affect or tend to determine the personnel management policies of the Executive Branch of the Government.....

IV

...The President will prescribe regulations governing the conduct of the business of the division of The White House Office....

VI

Space already has been assigned in the State, War and Navy Building, adjacent to The White House, sufficient to accommodate...the Liaison Office for Personnel Management, and the Administrative Assistants to the President, and...if and when the Congress makes provision...it then will be possible to bring into this building, close to The White House, all of the personnel of the Executive Office of the President except The White House Office.

This Order shall take effect on September 11, 1939.

Source: The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1939).

The following is an extract from:

THE REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGEMENT 1937

1. THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF

In this broad program of administrative reorganization the White House itself is involved. The President needs help. His immediate staff assistance is entirely inadequate. He should be given a small number of executive assistants who would be his direct aides in dealing with the managerial agencies and administrative departments of the Government. These assistants, probably not exceeding six in number, would be in addition to his present secretaries, who deal with the public, with the Congress, and with the press and the radio. These aides would have no power to make decisions or issue instructions in their own right. They would not be interposed between the President and the heads of his departments. They would not be assistant presidents in any sense. Their function would be, when any matter was presented to the President for action affecting any part of the administrative work of the Government, to assist him in obtaining quickly and without delay all pertinent information possessed by any of the executive departments so as to guide him in making his responsible decisions; and then when decisions have been made, to assist him in seeing to it that every administrative department and agency affected is promptly informed. Their effectiveness in assisting the President will, we think, be directly proportional to their ability to discharge their functions with restraint. They would remain in the

background, issue no orders, make no decisions, emit no public statements. Men for these positions should be carefully chosen by the President from within and without the Government. They should be men in whom the President has personal confidence and whose character and attitude is such that they would not attempt to exercise power on their own account. They should be possessed of high competence, great physical vigor, and a passion for anonymity. They should be installed in the White House itself, directly accessible to the President. In the selection of these aides the President should be free to call on departments from time to time for the assignment of persons who, after a tour of duty as his aides, might be restored to their old positions.

This recommendation arises from the growing complexity and magnitude of the work of the President's office. Special assistance is needed to insure that all matters coming to the attention of the President have been examined from the over-all managerial point of view, as well as from all standpoints that would bear on policy and operation. It also would facilitate the flow upward to the President of information upon which he is to base his decisions and the flow downward from the President of the decisions once taken for execution by the department or departments affected. Thus

such a staff would not only aid the President but would also be of great assistance to the several executive departments and to the managerial agencies in simplifying executive contacts, clearance, and guidance.

The President should also have at his command a contingent fund to enable him to bring in from time to time particular persons possessed of particular competency for a particular purpose and whose services he might usefully employ for short periods of time.

The President in his regular office staff should be given a greater number of positions so that he will not be compelled, as he has been compelled in the past, to use for his own necessary work persons carried on the pay rolls of other departments.

If the President be thus equipped he will have but the ordinary assistance that any executive of a large establishment is afforded as a matter of course.

In addition to this assistance in his own office the President must be given direct control over and be charged with immediate responsibility for the great managerial functions of the Government which affect all of the administrative departments, as is outlined in the following sections of this report. These functions are personnel management, fiscal and organizational management, and planning management. Within these three groups may be comprehended all of the essential elements of business management.

The development of administrative management in the Federal Government requires the improvement of the administration of these managerial activities, not only by the central agencies in charge, but also by the departments and bureaus. The central agencies need to be strengthened and developed as managerial arms of the Chief Executive, better equipped to

perform their central responsibilities and to provide the necessary leadership in bringing about improved practices throughout the Government.

The three managerial agencies, the Civil Service Administration, the Bureau of the Budget, and the National Resources Board should be a part and parcel of the Executive Office. Thus the President would have reporting to him directly the three managerial institutions whose work and activities would affect all of the administrative departments.

The budgets for the managerial agencies should be submitted to the Congress by the President as a part of the budget for the Executive Office. This would distinguish these agencies from the operating administrative departments of the Government, which should report to the President through the heads of departments who collectively compose his Cabinet. Such an arrangement would materially aid the President in his work of supervising the administrative agencies and would enable the Congress and the people to hold him to strict accountability for their conduct.

The following three sections deal with these managerial functions, namely, personnel management, fiscal management, and planning management, and contain recommendations for their development.

NUMBERS OF WHITE HOUSE STAFF 1939-1976

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE (Official Staff)

(1) Commissioned (political) Staff

- (a) U.S. Government Organization Manual
- (b) Congressional Directory
- (c) Congressional Staff Directory

(2) Ungraded (political) Staff

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix

(3) Budgeted (political and support) Staff

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix
- (b) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)
- (c) Congressional Record (1978)

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE (Detailed Staff)

(4) Detailed (political and support) Staff

- (a) Congressional Appropriations Subcommittees (1973)
- (b) Library of Congress (1973)
- (c) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)
- (d) Congressional Record (1978)

SPECIAL PROJECTS (Official Staff)

(5) Budgeted (political and support) Staff

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix
- (b) U.S. Budget Appendix (1978)
- (c) Congressional Record (1978)

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE AND SPECIAL PROJECTS

(6) Budgeted (political and support) Staff

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix (1973)
- (b) Library of Congress (1973)
- (c) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)
- (d) Congressional Record (1978)

THE NSC AND THE DOMESTIC COUNCIL

(7) Budgeted (political and support) Staff

- (a) NSC Staff: U.S. Budget Appendix
- (b) DC Staff: U.S. Budget Appendix

(8) Detailed (political and support) Staff

- (a) NSC Staff: Appropriations Subcommittees
- (b) DC Staff: Appropriations Subcommittees

(9) Budgeted and Detailed (combined) Staff

- (a) NSC/DC Staff: USBA/CASubC

NUMBERS OF WHITE HOUSE STAFF (Combined Totals)

	Roosevelt										Truman										
	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	
(1) Commissioned (political) Staff																					
(2) Ungraded (political) Staff																					
(3) Budgeted (political and support) Staff																					
(4) Detailed (political and support) Staff																					
(5) Budgeted (political and support) Staff																					
(6) Budgeted (political and support) Staff																					
(7) Budgeted (political and support) Staff																					
(8) Detailed (political and support) Staff																					
(9) Budgeted and Detailed (combined) Staff																					
NUMBERS OF WHITE HOUSE STAFF (Combined Totals)																					
(10) The White House Office (Actual Manpower)																					
(a) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)																					
(11) The White House Staff (Real Total)																					
(a) Congressional Record (1978)																					
(12) The White House Staff (Budgeted Total (1))																					
(a) U.S. Budget Appendix																					
(13) The White House Staff (Budgeted Total (2))																					
(a) U.S. Budget Appendix																					
(14) The White House Staff (Combination Total)																					
(a) Combined Sources																					

NUMBERS OF WHITE HOUSE STAFF 1939-1976

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE (Official Staff)

(1) Commissioned (political) Staff

- (a) U.S. Government Organization Manual
- (b) Congressional Directory
- (c) Congressional Staff Directory

(2) Ungraded (political) Staff

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix

- (3) Budgeted (political and support) Staff
 - (a) U.S. Budget Appendix (1978)
 - (b) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)
 - (c) Congressional Record (1978)

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE (Detailed Staff)

- (4) Detailed (political and support) Staff
 - (a) Congressional Appropriations Subcommittees (1973)
 - (b) Library of Congress (1978)
 - (c) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)
 - (d) Congressional Record (1978)

SPECIAL PROJECTS (Official Staff)

- (5) Budgeted (political and support) Staff
 - (a) U.S. Budget Appendix
 - (b) U.S. Budget Appendix (1978)
 - (c) Congressional Record (1978)

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE AND SPECIAL PROJECTS

- (6) Budgeted (political and support) Staff
 - (a) U.S. Budget Appendix (1973)
 - (b) Library of Congress (1978)
 - (c) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)
 - (d) Congressional Record (1978)

THE NSC AND THE DOMESTIC COUNCIL

- (7) Budgeted (political and support) Staff
 - (a) NSC Staff: U.S. Budget Appendix
 - (b) DC Staff: U.S. Budget Appendix

(8) Detailed (political and support) Staff

- (a) NSC Staff: Appropriations Subcommittees
- (b) DC Staff: Appropriations Subcommittees

(9) Budgeted and Detailed (combined) Staff

- (a) NSC/DC Staff: USBA/CASubC

NUMBERS OF WHITE HOUSE STAFF (Combined Totals)

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
(10) The White House Office (Actual Manpower)	243	313	246	248	247	262	366	372	399
(a) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)									
(11) The White House Staff (Real Total)	246	248	287	283	290	273	300	392	423
(a) Congressional Record (1978)									
(12) The White House Staff (Budgeted Total (1))	236	240	275	273	285	277	298	394	411
(a) U.S. Budget Appendix									
(13) The White House Staff (Budgeted Total (2))	272	263	277	290	314	279	300	399	412
(a) U.S. Budget Appendix									
(14) The White House Staff (Combination Total)	298	288	317	321	342	302	341	505	531
(a) Combined Sources									

Truman ----- Eisenhower

NUMBERS OF WHITE HOUSE STAFF 1939-1976

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE (Official Staff)

(1) Commissioned (political) Staff

- (a) U.S. Government Organization Manual
(b) Congressional Directory
(c) Congressional Staff Directory

(2) Ungraded (political) Staff

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix

(3) Budgeted (political and support) Staff

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix
(b) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)
(c) Congressional Record (1978)

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE (Detailed Staff)

(4) Detailed (political and support) Staff

- (a) Congressional Appropriations Subcommittees
(b) Library of Congress (1973)
(c) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)
(d) Congressional Record (1978)

SPECIAL PROJECTS (Official Staff)

(5) Budgeted (political and support) Staff

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix
(b) U.S. Budget Appendix (1978)
(c) Congressional Record (1978)

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE AND SPECIAL PROJECTS

(6) Budgeted (political and support) Staff

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix (1973)
(b) Library of Congress (1973)
(c) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)
(d) Congressional Record (1978)

THE NSC AND THE DOMESTIC COUNCIL

(7) Budgeted (political and support) Staff

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(8) Detailed (political and support) Staff

- (a) NSC Staff: Appropriations Subcommittees
(b) DC Staff: Appropriations Subcommittees

(9) Budgeted and Detailed (combined) Staff

- (a) NSC/DC Staff: USBA/CASUDC

NUMBERS OF WHITE HOUSE STAFF (Combined Totals)

(10) The White House Office (Actual Manpower)

- (a) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)

(11) The White House Staff (Real Total)

- (a) Congressional Record (1978)

(12) The White House Staff (Budgeted Total (1))

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix

(13) The White House Staff (Budgeted Total (2))

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix

(14) The White House Staff (Combination Total)

- (a) Combined Sources

	Eisenhower		Kennedy		Johnson				
	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
A	47	49	49	29	26	28	29	25	26
B	49	46	50	29	26	26	30	24	24
C	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	22	25
D	11	12	11	10	10	10	10	9	9
E	277	282	276	276	282	279	278	262	266
F	270	275	268	270	273	270	270	255	255
G	272	275	275	270	253	270	270	255	255
H	NA	NA	NA	134	123	111	125	154	219
I	122	130	174	138	194	118	79	78	40
J	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
K	51	31	33	134	123	111	125	154	219
L	114	124	166	143	206	134	NA	NA	NA
M	114	120	120	115	150	105	105	111d	111d
N	80	79	80	72	56	48	36	39	1
O									
P	393	404	445	409	467	388	360	354	323
Q	394	405	446	411	467	388	349	333	285
R	395	408	446	411	467	388	349	333	285
S	352	354	355	342	309	318	306	294	256
T	77	78	76	75	47	48	50	50	50
U	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
V	77	78	76	75	47	48	50	50	50
W	395	406	416	439	338	376	328	292	270
X	403	385	388	476	432	429	431	448	475
Y	447	457	458	458	438	396	401	392m	360m
Z	408	484	518	494	535	461	433n	423n	427n
	590	614	692	632	729	579	558o	577o	646o

NUMBERS OF WHITE HOUSE STAFF 1939-1976

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE (Official Staff)

(1) Commissioned (political) Staff

- (a) U.S. Government Organization Manual
- (b) Congressional Directory
- (c) Congressional Staff Directory

(2) Ungraded (political) Staff

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix

- (3) Budgeted (political and support) Staff
 - (a) U.S. Budget Appendix
 - (b) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)
 - (c) Congressional Record (1978)

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE (Detailed Staff)

(4) Detailed (political and support) Staff

- (a) Congressional Appropriations Subcommittees
- (b) Library of Congress (1973)
- (c) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)
- (d) Congressional Record (1978)

SPECIAL PROJECTS (Official Staff)

(5) Budgeted (political and support) Staff

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix
- (b) U.S. Budget Appendix (1978)
- (c) Congressional Record (1978)

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE AND SPECIAL PROJECTS

(6) Budgeted (political and support) Staff

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix
- (b) Library of Congress (1973)
- (c) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)
- (d) Congressional Record (1978)

THE NSC AND THE DOMESTIC COUNCIL

(7) Budgeted (political and support) Staff

- (a) NSC Staff: U.S. Budget Appendix
- (b) DC Staff: U.S. Budget Appendix

(8) Detailed (political and support) Staff

- (a) NSC Staff: Appropriations Subcommittees
- (b) DC Staff: Appropriations Subcommittees

(9) Budgeted and Detailed (combined) Staff

- (a) NSC/DC Staff: USBA/CASUBC

NUMBERS OF WHITE HOUSE STAFF (Combined Totals)

(10) The White House Office (Actual Manpower)

- (a) U.S. Civil Service Commission (1978)

(11) The White House Staff (Real Total)

- (a) Congressional Record (1978)

(12) The White House Staff (Budgeted Total (1))

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix

(13) The White House Staff (Budgeted Total (2))

- (a) U.S. Budget Appendix

(14) The White House Staff (Combination Total)

- (a) Combined Sources

	Johnson	Nixon	Ford							
	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976 ¹
A	26	27	46	57	50	53	43	-h	47	65
B	26	24	42	219	46	53	41	52	64	61
C	25	24	43	33	48	53	39	53		
D	7	7	3	3	67	76	96	94	128P	93P
E	261	260	255	252	538	544	525	519	548	515*
F	250	250	250	250	533	540	510	505	553	500*
G	250	250	250	250	533	540	510	505	533	500*
H	246	206	232	273	15	22	36	52 ¹	44	45
I	82	23	78	81	67	-	-	-	-	-
J	NA	NA	NA	273	15	12	22	34	27	27
K	246	206	232	287	17	34	24	47	27	25
L	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	-	-
M	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	-	-
N	1	0	64	95	22	10	-14 ¹	1	-	-
O										
P	255	202	220	210	530	519	510	500	529	500*
Q	272	273	328	331	600	-	-	-	-	-
R	271	281	337	491	583	583	524	580	525	534
S	251	250	314	345	555	550	488	508	533	474
T	48	49	48	77	72	76	85	87	80	82*
U	-	-	-	61	52	80	81	31	35	45
V	48	49	86	196	176	209	222	160	160	182*
W	271	261	337	491	583	583	524	560	525	534
X	497	458	546	632	572	584	520	553	580	489
Y	284	240	258	323	634	648	643	611	653	613*
Z	309	309	303	390	662	700	691	637	663	640*
	555	515	535	735	781	787	783	741	762	740

APPENDIX 4.1

This Appendix presents annual figures for the numbers of White House Staff for the years 1939 to 1976, broken down into the various constituent categories of staff as given in Chapter I and examined in Chapter IV.

The fourteen listed categories of information on the numbers of White House Staff are not all mutually exclusive; in many cases they overlap one with another. The presentation of this Appendix is largely determined by the form in which all the publicly available information has been produced. Under six broad headings the fourteen sub-headings each list the source(s) from which the information on staff numbers has been obtained. The subsequent notes provide a more detailed guide as to the exact basis upon which the figures are given.

Completely reliable and comprehensive figures for the numbers of White House Staff will never be known; in many cases they were never officially kept. This Appendix can do no more than to accurately represent the most comprehensive picture of the size of the White House Staff as it is possible to obtain based upon the information made publicly available.

The White House Staff (Combination Total) presents a synthesis of published information, although its interpretation remains subject to the qualifications and reservations about available sources discussed in Chapter I and in the following notes.

- A Numbers of staff listed in the annual (and, between 1940 and 1946, biannual) publications under the heading "The White House Office". These figures include, each year, a small number of non-political staff members.
- B Numbers of staff listed in the annual (and, between 1940 and 1948, biannual) publications under the heading "The White House Office". These figures include, each year, a small number of non-political staff members.
- C Numbers of staff listed in the annual publications under the heading "The White House Office". These figures include, each year, a small number of non-political staff members.
- D Numbers of staff listed in U.S. Budget Appendices under the heading "Ungraded" personnel.
- E Figures given for the years 1939-1950 are those for "Total Number of Permanent Positions". Figures for 1951-1976 are a combination of "Total Number of Permanent Positions" and "Full-time Equivalent of Other Positions".
- F Figures published by the U.S. Civil Service Commission (in 1978) were those given in U.S. Budget Appendices for "Total Number of Permanent Positions".
- G Figures published in the Congressional Record (in 1978) are for the years 1939-1962 the "Average Number" of employees. Figures for the years 1963-1976 are the numbers of "Full-time" employees. Specific authority for these figures was not cited.

- H Figures directly obtainable from congressional appropriations subcommittee hearings are intermittent and were not generally available before 1970. Figures for the years 1939-1949 are taken from those provided at a hearing before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on the Independent Office Appropriations Bill, 1949. Figures for the years 1961-1969 are taken from a speech by Congressman Miller, (R-Ohio), on the House floor on 17th July, 1975, during debate on H.R. 8597, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1976. Specific authority for these figures was not cited.
- I Figures taken from a Library of Congress study (in 1973) entitled "Staffing in the White House Office". Figures are based on a deduction of "Permanent Position Totals" in The White House Office from U.S. Civil Service Commission "Employee Totals" for The White House Office as of June in each year. This reflects "in the difference, a quantity of detailed employees".
- J Figures for the years 1939-1949 are taken from those provided at a hearing before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on the Independent Offices Appropriations Bill, 1949. Figures for the years 1970-1976 are (allegedly) taken from congressional appropriations subcommittee hearings.
- K Figures given are of the numbers of detailed employees as of 30th June in each year.
- L Figures given are of the numbers "At the End of Year".
- M Figures given are of the "Average Number" of employees.
- N Figures for the numbers of Special Projects staff are derived from figures given for "White House Staff" in the Congressional Record (in 1978). For the years 1939-1962 the "Average Number" of WHO employees (as given in U.S. Budget Appendices) is subtracted from the "Total" numbers of WHO and Special Projects staff (as given in the Congressional Record). For the years 1963-1976 the figures are obtained by subtracting the totals for "Permanent Positions" (as given in the U.S. Budget Appendices).
- O Different bases are employed by different sources for combined figures in this category heading. Some sources provide figures for the "Official" number of The White House Office and Special Projects combined. Others provide figures only on the "Official" and "Detailed" numbers of employees for The White House Office alone.
- P Figures for the years 1939-1946 are of "Permanent Positions" for The White House Office alone. Figures for the years 1947-1955 are of the "Average Number" of WHO employees. Figures for the years 1956-1963 are of those "At the End of Each Year" for both WHO and Special Projects employees. Figures for 1964-1966 are of the "Average Number" of WHO and Special Projects employees. Figures for 1967-1976 are of the "Average Number" of employees for The White House Office alone.
- Q Figures are obtained from the U.S. Civil Service Commission of the combined numbers of "Permanent Positions" and "Detailees" in The White House Office. (It would appear that these "detailees" approximately equal the numbers of Special Projects employees as recorded in other sources.)

- R Figures given are for "White House Office: Actual Manpower" (as recorded by the Bureau of Personnel Management Information Systems). All figures are "End of Calendar Year" totals as of 31 December in each year.
- S Figures given are for "White House Staff: Total". They include both "Full-time" employees of The White House Office and Special Projects. Specific authority for these figures was not cited.
- T Figures given are for a combination of Total Number of Permanent Positions" and "Full-time Equivalent of Other Positions".
- U Figures directly obtainable from congressional appropriations subcommittee hearings are intermittent and not generally available before 1970.
- V Figures are a combination of T and U as given above.
- W Figures given are for "White House Staff: Real Total". They include "Full-time" employees of both The White House Office and Special Projects, combined with the numbers of "Detailed" employees as of 30th June in each year. Specific authority for these latter figures was not cited.
- X Figures given are those for a combination of White House Staff budgetary items: The White House Office (1939-1976); the NSC (1947-1976); Special Projects (1956-1966); and the Domestic Council (1970-1976). For the years 1939-1946 WHO figures are the "Number of Positions" and are taken from a House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearing on General Government Matters in 1959. For the years 1947-1976 figures are the "Average Number" of employees in respect of all White House Staff budgetary items.
- Y Figures given are those for a combination of White House Staff budgetary items: The White House Office (1939-1976); the NSC (1947-1976); Special Projects (1956-1966); and the Domestic Council (1970-1976). For the years 1939-1946 WHO figures are the "Number of Positions" and are taken from a House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearing on General Government Matters in 1959. For the years 1947-1976 figures are a combination of "Total Number of Permanent Positions" and "Full-time Equivalent of Other Positions" in respect of The White House Office, the NSC and the Domestic Council. Special Projects figures for the years 1956-1963 are those for "Numbers at the End of the Year"; while those for 1964-1966 are the "Average Number".
- Z Figures are the combination of Y above with the highest figures recorded in each year for detailed WHO, NSC, and DC personnel.
- a Figures for the years 1939-1942 are heavily distorted by the inclusion under the heading "WHO Actual Manpower" of employees paid from funds provided by the Emergency Relief Appropriations Acts. The U.S. Civil Service Commission figures indicate that the numbers of personnel on the payroll of the WHO alone were as follows: 224 (1939); 562 (1940); 2,672 (1941); and 857 (1942). However, these figures are themselves still distorted by the inclusion of non-White House staff personnel whose numbers varied erratically.
- b From 1945(ii) to 1964 figures from the Congressional Directory include listed Military Aides.

- c Figures are estimates taken from the FY 1949 Budget.
 - d The last confirmed figure for the "Average Number" of Special Projects employees was 105 in 1964 (which appeared in the FY 1966 Budget). Figures for 1965 and 1966 of 111 in each year were technically estimates included in the budgetary justifications in 1965. Confirmation of these figures was not possible because all such detailed personnel figures were eliminated from the U.S. Budget Appendix from 1966 onwards.
 - e Technically this figure is the number of consultants, not detailees, as estimated in the FY budgetary justifications.
 - f This indicates an error by this source in the listing of the budgetary WHO total for 1973. The budgetary total was in fact higher than that given, and therefore this computed figure (-14) for the number of detailees should at least be 'increased' to nought.
 - g Technically this figure is of the number of consultants, both part-time and temporary, not detailees, as estimated in the FY 1973 budgetary justifications.
 - h No listing of the Nixon WHO staff was published by the U.S. Government Organization Manual in 1974. Publication was delayed by the prospect, and then the fact, of Nixon's departure and then by the demands of the transition to Ford.
 - i This figure does not include another 12 personnel that could be classed as detailees comprising 9 to the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and 3 White House Fellows, as given in the FY 1975 budgetary justifications.
 - j Several figures in this column (those marked with an asterisk) are technically estimates taken from the FY 1977 Budget.
 - k For the years 1940-1948 figures in brackets after U.S. Government Organization Manual or Congressional Directory staff totals refer to the number of staff recorded in the second WHO staff listing of that year. Generally, but not invariably, both publications were biannual during these years. (For the exact dates of publication see Appendix 1.1)
 - l Figures given for "The White House Staff (Combination Total)" for the years 1939-1942 exclude consideration of the distorted figures for "White House Office: Actual Manpower" published by the U.S. Civil Service Commission. (See Note a above.)
 - m Figures for USBA(1) if Special Projects are excluded are 281 (1965) and 249 (1966). (See Note d above.)
 - n Figures for USBA(2) if Special Projects are excluded are 328 (1964); 321 (1965); and 316 (1966). See Note d above.)
 - o Figures for "The White House Staff (Combination Total)" if Special Projects are excluded are 453 (1964); 466 (1965); and 535 (1966). (See Note d above.)
 - p Figures are technically estimates taken from the FY 1976 Budget.
 - q Figure for 1970 artificially low because the Congressional Directory only gave a partial listing for senior WHO staff.
- NA Not Available.

APPENDIX 4.2

ROOSEVELT PRESIDENCY

<u>White House Staff Job Titles</u>	<u>Numbers of WHO Staff Holding Each Job Title</u>
	<u>FDR Library 1933-1943</u>
Secretary	10
Press Secretary	1
Secretary for Appointments ^a	1
Personal Secretary	1
Secretary for Congressional Liaison	1
Administrative Assistant ^b	12
Special Assistant	1
Special Counsel	1
Special Executive Assistant	1
Special Assistant and Liaison Officer of the Office for Emergency Management	1
Special Assistant and Executive of the Office of Civilian Defense	1
Military Aide ^a	1
Total Number of Job Titles	12

a Both Job Titles held by the same person.

b Includes one combined post of Administrative Assistant and Liaison Officer for Personnel Management.

Source: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

APPENDIX 4.8

WHITE HOUSE STAFF: ADDITIONAL JOB TITLES

<u>Presidency</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Job Titles ^a</u>
Truman	1950	Assistant to the Special Counsel to the President Counsel to the Special Assistant to the President Special Assistant in the White House
	1951	Assistant to the Special Assistant to the President Special Assistant to the Assistant to the President Information and Editorial Specialist ^b
	1952	Administrative Assistant in the President's Office Assistant to the Secretary to the President Principal Administrative Assistant
Eisenhower	1957	Legislative Assistant Confidential Assistant
Kennedy	1961	Assistant to the Secretary to the Cabinet
	1962	Assistant to the Deputy Assistant to the President
	1963	Official Reporter ^b Special Assistant in the White House Office
Johnson	1965	Administrative Officer ^b
Nixon	1970	Legislative Counsel Executive Assistant

a These job titles do not appear in any of the sources from which Tables 4.8 to 4.14 and Appendices 4.2 to 4.7 are compiled.

b Status of staff job (whether political or administrative) not definitely known.

Source: United States Budget Appendices

APPENDIX 4.3

TRUMAN PRESIDENCY

White House Staff Job Titles

Numbers of WHO Staff
Holding Each Job Title

HST Library
1945-1953^h

	<u>List A</u>	<u>List B</u>
Secretary	6	NL
Appointments Secretary	NL	1
Correspondence Secretary	NL	2
Personal Secretary	NL	1
Private Secretary	1	NL
Press Secretary	NL	3
Assistant Press Secretary ^a	NL	3
the Assistant	1	1
Special Assistant ^b	5	17
Special Executive Assistant	1	NL
Administrative Assistant ^c	18	18
Chief Administrative Assistant	NL	1
Legislative Assistant	NL	2
Adviser and Assistant	NL	1
Special Counsel	2	3
Special Consultant	1	2
Personal Representative ^d	3	1
Telecommunications Adviser	1	1
Executive Secretary NSC	NL	2
Staff Director (Little Cabinet)	NL	1
Armed Forces Aides ^e	NL	14
Other ^f	NL	8
Total Number of Job Titles^g	10	18

- a Includes one combined post of Assistant Press Secretary and Information Officer.
- b Includes two Special Assistants in The White House Office, and one Special Assistant in the Executive Office of the President
- c Includes four combined posts of Administrative Assistant and Liaison Officer for Personnel Management, and one person serving as "office manager of the White House Office".
- d Includes one Personal Representative for the Liquidation of War Agencies.
- e Comprises Military, Naval and Air Force Aides, and the Chief of Staff.
- f Includes residential and non-political staff.
- g Total excludes those in the 'Other' category.
- h List A was defined by the HST Library as senior commissioned WHO staff.
List B contained a complete listing of all members of the Truman WHO staff 1945-1953, of whom only the job titles of the political staff are given here.
- NL Job Title is not listed in this source.

Source: Harry S. Truman Library

EISENHOWER PRESIDENCY

<u>White House Staff Job Titles</u>	<u>Numbers of WHO Staff Holding Each Job Title</u>
	<u>DDE Library 1953-1961</u>
The Assistant	2
Assistant to The Assistant	2
The Deputy Assistant	2
Special Assistant	19
Assistant to the Special Assistant	1
Deputy Special Assistant	1
Special Assistant in The White House Office	8
Staff Assistant ^a	3
Special Assistant for National Security Affairs	3
Special Assistant for Personnel Management	2
Advisor on Personnel Management	2
Special Assistant for Economic Affairs	2
Special Assistant for Foreign Economic Policy	1
Special Assistant for Public Works Planning	2
Special Assistant for Aviation ^b	2
Special Assistant for Security Operations Coordination	1
Special Assistant for Science and Technology	2
Special Assistant for Atomic Energy	1
Special Assistant (Coordinator: Food-for-Peace)	1
Special Assistant (Vice-Chairman: Operations Coordination Board)	1
Counsel	1
Associate Counsel	1
Special Counsel	3
Associate Special Counsel	2
Assistant Special Counsel	3
Press Secretary	1
Assistant to the Press Secretary	1
Associate Press Secretary	1
Assistant Press Secretary	1
Consultant	9
Special Consultant	1
Special Consultant for Agricultural Surplus Disposal	1
Secretary to the Cabinet	2
Assistant to the Secretary to the Cabinet	1
Staff Secretary	1
Staff Secretary and Defense Liaison Officer	1
Assistant and Staff Secretary	1
Assistant to the Staff Secretary	1
Assistant Staff Secretary	3
Personal Secretary	1
Appointments Secretary	1
Executive Assistant	10
Administrative Assistant	1
Deputy Assistant	1
Assistant to the Deputy Assistant	2
Deputy Assistant for Interdepartmental Affairs	1
Administrative Officer: Special Projects Group	1
Service Aides	11
Other ^c	3
Total Number of Job Titles ^d	48

^a Includes one combined post of Staff Assistant and Special Assistant in the White House Office.

^b Previously titled Special Assistant for Aviation Facilities Planning.

^c Includes residential and non-political staff.

^d Total excludes those in the 'Other' category.

Source: Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

APPENDIX 4.5

KENNEDY PRESIDENCY

White House Staff Job Titles

Numbers of WHO Staff
Holding each Job Title

CQ Almanac
1961

Special Counsel	1
Assistant to Special Counsel	2
Deputy Special Counsel for Budget and Programming	1
Press Secretary	1
Assistant Press Secretary	1
Special Assistant	3
Special Assistant for Personnel and Congressional Relations	1
Administrative Assistant - White House Liaison with the Senate	1
Administrative Assistant - White House Liaison with the House	1
Special Consultant	1
Special Assistant for Regulatory Agencies	1
Special Assistant for National Security Affairs	1
Special Assistant for Cabinet and Executive Branch Relations	1
Special Assistant for Science and Technology	1
Administrative Assistant	1
Military Representative	1
Other ^a	1
Total Number of Job Titles ^b	16

a Includes residential and non-political staff.

b Total excludes those in the 'Other' category.

Source: Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1961

APPENDIX 4.6

JOHNSON PRESIDENCY

<u>White House Staff Job Titles</u>	<u>Numbers of</u>		<u>WHO Job Title</u>	<u>Staff Title</u>
	<u>Holding</u>	<u>Each</u>		
	<u>CQ Almanac 1964</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>CQ Almanac 1964-1968</u>	<u>f</u>
Special Counsel	1	2		5
Associate Special Counsel	1	0		NL
Special Assistant for Congressional Relations	1	0		NL
Legislative Counsel (Congressional Liaison)	0	1		2
Administrative Assistant (liaison with Senate)	1	1		NL
Administrative Assistant (liaison with House)	1	0		NL
Administrative Assistant	NL	NL		2
Press Secretary	1	1 ^a		NL
Special Assistant	2	0		28
Special Assistant for National Security Affairs	1	1		NL
Deputy Special Assistant for National Security Affairs	0	0		NL
Special Assistant for Legislative Programs	1	1 ^b		NL
Special Assistant for Health Education and International Affairs	1	0		NL
Special Assistant for Urban Affairs and Conservation	1	0		NL
Special Assistant for Science and Technology	1	1		NL
Special Assistant for the Arts	0	1		NL
Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs	0	1		NL
Special Assistant for Reconstruction in Vietnam ^c	0	1		NL
Cabinet Secretary	1	1		NL
Appointments Secretary ^d	1	1		NL
Consultant (liaison with academic community)	0	0		NL
Special Consultant	1	2		8
Special Consultant for Military Affairs	0	1		NL
Special Consultant for Regulatory Agencies	0	1		NL
Special Consultant for Physical Fitness	0	1		NL
Total Number of Job Titles ^e	15	16		5

a Includes one combined post of Press Secretary and Adviser on Press Relations

b Retitled as Special Assistant for Domestic Programs.

c Previously titled as Special Assistant for Civil Programs in Vietnam.

d Variously coupled with Liaison to the Democratic National Committee; Schedule Director; and Office Manager of White House Operations.

e Total excludes those in the 'Other' category.

f Figures taken from a special round-up article summarizing the period 1964-1968 which reduced WHO staff job titles to a bare minimum (in contrast to the more detailed job titles listed in successive annual editions of the Almanac).

NL Job Title is not listed in this source.

Source: Congressional Quarterly Almanacs 1964-1968

NIXON PRESIDENCYWhite House Staff Job TitlesNumbers of WHO Staff
Holding Each Job Title

	<u>WHO 1971 c</u>
Counsellor	2
Deputy Counsellor	1
Special Assistant to the Counsellor	1
Special Counsel to the Counsellor	1
Counsel	1
Assistant to the Counsel	1
Associate Counsel	1
Special Counsel	3
Assistant	2
Staff Assistant (White House Office)	46
Special Assistant	16
Deputy Special Assistant	3
Deputy Assistant	3
Administrative Assistant	1
Executive Assistant	1
Assistant for National Security Affairs	1
Deputy Assistant for National Security Affairs	1
Staff Assistant (Office of the Assistant for NSA)	7
Staff Assistant (NSC staff)	46
Assistant for Domestic Affairs (Director: Domestic Council)	1
Deputy Assistant for Domestic Affairs (Deputy Director: Domestic Council)	1
Special Assistant (Domestic Council staff)	3
Staff Assistant (Domestic Council staff)	10
Assistant for International Economic Policy	1
Counsel for Congressional Relations	1
Assistant for Congressional Relations	1
Deputy Assistant for Congressional Relations	1
Press Secretary	1
Deputy Press Secretary	2
Assistant to the Press Secretary	1
Press Assistant	1
Official White House Photographer	1
Director of Communications for the Executive Branch	1
Deputy Director of Communications for the Executive Branch	1
Assistant Director of Communications for the Executive Branch	3
Assistant Deputy Director of Communications for the Executive Branch	1
Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs	1
Special Assistant (Liaison with former Presidents)	1
Special Consultant	2
Advisor on Manpower Mobilization	1
Science Advisor (Director: Office of Science and Technology)	1
Staff Assistant (Office of Science and Technology)	24
White House Fellow	2
Communications Officer (WH Communications Agency)	1
Service Aides	4
Other ^a	15
Total Number of Job Titles ^b	45

a Includes residential and non-political staff.

b Total excludes those in the 'Other' category.

c This list of WHO staff was officially released by the Office of the White House Press Secretary in April 1971.

Source: The White House Office

APPENDIX 4.9

THE NUMBER OF CHANGES IN STAFF JOB TITLE

The White House Office 1939-1974

<u>Year</u> ^a	<u>USGOM</u>	<u>CD</u>	<u>CSD</u>	<u>Presidency</u>
1939(iii)	-	-	-	<u>Roosevelt</u>
1940(i)	0	0	-	
(ii)	0	0	-	
1941(i)	0	0	-	
(ii)	0	0	-	
1942(i)	0	0	-	
(ii)	0	0	-	
1943(i)	0	0	-	
(ii)	0	0	-	
1944(i)	0	0	-	
(ii)	0	0	-	
1945(i)	1	0	-	
(ii)	-	-	-	<u>Truman</u>
1946(i)	0	0	-	
(ii)	1	0	-	
1947(i)	1	1	-	
(ii)	1	0	-	
1948(i)	2	1	-	
(ii)		0	-	
1949	0	0	-	
1950	1	0	-	
1951	0	1	-	
1952	0	0	-	
1953	-	-	-	<u>Eisenhower</u>
1954	8	12	-	
1955	4	5	-	
1956	1	2	-	
1957	4	3	-	
1958	1	1	-	
1959	7	11	-	
1960	2	0	-	
1961	-	-	-	<u>Kennedy</u>
1962	1	1	-	
1963	0	0	-	
1964	-	-	-	<u>Johnson</u>
1965	1	2	3	
1966	0	1	1	
1967	1	2	3	
1968	1	0	0	
1969	-	-	-	<u>Nixon</u>
1970	13	7	10	
1971	4	4	3	
1972	2	3	2	
1973	12	9	11	
1974	- b	5	9	

a Between 1940 and 1948 the Congressional Directory was regularly published biannually, while the Government Organization Manual was intermittently published biannually.

b No WHO staff list was published in 1974 for the Nixon Presidency.

Sources: United States Government Organization Manual 1939-1974
 Congressional Directory 1939-1974
 Congressional Staff Directory 1964-1974

TURNOVER IN THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE 1939-1974

Year ^a	USGOM	CD ^b	CSD	Presidency
	Dep-Arr	Dep-Arr	Dep-Arr	
1939(iii)	-	-	-	<u>Roosevelt</u>
1940(i)	0-1	-	-	
(ii)	1-1	0-0	-	
1941(i)	0-1	0-1	-	
(ii)	1-0	0-2	-	
1942(i)	1-2	2-1	-	
(ii)	0-1	0-0	-	
1943(1)	1-3	0-1	-	
(ii)	1-2	1-3	-	
1944(i)	2-1	2-2	-	
(ii)	-	1-1	-	
1945(i)	1-2	0-1	-	
(ii)	-	-	-	
1946(i)	2-5	0-3	-	
(ii)	2-1	2-4	-	
1947(i)	2-2	2-3	-	
(ii)	-	1-0	-	
1948(i)	3-5	1-1	-	
(ii)	-	2-3	-	
1949	1-1	1-0	-	
1950	1-2	1-4	-	
1951	3-2	2-2	-	
1952	2-3	4-0	-	
1953	-	-	-	<u>Eisenhower</u>
1954	4-8	1-4	-	
1955	6-14	5-14	-	
1956	4-8	3-7	-	
1957	10-12	9-12	-	
1958	8-8	7-10	-	
1959	9-11	13-10	-	
1960	3-3	3-7	-	
1961	-	-	-	
1962	6-3	5-2	-	
1963	4-6	2-2	-	
1964	-	-	-	<u>Johnson</u>
1965	7-3	14-8	8-9	
1966	10-11	6-6	6-9	
1967	7-7	6-8	6-6	
1968	6-7	7-5	6-5	
1969	-	-	-	
1970	4-15	25-4 ^c	21-11	
1971	25-18	6-31 ^c	13-28	
1972	7-10	4-11	7-12	
1973	33-23	31-19	32-18	
1974	- d	8-19	5-19	

a Between 1940 and 1948 the Congressional Directory was regularly published biannually, while the Government Organization Manual was intermittently published biannually.

b Figures include all the Armed Forces Aides listed in the year 1945(ii) to 1964.

c Figures distorted by an error in the listing of WHO staff in 1970.

d No WHO staff list was published in 1974 for the Nixon Presidency.

Dep The numbers who had departed from the WHO staff over the previous year.

Arr The numbers who had arrived on the WHO staff over the previous year.

Sources:	United States Government Organization Manual	1939-1974
	Congressional Directory	1939-1974
	Congressional Staff Directory	1964-1974

APPENDIX 4.11

TURNOVER IN THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE 1939-1974

Measurements of Turnover Compared

<u>Overall Position</u>	<u>Actual Turnover</u>			<u>Departure Turnover</u>		<u>LoS Ratio: Crude</u>		<u>LoS Ratio: Adjusted</u>	
	USGOM	CD	CSD	USGOM	CD	USGOM	CD	USGOM	CD
					CSD		CSD		CSD
1 Kennedy	1(19)	1(11)		1(33)	1(21)	1(84)	1(87)	1(73)	1(82)
2 Roosevelt	2(22)	2(18)		2(36)	2(29)	2(77)	2(87)	2(57)	2(71)
3 Truman	3(37)	3(30)		3(46)	4(48)	4(67)	4(73)	3(50)	3(52)
4 Eisenhower	5(108)	5(103)		4(49)	3(45)	3(68)	3(74)	5(47)	4(47)
5 Johnson	4(58)	4(58)	4(55)	5(55)	5(54)	6(63)	5(58)	4(49)	5(45)
					5(52)		5(66)		5(45)
6 Nixon	6(135)	6(158)	6(166)	6(62)	6(66)	5(65)	6(58)	6(46)	6(38)
					6(66)		6(57)		6(38)

This Appendix should be read both horizontally and vertically. The four sets of vertical columns are based on four different measurements of WHO staff turnover (see below). The left-hand column puts the six presidencies in an overall order (from 1 to 6), derived from the cumulative evidence of the other columns, which signifies increasing levels of WHO staff turnover: e.g. Kennedy's (in position 1) registered the least while Nixon's (in position 6) registered the most.

Reading horizontally gives the position of that Presidency (again, from 1 to 6) according to the particular measurement of turnover appropriate to the column in question. This can vary: e.g. although Eisenhower's is placed in overall 4th position his staff turnover when measured by "Actual Turnover" puts his in 5th position.

The four measurements of turnover compared here are each presented in a similar form. Each column is presented in the form x(y), where x is the position of that Presidency in the order (from 1 to 6) as determined by the figures themselves (y) appropriate to each method of measurement.

Actual Turnover

The figures given for Actual Turnover are actual numbers of staff. They are obtained by adding together the numbers of those listed as having left, and those listed as having joined, the WHO staff during each Presidency.

Departure Turnover

The figures given for Departure Turnover are percentages. They are derived from dividing the total number of listed WHO staff who left during each Presidency by the total number of listed WHO staff who served in that Presidency.

Length of Service Ratio (Crude)

The figures given for Length of Service Ratio (Crude) are percentages. They are derived from dividing the actual listed WHO person-years served by the theoretical maximum possible person-years served (i.e. had every listed WHO staff member remained continuously on the staff from the time of joining till the end of that Presidency).

Length of Service Ratio (Adjusted)

The figures given for the Length of Service Ratio (Adjusted) are percentages. They are derived from dividing the figure for the Average Length of Service for the listed WHO staff in each Presidency by the number of years that each Presidency lasted (to the nearest half-year, according to the source concerned).

* CSD figures are available only for the Johnson and Nixon Presidencies.

Sources:	United States Government ORganization Manual	1939-1974
	Congressional Directory	1939-1974
	Congressional Staff Directory	1964-1974

APPENDIX 4.12

COST OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF 1939-1976

Budget Authority (in \$'000s)

<u>Presidency</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>WHO</u>	<u>SP</u>	<u>EF/UN</u>	<u>NSC</u>	<u>DC</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Roosevelt	1939	213	-	-	-	-	213
	1940	312	-	1,000	-	-	1,312
	1941	306	-	1,000	-	-	1,306
	1942	308	-	1,000	-	-	1,308
	1943	309	-	1,000	-	-	1,309
	1944	302	-	1,000	-	-	1,302
Truman	1945	354	-	1,000	-	-	1,354
	1946	343	-	1,000	-	-	1,343
	1947	884	-	1,000	-	-	1,884
	1948	953	-	1,000	200	-	2,153
	1949	970	-	1,000	200	-	2,170
	1950	1,375	-	1,000	200	-	2,575
	1951	1,586	-	1,000	160	-	2,746
	1952	1,884	-	1,000	160	-	3,044
	1953	1,958	-	1,000	155	-	3,113
	1954	1,800	-	1,000	220	-	3,020
Eisenhower	1955	1,895	-	1,000	215	-	3,110
	1956	1,883	1,250	1,000	244	-	4,377
	1957	1,875	1,500	1,000	248	-	4,623
	1958	2,052	1,381	1,000	711	-	5,144
	1959	2,222	1,330	1,000	759	-	5,311
	1960	2,221	1,500	1,000	792	-	5,513
	1961	2,498	1,258	1,000	817	-	5,573
	1962	2,495	1,500	1,000	554	-	5,549
	1963	2,545	1,500	1,000	550	-	5,595
	1964	2,730	1,500	1,000	575	-	5,805
Johnson	1965	2,855	1,375	1,000	627	-	5,857
	1966	2,855	1,500	1,000	675	-	6,030
	1967	2,955	1,500	1,000	664	-	6,119
	1968	3,009	1,500	1,000	664	-	6,173
Nixon	1969	3,220	1,500	1,000	811	-	6,540
	1970	3,940	2,500	1,000	1,860	1,500	10,800
	1971	8,359	1,500	1,000	2,182	1,500	14,541
	1972	9,342	1,500	1,000	2,424	2,209	16,475
	1973	9,767	1,500	1,000	2,762	2,122	17,151
Ford	1974	11,260	414	1,000	2,802	1,100	16,576
	1975	16,367	-	500	2,900	1,250	21,017
	1976	16,766	-	1,000	3,052	1,646	22,464
Cumulative							
<u>Totals 1939-1976</u>		<u>126,977</u>	<u>27,508</u>	<u>36,414</u>	<u>28,183</u>	<u>11,327</u>	<u>230,409</u>

		<u>Period in Existence</u>
WHO	The White House Office	1939-1976
SP	Special Projects	1956-1974
EF/UN	Emergency Fund/Unanticipated Needs	1940-1976
NSC	National Security Council	1947-1976
DC	Domestic Council	1970-1976

Sources: 1939-1946 Subcommittee on General Government Matters
 House Committee on Appropriations
 1947-1976 United States Budgets

COST OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF 1939-1976

Budget Outlay (Expenditure) (in \$'000s)

<u>Presidency</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>WHO</u>	<u>SP</u>	<u>NSC</u>	<u>DC</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	
Roosevelt	1939 ^a	213	-	-	-	213	
	1940	312	-	-	-	312	
	1941	306	-	-	-	306	
	1942	308	-	-	-	308	
	1943	309	-	-	-	309	
	1944	302	-	-	-	302	
Truman	1945	354	-	-	-	354	
	1946	343	-	-	-	343	
	1947	849	-	-	-	849	
	1948	891	-	115	-	1,006	
	1949	1,124	-	112	-	1,236	
	1950	1,345	-	107	-	1,452	
	1951	1,437	-	120	-	1,557	
	1952	1,645	-	142	-	1,787	
	1953	1,710	-	155	-	1,865	
Eisenhower	1954	1,630	-	207	-	1,837	
	1955	1,807	-	215	-	2,022	
	1956	1,869	866	243	-	2,978	
	1957	1,876	1,358	248	-	3,482	
	1958	1,958	1,314	700	-	3,972	
	1959	2,253	1,240	747	-	4,240	
	1960	2,222	1,301	752	-	4,275	
	Kennedy	1961	2,478	1,241	760	-	4,479
		1962	2,454	1,405	476	-	4,335
1963		2,502	1,092	496	-	4,090	
Johnson	1964	2,705	1,222	561	-	4,488	
	1965	2,872	1,090	627	-	4,589	
	1966	2,818	818	604	-	4,240	
	1967	2,779	742	618	-	4,139	
	1968	2,821	801	647	-	4,269	
Nixon	1969	3,077	1,305	791	-	5,173	
	1970	3,721	2,497	1,650	-	7,868	
	1971	7,582	791	2,099	945	11,417	
	1972	9,604	1,117	2,391	1,871	14,983	
	1973	9,735	1,650	2,463	1,627	15,475	
Ford	1974	10,384	646	2,531	957	14,518	
	1975	15,293	-	2,621	1,209	19,123	
	1976b	19,927	-	3,799	1,846	25,572	
Cumulative							
<u>Totals</u>	<u>1939-1976</u>	<u>125,815</u>	<u>22,496</u>	<u>26,997</u>	<u>8,455</u>	<u>183,763</u>	

a Figures for 1939-1946 taken from House Appropriations Subcommittee on General Government Matters.

b Figures for 1976 include those for the Transitional Quarter (TQ).

NB Figures for the Emergency Fund/Unanticipated Needs not included as budgetary classifications have not regularly distinguished between outlay for the White House staff and for other items.

NB Figures for Outlay as a % of Budget Authority in respect of Cumulative Totals are as follows: WHO(99%); SP(82%); NSC(96%); DC(75%).

Source: United States Budgets

APPENDIX 4.14

SALARY LEVELS FOR THE SENIOR WHITE HOUSE OFFICE STAFF 1947-1977

Year	Title of TSG	Top Salary Grade(TSG)	TSG: No. Paid	Top Salary Paid (TSP)	TSP: at constant prices ^{ef}	TSP: No. Paid	WHO Salary Bill ^c	As % of WHO Budget ^d
1947	GS-16	ET+ 10,000	9	10,000	27,000	9	772	87
1948 ^a	GS-16	ET+ 10,000	9	15,000 ^b	37,800	1	814	85
1949 ^a	GS-16	ET+ 10,000	9	15,000 ^b	38,100	1	876	90
1950	NA	NA	11	15,000	37,800	1	1,186	86
1951	P	+ 14,800	10	20,000	46,600	2	1,367	86
1952	P	+ 14,800	8	20,000	45,700	2	1,446	77
1953	SP	ET+ 14,800	11	20,000	45,300	2	1,525	78
1954	SP	ET+ 14,800	11	20,000	45,100	1	1,435	80
1955	SP	ET+ 14,800	11	20,000	45,300	1	1,640	87
1956	SP	ET+ 16,000	11	20,000	44,600	1	1,650	88
1957	SP	ET+ 16,000	11	22,500	48,400	1	1,672	89
1958	SP	ET+ 15,375	14	22,500	47,200	1	1,748	85
1959	SP	ET+ 15,375	14	22,500	46,800	1	1,879	85
1960	SP	ET+ 17,500	14	22,500	46,000	1	1,906	86
1961	SP	ET+ 16,530	14	21,000	42,500	5	2,097	84
1962	SP	ET+ 18,000	14	21,000	42,100	5	2,003	80
1963	SP	ET+ 18,000	14	21,000	41,600	5	2,045	80
1964	SP	ET+ 21,450	14	20,000 ^e	39,100	14	2,156	79
1965	SP	ET+ 22,200	14	27,500 ^e	52,800	14	2,248	79
1966	SP	ET+ 22,750	14	29,500 ^e	55,100	14	2,173	76
1967	EL-II	ET 30,000	14	30,000	54,500	14	2,271	77
1968	EL-II	ET 30,000	14	30,000	52,300	14	2,330	77
1969	EL-II	ET 42,500	14	42,500	70,300	14	2,563	79
1970	EL-II	ET 42,500	14	42,500	66,300	14	2,950	75
1971	EL-II	ET 42,500	14	42,500	63,500	14	6,868	82
1972	EL-II	ET 42,500	14	42,500	61,500	14	7,721	83
1973	EL-II	ET 42,500	14	42,500	58,000	14	8,070	83
1974	EL-II	ET 42,500	14	42,500	52,300	14	8,651	77
1975	EL-II	ET 44,600	14	44,600	50,300	14	10,614	65
1976	EL-II	ET 44,600	14	44,600	47,500	14	10,737	64
1977	EL-II	ET 57,500	14	57,500	57,500	14	11,801	69

a Estimates from FY 1949 Budget.

b This salary was not paid from WHO funds but from the Emergency Fund appropriation.

c Figures given in \$'000s.

d Figures given as a proportion of WHO Budget Authority.

e Figures given to the nearest \$100.

f Figures given at 1977 constant prices.

GS General Schedule grades (applicable to career civil service).

P Positions (applicable to political appointments).

SP Special Positions (applicable to political appointments).

EL-II Executive Level II (applicable to political appointments).

ET (Rates of Pay) Equal To.

+ (Rates of Pay) In Excess Of.

NA Not Available.

Sources: United States Budgets
 Statistical Abstract of the United States
 (for inflation-adjusted figures at 1977 prices)

APPENDIX 4.15

SALARY LEVELS OF WHITE HOUSE STAFF 1942-1977

<u>Presidency</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Top Salary for WHO Staff</u>	<u>Number of Top WHO Staff at Top Salary</u>	<u>Number of WHO Staff</u>	<u>At the Top Salary Level</u>	<u>Names of WHO Staff at the Top Salary Level</u>
ROOSEVELT	1942	NA	3	3	Secretary to the President	Stephen Early General Watson Marvin McIntyre
TRUMAN	1947	\$15,000 ^a	1	1	the Assistant	John Steelman
TRUMAN	1952	\$20,000	2	1	the Assistant	John Steelman
				1	Special Counsel	Clark Clifford
EISENHOWER	1957	\$22,500	1	1	The Assistant	Sherman Adams
KENNEDY	1962	\$21,000	5	3	Special Assistant	McGeorge Bundy Lawrence O'Brien Kenneth O'Donnell Theodore Sorensen Pierre Salinger
				1	Special Counsel	
				1	Press Secretary	
JOHNSON	1967	\$30,000	14	8	Special Assistant	Joseph Califano Douglas Cater George Christian Donald Hornig Robert Kintner Walt Rostow Marvin Watson Robert Komer Harry McPherson Larry Temple Harold Sanders Mike Manatos Robert Fleming DeVier Pierson
				2	Special Counsel	
				1	Legislative Counsel	
				1	Administrative Assistant	
				1	Deputy Press Secretary	
				1	Associate Special Counsel	
NIXON	1972	\$42,500	14	3	Counsellor	Robert Finch Donald Rumsfeld Anne Armstrong ^b Peter Flanigan H.R. Haldeman William Timmons Henry Kissinger John Ehrlichman Kenneth Cole
				3	Assistant	Herbert Klein Leonard Garment Patrick Buchanan Charles Colson Larry Higby ^c
				1	Assistant/National Security	
				1	Assistant/Domestic Affairs	
				1	Deputy Assistant/Domestic Affairs	
				1	Director of Communications	
				1	Special Consultant	
				1	Special Assistant	
				1	Special Counsel	
				1	Administrative Assistant	
CARTER	1977	\$57,500	14	7	Assistant	Zbigniew Brzezinski Margaret Constanza Stuart Eizenstadt Hamilton Jordan Frank Moore Richard Pettigrew Jack Watson Robert Lipshutz Jody Powell Joseph Aragon Peter Bourne Hugh Carter Barry Jagoda Timothy Kraft
				1	Counsel	
				1	Press Secretary	
				5	Special Assistant ^d	

NA Not Available

a Salary paid from Emergency Fund not from WHO funds.

b Listed in the U.S. Budget for 1972 but not listed in WHO Staff listings until 1973.

c Listed in Nison White House Staff List (April 1971) but not in WHO Staff listings.

d Names taken from U.S. Government Organization Manual (1977 Supplement).

Source: United States Budgets

APPENDIX 5.1

ROOSEVELT PRESIDENCY 1933-1945

White House Staff: Structure

	<u>July 1937</u>	<u>% on detail</u>	<u>May 1942</u>	<u>% on detail</u>
Senior political staff	4	0	9	0
Staff assistance to the senior staff	20	71	32	84
Non-political support staff	102	88	159	80
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>126</u>		<u>200</u>	

Source: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

APPENDIX 5.2

TRUMAN PRESIDENCY 1945-1953

White House Staff Structure

	<u>USGOM</u>	<u>CD</u>	<u>HST LIBRARY</u>	
			<u>List A</u>	<u>List B</u>
Senior political staff	35	29	40	64
Staff assistance to the senior staff	-	-	114(32) ^a	60
Non-political support staff	-	-	-	148
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>154^b</u>	<u>372</u>

a Figure in brackets gives the number of staff officially on detail.

b Of this total 86 persons are not included in List B. Therefore a combination of the two Lists gives a total of 458 (ie 372 + 86) as the number of staff who served Truman according to the Library.

Sources: Harry S. Truman Library
United States Government Organization Manual
Congressional Directory

APPENDIX 5.3

TRUMAN PRESIDENCY 1945-1953

White House Staff Structure

		HST LIBRARY	
<u>Senior Political Staff Offices</u>		<u>List A</u> ^a	<u>List B</u> ^b
John Steelman	Assistant to the President	25 (5) ^c	55
Charles Murphy	Special Counsel	13 (2)	4
Averell Harriman	Special Assistant	12 (3)	0
Gordon Gray	Special Assistant	31 (11)	0
Matthew Connelly	Secretary to the President	3	3
Donald Dawson	Administrative Assistant	3	3
David Niles	Administrative Assistant	2	4
David Lloyd	Administrative Assistant	1 (1)	2
Clark Clifford	Special Counsel	2	2
Donald Nelson) & Edwin Locke)	Personal Representatives	15 (8)	3

a Figures show the number of political staff attached to each Senior Political Staff Office as of December 1952.

b Figures give the number of political and support staff that served in each Senior Political Staff Office during the period 1945-1953. NB: Many staff listed in List A were not listed in List B.

c Figures in brackets give the numbers of staff that were on detail from other Departments and/or Agencies.

Source: Harry S. Truman Library

APPENDIX 5.4

EISENHOWER PRESIDENCY 1953-1961

White House Staff: Structure

	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
Senior political staff	93	31
Part-time staff	8	3
Non-political support staff	197	66
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>298</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

APPENDIX 5.5

NIXON PRESIDENCY 1969-1974

White House Staff: Structure

	<u>April 1971</u>	<u>%</u>
Senior political staff	36	19
Staff assistance to the senior staff	82	43
Domestic Council political staff	18	10
NSC political staff	54	28
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>190</u>	<u>100</u>

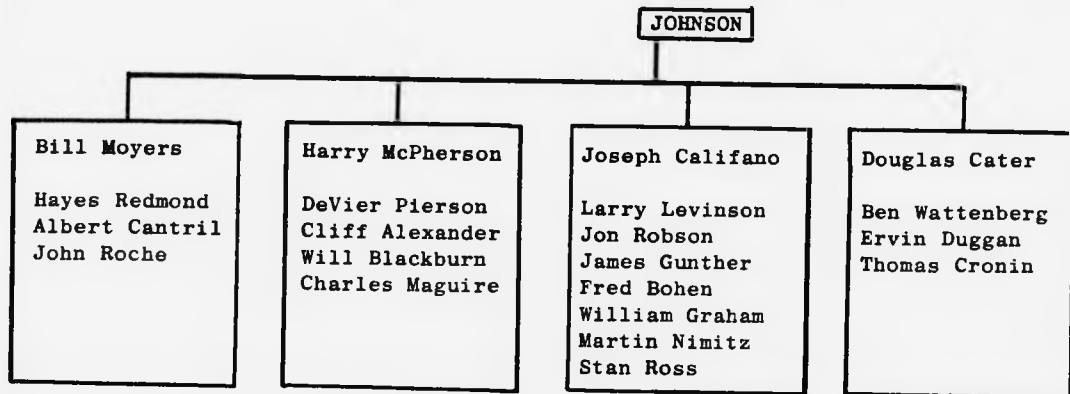
Source: The White House (1971)

APPENDIX 5.6

JOHNSON PRESIDENCY 1963-1969

White House Staff Structure

Domestic Policy Staff

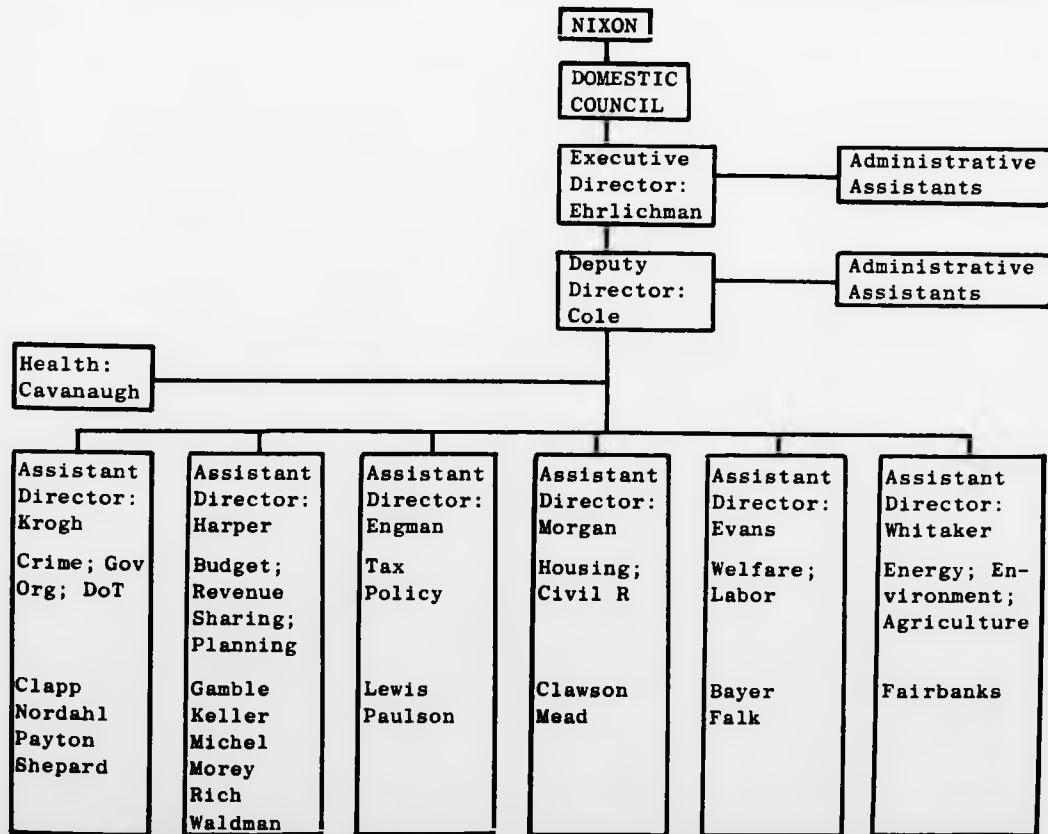


APPENDIX 5.7

NIXON PRESIDENCY 1969-1974

White House Staff Structure

Domestic Council Staff



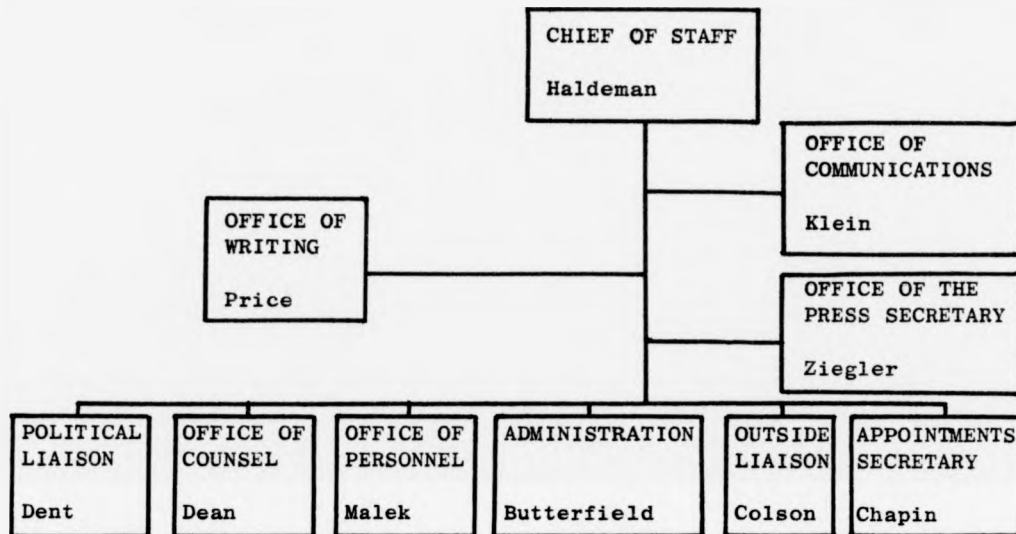
Source: John H. Kessel, The Domestic Presidency (Duxbury Press, 1975).

APPENDIX 5.8

NIXON PRESIDENCY 1969-1974

White House Staff Structure

Chief of Staff 1969-1973:
Lines of Authority



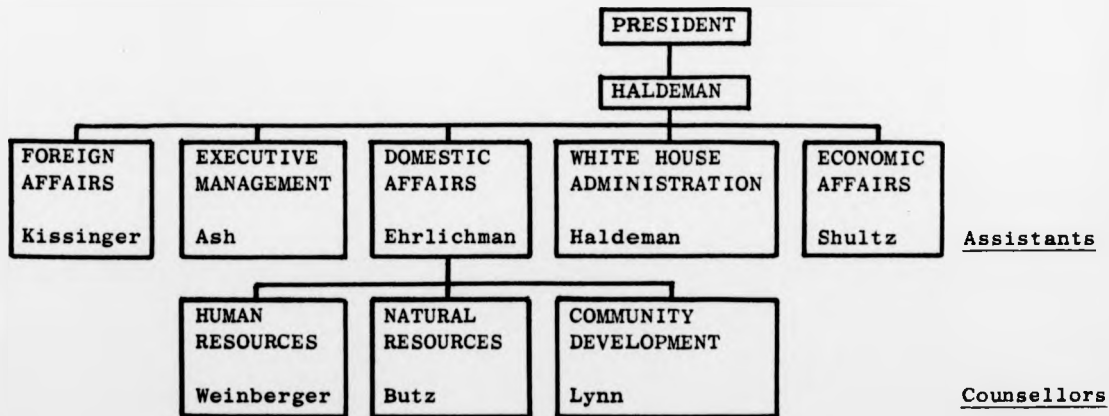
Source: U.S. House Judiciary Committee Hearings (1974)

APPENDIX 5.9

NIXON PRESIDENCY 1969-1974

White House Staff Structure

Executive Reorganization 1973:
New Lines of Authority



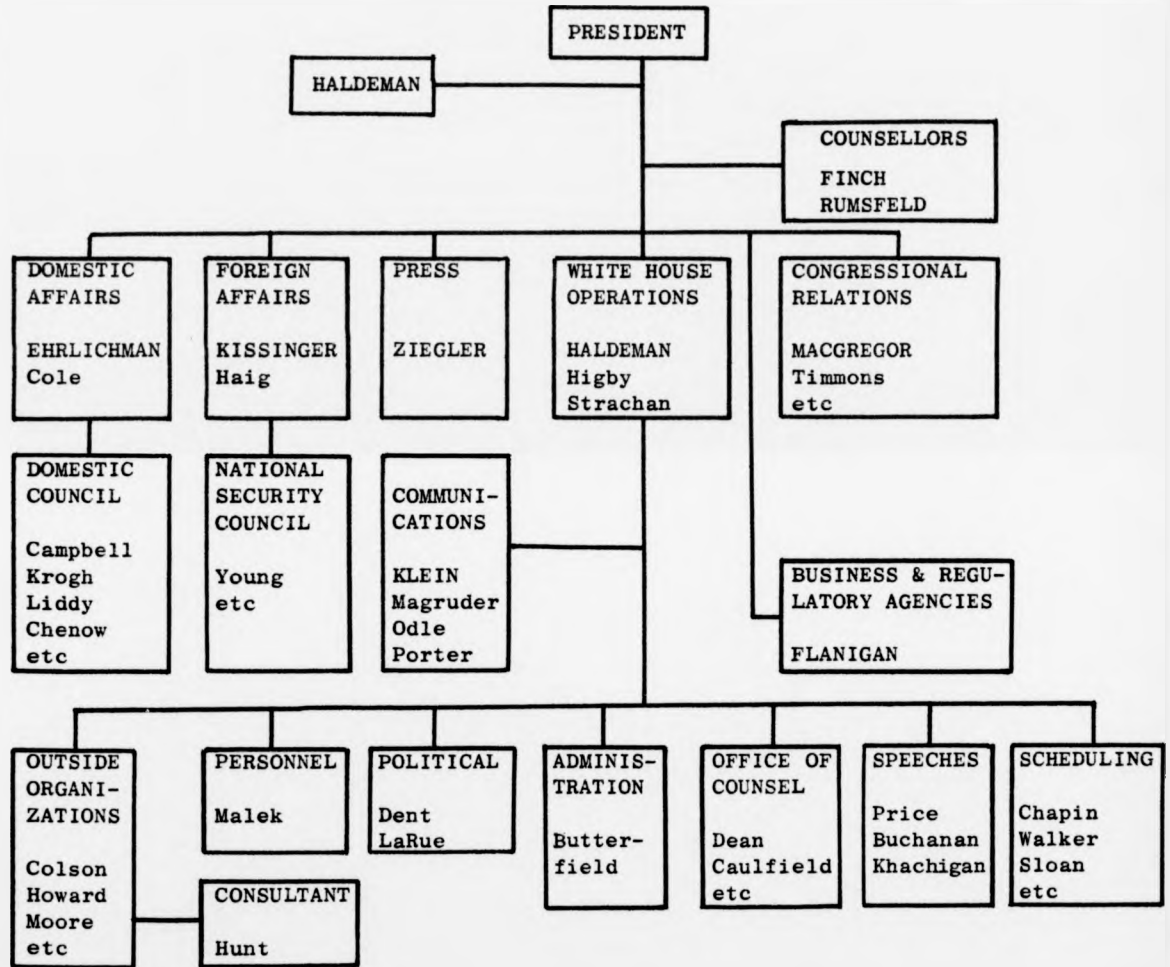
Source: The White House (1973)

APPENDIX 5.10

NIXON PRESIDENCY 1969-1974

White House Staff Structure

White House Staff
Lines of Authority



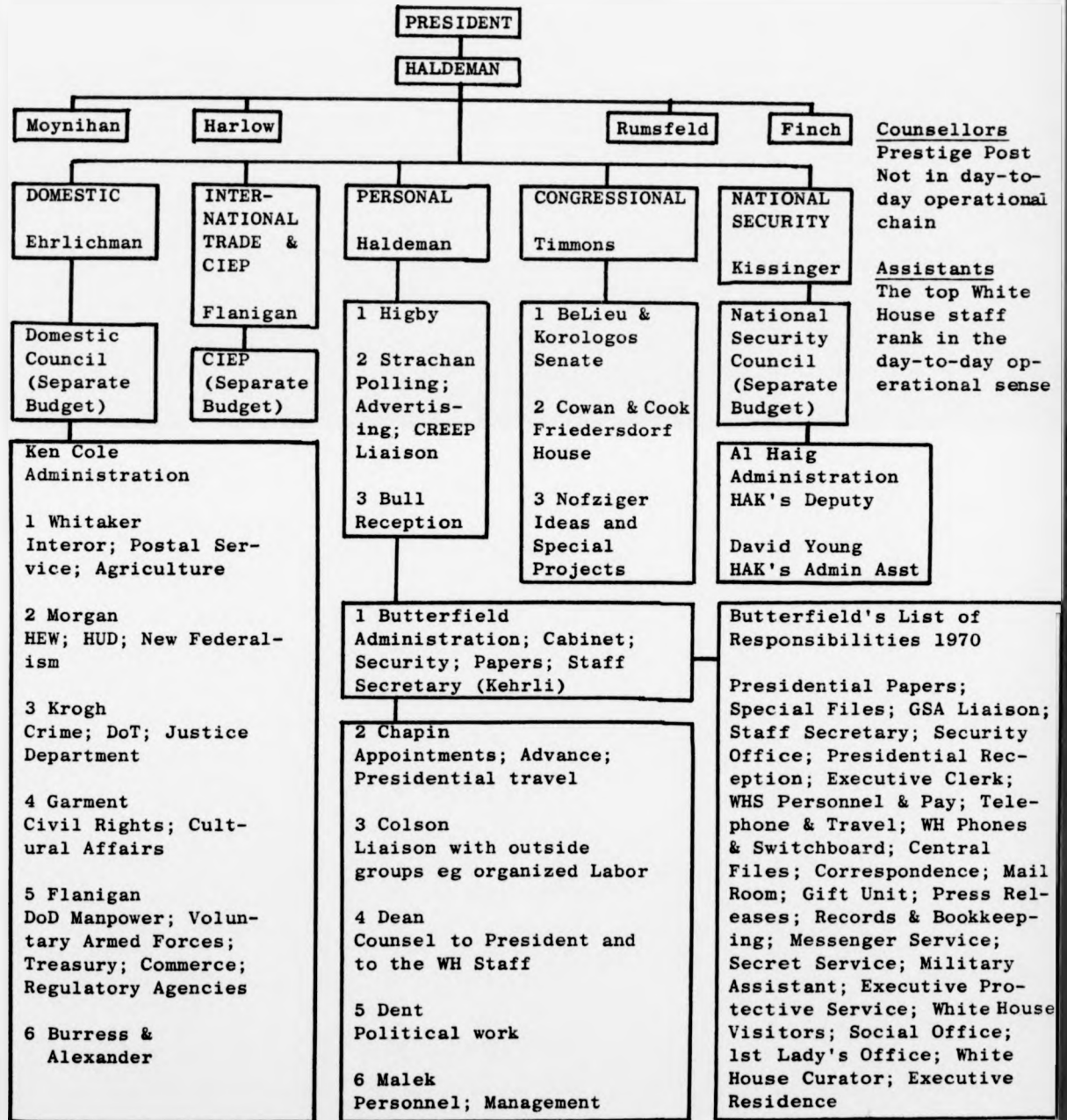
Source: U.S. Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities (1973).

APPENDIX 5.11

NIXON PRESIDENCY 1969-1974

White House Staff Structure

Organizational Chain of Command 1970



Counsellors
Prestige Post
Not in day-to-day operational chain

Assistants
The top White House staff rank in the day-to-day operational sense

Source: U.S. House Judiciary Committee Hearings (1974)

APPENDIX 5.12

NIXON PRESIDENCY 1969-1974

WHS Procedural Manual 1974

The White House Staff Procedural Manual listed the format required for specific White House staff activities. These included the following:

Recommended Telephone Call

Any staff member recommending that the President make a telephone call was required to submit a memorandum which included the following:

- (a) To whom the telephone call was to be made;
- (b) By whom the telephone call was recommended;
- (c) The purpose of the telephone call;
- (d) Background information which would be of use in making the call;
- (e) Talking points for discussion during the telephone call;
- (f) Date of submission.

This memorandum was then approved, not approved, or amended by the Office of the Chief of Staff.

Schedule Proposal

Any staff member recommending that the President consider a particular proposal and suggesting that a meeting be held to discuss it was required to submit a memorandum which was to include the following:

- (a) Description of the meeting suggested;
- (b) Date of the meeting suggested;
- (c) Purpose of the meeting suggested;
- (d) Format of the meeting suggested;
- (e) Speech material relevant to the suggested proposal(s);
- (f) Press coverage suggested as most appropriate;
- (g) List of White House staff to be involved;
- (h) The view of those recommending that the meeting be held;
- (i) The views of those opposing such a meeting;
- (j) Summary of previous participation (by the President) on the general subject and/or specific proposal(s) to be discussed;
- (k) Background information of relevant interest.

Ten copies of each such memorandum would normally be made which would then be distributed to members of the White House staff for their comments.

Briefing Papers

Briefing papers submitted to the President by the White House staff were normally to be routed via the Office of the Chief of Staff which would ensure that each had a one-page covering memorandum.

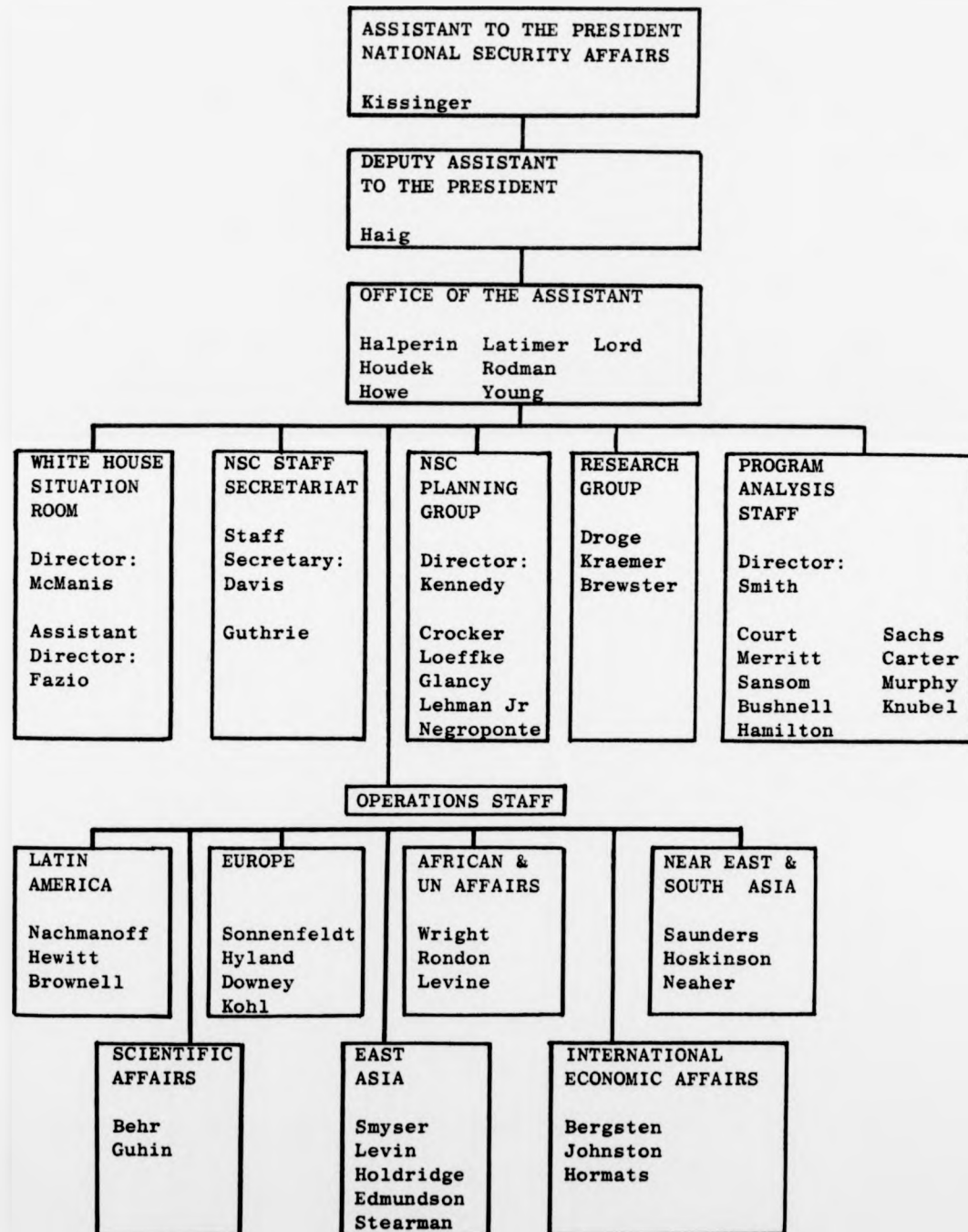
Source: Information made available by the Office of Assistant to the President (Leonard Garment)

APPENDIX 5.13

NIXON PRESIDENCY 1969-1974

White House Staff Structure

NSC Staff 1971



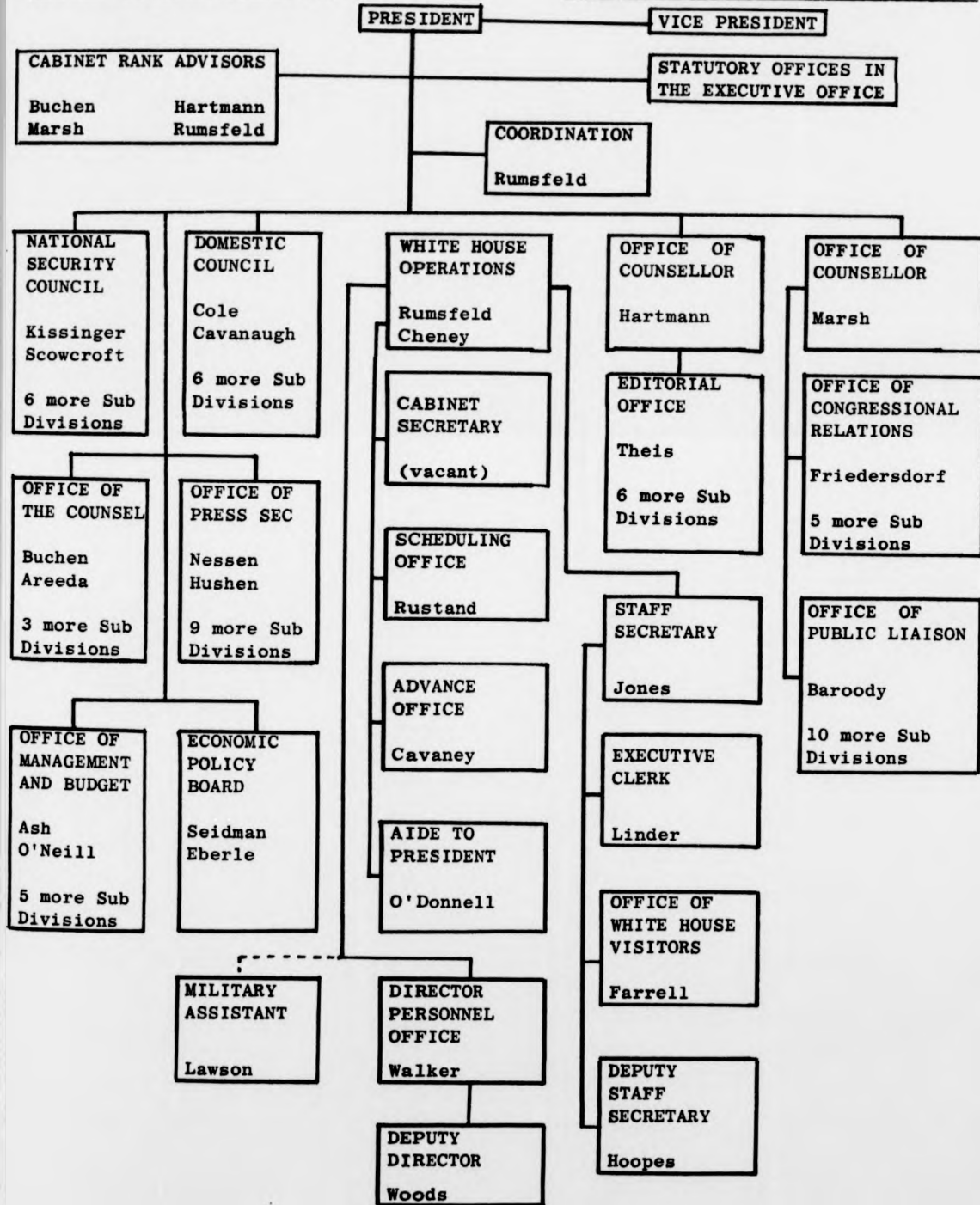
Source: The White House

APPENDIX 5.14

FORD PRESIDENCY 1974-1977

White House Staff Structure

Organizational Chain of Command 1974



Source: The White House

APPENDIX 5.15

FORD PRESIDENCY 1974-1977

White House Staff Structure

Principal Functions of Major Offices

CABINET RANK ADVISORS	Consult with the President on the full range of policy issues as requested. Participate in Cabinet.
WHITE HOUSE OPERATIONS OFFICE	Performs the staff functions directly supporting the President's day-to-day activities.
OFFICE OF THE CABINET SECRETARY	Secretary to the Cabinet. Assists the President in schedule planning. Makes advance preparations for Presidential travel.
OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY	Assists in ensuring a smooth flow of coordinated information and decision papers to the President. Assists in communicating Presidential decisions and requests to the staff. Acts as administrative officer of the White House Office.
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY	Assists the President in presentation of his view to the national and foreign press and the public.
OFFICE OF COUNSELLOR	Assists the President in the preparation of materials for speeches and formal communications. Oversees the Editorial Office. Advises the President on political matters.
EDITORIAL OFFICE	Assists the President in the preparation of his speeches and formal communications.
OFFICE OF COUNSELLOR	Assists the President in his relations with Congress and oversees the Congressional Relations Office. Assists the President in his relations with non-governmental individuals. Monitors preparations for the Bicentennial for the President.
OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS	Assists the President in maintaining clear two-way communication with the Congress.
OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON	Assists the President to maintain contacts with non-governmental organizations.
OFFICE OF COUNSEL	Provides legal counsel to the President on matters involving the conduct of his office.
PRESIDENTIAL PERSONNEL OFFICE	Provides staff assistance to the President as requested in the exercise of his authority to nominate and appoint personnel to Federal office.
OFFICE OF WHITE HOUSE VISITORS	Supervises arrangements for group and public tours of the White House.
MILITARY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT	Provides operational support to the President in his role as Commander-in-Chief.

Source: The White House

APPENDIX 5.16

CARTER PRESIDENCY 1977-1981

White House Staff Structure

White House Office January 1977
Organization of Responsibilities

COUNSEL to the President
LIPSCHUTZ Legal work. White House Security Office. Chairs staff meetings. Office of Chief Executive Clerk.

ASSISTANT to the President
JORDAN Staff Co-ordination. Political/General.

ASSISTANT to the President - Domestic Affairs and Policy
EIZENSTADT Domestic Policy Staff. Research. Presidential Messages. Correspondence Policy Staff. Legislative Messages.

ASSISTANT to the President - Cabinet and Intergovernmental Affairs
WATSON Agency Liaison. State and Local Government Liaison.

ASSISTANT to the President - Congressional Liaison
MOORE Congressional Liaison. Visitors Office.

ASSISTANT to the President - Energy
SCHLESINGER Energy Policy and Reorganization.

ASSISTANT to the President - National Security
BRZEZINSKI National Security Council.

PRESS SECRETARY
POWELL Press Office. Photography. Speech writing. Public awareness.

SPECIAL ASSISTANT to the President - Appointments
KRAFT Appointments and scheduling. Advance work. West Wing reception. Personal assistance to the President.

SPECIAL ASSISTANT to the President - Personnel
KING Presidential Personnel Office.

SPECIAL ASSISTANT to the President - Budget & Organization
HARDEN Budget. Organization. Accounting.

SPECIAL ASSISTANT to the President - Administration
CARTER Operating offices. Office of Military Aide. Secret Service.

SPECIAL ASSISTANT to the President - Ombudsman
ARAGON White House Ombudsman. Special Political problems.

SPECIAL ASSISTANT to the President - Drug Abuse
BOURNE Drug Office. White House Fellows Program. Advisor to 1st Lady on Mental Health.

SPECIAL ASSISTANT to the President
MITCHELL Delivery of Services problems. Liaison with DC Government.

DIRECTOR OF WHITE HOUSE PROJECTS
SCHNEIDERS Correspondence Study. Other management projects.

STAFF SECRETARY
HUTCHISON Presidential Paper Management. Staff Secretary

The first nine names formed the top tier of the White House staff. They were listed in no particular order and no lines of authority were given.

Source: The White House

THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20500 Dial 456-1414

	RONALD REAGAN	PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
01	Helene von Damm	Special Assistant
02	Edwin Meese III	Counsellor to the President
03	Robert M. Garrick	Deputy Counsellor
04	Edwin W. Thomas, Jr.	Assistant Counsellor
05	Herbert E. Ellingwood	Deputy Counsel to the President
06	Richard A. Hauser	Deputy Counsel to the President
07	Craig L. Fuller	Deputy Assistant to the President & Director, Office of Cabinet Administration
08	Richard S. Beal	Planning & Evaluation Director
09	James A. Baker III	Chief of Staff & Assistant to the President
10	Francis S.M. Hodson	Deputy Assistant to the President & Deputy to Chief of Staff
11	Kate L. Moore	Deputy Special Assistant
12	David R. Gergen	Assistant to the President & Staff Director
13	Richard G. Darman	Staff Secretary
14	Frank A. Ursomarso	Deputy Assistant to the President for Communications & Director, Office of Communications
15	Michael K. Deaver	Deputy Chief of Staff & Assistant to the President
16	Joseph W. Canzeri	Deputy Assistant to the President & Assistant to Deputy Chief of Staff
17	Edward Hickey V, Jr.	Deputy Assistant to the President & Special Support Services Director
18	Dennis E. LeBlanc	Special Assistant to the President & Deputy Director of Special Support Services
19	Stephen M. Studdert	Special Assistant to the President & Director of Advance
20	Gregory Newell	Special Assistant for Scheduling
21	Peter McCoy	Staff Director for the First Lady
22	Christine P. Hathaway	Administrative Assistant
23	Sheila Patton	Press Secretary
24	Barbara Cook	Assistant Press Secretary
25	Elaine Crispen	Personal Secretary
26	Muffie Brandon	Social Secretary
27	Linda Faulkner	Assistant Social Secretary
28	Norma Wormser	Scheduling Director
29	Ann Wroblewski	Special Projects
30	Richard V. Allen	Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
31	James W. Nance	Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

32	Fred F. Fielding	Counsel to the President
33	Martin Anderson	Assistant to the President for Policy Development
34	Edwin J. Gray	Deputy Assistant to the President & Director, Office of Policy Development
35	Kevin R. Hopkins	Special Assistant to the President
36	James S. Brady	Assistant to the President & Press Secretary
37	Larry M. Speakes	Deputy Assistant to the President & Deputy Press Secretary
38	Karna Small	Deputy Assistant to the President & Deputy Press Secretary
39	Lyndon K. Allin	Associate Press Secretary
40	Mark Weinberg	Assistant Press Secretary
41	David Prospero	Assistant Press Secretary
42	Bob Dahlgren	Departmental Press Secretary Liaison
43	Phyllis Kaminsky	Liaison to National Security Council
44	William Hart	News Summary Editor
45	Louis E. Gerig	Director of Media Liaison Office
46	Max L. Friedersdorf	Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs
47	William J. Gribben	Deputy Assistant
48	Nancy Kennedy	Administrative Assistant
49	Sherrie Cooksey	Legislative Counsel
50	Powell Allen Moore	Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, Senate
51	David Swanson	Special Assistant, Senate
52	Pamela J. Turner	Special Assistant, Senate
53	Kenneth M. Duberstein	Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, House
54	John H. Dressendorfer	Special Assistant, House
55	M.B. Oglesby	Special Assistant, House
56	Nancy Risque	Special Assistant, House
57	David Wright	Special Assistant, House
58	Elizabeth H. Dole	Assistant to the President for Public Liaison
59	Red Cavaney	Deputy Assistant to the President for Public Liaison
60	Aram Bakshian, Jr.	Special Assistant, Humanities
61	Robert Bonitati	Special Assistant, Labor Deputy Director, Commerce
62	Jack Burgess	Special Assistant to the President
63	Morton C. Blackwell	Special Assistant, Membership Groups
64	Virginia H. Knauer	Special Assistant, Social Services Deputy Director
65	Diana L. Lozano	Special Assistant, Human Services
66	Thelma Duggin	Deputy Special Assistant
67	Wayne H. Valis	Special Assistant, Business
68	Ernest E. Garcia	Special Assistant, Director of Resources
69	Sally Hartwig	Director of Scheduling

32	Fred F. Fielding	Counsel to the President
33	Martin Anderson	Assistant to the President for Policy Development
34	Edwin J. Gray	Deputy Assistant to the President & Director, Office of Policy Development
35	Kevin R. Hopkins	Special Assistant to the President
36	James S. Brady	Assistant to the President & Press Secretary
37	Larry M. Speakes	Deputy Assistant to the President & Deputy Secretary
38	Karna Small	Assistant to the President & Deputy Secretary
39	Lyn	
40	Mar	
41	Dav	
42	Bob	
43	Phy	
44	Wil	
45	Lou	
46	Ma	
47	Wi	
48	Na	
49	Sh	
50	Po	
51	De	
52	Pe	
53	Ke	
54	John H. Dressendorfer	Special Assistant, House
55	M.B. Oglesby	Special Assistant, House
56	Nancy Risque	Special Assistant, House
57	David Wright	Special Assistant, House
58	Elizabeth H. Dole	Assistant to the President for Public Liaison
59	Red Cavaney	Deputy Assistant to the President for Public Liaison
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67	Wayne H. Valis	Special Assistant, Business
68	Ernest E. Garcia	Special Assistant, Director of Resources
69	Sally Hartwig	Director of Scheduling

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32	Fred F. Fielding	Counsel to the President
33	Martin Anderson	Assistant to the President for Policy Development
34	Edwin J. Gray	Deputy Assistant to the President & Director, Office of Policy Development
35	Kevin R. Hopkins	Special Assistant to the President
36	James S. Brady	Assistant to the President & Press Secretary
37	Larry M. Speakes	Deputy Assistant to the President & Deputy Press Secretary
38	Karna Small	Deputy Assistant to the President & Deputy Press Secretary
39	Lyndon K. Allin	Associate Press Secretary
40	Mark Weinberg	Assistant Press Secretary
41	David Prosperi	Assistant Press Secretary
42	Bob Dahlgren	Departmental Press Secretary Liaison
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51	David Swanson	Special Assistant, Senate
52	Pamela J. Turner	Special Assistant, Senate
53	Kenneth M. Duberstein	Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, House
54	John H. Dressendorfer	Special Assistant, House
55	M.B. Oglesby	Special Assistant, House
56	Nancy Risque	Special Assistant, House
57	David Wright	Special Assistant, House
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64	Virginia H. Knauer	Special Assistant, Social Services Deputy Director
65	Diana L. Lozano	Special Assistant, Human Services
66	Thelma Duggin	Deputy Special Assistant
67	Wayne H. Valis	Special Assistant, Business
68	Ernest E. Garcia	Special Assistant, Director of Resources
69	Sally Hartwig	Director of Scheduling

70	Richard S. Williamson	Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs
71	Alan F. Holmer	Deputy Assistant to the President
72	Penny L. Eastman	Special Assistant, Regulatory Relief Task Force
73	John M. Medas	Special Assistant, Intergovernmental Affairs
74	Judy F. Peachee	Special Assistant, State Legislatures
75	J. Steven Rhodes	Special Assistant, City-County Officials
76	John F.W. Rogers	Special Assistant to the President for Administration
77	Sarah T. Kadec	Deputy Director
78	Edwin L. Harper	Assistant to the President
79	E. Pendleton James	Assistant to the President for Presidential Personnel
80	John S. Herrington	Deputy Assistant
81	William Draper	Director, Office of Personnel
82	Franklin C. Nofziger	Assistant to the President for Political Affairs
83	Edward Rollins	Deputy Assistant, Western States
84	Paul A. Russo	Deputy Assistant, Eastern States
85	Lee Atwater	Deputy Assistant, Southern States
86	Richard S. Beal	Special Assistant to the President
87	David C. Fischer	Special Assistant to the President
88	Clement F. Conger	Curator
89	Daniel M.D. Ruge	Physician to the President
90	Rex W. Scouten	Chief Usher

Source: Congressional Staff Directory

APPENDIX 6.1

The following is the full text of an internal memorandum on standards of conduct issued to each staff member of the White House staff early in 1977 by order of President Carter. It was made specially available to this writer by Jody Powell, the President's Press Secretary, in personal correspondence.

SUBJECT: STANDARDS OF CONDUCT

Stringent legal requirements governing standards of conduct and conflicts of interest are applicable to each member of the White House Staff and personnel on detail to the White House from other agencies.

A detailed guideline on standards of conduct of White House staff members will be promulgated to the White House Staff in the near future. Meanwhile, the following general principles should be followed. If you are in doubt about any of the following matters, or have a legal question, contact the White House Counsel's Office, Extension 6611.

A Conflicts of Interest

A "conflict of interest" refers to any situation in which a government official has an actual or apparent personal interest in the outcome of a matter which he or she is in a position to influence through decision, recommendation, advice, or other formal or informal action.

A violation of law does not require an intent to favour one's personal interest, and cannot be overcome by a showing of the absence of such an intent. Participation, by itself, in a matter in which you have an interest is unlawful.

The interests of all members of a staff member's family living within his or hers household are regarded as his or her own.

B Regulatory Agencies

Executive Office personnel should be especially careful about contact with independent regulatory agencies, and should clear in advance any contacts with such agencies or with litigating divisions of the Department of Justice or the IRS through the Office of the Counsel to the President.

The following list of federal agencies is provided to assist you in determining which agency contacts require prior clearance with the Counsel's Office:

Independent Regulatory Agencies

(All contacts other than simple referrals of mail must be cleared)

Civil Aeronautics Board
Commodity Futures Trading Commission
Consumer Product Safety Commission
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
Federal Election Commission
Federal Maritime Commission
Federal Power Commission

Federal Reserve Commission
Federal Trade Commission
Interstate Commerce Commission
National Credit Union Administration
National Labour Relations Board
National Transportation Safety Board
Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission
Renegotiation Board
Securities and Exchange Commission
United States International Trade Commission

Combined Executive/Regulatory Agencies

(To be treated as independent agencies on matters involving the regulatory functions, i.e. rule making and adjudication)

Environmental Protection Agency
Federal Energy Administration
United States Civil Service Commission

Quasi-Regulatory Agencies

The following agencies do not exercise regulatory powers comparable to the independent regulatory agencies but do have comparable independence and should be treated as equivalent to the regulatory agencies with respect to commenting on particular cases, applications and the like:

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Federal Home Loan Bank Board
Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States
Indian Claims Commission
Overseas Private Investment Corporation
Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation
National Selective Service Appeal Board

Procurement Activities

The same rules applicable to independent regulatory functions should be followed with respect to all government procurement activities.

C Lobbying

If carried on with appropriated funds, lobbying is expressly prohibited by law.

D Political Activity

Political activity by White House personnel is subject to restrictions. For example, no political campaign activity, and especially no solicitation, receipt, expenditure, or possession of campaign funds may occur on the premises of any Federal building.

E Misuse of Information

Disclosure of classified or other confidential information is prohibited. Equally important is the need to avoid the fact and appearance of using information obtained in the course of an employee's official duties for private gain, especially through investments or speculation.

F Gifts

Receipt of gifts, payment of travel, lodging, entertainment and other expenses, or the receipt of speaking honoraria are generally prohibited. Gifts to superiors within the White House are also illegal.

G White House Stationery

White House stationery should be used for official business only; not for personal purposes.

H Employment Referrals

Career Positions

No White House staff member may refer an individual for a career position within a department or agency or request others within the Executive Department to do so. Telephone calls or inquiries as to the status of an appointment for a career position in a department or agency are prohibited.

Non-Career Positions

White House Staff, other than the White House Presidential Personnel Office, should not refer an applicant for a non-career position directly to the agency in which the appointment is sought. Such applicants should be referred to the Presidential Personnel Office.

I Appearance of Impropriety

Finally, employees must be ever sensitive to avoid the appearance of acting on behalf of some private interest or of a conflict or other impropriety which can be fully as damaging as the real thing.

REFERENCES: Executive Order 11222, May 8th 1965.
Public Law 87-849, Title 18 USC Secs. 201, et. seq.

Source: The White House

APPENDIX 6.2

The following excerpts from the Opinion of the United States Supreme Court are taken from United States v. Nixon, President of the United States, et al. and convey the Court's approach to the claim of an absolute executive privilege by President Nixon in respect of the confidentiality of communications with his advisors (i.e. members of his White House staff).

IV

THE CLAIM OF PRIVILEGE

A

"...we turn to the claim that the subpoena should be quashed because it demands "confidential conversations between a President and his close advisors that it would be inconsistent with the public interest to produce"....

In the performance of assigned constitutional duties each branch of the Government must initially interpret the Constitution, and the interpretation of its powers by any branch is due great respect from the others. The President's counsel, as we have noted, reads the Constitution as providing an absolute privilege of confidentiality for all presidential communications. Many decisions of this Court, however, have unequivocally reaffirmed the holding of Marbury vs. Madison...that "it is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is"....

B

In support of his claim of absolute privilege, the President's counsel urges two grounds one of which is common to all governments and one of which is peculiar to our system of separation of powers. The first ground is the valid need for protection of communications between high government officials and those who advise and assist them in the performance of their manifold duties; the importance of this confidentiality is too plain to require further discussion. Human experience teaches that those who expect public dissemination of their remarks well may temper candor with a concern for appearances and for their own interests to the detriment of the decision-making process. Whatever the nature of the privilege of confidentiality of presidential communications in the exercise of Art. II powers the privilege can be said to derive from the supremacy of each branch within its own assigned area of constitutional duties. Certain powers and privileges flow from the nature of enumerated powers; the protection of the confidentiality of presidential communications has similar constitutional underpinnings.

The second ground asserted by the President's counsel in support of the claim of absolute privilege rests on the doctrine of the separation of powers....

However, neither the doctrine of separation of powers, nor the need for confidentiality of high level communications, without more, can sustain an absolute, unqualified presidential privilege of immunity from judicial process under all circumstances. The President's need for complete candor and objectivity calls for great deference from the courts. However, when the privilege depends solely on the broad, undifferentiated claim of public interest in the confidentiality of such conversations, a confrontation with other values arises. Absent a claim of need to protect military, diplomatic or sensitive national security secrets, we find it difficult to accept the argument that even the very important interest in confidentiality of presidential communications is significantly diminished by production of such material for in camera inspection with all the protection that a district court will be obliged to provide.

The impediment that an absolute, unqualified privilege would place in the way of the primary constitutional duty of the Judicial Branch to do justice in criminal prosecutions would plainly conflict with the function of the courts under Art. III. In designating the structure of our Government and dividing and allocating the sovereign power among three coequal branches, the Framers of the Constitution sought to provide a comprehensive system, but the separate powers were not intended to operate with absolute independence.

"While the Constitution diffuses power the better to secure liberty, it also contemplates that practice will integrate the dispersed powers into a workable government. It enjoins upon its branches separateness but interdependence, autonomy but reciprocity." Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer....

To read the Art. II powers of the President as providing an absolute privilege as against a subpoena essential to enforcement of criminal statutes on no more than a generalized claim of the public interest in confidentiality of nonmilitary and nondiplomatic discussions would upset the constitutional balance of "a workable government" and gravely impair the role of the courts under Art. III.

C

Since we conclude that the legitimate needs of the judicial process may outweigh presidential privilege, it is necessary to resolve those competing interests in a manner that preserves the essential functions of each branch. The right and indeed the duty to resolve that question does not free the judiciary from according high respect to the representations made on behalf of the President. United States v. Burr....

The expectation of a President to the confidentiality of his conversations and correspondence, like the claim of confidentiality of judicial deliberations, for example, has all the values to which we accord deference for the privacy of all citizens and added to those values the necessity for protection of the public interest in candid, objective, and even blunt or harsh opinions in presidential decision-making. A President and those who assist him must be free to explore alternatives in the process of shaping policies and making

decisions and to do so in a way many would be unwilling to express except privately. These are the considerations justifying a presumptive privilege for presidential communications. The privilege is fundamental to the operation of government and inextricably rooted in the separation of powers under the Constitution.... We agree with Mr. Chief Justice Marshall's observation, therefore, that "in no case of this kind would a court be required to proceed against the President as against an ordinary individual." United States v. Burr....

But this presumptive privilege must be considered in the light of our historic commitment to the rule of law....

Only recently the Court restated the ancient proposition of law, albeit in the context of a grand jury inquiry rather than a trial,

" ' that the public...has a right to every man's evidence' except for those persons protected by a constitutional, common law, or statutory privilege"....

The privileges referred to by the Court are designed to protect weighty and legitimate competing interests....

In this case we must weigh the importance of the general privilege of confidentiality of presidential communications in performance of his responsibilities against the inroads of such a privilege on the fair administration of criminal justice. The interest in preserving confidentiality is weighty indeed and entitled to great respect. However we cannot conclude that advisors will be moved to temper the candor of their remarks by the infrequent occasions of disclosure because of the possibility that such conversations will be called for in the context of a criminal prosecution....

The generalized assertion of privilege must yield to the demonstrated, specific need for evidence in a pending criminal trial....

E

.... It is therefore necessary in the public interest to afford presidential confidentiality the greatest protection consistent with the fair administration of justice. The need for confidentiality even as to idle conversations with associates in which casual reference might be made concerning political leaders within the country or foreign statesmen is too obvious to call for further treatment....

Source: United States v. Nixon, 44 U.S. 3090 (1974).

APPENDIX 7.1

WHITE HOUSE STAFF AUTHORIZATION LEGISLATION

CHRONOLOGY

1974

April 29 Administration recommends draft Bill to Congress.
May 9 H.R. 14715 introduced in the House. Based on the
Administration draft Bill.
May 23 House Hearing on H.R. 14715.
June 11 H.R. 14715 reported out by House Committee.
June 13 S. 3647 introduced in the Senate. Modified version of
Administration draft Bill.
June 25 H.R. 14715 passed by the House on voice vote.
June 26 H.R. 14715 introduced in the Senate. Senate Hearing on S. 3647.
July 11 S. 3647 reported out by Senate Committee.
July 18 S. 3647 passed by the Senate by 85-3 on a recorded vote.
August 2 Conference Report on H.R. 14715.
August 6 House agreed to Conference Report.
August 8 Senate insisted on non-germane amendment to the
Conference Report.
August 12 House refused to accept non-germane amendment.

DEADLOCK: No further progress in 1974.

1975

March 26 Administration sends new draft Bill to Congress.
April 8 H.R. 5747 introduced in the House. Same as the
Administration draft Bill.
April 22 House Hearing on H.R. 5747.
May 6 H.R. 6706 introduced in the House. Brand new Bill.
May 8 S. 1697 introduced in the Senate. Same as the
Administration draft Bill.
May 20 H.R. 6706 reported out by House Committee.
July 8 Substitute offered to H.R. 6706 on the House floor. Same
as H.R. 5747 (i.e. Administration draft) Bill.
July 9 H.R. 6706 passed by the House on voice vote.
July 10 H.R. 6706 introduced in the Senate.

SENATE TAKES NO ACTION: No further progress in 1975.

1976

June 15 Senate Committee requested reports from CBO, OMB and CSC on H.R. 6706.

SENATE TAKES NO ACTION: No further progress in 1976.

1977

April 19 H.R. 6326 introduced in the House. Brand new draft.

April 26 House Hearing on H.R. 6326.

May H.R. 6326 reported by the Subcommittee to the full House Committee but the latter failed to report out the Bill because of lack of a quorum.

May 16 Budget Act deadline for reporting authorization legislation.

Sept 30 Further House Hearing on H.R. 6326.

PRESIDENT CARTER'S REORGANIZATION PLAN No. 1 RENDERS H.R. 6326 OUT OF DATE: No further progress in 1977.

1978

Jan 31 H.R. 10657 introduced in the House. New Bill.

Feb 7 House Hearing on H.R. 10657.

Feb 20 H.R. 11003 introduced in the House. Similar Bill to H.R. 10657.

March 16 H.R. 11003 reported out by House Committee.

April 4 H.R. 11003 failed to secure two-thirds majority in the House for suspension of the Rules to allow debate on the Bill.

April 13 H.R. 11003 passed by the House by 265-134 on a recorded vote.

April 17 H.R. 11003 introduced in the Senate.

May 15 H.R. 11003 reported out by Senate Committee.

July 13 Senate begins debate on H.R. 11003.

July 14 H.R. 11003 passed by the Senate on voice vote.

Sept 28 Conference Report on H.R. 11003.

Oct 7 Senate agreed to Conference Report on voice vote.

Oct 14 House agreed to Conference Report on voice vote.

Nov 2 President Carter signed H.R. 11003 into law.

WHITE HOUSE STAFF AUTHORIZATION ACT PL 95-570.

APPENDIX 7.2

WHITE HOUSE STAFF AUTHORIZATION ACT

Public Law 95-570 1978

PUBLIC LAW 95-570—NOV. 2, 1978

92 STAT. 2445

Public Law 95-570
95th Congress

An Act

To clarify the authority for employment of personnel in the White House Office and the Executive Residence at the White House, to clarify the authority for employment of personnel by the President to meet unanticipated needs, and for other purposes.

Nov. 2, 1978
[H.R. 11003]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) sections 105 and 106 of title 3, United States Code, are amended to read as follows:

White House Office and Executive Residence. Personnel employment authority clarification. Appointment.

“ASSISTANCE AND SERVICES FOR THE PRESIDENT

“SEC. 105. (a) (1) Subject to the provisions of paragraph (2) of this subsection, the President is authorized to appoint and fix the pay of employees in the White House Office without regard to any other provision of law regulating the employment or compensation of persons in the Government service. Employees so appointed shall perform such official duties as the President may prescribe.

“(2) The President may, under paragraph (1) of this subsection, appoint and fix the pay of not more than—

“(A) 25 employees at rates not to exceed the rate of basic pay then currently paid for level II of the Executive Schedule of section 5313 of title 5; and in addition

“(B) 25 employees at rates not to exceed the rate of basic pay then currently paid for level III of the Executive Schedule of section 5314 of title 5; and in addition

“(C) 50 employees at rates not to exceed the maximum rate of basic pay then currently paid for GS-18 of the General Schedule of section 5332 of title 5; and in addition

“(D) such number of other employees as he may determine to be appropriate at rates not to exceed the minimum rate of basic pay then currently paid for GS-16 of the General Schedule of section 5332 of title 5.

“(b) (1) Subject to the provisions of paragraph (2) of this subsection, the President is authorized to appoint and fix the pay of employees in the Executive Residence at the White House without regard to any other provision of law regulating the employment or compensation of persons in the Government service. Employees so appointed shall perform such official duties as the President may prescribe.

Appointment.

“(2) The President may, under paragraph (1) of this subsection, appoint and fix the pay of not more than—

“(A) 3 employees at rates not to exceed the maximum rate of basic pay then currently paid for GS-18 of the General Schedule of section 5332 of title 5; and in addition

“(B) such number of other employees as he may determine to be appropriate at rates not to exceed the minimum rate of basic pay then currently paid for GS-16 of the General Schedule of section 5332 of title 5.

“(c) The President is authorized to procure for the White House Office and the Executive Residence at the White House, as provided in appropriation Acts, temporary or intermittent services of experts

Experts and consultants, temporary or intermittent services.

and consultants, as described in and in accordance with the first two sentences of section 3109(b) of title 5.

"(1) In the case of the White House Office, at respective daily rates of pay for individuals which are not more than the daily equivalent of the rate of basic pay then currently paid for level II of the Executive Schedule of section 5313 of title 5; and

"(2) in the case of the Executive Residence, at respective daily rates of pay for individuals which are not more than the daily equivalent of the maximum rate of basic pay then currently paid for GS-18 of the General Schedule of section 5332 of title 5.

Notwithstanding such section 3109(b), temporary services of any expert or consultant described in such section 3109(b) may be procured for a period in excess of one year if the President determines such procurement is necessary.

Appropriation authorization.

"(4) There are authorized to be appropriated each fiscal year to the President such sums as may be necessary for—

"(1) the care, maintenance, repair, alteration, refinishing, improvement, air-conditioning, heating, and lighting (including electric power and fixtures) of the Executive Residence at the White House;

"(2) the official expenses of the White House Office;

"(3) the official entertainment expenses of the President;

"(4) the official entertainment expenses for allocation within the Executive Office of the President; and

"(5) the subsistence expenses of persons in the Government service while traveling on official business in connection with the travel of the President.

Certification and report to Congress.

Sums appropriated under this subsection for expenses described in paragraphs (1), (3), and (5) may be expended as the President may determine, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law. Such sums shall be accounted for solely on the certificate of the President, except that, with respect to such expenses, the Comptroller General may inspect all necessary books, documents, papers, and records relating to any such expenditures solely for the purpose of verifying that all such expenditures related to expenses in paragraph (1), (3), or (5). The Comptroller General shall certify to Congress the fact of such verification, and shall report any such expenses not expended for such purpose.

"(e) Assistance and services authorized pursuant to this section to the President are authorized to be provided to the spouse of the President in connection with assistance provided by such spouse to the President in the discharge of the President's duties and responsibilities. If the President does not have a spouse, such assistance and services may be provided for such purposes to a member of the President's family whom the President designates.

ASSISTANCE AND SERVICES FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

"Sec. 106. (a) In order to enable the Vice President to provide assistance to the President in connection with the performance of functions specially assigned to the Vice President by the President in the discharge of executive duties and responsibilities, the Vice President is authorized—

"(1) without regard to any other provision of law regulating the employment or compensation of persons in the Government service, to appoint and fix the pay of not more than—

"(A) 5 employees at rates not to exceed the rate of basic pay then currently paid for level II of the Executive Schedule of section 5313 of title 5; and in addition

"(B) 3 employees at rates not to exceed the rate of basic pay then currently paid for level III of the Executive Schedule of section 5314 of title 5; and in addition

"(C) 3 employees at rates not to exceed the maximum rate of basic pay then currently paid for GS-18 of the General Schedule of section 5332 of title 5; and in addition

"(D) such number of other employees as he may determine to be appropriate at rates not to exceed the minimum rate of basic pay then currently paid for GS-16 of the General Schedule of section 5332 of title 5; and

"(2) to procure, as provided in appropriation Acts, temporary or intermittent services of experts and consultants, as described in and in accordance with the first two sentences of section 3109(b) of title 5, at respective daily rates of pay for individuals which are not more than the daily equivalent of the rate of basic pay then currently paid for level II of the Executive Schedule of section 5313 of title 5.

Notwithstanding such section 3109(b), temporary services of any expert or consultant described in such section 3109(b) may be procured under paragraph (2) of this subsection for a period in excess of one year if the Vice President determines such procurement is necessary.

"(b) In order to carry out the executive duties and responsibilities referred to in subsection (a), there are authorized to be appropriated each fiscal year to the Vice President such sums as may be necessary for—

"(1) the official expenses of the Office of the Vice President;

"(2) the official entertainment expenses of the Vice President; and

"(3) the subsistence expenses of persons in the Government service while traveling on official business in connection with the travel of the Vice President.

Sums appropriated under this subsection for expenses described in paragraphs (2) and (3) may be expended as the Vice President may determine, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law. Such sums shall be accounted for solely on the certificate of the Vice President, except that, with respect to such expenses, the Comptroller General may inspect all necessary books, documents, papers, and records relating to any such expenditures solely for the purpose of verifying that all such expenditures related to expenses in paragraph (2) or (3). The Comptroller General shall certify to Congress the fact of such verification, and shall report any such expenses not expended for such purpose.

"(c) Assistance and services authorized pursuant to this section to the Vice President are authorized to be provided to the spouse of the Vice President in connection with assistance provided by such spouse to the Vice President in the discharge of the Vice President's executive duties and responsibilities. If the Vice President does not have a spouse, such assistance and services may be provided for such purposes to a member of the Vice President's family whom the Vice President designates.

"(b) The items relating to sections 105 and 106 in the table of sections at the beginning of chapter 2 of title 5, United States Code, are amended to read as follows:

Experts and consultants.

Appropriation authorization.

"(1) the official expenses of the Office of the Vice President;

Certification and report to Congress.

3 USC 101.

92 STAT. 2448

PUBLIC LAW 95-570—NOV. 2, 1978

PUBLIC LAW 95-570—NOV. 2, 1978

92 STAT. 2449

3 USC 101.

"105. Assistance and services for the President.
 "106. Assistance and services for the Vice President."
 Sec. 2. (a) Chapter 2 of title 3, United States Code, is amended by striking out section 107 and inserting in lieu thereof the following new sections:

Appointment.

"DOMESTIC POLICY STAFF AND OFFICE OF ADMINISTRATION: PERSONNEL
 "Sec. 107. (a) In order to enable the Domestic Policy Staff to perform its functions, the President (or his designee) is authorized—

"(1) without regard to any other provision of law regulating the employment or compensation of persons in the Government service; to appoint and fix the pay of not more than

"(A) 6 employees at rates not to exceed the rate of basic pay then currently paid for level III of the Executive Schedule of section 5314 of title 5; and in addition

"(B) 18 employees at rates not to exceed the maximum rate of basic pay then currently paid for GS-18 of the General Schedule of section 5352 of title 5; and in addition

"(C) such number of other employees as he may determine to be appropriate at rates not to exceed the minimum rate of basic pay then currently paid for GS-16 of the General Schedule of section 5352 of title 5; and

Experts and consultants, temporary or intermittent services.

"(2) to procure, as provided in appropriation Acts, temporary or intermittent services of experts and consultants, as described in and in accordance with the first two sentences of section 3109 (b) of title 5, at respective daily rates of pay for individuals which are not more than the daily equivalent of the rate of basic pay then currently paid for level III of the Executive Schedule of section 5314 of title 5.

"(b) (1) In order to enable the Office of Administration to perform its functions, the President (or his designee) is authorized—

"(A) without regard to such other provisions of law as the President may specify which regulate the employment and compensation of persons in the Government service, to appoint and fix the pay of not more than—

"(1) 5 employees at rates not to exceed the rate of basic pay then currently paid for level III of the Executive Schedule of section 5314 of title 5; and in addition

"(ii) 2 employees at rates not to exceed the maximum rate of basic pay then currently paid for GS-18 of the General Schedule of section 5352 of title 5; and

Experts and consultants, temporary or intermittent services.

"(B) to procure, as provided in appropriation Acts, temporary or intermittent services of experts and consultants, as described in and in accordance with the first two sentences of section 3109 (b) of title 5, at respective daily rates of pay for individuals which are not more than the daily equivalent of the maximum rate of basic pay then currently paid for GS-18 of the General Schedule of section 5352 of title 5.

"(2) In addition to any authority granted under paragraph (1) of this subsection, the President (or his designee) is authorized to employ individuals in the Office of Administration in accordance with section 3101 of title 5 and provisions relating thereto. Any individual so employed under the authority granted under such section 3101 shall be subject to the limitation specified in section 114 of this title.

"(c) There are authorized to be appropriated each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary for the official expenses of the Domestic Policy Staff and the Office of Administration.

"ASSISTANCE TO THE PRESIDENT FOR EXANTICIPATED NEEDS

"Sec. 108. (a) There is authorized to be appropriated to the President an amount not to exceed \$1,000,000 each fiscal year to enable the President, in his discretion, to meet unanticipated needs for the furtherance of the national interest, security, or defense, including personnel needs and needs for services described in section 3109 (b) of title 5, and administrative expenses related thereto, without regard to any provision of law regulating the employment or compensation of persons in the Government service or regulating expenditures of Government funds.

"(b) The President shall transmit a report to each House of the Congress for each fiscal year beginning on or after the effective date of this subsection which sets forth the purposes for which expenditures were made under this section for such fiscal year and the amount expended for each such purpose. Each such report shall be transmitted no later than 60 days after the close of the fiscal year covered by such report.

"(c) An individual may not be paid under the authority of this section at a rate of pay in excess of the rate of basic pay then currently paid for level II of the Executive Schedule of section 5313 of title 5."

(b) The items relating to sections 107 and 108 in the table of sections at the beginning of chapter 2 of title 3, United States Code, are amended to read as follows:

"107. Domestic Policy Staff and Office of Administration: personnel.

"108. Assistance to the President for unanticipated needs."
 Sec. 3. (a) Chapter 2 of title 3, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

"DETAIL OF EMPLOYERS OF EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

"Sec. 112. The head of any department, agency, or independent establishment of the executive branch of the Government may detail, from time to time, employees of such department, agency, or establishment to the White House Office, the Executive Residence, at the White House, the Office of the Vice President, the Domestic Policy Staff, and the Office of Administration. Any such office to which an employee has been detailed for service to such office shall reimburse the detailing department, agency, or establishment for the pay of each employee thereof—

"(1) who is so detailed, and

"(2) who is performing services which have been or would otherwise be performed by an employee of such office, for any period occurring during any fiscal year after 180 calendar days after the employee is detailed in such year.

"PERSONNEL REPORT

"Sec. 113. (a) The President shall transmit to each House of the Congress, and make available to the public, reports containing information described in subsection (b) for each fiscal year beginning on

Appropriation authorization.
 3 USC 108.

Report, transmitted to Congress.

3 USC 101.

3 USC 112.

Reimbursement.

Report, transmitted to Congress.
 3 USC 113.

Contents

or after the effective date of this section. Each such report shall be transmitted no later than 60 days after the close of the fiscal year covered by such report and shall contain a statement of such information for such year.

(b) Each report required under subsection (a) shall contain—

(1) the number of employees who are paid at a rate of basic pay equal to or greater than the rate of basic pay then currently paid for level V of the Executive Schedule of section 5316 of title 5 and who are employed in the White House Office, the Executive Residence at the White House, the Office of the Vice President, the Domestic Policy Staff, or the Office of Administration, and the aggregate amount paid to such employees;

(2) the number of employees employed in such offices who are paid at a rate of basic pay which is equal to or greater than the minimum rate of basic pay then currently paid for GS-16 of the General Schedule of section 5332 of title 5 but which is less than the rate then currently paid for level V of the Executive Schedule of section 5316 of title V and the aggregate amount paid to such employees;

(3) the number of employees employed in such offices who are paid at a rate of basic pay which is less than the minimum rate then currently paid for GS-16 of the General Schedule of section 5332 of title V and the aggregate amount paid to such employees;

(4) the number of individuals detailed under section 112 of this title for more than 30 days to each such office, the number of days in excess of 30 each individual made as provided by the aggregate amount of reimbursement made as provided by the provisions of section 112 of this title; and

(5) the number of individuals whose services as experts or consultants are procured under this chapter for service in any such office, the total number of days employed, and the aggregate amount paid to procure such services.

The information required under this subsection to be in any report shall be shown both in the aggregate and by office involved.

GENERAL PAY LIMITATION

3 USC 114

“Sec. 114. Notwithstanding any provision of law, other than the provisions of this chapter, no employee of the White House Office, the Executive Residence at the White House, the Domestic Policy Staff, or the Office of Administration, nor any employee under the Vice President appointed under section 106 of this title, may be paid at a rate of basic pay in excess of the minimum rate of basic pay then currently paid for GS-16 of the General Schedule of section 5332 of title 5.”

3 USC 101

(b) The table of sections for chapter 2 of title 3, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new items:

“112. Detail of employees of executive departments.

“113. Personal report.

“114. General pay limitation.”

Sec. 4. Section 103 of title 3, United States Code, relating to travel expenses of the President, is amended by striking out “\$40,000” and inserting in lieu thereof “\$100,000.”

Sec. 5. (a) Section 102 of title 3, United States Code, is amended by striking out “Executive Mansion” and inserting in lieu thereof “Executive Residence at the White House.”
(b) (1) Section 109 of title 3, United States Code, is amended—

(A) by striking out from the section caption “EXECUTIVE MANSION” and inserting in lieu thereof “THE EXECUTIVE RESIDENCE AT THE WHITE HOUSE”; and

(B) by striking out from the text “Executive Mansion” each place it appears and inserting in lieu thereof “Executive Residence at the White House”;

(2) The item relating to section 109 in the table of sections for chapter 2 of such title 3 is amended by striking out “Executive Mansion” and inserting in lieu thereof “the Executive Residence at the White House”;

(c) (1) Section 110 of title 3, United States Code, is amended—

(A) by inserting in the section caption, immediately before “WHITE HOUSE” the following: “THE EXECUTIVE RESIDENCE AT THE”;

(B) by striking out “President’s House” and inserting in lieu thereof the following: “Executive Residence at the White House”;

and

(C) by striking out “White House” each place it appears and inserting in lieu thereof “Executive Residence at the White House”;

(2) The item relating to section 110 in the table of sections for chapter 2 of such title is amended by inserting immediately before “White House” the following: “the Executive Residence at the”;

(d) Section 202 of such title is amended by striking out “Executive Mansion and grounds” and inserting in lieu thereof “White House”;

S. c. 6. (a) The amendments made by this Act shall apply to any fiscal year which begins on or after October 1, 1978.

(b) In the case of an individual—

(1) who is an employee of the Office of Administration as of the date of the enactment of this Act; and

(2) whose position would be terminated or whose rate of basic pay would be reduced (but for this subsection) by reason of section 107(b) of title 3, United States Code (as amended by this Act), such employee may be allowed to continue to hold such position and receive basic pay at the rate in effect on the effective date of this Act during the period which begins on such date and ends 2 years after such date so long as such employee continues as an employee of the Office of Administration.

3 USC 202

3 USC 102 note.

3 USC 107 note.

Approved November 2, 1978.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORTS: No. 95-979 (Comm. on Post Office and Civil Service) and No. SENATE REPORTS: 95-1639 (Comm. of Conference), 95-988 (Comm. on Governmental Affairs) and No. 95-1258 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol.

(C) 1978, 1979.

Apr. 4, considered in House and passed by passage.

July 13, 14, considered and passed House.

Oct. 7, Senate agreed to conference report.

Oct. 15, House agreed to conference report.

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REFERENCES & NOTES

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REFERENCES AND NOTES FOR CHAPTER I

- 01 Louis Brownlow quotes President Roosevelt in 1937 as having said, "I thought the White House office was all set for twenty-five years, but already it is too small. But I can move the files and machinery over to State, War, and Navy, and build a tunnel". Louis Brownlow, A Passion For Anonymity (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1958), p. 381. This was indeed what happened. William D. Hassett, who served as a Secretary to the President, records that on 5th November, 1942, FDR laid the cornerstone of the recently completed West Wing, which had by then been occupied for several weeks. In a short and simple ceremony the President insisted that there should be no publicity and, despite the presence of the Press and photographers, that "the whole business be private and strictly off the record." William D. Hassett, Off The Record With F.D.R. (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1958), p. 138.
- 02 In 1958 hearings were held in furtherance of plans to extend the protection offered by the White House Police to members of the staff in the EOB as well as in the West Wing. This in turn had been prompted by the President's Advisory Commission on Presidential Office Space which, after a study commissioned by The White House Office between February and May, 1955, had recommended the provision of more adequate office space for The White House Office and other agencies in the EOP. This expansion led the Senate in 1958 to examine the precise interpretation of the phrase "Executive Mansion and grounds" and to what extent the growing White House staff could all be held to qualify for protection within the meaning of that phrase. Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Government Matters of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, on H.R. 13450, Supplemental Appropriation Bill 1959, 30th July, 1958, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1958), pp. 632-633.
- 03 Ibid.
- 04 This fact was admitted by Elmer B. Staats, Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget, in testimony before a House subcommittee. "Practically all of them (Special Projects staff) are located in the (EOB)."
Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Government Matters, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Executive Office of the President, 3rd March, 1960, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1960), p. 87. Ten years later, in response to further questions about where the White House staff were housed, James R. Schlesinger, Acting Deputy Director of OMB, confirmed that White House Office and Special Projects staff, and consultants, worked either in the White House or in the Executive Office Building, although "we can't guarantee what will happen 5 or 10 years from now". Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Office, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Executive Office of the President, 27th May, 1970, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1970), p. 1240.
- 05 Elmer B. Staats, Comptroller General of the United States, Letter to Hon. H.R. Haldeman, Assistant to the President, 13th December, 1972, in Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 93-34, 23rd May, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 19.

- 06 John M. Pinckney, Budget and Management Officer of OMB, submitted this memorandum "in response to the Chairman's inquiry as to the number of employees working in the White House." He asserted that this number "fluctuates greatly from week to week and from month to month." Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Executive Office of the President, 1st May 1972, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1972), pp. 693-694.

The regular annual hearings in this series from 1971 onwards, held by this particular Senate appropriations subcommittee on all EOP (and therefore all White House staff) budgetary items, are hereinafter cited as: Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (197-). (The date given in brackets will refer to the **actual year** the hearings were held.)

- 07 This was confirmed both in House and Senate hearings by Roy L. Ash, Director of OMB. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 2107. See also: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Part 3: Executive Office of the President, 21st May, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 713.

The regular annual hearings in this series from 1971 onwards, held by this particular House appropriations subcommittee on all EOP (and therefore all White House staff) budgetary items, are hereinafter cited as: House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (197-). (The date given in brackets will refer to the **actual year** the hearings were held.)

- 08 "The total number of people working here under the auspices of the Secret Service and the White House Communications Agency is not available for security reasons." John M. Pinckney, Budget and Management Officer of OMB, Memorandum to Senator Joseph M. Montoya, (D-NM.), Chairman, Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, reprinted in Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 693.

- 09 Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, pursuant to H.Res. 803, A Resolution Authorizing And Directing The Committee On The Judiciary To Investigate Whether Sufficient Grounds Exist For The House Of Representatives To Exercise Its Constitutional Power To Impeach Richard M. Nixon President Of The United States of America, 93rd Congress, Second Session, Statement of Information: Background Memorandum, White House Staff and President Nixon's Campaign Organizations, May-June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 1.

These hearings are hereinafter generically cited as: House Impeachment Hearings (1974).

- 10 United States Government Organization Manual 1969-1970 (General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., July, 1969), pp. 56-57.

The Manuals in this series are hereinafter cited as: USGOM 19-- to 19--. (The dates given will refer to the particular edition in question.)

- 10a Alexander P. Butterfield, a Deputy Assistant on the White House staff of President Nixon, testified in 1974 that the job of Staff Secretary was not originally a commissioned post on the White House staff. With the appointment of the third person to that post, said Butterfield, "we elevated the staff secretary's job to a commissioned job. He became, instead of a staff aide, a special assistant to the President." Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, 2nd July, 1974, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 28.
- 11 3 U.S.C. 106 authorizes 6 Administrative Assistants, while 3 U.S.C. 105 authorizes 8 other secretaries or immediate staff assistants together with 3 Executive Secretaries of certain specified entities. This makes a total of 17 fully authorized permanent staff positions. Other sections of the United States Code (3 U.S.C. 107 and 5 U.S.C. 3109) do not relate to permanent staff.
- 12 Elmer B. Staats, Comptroller General of the United States, Letter to Hon. H.R. Haldeman, Assistant to the President, 13th December, 1972, reprinted in Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 93-34, 23rd May, 1974, op. cit., p. 19. See also: John M. Pinckney, Budget and Management Officer of OMB, Memorandum, reprinted in Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., pp. 693-694.
- 13 USGOM 1972-1973, op. cit., pp. 69-70. See also: Congressional Directory 1972 (Joint Committee on Printing, U.S. Congress, Washington D.C., January, 1972), pp. 461-462. See also: Congressional Staff Directory 1972 (Congressional Staff Directory Inc., Mount Vernon, Virginia, March, 1972), pp. 473-474.
- The Directories in this series are hereinafter cited as: CD 19--. (The date given will refer to the particular edition in question.)
The Staff Directories in this series are hereinafter cited as: CSD 19--. (The date given will refer to the particular edition in question.)
- 14 United States Budget FY 1974 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), Appendix, p. 57.
- The Budget Appendices in this series are hereinafter cited as: USBA FY 19--. (The date given will refer to the Fiscal Year in question.)
- Even the figure of 544 given in the USBA is at variance with other figures printed in the Congressional Record in 1978, which put the "official" total at 550, and, counting 34 detailees, the "real" total at 584. Congressional Record - House, 4th April, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), p. H2423.
- 15 USBA FY 1974, op. cit., p. 63. This figure is a combination of permanent positions (70) and the full-time equivalent of other positions (6).
- 16 Ibid., pp. 61-62. This figure is a combination of permanent positions (79) and the full-time equivalent of other positions (1).
- 17 Ibid., pp. 61-63. The Budget Authority for the NSC in 1972 was \$2,424,000; and for the Domestic Council it was \$2,209,000.

- 18 An OMB official testified that there were 22 persons on detail to The White House Office in 1972. Of these, 10 were "for short-term projects", while 12 had "responsibilities...indefinite in duration". John M. Pinckney, Budget and Management Officer of OMB, Memorandum, reprinted in Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 694. One year later, the number of detailees had risen to 36. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1973), pp. 1785-1786.
- 19 These 53 personnel included both officers and non-officer personnel from the Department of State (18), the Department of Defense (11), the Central Intelligence Agency (13), and from five other government agencies (11). Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 869.
- 20 USBA FY 1974, op. cit., p. 57.
- 21 Ibid. The Special Projects appropriation carries no "Personnel Summary" (as does The White House Office). Details of the employment of Special Projects personnel were given in earlier budgets (FY 1957 to FY 1966), but did not appear in the USBA FY 1967 or subsequently.
- 22 Of these 14 Special Projects Staff, one was a Special Assistant to the President, one a Special Consultant to the President, one a Deputy Special Assistant to the President, and one the Executive Director of the Domestic Council - all supposedly of commissioned rank. The full listing was submitted by Roy Ash, Director of OMB, during testimony before a Senate subcommittee, and inserted into the record. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1973), op. cit., p. 1778.
- 23 USBA FY 1974, op. cit., p. 65. The Emergency Fund was established in 1940, since when it had annually been appropriated \$1m during the period 1940-1973. In 1974-1975 its appropriation was halved to \$500,000, but the full amount has since been restored (from 1976) under the heading "Unanticipated Needs" fund. Information about "Personal Services" in relation to this fund disappeared from the USBA in 1951. Prior to that date, certain details had been included. For example, two senior members of the Truman White House staff, John Steelman, Assistant to the President, and Clark Clifford, Special Counsel to the President, were listed (among others) as having their salaries paid from the Emergency Fund account. USBA FY 1949, op. cit., p. 60.
- 24 Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., pp. 667-679. This appropriation also funded a small number (8) of permanent staff positions. Ibid., p. 668.
- 25 The White House, Members of the White House Staff (Office of the White House Press Secretary, The White House, Washington D.C., April 1971). Included with this Press Release was a listing of staff headed: "Executive Office of the President Office of Science and Technology".
- 26 Ibid. The 22 personnel listed as OST staff did not include clerical or secretarial support staff. The Budget Authority for "Salaries and Expenses" amounted to \$2,300,000 according to The United States Budget, Budget In Brief FY 1974, The Federal Program by Agency and Account, (Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), p. 181.

- 27 The precise figures for Budget Authority were as follows: The White House Office, \$9,342,000; The National Security Council, \$2,424,000; The Domestic Council, \$2,209,000; Special Projects, \$1,500,000; Emergency Fund, \$1,000,000; Expenses of Management Improvement, \$700,000; and the Office of Science and Technology, \$2,300,000. The combined total Budget Authority was \$19,475,000. The United States Budget, Budget in Brief FY 1974, op. cit., pp. 178-181.
- 28 Several other Cabinet departments and agencies carry the subsidiary costs of the White House staff and the President. For example, the Defense Department pays for Camp David in Maryland, maintained with about 140 Naval personnel at an annual cost of about \$1,400,000 p.a. It also supplies 5 Boeing 707s and 11 smaller executive jets and helicopters for the use (mainly) of White House staff. Until President Carter took steps to dispose of the presidential yacht "Sequoia", this too was maintained by the Defense Department. In 1972 it provided some 30 White House limousines for staff members (Carter subsequently reduced this number drastically, and then allowed a degree of resurrection). It also paid for the White House communications network, whose cost was hidden but was believed to be more than \$35m p.a. The Treasury Department pays for the Secret Service, and the Executive Protective Service (which includes the White House tour guides). The General Services Administration takes responsibility (at over \$2,000,000 p.a.) for furnishing, remodelling, and maintaining the East and West wings of the White House. The State Department reimburses the White House for the cost of State Dinners, helps to underwrite the cost of foreign travel, and is responsible for the upkeep of Blair House. The National Park Service employs about 70 persons (including butlers, chefs, and floral designers) who work at the White House. It is usual for the Director of the National Capital Parks to testify before Congress on funds for the Executive Residence. On one occasion in 1972 such testimony produced a full listing of the duties of the 75 persons then employed under this appropriation, together with confirmation that the State Department reimbursed the White House \$140,000 for the cost of official functions (such as State Dinners) at the White House. House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., pp. 139-150. See also: Ben Roberts, "Tying the Imperial Purse Strings", The Washington Monthly, September 1975, pp. 27-30, (cf Chapter II note 207, infra).
- 29 Haldeman himself admitted this fact in testimony before the Ervin Watergate Committee. Hearings before the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, United States Senate, Watergate and Related Activities, Phase I: Watergate Investigation, Book 7, 26th, 27th and 30th July, 1973, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), pp. 2868-2873.

These hearings are hereinafter generically cited as: Senate Watergate Committee Hearings (1973).

Haldeman's testimony had previously been confirmed by OMB Deputy Director Caspar Weinberger in House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 59. Haldeman's testimony was subsequently confirmed by the testimony of Deputy Assistant to the President Alexander P. Butterfield. Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, 2nd July, 1974, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 6-122.

- 30 Although such EOP entities as the National Aeronautics and Space Council, the Council on Environmental Quality, and the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention were set up primarily to serve the Presidency, one of these "outer ring" entities has on occasion been temporarily brought into the presidential ambit because of the close personal relationship of its Director to the President. One such example was furnished by President Carter's drug and health adviser, Dr. Peter Bourne, whose staff position was discontinued after the latter's resignation in 1978. It was reported at the time that "the position was created largely because of the President's close personal relationship with Bourne" and that his responsibilities "could easily be farmed out to others." "Washington Whispers", U.S. News and World Report, 21st September, 1978, p. 16.
- 31 USBA FY 1949, op. cit., p. 60. One of the staff members funded by this appropriation was Samuel Rosenman, Special Counsel to the President.
- 32 This is well illustrated by a little story. At the first meeting of the National Security Council, after passage of the National Security Act, on 26th September 1947, President Truman took the chair. Up till that moment there had been some doubt as to whether it would be Truman's Council or Forrestal's Council. James Forrestal was the then Secretary of Defense. But Truman dispelled all doubts by turning to his left and, touching Forrestal quietly on the knee, saying: "Now Jimmy, this is going to be my Council". John Osborne, "Command Staff", The Nixon Watch (Liveright, New York, 1970), p. 22.
- 33 Ibid. Defense Secretary Forrestal had arranged office space for the NSC staff in the Pentagon and even arranged for the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs, Admiral Sidney Souers, to occupy a suite next to his own.
- 34 Although Admiral Souers did not appear in any listing of the White House staff published by the USGOM or the CD, he was listed as a Special Consultant in "LIST A" of the White House staff, Harry S. Truman Library (G.S.A., National Archives and Records Service, Independence, Missouri, 1952), and as Executive Secretary of the NSC from 24th September, 1947, to 15th January, 1950, in "LIST B" of the White House staff. Harry S. Truman Library (G.S.A., National Archives and Records Service, Independence, Missouri, 1953).
- 35 James S. Lay, Jr., Executive Secretary of the NSC from January, 1950, to January, 1953, was listed as a member of President Truman's White House staff in "LIST B". Harry S. Truman Library, op. cit.
- 36 For example, W. Averell Harriman, a Special Assistant to the President, himself had a small personal staff of twelve (not counting secretarial assistance) of whom three were detailed from elsewhere in government. Dr. John R. Steelman, Assistant to the President, had a staff of seven on 9th December, 1952, of whom one was on detail; and among his former staff, of whom there had been eighteen, four had been on detail. "LIST A", Harry S. Truman Library, op. cit.
- 37 USGOM 1954-1955, op. cit., p. 62; CD 1954, op. cit., p. 357. The person President Eisenhower appointed to this position, and the first person ever to hold this staff title, was Robert Cutler.

- 38 This fund was from 1954-1971 directly in the President's control. Among the early uses of this fund was a budget allocation of \$40,000 on 24th February, 1955, to The White House Office for a study entitled "Building Space for the Presidency". As a result of this study additional office space was made available in the West Wing of the White House, after its report had been considered by the President's Advisory Commission on Presidential Office Space. A full listing of allocations made from the Expenses of Management Improvement fund was later printed in House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., pp. 9-36.
- 39 USBA FY 1957, op. cit., pp. 58-59. The initial appropriation was \$1,250,000 (subsequently \$1,500,000 p.a.), which funded 77 personnel in 1956.
- 40 The greatest number of Special Projects employees ever listed in a single year (206) was in respect of the number employed at the end of 1962. USBA FY 1964, op. cit., p. 46. However, between 1957 and 1964, the years for which detailed figures of Special Projects staff were made available, the average number was well over 100 staff. USBA FY 1958-1966, op. cit. Even in 1970 the level of Special Projects employment (95) was not far short of this average. USBA FY 1971, op. cit., p. 51.
- 41 Personal Correspondence with Jerry H. Jones, Staff Secretary to the President, 25th February, 1975.
- 42 USGOM 1972-1973, op. cit., p. 1.
- 43 For further details of the dates of successive publications see USGOM. Appendix 1.1 gives a facsimile copy of the first official report to Congress.
- 44 Personal Correspondence with Martha B. Girard, Deputy Director, Presidential and Legislative Division, Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Washington D.C., 17th December, 1974.
- 45 For further details of the dates of successive publications see CD. Appendix 1.1 gives a facsimile copy of the first official report to Congress.
- 46 Personal Correspondence with Lawrence F. Kennedy, Publications Director, Joint Committee on Printing, Congress of the United States 19th December, 1974.
- 47 For further details of the dates of successive publications see CSD. Appendix 1.1 gives a facsimile copy of the first official report to Congress.
- 48 Personal Correspondence with Charles B. Brownson, Editor-Publisher, Congressional Staff Directory, 11th February, 1975.
- 48a Great lengths are gone to accumulate the material that will be stored in these presidential pyramids. The Carter Administration is no exception. "Every letter, every memo, every scrap of paper concerned with the Carter administration, has to be filed for posterity and in a ground floor room of the Executive Office Building, protected by maximum security sensors, 39 clerks operate a huge alphabetical filing system. The 30 push-button 'power files' can accommodate a pile of documents more than a mile high and any one can be retrieved in seconds."

- Relatively little use is made of computers to look after presidential papers for fear that their security would be compromised (i.e. capable of being bugged). Only letters bearing the President's signature are filed by computer, and this is a very recent innovation. The computer used is encased in lead to prevent security leaks. Russell Miller and Renate Kohler (text) and John Bryson (photographs), "All The President's People", The Sunday Times Magazine, 12th February, 1978, pp. 38, 40.
- 49 Personal Correspondence with William R. Emerson, Director, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Hyde Park, New York, 16th December, 1974.
- 50 This was, in part, based on a list of names of persons working at "The White House" which was published by the Congressional Directory in the years 1933-1939, before the official establishment of the White House staff in 1939.
- 51 Fred W. Shipman, The White House Executive Office: Its Functions and Records, a report compiled for the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library by its Director, (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York, 1943).
- 52 Personal Correspondence with Philip D. Lagerquist, Chief Archivist, Harry S. Truman Library, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Independence, Missouri, 6th December, 1974.
- 53 Personal Correspondence with John E. Wickman, Director, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Abilene, Kansas, 12th December, 1974.
- 54 Personal Correspondence with Charles W. Corkran, Archivist, The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, The National Archives of the United States, Austin, Texas, 19th December, 1974.
- 54a Personal Correspondence with Shirley J. Parker, Librarian, John F. Kennedy Library, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, Waltham, Massachusetts, 13th December, 1974.
- 55 The White House, Members of the White House Staff (Office of the White House Press Secretary, The White House, April, 1971). This listing was made specially available to this writer by Bradley Patterson, Executive Assistant to Leonard Garment, Counsel to the President. Personal Interview with Bradley Patterson, 10th September, 1974.
- 56 Personal Correspondence with Jerry H. Jones, Staff Secretary to the President, 25th February, 1975. One document which the Ford White House would resolutely **not** release (nor did any of its predecessors) was the secret "inside" telephone directory of White House staff members prepared (and kept constantly up to date) for the operators of the White House switchboard. Personal Interview with an official White House Press spokesman, Office of Press Secretary to the President, The White House, 20th September, 1974.
- 57 David Halberstam, The Best and the Brightest (Fawcett Publications Inc., Greenwich, Conn., 1972), p. 47. Halberstam records that when Bowles was fired in the "Thanksgiving Day Massacre" from the State Department he "was shifted to a meaningless post at the White House."

- 58 USBA FY 1957-1966, op. cit. One peak of Special Projects staff employment was in 1962 when 206 personnel were carried on the payroll. USBA FY 1964, op. cit., p. 46. (Figures given are for "Number of Employees At End Of Year"). In the 1971 Budget the number of Special Projects staff (which had not been made available since the FY 1966 Budget) was given as 95. USBA FY 1971, op. cit., p. 51. In hearings before a Senate appropriations subcommittee in 1973, the Nixon Administration provided a list of 14 White House staff paid for by the Special Projects account. Among these were: Charles DiBona, Special Consultant to the President; Rodney C. Campbell, Deputy Special Assistant to the President; Kenneth R. Cole, Jr., Executive Director of the Domestic Council; Virginia Knauer, Special Assistant to the President; Kenneth W. Dam, Executive Director of the Council on Economic Policy; and Gerard P. Burke, Executive Secretary, President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1973), op. cit., p. 1778. Ungraded staff have traditionally been listed in the U.S. Budget. See for example: USBA FY 1949-1977, op. cit. The numbers of such staff jumped dramatically in 1971, and reached a peak of 96 in 1973. USBA FY 1975, op. cit., p. 969.
- 59 Haig was quickly recognised as Kissinger's deputy by other members of the Nixon staff. William Safire, Before The Fall (Doubleday & Co. Inc., New York, 1975), p. 136. Haig was formally listed as Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs in a listing of the White House staff issued by the Nixon White House in April, 1971. Members of the National Security Council Staff (Office of the White House Press Secretary, The White House, April, 1971).
- 60 "1964 President Nominations", Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1964 (Congressional Quarterly Inc., Washington D.C., 1965), p. 894. [It has since become standard practice for the White House to issue a Press Release on the appointment of a senior White House staff member. Personal Interview with an official White House Press spokesman, Office of Press Secretary to the President, The White House, 20th September, 1974.]
- 61 Ibid. See also: "43 Top Aides Served President Johnson Since 1963", Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1968 (Congressional Quarterly Inc., Washington D.C., 1969), p. 922.
- 62 Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1973), op. cit., p. 1778.
- 63 USBA FY 1971, op. cit., p. 51. The Nixon Administration explained the discrepancy in testimony before a Senate subcommittee in May 1970. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Office, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, 27th May, 1970, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1970), pp. 1230-1247.
- 64 For example, such names were listed in 1974: House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 715-718. They were not listed in 1975. They were listed in 1976: House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1976), op. cit., pp. 435-436.
- 65 J. Fred. Buzhardt, it was later revealed, was on detail to the White House staff from 1st July, 1973, until 4th January, 1974. His name was included with a listing of employees detailed to the White House (between 01-07-73 and 11-05-74), submitted for the record during testimony before a Senate subcommittee. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 2110-2113.

- 66 Buzhardt was accorded the unusual citation of Special Counsel to the President (Interim), USGOM 1973-1974, op. cit., p. 79. He was named Special Consultant to the President, CD 1974, op. cit., p. 468. He was named as Special Counsel to the President (Interim), CSD 1973, op. cit., p. 481; and Counsel to the President, CSD 1974, op. cit., p. 481.
- 67 Robert E. Hampton, Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission, Letter to Hon. Morris K. Udall, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 15th February, 1972, reprinted as Appendix II in A Report on the Growth of the Executive Office of the President 1955-1973, prepared under the direction of Congressman Morris K. Udall, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 92-19, 24th April, 1972, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1972), p. 20.
- 68 John W. Dean III, Blind Ambition (Simon & Schuster, New York, 1976), pp. 103-104. Alexander Butterfield, who served President Nixon as Deputy Assistant to the President, with direct responsibility for the work of the Staff Secretary, testified in 1974 that "I had never heard the name Howard Hunt before (Watergate happened)...He was a total stranger." Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, 2nd July, 1974, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 107.
- 69 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 724.
- 70 Higby was eventually listed as a Deputy Assistant to the President, CD 1973, op. cit., p. 468; CD 1974, op. cit., p. 468; CSD 1973, op. cit., p. 482; and CSD 1974, op. cit., p. 482.
- 71 Harry McPherson, A Political Education (Little Brown & Co., Boston, 1972), p. 254.
- 72 Patrick Anderson, The President's Men (Doubleday & Co., Inc., New York, 1969), p. 420.
- 73 John H. Kessel, The Domestic Presidency: Decision-Making in the White House (Duxbury Press, Wadsworth Publishing Co. Inc., Mass., 1975), p. 14. See also: Joseph A. Califano, Jr., A Presidential Nation (W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., New York, 1975), p. 40.
- 74 John Osborne, "Discipline and Order", The Nixon Watch (Liveright, New York, 1970), pp. 28-35.
- 75 For example, among those staff that, with Rose, worked under Counsellor Burns on the Nixon staff were Martin Anderson, Richard Burress, and Jack Tom Cole. Anderson in 1969 was listed as a Special Assistant to the President, USGOM 1969-70, op. cit., p. 56; CD 1969, op. cit., p. 422; and CSD 1969, op. cit., p. 469. He was listed as a Special Consultant to the President for Systems Analysis in 1970, USGOM 1970-71, op. cit., p. 57. Burress was listed in 1969 as Deputy Counsel to the President, USGOM 1969-70, op. cit., p. 56; CD 1969, op. cit., p. 422; and CSD 1969, op. cit., p. 469. He was listed as a Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs in 1970, USGOM 1970-1971, op. cit., p. 57. Cole was listed in 1970 as a Special Assistant to the President, ibid.
- 76 Rose was listed as a Special Assistant to the President in 1972, USGOM 1972-1973, op. cit., p. 69; CD 1972, op. cit., p. 462; CSD 1972, op. cit., p. 474.

- 77 Richard Reeves, Convention (Hutchinson, London, 1977), p. 116.
- 78 Raymond Price, With Nixon (The Viking Press, New York, 1978), p. 322. In describing the work of the Nixon speechwriting staff Price revealed the names of several more White House aides, such as Ken Khachigian and Ben Stein, who were never officially listed in the USGOM, CD or CSD. To highlight the inconsistency of published lists, two other speechwriters, David R. Gergen and David N. Parker, were included in certain years. In 1973-1974 both were listed as Special Assistants to the President in the USGOM, CD, and CSD.
- 79 Personal Correspondence with Lawrence F. Kennedy, Publications Director, Joint Committee on Printing, Congress of the United States, 19th December, 1974. Co-incidentally, on the very day before, the Ford White House had released the text of a background Press briefing given by Donald Rumsfeld, Ford's Chief of Staff, on White House organization. This included a listing of the Ford White House staff. The Ford White House claimed that "this is the first time that information of this type has been released to the public". Personal Correspondence with Jerry H. Jones, Staff Secretary to the President, The White House, 25th February, 1975.
- 80 For the most detailed explication of the United States Code see: United States Code Annotated, (1976 edition), Supplementary Pamphlet 1927-1975, Title 3: The President, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976), pp. 367-384.

This is hereinafter cited as: USCA (1976).

- 81 Ibid., p. 382. This subsection originally dates from June 1948, and was amended in October, 1949, "to provide increased compensation of secretaries, and executive, administrative and staff assistants". It was amended again in October 1961 "to increase the compensation of three assistants to the President"; amended again in August 1964 to "fix the compensation of the enumerated personnel at rates of basic compensation not more than that of Level II"; and again amended in 1967 to include another authorized position.
- 82 Ibid., p. 382. The amendment in August, 1964, (P.L. 88-426, 78 Stat. 422), repealed pay distinctions among the senior White House staff. Prior to 1964 the top 15 staff were subject to graded salary scales at rates of pay between \$18,500 p.a. and \$22,500 p.a. The Johnson Administration argued for equality of treatment for the top 14 staff at not more than the Executive Level II salary schedule. Curiously, it was left to conservative Republican congressmen to defend this egalitarian provision ten years later when authorization legislation for the White House staff was under consideration. See for example: Report, together with Supplemental Views, to accompany H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 93-1100, 11th June 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), pp. 31-32.
- 83 USCA (1976), op. cit., p. 383. This subsection dates from June, 1948, and was amended in October, 1949, "to delete salary provisions which are now covered by section 105 of this title". Ibid.

- 84 Johnson's Presidency began with two Administrative Assistants on the White House staff and ended with one. Mike Manatos, who had been appointed to the post by President Kennedy (USGOM 1961-62, op. cit., p. 58), was the only one of Kennedy's political staff to stay with President Johnson until he left office in 1969 (USGOM 1968-1969, op. cit., p. 54).
- 85 No title of Administrative Assistant to the President appears in the USGOM, CD, or CSD listings during the entire period of the Nixon Presidency. However, according to the Nixon White House itself, (Members of the White House staff, op. cit.), Lawrence M. Higby was accorded the staff title Administrative Assistant. Higby was not at that time a commissioned member of the staff, but was attached to the Office of Assistant to the President under H.R. Haldeman. His name did not appear in the CD and CSD listing until 1973-1974, when he was appointed a Deputy Assistant to the President.
- 86 USCA (1976), op. cit., p. 384. In its present form this subsection dates from June, 1948.
- 87 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 707.
- 88 Ibid., pp. 705-707. In response to questions from Congressman Joseph P. Addabbo (D-NY.), acting Chairman of the Subcommittee, Stanley Ebner, OMB General Counsel, submitted this item under the heading "The White House Office Statutory Authorization".
- 89 Ibid., p. 706. The only variation since this subsection was submitted for the record has been that the amount authorized has been raised. In 1975 the Ford Administration requested and received an increase from \$40,000 p.a. to \$100,000 p.a. House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., p. 518.
- 90 A good example occurred in the presidential election year of 1976, when Congressman Tom Steed (D-Okla.) observed to his appropriations subcommittee that "the matter of his travelling as a candidate or as a President is always the subject of controversial discussion". House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1976), op. cit., pp. 437-445.
- 91 Provision for the President's travel was first introduced in 1906, when it was authorized at \$25,000 p.a. and presumably was intended to cover the actual costs involved. In the modern day no attempt is made to pretend that this is the case. For further details of the true costs of presidential travel see: Ben Roberts, "Tying The Imperial Purse Strings", The Washington Monthly, September 1975, pp. 27-30. See also: "Comparative Cost Data on the Presidency and Functions Relating Thereto, Fiscal Years 1938-1960", a memorandum prepared by the Legislative Reference Service (Library of Congress, Washington D.C., 1960), and submitted by Maurice Stans, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, to a House appropriations subcommittee. Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Government Matters, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Executive Office of the President, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1959), pp. 127-135.
- 92 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 705-706.

- 93 Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., p. 1763.
- 94 USBA FY 1977, op. cit., p. 61. This figure was an estimate for 1977, and was actually a slight reduction on the actual amount expended in 1975 of \$207,000. Ibid.
- 95 Early in his Presidency Carter set a new tone of frugality. One symbolic guideline was the elimination of the chauffeur service for White House staff members. "Carter's First Week: Informality, Frugality", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 29th January, 1977, p. 174.
- 96 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 707.
- 97 This was made known by Jody Powell, Carter's Press Secretary, after President Carter's first Cabinet meeting on 24th January, 1977. Powell said that Carter's order would reduce the number of vehicles in the White House motor pool by at least 20 cars "to not more than 36 from 56". The Ford White House staff used 13 chauffeured limousines; the Nixon staff had used 20. (Carter did not eliminate the cars for his Cabinet.) "Carter's First Week", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, op. cit., p. 174. Jody Powell himself made it well known that he drove himself to work "in his battered 1966 Volkswagen". "The President's Boys", Time, 6th June, 1977, p. 24. Within nine months, however, one concession had been made for Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs. The official reason was that he worked "odd hours and need(ed) special communications equipment so that he (could) be informed of major events at any moment". "Washington Whispers", U.S. News and World Report, 6th March, 1978, p. 11. Two weeks later doubt was cast on whether Carter's original reduction of the motor pool had ever been carried into effect. In March, 1978, it was announced that, as an energy saving measure, the fleet of White House cars was "being reduced from 56 to 28" (and 14 big chauffeur-driven cars were to be exchanged for smaller models with better petrol consumption), although the number should already have been reduced from 56 to 36 some fourteen months earlier. "Washington Whispers", U.S. News and World Report, 13th March, 1978, p. 17.
- 98 Report, together with Supplemental Views, to accompany H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 11th June, 1974, op. cit., p. 4.
- 99 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., p. 511.
- 100 Harold C. Relyea, Staffing in the White House Office (Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., 1973), p. 6.
- 101 Title 1, Section 101, approved on 26th July, 1947. This was subsequently amended by Public Law 165, Section 3, approved on 10th October, 1951.
- 102 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 256.
- 103 Public Law 93-381, Title 3, approved on 21st August, 1974.
- 104 "Hatch Act Revision", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 17th April, 1976, p. 902.

- 105 Philip W. Buchen, Counsel to the President, Letter to Hon. Thomas B. Curtis, Chairman, Federal Election Commission, reprinted in House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1976), op. cit., p. 442.
- 106 Ibid., p. 438. On 12th April, 1976, President Ford vetoed a bill which sought radical revision of the Hatch Act. Among other provisions, this bill would have helped to clear up the uncertainty of the position of the White House staff. The bill would have prohibited any federal employee from giving or withholding a political contribution, or engaging in political activity. But there were to be exceptions: firstly, all presidential appointees whose positions were subject to Senate confirmation: secondly, the President, Vice-President, and White House employees were to be exempt from the ban on political activity. Yet even this bill did not precisely define which staff members were to be exempt.
- 107 Presidential Subdelegation Act, Public Law 673, 81st Congress, Second Session, 3 USC 301, [65 Stat. 712; 3 USC (1970)], pp. 301-303. See also a discussion on this subject by Glendon A. Schubert, Jr., Journal of Politics, vol. XIII, 1951, pp. 623-646.
- 108 Frederick C. Mosher, and others, Watergate: Implications for Responsible Government (Basic Books Inc., Harper Colophon Books, New York, 1974), p. 33.
- 109 Report, together with Supplemental Views, to accompany H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 11th June, 1974, op. cit., pp. 4-5.
- 110 "White House Green", Newsweek, 23rd May, 1977, pp. 35-36.
- 111 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Office, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Executive Office of the President, 27th May, 1970, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1970), p. 1230.
- 112 Ibid., p. 1233.
- 113 Louis Brownlow, et al., Report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1937), p. 5.
- This is hereinafter cited as: The Brownlow Report (1937).
- 114 This fact was openly admitted by Louis Brownlow in his autobiography, A Passion For Anonymity (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1958), p. 381.
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 James MacGregor Burns, Presidential Government: The Crucible of Leadership (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1965), p. 54.
- 117 Esther Singleton, The Story of the White House (Benjamin Blom, New York, 1969), p. 169.
- 118 Public Law 40 (33 Stat. 631, 642), approved on 3rd February, 1905.
- 119 25 Ops. Atty. Gen. 301.

- 120 Elmer B. Staats, Comptroller General of the United States, Letter to Hon. Phillip Burton (D-Calif.), reprinted in Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 93-34, 23rd May, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 18.
- 121 62 Stat. 672. The President has from time to time made detailing the subject of an executive order: for example, President Nixon in January, 1969; and President Ford in October, 1975. Bernard Rosen, The Merit System in the U.S. Civil Service, a monograph prepared for the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee Print No. 94-10, 23rd December, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), p. 41.
- 122 R.F. Keller, Acting Comptroller General, recommended that there be a standard definition of what constituted "temporary assistance". Hearings before the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, on the Supplemental Appropriation Bill FY 1974, 3rd January, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), pp. 1245 - 1246. On 18th December, 1974, Donald Rumsfeld, Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff to President Ford, remarked that "as I recall the rule now is that we should not have detailees here for more than six months". Press Conference of Donald H. Rumsfeld Assistant to the President, section on "White House Organization", 18th December, 1974, (Office of the White House Press Secretary, The White House, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 7.
- 123 USBA FY 1971, op. cit., p. 51.
- 124 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Office, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Executive Office of the President, 27th May, 1970, op. cit., p. 1233.
- 125 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 715-718.
- 126 This was possibly accounted for by the fact that the equivalent Senate appropriations subcommittee, at its hearings on 23rd April, 1975, had requested and received a list of detailed personnel (1st July, 1974, to 1st April, 1975). Moreover, at the House hearings, the subcommittee Chairman Tom Steed (D-Okla.) launched into a monologue that seemed deliberately designed to defuse the pressure for such information.
- 127 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1976), op. cit., pp. 435-436.
- 128 This gave rise to the following concise exchange, memorable for its wholesale inexactitude:
- "Senator Montoya: So you have eliminated the borrowing from other departments?
Mr. Weinberger : Yes, sir;"
- Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 690.
- 129 John M. Pinckney, Budget and Management Officer OMB, Letter to Hon. Joseph Montoya (D-NM.), subsequently printed in the record. Ibid., pp. 693-694.
- 130 Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 2095.

- 131 According to a monograph prepared for the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, detailing was put into effect by executive order between January, 1969, and October, 1975. But no listing of those persons on detail was given. Bernard Rosen, The Merit System in the U.S. Civil Service, op. cit., p. 41.
- 132 USBA FY 1971, op. cit., p. 51.
- 133 Speaking in a House debate Steed added: "Before President Johnson finished his term they were working on that (the elimination of detailees) but did not complete it before he left. When President Nixon came in we convinced him to go ahead and do it". Debate on H.R. 6706, White House Employment, Congressional Record - House, 9th July, 1975, p. H6457.
- 134 Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 2095. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Part 2: Executive Office of the President, 4th June, 1974, op. cit., p. 2095.
- 135 Press Conference of Donald H. Rumsfeld Assistant to the President, section on "White House Organization", 18th December, 1974, op. cit., p. 7.
- 136 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 715-718. Many of those listed had been on detail to the White House staff well before the time-span dealt with by this list.
- 137 Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 2124.
- 138 Elmer B. Staats, Comptroller General of the United States, Letter to Hon. H.R. Haldeman, Assistant to the President, reprinted in Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, 23rd May, 1974, op. cit., p. 19.
- 139 The White House Office - Salaries and Expenses, The Executive Office Appropriation Act, 1975, Public Law 93-381, 88 Stat. 617, approved on 21st August, 1974.
- 140 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., p. 93.
- 141 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Office, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Executive Office of the President, 27th May, 1970, op. cit., p. 1231.
- 142 United States Code, (1970 edition), Title 5: Government Organization and Employees, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1970), p. 218.
- 143 There was an unaccountable gap in the early 1950s: USBA FY 1952-1955, op. cit. For a listing of ungraded staff see Appendix.
- 144 R.F. Keller, Acting Comptroller General of the United States, Letter to Hon. Thaddeus J. Dulski, Chairman, House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 22nd May, 1974, reprinted in Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, 23rd May, 1974, op. cit., p. 12.

- 145 A Report on the Growth of the Executive Office of the President 1955-1973, prepared under the direction of Congressman Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.), Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee Print No. 19, 24th April, 1972, op. cit., p. 6.
- 147 5 USC 5102(c)(25).
- 148 5 USC 5331.
- 149 5 USC 5332. The maximum allowable is that under the General Schedules (GS), whose levels do not extend upwards beyond GS-18.
- 150 Roy Ash, Director of OMB, testified that this was a "discretionary increase...to handle the greater workload that is imposed upon the White House (by Watergate)". Congress was not going to deny President Nixon such additional help. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 2102. A list of all lawyers then employed in the Office of Counsel to the President was also provided. Ibid., p. 2103.
- 151 Dr. Louis Fisher has claimed that the moving force behind its establishment was the Bureau of the Budget. Louis Fisher, Presidential Spending Power (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1975), p. 211. However, the history of the fund's use proves conclusively that it was controlled from the White House and not by the Bureau of the Budget.
- 152 The Brownlow Report advocated that the President have a "contingent fund to enable him to bring in from time to time particular persons possessed of particular competency for a particular purpose". The Brownlow Report (1937), op. cit., p. 5. It could be argued that the Emergency Fund, established in 1940, had been introduced for this purpose, but the Committee's wording has in retrospect proved more appropriate to the use of the Special Projects fund.
- 153 This was confirmed by Richard Neustadt, "Approaches to Staffing the Presidency", The American Political Science Review, vol. LVII, No. 4, December, 1963, pp. 855-863. By the end of Eisenhower's Presidency there were four areas in which Special Projects staff had been established: Public Works Planning, headed by General John Bragdon; Science and Technology, headed by Dr. George Kistiakowsky; Personnel Management, under the direction of Eugene Lyons; and the Council on Foreign Economic Policy, under the direction of Clarence Randall. In addition to these functional areas, special consultants were brought in on specific matters concerning National Security, Intelligence, and other special fields, on a part-time basis. Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Government Matters, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Executive Office of the President, 3rd March, 1960, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1960), pp. 84-85.
- 154 Ibid., p. 86.

- 155 Ibid.
- 156 Ibid., p. 87.
- 157 Ibid., p. 85.
- 158 This is confirmed by a reading of the volumes of House and Senate appropriations subcommittee hearings for the entire period 1955-1974. In hearings before the Senate in 1955, Mr. Hughes, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, argued for a "separate new appropriation" for Special Projects on the grounds that "better budgetary control can be maintained and the Congress will have an opportunity to gain an easier understanding of the purposes for which the funds are used". Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Government Matters, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Executive Office of the President, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1955), p. 4.
- 159 Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Government Matters, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Executive Office of the President, 3rd March, 1960, op. cit., p. 86. This freedom was also scrutinized in passing by the House Judiciary Committee in July, 1974. Testimony of Witnesses, Book II, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 288-292.
- 160 Special Projects, The Executive Office Appropriation Act, 1973, Public Law 92-351. The figure of 20% in this appropriation language had been changed from 10% in the 1968 Budget. This doubling, which had the effect of providing the President with even greater flexibility, was therefore the responsibility of the Johnson Administration.
- 161 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Office, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Executive Office of the President, 27th May, 1970, op. cit., p. 1230.
- 162 Roy Ash, Director of OMB, hoped that the appropriation language did "not become so rigid and so fixed that we have precluded the President from doing the most effective job that he is charged with doing". Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, 23rd May, 1974, op. cit., p. 21. The Nixon Administration certainly put this flexibility to use early on. In June 1969 it was revealed that at least eight separate functions were being financed by Special Projects. These included: The President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board; Personnel and Staff Services; The Director of Communications for the Executive Branch; the Council for Urban Affairs; and the Special Assistants for Consumer Affairs, and Liaison with Former Presidents. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Office, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Executive Office of the President, 10th June, 1969, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1969), p. 1135.
- 163 Debate on H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Congressional Record - House, 25th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. H21016.

- 164 This new-found interest first manifested itself in the summer of 1973, when the Ervin Watergate Committee was hitting the headlines. See for example: Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1973), op. cit., p. 1778. Once it had been discovered that the Executive Director of the Domestic Council was paid from Special Projects funds, steps were taken to put him on The White House Office budget. But in June, 1974, the House appropriations subcommittee took exception to this and formally recommended that "the Director be paid from the appropriation to the Domestic Council". Report, together with Separate Views, to accompany H.R. 15544, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1975, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 93-1132, 20th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 21.
- 165 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Office, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Executive Office of the President, 27th May, 1970, op. cit., p. 1232.
- 166 Ibid. In 1969 President Nixon had sought, and was granted, a budget amendment to raise an extra \$1m because "the original basic \$1.5m was deemed inadequate". It was also claimed by Phillip S. Hughes, BoB Deputy Director, that the President was "struggling with the problem of details...in endeavouring to bring more of these into the White House orbit and to face those expenses directly". Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Office, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Executive Office of the President, 10th June, 1969, op. cit., p. 1134.
- 167 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 723. When Special Projects was abolished as a separate item the "lost" \$1.5m was shortly thereafter entirely recouped in the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1974, at the request of the Nixon Administration. For FY 1975 an equivalent sum was added lock stock and barrel to the normal WHO budgetary request. This provoked one subcommittee questioner to say, only half in jest: "You are not reconstituting the Plumbers, are you?" Ibid.
- 168 Unanticipated Needs, Executive Office Appropriations Act, 1977, Public Law 94-363, approved on 14th July, 1976.
- 169 At the time of its establishment in 1940 it was thought to fulfil the Brownlow Committee's desire for "a contingent fund". The Brownlow Report (1937), op. cit., p. 5. (Supra, Note 152.)
- 170 Its original title was "Emergency Fund for the President", although this was amended in 1951 to read "Emergency Fund for the President, National Defense". In the Budget FY 1963 the phrase "National Defense" was excised on the grounds that it was a misleading and unduly restrictive description of a fund that could also be used in the "national interest" or for "national security". Its present title "Unanticipated Needs" dates from 1975. See: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury - Post Office Departments, and Executive Office, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Executive Office of the President, 7th February, 1962, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1962), p. 705.
- 171 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 165.

- 172 The change in title actually came at the prompting of Senator Gale McGee (D-Wyo.), Chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, who proposed the substitution of the word "unanticipated" instead of "emergency" on the grounds that the latter evoked an unwarranted impression of drastic action which would unnecessarily attract the Senate's attention. Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, on S. 3647, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, 24th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 17.
- 173 At the time of writing, a new authorization bill, H.R. 10657, introduced by Congressman Herbert E. Harris II (D-Va.) on 31st January, 1978, plans to re-name this fund "Assistance to the President for Unanticipated Needs".
- 174 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., p. 497.
- 175 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 5.
- 176 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 392.
- 177 Congress implicitly approved President Nixon's Reorganization Plan No. 2 by virtue of the fact that Congress did not state its disapproval within the stated time allowed for any objections.
- 178 Domestic Council - Salaries and Expenses, Executive Office Appropriation Act, 1975, Public Law 93-381, approved 21st August, 1974.
- 179 Funds were first appropriated in the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1954. Its establishment came in the aftermath of the second Hoover Commission. President Eisenhower himself established an Advisory Committee on Government Organization, part of its work being to make special studies as recommended by the Commission.
- 180 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 44.
- 181 James T. Lynn, President Ford's OMB Director, testified in 1975 that "there is a natural feeling...to have no funds lapse because it will hurt your position when you go into OMB, to the President, and the Congress the next time (to be told) that 'You didn't spend all the money we gave you last year'". House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., p. 571.
- 182 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 6.
- 183 Ibid.
- 184 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 215.
- 185 Ibid., p. 214.
- 186 Ibid.
- 187 Functions previously undertaken by the Expenses of Management Improvement fund were now the responsibility of the Management and Operations Division of the Office of Management and Budget.
- 188 Ibid., pp. 180-212.

- 189 These allocations were designed to supplant those previously provided to study "many of the same matters" dealt with by the President's Advisory Committee on Government Organization between January, 1953, and January, 1961. Appropriations to that Advisory Committee in FY 1960 and FY 1961 were \$57,500 and \$50,000 respectively. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury-Post Office Departments, and Executive Office, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, 7th February, 1962, op. cit., p. 716.
- 190 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., pp. 19-32.
- 191 Two other Special Consultants were funded from this account to finance their "modest expenses". At President Kennedy's direction they worked "on basic organization and coordination of the executive branch, and methods and systems for improving administration" and further matters. They did not function as a committee. In hearings before the House in 1962 it was admitted that "other advisers may be obtained for limited periods of time to advise on specific problems. For example, the expenses of members of the panel appointed to advise the President on matters of pay policy were paid from this allocation". Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury-Post Office Departments, and Executive Office, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, 7th February, 1962, op. cit., p. 716.
- 192 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 27.
- 193 Ibid., p. 31.
- 194 Ibid., p. 34.
- 195 Ibid.
- 196 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 211.
- 197 "Reorganization: A Super Cabinet and Super Assistants", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 13th January, 1973, pp. 36-39. See also: Richard P. Nathan, The Plot That Failed (John Wiley & Sons Inc., New York, 1975).
- 198 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Office, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Executive Office of the President, 27th May, 1970, op. cit., p. 1439. In furtherance of his brief, Haldeman oversaw the work of the "Study of Effective Organization for Management" in the EOP. Ibid., p. 1437.
- 199 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 32. This study received a further allocation of funds in October, 1970. Ibid., p. 34.
- 200 Report, together with Separate Views, to accompany H.R. 15544, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1975, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 93-1132, 20th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 19.

- 201 Executive Residence - Operating Expenses, Executive Office Appropriation Act, 1975, Public Law 93-381, approved 21st August, 1974. During the Truman Presidency this language proved entirely relevant. By 1945 the White House, as an architectural landmark, was discovered to be dangerous. It only looked more solid than it was. When large functions were held in the East Room heavy pilings had to be placed under the floor for protection. More ominous signs were detected: a chandelier swung erratically during a party; a leg of Margaret Truman's piano broke through the upstairs floor; and Truman's bathtub came close to a similar fate. A committee of architects and engineers reported to Truman that the White House was in danger of imminent collapse. The Trumans evacuated themselves to Blair House (across the street). From 1948 to 1952, at a cost of \$5½m, the entire interior of the White House was removed and rebuilt. Haynes Johnson (text) and Frank Johnston (photographs), The Working White House (A Washington Post Book, Praeger, New York, 1975), pp. 16-17.
- 202 John W. Dean III, Blind Ambition, op. cit., p. 29.
- 203 Ibid., pp. 29-30.
- 204 Ibid., p. 30.
- 205 This wording was used in a draft bill presented by Roy Ash, Director of OMB, to Congress in the last months of the Nixon Administration, dated 29th April, 1974, and reprinted in House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 708-712. H.R. 14715, as passed by the House on 25th June, 1974, contained even broader wording "to procure goods and services as he considers necessary for the maintenance, operation, improvement, and preservation" of the White House. H.R. 14715 An Act, in the Senate of the United States; read twice and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 26th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), pp. 2-3.
- 206 Such broad language, in the wake of Watergate and Nixon's resignation, proved unacceptable. In 1975 the House adopted an amendment which specifically authorized the right of the Comptroller General to audit the accounts and prevent "an abuse of power". Debate on H.R. 6706, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Congressional Record - House, 9th July, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), p. H6465.
- 207 Rules of the House of Representatives (1976 Edition), op. cit., pp. 543-545.
- 208 Debate on H.R. 9590, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1974, Congressional Record - House, 1st August, 1973, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), pp. H7146-H7147. This bill was enacted as Public Law 93-143.
- 209 For 1975 see: Debate on H.R. 8597, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1976, Congressional Record - House, 17th July, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), pp. H6966, H6970-H6975. For 1976 see: Debate on H.R. 14261, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1977, Congressional Record - House, 14th June, 1976, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976), pp. H5778-H5781. For 1977 see: "House Cuts Funds for Executive Office", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 18th June, 1977, p. 1259.

- 210 Debate on H.R. 11003, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Congressional Record - House, 13th April, 1978, (Daily Edition, vol. 124, No. 52), (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), pp. H2847-H2868.
- 211 President Carter's reorganization of the Civil Service was a separate matter. See: "Battle Report in Carter's War on Big Government", U.S. News and World Report, 13th March, 1978, pp. 21-24.
- 212 H.R. 11003 A Bill, in the House of Representatives; reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, Report No. 95-979, 16th March, 1978, (Union Calendar No. 488, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), p. 2.
- 213 Ibid., p. 3.
- 214 The Domestic Council was formally abolished when the U.S. House of Representatives approved President Carter's Reorganization of the EOP, H. Res. 688, 14th October, 1977.
- 215 H.R. 11003 A Bill, in the House of Representatives; reported with amendments, 16th March, 1978, op. cit., pp. 11-12.
- 216 Debate on H.R. 11003, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Congressional Record - House, 13th April, 1978, op. cit., pp. H2861-2862.
- 217 Subsection (2) of Section (3) of the Presidential Transition Act, 1963, (Public Law 88-277, 78 Stat. 153, approved on 7th March, 1964) authorized "members of office staffs designated by the President-Elect or Vice-President-Elect"; moreover, the detailing of personnel was similarly authorized "and while so detailed shall be responsible only to the President-Elect...for the performance of (their) duties." USCA (1976), op. cit., p. 379.

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- 02 Ibid., p. 18.
- 03 Dwight D. Eisenhower, Mandate For Change (Heinemann, London, 1963).
- 04 Dwight D. Eisenhower, Waging Peace (Heinemann, London, 1965).
- 05 Harry S. Truman, Year of Decisions (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1955).
- 06 Harry S. Truman, Years of Trial and Hope (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1956).
- 07 Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Reorganization of the Executive Office of the President", Executive Order No. 8248, in The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt (vol. 7, (1939), Macmillan Co., New York, 1941), pp. 490-496.
- 08 Richard M. Nixon, "Special Assistant to the President for Liaison with Former Presidents", Executive Order No. 11456, in United States Code (Annotated edition), Supplementary Pamphlet 1927-1975, Title 3: The President (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976), p. 383.
- 09 Richard M. Nixon, "Delegation of Functions to Executive Director of Domestic Council", Executive Order No. 26815, in United States Code, op. cit., p. 407.
- 10 Richard M. Nixon, "President's Message to Congress" (1971), statement accompanying The President's Departmental Reorganization Program (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., March 1971, revised February 1972), pp. 1-21.
- 11 Ibid., p. 5.
- 12 5th February, 1958; and 2nd April, 1958.
- 13 Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Press Conference", 5th February, 1958, in Public Papers of the President: Dwight D. Eisenhower (vol. 6, (1958), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1959).
- 14 Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol. XVI, No. 14, 4th April, 1958, p. 429.
- 15 Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Press Conference", No. 735, in The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt (vol. 9, (1941), compiled by Samuel Rosenman, Harper & Bros., New York, 1950), pp. 113-207.
- 16 Richard M. Nixon, "Press Conference", 24th March, 1972, in Public Papers of the Presidents: Richard M. Nixon (vol. 4, (1972), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973).
- 17 Theodore C. Sorensen, Decision-Making in the White House (Columbia University Press, New York, 1963), pp. xi-xiv.

- 18 Ibid., p. xi.
- 19 Jimmy Carter, Why Not The Best? (Bantam Books, New York, 1976).
- 20 For many political commentators, the experience of Carter's first eighteen months in office was quite sufficient for them to form judgements of his Presidency. See for example, "What Went Wrong?", U.S. News and World Report, 24th July, 1978, pp. 17-22. See also, "From Congress, Low Marks For Carter", U.S. News and World Report, 24th July, 1978, pp. 23-24.
- 21 Jimmy Carter, Why Not The Best?, op. cit., p. 130.
- 22 Despite the very general nature of such interviews, it is interesting to note that the subject of presidential advisers and their organization is raised in more recent examples of the genre. See for example, "An Interview With The President", Time, 10th July, 1978, pp. 26-27.
- 23 Richard Rose, Managing Presidential Objectives (Macmillan, London, 1977), p. 172.
- 24 William Hillman, ed., Mr. President (Farrar, Straus and Young, New York, 1952).
- 25 Ibid., p. 14.
- 26 David Halberstam, The Best and the Brightest (Fawcett Publications Inc., Greenwich Conn., 1972).
- 27 Ibid., p. 526.
- 28 This is clearly evident in Kenneth Schlossberg's study of congressional Administrative Assistants, "The Ablest Men In Congress", The Washingtonian, vol. 3, 1968, pp. 61-63, 72-75. "Loyalty, above all else, above brains or other abilities, is what Congressmen and Senators prize first in an Administrative Assistant", wrote Schlossberg, adding that "the most notable slave driver of all was Senator Lyndon Baines Johnson (who) more than anybody recognised the value of AAs, used them heavily and (gave) them great responsibility - with good and bad and tragic results", ibid., pp. 62-63.
- 29 Dwight D. Eisenhower, Mandate for Change, op. cit., p. 1.
- 30 In Candidate Nixon's campaign organization in 1968 could be detected the nascent White House Chief of Staff function in the position of Campaign Manager, about which earlier studies had been undertaken. See for example, Stephen C. Shadeeg, How To Win An Election (Crestwood Books Inc., Arlington Va., 1964).
- 31 Carter specifically called for a reduction of the White House staff, and this was duly reported in the election campaign Press coverage. See for example, William Delaney, "TV Debate's Domestic Issues: Bureaucracy, Congress", The Washington Star, 23rd September, 1976, pp. A-1, A-9. Before the campaign had ended the Carter camp revealed that Jimmy Carter had been handed a 75-page report prepared by the "transition" staff listing the "significant items" that would need immediate attention by a new President. Included with this report was a "reorganization memo" on changes in White House organization. Hobart Rowan, "Carter Transition Team Readies Itself", The Washington Post, 26th October, 1976, p. A-2. After the election the President-Elect made it clear that he was serious about reforming the White House. See for example: Hedrick Smith, "In the White House: An Orderly Mind Bent on Organization", The New York Times, 7th November, 1976, Section 4, p. 2.

- 32 Carter's serious intent was reflected in such articles as these: James T. Wooten, "Carter Aide Chosen to Guide Transition", The New York Times, 11th November, 1976, p. 1; Anthony Lewis, "Faces Old and New", The New York Times, 22nd November, 1976; John Osborne, "Would-Be Transition", The New Republic, 20th November, 1976, pp. 8-10; and John Osborne, "Changing The Guard", The New Republic, 27th November, 1976, pp. 5-6.
- 33 "White House Staff Covers Broad Range of Views", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 30th May, 1969, p. 851.
- 34 Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1972 (Jonathan Cape, London, 1974), p. 270.
- 35 Arthur Bernon Tourtellot, ed., The Presidents on the Presidency (Doubleday & Co. Inc., New York, 1964), p. 133.
- 36 John Osborne, The Nixon Watch (Liveright, New York, 1970), especially "Who's Who", pp. 90-95.
- 37 "Ham Jordan: Carter's Unorthodox 'Right Arm'", U.S. News and World Report, 27th February, 1978, p. 33. See also, "What Went Wrong?", U.S. News and World Report, 24th July, 1978, pp. 17-22.
- 38 Emmet John Hughes, The Living Presidency (Coward, McCann & Geoghegan Inc., New York, 1972, 1973), p. 142.
- 39 William Hillman, ed., Mr. President, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
- 40 "Reorganization: A Super Cabinet and Super Assistants", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 13th January, 1973, pp. 36-39.
- 41 Richard M. Nixon, "Press Conference", No. 103, 24th March, 1972, in Public Papers of the Presidents: Richard M. Nixon (vol. 4, (1972), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973).
- 42 Harry S. Truman, Mr. Citizen (Bernard Geis Associates, Random House, New York, 1960).
- 43 Ibid., pp. 228-229.
- 44 Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Press Conference", (Questions and Answers), 5th February, 1958, Public Papers of the Presidents: Dwight D. Eisenhower (vol. 6, (1958), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1959); see also the report of a subsequent Press Conference in Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol. XVI, No. 14, 4th April, 1958, p. 429.
- 45 For example, at hearings before a House subcommittee in April 1977, during consideration of a bill to clarify authority for The White House Office, the Carter Administration testified that it was not yet ready to discuss the bill in detail because the Carter White House staff would be greatly affected by the EOP reorganization then under consideration by the President. Hearing before the Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 6326, 26th April, 1977, Serial No. 95-10, 95th Congress, First Session, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1977), pp. 2-27. One congressional aide, heavily involved in this subject,

- similarly reported that the Administration "could not take a position on the bill". Personal Correspondence with Glenda Surovell, Legislative Assistant to Congressman Herbert E. Harris II (D-Va.), 8th July, 1977. The White House itself subsequently confirmed this fact. Personal Correspondence with Frank Moore, Assistant to the President for Congressional Liaison, 6th March, 1978.
- 46 Richard M. Nixon, "Presidential Statement", 30th April, 1973, Public Papers of the Presidents: Richard M. Nixon (vol. 5, (1973), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).
- 47 The White House, Press Conference of Donald H. Rumsfeld Assistant to the President, 18th December, 1974 (Office of the White House Press Secretary, The White House, Washington D.C., 1974), pp. 1-23.
- 48 Patrick Anderson, The President's Men (Doubleday & Co. Inc., New York, 1969), pp. 115-125.
- 49 Walter F. Mondale, The Accountability of Power (David McKay Co. Inc., New York, 1975). While a Senator, Mondale took a prominent part in Senate consideration of bills to restrict the extent of the White House staff. During the 1976 election campaign as the Vice-Presidential nominee of the Democratic Party he told this writer that he often incorporated into his campaign speeches references to the Nixon White House staff. Personal Interview with Senator Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.), 5th October, 1976.
- 50 Jimmy Carter, Why Not The Best?, op. cit., pp. 158-179.
- 51 This includes those who, in the 1930s, were de facto members of the White House staff, but who were known at the time as "Brain Trusters" prior to the establishment of The White House Office.
- 52 There is usually a point beyond which the public interest in, and memory of, a Presidency begins to fade. It is therefore less likely that a former staff member's recollections will be accepted for publication. At the time of writing, for example, most of the Nixon staff could not now obtain the lucrative publishing contracts that they enjoyed in the immediate aftermath of Watergate. However, as exceptions to the rule, certain staff members rise above such considerations: Henry Kissinger's memoirs being a case in point.
- 53 Samuel I. Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt (Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1952).
- 54 Samuel I. Rosenman, "The Presidency as I have seen it", in Emmet John Hughes, The Living Presidency, op. cit., pp. 359-363.
- 55 William D. Hassett, Off the Record with F.D.R. 1942 - 1945 (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1958).
- 56 Grace Tully, F.D.R., My Boss (New York, 1949).
- 57 Rexford G. Tugwell, The Brains Trust (Viking Press, New York, 1968).
- 58 Rexford G. Tugwell, The Enlargement of the Presidency (Doubleday & Co. Inc., New York, 1960).

- 59 Rexford G. Tugwell and Thomas E. Cronin, eds., The Presidency Reappraised (Praeger, New York, 1974).
- 60 Rexford G. Tugwell, Off Course: From Truman to Nixon (Praeger, New York, 1971).
- 61 Benjamin V. Cohen, "The Presidency as I have seen it", in Emmet John Hughes, The Living Presidency, op. cit., pp. 321-326.
- 62 Ross T. McIntire, with George Creel, White House Physician (G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1946).
- 63 Robert E. Sherwood, The White House Papers of Harry L. Hopkins (Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 2 vols., 1942, 1945).
- 64 Emmet John Hughes, The Living Presidency, op. cit., pp. 311-368.
- 65 Ibid., pp. 314-320.
- 66 Ibid., pp. 338-341.
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- 502 Patrick Anderson, The President's Mistress (Pocket Books, New York, 1976). This fictional account was nevertheless a clear reflection of the development of the hierarchical White House staff during the Nixon years. Anderson's third novel, The Senator (Magnum Books, Methuen, London, 1978) enlarged on this understanding of the political organization of modern American national government.
- 503 William Safire, Full Disclosure (Arrow Books, London, 1978).
- 504 Gore Vidal, Washington D.C. (Panther Books, Granada Publishing Ltd., 1968).
- 505 Gore Vidal, "A New Power in the White House" (1961), in Edmund S. Ions, ed., The Politics of JFK, op. cit., pp. 70-75.
- 506 Upton Sinclair, Presidential Agent (T. Werner Laurie Ltd., London, 1945).
- 507 John W. Dean III, Blind Ambition, op. cit.
- 508 Ibid., p. 23.
- 509 Ibid.
- 510 Thomas E. Cronin used the fruits of one such interview, which yielded the phrase "Everybody believes in Democracy until he gets to the White House", in The State of the Presidency, op. cit.; John Kessel unearthed many incisive insights into the White House staff by means of the background interview, rather than the on-the-record statement, in The Domestic Presidency, op. cit.
- 511 Allen Drury, Courage and Hesitation, op. cit.
- 512 Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, 2nd July, 1974, Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, 2nd, 3rd and 8th July, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

REFERENCES AND NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

- 01 Esther Singleton, The Story of the White House (Benjamin Blom, New York, 1969), p. 169. See also: Edward S. Corwin, The President: Office and Powers 1787-1957 (New York University Press, New York, 1957), p. 301; and John Bell, The Splendid Misery (subtitled: "The Story of the Presidency and Power Politics at Close Range"), (Doubleday & Co., New York, 1960), p. 153.
- 02 Edward S. Corwin, The President: Office and Powers 1787-1957, op. cit., p. 301.
- 02a Edward H. Hobbs, Behind The President (Public Affairs Press, Washington D.C., 1954), p. 86.
- 03 Jay A. Sigler and Robert S. Getz, Contemporary American Government: Problems and Prospects (Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., New York, 1972), p. 509. See also: Emmet John Hughes, The Living Presidency (Coward, McCann & Geoghegan Inc., New York, 1972, 1973), p. 138. Both Presidents Jefferson and Monroe had to sell land to pay off debts arising from their presidential years. Haynes Johnson (text) and Frank Johnston (photographs), The Working White House (A Washington Post Book, Praeger, New York, 1975), p. 21.
- 03a Leonard D. White, The Jeffersonians (Macmillan Co., New York, 1951), p. 74.
- 03b Ibid., p. 72.
- 04 John M. Taylor, From The White House Inkwell (subtitled: "American Presidential Autographs"), (Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland, Vermont, 1968), pp. 30, 33.
- 04a Leonard D. White, The Jeffersonians, op. cit., p. 74.
- 04b Leonard D. White, The Jacksonians (Macmillan Co., New York, 1954), p. 83. See also: Edward S. Corwin, The President: Office and Powers 1787-1957, op. cit., p. 301. The President himself had to pay all the wages of his servants (many of whom were slaves until the Civil War) as well as the cost of all official entertaining. Even the wealthiest of Presidents found this virtually impossible. President Jackson, however, managed to finance a celebrated reception in 1837 which featured a monstrous cheese weighing 1,400 lbs. It was devoured by the guests. Haynes Johnson and Frank Johnston, The Working White House, op. cit., p. 16.
- 04c Leonard D. White, The Jacksonians, op. cit., p. 83.
- 04d Ibid., p. 83. The land patent clerk had first been provided by Congress in 1833 (4 Stat. 663, Chapter 19). It is interesting to note that, such was the congressional influence on presidential affairs, this assigned clerkship was made subject to Senate confirmation.

- 05 Wilfred E. Binkley, The Man in the White House (Harper Colophon, New York, 1964), p. 206. With so much to do it was not surprising that Polk had no time to answer the door. But neither, it appears, did anyone else. When Charles Dickens came to the White House in 1842 (with an official invitation and accompanied by a distinguished member of the government) he went to the front door and rang the bell. "Once. Twice. Three times. No-one answered. Dickens walked on through room after room on the ground floor". No-one was there to help the President greet his guests. Haynes Johnson and Frank Johnston, The Working White House, op. cit., p. 20.
- 06 John M. Taylor, From The White House Inkwell, op. cit., p. 55.
- 07 Wilfred E. Binkley, The Man in the White House, op. cit., p. 206.
- 08 John M. Taylor, From The White House Inkwell, op. cit., p. 61.
- 09 Haynes Johnson and Frank Johnston, The Working White House, op. cit., p. 69.
- 10 Provision for an "official household" [11 Stat. 228, Chapter 108, section (2)] authorized the appointment of a private secretary at \$2,500 p.a.; a steward at \$1,200 p.a.; a messenger at \$900 p.a.; and a contingency fund of \$750 p.a.
- 11 James MacGregor Burns, Presidential Government: The Crucible of Leadership (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1965), p. 54.
- 12 Francis H. Heller, The Presidency: A Modern Perspective, (Random House, New York, 1960), p. 28.
- 13 Thomas A. Bailey, Presidential Greatness (Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1966), p. 212.
- 14 John M. Taylor, From The White House Inkwell, op. cit., p. 75.
- 15 James MacGregor Burns, Presidential Government: The Crucible of Leadership, op. cit., p. 54.
- 16 John M. Taylor, From The White House Inkwell, op. cit., p. 78.
- 17 James MacGregor Burns, Presidential Government: The Crucible of Leadership, op. cit., p. 54. See also: Rexford G. Tugwell, The Enlargement of the Presidency (Doubleday & Co., Inc., New York, 1960), p. 479.
- 18 T. Harry Williams, ed., Hayes: The Diary of a President 1875-1881 (David McKay Co. Inc., New York, 1964), p. 130.
- 19 Robert Granville Caldwell, James A. Garfield: Party Chieftain (Archon Books, Hamden, Connecticut, 1964), p. 340.
- 20 John M. Taylor, From The White House Inkwell, op. cit., p. 129.
- 21 Esther Singleton, The Story of the White House, op. cit., p. 170.
- 22 John M. Taylor, From The White House Inkwell, op. cit., p. 85.
- 23 Francis H. Heller, The Presidency: A Modern Perspective, op. cit., p. 28.

- 24 Ibid., p. 3. See also: John Bell, The Splendid Misery, op. cit., p. 153.
- 25 John M. Taylor, From The White House Inkwell, op. cit., p. 89.
- 26 Wilfred E. Binkley, The Man in the White House, op. cit., p. 206.
- 27 Thomas A. Bailey, Presidential Greatness, op. cit., p. 215.
- 28 James MacGregor Burns, Presidential Government: The Crucible of Leadership, op. cit., p. 54.
- 29 James Bryce, The American Commonwealth (The Macmillan Company, New York, 2 vols., 1907), pp. 39-40. With the entire housekeeping staff only amounting to ten persons (mostly blacks), of whom four were doorkeepers and messengers, the resources for a court simply didn't exist. Haynes Johnson and Frank Johnston, The Working White House, op. cit., p. 25.
- 30 Rexford G. Tugwell, The Enlargement of the Presidency, op. cit., p. 480.
- 31 Ibid., p. 367. See also: Wilfred E. Binkley, The Man in the White House, op. cit., p. 206.
- 32 Edward S. Corwin, The President: Office and Powers 1787-1957, op. cit., p. 301. Yet another source asserts that under a law of 1900 (31 Stat. 97) thirty aides were authorized at a total annual budget, including the President's \$5,000 p.a. salary, of \$48,540. Dr. Louis Fisher and Dr. Harold C. Relyea, Presidential Staffing - A Brief Overview, a study prepared for the Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee Print No. 95-17, 25th July, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), p. 23.
- 33 John M. Taylor, From The White House Inkwell, op. cit., p. 97.
- 34 Richard Rose, Managing Presidential Objectives (The Free Press, Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1976), pp. 35-36.
- 35 John Bell, The Splendid Misery, op. cit., p. 153.
- 36 James Bryce, The American Commonwealth, op. cit., p. 77.
- 37 Personal Interview with Alice Roosevelt Longworth, 21st September, 1974.
- 38 Richard Rose, Managing Presidential Objectives, op. cit., p. 36. Ten years earlier had seen another incident which equally illustrated the laxity of security. Only three policemen and one watchman were assigned to patrol the grounds around the White House. One night, when President Benjamin Harrison was sitting on the south porch, a drunken stranger jumped over the iron fence and came up to the President without being halted or even detected. Haynes Johnson and Frank Johnston, The Working White House, op. cit., p. 25.
- 39 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Part 2: Executive Office of the President, 23rd April, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), p. 1763.

- 40 Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 93-34, 23rd May, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 18. (See also notes 118 and 119 in Chapter I supra.)
- 41 John Bell, The Splendid Misery, op. cit., p. 153.
- 42 Charles Hurd, When the New Deal was Young and Gay (Hawthorn Books Inc., New York, 1965), p. 115.
- 43 Frederic J. Haskin, The American Government (J.J. Little & Ives Co., New York, 1911), p. 3.
- 44 Ibid., p. 7.
- 45 Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The New Freedom (Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1956), p. 72.
- 46 Francis H. Heller, The Presidency: A Modern Perspective, op. cit., p. 28. See also: Norman J. Small, Some Presidential Interpretations of the Presidency (Da Capo Press, New York, 1970), p. 179.
- 47 37 Stat. 913.
- 48 Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The New Freedom, op. cit., p. 140.
- 49 James MacGregor Burns, Presidential Government: The Crucible of Leadership, op. cit., p. 147.
- 50 Francis Russell, President Harding: His Life and Times 1865-1923 (Eyre & Spottiswoode Ltd., London, 1968), pp. 438-439.
- 51 Haynes Johnson and Frank Johnston, The Working White House, op. cit., p. 2.
- 52 Carl Brent Swisher, The Theory and Practice of American National Government (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1951), p. 341.
- 53 John M. Taylor, From The White House Inkwell, op. cit., p. 110.
- 54 French Strother, "A Day at the White House" (1924), in Edward Connery Latham, ed., Meet Calvin Coolidge: The Man Behind the Myth (The Stephen Greene Press, Battleboro, Vermont, 1960), p. 96.
- 55 These domestic staff worked under Elizabeth Jaffrey, the first house-keeper and general manager, who retired in 1926. Haynes Johnson and Frank Johnston, The Working White House, op. cit., p. 30.
- 56 Edward S. Corwin, The President: Office and Powers 1787-1957, op. cit., p.301. See also: Carl Brent Swisher, The Theory and Practice of American National Government, op. cit., p. 341. By this time the salary of the President's private Secretary had been increased (44 Stat. 305) to \$10,000 p.a.
- 57 Calvin Coolidge, The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge (Chatto & Windus, London, 1929), p. 202.

- 58 Thomas A. Bailey, Presidential Greatness, op. cit., p. 216.
- 59 45 Stat. 1230. See also: John Bell, The Splendid Misery, op. cit., p. 153.
- 60 Leila A. Sussmann, Dear FDR (subtitled: "A Study of Political Letter-Writing"), (The Bedminster Press, New Jersey, 1963), p. 64. Certain of the titles then in use remain in use as staff titles today, although they have long since been overshadowed by the enormous growth of other staff with many other titles.
- 61 Robert Granville Caldwell, James A. Garfield: Party Chieftain, op. cit., p. 340.
- 62 William Safire, one of President Nixon's senior speechwriters, put it this way: "The President builds thinking time into his calendar. Wednesdays, for example, are kept relatively clear of appointments to allow time to ponder, to read and to ask a few searching questions". Safire, Eye on Nixon: A Photographic Study (Hawthorn Books Inc., New York, 1972), p. 39. Safire later offered a less generous interpretation of this technique in Before The Fall (subtitled: "An Inside View of the Pre-Watergate White House"), (Doubleday & Co., Inc., Garden City, New York, 1975), p. 283.
- 63 Esther Singleton, The Story of the White House, op. cit., p. 169.
- 64 T. Harry Williams, ed., Hayes: The Diary of a President 1875-1881, op. cit., p. 129.
- 65 Robert McElroy, Grover Cleveland: The Man and the Statesman (Harper & Bros., New York, 1923), p. 114.
- 66 Thomas A. Bailey, Presidential Greatness, op. cit., p. 215.
- 67 Robert McElroy, Grover Cleveland: The Man and the Statesman, op. cit., pp. 112-113.
- 68 Many examples can be found in the modern day. President Kennedy took a close personal interest in the naming of the Navy's nuclear submarines. H.R. Haldeman testified to President Nixon's obsession with the details of presidential dinners: "He would throw himself headlong into the preparations, driving everyone, from the chef to the household staff, to his own wife, crazy. He'd check every item on the menu and each facet of the evening program, adjusting this or that detail until he got it right". Nixon even ordered some dinners timed on a stopwatch. H.R. Haldeman, The Ends of Power (New York Times Books, New York, 1978), pp. 73-74.
- 69 For example, during the height of the passage of Great Society legislation through Congress, President Johnson involved himself in a comprehensive and systematic way "faultlessly preparing his every word and deed" down to the smallest detail. This complete devotion was a key to success. Doris Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream (Harper & Row, New York, 1976), pp. 294 ff.
- 70 Ibid., p. 269. Kearns related that "the same attention to the minutiae of power that had characterized his relations with the Congress would now characterize his conduct of the war. Long hours of discussion preceded the choice of each bombing target".

- 71 Frederic J. Haskin, The American Government, op. cit., p. 3. The continuity of procedures can be appreciated from this description of mail-handling bequeathed by President Coolidge: "The White House Offices are under the direction of the Secretary to the President... Reports come in daily from heads of departments, from distant possessions... A mass of correspondence, from the Congress, the officials of the states, and the general public, is constantly being received. All of this often reaches 2,000 pieces in a day. Very much of it is sent at once to the Department to which it refers, from which an answer is sent direct to the writer. Other parts are sent to different members of the office staff, and some is laid before the President. While I signed many letters, I did not dictate many. After indicating the nature of the reply, it was usually put into form by some of the secretaries". Calvin Coolidge, The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge, op. cit., p. 203. In the event, it was the Roosevelt Administration which initiated changes in mail handling techniques - for definite political reasons. Louis Howe, Secretary to the President, "insisted that every letter to Roosevelt receive an individual reply". Leila A. Sussmann, Dear FDR, op. cit., pp. 60-81. According to Eleanor Roosevelt, mail-handling procedures had not been changed significantly since President Cleveland's day. Eleanor Roosevelt, This I Remember (Harper & Bros., New York, 1949), pp. 96-97.
- 72 Ira R.T. Smith, chief of White House mails under nine Presidents beginning with McKinley in 1901, described the torrent of mail received in the early days of FDR's Administration as "like an avalanche. Everything was turned upside down", he said, "and the mail poured in. We began taking on clerks. Before long we had fifty people handling mail. After the first week we were 450,000 letters behind... It took us six months to catch up." By the Truman Administration bagloads of mail were delivered three times a day to the White House by truck. During Kennedy's first two weeks 87,000 letters were delivered. When President Ford pardoned Richard Nixon a massive 280,000 people wrote in on the subject within a matter of days. By 1975, in normal circumstances, the mail room supervised 2,500 outgoing letters a day. Haynes Johnson and Frank Johnston, The Working White House, op. cit., pp. 70-73.
- 73 Russell Miller and Renate Kohler (text) and John Bryson (photographs), "All The President's People", The Sunday Times Magazine, 12th February, 1978, pp. 30-45.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The New Freedom, op. cit., pp. 140-141.
- 76 Henry F. Pringle, The Life and Times of William Howard Taft (Archon Books, Hamden, Connecticut, 1964), p. 417.
- 77 It was not until Ford's Presidency that the staff position of Personal Photographer to the President was officially listed as a member of The White House Office staff. United States Government Organization Manual 1976-1977 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., July, 1976), p. 86. Congressional Directory 1976 (Joint Committee on Printing, U.S. Congress, Washington D.C., 1976), p. 484. Previously, in the Nixon Administration, Oliver F. Atkins, who was listed as Official White House Photographer, was among those White House staff funded by Special Projects and **not** by The White House Office. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Part 2: Executive Office of the President, 15th June, 1973, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), p. 1778. No-one has yet estimated the number of

hours of voice-activated tape recordings that have been bequeathed to history by the Nixon Presidency.

- 78 In the 1970s it became regular practice for political magazines to comment on the state of the President's health. For example: "Staying Fit in the White House", U.S. News and World Report, 27th February, 1978, p. 40. In the last three decades there has been a wide-ranging concern for presidential health, occasioned by Eisenhower's heart attacks, Kennedy's back trouble, Johnson's gall bladder, Nixon's phlebitis, Carter's jogging, and even by Ford's propensity to stumble down stairs (whether chewing bubblegum or not) or skiing into roped-off enclosures. Woodrow Wilson once wrote prophetically that "men of ordinary physique and discretion cannot be Presidents and live, if the strain be not somehow relieved. We shall be obliged to picking our chief magistrates from among wise and prudent athletes - a small class". Wilfred E. Binkley, The Man in the White House. op. cit., p. 207.
- 79 T. Harry Williams, ed., Hayes: The Diary of a President 1875-1881, op. cit., p. 130.
- 80 Esther Singleton, The Story of the White House, op. cit., p. 170.
- 81 Ibid., p. 169.
- 82 Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The New Freedom, op. cit., pp. 140-141.
- 83 Ibid. It was said that Tumulty was "Wilson's chief liaison with the politicians".
- 84 Herbert Hoover, The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover, vol. 3, The Cabinet and the Presidency 1920-1933 (Hollis and Carter, London, 1952), p. 219.
- 85 Henry F. Pringle, Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography (Jonathan Cape Ltd., London, 1931), pp. 500-501.
- 86 Ibid., p. 466.
- 87 Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The New Freedom, op. cit., pp. 140-141.
- 88 Ibid., p. 84.
- 89 Calvin Coolidge, The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge, op. cit., p. 203.
- 90 Herbert Hoover, The Cabinet and the Presidency 1920-1933, op. cit., p. 219.
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 Frederic J. Haskin, The American Government, op. cit., p. 3.
- 93 Calvin Coolidge, The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge, op. cit., p. 203.
- 94 Henry F. Pringle, Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography, op. cit., pp. 500-501.
- 95 Wilson's biographer added that "no account of the Wilson circle would be complete without some note of Joseph P. Tumulty, Wilson's Secretary from 1911 to 1921". Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The New Freedom, op. cit., pp. 140-141.

- 96 Ibid., p. 141.
- 97 Ibid., p. 142. (H.R. Haldeman was similarly highly sensitive to other staff enjoying easy access to the President. William Safire recounts a tale illustrating Haldeman's system to ensure that he (Haldeman) was not out-manoeuvred by Charles Colson in access to the President. William Safire Before The Fall, op. cit., p.282.)
- 98 Ibid., p. 72.
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 J.M. Blum, Joseph Tumulty and the Wilson Era (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1951), p. 59.
- 101 Paolo E. Coletta, The Presidency of William Howard Taft (The University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, 1973), pp. 54-55.
- 102 Ibid.
- 103 Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The New Freedom, op. cit., p. 141.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Ibid., p. 76.
- 106 Haldeman and the Nixon staff were accused of erecting a "Berlin Wall" around President Nixon. Newsweek, 17th September, 1973, pp. 36-38. This theme pervaded several books of the period. See for example: Dan Rather and Gary Paul Gates, The Palace Guard (Harper & Row, New York, 1974).
- 107 Calvin Coolidge, The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge, op. cit., pp. 185-186.
- 108 Donald R. McCoy, Calvin Coolidge: The Quiet President (Macmillan Co., New York, 1967), pp. 284-285.
- 109 Matthew A. Crenson, The Federal Machine (subtitled: "Beginnings of Bureaucracy in the Jacksonian Administration"), (John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1975), p. 59.
- 110 Ibid., p. 72.
- 111 Ibid., p. 60.
- 112 George E. Reedy, The Twilight of the Presidency (Mentor, New York, 1970), pp. 29 ff.
- 113 Calvin Coolidge, The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge, op. cit., p.186.
- 114 French Strother, "A Day at the White House" (1924), in Edward Connery Latham, ed., Meet Calvin Coolidge: The Man Behind the Myth, op. cit., p. 89.

- 115 The most famous of Carter's domestic summits was that held between 6th and 11th July, 1979. A list of those who were present was subsequently released to the Press and printed in "Camp David Advisers: Who Carter Met", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 14th July, 1979, p. 1393.
- 116 Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1972 (Bantam Books Inc., New York, 1973), p. 476.
- 117 Calvin Coolidge, The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge, op. cit., p. 196.
- 118 Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The New Freedom, op. cit., p. 93.
- 119 Ibid., p. 94.
- 120 Ibid.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 George Sylvester Viereck, The Strangest Friendship in History: Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House (Duckworth, London, 1933), p. 21.
- 123 Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The New Freedom, op. cit., p. 94.
- 124 Alexander L. George and Juliette L. George, Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study (The John Day Company, New York, 1956), p. 84.
- 125 Ibid., p. 120.
- 126 Ibid., p. 113.
- 127 Roosevelt was once asked by Wendell Wilkie, whom Roosevelt had defeated in the 1940 election, why the President kept that "half-man" around him. Roosevelt replied that "some day you may well be sitting here where I am now as President of the United States. And when you are, you'll be looking at that door over there and knowing that practically everybody who walks through it wants something out of you. You'll learn what a lonely job this is, and you'll discover the need for somebody like Harry Hopkins, who asks for nothing except to serve you". Emmet John Hughes, The Living Presidency (Coward McCann & Geoghegan Inc., New York, 1972, 1973), p. 142.
- 128 Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The New Freedom, op. cit., pp. 94-95.
- 129 Alexander L. George and Juliette L. George, Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study, op. cit., p. 124.
- 130 Ibid., p. 125.
- 131 Ibid., p. 119.
- 132 J.M. Blum, Joseph Tumulty and the Wilson Era, op. cit., p. 121. Many other White House staff have since acknowledged that service in the White House was the summit experience of their professional lives.
- 133 Robert McElroy, Grover Cleveland: The Man and the Statesman, op. cit., p. 114.
- 134 Frederic J. Haskin, The American Government, op. cit., p. 11.

- 135 Arthur S. Link, Wilson: The New Freedom, op. cit., p. 18.
- 136 Donald R. McCoy, Calvin Coolidge: The Quiet President, op. cit., pp. 284-285.
- 137 Ibid.
- 138 Henry F. Pringle, Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography, op. cit., pp. 500-501. See also: Paolo E. Coletta, The Presidency of William Howard Taft, op. cit., pp. 54-55.
- 139 Henry F. Pringle, The Life and Times of William Howard Taft, op. cit., p. 417.
- 140 Leonard D. White, The Federalists (Macmillan & Co., New York, 1948), p. 40.
- 141 Louis W. Koenig, The Invisible Presidency (Rinehart and Co., New York, 1960), p. 13. Koenig added: "He seldom took one man's word unquestioningly, but checked it against other sources, especially those that were apt to be critical."
- 142 The separation of powers notwithstanding, Washington liked to check the favourite opinions of his executive subordinates against the judgement of the most distinguished members of Congress and the Judiciary: for example, Congressman James Madison, and Chief Justice John Jay. But in 1789 Washington discovered that he could not directly consult with Congress. When he and his Secretary of War arrived on the Senate floor to discuss an Indian treaty the Senators refused either to debate with the President or with each other while the President was present. Stephen Horn, Cabinet and Congress (Columbia University Press, New York, 1960), pp. 16-18. (No Chief Executive ever again came before Congress for purposes of direct dialogue, with the single unprecedented exception of President Gerald R. Ford's appearance in 1974 before the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, to discuss the presidential pardon granted to Richard M. Nixon). Four years later, in 1793, the Supreme Court informed Washington that both the separation of powers and its own role as the court of last resort precluded its offering the President any advice. Robert Scigliano, The Supreme Court and the Presidency (The Free Press, New York, 1971), pp. 62-63.
- 143 "Washington did not debate a case with his advisers, but listened to their arguments or read their written opinions and then decided the issue". Leonard D. White, The Federalists, op. cit., p. 41.
- 144 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson (Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1953), pp. 67-74.
- 145 Louis W. Koenig, The Invisible Presidency, op. cit., p. 40.
- 146 William D. Hassett, Off the Record with F.D.R. 1942-1945 (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1958), pp. xii-xiii. (The Congressional Directory, however, listed them in the co-equal rank of Secretary to the President from 1933 onwards.)
- 147 Fred W. Shipman, The White House Executive Office: Its Functions and Records, a report compiled for the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library by its Director, (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York, 1943), p. 2.

- 148 Ibid., p. 7.
- 149 Robert E. Sherwood, The White House Papers of Harry L. Hopkins (Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 2 vols., 1948), p. 208.
- 150 The Wall Chart was made available to this writer by the Director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. Personal Correspondence with William R. Emerson, Director, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, 16th December, 1974.
- 151 William D. Hassett, Off the Record with F.D.R. 1942-1945, op. cit., pp. xi-xii.
- 152 Samuel I. Rosenman, Working with Roosevelt (Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1952), p. 65.
- 153 For a detailed recounting of this group see: Rexford G. Tugwell, The Brains Trust (The Viking Press, New York, 1968).
- 154 Its history thus dates from the presidential election campaign, although its origins as a phrase can be traced back to its use in 1910 as a synonym for a college faculty. Hans Sperber and Travis Trittschuh, Dictionary of American Political Terms (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1964), p. 59.
- 155 Samuel I. Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt, op. cit., p. 66.
- 156 William E. Leuchtenburg, Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal (Harper Torchbooks, Harper & Row, New York, 1963), pp. 32-33.
- 157 Samuel I. Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt, op. cit., p. 70.
- 158 Ibid., p. 91.
- 159 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "The Evolution of the Presidency", in Nelson Polsby, ed., The Modern Presidency (Random House, New York, 1973), p. 26.
- 160 Ibid., p. 30.
- 161 Samuel I. Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt, op. cit., pp. 106-107. See also: Frances Perkins, The Roosevelt I Knew (Hammond, Hammond & Co. Ltd., London, 1947), pp. 91-92; and Robert E. Sherwood, The White House Papers of Harry L. Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 212-219. Two influential FDR aides, Tom Corcoran and Ben Cohen, had both started out originally as speechwriters under Raymond Moley. Samuel Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt, op. cit., pp. 115-117.
- 162 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "The Evolution of the Modern Presidency", in Nelson Polsby, ed., The Modern Presidency, op. cit., p. 20.
- 163 Ibid.
- 164 Ibid., p. 30.
- 165 The Executive Council was chartered by a presidential directive (E.O. 6202A) of 11th July, 1933, issued pursuant to the authority of the Federal Emergency Relief Act (48 Stat. 22) and the National

Industrial Recovery Act (48 Stat. 195). After a few months, however, the panel "proved too cumbersome for effective discussion". Lester G. Seligman and Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr., eds., New Deal Mosaic (University of Oregon Press, Eugene, Oregon, 1965), p. xv.

- 166 Roosevelt himself presided over the sessions and was assisted by the Council's Executive Secretary, Frank C. Walker, who performed "such duties as may be prescribed him by the President" (an early precursor of the language later applied to the White House staff in appropriation bills). Walker was the only professional staff member and his duties were purely administrative. He did not chair Council sessions in Roosevelt's absence. Walker's most valuable role continued to be that of an informal "trouble shooter" who served the President behind-the-scenes in trying to iron out difficulties and smooth ruffled feelings. A.J. Wann, The President as Chief Administrator (Public Affairs Press, Washington D.C., 1968), p. 51.
- 166a Roosevelt relied on the same statutory authority as he had for the Executive Council, together with the provision of the Agricultural Adjustment Act (48 Stat. 31), in issuing E.O. 6433A on 17th November, 1933. While the National Emergency Council did a competent job in the field it was not particularly valuable "in the area of providing coordination between the heads of the various agencies in Washington." A.J. Wann, The President as Chief Administrator, op. cit., p. 56.
- 167 Also consolidated was the Industrial Emergency Committee, set up in June, 1934, as a subunit of the National Emergency Council. This consolidation was ordered by E.O. 6889A on 31st October, 1934.
- 168 In 1934 the Council had a staff of 88 and a budget of \$195,000 p.a. By 1936 it had 246 permanent and detailed staff in Washington, and 185 field personnel. Projections for 1938 were 124 Washington staff and 121 field personnel on a budget of about \$600,000 p.a.
- 169 This phrase was popularized by Richard E. Neustadt in "The Presidency and Legislation: The Growth of Central Clearance", American Political Science Review, vol. XLVIII, No. 3, September, 1954, pp. 650 ff.
- 170 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "The Evolution of the Modern Presidency" in Nelson Polsby, ed., The Modern Presidency, op. cit., p. 32.
- 171 Ibid. This was principally said to smooth the ruffled feelings of Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior.
- 172 It was formally abolished by E.O. 7709A on 16th September, 1937. The last of FDR's coordinative schemes - the so-called "five-ring-circus" - depended largely on his personal political skill and the loyalty of its members.
- 173 Dean Karl Barry, Executive Reorganization and Reform in the New Deal (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 197.
- 174 Herbert Emmerich, Federal Organization and Administrative Management (University of Alabama Press, Alabama, 1971), p. 47.

- 174a Roosevelt "became the first President to use the telephone frequently and freely", according to one account of the New Deal. He dispensed with the more formal exchange of notes which had marked as recent an Administration as Wilson's. "Wilson would tolerate only a single telephone line to his office and almost never used it. By contrast, Roosevelt initiated the practice of having special telephone lines run to a host of Washington offices, for direct and private conversation through the White House switchboard..." Charles Hurd, When the New Deal was Young and Gay (Hawthorn Books Inc., New York, 1965), p. 117. Hurd also presented an account of the President's daily routine. Ibid., pp. 115-119.
- 175 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "The Evolution of the Modern Presidency" in Nelson Polsby, ed., The Modern Presidency, op. cit., p. 17. But on the other hand, Roosevelt took great pride in a calculation of Rudolph Forster's (the Chief Executive Clerk) that Roosevelt made at least thirty-five decisions to each one that Calvin Coolidge had been obliged to make. Ibid., p. 20.
- 176 Ibid., p. 31.
- 177 Ibid., p. 33.
- 178 During the spring and summer of 1935 "Roosevelt began to express curiosity about Merriam's view of a broader concept of planning and its relation to the presidency. He asked Merriam to prepare a memorandum on the subject". Dean Karl Barry, Executive Reorganization and Reform in the New Deal, op. cit., p. 203. Merriam's opening paragraph proved strikingly similar in tone to the beginning of the Brownlow Committee's report.
- 179 Louis Brownlow, et. al., Report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1937), p. 2.
This is hereinafter cited: The Brownlow Report (1937).
- 180 The Brownlow Report (1937), op. cit., p. 53.
- 181 Ibid., p. 2.
- 182 Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Message on Reorganizing the Executive Branch", 12th January, 1937, Public Papers of the Presidents: Franklin D. Roosevelt 1937, compiled by Samuel Rosenman, (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., New York, 1941).
- 183 The Brownlow Report (1937), op. cit., p. 2.
- 184 Ibid.
- 185 Ibid., p. 3.
- 186 Ibid.
- 187 Ibid.
- 188 Ibid., p. 53.

- 189 Ibid., p. 3.
- 190 Ibid.
- 191 Rexford G. Tugwell, The Enlargement of the Presidency, op. cit., p. 438.
- 192 The Brownlow Report (1937), op. cit., p. 3.
- 193 Herbert Emmerich, Federal Organization and Administrative Management, op. cit., p. 207.
- 194 Louis Brownlow, A Passion for Anonymity (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1958), pp. 347-348.
- 195 Ibid., pp. 331, 348.
- 196 Herbert Emmerich, Federal Organization and Administrative Management, op. cit., p. 46.
- 197 The Brownlow Report (1937), op. cit., p. 5. The full text of the Report's Section (1) on "The White House Staff" is given as Appendix 3.2 at the end of this chapter.
- 198 Ibid.
- 199 Ibid.
- 200 Ibid.
- 201 The full complement of six Administrative Assistants was only listed in the relatively short period of May 1943 - January 1944. United States Government Organization Manual 1943 (May), op. cit., p. 54. United States Government Organization Manual 1943 (December), op. cit., p. 54. Congressional Directory 1943 (May), op. cit., p. 318. Congressional Directory 1944 (January), op. cit., p. 318.
- 202 The Brownlow Report (1937), op. cit., p. 5.
- 203 Ibid.
- 204 Ibid.
- 205 Ibid.
- 206 Ibid.
- 207 Louis Brownlow, The President and the Presidency (Public Administration Service, Chicago, 1949), p. 105.
- 208 Ibid. Brownlow related how a British Civil Service Permanent Secretary "told me that he thought I should tell FDR that the thing to do was to adjust the model of the British Cabinet Secretariat to fit the Presidential...system and then get one man to head it: 'a man of high competence, great physical vigour, and a passion for anonymity'".
- 209 The Brownlow Report (1937), op. cit., p. 5.

- 210 Louis Brownlow, A Passion for Anonymity, op. cit., p. 376.
- 211 Ibid., p. 381. Brownlow later described Roosevelt's initial reaction when he first came across the phrase suggested by Brownlow's British Permanent Secretary. "He burst out chuckling and laughing, and read the phrase out loud a second time...FDR relished it highly and said, 'But tell your British friend that he doesn't know his American Press'". Roosevelt was highly sensitive to the manner in which proposals of this kind were publicly presented to the Press.
- 212 Ibid.
- 213 Ibid.
- 214 The Brownlow Report (1937), op. cit., p. 5.
- 214a The bill to carry out the recommendations of the Brownlow Committee did not enjoy an easy passage. It was promptly dubbed the Dictator Bill, a spurious term persistently publicized by anti-Roosevelt newspapers up and down the country. There was accordingly a slight watering down of some of the provisions, but these did not affect the President's ability to create The White House Office. Wilfred E. Binkley, The Man in the White House, op. cit., p. 214. It could be argued that much of the difficulty Roosevelt encountered in trying to translate the Brownlow Report into action stemmed from the secrecy with which its preparation had been deliberately surrounded. Roosevelt had sprung it on Congress on 12th January, 1937, having only briefly acquainted the Democratic leadership with its content the previous afternoon. Brownlow himself observed that some were shocked, thinking its radical proposals disruptive of congressional political relationships with the executive branch, or a power play by the President, or both. Three weeks later Roosevelt complicated the picture with his equally sudden announcement of his reform proposals for the U.S. Supreme Court. Opponents of FDR's "Court-packing" plan soon found additional ammunition in a Brookings study, commissioned by both House and Senate Government Organization committees, with which to attack the President's reorganization plans. Richard Polenberg, Reorganizing FDR's Government (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1966), pp. 31-36. Roosevelt's hopes of passing reorganization legislation thus died in the 75th Congress. Another attempt in 1939, with a milder version of his earlier reorganization bill, finally passed with little difficulty. (Polenberg, op. cit., p. 184.) President Roosevelt submitted Plan I (53 Stat. 1423) to Congress on 25th April, 1939, and by joint resolution (53 Stat. 813) Congress provided that the President could proceed with his plans to set up the EOP and WHO from 1st July, 1939.
- 215 President Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Reorganization of the Executive Office of the President", Executive Order No. 8248, 8th September, 1939, in The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt 1939 (Macmillan Co., New York, 1941), No. 125, pp. 490-497.
- 216 Ibid., p. 491.
- 217 Ibid., pp. 491-492.
- 218 Ibid., p. 495.
- 219 Ibid., pp. 496-498.

REFERENCES AND NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

- 01 The definition of non-political personnel has broadly remained unchanged over 40 years. The post of Physician to the President dates from 1947 while that of Chief Usher predates that by two years. Both have been traditionally considered non-political positions. A change in President has not always necessitated the appointment of a new Physician, while it has never involved the appointment of a new Chief Usher. Another non-partisan post, of more intrinsic importance, is the Executive Clerk. This staff position existed well before the official creation of The White House Office, and has been filled since by a succession of long-serving occupants. The job title has been varied: from Executive Clerk in charge of the White House Office, to Executive Assistant (1967) and to Chief Executive Clerk (1972).

In the majority of presidencies the First Lady's staff should not be counted among the political WHO staff. No official reference was made to the First Lady during either the Roosevelt or Truman years, although the post of Personal Secretary to the Wife of the President did exist. (See: White House Charts, 1st July, 1937, and 1st May, 1942, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.) In 1945 the Truman WHO staff listings included the post of Social Secretary (which remains to this day under the supervision of the First Lady). In 1954 the Eisenhower WHO listings included the post of Social Secretary, which included a Secretary to the First Lady, converted in 1955 to Personal and Social Secretary to Mrs. Eisenhower. By 1964 the job of Social Secretary was re-established in its own right, while a new position appeared of Press Secretary and Staff Director to the First Lady. Job titles later oscillated: Press Secretary to the First Lady (1969); Staff Director to the First Lady (1970); and Press Secretary for Mrs. Nixon (1974).

There was a complete change with the arrival of Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter in 1977. For the first time the First Lady's staff was significantly expanded and its status upgraded. Rosalynn Carter was accorded seven staff in the first WHO listings, the first four of whom ranked high in the lists (21st to 24th out of 80; normally the First Lady's staff were placed right at the end). Rosalynn's staff included a Press Secretary and East Wing Co-ordinator, a Personal Assistant, a Deputy Press Secretary, an Appointments Secretary, and a Director of Projects/Issues/Research. (USGOM 1977-1978, op. cit., p. 91.) This matched her definite political role in the Carter Administration, and some of her staff qualified for inclusion in the totals of political WHO staff. Indeed it was no accident that in the White House Staff Authorization Bills, 1977-78, provision was made for the first time for staff for the "spouse" of both the President and Vice-President. (See: Public Law 95-570.)

- 02 By 1975 President Ford's commissioned WHO staff numbered 64. Congressional Directory 1975 (Joint Committee on Printing, U.S. Congress, Washington D.C., March, 1975), pp. 473-474. Jimmy Carter's incoming WHO staff in 1977 numbered a quite unprecedented 80 members. United States Government Organization Manual 1977-1978 (General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1977), pp. 91-92. Both these staff levels were much higher than those of President Nixon, yet Ford and Carter escaped most of the criticism directed against staff size.

The Directories in this series are hereinafter cited as: CD 19--.
(The date will refer to the particular edition in question.)

The Manuals in this series are hereinafter cited as: USGOM 19-- to 19--. (The dates given will refer to the particular edition in question.)

The Congressional Staff Directories (Congressional Staff Directory Inc., Mount Vernon, Virginia) are hereinafter cited as CSD 19--.
(The date given will refer to the particular edition in question.)

- 03 Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Government Matters, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Executive Office of the President, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1959), pp. 124-135. This information was provided by Maurice Stans the then Director of the Bureau of the Budget.
- 04 For example: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Executive Office of the President, 11th May, 1971, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1971), p. 622.

The regular annual appropriations hearings in this series from 1971 onwards, held by this particular Senate appropriations subcommittee on all EOP (and therefore all White House staff) budgetary items, are hereinafter cited Senate Appropriation Subcommittee Hearings (19--). (The date given in brackets will refer to the actual year the hearings were held.)

Similarly those annual appropriations hearings from 1971 onwards held by the counterpart House appropriations subcommittee are herein cited as: House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (19--).

- 05 Congressman Miller, (R-Ohio), Speech in the debate on H.R. 8597, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1976, Congressional Record - House, 17th July, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), p. H6972.
- 06 These figures were introduced into the debate by Senator Sasser, (D-Tenn.), who was floor leader of the Bill in the Senate. Debate on H.R. 11003, to clarify the authority for the employment of White House staff, Congressional Record- Senate, 13th July, 1978, op. cit., p. S10799. They had been previously introduced into the House debate on the same Bill on 13th April, 1978.
- 07 Harold C. Relyea, "Staffing in the White House Office", Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., 1973, p. 10.
- 08 Ibid.
- 09 Robert Sam Anson, McGovern (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1972), pp. 105-106.
- 10 See for example: Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 2110-2115.
- 11 Ibid., p. 2113. An article published the same year provides a useful introduction to the White House Fellows programme: Peter Rand, "Collecting Merit Badges: The White House Fellows", Washington Monthly, June, 1974, pp. 47-56.

- 12 One of the real, though limited, improvements brought about by the passage of White House staff authorization legislation in 1978 was the requirement that the President publish annually the numbers of persons detailed to work for the White House in excess of 30 days. The first ever such report was made to Congress on 29th November, 1979; the second on 26th November, 1980. This latter showed that during FY 1980 no less than 205 persons had been detailed to The White House Office for periods in excess of 30 days; 17 to the Domestic Policy Staff; and 77 to the Office of Administration (to which several administrative functions of the White House staff and EOP had been hived off). Letter from Hugh A. Carter, Jr., Special Assistant to the President for Administration, to The Hon. Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, 26th November, 1980, incorporating Aggregate Report on Personnel, pursuant to Section 113 of Title 3 U.S.C., (The White House, Washington D.C., 1980), Attachment A.

The reports in this series are hereinafter cited as: WHS Personnel Report FY 19--. (The date will refer to the Fiscal Year in question.)

- 13 Of the four sources listed in Table 4.5 the authoritativeness of two are still open to question. Figures from the U.S. Civil Service Commission are based on an imprecise definition, while the bases for the figures in the Congressional Record have never been properly cited or explained. For a more detailed discussion of these points see the Note to Table 4.7.
- 14 At the first meeting of the NSC on 26th September, 1947, President Truman turned to his Secretary of Defense and said: "Now, Jimmy, this is going to be my Council". The NSC staff were subsequently placed near the White House not the Pentagon. John Osborne, "Command Staff", taken from The Nixon Watch (Liveright, New York, 1970), p. 22.
- 15 Henry A. Kissinger, The White House Years (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, and Michael Joseph, London, 1979). Kissinger wrote that from the outset foreign policymaking was a "role he (Nixon) reserved for himself and his Assistant for National Security Affairs". Ibid., p. 26. See also: pp. 24-48. President Nixon rendered his own version of his intentions in his memoirs. Richard M. Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon (Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1978), pp. 340-341.
- 16 Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1969), op. cit., p. 1156. The Nixon White House's 1970 estimates contained funds to pay for twice the number of man-days that had been used in the last 6 months of 1969, i.e. an overall four-fold increase for 1970 over 1969.
- 17 Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 2123-2124. In addition to the five named detailees the Domestic Council provided for the equivalent of 8 other full-time positions. Ibid., p. 2131. The following year their budget could not support the number of consultants that they needed so two were paid for out of funds for the Vice President's office budget "because our budget is rather strained at this time...we are still in a transition period" said Ford's Executive Director of the Domestic Council. House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., p. 93.
- 17a The proportion was about half and half. I.M. Destler's authoritative study of foreign policy machinery reported that by April 1971 Kissinger had virtually doubled the size of the professional NSC staff (i.e. handling substantive work) to 52, which was triple the peak under Rostow in the late 1960s. Destler estimated Kissinger's total staff in 1971 at about 110, of which half were professional and half were clerical, communications, or other support personnel. Presidents, Bureaucrats, and Foreign Policy (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1972, 1974), p. 126.

- 18 Personal Interview with Myer Feldman, Deputy Special Counsel, The White House Office (Kennedy and Johnson presidencies), 27th September, 1974. Feldman's testimony on this growth is corroborated elsewhere. See for example: I.M. Destler, Presidents, Bureaucrats. and Foreign Policy (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1974); and Dr. Louis Fisher and Dr. Harold C. Relyea, "Presidential Staffing - A Brief Overview", a study prepared for the Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 25th July, 1978, Committee Print No. 95-17, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), pp. 1-114.
- 19 Listing of White House Staff, made available by the Harry S. Truman Library (GSA, National Archives and Records Service, Independence, Missouri). This listing, compiled on 9th December, 1952, listed the names of the senior commissioned WHO staff together with the principal assistants that served with/under them. This listing is hereinafter cited as: HST WHS List A. The Library also compiled another listing of all those persons who served on the White House staff 1945-1953, arranged alphabetically. This is hereinafter cited as: HST WHS List B.
- 20 In this position Frederic Morrow oversaw the work of various projects. See Chapter VII, Note 7. When Jimmy Carter took office he introduced a similar-sounding position of Special Assistant to the President for Special Projects (held by Martha M. Mitchell for two years until the post disappeared from WHO lists in 1979). USGOM 1977-1978, op. cit., p. 91.
- 21 Robert Sam Anson, McGovern, op. cit., p. 105. George McGovern was then the newly-defeated senatorial candidate from South Dakota whom Kennedy wished to reward for support in the election. In offering McGovern this job Kennedy proposed a "special office". But it was one which, as Myer Feldman remarked, "was a kind of poor relation". McGovern took the initiative and asked for and got the rank of Special Assistant to the President. Robert Kennedy also intervened to obtain McGovern's official ungrading from Co-ordinator to Director of Food-For-Peace, with the concomitant raising of McGovern's protocol rank from Assistant Secretary to Under Secretary level. Ibid.
- 22 George Reedy, with the experience of the Johnson Presidency behind him, wrote that every President "is his own press secretary" because "public relations is actually the function of the President himself". The Twilight of the Presidency (Mentor, New York, 1971), p. 90. Doris Kearns, a political analyst of Johnson, reported him as saying that the only "sure way" to "control the strings" which was for the President personally "to keep their daily bread...in your own hands, so that you can give it out when and to whom you want." Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream (Harper and Row, New York, 1976), p. 247.
- 23 Despite the fact that Johnson used the job title of Counsellor late in his Presidency (USGOM 1968-1969, op. cit., p. 54) it was President Nixon who first formally accorded members of his WHO staff Cabinet rank. The first of these to be appointed was Arthur F. Burns (CD 1969, op. cit., p. 421), and by the following year there were four: Robert Finch, Bryce Harlow, Robert Mayo, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan (USGOM 1970-1971, op. cit., p. 57). Apart from one's order in the receiving lines at diplomatic receptions this ranking had little special effect other than to enable its holders to attend certain kinds of official meetings. Its main significance involved the removal of its holder from the operational chain of command

inside the White House staff. Senior White House staff had long been able to sit in on Cabinet meetings, and the lack of formal Cabinet rank made no political difference to those senior staff members. One previous President did come near to according a staff member Cabinet rank, when President Kennedy appointed George McGovern as a Special Assistant. McGovern's protocol ranking was raised (to Under Secretary level) which, as McGovern himself remarked, "helped take the sting out of not getting the Cabinet job". Kennedy assured McGovern that his Directorship of Food-For-Peace was "virtual Cabinet-level". Robert Sam Anson, McGovern, op. cit., p. 105.

- 24 Women have never been well represented on the White House staff in a senior political capacity (as distinct from clerical, administrative or secretarial). One of the first senior WHO posts given to a woman (apart from the Personal Secretary to the President who has always been a woman) was that of Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs. It was created by President Johnson and its first occupant, Esther Peterson, subsequently returned to the same job title under Carter, while Virginia Knauer had held the comparable brief in the intervening Republican years of Nixon and Ford. A more recent example of the niche for the token woman was Carter's creation of the Assistant to the President for Public Liaison, held successively (under Carter) by Midge Constanza and Anne Wexler, and (under Reagan) by Elizabeth Dole.
- 24a Even John Osborne, one of the most astute observers of the Nixon White House, originally reached the view that "Bob Haldeman and his seven assistants are efficient functionaries, no more". The Nixon Watch, op. cit., p. 35. This was a view he later completely retracted.
- 25 Press Secretary Jerry terHorst's resignation from President Ford's White House Office staff in 1974, because he disagreed so fundamentally with Ford's decision to pardon Richard Nixon, stands as a rare example. For a few select others, such as Bryce Harlow and John Connally in the Nixon White House, the financial incentives of returning to private life could outweigh the continuing attractions of WHO service. But not many enjoyed the personal sense of confidence that allowed an early departure from the White House.
- 26 The three were Daniel J. Tobin, Lowell Mellett, and Sherman Minton. The senior Administrative Assistants were men like James H. Rowe, William H. McReynolds and Lauchlin Currie.
- 27 In the event James Landis could not have stayed for long because he was prosecuted by the Justice Department for tax evasion. As an old friend of the Kennedy family this proved the "saddest case" over which Attorney General Robert Kennedy had to preside. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Robert Kennedy and His Times (Futura Publications Ltd., London, 1979), pp. 418-421.
- 28 "Turnover of White House Staff Aides Is High", Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1967 (Congressional Quarterly Inc., Washington D.C., 1968), pp. 1317-1319.
- 29 "43 Top Aides Served President Johnson Since 1963", Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1968, op. cit., pp. 921-922.

29a Table 4.19 presents actual cash figures for the cost of White House staff budgetary items. These are not adjusted for inflation. For the effects of inflation on the real value of Special Projects and the Emergency Fund/Unanticipated Needs see Notes 34a and 34b. Both these items, being traditionally fixed cash amounts, suffered more from the effects of inflation than the other budgetary items given in Table 4.19. Appropriations for The White House Office, the NSC, and the Domestic Council all regularly incorporated money increases to take some account of increasing inflation. (Inflation adjusted salary figures are given in Note 45a). While the cost of The White House Office alone has risen between 1939 and 1981 by one hundred times in cash terms (from \$213,000 to well over \$20,000,000) the extent of the increase measured at constant 1980 prices is about elevenfold (from \$1,825,000 to well over \$20,000,000). This broadly matched a tenfold increase in the size of the WHO commissioned staff (which rose between 1939 and 1979 from 8 to well over 80), and a tenfold increase in the size of the basic core of the White House staff (i.e. WHO staff plus foreign and domestic affairs staffs) which increased between 1939 and 1980 from 45 to well over 450. By 1980 the cost of this basic core was running at \$25m p.a., compared to a total EOP cost of \$100m p.a. (although at 1980 prices the cost of Nixon's EOP in 1972 was higher still at \$117½m which was accounted for by its larger size: 20 major entities in 1972 compared to only 13 by 1980).

29b A comparison of the proportions of numbers and cost between three White House staff items in the 1970 breakdown is as follows:

	<u>(Figures as %)</u>	
	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Cost</u>
White House Office	36	44
Special Projects	16	25
Detailed Personnel	48	31
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

This clearly shows the extent to which the budgeted cost of these items variously reflected the proportion devoted to support services, or back-up. Although nearly half the total staff numbers were detailees they only accounted for less than one third of the total cost, i.e. most of that 31% consisted of personnel compensation. By contrast, The White House Office budget contained a greater proportion of back-up costs. Special Projects also budgeted for support services. (See: Note on page for cost breakdown).

30 United States Budget FY 1973 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1972), Appendix, p. 55.

The Budget Appendices in this series are hereinafter cited as: USBA FY 19--. (The date given will refer to the Fiscal Year in question.)

31 Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 2102.

32 Ibid., p. 2105.

- 33 A new cost accounting system was introduced in 1975 for the first time incorporating a "standard level user charge" (SLUC). (Previously there had been no charge for using the West Wing as officers.) "The idea is", testified the Ford Administration, "that each budget of each organization will show, on a fair basis hopefully, what it costs for space, what the cost of that agency is from the standpoint of the space it occupies." Thus the budgeted cost of "Rent, Communications, and Utilities" for The White House Office rose over tenfold between 1974 and 1975; from \$400,000 to \$4,300,000 in 1975. This had a dramatic effect on the ratio of WHO "Support Services" to "Personnel Compensation". For decades (at least since 1947) this ratio had been between 1:6 and 1:5. But in 1975 Support Services costs leapt to 43% of Personnel Compensation costs, while by 1976 it had risen further to 53%, of which 41% was by itself accounted for by the new SLUCs. See: House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., pp. 521-522, 534-535.
- 34 This \$1 million increase was officially requested because of "the problems associated with the launching of a new administration". The Nixon White House intended to use the "total amount". Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1970), op. cit., p. 1250. The years in which Special Projects did not receive its full \$1 $\frac{1}{2}$ m budget authority were 1956, 1958, 1959, 1961 and 1965.
- 34a By 1964 the real value of \$1,500,000 appropriated in 1956 was down to \$1,313,000. By 1974, in the year of its abolition, it had slumped to \$828,000. (Measurements of inflation provided by "Purchasing Power of the Dollar" in Statistical Abstract of the United States (National Data Book, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington D.C., 101st edition, 1980), p. 476. Purchasing power is given with reference to the annual average consumer price index.)
- 34b By 1980 the real value of \$1 million appropriated in 1940 was only \$171,000. In 1975, when the appropriation had been cut by half, its real value was then cut to \$130,000. Statistical Abstract of the United States, op. cit., p. 476.
- 35 USBA FY 1959, op. cit., p. 66.
- 36 USBA FY 1971, op. cit., p. 57. See also: Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1970), op. cit., pp. 1452-1462.
- 37 USBA FY 1971, op. cit., p. 57.
- 38 In addition to the numbers of "Permanent Positions" the Budget always made provision for the "Full Time Equivalent of Other Positions". Figures for these additional 'posts' varied from year to year but were generally little more than half a dozen. For example, there were 6 in 1973; 8 in 1974; USBA FY 1975, op. cit., p. 63.
- 39 For example, in 1972, OMB's own estimate for the Domestic Council's additional personnel was ten. House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 129. The following year a specific total for detailees only (as distinct from part-time consultants) was given as six. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1973), op. cit., pp. 1631-1632. In 1977 President Jimmy Carter abolished the Domestic Council and replaced it with the Domestic Policy Staff. While the precise number of DPS detailees for 1977 was not made known, the

DPS budget revealed that \$39,000 was spent on reimbursable detailees alone. (The majority of detailees have historically been on a non-reimbursable basis.) House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1979), op. cit., p. 416. By 1980 the Carter White House revealed that over the previous 12 months 17 persons had been detailed to the DPS for periods in excess of 30 days. (The numbers of very short-term detailees go publicly unrecorded.) WHS Personnel Report FY 1981, op. cit., Attachment A.

40 This includes Budget Authority figures for The White House Office, the Domestic Policy Staff, the NSC staff, the Fund for Unanticipated Needs, and the Office of Administration (part of whose budget services other EOP items besides the White House).

41 This figure is based on Budgets up to and including FY 1980. The cumulative total for 1939-1979 is over \$310 million. Even if only half the BA for the Office of Administration is included (on the grounds that the OA services OMB and other EOP entities) the total is still over \$300 million. Such is the rate at which this cumulative total is growing that, if 1980 figures are included, it nears \$350 million; and, if 1981 and 1982 figures are added (both estimates as of this writing), the cumulative total reaches \$400 million.

The primary workload of the Office of Administration is divided between The White House Office and OMB. When the OA was created by Jimmy Carter in 1977 its initial staffing of 168 was drawn principally from WHO (72 staff) and OMB (978 staff) resources. The 1980 budget of the OA was \$8m which was projected by the FY 1982 budget to increase to nearly \$14m. For further information on the Office of Administration's divided workload see: House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1978), op. cit., pp. 29-60; 76-78. For the most recent evaluation of the position see: House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1981), op. cit., pp. 71-86; 151-152.

42 "White House Green", Newsweek, 23rd May, 1977, p. 35.

43 Ibid. Sensitive to the criticism, the most senior Carter WHO staff, paid at Level II, voted themselves a voluntary salary cut of \$1,500 p.a. to "set an example". This criticism had been fuelled by the release on 29th April, 1977, of a list of the 49 appointed members of Carter's WHO staff who earned more than \$40,000 p.a. Public Papers of the President: Jimmy Carter 1977, Book I, 20th January, 1977, to 24th June, 1977, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), p. 746.

44 U.S. Budgets between FY 1949 and FY 1965 provided differentiated salary levels from the top level down to GS-9. Those between FY 1966 and FY 1968 gave less: only semi-differentiated information on salary levels down to GS-14. Budgets between FY 1969 and FY 1974 gave outline-differentiated information on higher-level positions only. Those between FY 1975 and FY 1979 gave less still: only skeletal information on numbers at various salary levels. Since 1977 there has been a further deterioration in the specificity of the information made publicly available. (See Note 46 below.)

45 This contrasts strongly with the very full record printed of the salaries of members of committee and congressional staff. See for example: Report of the Secretary of the Senate, from 1st January, 1975, to 30th June 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), Abstract of Disbursements, pp. 1-78.

45a The following categories from Table 4.21 are adjusted for inflation and shown in constant 1977 prices. The salary levels are ranked from the highest to the lowest:

TOP SALARY PAID (TSP)			TOP SALARY GRADE (TSG)		
\$61,500	1972	(Nixon)	\$61,500	1972	(Nixon)
\$57,500	1977	(Carter)	\$57,500	1977	(Carter)
\$54,500	1967	(Johnson)	\$54,500	1967	(Johnson)
\$48,400	1957	(Eisenhower)	\$36,100	1962	(Kennedy)
\$45,700	1952	(Truman)	\$34,400	1957	(Eisenhower)
\$42,100	1962	(Kennedy)	\$33,800	1952	(Truman)
\$40,700	1947	(Truman)	\$27,100	1947	(Truman)

Yearly figures for top salaries, given in Appendix 4.14, reveal their constantly shifting real value in the light of the rate of inflation. Salary rates, when raised to compensate for the erosion of inflation, have occasionally registered large increases in real terms. The following are the five largest real increases:

BIGGEST PAY RISE INCREASES FOR TOP SALARY PAID (TSP)

Years	TSP	Increase (1977 prices)	Dollar Increase	% Increase
1947-48	\$27,100	up to \$37,800	+ \$10,700	+ 39%
1950-51	\$37,800	up to \$46,600	+ \$ 8,800	+ 23%
1964-65	\$39,100	up to \$52,800	+ \$13,700	+ 35%
1968-69	\$52,300	up to \$70,300	+ \$18,000	+ 34%
1976-77	\$47,500	up to \$57,500	+ \$10,000	+ 21%

Allowing for the special circumstances of 1948 (when the TSP was not paid from WHO funds) the highest percentage increases were either the actual responsibility of, or generated by, the Johnson Presidency. By contrast, the pay rise given to the incoming Carter WHO staff in 1977 was not as dramatic.

(Figures at 1977 prices, based on "Purchasing Power of the Dollar" (Consumer Prices) in Statistical Abstract of the United States, op. cit., p. 476. All figures are given to the nearest \$100.)

The salary rises during the Nixon Presidency raised the senior staff higher in the salaries league than the Carter level (which reflects the increasing rate of inflation in the 1970s). Although Eisenhower comes fourth in the TSP table Kennedy comes fourth in the TSG table, a fact accounted for by Eisenhower's singling out of The Assistant to the President as alone deserving of the top salary, while Kennedy deliberately sought to equalize the salaries of his most senior staff. Overall, these tables confirm that the real value of senior WHO salaries has improved in the last 35 years.

46 In both the FY 1981 and FY 1982 Budget Appendices all reference to salary levels in excess of GS-18 have been completely omitted. No longer was it possible to know how many WHO staff were paid at the highest level. Neither does the White House Staff Authorization Act 1978 (PL 95-570) oblige the President to reveal such information in his annual Personnel Report. For example, in the first such report issued on 29th November, 1979, the Carter White House only released

a cumulative figure of 44 for the number of WHO staff paid at rates "equal to or greater" than the Executive Level V salary grade. There was no differentiation at all of the exact numbers of staff paid at each level (from Level V up to Level II). There is now less known about WHO staff salaries - and more secrecy - than ever before. See: WHS Personnel Report FY 1979, op. cit., p. 1; WHS Personnel Report FY 1980 op. cit., p. 1.

- 46a By 1947 all Truman's three Secretaries and all six Administrative Assistants were paid \$10,000 p.a. USBA FY 1949, op. cit., p. 60.
- 47 USBA FY 1951, op. cit., p. 43. This wording was by then already long out of date. This can be gauged from its division between one principal "Secretary" and two "assistant secretaries", a distinction that had been formally abolished in 1936. (See: Chapter III, Note 146.) Later Presidents for the most part totally ignored any formal limitation of appropriations acts.
- 48 5 U.S.C. 55a.
- 49 USBA FY 1971, op. cit., p. 51.
- 50 USBA FY 1949, op. cit., p. 60. The salaries of these two staff members, together (in 1949) with an Administrative Assistant and a Special Assistant, were effected by means of a special "allotment to EOP".
- 51 United States Code (Annotated 1976 edition), Supplementary Pamphlet 1927-1975, Title 3: The President, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976), p. 382.
- This edition is hereinafter cited as: USC (1976 edition).
- 52 USBA FY 1952, op. cit., p. 19.
- 53 Pursuant to Public Law 81-359.
- 54 USBA FY 1952, op. cit., p. 19.
- 55 USBA FY 1960, op. cit., p. 11.
- 56 The dollar levels were set as follows: 2 @ \$22,500 p.a.; 3 @ \$21,000 p.a.; 6 @ \$20,000 p.a.; and 3 @ \$17,500 p.a. USC (1976 edition), op. cit., p. 382.
- 57 USBA FY 1959, op. cit., p. 13.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 USBA FY 1963, op. cit., p. 947. See also: USGOM 1961-1962, op. cit., p. 58.
- 60 Pursuant to Public Law 87-367. This change did not actually show up in the records until 1963. USBA FY 1964, op. cit., p. 972. See also: USC (1976 edition), op. cit., p. 382.
- 61 Johnson, as a former Senate Majority Leader, knew well enough the vital contribution played behind the scenes of a Senator's senior staff assistants. Johnson had been reputed to have been "the most notable slave driver of all" when in the Senate, and was quoted as having said that "the hardest job he ever had was being an Administrative Assistant".

- More than anyone, it was said, Johnson "recognized the value of AAs, used them heavily, and gave them great responsibility". This regard Johnson carried with him into the White House. Kenneth Schlossberg, "The Ablest Man in Congress", The Washingtonian, vol. 3, 1968, pp.61-62.
- 62 Pursuant to Public Law 88-426, Section 304(b) of which amended 3 USC 105.
- 63 Figures obtained by adding the salary costs of the top 14 WHO staff (as given in the USBA) and dividing the sum by 14.
- 64 Doris Kearns Goodwin (introduction), The Johnson Presidential Press Conferences (2 vols., Heyden, London, 1978), p. 257.
- 65 Ibid. It should also be added that Johnson's "desire to establish domination by creating uncertainty and apprehension among those who worked for him" was well reflected in his manipulation, where possible, of staff salary levels. Doris Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and The American Dream, op. cit., pp. 239; 237-244.
- 66 Pursuant to Public Law 90-222.
- 67 USBA FY 1969, op. cit., p. 1044.
- 68 Kenneth Schlossberg, "The Ablest Men in Congress", op. cit., pp. 61-63; 72-75.
- 69 USBA FY 1971, op. cit., p. 993.
- 70 Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1969), op. cit., p. 1127.
- 71 Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1971), op. cit., p. 638.
- 72 Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1969), op. cit., p. 1128.
- 73 Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 14715, a bill to clarify existing authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 93-34, 23rd May, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 12.
- 74 The FY 1975 Budget made reference to "Government-wide pay increases authorized by Executive Order 11739". House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 704.
- 75 "White House Green", Newsweek, op. cit., p. 35.
- 76 Executive Order 11941. House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1978), op. cit., p. 78.
- 77 "White House Green", Newsweek, op. cit., p. 35.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 Ibid., p. 36.
- 80 USBA FY 1982, op. cit., p. II-2.
- 81 Sherman Adams was not initially accorded this unique salary (USBA FY 1955, op. cit., p. 19). It was granted to him from 1954 until his departure. (See for example: USBA FY 1956, op. cit., p. 19.)

- 81a Figures given in Table 4.21 for the "Average WHO Salary" are based, as Footnote c indicates, on the division of total WHO salary costs by the number of "Permanent Positions" and "Full-time Equivalent of Other Positions" on the WHO payroll. These crude figures, when adjusted for inflation are as follows:

AVERAGE WHO SALARY

\$24,300	1977	(Carter)
\$20,600	1972	(Nixon)
\$15,800	1967	(Johnson)
\$14,200	1962	(Kennedy)
\$13,300	1957	(Eisenhower)
\$12,300	1952	(Truman)
\$ 7,300	1947	(Truman)

(At 1977 prices, based on "Purchasing Power of the Dollar" in Statistical Abstract of the United States, op. cit., p. 476. Figures given to the nearest \$100.)

The real increases match the chronological progression of presidencies. From this it is clear that there has been a very considerable real improvement in the average WHO salary level. In the space of 30 years the real value of the average salary tripled. For the political staff, as distinct from the support staff (clerical and administrative), the real increase was even greater.

- 82 For a sociological study of the normal working environment see: Victor H. Vroom, "The Motivational Bases of Work", an article reprinted in Work and Motivation (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1964), pp. 29-49. Vroom identifies money and fringe benefits as an indication of social status (p. 30) and in a later chapter argues that wages satisfaction is dependent not on an absolute level but in comparison to wages for a similar job elsewhere (p. 151). For the senior WHO staff in particular (and for all the political staff to an extent) the "fringe benefit" of working in the White House at the centre of the Washington stage more than compensates for any shortfall in the actual salary level. Very occasionally has there been an example of the voluntary departure from the WHO staff (before the end of a Presidency) for financial reasons. Whatever the precise reasons for Bryce Harlow's departure from the Nixon White House early in the 1970s it is certainly true that his salary as the lobbyist for Procter & Gamble Inc. was very considerably higher than that of Counsellor to the President.
- 83 The numbers of books written by members of the White House staff testifies to the market they have collectively carved out as authors. Among the earliest memoirs were those of Samuel Rosenman (of Roosevelt's Presidency) and Sherman Adams (of Eisenhower's). Prominent among those from the Kennedy years were Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Theodore C. Sorensen, Pierre Salinger, Kenneth P. O'Donnell, and Evelyn Lincoln. Johnson aides that took to print have included Patrick Anderson, Peter Benchley (fiction), Joe Califano, Liz Carpenter, George Christian, Douglass Cater, Eric Goldman, Harry McPherson, Bill Moyers, John P. Roche, Will Sparks, Jack Valenti, and Ben Wattenberg. The White House Fellows Program produced the academic works by Doris Kearns, Thomas E. Cronin, and Sanford D. Greenberg. Ex-members of President Nixon's staff have also been voluble in print, with their selling value enhanced by Watergate. Authors include H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman (fiction), Charles Colson, John W. Dean, G. Gordon Liddy, and Jeb Stuart Magruder. Non-Watergate Nixon staff have included Henry Kissinger, William Safire and Ray Price. (For the full citation of all these writers' books see the Select Bibliography.)

In recent decades the earning power of ex-White House aides has increased, irrespective of their writing talents. To take a few at random, several Kennedy and Johnson staff returned to academic careers, such as Richard Goodwin, John Roche, and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Some, like Lawrence O'Brien, Theodore Sorensen, and Fred Dutton, remained active in politics. Special Assistants like Robert Komer and Ralph Dungan left the White House to serve as Ambassadors; while others, such as Marvin Watson and Donald Rumsfeld, joined the Cabinet. Former staff members have been appointed to federal government posts, such as Lee White (Chairman of the Federal Power Commission), Clifford Alexander (Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission), and Robert Fleming (Assistant Director of the then United States Information Agency). Among the others, Bill Moyers became the publisher of Newsday newspaper, and Jack Valenti became President of the Motion Pictures Association of America.

- 84 The Public Papers of the Presidents: Jimmy Carter 1977, Book I, op.cit., p. 866. In real terms the \$57,500 salary paid to top Carter staff was actually worth \$4,000 less in real terms than the \$42,500 salaries paid to top Nixon staff in 1972. (See Note 45a.)
- 85 These categories appear in the Budget Appendices under the sub-heading "Object Classification" and each category has its own Identification Code. Over the years these categories have undergone change and expansion. See for comparison: USBA FY 1949, op. cit., p. 60; USBA FY 1959, op. cit., p. 63; USBA FY 1969, op. cit., p. 51; USBA FY 1979, op. cit., p. 63.
- 86 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., p. 524.
- 87 For a report on the merits of the computer system in the Carter White House see: "Computers Help White House Lobbying", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 11th February, 1978, pp. 366-367. Related features are examined in "White House Lobby Gets Its Act Together", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 3rd February, 1979, pp. 195-200; and "Computers and Direct Mail Are Being Married on the Hill to Keep Incumbents in Office", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 21st July, 1979, pp. 1445-1453.
- 88 Personal Interview with Bryce Harlow, Counsellor to the President (Nixon Administration), 17th September, 1974.
- 89 Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 701.
- 90 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 720.
- 91 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., pp. 504-510. One of the sentiments expressed during a protracted discussion was the need for "a figure that we can get our teeth into that does represent the total figure" of presidential travel costs. The then Ford Administration maintained that "it is impossible to know at any given time when he is President of the United States as a civilian and when he is Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces". Ibid., p. 506.
- 92 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1976), op. cit., pp. 437-445.

- 93 Letter to The Hon. Thomas B. Curtis, Chairman, Federal Election Commission, from PHilip W. Buchen, Counsel to the President, reprinted in House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1976), op. cit., pp. 438-443. This letter arose out of travel by President Ford and former Governor Reagan during the special senatorial election in New Hampshire in 1975. The letter commented on the general position, and then dealt with four specific areas: (1) Costs of operating Government-owned aircraft on political trips; (2) Costs of operating Government-owned aircraft on mixed official-political trips; (3) Other travel costs; and (4) Services of government personnel.
- 94 Ibid., pp. 439-440.
- 95 Ibid., p. 440. The examples that Buchen gave were "those officials who may advise on political matters (e.g. Donald Rumsfeld, Robert Hartmann, John Marsh, Ron Nessen, Richard Cheney, etc.), speechwriters, advancemen, and a White House photographer". The remainder of the White House personnel would be present for the purposes of supporting the President in his official capacity.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 Ibid., p. 442.
- 98 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., p. 522. See also the discussion on pp. 534-540.
- 99 This has not prevented some from trying. In 1969 it was estimated that "a private citizen would need an annual income of close to 35 millions dollars to live the way the President of the United States lives". The then estimated value of everything at his disposal was put at nearly \$164.5 million. "Planes, Boats, Expenses....President's Pay Is Many Things", U.S. News and World Report, 27th January, 1969, pp. 32-34.
- In 1975 estimates of the hourly running costs of some of the presidential aircraft were submitted to the House. House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., p. 444. (See also: Chapter I Notes 28 and 91.)
- 100 A summary of part of this indirect support was provided by OMB in response to questions posed by Senator Joseph Montoya, (D-NM.). Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., pp. 693-694.
- 101 "The number of Marines guarding Camp David differs from one day to the next, depending on the President's schedule and itinerary", stated an OMB report in 1972. When asked how many Navy personnel were required the "best answer anyone can give" was "enough". In addition, members of other services, including the White House Communications Agency and the Navy were transferred to Camp David whenever the President's presence there "makes it advisable", testified John M. Pinckney, OMB Budget and Management Officer. Ibid., p. 694.
- 102 Regular use of these airborne facilities was made by the White House staff. For example, John Dean recorded in his memoirs his thrill at having one of this fleet of helicopters put at his exclusive disposal when he first joined the Nixon staff. Whisked off a scheduled airliner ahead of all the other first-class passengers "I saw, not a hundred yards away, a shiny brown-and-white Marine helicopter with a corporal in full-fress uniform standing at attention at the foot of its boarding ramp". John W. Dean, III, Blind Ambition (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1976), p. 14.

- 103 Carter disposed of the "Sequoia" as an economy measure which moreover fitted his public desire to de-imperialize the Presidency. In 1972 an OMB report had stated that the numbers of staff attendant on the presidential yacht "varies from day to day, depending on the President's movements and the requirements his schedule imposes." Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 694.
- 103a Many staff members have testified to the pleasant privilege of the White House Mess. Nor has it escaped the attentions of the Press. An article in the Washington Star-News on 18th November, 1974, reported that a conservative estimate of the real cost of the Mess was \$300,000 p.a., none of which was reimbursable by the White House. The article also reported that Defense Department regulations were violated both by the White House and by the Pentagon in allowing non-military personnel access to the Mess (among whose principal attractions were greatly subsidized prices). See: John W. Finney, "White House Staff Meals A Bargain", New York Times News Service, reprinted in Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., pp. 1773-1774.
- 104 The total number of people working under the auspices of the White House Communications Agency, and the Secret Service, "is not available for security reasons...(and) varies, too, in response to the President's location at any given time". Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., pp. 693-694.
- 105 The Executive Protective Service operates the White House Switchboard and serves all the Embassies and properties of foreign countries in the capital.
- 106 "Keeping House At The White House", U.S. News and World Report, 2nd June, 1975, pp. 39-41.
- 107 USBA FY 1982, op. cit., p. I-C2.

REFERENCES AND NOTES FOR CHAPTER V

- 01 William E. Leuchtenberg, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal (Harper & Row, New York, 1963), p. 327.
- 02 This is a theme that has been developed in several contemporary studies of the Presidency. See for example: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Imperial Presidency (Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1973); Dorothy Buckton James, The Contemporary Presidency (Pegasus, Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc., Indianapolis, 1974); Thomas E. Cronin, The State of the Presidency (Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1975); Louis W. Koenig, The Chief Executive (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., New York, 1975); and Stephen Hess, Organizing the Presidency (Brookings, Washington D.C., 1976). This consensus was beginning to break down at the time these books identified it. Ford represented the first stage of a transition which Carter's Presidency, and his initial de-imperialising of the Presidency and philosophy of reduced expectations, took further. It was President Reagan who openly broke this consensus with his Administration's commitment to an economic philosophy whose roots predate the New Deal.
- 03 Some critical observers subsequently diagnosed a "cult" of the Presidency which was reflected in standard textbooks that openly celebrated an expansive theory of presidential power. See for example: Thomas E. Cronin, "The Textbook Presidency and Political Science", a paper presented at the 66th annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Los Angeles, September 1970. This was subsequently reprinted in Congressional Record - Senate, 5th October, 1970, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1970), pp. S34914-S34928. Supplementing the 'personalisation of the Presidency', argues Cronin, have been the "human and cultural expectations" occasioned by "a basic human tendency...to believe in great personages, to believe that someone, somewhere, can and will cope with the major crises of the present and future." Thomas E. Cronin, The State of the Presidency, op. cit., p. 34.
- 04 Nelson Rockefeller once gave a list of the superhuman qualities that the President was expected to possess: "The modern Presidency of the United States, as distinct from the traditional concepts of our highest office, is bound up with the survival not only of freedom but of mankind... The President is the unifying force in our lives... The President must possess a wide range of abilities: to lead, to persuade, to inspire trust, to attract men of talent, to unite. The abilities must reflect a wide range of characteristics: courage, vision, integrity, intelligence, sense of responsibility, sense of history, sense of humor, warmth, openness, personality, tenacity, energy, determination, drive, perspicacity, idealism, thirst for information, penchant for fact, presence of conscience, comprehension of people and enjoyment of life." Nelson A. Rockefeller, Unity, Freedom and Peace (Vintage, New York, 1968), pp. 152-153.

- 05 As long ago as Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Movement it had been argued that the structure of government had not taken into account the changed condition of the country. The unification and industrialisation of America, with its nascent world role, pointed inexorably towards a greater centralisation of political decision-making. The foundation stones of the 20th Century Presidency included the Budget and Accounting Act 1921 which first marked the entrance of the President into the budget process. See: Allen Schick, "The Budget Bureau That Was", in Norman C. Thomas, and Hans W. Baade, eds., The Institutionalized Presidency (Oceana Publications Inc., Dobbs Ferry, New York, 1972). pp. 93-113.
- 06 This has been a feature of the modern Presidency quite independent of the political styles of the modern Presidents themselves. Some, like Kennedy, were predisposed to take an active lead. Others, like Ford, have had it thrust upon them but have not balked at immediate action. The Mayaguez incident in 1975 was an example. Gerald R. Ford, A Time to Heal (W.H. Allen, London, 1979), pp. 273-285.
- 07 United States Budget FY 1977. Two years earlier, in a quite unnecessary but interesting display of superfluous curiosity, Congressman Tom Steed had requested OMB to compile a complete listing of all the official responsibilities of the President. The result, he was told, came to 950 computerized pages covering 3,317 separate references to the President's powers and responsibilities in the United States Code. (See: Chapter VII, Note 38.)
- 08 There were eleven cabinet departments when Carter arrived in office and he was subsequently to create two more: a Department of Energy (1977); and a Department of Education (1979). In 1977 the then largest of these departments, HEW, alone accounted for a budget of nearly \$150 Billion and was administered by well over 150,000 employees. In the same year these cabinet departments comprised nearly 350 subagencies and well over 750 advisory agencies. In addition there were numerous independent agencies that also were answerable to the President. Foremost among these were the U.S. Postal Service (with 650,000 employees), the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), the Small Business Administration, the United States Information Agency (shortly to change its name to: U.S. International Communication Agency), and the Veterans Administration. There were a total of 56 independent executive agencies which themselves included 66 subagencies and over 350 advisory committees. No less important were the regulatory agencies over which President Carter was to preside. The federal government's expenditure in 1977 on regulatory programmes was about \$3.5 Billion and involved the employment of 100,000 people. More than half these agencies operated within a cabinet department including: the Federal Aviation Administration in the Department of Transportation; the Food and Drug Administration in HEW; and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration in the Department of Labor. Those regulatory agencies that operated independently included the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the Federal Trade Commission. The oldest established agency was the Interstate Commerce Commission, founded in 1887; the largest employer was the EPA with over 11,500 employees; and among the smallest was the Federal Maritime Commission with little more than 300. Other major agencies included the Federal Communications Commission, the Federal Reserve Board, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Consumer Product Safety Commission, and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. The vast sprawl of the federal government now extends even beyond this huge

list. Among the other governmental responsibilities nominally under the broad responsibility of the President in 1977 were: 18 wholly-owned federal corporations; 12 mixed-ownership government corporations; nearly 60 additional committees, commissions and boards; well over 200 interagency and interdepartmental committees; 9 quasi-official organizations; and over 90 international organizations to which the United States then belonged.

- 09 United States Budget FY 1978. By 1980 the EOP Budget had topped the \$100 Million mark.
- 10 The peak year for the size of the EOP, as measured by the number of different entities included within that heading, was in 1973 under President Nixon as follows:

<u>Executive Office of the President 1973</u>	<u>Budget Authority</u>
Presidential Salary	200,000
Presidential Expense Account	50,000
Executive Residence	1,372,000
The White House Office	9,767,000
Special Projects	1,500,000
Emergency Fund ^a	1,000,000
Special Assistance to the President	773,000
National Security Council	2,762,000
Domestic Council	2,122,000
Council of Economic Advisers	1,369,000
Council on Environmental Quality ^b	2,550,000
Council on International Economic Policy	1,000,000
Office of Management and Budget	19,581,000
Office of Telecommunications Policy	2,973,000
Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention	51,856,000
Special Representative for Trade Negotiations	1,014,000
National Aeronautics and Space Council	480,000
Miscellaneous ^c	10,000
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>100,369,000</u>

a Nominally placed outside the EOP.

b Includes Office of Environmental Quality

c Includes funds for National Commission on the

Causes and Prevention of Violence (but not listed as BA).

Source: U.S. Budget FY 1975

- 11 By the 1970's the Department of Defense had incorporated into one structure the traditional organizational units of national military defence: Army, Navy and Air Force. In response to technological progress there has now been created an officially separate Space Command.
- 12 Califano has written of the task facing Johnson's domestic affairs staff from January 1966 onwards of "implementing and coordinating the cornucopia of Great Society legislation." With three hundred items of new legislation to get established and in good working order Califano and his staff consumed much of their energies "determining who would operate, supervise, or coordinate those programs, many of which put different departments and agencies in the same functional

areas, for instance, education, pollution control, manpower training, and urban rehabilitation." Joseph Califano, A Presidential Nation (W.W. Norton, New York, 1975), p. 32. Califano gave several examples of the kinds of bureaucratic disputes that he had to adjudicate on behalf of the President, including the departmental auspices under which the 'one-stop service centers' would be run. Ibid., pp. 32-33.

- 13 The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) combined several formerly independent agencies, while the Department of Transportation consolidated more than thirty scattered units of government. Johnson also established task forces to report on further rationalization. Although he left office before these had completed their work their interim recommendations were subsequently incorporated into the comprehensive reorganization plans of President Nixon. Califano discusses some of the problems Johnson faced in A Presidential Nation, op. cit., pp. 19-53.
- 14 The Hoover Commission Report on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government (McGraw-Hill Inc., New York, 1949), p. 3.
- 15 The Report recommended that the President had complete freedom "to adjust the internal relationship of the President's Office." Ibid., p. 13. This freedom was to be extended to cover the composition and assignments of all Cabinet committees which "should be established by, and function directly under, the President" including sub-Cabinet level interdepartmental committees in foreign affairs. Ibid., pp. 14-16.
- 16 Ibid., p. 13. The Report commented en passant that Congress had acted "wisely" in not making the Bureau of the Budget Director a post requiring Senate confirmation.
- 17 Ibid., p. 17. Recommendation No. 9 proposed that the President be given "adequate funds to make it possible for him to use advisory commissions and to employ consultants or personal advisers."
- 18 Ibid., pp. 17-18. The Staff Secretary was to assist the President "by clearing information on the major problems on which staff work is being done within the President's Office, or by Cabinet or interdepartmental committees." The Report argued that there was no summary of the principal issues with which he might have to deal in the near future. Nor was there available to him a current summary of the staff work that had been assigned to his advisers, his staff agencies, or the heads of his departments. Thus the Staff Secretary's role, as envisaged by Recommendation No. 10, was to serve as the centre of organization: continually informing the President of the status and time schedule of staff assignments; monitoring the work of Cabinet, sub-Cabinet, and interdepartmental committees (by means of an inventory); undertaking projects as requested by the President; and informing the President of possible conflicts both at the policymaking and policy implementation stages. The Report expressed confidence that this would "facilitate teamwork" among the White House staff, while outside observers thought it was "a much needed focal point for tying together the Executive's staff operations." Bradley D. Nash, and Cornelius Lynde, A Hook in Leviathan (Macmillan, New York, 1950), p. 36.
- 19 The Hoover Commission Report, op. cit., p. 17.

- 20 See for example: Joseph Califano, A Presidential Nation, op. cit.; John H. Kessel, The Domestic Presidency: Decision-Making in the White House (Duxbury Press, Mass., 1975); and Stephen Hess, Organizing the Presidency, op. cit.
- 21 The terms of reference were to "deal with both immediate and long-range needs for organizational changes to make the Executive Branch a more effective instrument of public policy." Press Release, Office of the White House Press Secretary, The White House, 5th April, 1969. The first budget tranche (for FY 1970) was \$930,000.
- 22 This phrase, which was first used in the Presidential Message to Congress transmitting Reorganization Plan No. 2, 12th March, 1970, was subsequently reflected in his account of the emergence of the Domestic Council. Richard M. Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon (Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1978), p. 434. Indeed while still only President-Elect he had described the Domestic Council's precursor, the Urban Affairs Council, as "the domestic policy equivalent of the NSC" in discussions with Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 1968. Ibid., p. 342.
- 23 For a detailed discussion see John H. Kessel, The Domestic Presidency, op. cit.
- 24 Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1971), 22nd January, 1971.
- 25 President's Message to Congress, 25th March, 1971, reprinted in Papers relating to The President's Departmental Reorganization Program (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., March 1971, revised February 1972), p. 5.
- 26 See for example: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, U.S. House of Representatives, Reorganization of Executive Departments (Part 1 - Overview), June-July, 1971, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1971), pp. 1-862. Some critics took the view that Nixon himself was indifferent to the success of his plans and that their defeat was intended to provide him with an excuse for expanding his staff's political role. See: Rowland Evans and Robert D. Novak, Nixon in the White House (Vintage, New York, 1971, 1972). This is also discussed in Richard P. Nathan, The Plot That Failed (John Wiley, New York, 1975).
- 27 5th January, 1973. Excerpts from President Nixon's prepared text on Executive Reorganization were subsequently printed in Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 13th January, 1973, pp. 38-39. For a contemporary report on this "managerial revolution" see "Behind Nixon's Reorganization", U.S. News and World Report, 1st January, 1973, pp.21-22.
- 28 The post of "Counsellor to the President" had been invented to confer status, and the appearance of power, without actually giving the occupant(s) a place in the White House staff chain of command. Its previous holders had included Arthur Burns, Donald Rumsfeld, Robert Finch, and Anne Armstrong. The three Cabinet members upgraded in 1973 were Earl Butz, Caspar Weinberger, and James T. Lynn. See for example: "Nixon Names His 'Take-Over Team'", U.S. News and World Report, 1st January, 1973, p. 24.

- 29 For an unambiguous indication of the enhanced importance of the senior White House staff Assistants to the President see: "Reorganization: A Super Cabinet and Super Assistants", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 13th January, 1973, pp. 36-38.
- 30 This theme is explored in Robert P. Nathan's The Plot That Failed, op. cit.
- 31 Ford has written of his particular concern to reorganize the White House staff when he became President in 1974 and he commissioned a 'transition team' study which reported to him on 20 August, 1974. A subsequent review later recommended a reversal of this earlier study. Gerald R. Ford, A Time to Heal (W.H. Allen, London, 1979), pp. 147-148, 184-187.
- 32 Carter transmitted his proposed legislation enabling him to submit executive reorganization proposals on 4th February, 1977, only two weeks after entering office, and this legislation was subsequently passed into law in March. The text of his Message to Congress was printed in Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 12th February, 1977, p. 274. Carter had put particular emphasis upon reorganization while still a presidential candidate. See for example: Jimmy Carter, Why Not The Best? (Bantam, New York, 1976); Betty Glad, Jimmy Carter: In Search of the Great White House (W.W. Norton, New York, 1980), pp. 161-187; and Leslie Wheeler, Jimmy Who? (Barron's, New York, 1976). When President Carter did reorganize his White House Office, the EOP, and the Cabinet, the results were not uniformly successful. See for example: Battle Report in Carter's War on Big Government", U.S. News and World Report, 13th March, 1978, pp. 21-24.
- 33 Carter's "Reorganization Study of the Executive Office of the President" (prepared by Harrison Wellford, Executive Associate Director for Reorganization and Management, OMB) was published on 15th July, 1977. Carter's reorganization of the White House staff was discussed by Congress in the context of White House staff authorization legislation. See for example: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization, of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Serial No. 95-52 on H.R. 6326, 30th September, 1977, and on H.R. 10657, 7th February, 1978, 95th Congress, First and Second Sessions, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978).
- 34 President Reagan made an immediate contrast with his predecessor's known capacity for workrate and this had an effect in turn on his relationship to his staff. Early accounts of the organization of the Reagan staff have reflected this 'Chairman of the Board' role. See for example: "The Decision Makers", National Journal (special issue), 25th April, 1981; "The President's Men", Time Magazine (European edition), 14th December, 1981, pp. 22-27; William Greider, "The Education of David Stockman", The Atlantic, December, 1981, pp. 27-54; and William Lanouette, "Reagan Plays Chairman of the Board to Carter's Corporate Comptroller", National Journal, 19th July, 1980, pp. 1177-1182.
- 35 This remark was a quotation attributed to Harry Truman by Richard Neustadt in Presidential Power (John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1960, 1968), p. 9.

- 36 A case in point was the departure of the highly experienced Joseph Califano, HEW Secretary, from Jimmy Carter's Cabinet in the summer of 1979. Califano appeared to enjoy the President's confidence but was "intensely disliked by the White House staff" as highhanded and disloyal to the White House, according to contemporary Press briefings. Another Cabinet member fired at that time, Transportation Secretary Brock Adams, had "sealed his own fate" in refusing White House orders to "fire or discipline" two of his subordinates. "What to Expect from Carter's New Cabinet", National Journal, 28th July, 1979, pp. 1241-1246. See also: "Carter's Great Purge", Time Magazine (European edition), 39th July, 1979, pp. 4-15; and "Jimmy Carter's Cabinet Purge", Newsweek, 30th July, 1979, pp. 12-23. In a year-end round-up article it was stated that one common factor that linked all the sacked Cabinet officers together was that "all had poor relations with key White House staff members." "Carter's Year", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 5th January, 1980, p. 44.
- 37 Stephen Hess, Organizing the Presidency, op. cit., p. 60.
- 38 Both participants have referred to this incident. See: Walter J. Hickel, Who Owns America? (Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1971); and Richard M. Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit. A more vivid and informative account can be found in Evans and Novak, Nixon in the White House (Vintage, New York, 1971, 1972), pp. 353-358.
- 39 "What to Expect from Carter's New Cabinet", National Journal, op. cit., pp. 1241-1246. See also: Dom Bonafede, "Carter Turns on the Drama - But Can He Lead?", National Journal, 28th July, 1979, pp. 1236-1240.
- 40 See for example: Jack Valenti, A Very Human President (W.W. Norton, New York, 1975); and Doris Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream (Harper & Row, New York, 1976).
- 41 The relationship between the President, the White House, and the News Media are explored in Michael Baruch Grossman and Martha Joynt Kumar, Portraying The President (The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1981).
- 42 There was one other reason why Kissinger initially gave only unattributable background Press briefings. On instructions from Haldeman it had been decided that Kissinger's voice should not be broadcast because his thick German accent might conflict with public impressions of the American character of Nixon's team. For a while longer, when Kissinger's importance could no longer be denied, he was visually portrayed on film for TV but without sound.
- 43 This is confirmed in both men's accounts of their years in the White House. See: Richard M. Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit.; and Henry Kissinger, The White House Years (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1979).
- 43a From what we know of recent presidential transitions it is quite clear that, for example, President-Elect Nixon decided upon his key White House staff appointments before those of his Cabinet. See: Richard Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., pp. 337-338. When President Ford took office his first "Memorandum on the Transition" was to the White House staff; his second was to members of his own

Vice Presidential staff; and only third came one to heads of departments and agencies. See: "Memorandums on the Transition of the Presidency", Public Papers of the Presidents: Gerald R. Ford Book I, 9th August to 31st December, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 4-5. Neither President Carter nor President Reagan thought it more vital to appoint their Cabinet before appointing their senior WHO staff.

- 44 They were similarly free of formal full-time employment. Richard Nixon campaigned for the Presidency in 1968 technically as a private individual, as did Jimmy Carter in 1975-1976, and Reagan in 1976-80. One major Democratic aspiring candidate of the mid-1970's, Senator Walter Mondale, publicly withdrew from his campaign citing the exhausting length of time that modern campaigns for the Presidency now required.
- 45 The first successful presidential campaign in the postwar era to be noted for its independence from the national party campaign was the Kennedy Campaign. Nixon's 1968 Campaign was another example. With the important changes in presidential electioneering that emerged in the 1970's, especially in the Democratic Party, presidential campaigns now have their roots in exhaustive and very distinct primary campaigns for the party nomination. The classic modern example of a successful campaign mounted independently of party was Jimmy Carter's rise from relative obscurity in late 1975 to President-Elect one year later. The impact of campaign financing legislation also played an important part in this process although recent amendments to it have enabled national parties to reacquire a significant role. See: "Campaign Financing", a section of Congressional Ethics (Congressional Quarterly Inc., Washington D.C., 1977), pp. 57-117; William J. Lanouette, "Complex Financing Laws Shape Presidential Campaign Strategies", National Journal, 4th August, 1979, pp. 1282-1286; and "National Committee Given Major Role in Fall Campaign", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 19th July, 1980, p. 2011.
- 46 The first person openly to recognise the potential of this technique while campaigning for the Presidency was Richard Nixon. See Joe McGinnis, The Selling of the President 1968 (Trident Press, New York, 1969). As President Nixon addressed the nation 37 times on nationwide prime time TV. See also: Grossman and Kumar, Portraying the President, op. cit.
- 47 This is discussed in Grossman and Kumar, Portraying the President, op. cit., pp. 141-146, 166-176. See also: George Reedy, The Twilight of the Presidency (Mentor, New York, 1970); J.E. Pollard, The Presidents and the Press: Truman to Johnson (Macmillan, New York, 1964); and George Reedy, "Speaking for the President", in Ray Eldon Hiebert and Carlton E. Spitzer, eds., The Voice of Government (John Wiley & Sons Inc., New York, 1968).
- 48 Among the many examples that could be cited are the penetrating articles on White House affairs by the journalist John Osborne of the New Republic, and those by Dom Bonafede of the National Journal. One reflection of the prominence of the White House staff over the Cabinet as a collective entity is that it is now the staff and not the Cabinet which are singled out for epithets. For example, Kennedy's "Irish Mafia", Johnson's "Texas Boys", Carter's "Georgia Mafia" etc are employed where once (before FDR) such characterizations were only made of a President's Cabinet.

- 49 This prominence can be measured, not least, in the range of work that is often available to former members of the White House staff once they have left office. Not only are they much sought after as lobbyists (Personal Interview with Bryce Harlow, Counsellor to the President, 17th September, 1974; Personal Interview with Mike Manatos, Administrative Assistant to the President, 17 September, 1974) but lucrative careers as writers, journalists, academics, and business persons await them.
- 50 "Press Conference", 20th December, 1940, The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt 1940 (Macmillan, New York, 1941), p. 623.
- 51 Harold Seidman, Politics, Position and Power (Oxford University Press Inc., New York, 1970), p. 70. Seidman also refers to the distinction that Roosevelt drew between those staff serving the President and those serving the Presidency.
- 52 Samuel I. Rosenman, "The Presidency As I Have Seen It", in Emmet John Hughes, The Living Presidency (Coward, McCann & Geoghegan Inc., New York, 1972, 1973), p. 362.
- 53 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "The Evolution of the Modern Presidency", in Nelson W. Polsby, ed., The Modern Presidency, op. cit., p. 30.
- 54 Ibid., p. 16.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Louis Brownlow, A. Passion For Anonymity (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1959), p. 381.
- 57 Franklin D. Roosevelt appended these words in a Note attached in 1941 to his original Executive Order of 1939. See: "The Reorganization of the Executive Office of the President", in The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt 1939 (Macmillan, New York, 1941), No. 125, p. 497.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Ibid. In some cases FDR was obliged to keep his staff on a tighter rein, as with Tom Corcoran, about whom Rosenman wrote: "Finally Roosevelt decided that Tom should not be permitted to do all the things that he had been doing." Samuel I. Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt (Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1952), p. 214.
- 60 Most of the literature on the period acknowledges this fact including the following: William D. Hassett, Off The Record With F.D.R. (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1958); Samuel Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt, op. cit.; Frances Perkins, The Roosevelt I Knew (Hammond, Hammond & Co. Ltd., London, 1947); Robert E. Sherwood, The White House Papers of Harry L. Hopkins (Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1948); David Lillienthal, "The Presidency As I Have Seen It", in Emmet John Hughes, The Living Presidency, op. cit.; and Benjamin Cohen, "The Presidency As I Have Seen It", in Emmet John Hughes, The Living Presidency, op. cit.
- 61 Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt, op. cit., p. 106.

- 62 "F.D.R.'s Disputed Legacy", Time Magazine (European Edition), 1st February, 1982, pp. 19-20. One example was the overlapping responsibilities of Hopkins, with the CWA and the FERA, and Ickes with the PWA.
- 63 This is widely confirmed. See for example: Stephen Hess, Organizing The Presidency, op. cit., p. 35; Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt, op. cit., pp. 278-282; and Perkins, The Roosevelt I Knew, op. cit., pp. 91-92.
- 64 Emmet John Hughes, The Living Presidency, op. cit., p. 140.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 "F.D.R.'s Disputed Legacy", Time Magazine, op. cit., p. 20.
- 67 Schlesinger, in Polsby, ed., The Modern Presidency, op. cit., p. 22.
- 68 An example of the President's schedule was given by his former personal secretary in her memoirs. Grace Tully, F.D.R., My Boss (New York, 1949). See also: Sherwood, The White House Papers of Harry L. Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 206 ff.
- 69 Schlesinger, in Polsby, ed., The Modern Presidency, op. cit., p. 17.
- 70 This has been officially confirmed with the existence of a secret tape recorder that Harry Truman ordered removed in 1945. Not surprisingly, former Nixon aides have been prominent among those giving publicity to this susceptibility of former Presidents. See for example: William Safire, "F.D.R.'s Dirty Tricks", The New York Times, 17th January, 1982, p. 27. Transcripts exist of the conversations that were bugged and it is clear that some were purely political and unrelated to national security.
- 71 Perkins, The Roosevelt I Knew, op. cit., p. 63.
- 72 Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt, op. cit., p. 500.
- 73 In a Note appended in 1941 to his 1939 Executive Order No. 8248 Roosevelt wrote of the value of his administrative assistants: "...they aid in obtaining and condensing information for me...where it is essential that the President have information readily accessible...Their contact with me is generally through the medium of personal memoranda between us. In this way the necessity for additional personal conferences is avoided;" The Reorganization of the Executive Office of the President, in The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt 1939, op. cit., p. 497.
- 74 Schlesinger, in Polsby, ed., The Modern Presidency, op. cit., p. 17.
- 75 Ibid., pp. 17-18. See also: Grace Tully, F.D.R., My Boss, op. cit., pp. 76-77; and Charles Hurd, When The New Deal Was Young And Gay (Hawthorn Books Inc., New York, 1965), p. 117.
- 76 Perkins, The Roosevelt I Knew, op. cit., p. 131.
- 77 Schlesinger, in Polsby, ed., The Modern Presidency, op. cit., p. 19.
- 78 This quotation is printed in Emmet John Hughes, The Living Presidency, op. cit., p. 60.

- 79 Roosevelt's "active-positive" personality is discussed in James David Barber's The Presidential Character (Prentice-Hall Inc., New Jersey, 1972), pp. 209-246.
- 80 William Hillman, ed., Mr. President (Farrar, Straus and Young, New York, 1952), p. 13.
- 81 Ibid., p. 16.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Harry S. Truman, Years of Trial and Hope (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1956), p. 1.
- 85 "By nature", wrote Truman in his memoirs, "(I was) not given to making snap judgements or easy decisions, I required all available facts and information...". Ibid.
- 86 William Hillman, ed., Mr. President, op. cit., p. 14.
- 87 Ibid., p. 16.
- 88 Harry S. Truman, Year of Decisions (Signet, New York, 1955, 1965), p. 255.
- 89 William Hillman, ed., Mr. President, op. cit., p. 16.
- 90 Ibid., p. 18.
- 91 Ibid. "Each Cabinet officer tends to his own business. If he has any suggestions to make to another Cabinet officer, he makes them to that Cabinet officer at a Cabinet meeting".
- 92 William Hillman, ed., Mr. President, op. cit., p. 14.
- 93 John Hersey, "Ten O'Clock Meeting", The New Yorker, 14th April, 1951, pp. 38-50. Among these senior staff were: William Hassett, Charlie Ross, John Steelman, Charles Murphy, Matt Connelly, George Elsey, David Stowe, Donald Dawson, and the military aides.
- 94 See for example: John Hersey, "Forty-Eight Hours", The New Yorker, 21st April, 1951, pp. 36-51.
- 95 William J. Hopkins oversaw the flow of paperwork from 1943 until his retirement in 1971 - a period spanning six presidencies.
- 96 John Hersey, "Forty-Eight Hours", op. cit., pp. 36-37.
- 97 Cabell Phillips, The Truman Presidency (Macmillan, New York, 1966), p. 133.
- 98 Harry S. Truman, Year of Decisions, op. cit., p. 366. See also: Appendices 4.3 and 4.8.

- 99 Many of these detailees came from war-related government agencies, such as the War Production Board, U.S. Army, State and Navy Departments. Their origin is given in List A (see: Select Bibliography) as prepared by the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library.
- 100 Generally the only Truman aides without any staff assistance of their own were several of the Administrative Assistants. See: List A, op. cit.
- 101 Steelman's more senior staff assistants were given in List A while those that worked in a clerical/secretarial capacity can be found in List B.
- 102 Dean Acheson, Present At The Creation (W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., New York, 1969), p. 730.
- 103 Several of Truman's aides ran into trouble of one kind or another, such as General Vaughan, Matt Connelly and Donald Dawson. Patrick Anderson discusses these episodes in The Presidents' Men (Doubleday, New York, 1969), pp. 103-158.
- 104 William Hillman, ed., Mr. President, op. cit., pp. 18-19. One among Truman's staff managed decisively to escape from such suspicion. Clark Clifford, who entered the White House in 1945 as the unknown friend of a friend, rapidly became one of Truman's "most influential all-round advisers and, as such, one of the four or five most important White House aides in history". Anderson, op. cit., pp. 134-135. David Lilienthal wrote of Clifford having "none of the maneuver complex". Ibid., p. 139. Clifford himself ascribed part of his success to the fact that he "never made a public appearance or went on radio or television or made a speech". Ibid., p. 148.
- 105 Hillman, ed., Mr. President, op. cit., pp. 18-19. He added: "Many Presidents have had what is known as 'palace intrigue' or 'palace bickering'. You always find that there is an excellent chance for jealousy and bickering among people who are close to the found of power. You have to watch that all the time."
- 106 Truman once ordered John Steelman to return several subpoenas issued by the House Committee on Education and Labor which had been issued in an attempt to discover what had passed between Steelman and the President in connexion with a strike against Government Services Incorporated. (See: Chapter VI, Note 4.)
- 107 Harry S. Truman, Mr. Citizen (Bernard Geis Associates, Random House, New York, 1960,) pp. 228-229.
- 108 Dwight D. Eisenhower, Mandate For Change (Heinemann, London, 1963), p. 132.
- 109 Ibid., p. 2.
- 110 Arthur Bernon Tourtellot, ed., The Presidents on The Presidency (Doubleday & Co., New York, 1964), pp. 131-132. This was precisely the reason why he valued Sherman Adams so highly: "A man like that is valuable", said Ike, "because of the unnecessary detail he keeps away from the President. A President who doesn't know how to decentralize will be weighed down with details and won't have time to deal with the big issues." Anderson, The Presidents' Men, op. cit., p. 161.

- 111 "Press Conference", 5th February, 1958, The Public Papers of the Presidents: Dwight D. Eisenhower 1958 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1959).
- 112 Tourtellot, ed., The Presidents on The Presidency, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
- 113 Eisenhower, Mandate For Change, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
- 114 Sherman Adams, Firsthand Report (Hutchinson, London, 1961), p. 56.
- 115 Sherman Adams, "The Presidency As I Have Seen It", in Emmet John Hughes, The Living Presidency (Coward, McCann & Geoghegan Inc., 1972, 1973), p. 313.
- 116 Ibid.
- 117 Sherman Adams, "At Work in the White House", in Dean Albertson, ed., Eisenhower as President (Hill & Wang, New York, 1963), pp. 4-5. Adams found himself unable to fulfil the President's wishes that he be constantly in attendance because Adams found that it involved "too much paperwork... as well as the White House staff to supervise." Ibid., p. 5. The strain on Adams's own appointments schedule forced him into making much use of the telephone (which Eisenhower abhorred using) and led him to cultivate a legendary aloof and brusque style which contributed to the suspicion in which he was held. An example of this style is given by John Bell in The Splendid Misery (Doubleday, New York, 1960), p. 331.
- 118 Wilfred E. Binkley, The Man in the White House (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1958), p. 217.
- 119 Douglass Cater, Power in Washington (Collins, London, 1965), p. 93.
- 120 See: Chapter IV, Table 4.11, and Appendix 4.4.
- 121 One observer summed up this aspect of Adams's role in remarking that Eisenhower "found political patronage and most politicians distasteful, and... he was able to use Adams to keep them at arm's length." Anderson The Presidents' Men, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
- 122 Eisenhower's instructions "to nearly all of the administration's highest officials were, 'Clear it with the Governor'." Bell, The Splendid Misery, *op. cit.*, p. 318. Working papers on a problem were prepared by any member of staff before being passed up to the office of the Chief of Staff. "By Presidential fiat, the decision was Adams's as to which of these communications, proposals, reports and official documents he felt it was necessary for Ike to see." Ibid., p. 321.
- 123 Binkley, The Man in the White House, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
- 124 Adams himself wrote that Eisenhower "was not much of a reader. He was impatient with the endless paperwork of the Presidency and always tried to get his staff to digest long documents into one-page summaries, which was sometimes next to impossible." Anderson, The Presidents' Men, *op. cit.*, p. 162. Others have confirmed that Eisenhower's preference was to get his information "from listening; he formed his opinions from talking with others." Hess, Organizing The Presidency, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

- 125 Tourtellot, The Presidents on The Presidency, op. cit., p. 131.
- 126 Arthur Larson, Eisenhower: The President Nobody Knew (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1968), p. 21. Cabinet officers, too, were supposed to work with Adams as a normal rule. Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton said "if it doesn't require (the President's) attention you're assumed to be intelligent enough to work through his Chief of Staff." Bell, The Splendid Misery, op. cit., p. 326.
- 127 Marquis Childs, Eisenhower: Captive Hero (Hammond, Hammond & Co., London, 1959), p. 251.
- 128 This was described as "an assembly of upper staff officers" who "reduced the President's work for the day to essentials". Binkley, The Man in the White House, op. cit., p. 215.
- 129 Charles J.V. Murphy, "Eisenhower's White House", Fortune Magazine, July, 1953, p. 75.
- 130 Ibid.
- 131 Eisenhower was the first President to appoint a Special Assistant for National Security Affairs. For an account of their work see: Robert Cutler, "The Development of the National Security Council", Foreign Affairs, vol. 34, April 1956, p. 448; Dillon Anderson, "The President and National Security", Atlantic Monthly, January 1956, pp. 42-46; and Gordon Gray, "Role of the National Security Council in the Formulation of National Policy", in Organizing for National Security: Selected Materials, Committee on Government Operations, U.S. Senate, 86th Congress, 2nd Session, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1960), pp. 62-71. See also the relevant chapters in I.M. Destler's Presidents, Bureaucrats, and Foreign Policy (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1972, 1974); and Keith Clark and Lawrence Legere, eds., The President and the Management of National Security (Praeger, New York, 1969).
- 132 Cabinet meetings under Eisenhower were held regularly about every fortnight and the Cabinet Secretary's job was to set the Agenda and coordinate the circulation of departmental papers among all Cabinet members. However the office of the Cabinet Secretary never approached the staffing level as that found in the NSA's adviser's office.
- 133 The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library has available a copy of a privately published listing of senior White House staff members entitled: White House Staff Book 1953-1961.
- 134 Eisenhower was the first President to create large numbers of specialist White House staff many of whom, however, left the White House frustrated by Adams's dominance in foreign affairs. But the President had specifically entrusted Adams with "the arranging of the findings of experts in logical fashion". Eisenhower, Mandate For Change, op. cit., p. 2.
- 135 Merlo J. Pusey, Eisenhower The President (Macmillan, New York, 1956), p. 89.
- 136 Childs, Eisenhower: Captive Hero, op. cit., p. 251.

- 137 Arthur Larson, Eisenhower: The President Nobody Knew, op. cit., p. 21.
- 138 Edward H. Hobbs, "The President and Administration - Eisenhower", Public Administration Review, vol. 18, No. 4, 1958, p. 309.
- 139 Lester Tanzer, "Staff Work for the President", Public Administration Review, vol. 18, No. 4, 1958, p. 148.
- 140 James Reston, "The Presidency: The Effect of Eisenhower's Illness on the Functioning of the Executive Branch", The New York Times, 18th-22nd June, 1956.
- 141 "Press Conference", 5th February, 1958, The Public Papers of the Presidents: Dwight D. Eisenhower 1958, op. cit.
- 142 "Press Conference", 2nd April, 1958, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 4th April, 1958, p. 429.
- 143 Personal Interview with Elliot Richardson, former Under-Secretary of HEW under President Eisenhower (and subsequent senior office holder under Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter), 8th September, 1975. Elliot Richardson stressed to this writer his view that Adams had no independent executive power although he was closest to the President. Moreover Eisenhower was "always firmly in command" and no-one on his White House staff could succeed in preventing any member of the Cabinet (or sub-Cabinet) from seeing the President if that member really thought it necessary.
- 144 Eisenhower wrote of Adams's departure in Waging Peace (Heineman, London, 1965), pp. 317-320. His own "deep regret" centred on his observation of "the hazards always besetting the path of any man accepting an appointive office... good intentions, long-standing personal integrity and competence are no defense when a storm of vilification whips up around his head." Ibid., p. 317. See also: Anderson, The Presidents' Men, op. cit., pp. 179-200.
- 145 "Press Conference", 2nd April, 1958, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, op. cit., p. 429.
- 146 Ibid.
- 147 Eisenhower, Mandate for Change, op. cit., p. 2.
- 148 "Press Conference", 2nd April, 1958, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, op. cit., p. 429.
- 149 Eisenhower, Mandate for Change, op. cit., p.2.
- 150 Interview with the B.B.C., 19th April, 1961.
- 151 Joseph Kraft, "Kennedy's Working Staff", in D. Johnson and J. Walker, eds., The Dynamics of the American Presidency (Wiley, New York, 1964), p. 253.
- 152 Interview with the B.B.C., op. cit.
- 153 John F. Kennedy, "Foreword", in Theodore C. Sorensen, Decision-Making in the White House (Columbia, New York, 1963), p. xi.

- 154 Ibid., p. xii.
- 155 Douglass Cater, "A New Style, A New Tempo", The Reporter, 16th March, 1961, pp. 28-30.
- 156 Personal Conversation with Myer Feldman, Deputy Special Counsel to the President, 27th September, 1974.
- 157 Kennedy's personal Secretary, Evelyn Lincoln, kept a list of those members of the staff permitted to walk in and talk to the President during his free time. Among the foreign affairs staff reputedly on her list were Carl Kaysen, Deputy Special Assistant, Robert Komer, and Michael Forrestal of his staff. Destler, Presidents, Bureaucrats, and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p. 101. This access was not accorded by Bundy to someone like Henry Kissinger who for a time served as a consultant. See: David Halberstam, The Best and The Brightest (Fawcett Crest, Conn., 1972), p. 80.
- 158 Theodore Sorensen, Kennedy (Pan Books, London, 1965), p. 292.
- 159 See for example: Pierre Salinger, With Kennedy (Jonathan Cape, London, 1967), p. 74; and Kenneth P. O'Donnell, David Powers, with Joe McCarthy, "Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye" (Pocket Books, New York, 1973), p. 292.
- 160 According to Sorensen, President Kennedy's "nature and schedule" tended to "turn him away from meetings for the sake of meeting". Decision-Making in the White House, op. cit., p. 58.
- 161 Salinger, With Kennedy, op. cit., p. 68.
- 162 Sorensen, Kennedy, op. cit., p. 265.
- 163 This has been confirmed by several Kennedy staff. See for example: Evelyn Lincoln, My Twelve Years With John F. Kennedy (David McKay Co., Inc., New York, 1965), pp. 238, 245; O'Donnell and Powers, "Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye", op. cit., pp. 292-294; and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., 1000 Days (Mayflower-Dell Ltd., London, 1965), p. 595.
- 164 William Manchester, Portrait of a President (MacFadden-Bartell, NY, 1962, 1967), p. 93.
- 165 At any rate this was a contemporary view. See for example: Richard E. Neustadt, "Approaches to Staffing the Presidency", The American Political Science Review, vol. LVIII, No. 4, December, 1963, pp. 855-863. This view was sustained by the relatively low turnover among senior WHO staff during the Kennedy Presidency. See Chapter IV, Appendices 4.10 and 4.11. However, the relative brevity of his Presidency was also a factor to be taken into account and in this respect the comparison with the Ford Presidency is instructive.
- 166 Joseph Kraft, "Kennedy's Working Staff", op. cit., p. 259.
- 167 Ibid.
- 168 Laurin L. Henry, "The Transition: The New Administration", in Paul T. David, ed., Presidential Election and Transition 1960-61 (Brookings, Washington D.C., 1961), p. 239.

- 169 Jim F. Heath, Decade of Disillusionment: The Kennedy-Johnson Years (Indiana University Press, Bloomington & London, 1975), p. 58.
- 170 Salinger, With Kennedy, op. cit., p. 63.
- 171 The fact that Kennedy, like several other Presidents of the modern era, also bugged and/or wiretapped various people only emerged after Watergate. See for example: William F. Buckley, "White House Tapes: Nixon Was Not Alone", New York Daily News, 14th March, 1982; and Garry Wills, The Kennedy Imprisonment (Atlantic, Little, Brown, NY, 1982).
- 172 William G. Carleton, "JFK in History: An Early Appraisal", in Edmond S. Ions, ed., The Politics of JFK (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1967), p. 207.
- 173 See for example: Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1964 (Jonathan Cape, London, 1965), pp. 244-245.
- 174 See for example: Gore Vidal, "A New Power in The White House", in Ions, ed., The Politics of JFK, op. cit., pp. 70-75; Douglass Cater, Power in Washington (Collins, London, 1965); Joseph Kraft, "John F. Kennedy: Portrait of a President", in Profiles in Power (New American Library, New York, 1966), pp. 3-9; and William Manchester, Portrait of a President, op. cit.
- 175 See for example: Theodore Sorensen, Kennedy, op. cit.; Decision-Making in the White House, op. cit.; The Kennedy Legacy (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London 1970); O'Donnell and Powers, "Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye", op. cit.; Evelyn Lincoln, My Twelve Years With John F. Kennedy, op. cit.; and Schlesinger, 1000 Days, op. cit.
- 176 Laurin L. Henry, "The Transition; The New Administration", op. cit., p. 239.
- 177 William G. Carleton, "JFK in History: An Early Appraisal", op. cit., p. 207.
- 178 Joseph Kraft, "Kennedy's Working Staff", op. cit., p. 253.
- 179 Douglass Cater, "A New Style, A New Tempo", op. cit., p. 138.
- 180 Sidney Hyman, "How Mr. Kennedy Gets The Answers", The New York Times Magazine, 20th October, 1963, p. 17.
- 181 "Perhaps Kennedy's most effective administrative tool is his memory", wrote Manchester in Portrait of a President, op. cit., p. 44.
- 182 Sorensen, Decision-Making in the White House, op. cit., p. 71.
- 183 Joseph Kraft, "Kennedy's Working Staff", op. cit., p. 257.
- 184 Ibid., p. 256.
- 185 Ibid. "Kennedy disliked meetings and kept them as brief as the subject permitted; many lasted no more than fifteen minutes and few ran over an hour." Richard Tanner Johnson, Managing the White House (Harper & Row, New York, 1974), p. 134.

- 186 William Manchester, Portrait of a President, op. cit., p. 115.
- 187 Joseph Kraft, "Kennedy's Working Staff", op. cit., p. 259.
- 188 William Manchester, Portrait of a President, op. cit., p. 41.
- 189 Theodore Sorensen, Kennedy, op. cit., p. 17.
- 190 Ibid., p. 288.
- 191 Gore Vidal, "A New Power in the White House", op. cit., p. 75.
- 192 William Manchester, Portrait of a President, op. cit., p. 41.
- 193 Ibid.
- 194 William G. Carleton, "JFK in History: An Early Appraisal", op. cit., p. 209. See also: Abraham Holtzman, Legislative Liaison: Executive Leadership in Congress (Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago, 1970).
- 195 Joseph Kraft, "Kennedy's Working Staff", op. cit., p. 259.
- 196 Personal Interview with Bryce Harlow, Deputy Assistant for Congressional Affairs (Under Eisenhower) and Counsellor (under Nixon), 17th September, 1974.
- 197 This is a theme of Henry Fairlie's The Kennedy Promise (Eyre, Methuen, London, 1973) among many other studies.
- 198 William Manchester, Portrait of a President, op. cit., p. 43.
- 199 Theodore Sorensen, Kennedy, op. cit., p. 288.
- 200 "Press Conference", 8th May, 1963, Public Papers of the Presidents: John F. Kennedy 1963 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1964). Kennedy was indeed a remarkably secure President and betrayed little disfavour of the publicity attendant upon his senior staff. When the Press built up the importance of McGeorge Bundy, Kennedy said laconically: "I will continue to have some residual functions". Anderson, The Presidents' Men, op. cit., p. 235.
- 201 Kennedy promised to 'get the country moving again' and the Press responded with a eulogy of his work-rate. See for example: William Manchester, Portrait of a President, op. cit., p. 21.
- 202 Pierre Salinger, With Kennedy, op. cit., p. 76.
- 203 Abraham Holtzman, Legislative Liaison: Executive Leadership in Congress, op. cit., p. 236. Joseph Kraft, "Kennedy's Working Staff", op. cit., p. 255.
- 204 Pierre Salinger, With Kennedy, op. cit., pp. 67-68. I.M. Destler, Presidents, Bureaucrats and Foreign Policy, op. cit., pp. 96-104.
- 205 Among many studies of the development of the NSC staff see: Richard M. Moose, "NSC Staff: Past and Future", in Clark and Legere, ed., The President and the Management of National Security, op. cit., pp. 55-82.

- Destler has written that the Kennedy NSC staff "developed in fact into the President's prime 'agent of coordination' for foreign affairs". Presidents, Bureaucrats, and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p. 102. Moose referred to the fact that "in those instances where the Department of State's response did not measure up to the President's expectations, the NSC staff moved in." Ibid., p. 103. Destler said Kennedy "made the staff a personal staff". Ibid., p. 100.
- 206 By 1963 the NSC had become "little more than a name" (in the words of one staff member). Ibid., p. 100. Sorensen reported that Kennedy presided over full NSC meetings merely "for the sake of meeting". Decision-Making in the White House, op. cit., p. 58.
- 207 Sorensen wrote that "attendance at a White House meeting is not necessarily a matter of logic" (or protocol)... President Kennedy prefers to invite only those whose official views he requires or whose unofficial judgement he values." Ibid., pp. 63-64.
- 208 The creation, role and performance of the ExComm is clear in Robert F. Kennedy's Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis (Norton, New York, 1969). See also: Elie Abel, The Missile Crisis (J.B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1966).
- 209 William Manchester, Portrait of a President, op. cit., p. 36.
- 210 Theodore Sorensen, Kennedy, op. cit., p. 267.
- 211 James Reston, "What's He Like? And How Will He Do?", The New York Times Magazine, 17th January, 1965, p. 8.
- 212 George E. Reedy, The Twilight of the Presidency (Mentor, New American Library, New York, 1970), p. 29.
- 213 Precisely because Johnson endeavoured to dominate the entire Capitol city his own personality became an unavoidable topic of continual discussion. One columnist's wife explained that "under Kennedy it used to be ideas" that was the subject of gossip but "now it is Lyndon Johnson's personality". (Doris Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and The American Dream (Harper & Row, New York, 1976), p. 214.) When the undercurrent of criticism against Johnson began to grow in 1965, among insiders, it was "directed more at Mr. Johnson personally - his style and methods of operation - than at his policies." (Allen Otten, "Criticism of President's Style, Methods Mounts Among Small But Important Group", The Wall Street Journal, 6th July, 1965, p. 1.) This struck home more than anything else could have. "He took all the criticisms personally", said another political journalist in observing that Johnson's personality was both his biggest weapon and his biggest vulnerability. (Carroll Kilpatrick, "Often Moody, Defensive", The Washington Post, 27th December, 1969, p. A-1.)
- 214 George E. Reedy, The Twilight of the Presidency, op. cit., p. 30.
- 215 This was not a prescription for holding the White House staff accountable to the President but a formula for sycophancy and yes-men. For example, Chester Cooper has written of an NSC meeting where the President announced his decision and polled everyone in the room for their agreement. However much Cooper imagined to himself that he would quietly and emphatically disagree, when his turn came out would come a

- "Yes, Mr. President, I agree". The Lost Crusade: America in Vietnam (Dodd, Mead, New York, 1970). See also: Gerald Priestland, America: The Changing Nation (Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1968), pp. 120-121; and Hugh Sidey, A Very Personal Presidency, op. cit., p. 254.
- 216 Doris Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and The American Dream, op. cit., p. 324.
- 217 Jim F. Heath, Decade of Disillusionment, op. cit., p. 180.
- 218 James Reston, "What's He Like? And How Will He Do?", op. cit., p. 8.
- 219 Joseph Kraft, "LBJ Style", in Profiles in Power, op. cit., p. 9.
- 220 Allen J. Otten, "Criticism of President's Style, Methods Mounts Among Small But Important Group", op. cit., p. 1.
- 221 See for example: Hugh Sidey, A Very Personal Presidency: LBJ in the White House (Andre Deutsch, London, 1968); Eric Goldman, The Tragedy of LBJ (Macdonald, London, 1968, 1969); Booth Mooney, The Lyndon Johnson Story (Farrar, Strauss and Co., New York, 1964); Jim Heath, Decade of Disillusionment, op. cit.; Alfred Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy (Macmillan, New York, 1968); and Doris Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, op. cit. Kearns wrote: "In the first two years of his Presidency Johnson seemed to be everywhere - calling for new programs and for action on the old, personally organizing his shifting congressional majorities, signing bills, greeting tourists, settling labor disputes, championing the blacks, constantly on the telephone to publishers, businessmen, astronauts, farm leaders, in a working days that began at 7 am when he watched, simultaneously, the morning shows of all three networks and that ended sometime in the early hours of the next morning." Ibid., p. 213.
- 222 Harry McPherson, A Political Education (Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1972), p. 268. Johnson explained to McPherson his cyclical theory of presidential power: that "you've got just one year when they (ie Congress) treat you right, and before they start worrying about themselves... The fourth year's all politics. You can't put anything through when half the Congress is thinking how to beat you." Ibid.
- 223 Alfred Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, op. cit., p. 632.
- 224 Ibid., p. 633.
- 225 The doctrine of theocratic Royal Grace held that the subjects of the king had no right to any royal actions: it was a matter of royal grace if the subject received a confirmation of privileges, or certain rights, but these could not be claimed as a matter of right. If one substitutes the words 'President' for 'king' and 'White House staff' for 'subjects' in the following passage the atmosphere of the Johnson White House is well conveyed: "It was the king who conceded to his subjects rights and so forth. Conversely, the very notion of concession excluded the idea of a right to the thing conceded. The idea of concession was the idea of royal grace translated into practice... Power came 'from above' and was transmitted downwards through an act of concession... The other side of the medal, the opposite of the royal gratia, was the royal indignatio... which was the withdrawal of the king's good will towards his subject." Walter Ullmann, Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages (Methuen, London, 1961), p. 120.

- 226 Louis W. Koenig, The American Chief Executive (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich Inc., New York, 1975), p. 201.
- 227 Hugh Sidey, A Very Personal Presidency, op. cit., p. 251.
- 228 Eric Goldman, The Tragedy of LBJ, op. cit., pp. 100-128.
- 229 Doris Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, op. cit., p. 131. Another example was furnished by The Washington Post: the President wandered into the office of his then Assistant Press Secretary Malcolm Kilduff, spotted a piled-high desk, and barked, "Kilduff, I hope you're mind isn't as cluttered as your desk!" A few days later he wandered in again, saw a spotlessly clean surface, and snapped, "Kilduff, I hope your brain isn't as empty as your desk!" Allen Otten, "Criticism of President's Style, Methods Mounts Among Small But Important Group", op. cit., p. 1. See also: Jack Valenti, A Very Human President (W.W. Norton, New York, 1975). Johnson deliberately bestowed praise one day only to take it back the next. Kearns reported that "one week, an aide would be invited to participate in every aspect of Johnson's life and work; the next week he would find himself frozen out." Kearns, op. cit., p. 238.
- 230 Kearns, op. cit., p. 131.
- 231 Patrick Anderson, The Presidents' Men, op. cit., p. 365. The endless series of psychological collisions with the President produced an atmosphere, according to former Johnson staff member Eric Goldman, in which "the group of Assistants fragmented... into a shifting band of individuals and groups moving in mutual suspicion around the commanding figure of Lyndon Johnson." The Tragedy of LBJ, op. cit., p. 275.
- 232 This remark is quoted in Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, op. cit., p. 324.
- 233 Patrick Anderson, The Presidents' Men, op. cit., p. 365. Doris Kearns reached the view that "the price Johnson exacted for the gifts he bestowed upon his aides - personal intimacy, access to the presidential office, power for themselves - was often nothing less than their dignity". Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, op. cit., p. 241.
- 234 Ibid., p. 423.
- 235 "I knew how they felt", he said. "Suddenly they were outsiders just as I had been for almost three years, outsiders on the inside. The White House is small but if you're not at the center it seems enormous." Doris Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, op. cit., p. 175. He accordingly tried to keep them informed.
- 236 Lyndon Baines Johnson, The Vantage Point (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1972), p. 18. "I had inherited neither their loyalty nor their enthusiasm. Those I would have to earn." In later conversation with Doris Kearns Johnson was more informative about his motives: "I needed that White House staff. Without them I would have lost my link to John Kennedy, and without that I would have had absolutely no chance of gaining the support of the media or the Easterners or the intellectuals. And without that support I would have had absolutely no chance of governing the country." Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, op. cit., pp. 177-178.

- 237 See for example the definition which is given in Halberstam's The Best and the Brightest, op. cit., p. 526. It is generally acknowledged that Johnson's private language embraced a heavy concentration on bodily functions. Among the (apochryphal?) classics is his definition of the United Nations which "couldn't pour piss out of a shoe if the instructions were written on the heel", and his explanation for his inability to fire FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover: "Better to have the old bastard inside the tent pissing out than outside pissing in". The pleasure of Johnson's Oval Office language awaits the publication of the tape recordings that were no doubt made but have yet to be made available.
- 238 Eric Goldman, The Tragedy of LBJ, op. cit., pp. 100-128.
- 239 Kenneth Schlossberg, "The Ablest Men in Congress", The Washingtonian, vol. 3, 1968, p. 63.
- 239a One of Johnson's senior WHO staff told this writer that "President Johnson was a person who was very much involved in the decision-making from the smallest decisions of contracts let for repair work at the White House to the larger decisions of war and peace that affected the nation and the world community." Personal Correspondence with James R. Jones, U.S. Representative (D-Okla.), 31st March, 1978. More seriously, "the same attention to minutiae of power that had characterized his relations with the Congress would now characterize his conduct of the (Vietnam) war", wrote Doris Kearns in Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, op. cit., p. 269.
- 240 Jack Valenti, A Very Human President, op. cit., p. 163.
- 241 Doris Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream, op. cit., p. 213. See also: Note 242.
- 242 See for example: William F. Buckley, "White House Tapes; Nixon Was Not Alone", New York Daily News, 14th March, 1982, p. 1. Nixon himself, in his memoirs, confirmed that Johnson "could watch the three networks simultaneously while switching back and forth among them for the sound." He also "discovered a mass of wires and cables under Johnson's bed. I was told that... some were for tape recording equipment connected to the phones." Richard Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon (Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1978), p. 368. Nixon later gave further details of his knowledge of taping by his predecessors from Roosevelt to Kennedy. Of Johnson he wrote: "Lyndon Johnson had a taping system for his office phone, his bedroom phone, the phone at Camp David, the phone at his ranch in Johnson city, and the phone at his office in Austin. In addition to the phone equipment, he had room microphones placed in the Cabinet Room and in the private office next to the Oval Office. At one point there was also a recording device that could pick up conversations in the room outside the Oval Office where Johnson's visitors would wait before being ushered in to see him. The Johnson system was operated manually, which permitted him to decide which conversations to record." Johnson told Nixon that his (Nixon's) initial decision to remove a taping capability was a mistake, and in 1971 Nixon had a complete taping system re-installed which was voice-activated. Ibid., p. 501-502.

- 242a See: Appendix 4.1 in addition to the discussion in Chapter I. Several of the more astute contemporary participants were aware of this growth at the time, or claimed to have been. Abe Fortas, a long-standing adviser to Johnson, wrote of the "under-the-table" growth and consequent centralisation of power of the staff. "The Presidency As I Have Seen It", in Emmet John Hughes, The Living Presidency, op. cit., p. 335. Harry McPherson, LBJ's Special Counsel, pointed to the increasing numbers of staff in the Office of the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs in his book A Political Education, op. cit., p. 256. Some political commentators also noticed these changes, as did John Osborne in "Command Staff" from The Nixon Watch (Liveright, New York, 1970), pp. 22-27. One Kennedy staff member specifically laid the blame for the growth of the "intermediate structure" of the White House staff at Johnson's door. Personal Conversation with Myer Feldman, Deputy Special Counsel under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, 27th September, 1974.
- 243 For a discussion of the issues raised in this changeover see for example: Allen Schick, "The Budget Bureau That Was", in Norman C. Thomas and Hans W. Baade, eds., The Institutionalized Presidency (Oceana Publications Inc., Dobbs Ferry, New York, 1970, 1972), pp. 93-113; John Kessel, The Domestic Presidency (Duxbury Press, Wadsworth Publishing Co., Mass., 1975). During Johnson's Presidency the first serious attempt was made to create a domestic White House staff team to manage the flow of domestic policies and programmes. Joseph Califano directed a senior political staff of five (with backup assistance) which was dubbed a "domestic Bundy operation" at the time. Patrick Anderson, The Presidents' Men, op. cit., p. 363. The Califano operation was built on foundations laid by Bill Moyers. Harold Seidman, a respected student of public administration, said that this takeover provided the White House staff with the "sinews of power". Politics, Position and Power: The Dynamics of Federal Organization (OUP Inc., New York, 1970), p. 77. Califano's avowed aim was to "get the White House domestic operations shaped up". Joseph A. Califano, Jr., A Presidential Nation (W.W. Norton, New York, 1975), p. 39.
- 244 Califano presided over the amplification of the task force as a weapon of staff influence. These had originally been created to undermine the power of the departments and agencies in the creative period of 1964-1965 and were expanded by Califano and his team in the period of implementation 1966-68. Task forces were given much bigger staffs and more specific assignments (thus accounting for the large and 'hidden' growth of middle-level White House staff personnel). The areas covered included the Model Cities programme, the Department of Transportation, water pollution, the re-orientation of foreign aid towards health and education projects, consumer protection in pipelines, meat and other areas, and the Civil Rights Bill that included open housing, jury reforms, and the protection of civil rights workers. An interesting and informative account of one major task force is recorded by Howard E. Shuman's "Behind the Scenes and Under the Rug", in Charles Peters and Timothy J. Adams, eds., Inside The System (Praeger, New York, 1970), pp. 43-59.
- 245 The Heineman Commission Report remains officially unpublished, although a copy of the Task Force Report is obtainable from The Lyndon Johnson Library. Personal Correspondence with Nancy Smith, Archivist, 6th October, 1981.

- 246 John H. Kessel, The Domestic Presidency, op. cit., p. 14.
- 247 William D. Carey, "Presidential Staffing in the Sixties and Seventies", Public Administration Review, vol. 29, September-October, 1969, p. 454.
- 248 See the discussion of Califano's annual cycle of task force activity in Norman C. Thomas and Harold L. Wolman, "The Presidency and Policy Formation: The Task Force Device", Public Administration Review, vol. 29, September-October, 1969, pp. 459-471. Califano himself wrote that the President "gave me three tasks: to prepare legislative programs and related economic policy, and to guide the response of the federal executive to domestic crises". A Presidential Nation, op. cit., p. 39.
- 249 Robert E. Kintner, Memorandum for Mr. President, 21st September, 1966, The White House, itemized as "Maguire Box 5 'Staff Descriptions'" under the heading White House Aides and classified as Materials in the Lyndon B. Johnson Library on White House Staff. (The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Austin, Texas.) This was an upgraded version of an earlier Memorandum entitled "White House Staff Assignments" dated 27th August, 1966. The President had evidently requested the addition of information about the age and educational achievements of his staff, while Kintner hoped that its public release "will have an affirmative public relations value of showing the variety of talents, etc." Eventually Kintner sent it to fellow staff member Marvin Watson with a covering Memorandum, 30th January, 1967, remarking that "I got no response as to what to do with it (his September Memorandum), so I decided to keep it here until there was an opportune time".
- 250 The non-political member was William J. Hopkins, Executive Officer to the President. Those listed were: Bill Moyers, Robert E. Kintner, Joseph Califano, W.W. Rostow, Douglass Cater, Marvin Watson (all Special Assistant to the President); Jake Jacobsen (Legislative Counsel); Mike Manatos (Administrative Assistant); Harry McPherson (Special Counsel); Henry Hall Wilson (Administrative Assistant); Robert Fleming (Deputy Press Secretary); Milton Semer (Counsel); Robert Komer (Special Assistant); Juanita Roberts (Personal Secretary); and George Christian (Assistant).
- 251 Kintner Memorandum, op. cit., p. 1.
- 252 Ibid., p. 3.
- 253 Ibid.
- 254 Ibid., pp. 1-7. When the need arose Johnson would press-gang staff into the service of the White House Congressional Relations Office. "As he often did, he called his entire White House staff into the legislative battle." Jack Valenti, A Very Human President, op. cit., p. 189. Another Johnson aide reported that "Special Counsels, like Special Assistants, often went to the Hill to explain the President's policies, seek support, or negotiate a compromise. Sometimes the President called all the shots;" A Political Education, op. cit., p. 282.

- 255 Johnson would never have countenanced such a title, although this is not to say that he was not alive to the possible need for such a function. In an interview with the Press on 25th July, 1964, President Johnson was reported to have spoken with interest about an "Executive Operating Vice President" who might work with him in the White House after the election. The President described this ideal Vice President as an "improved model of a Mac Bundy or Sherman Adams". Jack Valenti, A Very Human President, op. cit., p. 306.
- 256 Personal Correspondence with James R. Jones, U.S. Representative (D-Okla.), 31st March, 1978. Jones was a de facto Chief of Staff in the final months of the Johnson Presidency. He told this writer that during his tenure at the White House "staff functions were divided into the following main categories: national security; Congressional liaison; domestic policy coordination and review; legal counsel; and press relations... My office was charged with the responsibility of coordinating all of these functions and restricting what information was directly channeled to President Johnson." Jones further explained what this entailed: "For example, the President's daily reading was organized by my office. We divided all of the President's incoming material into informational pieces and decision memos. Once President Johnson completed this personal reading, my office would transmit the material and memos to the proper Cabinet official or staff member."
- 256a "What was once done haphazardly" wrote the journalist Joseph Kraft "is now done systematically", in Profiles in Power, op. cit., p. 27. Evidence for this view is derived from the fact that each of the major staff offices now had staff secretariats of their own, held frequent staff meetings, and each "has a life of its own".
- 257 Joseph Kraft, "West Wing Story", in Profiles in Power, op. cit., p. 28. One technique that Johnson adopted in furtherance of this was a familiar one. "In some instances, President Johnson would assign the same tasks to more than one staff person". Personal Correspondence with James R. Jones, U.S. Representative (D-Okla.), 31st March, 1978.
- 258 William S. White, The Professional: LBJ (Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1964), p. 252.
- 259 Ibid., p. 246.
- 260 Patrick Anderson, The Presidents' Men, op. cit., p. 362.
- 261 Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1964 (Jonathan Cape, London, 1965), p. 245.
- 265 Richard M. Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., p. 337.
- 266 Ibid., p. 361.
- 267 Ibid., p. 337. Nixon wrote that this "was a lesson I had learned directly from Eisenhower, whose staff too often cluttered his schedule with unimportant events and bothered him with minor problems that drained his time and energy." Ibid., pp. 337-338.
- 268 William Safire, Before The Fall (Doubleday, New York, 1975), pp. 283, 617-621.

- 269 The view was conveyed that Nixon, having seen Eisenhower's staff system in operation and the way Sherman Adams had regulated access and the flow of papers, wanted to avoid this himself. He also wished to distinguish his Administration from Johnson's where he thought that serious governmental matters were often processed through two or three powerful assistants. "White House staff Covers Broad Range of Views", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 30th May, 1969, p. 851. Nixon subsequently confirmed these views. The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., pp. 198, 338, 379.
- 270 "Nixon Calls on Specialists To Help Make Up Staff", Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Congressional Quarterly Inc., Washington D.C., 1970), p. 1181.
- 271 "Damn it, most businessmen aren't good at government. Some people go for the other extreme, get intellectuals - but intellectuals get torn to pieces in government at the levels they have to work at. Then they say, get politicians - but politicians, though they do have the necessary experience, they tend to be not imaginative enough." This quotation appeared in Theodore H. White's The Making of the President 1972 (Jonathan Cape, London, 1974), p. 271.
- 272 "White House Staff Covers Broad Range of Views", CQWR, op. cit., p. 851.
- 273 Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1972, op. cit., p. 270.
- 274 The initial perception of Nixon's senior advisers was dominated (wrongly, as it turned out) by the importance accorded to several Cabinet members. These included HEW Secretary Robert Finch, Secretary of State William Rogers, HUD and Interior Secretaries Romney and Hickel, and Attorney General John Mitchell. Among the staff Arthur Burns, Herb Klein, Bruce Harlow, Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Henry Kissinger were singled out for special mention. "Washington Now: Who's In, Who's Out of Power", U.S. News and World Report, 27th January, 1969, pp. 26-29.
- 275 President Nixon, "Remarks at Swearing in of the New White House Staff", Public Papers of the Presidents: Richard M. Nixon 1969, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1970), No. 3.
- 276 Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1972, op. cit., p. 270.
- 277 See for example: Richard P. Nathan, The Plot That Failed (John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1975); and John Osborne's series of articles in The New Republic, later reprinted in The Nixon Watch series (Liveright, New York, 1970-74).
- 278 Until late 1970 John Ehrlichman was "the principal adviser to the President on domestic affairs. Now he shares his influence with (OMB Director George) Schultz" reported a journalist with privileged access to the Nixon White House in 1971. Allen Drury, Courage and Hesitation (Doubleday & Co. Inc., New York, 1971), p. 69.
- 279 The CIEP was an invention of the Nixon Presidency and a recognition of the importance of economic policy in foreign affairs. The appointment of Peter Peterson as the first Assistant to the President for International Economic Policy, in Kissinger's words, "technically represented a diminution of my power". But it was necessary as international economics "had not been a central field of study for me" and he confined himself to "a watching brief". Henry Kissinger, The White House Years (Weidenfeld and Nicolson and Michael Joseph, London, 1979), pp. 950-951.

- 279a Nixon openly calls Haldeman his Chief of Staff in The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., p. 337. During the first term Haldeman himself told a journalist that "my function is basically to be a sort of commander in chief of the White House." Allen Drury, Courage and Hesitation, op. cit., p. 123.
- 280 Nixon recalls in his memoirs that he had once asked Eisenhower "if there was a single quality he valued above all in selecting a man for a top position on his staff". Ike replied: "Selflessness." The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., pp. 198-199. In reluctantly accepting the resignations of Haldeman and Ehrlichman in May 1973 Nixon described them in a similar vein as "two of the finest public servants it has been my privilege to know." Ibid., p. 848.
- 281 Political campaigns for the Presidency have come to demand a high degree of organizational and political skill combined with the need for mutual confidence between Candidate and Campaign Manager. It is no accident that successful presidential candidates, like Nixon in 1968, Carter in 1976, and Reagan in 1980, should have turned to their Campaign Managers for top positions on their White House staffs.
- 282 This was evident even before the Nixon Administration had formally taken over. In a chapter entitled "No End Runs" William Safire described how Haldeman had by December 1968 "already established himself in everyone's mind as the center of operations". Before The Fall, op. cit., p. 114.
- 283 Haldeman explained: "I keep myself free - I don't run a calendar of my own... I am always available to the President so that any time he wants to turn a problem over to me he can do so and I can arrange for somebody to work on it as quickly as possible." Allen Drury, Courage and Hesitation, op. cit., p. 127. One computation made by a senior Haldeman aide, Alexander Butterfield, was that Nixon spent approximately 72% of the time with his staff with Haldeman; about 10% with Kissinger; about 8% with Ehrlichman; 4-5% with Press aide Zeigler; and 4-5% with all the rest put together (during the 3-year period 1969-1971). In the 1972 election year Haldeman's share dropped back to 62%; Kissinger down to 8%; Ehrlichman up to 10%; Zeigler the same at 5%; Colson emerged suddenly to 10%; and the rest about 5%. House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, p. 40. See also: H.R. Haldeman, The Ends of Power (New York Times Books, New York, 1978), pp. 51-61: and his testimony before the Ervin Committee. Hearings before the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, of the United States Senate, 93rd Congress, 1st Session, Watergate and Related Activities, Phase I: Watergate Investigation, Book 7, 26th-30th July, 1973, Book 8, 31st July 1973, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), pp. 2828-2873; 3018-3021. These Hearings are hereinafter cited as: Senate Watergate Committee Hearings (1973).
- 284 Haldeman made it clear from the beginning that "nothing goes to the President that is not completely staffed out first" adding that all paperwork was to be routed through him. Safire, Before The Fall, op. cit., pp. 116-117. In his memoirs Haldeman wrote that "I reviewed all paperwork before it went to the President". The Ends of Power, op. cit., p. 52. His assistant Alexander Butterfield gave the House Impeachment Committee a very detailed exposition of how the paperwork system was organized, under Haldeman's supervision, by the Staff Secretary who was "the contact point for all papers going to the President". House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, p. 36; pp. 6-123. This formidable task was aided by what was known as the "Tickler system" for keeping track of staff work and chasing up the preparation of papers for Haldeman or the President. See: John Dean, Blind Ambition (Simon & Schuster, New York, 1976), pp. 65-66; and Safire, Before The Fall, op. cit., pp. 278-293.

- 285 Haldeman had laid down the law in December 1968. "On procedure: there has always got to be a written agenda". Safire, Before The Fall, op. cit., p. 116.
- 286 It was reported that a request for the President to call a dying Republican Senator had been turned down by Haldeman on the grounds that "since the Senator was in that bad a shape he probably wouldn't be able to talk very well over the phone anyway, and thus it would make more sense to hold off and place a call to his widow - later. So, instead of passing the request on to Nixon, he (Haldeman) sent it back through the channels with the memorable command: 'Wait until he dies'." Dan Rather and Gary Paul Gates, The Palace Guard (Harper & Row, New York, 1974), p. 238.
- 287 Haldeman reviewed them. "He was not at all shy about weeding out anything... In other words, desuperimpose his judgement on the judgements of the staff secretary and the senders of those papers." Alexander Butterfield, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, p. 37. Nixon himself complained that "In the executive branch we write too much", adding however that "I don't believe in the one-page bit". Safire, Before The Fall, op. cit., p. 503.
- 288 John Dean gives a graphic description of "The Tickler" in his memoirs. "The tickler was an extension of Haldeman... (which) never forgot or tired. Once a staff man was nailed with responsibility for the slightest project, the tickler would keep pestering until it was fed something: a status report, a piece of paper, a bit of information to chew on". Blind Ambition, op. cit., p. 65.
- 289 Accordingly this process of 'staffing out' meant that briefing papers "weighed a pound" by the time they were ready. Personal Interview with Bryce Harlow, Counsellor to the President, 17th September, 1974. This extract from the secret White House Procedural Manual was made available to this writer by Counsel to the President Leonard Garment. Personal Interview with Leonard Garment, 10th September, 1974.
- Alexander Butterfield testified that there were "briefing papers which told him (Nixon) the purpose of his next meeting, who the participants would be, a little background on the subject matter, possible talking points by the guests and appropriate responses for the President to those inquiries by the guests." A memo was subsequently prepared for every meeting for the President's file. House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, p. 33. The costs of all this paperwork mounted. For example, Mort Allin, the writer of the news summary, complained to Haldeman that "we are spending all of our time xeroxing". Consequently production of this "popular item" was limited to 100 per day. Ibid., p. 41.
- 290 The decision to have Haldeman as the prime note-taker "effectively told the staff that Haldeman spoke for the President". Safire, Before The Fall, op. cit., p. 281.
- 291 Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., p. 337. The more perceptive observers of the scene, like William Safire, realised that "resentment of Haldeman was misdirected: the man who wanted it that way was the President, and Haldeman was his tool." Before The Fall, op. cit., p. 281.
- 292 Allen Drury, Courage and Hesitation, op. cit., p. 128.

- 293 Among the more colourful epithets were: The Berlin Wall; The Teutonic Trio (a reference to the Germanic link in the names of Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Kissinger); All the King's Krauts; and The Knights of Woeful Countenance. Some others doubled as swear-words.
- 294 See Appendix 4.1 for a guide to the size of the Nixon White House staff. For the structure of the staff see also Appendices 5.10 and 5.11. Alexander Butterfield provided a detailed guide to those staff that reported to Haldeman. House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, pp. 12ff.
- 295 Richard Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., p. 781.
- 295a One aide put it this way: "Anything that Larry Higby told me to do, I did. There was absolutely no question in my mind or anyone else's mind on the White House staff that those were Haldeman's instructions, and in turn I can say that the assumption was always that the President was behind almost anything that Mr. Haldeman wanted done." House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, p. 45.
- 296 Alexander Butterfield, whose testimony first revealed that Nixon had installed an extensive taping system, described its operation in the House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, pp. 45-52.
- 297 The spread of responsibility embracing Haldeman's responsibilities included the following: the transfer of senior or middle-level staff from the White House to the various campaign organizations; all campaign advertising; general supervision of all activities; receipt of all surrogate schedules and plans and opinion polls. The so-called 'political group' of senior people, formed in 1972, met under Haldeman's chairship. They included Mitchell, Ehrlichman, MacGregor, Colson, Dent and Harlow. Finally, Haldeman had complete control over the disbursement of all campaign funds.
- 298 Dean records that the very first Action Memorandum that he received upon appointment as the President's Counsel was a 'request' to "rebut the recent attack on the Vice President". Many more such political matters followed. Blind Ambition, op. cit., p. 32.
- 299 During Nixon's years out of public office in the 1960's Haldeman worked for the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency where "he had the gift for recognizing whether or not (the product) would sell, and, if so, exactly what advertising and publicity techniques would be most effective." It was also said that his "most impressive skills were managerial and administrative". Rather and Gates, The Palace Guard, op. cit., p. 131. Among the more memorable attempts by Haldeman to shape the presidential image was the so-called "Sea Shot" - an attempt to create a Nixonian version of the lonely-President-by-the-ocean-with-the-burdens-of-the-world-on-his-shoulders. More successful was Haldeman's superb orchestration of Nixon's 1972 China Trip, with precisely coordinated TV coverage back home, which was called "Bob Haldeman's masterpiece, his Sistine Chapel". Ibid., p. 246.

- 300 Colson's heyday was in 1972 when he "did move in and take over many of the Klein-Magruder office functions as confidence in him by the President and Mr. Haldeman increased." House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, p. 16. See also: Charles W. Colson, Born Again (Coronet Books, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1979). At one stage "there were 40 people on Colson's personal staff" according to his top assistant's personal secretary. Jennifer Schwertman, "Cincy Woman Is Smoothing a Path for the President", The Cincinnati Enquirer, 18th August, 1975, p. 13.
- 301 See for example: Haldeman's testimony in Senate Watergate Committee Hearings (1973), op. cit., pp. 2872ff; 3019ff. Allen Drury, Courage and Hesitation, op. cit., p. 127.
- 302 Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., p. 337.
- 303 Ibid., p. 432.
- 304 Ibid., p. 434.
- 305 Ibid.
- 306 Ibid., p. 342.
- 307 Information about the structure and procedures of the Domestic Council was given to congressional appropriations committees. See for example: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Part 3: Executive Office of the President, 22nd April, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 91-118. Hearings on White House staff items are hereinafter cited as House/Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (19--) where the date in brackets will refer to the actual year in which the hearings were held.
- 308 Ibid., p. 96.
- 309 Ehrlichman outlined his responsibilities in the Senate Watergate Committee Hearings (1973), op. cit., pp. 2514-2525. On one occasion he jokingly re-drew a White House organization chart showing Ehrlichman at the top of the WHO structure. Safire, Before The Fall, op. cit., p. 280.
- 310 Len Garment told this writer that he didn't want that much access to the President, nor a great staff, but merely needed access to certain types of information and a 'ticket' to a meeting' where necessary. He confessed himself an atypical member of the Nixon staff who had his own "niche" and spent the occasional "strategic" hour with Nixon. Because he represented no threat to the Ehrlichman empire he was left alone to get on with his work. Personal Interview with Leonard Garment, Counsel to the President, 10th September, 1974.
- 311 These included G. Gordon Liddy, once on the payroll of the Domestic Council; E. Howard Hunt, who served as a Special Consultant; John Caulfield and Anthony Ulasewicz who did political work under the direction of John Dean.

- 312 Nixon openly writes of his intention that under his reorganization plan the new White House staff Counsellors would be responsible for "eliminating duplication and inefficiency" and that he "planned to transfer White House staff members into the Cabinet departments to see to it that our policies would be followed." He admitted that these plans were "sending seismic tremors through the federal bureaucracy. The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., pp. 767, 769.
- 313 Ibid., pp. 377, 761-773. Nixon overtly advocated "the most significant reforms of any administration since that of Franklin Roosevelt." He was conscious of "a successful and fashionable negativism" among the "American leadership classes" (in politics, academia, the arts, business community and churches). He took the view that "the 'Imperial President' was a straw man created by defensive congressmen and by disillusioned liberals who in the days of FDR and John Kennedy had idolized the ideal of a strong presidency".
- 314 Ibid., p. 761.
- 315 Ibid. On reflection, however, the call for resignations of the entire White House staff and all Cabinet members he saw as a "mistake. I did not take into account the chilling effect this action would have on the morale of people who had worked so hard during the election and who were naturally expecting a chance to savor the tremendous victory instead of suddenly having to worry about keeping their jobs." Ibid., p. 769.
- 316 "Nixon Statement on Government Reorganization", CQWR, 13th January, 1973, p. 38.
- 317 Ibid., p. 39. Nixon in particular charged them with "ensuring that full information, candid analysis, and a complete range of recommendations and options flow continuously into the Presidential decision-making process"; to bring about "better operational coordination and more unified policy development".
- 318 Nixon identified five areas: Administration of The White House Office; Domestic Affairs; Foreign Affairs; Executive Management; and Economic Affairs. Ibid.
- 319 Ibid. These Counsellors were to be "directly responsible... for all the programs under their supervision". Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., p. 767.
- 320 "Behind Nixon's Reorganization", U.S. News and World Report, 1st January, 1973, p. 24.
- 321 Ehrlichman was at pains in Press briefings to reassure Congress that this new arrangement would not impinge on its traditional relationships with Cabinet departments. He also sought to head off the charge that some Cabinet members would be isolated from the President on the grounds that "under the existing system each cabinet officer or agency head must go through a White House aide for policy decisions that cross jurisdictional lines, and that this will continue." "Reorganization: A Super Cabinet and Super Assistants", CQWR, op. cit., p. 38.
- 322 Louis Brownlow, et al., Report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1937), p. 5.

- 323 As early as 1971 President Nixon had publicly confirmed that Kissinger "covers not only foreign policy but national security policy; the coordination of those policies." "News Conference", 4th March, 1971, as reprinted in The Washington Post, 5th March, 1971, p. A-14. One foreign policy expert, Professor Destler, identified Kissinger as the "Prime official" in the organization of foreign policy-making. Presidents, Bureaucrats, and Foreign Policy, op. cit., p. 123.
- 324 Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., p. 377. See also: Kissinger, The White House Years, op. cit., pp. 12-13.
- 325 Kissinger was officially described as "principal supervisory officer" of the NSC. House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 256.
- 326 On Kissinger's appointment Nixon told the Press that "I don't want him to get down in the Situation Room in the White House and spend too much time going through cables." The New York Times, 3rd December, 1968, p. 22. Kissinger was careful to echo such sentiments as when he expressed his view that he would "leave operations to the departments and devote more time to policy planning." Destler, Presidents, Bureaucrats, and Foreign Policy, op. cit., pp. 137-138.
- 327 "Within a short time they were meeting weekly, often over lunch." Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., p. 369.
- 328 Some reports put the Kissinger staff at about 160. "Nixon's Top Command: Expanding in Size and Power", U.S. News and World Report, 24th April, 1972, p. 72. The Administration's requests for an increased NSC budget were approved without question. See: House/Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1970-72), op. cit. The expanded structure of the NSC staff could not so easily be disguised. See for example: Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1969), op. cit., pp. 1158-1161; House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., pp. 208-212.
- 329 Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit.; Kissinger, The White House Years, op. cit. See also such books as Roger Morris's Uncertain Greatness (Quartet Books, London, 1977).
- 330 Kissinger, The White House Years, op. cit., p. 28. Kissinger admits that "after a time I undoubtedly encouraged it." Ibid., p. 30.
- 331 Ibid., pp. 29-30. Kissinger also provides other examples.
- 332 Ibid., p. 47. Kissinger writes that "in the final analysis the influence of a Presidential Assistant derives almost exclusively from the confidence of the President, not from administrative arrangements." Moreover, propinquity counted for much and "the opportunity to confer with the President several times a day is often of decisive importance."
- 333 An example that Kissinger gives, among many, was his ability to use the NSC machinery to "work out political and economic approaches" to those countries that were affected by Nixon's new economic policy of August 1971. Ibid., p. 957. More important examples embraced relations with China, the Soviet Union, and Vietnam.
- 334 Robert B. Semple, Jr., "Nixon Staff Had Central Role in Missile Decision", The New York Times, 19th March, 1969, p. 22.

- 335 See for example: House/Senate Appropriation Subcommittee Hearings (1969-74), op. cit., especially those on the NSC budget requests.
- 336 John Osborne, "Command Staff" The Nixon Watch, op. cit., p. 26.
- 337 "Henry's Little Kissingers", Newsweek, 10th December, 1973, pp. 30-31. With crude simplistic analysis this article identified four key aides: The Thinker, The Doer, The Doorkeeper, and The Taskmaster.
- 338 Ibid. With such resources Kissinger was able to present the President with a 40-page briefing book on the ABM decision. Semple, "Nixon Staff Had Central Role in Missile Decision", op. cit.
- 339 Destler, Presidents, Bureaucrats, and Foreign Policy, op. cit., pp. 121-122; 123-132.
- 340 Kissinger, The White House Years, op. cit., p. 24. Respected journalists at the time, such as John Osborne, had characterized the staff as "a real powerhouse". "Command Staff", The Nixon Watch, op. cit., pp. 22-27. Kissinger was less reticent, however, about the reasons why so many able staff left the NSC within a matter of months. By April 1971 only three of the original 28 remained. This owed to lack of access to the President, to Kissinger's inability to delegate, and other factors explored, for example, in Joseph Kraft's article in The Washington Post, 16th September, 1969, p. A-21.
- 341 Kissinger's staff complained that he hardly ever saw them, and they pressed him to grant two staff meetings a week between himself and his senior assistants. Even then, as Johnson Osborne remarked at the time, "some weeks he manages it, some weeks he doesn't". "Who's Who", The Nixon Watch, op. cit., p. 94. See also the discussions in Destler, Presidents, Bureaucrats, and Foreign Policy, op. cit., pp. 142-144.
- 342 David Halberstam, The Best and the Brightest, op. cit., p. 80.
- 343 Kissinger, The White House Years, op. cit., p. 30. Kissinger writes that "I have become convinced that a President should make the Secretary of State his principal adviser and use the national security adviser primarily as a senior administrator and coordinator to make certain that each significant point of view is heard".
- 344 Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., p. 771.
- 345 Kissinger, The White House Years, op. cit., pp. 951-952. "Like many Texans", he wrote, "(Connally) preferred the frontal assault to the indirect maneuver... He demonstrated immediately that the notorious Nixon 'Palace Guard', which forced Cabinet members to deal with the President through White House Assistants, could not survive the challenge of a determined Cabinet member". See also: Charles Ashman, Connally (William Morrow & Co., New York, 1974), pp. 194-196.
- 346 Kissinger, The White House Years, op. cit., p. 48.
- 347 Nixon offers some explanation of how his own political instincts combined with his White House organization to produce more trouble: "...without fully realizing the implications of my actions I had become deeply entangled in the complicated mesh of decision, inactions, misunderstandings, and conflicting motivations that comprised the Watergate coverup;" Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., p. 849.

- 348 During Watergate, at the time of the so-called 'Saturday Night Massacre' in October 1973, Haig told Deputy Attorney General Ruckelshaus to fire Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox saying that "your Commander-in-Chief has given you an order".
- 349 It is generally acknowledged that Haig's supremacy over the White House machine became almost absolute towards the end of the Nixon Presidency. Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein provide, in their book The Final Days (Secker & Warburg, London, 1976), a detailed account that well emphasizes Haig's contribution both to the very stability of White House work and to the complicated progress towards arriving at Nixon's resignation. Nixon himself wrote that Haig's position was "pivotal". The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., p. 1057.
- 350 Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "Mr. Ford's Advisers: Gen. Haig Must Go", The Washington Post, 8th September, 1974, p. 23. Among the experiences cited by Ford staff were that "detailed memos from Haig's staff suggesting what Mr. Ford should say and do every hour of the day, a system built by H.R. Haldeman for Nixon, are viewed as 'insulting and demeaning' by one Ford insider. These memos reach the President just before an event, somehow bypassing veteran Ford aide Robert Hartmann until too late."
- 351 In an article written after his resignation terHorst wrote that the presidential Press Secretary "ideally must be thoroughly familiar with a President's thoughts and the staff consultations preceding decisions. He must not only have access to the Oval Office, but he must likewise be able to have input on the decision-making process." Jerry terHorst did not feel that he could continue after Ford's pardon of Nixon had revealed the lack of such input. "Where Team Loyalty Stops", Washington Star-News, 20th September, 1974, p. 17.
- 352 Frank Cormier, "Haig Expects Cole to Leave After He Does", The Washington Post, 16th September, 1974, p. A-2. In his first Memorandum to the White House staff, while still technically Vice President, Ford conceded that "many of you will want to go on to other pursuits now that your service to (Nixon) has ended", although he asked them to stay to smooth the transition. "Memorandum for the White House Staff", 9th August, 1974, Public Papers of the Presidents: Gerald R. Ford 1974 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), Book I, p.4.
- 353 Gerald R. Ford, A Time To Heal (W.H. Allen, London, 1979), p. 147.
- 354 Ibid.
- 355 Ibid., p. 185. He added that he needed "a strong decision-maker who could help me set by priorities".
- 356 Ibid., p. 147.
- 357 Ibid., p. 185.
- 358 Donald H. Rumsfeld, "Press Conference of Donald H. Rumsfeld, Assistant to the President", Office of the White House Press Secretary, The White House, Washington D.C., 18th December, 1974, p. 1. The transcript of this Press Conference, and its associated White House Organization Chart, is hereinafter cited: Rumsfeld Press Conference (1974).

- 359 Rumsfeld Press Conference (1974), op. cit.
- 360 Ibid., p. 1.
- 361 Ibid., p. 2.
- 362 Ibid., p. 21
- 363 Ibid., p. 2.
- 364 Ibid., pp. 9-10.
- 365 Ibid., pp. 1-3; 13-14; 19ff.
- 366 "White House Watch", The New Republic, 21st December, 1974, p. 11. From another source comes confirmation that "many of the people who worked for the former President" remained "in the background doing day-to-day jobs". Jennifer Schwertman, "Cincy Woman Is Smoothing A Path for the President", The Cincinnati Enquirer, 18th August, 1975, p. 13.
- 367 Ford, A Time To Heal, op. cit., p. 147. "I didn't like the idea of calling this person chief of staff, but that in fact was the role he would fill."
- 368 John Osborne, "Settling In", The New Republic, 5th October, 1974, p. 9.
- 369 Ibid. Osborne reported that Ford had come to the conclusion that his long-time aide Robert Hartmann was not capable of doing the job, which Ford himself later confirmed. A Time To Heal, op. cit., pp. 118; 185.
- 370 See for example: John Osborne, "More About Rocky", The New Republic 1st February, 1975, p. 13.
- 371 "After Six Months - The Team in Power at the White House", U.S. News and World Report, 17th February, 1975, pp. 16-17.
- 372 "A Day in the Life of the President", U.S. News and World Report, 24th February, 1975, pp. 12-19.
- 372a Ibid., p. 14.
- 373 Rumsfeld explained that he would only "visit with him (the President) and tell him, there are people who are anxious to see him, and what the subject is to the extent I am aware of it... He then makes the judgments as to what his schedule will be." Rumsfeld Press Conference (1974), op. cit., p. 19. Ford, by contrast, later made clear how much he depended upon Rumsfeld. A Time to Heal, op. cit., pp. 184-187.
- 374 Lou Cannon, "Rumsfeld - 2nd Most Powerful Man in Capital", The Washington Post, 18th May, 1975, p. 1. Cannon cited Rumsfeld's "three segments" role: as White House Coordinator; as Administrator of the White House staff; and as Cabinet rank adviser on policy. Ibid., p. A-10.
- 375 Juan Cameron, "The Management Problem in Ford's White House", Fortune Magazine, July, 1975, pp. 74-81; 176. However, Cameron also entered the caveat that "close to twenty men... (have) direct access to the President" and that Ford, who preferred to talk through policy options, on occasion made uncoordinated decisions. Ibid., pp. 77-79.

- 376 Personal Interview with Bryce Harlow, former Deputy Assistant for Congressional Affairs (under Eisenhower) and Assistant, later Counsellor (under Nixon), 17th September, 1974.
- 377 James David Barber, The Presidential Character (Prentice-Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1972), p. 7. There is much in Barber's approach to the Presidency of relevance in the present study. Barber identifies five concepts - character, style, world view, power situation, and climate of expectations - which enable him to formulate the 'Active-Passive' 'Positive-Negative' presidential types. Presidential style he defines as "the President's habitual way of performing his three political roles: rhetoric, personal relations, and homework".
- 378 Lee White, Assistant Special Counsel (under Kennedy) and Special Counsel (under Johnson), in R. Gordon Hoxie, ed., The White House: Organization and Operations (Proceedings of the 1970 Montauk Symposium, Center for the Study of the Presidency, New York, 1971), p. 74. He added: "That's the way it should be and must be". Another former Johnson staff member, Joseph Califano, summarized the effect of presidential personality as follows: "The personality differences between Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford are pointed up sharply by their different styles of conducting the business of the Oval Office. Eisenhower's staff system was military; his appearance fatherly. Kennedy's staff system was less structured; his appearance exuberant and energetic. Johnson's staff system was frenetic, seeking a cure for every ill; his appearance one of indefatigable perpetual motion, in constant conversation and consultation. Nixon's staff system was elaborately structured; his personal style one of lonely contemplation and suspicion..." A Presidential Nation (W.W. Norton & Co., New York, 1975), pp. 241-242.
- 379 Richard Cheney, who worked with Donald Rumsfeld (under Nixon) and later as Chief of Staff (under Ford), in Bradley D. Nash, et al, eds., Organizing and Staffing the Presidency (Center for the Study of the Presidency, New York, 1981), p. 53. Cheney added that "most of the group meetings in which I participated with Nixon...were almost like a public meeting."
- 380 Ibid.
- 381 R. Gordon Hoxie, "Staffing the Ford and Carter Presidencies", in Organizing and Staffing the Presidency, op. cit., p. 65.
- 382 This quotation was given in David Halberstam, The Best and the Brightest (Fawcett, Greenwich, Conn., 1972), p. 53.
- 383 With the greater knowledge and understanding of hindsight it is clear that both Kennedy and Nixon were secretly recording conversations. See for example: William F. Buckley, Jr., "White House Tapes: Nixon Was Not Alone", New York Daily News, 14th March, 1982.
- 384 President Johnson was certainly paranoid about leaks and his concept of 'openness' often extended no further than his manipulation of the Press. See for example: George E. Reedy, The Twilight of the Presidency (Mentor, New York, 1970). For a further discussion on

the Presidency and the news media see: Harold C. Relyea, et al., The Presidency and Information Policy (Center for the Study of the Presidency, New York, 1981); and Michael Baruch Grossman and Martha Joynt Kumar, Portraying the President (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1981).

385 Lee White, in R. Gordon Hoxie, ed., The White House: Organization and Operations, op. cit., p. 74.

386 In the Nixon Presidency, during an atmosphere of domestic crisis occasioned by the invasion of Cambodia, relations between Nixon and some of his Cabinet, such as Interior Secretary Walter Hickel, ruptured; but his senior staff stayed in place. In the Carter Presidency, during the period of self-appraisal at Camp David, relations between Carter and several Cabinet members, such as HEW Secretary Califano, Treasury Secretary Blumenthal, and Transportation Secretary Brock, were severed; his own staff emerged in a strengthened position. See for example: Dom Bonafede, "Carter Turns on the Drama - But Can He Lead?", National Journal, 28th July, 1979, pp. 1236-1240.

387 The importance of any Cabinet member's relations, or her/his own staff's relations, with the White House staff is never to be underrated. For example, the Kennedy White House staff's confidence in McNamara at Defense was strengthened by his staff aide Bill Moyers, "A Kennedy-style Texan", and by the ability of General Maxwell D. Taylor to "speak the President's language". (It was said that "if Harvard produced Generals it would have produced Max Taylor"). Halberstam, The Best and The Brightest, op. cit., p. 53. In Carter's 1979 Cabinet shake-up one of the principal reasons given for HEW Secretary Califano's departure was that he was "disliked by the White House staff" with whom he had had antagonistic relations. See: "What to Expect from Carter's New Cabinet", National Journal, 28th July, 1979, pp. 1241-1246.

Similar factors affected the Nixon Presidency. Elliot Richardson, a highly experienced and senior member of Nixon's Cabinet, told this writer that one of the principal reasons why he had been counted a 'success' by the Nixon White House was because he had been "able to come to terms readily with the working style of the Nixon Administration and the White House Administration". Some Cabinet members, he said, were offended by a staff that did not bestow "some of the courtesies and respect due to their position". By comparison Richardson took the view that "you had to assume that any pattern of White House staff or any method of working by the staff was so because they were operating in the way the President wanted them to operate". Thus he did not mind, he added, "dealing with a third-echelon member of the White House staff" if he thought "that was the best way to deal with the question" at hand. He did concede that "you had to take some of the shit" and that his own staff had been "horrified" at some of things he'd had to put up with at the hands of the Nixon staff. All things considered, he concluded, if the Cabinet had been made up of "Elliot Richardsons" and the White House staff of "Bryce Harlows" the Nixon Administration wouldn't have had any trouble. Personal Interview with Elliot Richardson, 8th September, 1975.

- 388 Howard E. Shuman, an experienced Administrative Assistant to two distinguished Senators, Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) and William Proxmire (D-Wisc.), served on one such presidential assignment in the Johnson years as Executive Director of the National Commission on Urban Problems. He told this writer of the trials and tribulations surrounding his work and of the adverse effects of White House "involvement". Personal Interview with Howard Shuman, 17th September, 1976. He also wrote of his experiences. "Behind the Scenes and Under the Rug: One Man's Presidential Commission", in Charles Peters and Timothy J. Adams, eds., Inside the System (Praeger, New York, 1970), pp. 43-59.
- 389 Richard M. Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon (Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1978), p. 342.
- 390 Gerald R. Ford, A Time to Heal (W.H. Allen, London, 1979), pp. 184-187.
- 391 James R. Jones, now a Democratic Congressman from Oklahoma, served as a de facto Chief of Staff during Johnson's last year. He told this writer that during his tenure in the White House there was a definite functionalisation of staff in these areas: "national security; Congressional liaison; domestic policy coordination and review; legal counsel; and press relations". Jones also said that "My office was charged with the responsibility of co-ordinating what information was directly channeled to President Johnson". From this report it is clear that Johnson had perforce conceded the need for some Chief of Staff-type operation.

Personal Correspondence with James R. Jones, 31st March, 1978.

REFERENCES AND NOTES FOR CHAPTER VI

- 01 Herman Finer, "Administrative Responsibility in Democratic Government", Public Administration Review, vol. 1, 1940-1941, pp. 336-340 ff.
- 01a Ibid., p. 336.
- 01b Raoul Berger, Executive Privilege: A Constitutional Myth (Bantam Books, New York, 1975).
- 02 These questions were first raised as long ago as 1792 when President Washington, faced with a congressional call for information, was reported to have told a Cabinet meeting that "neither the committee nor House had a right to call upon the head of a Department who and whose papers were under the President alone." Hearings before the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations of the Committee on Government Operations, and the Subcommittees on Separation of Powers, and Administrative Practice and Procedure, of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, on S. 858, S.Con.Res. 30, S.J.Res. 72, S. 1106, S. 1142, S. 1520, S. 1923, and S. 2073, 93rd Congress, First Session, April, May and June, 1973, Executive Privilege, Secrecy in Government, Freedom of Information, Volume III Appendix (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), p. 203.
- These hearings are hereinafter cited as: Senate Executive Privilege Hearings (1973).
- 03 Norman Dorsen and John H.F. Shattuck, "Executive Privilege, the Congress and the Courts", in Senate Executive Privilege Hearings (1973), op. cit., p. 155.
- 04 Report of the Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 80-1595, 80th Congress, Second Session, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1948), p. 3. See also: Hearings before a Special Committee of the Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives, Investigation of the GSI Strike, 80th Congress, Second Session, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1948), pp. 347-353.
- 05 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Power Policy, Dixon-Yates Contract, 84th Congress, First Session, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1955), pp. 676-779.
- 06 Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Nominations of Abe Fortas and Homer Thornberry, 90th Congress, Second Session, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1968), pp. 1347-1348.
- 07 Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, pursuant to H.Res. 803, A Resolution Authorizing And Directing The Committee On The Judiciary To Investigate Whether Sufficient Grounds Exist For The House Of Representatives To Exercise Its Constitutional Power To Impeach Richard M. Nixon President Of The United States Of America, 93rd Congress, Second Session, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

These hearings are hereinafter cited as: House Impeachment Hearings (1974).

Of the many volumes published in the course of these hearings see in particular: Presidential Statements on the Watergate Break-in and its Investigation (Statement of Information: Appendix I), May-June, 1974; Summary of Information, 19th July, 1974; Minority Memorandum on Facts and Law, 22nd July, 1974; Brief on Behalf of the President of the United States, 18th July, 1974; Debate on Articles of Impeachment, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 29th and 30th July, 1974.

- 08 Presidential Statements on the Watergate Break-in and its Investigation (Statement of Information: Appendix I), May-June, 1974, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), *op. cit.*, p. 162. There were four so-called "Watergate Subpoenas" issued by the House Judiciary Committee. The first subpoena was authorized on 11th April, 1974, and demanded the production of all tapes, dictabelts or other electronic recordings and transcripts, memoranda, notes or other writings relating to 42 specified conversations. They involved the President and Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Dean, Kleindienst and Henry Petersen. In a television address to the Nation on the evening of 29th April, 1974, the President announced that he would deliver transcripts of certain conversations to the Committee rather than the tapes themselves. On 1st May, 1974, the Committee, pursuant to a vote 20-18, formally advised the President by letter that he had failed to comply with its subpoena. The three subsequent subpoenas issued by the Judiciary Committee were the two dated 15th May, 1974, and the one on 30th May, 1974.
- 09 The Times, 3rd May, 1974, p. 1.
- 10 Raoul Berger, Executive Privilege: A Constitutional Myth, *op. cit.*, p. 280.
- 11 The Final Report of the Committee on the Judiciary House of Representatives, with an introduction by R.W. Apple, Jr., of The New York Times, (Bantam Books Inc., New York, 1975), pp. 269-307.
- 12 This claim had its origin in a 1954 directive by President Eisenhower, reprinted in Clark Mollenhoff, Washington Cover-Up (Doubleday Inc., Garden City, New York, 1962), pp. 45-46.
- 13 Sherman Adams testified before Senator Joe McCarthy that he had been present at a meeting called to discuss the means of halting the McCarthy investigation, but he later refused under "instructions" to recount the conversation. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.
- 14 Hearings before a Select Committee to Study Censure Charges Against Senator Joe McCarthy, United States Senate, 83rd Congress, Second Session, August-September, 1954, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1954), p. 167.
- 15 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Imperial Presidency, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-159.
- 16 Hearings before the Special Preparedness Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services, United States Senate, Military Cold War Education and Speech Review Policies, 87th Congress, Second Session, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1962), pp. 508-509.

- 17 Kennedy's statement was not supported with a legal memorandum, although one was available. A 169-page study of executive privilege cases had been prepared by two lawyers in the Justice Department. This study appeared in two parts in the George Washington Law Review. (It was reminiscent of another legal article in the Federal Bar Journal which had been used as the back-up memorandum for President Eisenhower's letter of 17th May, 1954.) Robert Kramer and Herman Marcuse, "Executive Privilege - A Study of the Period 1953-1960", George Washington Law Review, vol. XXIX, April, 1961, pp. 623-718; June, 1961, pp. 827-916.
- 18 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Separation of Powers of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Executive Privilege: The Withholding of Information by the Executive, 92nd Congress, First Session, 1971, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1971), p. 34.
- 19 Ibid., p. 35. Congressman Moss was at that time Chairman of the House Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee, and had been a member of its predecessor special subcommittee.
- 20 "The Present Limits of 'Executive Privilege'", a paper prepared by the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, in Senate Executive Privilege Hearings (1973), op. cit., pp. 226-227.
- 21 Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, United States Senate, Administration of the Rural Electrification Administration Act, 78th Congress, First Session, 1943, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1943), pp. 612-619, 695-739, 740.
- 22 Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency, United States Senate, Study of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 82nd Congress, First Session, 1951, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1951), pp. 1709, 1795, 1810. See also: The New York Times, 5th May, 1951, p. 15; 11th May, 1951, pp. 1, 20; 12th May, 1951, pp. 1, 12.
- 23 Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, U.S. House of Representatives, Investigation of Regulatory Commissions and Agencies, 85th Congress, Second Session, 1958, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1958), pp. 3711-3740.
- 24 "A member or former member of the President's personal staff normally shall follow the well-established precedent and decline a request for a formal appearance before a committee of the Congress." Statement by the President on Executive Privilege, 12th March, 1973, in Senate Executive Privilege Hearings (1973), op. cit., p. 197.
- 25 Raoul Berger, Executive Privilege: A Constitutional Myth, op. cit., p. 284.
- 26 94. Cong. Rec. 4783 (1948). See also an exchange with Clark Mollenhoff in 1973 at a Press Conference, when in answer to the question, "You were quite critical of executive privilege in 1948 when you were in Congress?" Nixon replied, "I certainly was". The New York Times, 1st February, 1973, p. 20. The full exchange between Clark Mollenhoff and President Nixon on executive privilege at that Press Conference on 31st January, 1973, is printed in Senate Executive Privilege Hearings (1973), op. cit., pp. 195-196.

- 27 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Separation of Powers of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Executive Privilege: The Withholding of Information by the Executive, 1971, op. cit., p. 36.
- 28 "The Present Limits of 'Executive Privilege'", in Senate Executive Privilege Hearings (1973), op. cit., pp. 225-226.
- 29 Senator Charles Mathias, (R-Md.), thought the influence of White House advisers on foreign policy "is far greater than that of any members of the Senate or even of the executive department". Hearings before the Subcommittee on Separation of Powers of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Executive Privilege: The Withholding of Information by the Executive, 1971, op. cit., p. 17. Senator Fulbright, (D-Ark.), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, pointed out that Henry Kissinger "is in fact a great deal more than a personal adviser to the President... (he) presides over a staff of 54 'substantive officers' and a total staff of 140 employees. In addition, Mr. Kissinger serves as chairman of six interagency committees dealing with the entire range of foreign policy and national security issues" including the National Security Council. Ibid., pp. 21-22.
- 30 Kissinger's importance in the Nixon years was well reflected in such contemporary books as that by Marvin and Bernard Kalb, Kissinger (Hutchinson, London 1974), and in countless articles, principal among them being those by John Osborne. See for example: "Henry's Wonderful Machine", The Second Year of the Nixon Watch, op. cit., pp. 1-5; "Kissinger and Rogers", The Third Year of the Nixon Watch, op. cit., pp. 47-51; "Living With Henry", The Fifth Year of the Nixon Watch, op. cit., pp. 78-83. More scholarly analyses of the machinery of foreign policymaking similarly confirmed the importance of the White House staff position of Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and its occupant Dr. Henry Kissinger. See for example: Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, Chairman: Robert D. Murphy, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., June 1975). Both Nixon and Kissinger have discussed foreign policymaking, and their mutual relationship, with David Frost in a series of TV interviews. (Nixon-Frost, BBC TV, May, 1977; Kissinger-Frost, ITV, October, 1979). See also: Richard M. Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon (Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd., London, 1978); Henry A. Kissinger, White House Years (Little, Brown & Co. Inc., New York, 1979).
- 31 This was publicly made known by President Nixon at a News Conference on 15th March, 1973, in the following exchange:
"Q: Mr. President, would you then be willing to have Mr. Dean sit down informally and let some of the Senators question him, as they have with Dr. Kissinger?
A: No, that is quite a different thing. In fact, Dr. Kissingeras you know, not only informally meet(s) with Members of the Congress in matters of substance, the same is true with members of the press. As you know, Dr. Kissinger meets with you ladies and gentlemen of the press and answers questions on matters of substance."
Senate Executive Privilege Hearings (1973), op. cit., p. 200.
It is interesting to note that several members of the House Judiciary Committee considered such background briefings to have diluted the case for the impeachment of President Nixon for concealing from Congress the bombing of Cambodia. Led by Congressman Sarbanes, (D-Md.), a group

of Judiciary Committee members filed its "Additional Views" to the Report issued by the Committee. In this statement it was acknowledged that "a few key members of the Congress in positions of responsibility had been informally advised of the bombing. Clearly, the informing by the Administration of a few, carefully selected individuals in the Congress is not the same as informing the Congress.... Nonetheless, the situation as to executive responsibility is clouded.." The Final Report of the Committee on the Judiciary House of Representatives, op. cit., p. 415.

- 32 John W. Dean III, Blind Ambition, op. cit., p. 39.
- 33 Personal Interview with Senator Robert Taft, Jr., (R-Ohio), 18th September, 1974; Personal Interview with Senator Birch Bayh, (D-Ind.), 16th November, 1974; Personal Interview with Senator Thomas F. Eagleton, (D-Mo.), 17th August, 1976. This feeling was shared by members of the House. Personal Interview with Congressman Fortney Stark, (D-Calif.), 10th September, 1974; Personal Interview with Congressman Paul Sarbanes, (D-Md.), 18th September, 1974; Personal Interview with Congressman Morris Udall, (D-Ariz.), 26th September, 1974. This irritation extended to the Press. For example, The Washington Post decided in 1971 to break the so-called "Lindley Rule - Deep Background" over the India-Pakistan war. The Post stated that it felt it was being unduly "used", especially by Kissinger, as a result of this lobby agreement to be briefed by senior government officials. According to the Post, Kissinger "just loves to background: the practice gives play to his wit, feeds his abundant vanity, and in his opinion serves essential purposes of diplomacy." The Post justified its action thus: "We are now convinced that we have engaged in this deception and done this disservice to the reader long enough". John Osborne, The Third Year of the Nixon Watch, op. cit., p. 203.
- 34 Neil Sheehan, with Hedrick Smith, E.W. Kenworthy and Fox Butterfield, The Pentagon Papers (A New York Times Book, Bantam, New York, 1971).
- 35 David Wise, The Politics of Lying (Vintage Books, Random House, New York, 1973).
- 36 Final Report, Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with respect to Intelligence Activities, United States Senate, Report No. 94-755, 26th April, 1976, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976).
- 36a John W. Dean III, Letter to Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 30th June, 1972, in Senate Executive Privilege Hearings (1973), op. cit., p. 203.
- 37 There is no record of Sargent Shriver on the lists of members of the White House staff published in 1961-1969 by the United States Government Organization Manual, the Congressional Directory, or the Congressional Staff Directory.
- 38 For further information on this reorganization see for example, "Reorganization: A Super Cabinet and Super Assistants", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 13th January, 1973, pp. 36-39;

- "Behind Nixon's Reorganization", U.S. News and World Report, 1st January, 1973, pp. 21-22; "Nixon Names His Take-Over Team", U.S. News and World Report, 15th January, 1973, p. 24; H.R. Haldeman, The Ends of Power (New York Times Books, New York, 1978), pp. 167-181; and Richard P. Nathan, The Plot That Failed (John Wiley & Sons Inc., New York, 1975).
- 39 "Reorganization: A Super Cabinet and Super Assistants", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 13th January, 1973, p. 37.
- 40 John W. Dean III, Letter to Senator James O. Eastland, Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 10th April, 1972, in Senate Executive Privilege Hearings (1973), op. cit., pp. 200-201.
- 41 John W. Dean III, Letter to Dr. Jeremy J. Stone, Director, Federation of American Scientists, 20th April, 1972. Ibid., p. 200.
- 42 Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Letter to Hon. Richard M. Nixon, The President, 21st April, 1972. Ibid., p. 201.
- 43 William E. Timmons, Letter to Hon. Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 25th April, 1972. Ibid., p. 201.
- 44 John W. Dean III, Letter to Hon. Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 30th June, 1972. Ibid., pp. 202-203.
- 45 Ibid. Dean added that "the lack of adequate records on this subject prevents a more detailed discussion of the precedents."
- 46 Richard M. Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., pp. 779-786. Apropos Dean being called to testify, Nixon recalled that he had said "it was unprecedented and unthinkable that the Counsel to the President would accept a summons to appear before a congressional committee". Ibid., p. 783.
- 47 Richard M. Nixon, Statement by the President, Executive Privilege, 12th March, 1973, in Senate Executive Privilege Hearings (1973), op. cit., p. 197.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Ibid. In testimony before the House Judiciary Committee in July, 1974, Dean revealed that early drafts of Nixon's statement fell short of his inclusive claim. "The statement evolved", said Dean. "At one point, there was no reference to former members of the White House staff. Mr. Colson got word of that, got quite exercised about it, talked to me.... It was decided to expand the statement to include former White House staff." Testimony of Witnesses, Book II, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 271. Thus it would appear that Nixon's "well-established precedent" was prompted indirectly by Watergate. Charles Colson, testifying later in the month, revealed the existence of a White House memorandum which gave a parallel definition of those presidential papers of present and former staff covered by the Nixon statement. "Presidential papers are all documents produced or received by the President or any member of the White House staff in connection with his official duties". Testimony of Witnesses, Book III, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 524.

- 51 The Staff of The New York Times, The End of a Presidency (Bantam, New York, 1974), p. 175. President Nixon rejected the suggestion. "I was fully prepared to defend Dean", he later wrote, acknowledging that he might agree to a compromise arrangement whereby Dean "would respond to questions under oath in a letter." The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., pp. 780-781.
- 52 Richard M. Nixon, New Conference, 15th March, 1973, in Senate Executive Privilege Hearings (1973), op. cit., pp. 199-200.
- 53 Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Letter to Hon. Richard G. Kleindienst, Attorney General of the United States, 20th April, 1973. Ibid., pp. 204-205.
- 54 Richard G. Kleindienst, Letter to Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Chairman, Subcommittee on Separation of Powers, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 15th May, 1973. Ibid., pp. 205-218. Nixon writes on this subject in his memoirs. The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., pp. 894-898.
- 55 Raoul Berger, Executive Privilege: A Constitutional Myth, op. cit., p. 296.
- 56 Richard M. Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., p. 896.
- 57 "I personally listened to a number of them. The tapes are entirely consistent with what I know to be the truth...However, as in any verbatim recordings of informal conversations, they contain comments that persons with different perspectives and motivations would inevitably interpret in different ways." The New York Times, 24th July, 1973, p. 19.
- 58 In retrospect, Nixon seemed to be conscious of having appeared to go too far in his claim of privilege. In his memoirs he wrote that "I did not see that...invoking executive privilege to keep them from being made public appeared hardly less (an admission of guilt). In the end my refusal (to release the tapes) damaged the very principle I thought I was protecting." The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., p. 904.
- 59 United States v. Nixon et al., Slip Opinion, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 20.
- 60 Ibid., pp. 21-23.
- 61 John W. Dean III, Letter to Hon. Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Chairman, Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 30th June, 1972, in Senate Executive Privilege Hearings (1973), op. cit., p. 202.
- 62 Personal Correspondence with Congressman Tom Steed, (D-Okla.), 20th January, 1976.
- 63 Raymond Price, With Nixon (The Viking Press, New York, 1978), p. 247.
- 64 Successive presidential requests for White House staff appropriations were neither "critically questioned nor criticized". Personal Correspondence with Congressman Tom Steed, (D-Okla.), 20th January, 1976.

- 65 Berger, Executive Privilege: A Constitutional Myth, op. cit., p. 5.
- 66 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service and General Government of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Part 3: The Executive Office the President, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1972), p. 130. Congressman Pete Stark, (D-Calif.), elected in 1972, remarked to this writer that he was "aghast" at the inaccessibility of the White House staff to Congress, adding that this was a widely-shared view among freshman Democrats in 1973 and 1975. Personal Interview with Congressman Pete Stark, (D-Calif.), 10th September, 1974.
- 67 Hearings, ibid., pp. 57, 59.
- 68 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office Departments and Executive Office of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, 7th February, 1962, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1962), p. 723.
- 69 Personal Correspondence with Congressman Tom Steed, (D-Okla.), 20th January, 1976.
- 70 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service and General Government of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Part 3: Executive Office of the President, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), p. 512.
- 71 Personal Correspondence with Congressman James R. Jones, (D-Okla.), 20th January, 1978.
- 72 "This same "rule of comity" exists between the two houses of our Congress whereby one House does not question or criticize the requirements of the other House when those requirements are solely related to the responsibilities of each individual House". Personal Correspondence with Congressman Tom Steed, (D-Okla.), 20th January, 1976.
- 73 Harrison Fox and Susan Hammond, "Recent Trends in Congressional Staffing", unpublished Mss., working paper prepared for the Commission on Organization of the Senate (Washington D.C., 1976). See also: "Capitol Hill Staffs: Hidden 'Government' in Washington", U.S. News and World Report, 4th April, 1977, pp. 37-40.
- 74 Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, 2nd July, 1974, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 9.
- 75 This wording is taken from the official form for the employment of persons by the United States Senate issued by the Office of the Secretary of the U.S. Senate.
- 76 Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 93-34, 23rd May, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), pp. 5-6.
- 77 These include, for example, federal anti-bribery statutes, which first went into force in the 1860s, and the mass of regulations applicable to the civil service system.

- 78 Richard Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon (Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd., London, 1978), p. 198.
- 79 Patrick Anderson, The President's Men (Doubleday & Co. Inc., New York, 1969), pp. 118-123.
- 80 Ibid., pp. 126-127.
- 81 Ibid., pp. 127-131.
- 82 Ibid., pp. 131-132.
- 83 Ibid., pp. 191-200. The charges against Adams were brought by the Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. See also: Richard Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., pp. 193-199.
- 84 Patrick Anderson, The President's Men, op. cit., pp. 195. The same might well be said by President Carter in respect of Hamilton Jordan, his de facto Chief of Staff. At the time of writing (1980), investigations are still continuing into allegations that Jordan sniffed cocaine at a New York City Disco. This action - if true - also falls into the second category of unethical conduct.
- 85 Doris Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream (Harper & Row, New York, 1976), p. 208.
- 86 William Safire, Before The Fall (Doubleday & Co. Inc., New York, 1975), p. 636.
- 87 "1964 Presidential Nominations", Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1964 (Congressional Quarterly Inc., Washington D.C., 1965), p. 895.
- 88 David Wise, The Politics of Lying: Government Deception, Secrecy, and Power (Vintage Books, Random House, New York, 1973). See also: David Wise, The American Police State (Random House, New York, 1976); "LBJ ordered Bugging Devices Installed", and "Ex-Truman Aide Says Roosevelt Used Taps", Cincinnati Enquirer, Thursday, 19th July, 1973, p. 10; and Richard M. Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., pp. 872-873.
- 89 Sherman Adams, Firsthand Report (Hutchinson, London, 1961), p. 56.
- 90 Jeb Stuart Magruder, An American Life: One Man's Road to Watergate (Atheneum, New York, 1974), p. 317.
- 90a One middle level member of the Nixon staff who worked in the White House throughout the Nixon years told this writer that he was never issued with any guide to ethical conduct in the White House. Personal Interview with Bradley Patterson, Executive Assistant to Leonard Garment, Counsel to the President, 10th September, 1974. Another staff member, who worked on the congressional liaison team recalled that he had once been sent a memo by the Office of Counsel to the President enclosing a general code of conduct applicable to all federal employees which was about ten years out of date. Personal Interview with Richard Cook, former Deputy Assistant to the President for Congressional Relations, 24th September, 1974.

- 91 Richard M. Nixon, "Press Conference", No. 103, 24th March, 1972, in Public Papers of the Presidents: Richard M. Nixon, vol. 4, (1972), (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973).
- 92 "White House Staff Covers Broad Range of Views", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 30th May, 1969, p. 851.
- 93 Richard M. Nixon, "Remarks to Members of the Cabinet and White House Staff", Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, vol. 10. No. 32, 9th August, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974). These words were later echoed by H.R. Haldeman when he wrote that "the ultimate irony is that the Watergate break-in stands as the only major political scandal in history in which not one of those who brought it about was personally benefited by it in any way". The Ends of Power (New York Times Books, New York, 1978), pp. 318-319.
- 94 Richard M. Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-110.
- 95 John W. Dean III, Blind Ambition (Simon & Schuster, New York, 1976), p. 35.
- 96 Ibid., p. 37.
- 97 Jack Valenti, A Very Human President (W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., New York, 1975), p. 111.
- 98 Ibid., p. 178.
- 99 Joseph A. Califano, Jr., A Presidential Nation (W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., New York, 1975), p. 241.
- 100 "Carter's Guidelines: New, Stringent Rules", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 8th January, 1977, p. 53.
- 101 Ibid., p. 52.
- 102 The White House, Press Conference of Donald H. Rumsfeld Assistant to the President, 18th December, 1974 (Office of the White House Press Secretary, The White House, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 2. [The text of this Press Conference was made available to this writer by Jerry H. Jones, a member of President Ford's White House staff. Personal Correspondence with Jerry H. Jones, Staff Secretary to the President, 25th February, 1975.]
- 103 Ibid., p. 11.
- 104 Ibid., p. 23.
- 105 "Carter's Guidelines: New, Stringent Rules", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
- 106 Ibid., p. 57.
- 107 Ibid.
- 108 The White House, Standards of Conduct, an internal memorandum issued to members of President Carter's White House staff (Office of Counsel to the President, The White House, Washington D.C., 1977). (This memorandum was made available to this writer by Jody Powell, Carter's Press Secretary. Personal Correspondence with Joseph L. Powell, Press Secretary to the President, 7th July, 1977.)

- 109 The White House, Standards of Conduct, op. cit., p. 4. In respect of gifts Jimmy Carter was obliged to make certain concessions to this policy. A lot of people - between 1,000 and 1,200 a month - send presents to the President. When Carter first arrived in the White House he ordered that all gifts should be promptly returned. But this produced a "negative reaction". The trouble arose because many of the presents were harmless little knick-knacks made by hand for the President by children, handicapped people or pensioners, according to Valerio Giannini, Director of White House Operations. To receive back these offerings with a note saying in effect "thanks, but no thanks" was, Giannini said, "almost cruel". Carter's rule was changed. Instead of presents being returned the donors now receive a grateful letter thanking them and saying that their gift had been forwarded to a charity. Russell Miller and Renate Kohler (text) and John Bryson (photographs), "All The President's People", The Sunday Times Magazine, 12th February, 1978; p. 38.
- 110 "Ethics Message", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, vol. XXXV, No. 19, 7th May, 1977, pp. 865-866. According to White House Counsel Robert Lipschutz, congressional action would be necessary to establish this jurisdiction because of possible conflicts with the Privacy Act.
- 111 Personal Correspondence with Jody Powell, Press Secretary to the President, 7th July, 1977.
- 112 "Carter's Guidelines: New, Stringent Rules", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, op. cit., p. 54.
- 113 Richard Reeves, A Ford, Not a Lincoln (Hutchinson, London, 1976), p. 84.
- 114 Personal Correspondence with Jody Powell, Press Secretary to the President, 7th July, 1977.
- 115 31 U.S.C. 82(c).
- 115a Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Part 2: Executive Office of the President, 23rd April, 1975 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), p. 1763.
- 116 R. Keller, Acting Comptroller General, Improvements Needed In Accounting System Operations: The White House Office, a Report of the Comptroller General of the United States, 2nd September, 1976, (United States General Accounting Office, Washington D.C., 1976), p. 5.
- 117 Maurice Stans, President Eisenhower's Director of the Bureau of the Budget, admitted that The White House Office budget "is prepared by the White House Office itself and not by the Bureau of the Budget". Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Government Matters of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Executive Office of the President, 3rd March, 1960, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1960), p. 77.
- 118 One former White House Chief of Staff to President Johnson, James R. Jones, told this writer that "with reference to your question about responsibility for preparation of the White House budget, this duty was carried out by Mr. Bill Hopkins, a very capable public servant who served in the White House during the time period that spanned from President Harding's Administration to that of President Nixon." Personal Correspondence with Congressman James R. Jones, (D-Okla.), 31st March, 1978.

- 119 Ibid. "Such long service", wrote President Roosevelt's Press Secretary William D. Hassett in 1942, "was something of a tradition in this post. His immediate predecessors, Rudolph Forster and his assistant Maurice Latta, both spanned the period from President McKinley's Administration to President Roosevelt's third term in the 1940s." Off The Record With F.D.R. (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1958), p. 16.
- 120 Guidance for the fulfillment of the responsibilities of a Certifying Officer is provided by Title 7 of the General Accounting Office Policy and Procedures Manual for the Guidance of Federal Agencies (U.S. General Accounting Office, Washington D.C., 1976).
- 121 William Safire, Before The Fall, op. cit., p. 151.
- 122 This fact has been confirmed by those both inside and outside the White House. See for example: John W. Dean III, Blind Ambition, op. cit., pp. 29-30, 39; Jeb Magruder, An American Life, op. cit., pp. 58-61 ff; Theodore H. White, Breach of Faith, op. cit., pp. 94-96, 108-138; John Osborne, The Nixon Watch, op. cit.; John Osborne, The Second Year of the Nixon Watch, op. cit.; and see also the succeeding books in this series by John Osborne. Finally, see also the testimony of Alexander Butterfield, Deputy Assistant to the President in Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, 2nd July, 1974, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 6-122. Herbert Kalmbach, President Nixon's former personal attorney, testified at the same hearings that in respect of the improvement of presidential premises (such as San Clemente) "I got my directions from Mr. Ehrlichman and/or Mr. Haldeman.....(and regarded himself as) reporting to Mr. Haldeman throughout". Testimony of Witnesses, Book III, 17th July, 1974, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 656, 660.
- 123 H.R. Haldeman, Opening Statement before the Ervin Watergate Committee. Hearings before the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities of the United States Senate, 93rd Congress, First Session, Watergate and Related Activities, Phase I: Watergate Investigation, Book 7, 26th, 27th and 30th July, 1973, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), pp. 2868-2873. See also: H.R. Haldeman, Testimony before the Ervin Watergate Committee. Hearings, ibid., Book 8, 31st July, 1st and 2nd August, 1973, pp. 3018-3021.
- 124 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Part 3: Executive Office of the President, 11th April, 1972. (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1972), p. 59. From the testimony of Herbert W. Kalmbach before the House Judiciary Committee in July, 1974, it appears that Haldeman exercised his control through "a committee, as I understand it...set up within the White House (under Haldeman), what was loosely called an appropriations committee". Testimony of Witnesses, Book III, 17th July, 1974, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 661.
- 125 William Safire, Before The Fall, op. cit., p. 292.
- 126 R. Keller, Acting Comptroller General, Improvements Needed In Accounting System Operations: The White House Office, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

- 127 William Safire, Before The Fall, op. cit., p. 292. It would only be fair to add that Nixon's predecessors were equally capable of wasteful expenditure. For example, Lyndon Johnson had a special desire that his shower in the White House bathroom should perform exactly as that in his previous Washington home. Engineers were called in, and a new shower was custombuilt for the President; then another, and another and another and another. Johnson wasn't satisfied. A special water tank, with its own pump, was installed. Johnson still wasn't satisfied. The Chief Usher, J. Bernard West, recalled: "We kept designing, redesigning, tearing out, installing and fooling with that shower until Lyndon Johnson moved out of the White House. Despite all the talk of saving in electricity, we spent thousands and thousands of dollars, not counting the man-hours, trying to build a shower to please him. It was the strongest, most elaborate shower we'd ever had, with about six different nozzles at different heights, directing spray at every part of the body." Haynes Johnson (text) and Frank Johnston (photographs), The Working White House (A Washington Post Book, Praeger, New York, 1975), p. 45. When Nixon arrived in the White House one of his first domestic requests was that the shower be changed. "My first few attempts at using it nearly flung me out of the stall". Richard M. Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., p. 369.
- 128 This anecdote related to the removal of the private bathroom attached to Bryce Harlow's office to enable the size of Henry Kissinger's office to be increased. John W. Dean III, Blind Ambition, op. cit., p. 29.
- 129 William Safire, Before The Fall, op. cit., p. 291. After Haldeman's departure steps were at last taken to ensure better control over work undertaken on presidential property. On 22nd February, 1974, a memorandum was issued by the U.S. Secret Service Director, H.S. Knight, entitled "Procedures for the Acquisition of Space, Alterations, and Services at Locations involving Protective Operations". The full text was printed in the record, in response to assurances requested by the appropriations subcommittee that the Secret Service would be able to protect the President "without having their orders changed by anyone" (i.e. H.R. Haldeman etc.). House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 742-743.
- 130 Senator Joseph Montoya, (D-NM.), Chairman of the appropriations subcommittee charged with responsibility for the White House, had this article inserted into the record. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Part 2: Executive Office of the President, 23rd April, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), p. 1773.
- 131 Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 23rd May, 1974, on H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, 93rd Congress, Second Session, Serial No. 93-34, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 12.
- 132 Such transfers are illegal under 31 U.S.C. 628 [33 COMP. GEN. 216 (1953)]. The list of allowable exceptions is given under 50 U.S.C. 403(f).

- 133 One of the transfers concerned the reimbursement of The White House Office by the Central Intelligence Agency for printing and mailing costs of replying to those persons who wrote to the President after the invasion of Cambodia in the Spring of 1970. These payments totalled \$33,655.68 and were credited to The White House Office Salaries and Expenses Appropriation. R. Keller, Acting Comptroller General, commented that there was no authorization for "the transfer and receipt of CIA funds for funding a domestic activity unrelated to the primary mandate of foreign intelligence gathering." Improvements Needed In Accounting System Operations: The White House Office, op. cit., p. 7.
- 134 Senate Executive Privilege Hearings (1973), op. cit., p. 203.
- 135 John W. Dean III, Blind Ambition, op. cit., p. 103.
- 136 Ibid., p. 39.
- 137 Report, together with Supplemental Views, to accompany H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 93-1100, 11th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 11.
- 138 R. Keller, Improvements Needed In Accounting System Operations: The White House Office, op. cit., p. 14.
- 139 Philip W. Buchen, Counsel to the President, Letter to Hon. Elmer B. Staats, Comptroller General of the United States, 27th July, 1976. Ibid., p. 16.
- 140 This is a far cry from the days when visitors could wander virtually at will to and from the White House, as was still possible in the early years of this century. For example, President Theodore Roosevelt's daughter told this writer that her friends were free to visit her at any time, and were not made subject to any checks by any guards. She herself could come and go as she pleased without a military escort. Personal Interview with Alice Roosevelt Longworth, 24th September, 1976. Even as late as the Truman Presidency it was possible to "literally walk into the White House - no checks, guards, or having to have (made) appointments - and see whomever you wanted to". Personal Interview with William Gaussman, Analyst, State Department, 18th September, 1974. Occasionally, even in the modern security-conscious era, the system breaks down, especially in the immediate aftermath of a new Presidency. For example, early in the new Carter Presidency a visitor to the White House accidentally wandered into the President's private office completely unchallenged. Another incident was reported in February, 1978, when a freelance journalist somehow slipped the guards and bumped into a room where the President was working. "It appears he first asked directions and then, with admirable ambition, said that while he was there perhaps the President would care to spare him a few minutes?" Russell Miller and Renate Kohler (text) and John Bryson (photographs), "All The President's People", The Sunday Times Magazine, 12th February, 1978, p. 35. Security procedures for today's bona fide visitor on business involve being cleared by a computer programmed to identify undesirables after having processed the name, date of birth, and other pertinent details of the visitor. Ibid., p. 32.

- 141 John W. Dean III, Blind Ambition, op. cit., p. 28.
- 142 "1964 Presidential Nominations", Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1964 (Congressional Quarterly Inc., Washington D.C., 1965), p. 895.
- 143 Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, 2nd July, 1974, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 37-38. In a ground room of the EOB 39 clerks operate a huge mechanized filing system for the storage of all presidential papers. "All the staff working in this area have top security clearance and the alarm devices are so sensitive that a book dropped accidentally on the floor will bring guards running." Russell Miller and Renate Kohler (text) and John Bryson (photographs), "All The President's People", The Sunday Times Magazine, 12th February, 1978, p. 38.
- 144 Ibid., pp. 45-46.
- 145 Maxwell D. Taylor, Swords And Ploughshares (W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., New York, 1972), p. 198.
- 146 Personal Interview with Leonard Garment, Counsel to the President, 10th September, 1974.
- 147 Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, 2nd July, 1974, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 29.
- 148 Ibid., p. 43.
- 149 Ibid. The one single exception to this procedure was the "eyes only" red folder which contained highly classified national security information. This was given direct to Alexander Butterfield by Henry Kissinger or his deputy, thus bypassing the Staff Secretary, on its route to the President.
- 150 John W. Dean III, Blind Ambition, op. cit., p. 36.
- 151 Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, 2nd July, 1974, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 36.
- 151a House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 725.
- 151b Ibid., p. 726.
- 151c Ibid., p. 727.
- 152 Kenneth P. O'Donnell and David F. Powers, with Joe McCarthy, "Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye" (Pocket Books, New York, 1973), p. 261.
- 153 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Part 3: Executive Office of the President, 22nd April, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), p. 93.
- 154 "Delay on Top Jobs: Good or Bad?", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 5th March, 1977, p. 400. This was a separate delegation of powers from that to James B. King, Special Assistant for Appointments in the Executive Branch.

- 155 Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, 2nd July, 1974, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 28.
- 156 Ibid., p. 29.
- 157 Ibid.
- 158 "1964 Presidential Nominations", Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1964 (Congressional Quarterly Inc., Washington D.C., 1965), p. 895.
- 159 Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, 2nd July, 1974, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 29.
- 160 Ibid., p. 15.
- 161 "1964 Presidential Nominations", Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1964, op. cit., p. 895. Only one officer, the head of the Protective Research Section, was aware of Jenkins's previous arrest. But he raised no query at the issuance of a White House Pass because he "did not evaluate" the 1959 incident as "involving a serious matter". Ibid.
- 162 See for example: David Wise, The American Police State (Random House, New York, 1976), pp. 274-321; "Newspaper Says LBJ Ordered Bugging Devices Installed" and "Ex-Truman Aide Says Roosevelt Used Taps", The Cincinnati Enquirer, 19th July, 1973, p. 10.
- 163 William Sullivan, Deputy Director of the FBI wrote: "To my memory the two administrations which used the FBI most for political purposes were Mr. Roosevelt's and Mr. Johnson's. Complete and willing cooperation was given to both". Richard M. Nixon, The Memoirs of Richard Nixon, op. cit., p. 872.
- 164 Ibid., p. 389.
- 165 Partly in recognition of this fact the Carter Administration introduced a new requirement in 1977 that each prospective White House staff member sign a prepared letter to White House Counsel Robert J. Lipschutz voluntarily consenting to an FBI investigation. The President does, however, have some direct authority in security matters, exemplified in the Executive Orders issued between January 1969 and October 1975 on "security requirements for government employees". Bernard Rosen, The Merit System in the U.S. Civil Service, a monograph prepared for the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 23rd December, 1975, Committee Print No. 94-10, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), p. 41.
- 166 See Notes 01 and 01a.
- 167 Studs Terkel, "Reflections on a Course in Ethics" (Subtitled: "Jeb Stuart Magruder and a question of slippage"), Harper's Magazine, October 1973, pp. 59-72.

REFERENCES AND NOTES FOR CHAPTER VII

- 01 For example, Special Projects was subsumed within The White House Office in 1974, while the Expenses of Management Improvement fund was completely abolished in the same year. In 1977 the Domestic Council was replaced by the Domestic Policy Staff (DPS) in the Carter Administration, which also created the Office of Administration as a new entity within the EOP. The DPS also took over the functions of the newly abolished Office of Telecommunications Policy and Office of Drug Abuse Policy. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Part 3: Executive Office of the President, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), pp. 128-139.
- 02 Personal Correspondence with Congressman Tom Steed, (D-Okla.), 20th January, 1976.
- 03 Personal Interview with Aubrey Gunnels, Staff Director, Appropriations Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, U.S. House of Representatives, 10th September, 1974.
- 04 From 1939 to 1955 appropriations for The White House Office and the White House staff were included under the generic heading "Independent Offices" in the appropriation acts. From 1956 to 1962 they were included under the generic heading "General Government Matters", which was mirrored in the name of the appropriations subcommittees with jurisdiction over this area, being called the subcommittees on "General Government Matters, Department of Commerce, and Related Agencies". From 1963 to 1970 White House staff funds were to be found in the amalgamated generic heading "Treasury-Post Office Departments and Executive Office" in appropriation acts, which name was also carried by the relevant House and Senate appropriations subcommittees. Since 1971 this heading has undergone a further change to reflect the changed status of the postal services, and staff funds are included under the "Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government" heading. Since 1964, however, White House staff funds have also been incorporated within the self-contained subsidiary heading "Executive Office" in appropriation acts. Personal Interview with Tom Scott, Chief Staff Director (retired), Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, 5th September, 1974. (Scott occupied this position for twenty-five years before retirement.)
- 05 Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Government Matters, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Executive Office of the President, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1955), p. 4.
- 06 Ibid.
- 07 Ibid. He had in mind Harold Stassen's disarmament programme, the work of Nelson Rockefeller, and Dodge's foreign economic policy programme.
- 08 Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1958 (Congressional Quarterly Inc., Washington D.C., 1959), p. 340.
- 09 Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Government Matters, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Executive Office of the President, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1959), pp. 124-135.

- 10 Ibid., pp. 127-135.
- 11 Ibid., p. 125.
- 12 Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1959 (Congressional Quarterly Inc., Washington D.C., 1960), p. 338.
- 13 A related subject was raised again two decades later during the debates on authorization legislation. For example, on 13th April, 1978, Congressman Symms, (R-Idaho), introduced an amendment to deny funds for any member of the White House staff engaged in lobbying state legislatures. (This amendment was defeated on a record vote 85-320.) Debate on H.R. 11003, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Congressional Record - House, 13th April, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), pp. H2865-H2867.
- 14 Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1959, op. cit., p. 338.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 This awareness was confirmed the following year in a book by Francis Heller, The Presidency: A Modern Perspective (Random House, New York, 1960), pp. 38-39.
- 18 Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1959, op. cit., p. 339. It is tempting to ascribe this argument to the Sherman Adams affair of the previous year. Adams had resigned his position as The Assistant to the President in the wake of allegations (never proven) that he had exerted improper influence in return for personal gain from a textile tycoon named Bernard Goldfine. The affair overshadowed the latter part of 1958 and would thus have been fresh in the minds of members of Congress during debate on White House staff appropriations.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Government Matters, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Executive Office of the President, 3rd March, 1960, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1960), pp. 77-87 ff.
- 20a This congressional behaviour very much confirmed the analysis once offered by veteran Congressman Carl Vinson, (D-Ga.), of the role of Congress, which, he said "has come to be that of a sometimes querulous but essentially kindly uncle who complains while furiously puffing on his pipe but who finally, as everyone expects, gives in and hands over the allowance....and then returns to his chair for another year of somnolence...." Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Imperial Presidency (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1973), p. 207.
- 21 Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Government Matters, Department of Commerce, and Related Agencies, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Part 2: Executive Office of the President, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1961), p. 510.
- 22 Ibid., pp. 511-513.

- 23 Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Government Matters, Department of Commerce, and Related Agencies, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Executive Office of the President, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1961), p. 684.
- 24 For example, in 1961 there was a general staff salaries increase. In 1962 the Kennedy Administration requested additional funds to deal both with a marked increase in the number of gifts that the White House was then receiving, and the increased volume of mail and telephone calls. Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Government Matters, Department of Commerce, and Related Agencies, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Executive Office of the President, 7th February, 1962, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1962), p. 700.
- 25 Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, on S. 3647, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, 26th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 34.
- 26 Senator Henry M. Jackson, Chairman, Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery, of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate, Letter to Mr. McGeorge Bundy, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, in Hearings before the Subcommittee on General Government Matters, Department of Commerce, and Related Agencies, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Executive Office of the President, 7th February, 1962, op. cit., pp. 725-726. Bundy's reply was also printed in the record. Ibid., pp 726-728. See also: I.M. Destler, Presidents, Bureaucrats, and Foreign Policy (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1972, 1974), pp. 23 ff.
- 27 An examination of the hearings held in Nixon's first year in office show that they were as cursory as those held during the Johnson years. See for example: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office, and Executive Office, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Executive Office of the President, 10th June, 1969, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1969), pp. 1113-1163.
- 28 Personal Interview with Senator Birch Bayh, (D-Ind.), 16th November, 1974.
- 29 For a discussion of this area see: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Part 3: Executive Office of the President, 14th April, 1972, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1972), pp. 252-253. See also a further discussion in 1976 when the NSC Staff Secretary released a "Tabulation of Declassification Requests" to illustrate that the additional workload imposed on the NSC by the Freedom of Information Act was increasing. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Part 3: Executive Office of the President, 3rd March, 1976, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976), pp. 218-221.

The regular annual hearings in this series from 1971 onwards, held by this particular House appropriations subcommittee on all EOP (and therefore all White House staff) budgetary items, are hereinafter cited as: House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (197-). (The date given in brackets will refer to the actual year the hearings were held.)

- 30 By the summer of 1972 the Nixon White House staff featured prominently in books and articles. See for example: Rowland Evans, Jr., and Robert D. Novak, Nixon in the White House: The Frustration of Power (Vintage Books, Random House, New York, 1971, 1972). See also: "Nixon's Top Command: Expanding in Size and Power", U.S. News and World Report, 24th April, 1972, pp. 72-74. Published on the same day was a congressional report entitled A Report on the Growth of the Executive Office of the President, prepared under the direction of Congressman Morris K. Udall, (D-Ariz.), for the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee Print No. 19, 24th April, 1972, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1972).
- 31 Tom Steed, (D-Okla.), Speech in the debate on H.R. 15585, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1973, Congressional Record - House, 20th June, 1972, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1972), p. H5804.
- 32 Morris K. Udall, (D-Ariz.), Speech in the debate on H.R. 15585. Ibid., p. H5812.
- 33 Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1972 (Congressional Quarterly Inc., Washington D.C., 1973), p. 265.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Howard W. Robison, (R-NY.), Speech in the debate on H.R. 15585, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1973, Congressional Record - House, 20th June, 1972, op. cit., p. H5806.
- 36 William S. Moorhead, (D-Pa.), Speech in the debate on H.R. 15585. Ibid., pp. H5812-H5813. Moorhead's amendment would have authorized the President to name up to ten persons on his immediate staff who would not be required to testify before Congress. He intended this compromise to satisfy the needs of the Executive without shutting the door on congressional access to information.
- 37 Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1972, op. cit., p. 265.
- 38 Tom Steed, (D-Okla.), Speech in the debate on H.R. 15585, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1973, Congressional Record - House, 20th June, 1972, op. cit., p. H5804. Steed also commissioned a study from OMB on the responsibilities of the President. After a search of the United States Code he was told that the resulting document was 950 pages in length and contained 3,317 references to the Code and to relevant Public Laws. House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., p. 513. Four years later Steed was still pursuing his curiously quantitative approach to the Presidency when he asked how many Acts of Congress had been passed since the beginning of the Carter Administration which imposed additional work on the President. (The answer proved to be 633 laws.) Steed's request initiated a study "to illustrate the entire statutory scope of the Presidency". House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1979), op. cit., p. 175.
- 39 The Staff of The New York Times, eds., The Watergate Hearings: Break-in and Cover-up (Bantam Books Inc., New York, 1973). A year later in a debate on the House floor it was firmly determined that "one of these White House special project funds actually paid the air fare and salary for a man to go to Los Angeles to commit a burglary". Morris K. Udall,

(D-Ariz.), Speech in the debate on H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Congressional Record - House, 25th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. H21016.

- 40 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1973), op. cit., p. 601.
- 41 House Report No. 93-399, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), pp. 25-26.
- 42 Senate Report No. 93-378, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), p. 21.
- 43 Personal Interview with Tom Scott, Chief Staff Director (retired), Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, 5th September, 1974. Scott spent twenty-five years as Chief Staff Director. Personal Interview with Warren Kane, Staff Director, Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, 5th September, 1974. Personal Interview with Richard G. Fuller, Associate Director, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, 15th September, 1976.
- 44 At least two prominent mid-Western Democratic Senators told this writer that, by 1973, there was a subtle shift in Senate thinking to the effect that, without violating the rule of comity, it would not be a bad idea to check the use of funds that seemed prima facie to have been put to illegal use. Personal Interview with Senator Birch Bayh, (D-Ind.), 16th November, 1974. Personal Interview with Senator Thomas F. Eagleton, (D-Mo.), 17th August, 1976.
- 45 Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1973 (Congressional Quarterly Inc., Washington D.C., 1974), p. 142.
- 46 Congressional Record - Senate, 5th September, 1973, (Daily Edition), (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), p. S15944.
- 47 Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Part 2: Executive Office of the President, 15th June, 1973, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), pp. 1630-1631.
- The regular annual hearings in this series from 1971 onwards, held by this particular Senate appropriations subcommittee on all EOP (and therefore all White House staff) budgetary items, are herein after cited as: Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (197-). (The date given in brackets will refer to the actual year the hearings were held.)
- 48 Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1973, op. cit., p. 142.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Walter Mondale was shortly to write an article on the subject: "How Do We Gain Control Of The Presidency?", in Charles Roberts, ed., Has The President Too Much Power? (Harper's Magazine Press, Harper & Row, New York, 1974), pp. 52-64. The following year he was the only Senator to give testimony before the Senate committee then considering authorization legislation for the White House staff. Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, on

S. 3647, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, 26th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), pp. 27-35. In 1975 Mondale published a book in which he devoted considerable space to this subject. The Accountability of Power (David McKay Co. Inc., New York, 1975). His depth of commitment to reform was reflected in references he made to the White House staff during the presidential election campaign in 1976, which he stressed in private conversation with this writer. Personal Interview with Walter F. Mondale, Vice-Presidential Nominee of the Democratic Party, 5th October, 1976. (See also note 486, infra.)

- 51 Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1973, op. cit., p. 143.
- 52 Personal Correspondence with Congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman, (D-NY), 4th March, 1976.
- 53 Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1973, op. cit., p. 143.
- 54 Congressional Record - House, 1st August, 1973, (Daily Edition), (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), pp. H7146-H7147. To some extent this move took the House leadership by surprise. Personal Interview with John H. Martiny, Chief Counsel, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 16th September, 1976.
- 55 However, it was recognised that there was a technical lack of authorization for the President to set staff salary levels. Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1973, op. cit., pp. 140-142.
- 56 Ibid., pp. 139-140. Gross had succeeded in deleting these funds on a point of order at an earlier stage. This action was negated in conference. It was thought possible that his campaign against unnecessary expenditure (although he left untouched funds to which the Vice President was entitled in his constitutional capacity as President of the Senate) struck a chord among those whose suspicion of this fund was increased by the debacle of Spiro Agnew.
- 57 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 64-245, 312-337, 382-419, 704-759. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 1121-1133, 1876-1889, 2089-2135.
- 58 Morris K. Udall, (D-Ariz.), "The Future of the American Presidency", Congressional Record - Extensions of Remarks, 29th May, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), pp. E3344-E3347.
- 59 Report, together with Separate Views, to accompany H.R. 15544, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1975, from the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 93-1132, 20th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 19.
- 60 Ibid., p. 20.
- 61 Report, to accompany H.R. 15544, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1975, from the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Report No. 93-1028, 24th July, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 28.
- 62 Ibid., p. 57.

- 63 Conference Report, to accompany H.R. 15544, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1975, from the committee of conference, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 93-1262, 6th August, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).
- 64 Ibid., pp. 8-9. These items were the subject of Amendment Nos. 24, 25, 33, and 35.
- 65 Ibid., p. 7.
- 66 Congressman Edward J. Derwinski, (R-Ill.), in a speech on the floor of the House a year later, confirmed that this was a "pattern (which had developed)". Congressional Record - House, 9th July, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), p. H6467.
- 67 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., pp. 510-514. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., pp. 1761-1763. The Chairman of the House Subcommittee, Tom Steed, (D-Okla.), talked at great length about the need to pass authorization legislation that did not impose burdens on the Presidency nor violated the rule of comity. Ibid., pp. 511-514. The very scheduling of these hearings was tailored to suit the convenience of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service which was at that time considering H.R. 5747, an authorization bill for the White House staff. Mr. Tex Gunnels, the House Appropriations Subcommittee's Staff Director, had testified that hearings on The White House Office would be arranged at a time convenient for those congressmen and staff at work on H.R. 5747. Hearing before the Subcommittee on Manpower and Civil Service, of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 5747, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 94-13, 22nd April, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 4-5.
- 68 Report, together with Additional and Supplemental Views, to accompany H.R. 8597, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1976, from the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 94-350, 11th July, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975).
- 69 Ibid., pp. 30-31.
- 70 Congressman Harris, who had only been elected in the 1974 mid-term elections, explained to this writer that he had heard about the raising of points of order in previous years. His own personal interest in the White House staff, which he had long thought usurped the proper constitutional processes of decision-making, consequently propelled him into the forefront of congressional attempts to make the staff more accountable. Personal Interview with Congressman Herbert E. Harris II, (D-Va.), 17th September, 1976.
- 71 It was not the best method. Harris was himself immediately challenged by Chairman Steed for contravening House Rule XXI, Clause 2, (a curious reversal of role from the previous year), but was ruled out of order by the Chair. Debate on H.R. 8597, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1976, Congressional Record - House, 17th July, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), p. H6970.
- 72 Ibid., pp. H6970-H6971.

- 73 Ibid., p. H6971.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 Ibid., p. H6973.
- 77 Ibid., p. H6972.
- 78 Ibid., p. H6973. The recorded vote was 141-274, with 19 not voting.
- 79 Report, to accompany H.R. 8597, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1976, from the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Report No. 94-294, 22nd July, 1975, (Legislative Day: 21st July, 1975), (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975).
- 80 Ibid., p. 27.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 Conference Report, to accompany H.R. 8597, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1976, from the committee of conference, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 94-421, 29th July, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975).
- 83 Ibid., p. 7.
- 84 Report, together with Additional and Dissenting Views, to accompany H.R. 14261, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1977, from the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 94-1229, 8th June, 1976, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976).
- 85 Congressional Record - House, 14th June, 1976, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976), p. H5778.
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 Ibid., p. H5779.
- 88 Ibid., pp. H5778-H5779. The discerning reader of the Record can occasionally distinguish between what was actually said, as distinct from what was merely inserted, but the exact division between the two is not always exactly apparent. (See, for example, note 386, infra.)
- 89 Ibid., p. H5778.
- 90 Ibid., p. H5779.
- 91 Herbert E. Harris II, "Facing our Responsibility to put Reins on The White House", statement to the Press, 14th June, 1976, unpublished draft Mss., (Office of Congressman Herbert E. Harris II, (D-Va.), Washington D.C., 1976). This statement was made available to this writer by Glenda Surovell, Legislative Assistant to Congressman Harris.
- 92 Ibid., p. 2.

- 93 Ibid., p. 3.
- 94 Congressional Record - House, 14th June, 1976, op. cit., p. H5780.
- 95 Ibid.
- 96 Report, to accompany H.R. 14261, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1977, from the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Report No. 94-953, 16th June, 1976, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976), pp. 21-26.
- 97 Conference Report, to accompany H.R. 14261, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1977, from the committee of conference, U.S. House of Representatives Report No. 94-1299, 25th June, 1976, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976), pp. 6-7.
- 98 Public Law 94-363, 14th July, 1976, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976), pp. 4-6.
- 99 The attitude to this bill, the first such one in the Carter Administration, is apparent from the House report. Report, together with Supplemental and Additional Views, to accompany H.R. 7552, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1978, from the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 95-378, 2nd June, 1977, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1977), pp. 17-25.
- 100 "House Cuts Funds For Executive Office", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 18th June, 1977, p. 1259.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 The House did accept one deletion that had been recommended by the Senate. This denied entirely the \$1,450,000 in funds for the Council on International Economic Policy. It was made clear that subsequent restoration of these funds in a supplemental appropriation was dependent upon the plans for administrative reorganization produced by President Carter. "Executive Office Funds", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 23rd July, 1977, p. 1530.
- 103 Ibid., p. 1529.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Howard W. Robison, (R-NY.), Speech in the debate on H.R. 15585, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1973, Congressional Record - House, 20th June, 1972, op. cit., p.H5806.
- 106 Personal Interview with Senator Thomas F. Eagleton, (D-Mo.), 6th October, 1976. It is often the case that only the Senator chairing a subcommittee takes a real interest in its proceedings, especially when that subcommittee is not blessed with much intrinsic importance. Personal Interview with Warren Kane, Staff Director, Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, 5th September, 1974. Kane observed that this subcommittee ranked low in Senate esteem, and that

when it came to consider White House staff items its Senate membership was so mindful of the spirit of comity that it was usually left to the subcommittee chairman to conduct the hearings.

- 107 The Domestic Council had received its first de jure operating funds in a supplemental appropriation act in 1971. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1971), op. cit., p. 638.
- 108 John W. Dean III, Blind Ambition (Simon & Schuster, New York, 1976), p. 205. The Special Projects fund provided the President with \$1.5m p.a., and the Emergency Fund with another \$1m p.a.
- 109 The greater figure for 1972 had nothing to do with Watergate, but reflected the impact of a recently published report on the EOP by Morris Udall (released seven days previous to the Senate hearings) on 24th April, 1974. (See note 124, infra.)
- 110 Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1973), op. cit., pp. 36-39.
- 111 The Administration witness for the NSC was invariably the NSC Staff Secretary.
- 112 H.R. Haldeman, extracts from his opening statement and testimony, Hearings before the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, of the United States Senate, Watergate and Related Activities, Phase I: Watergate Investigation, Book 7, 30th July, 1973, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), pp. 2868-2873; Book 8, 31st July, 1973, op. cit., pp. 3018-3021.

These hearings are hereinafter cited: Senate Watergate Committee Hearings (1973).

- 113 OMB's responsibility for the Domestic Council extended only to providing some of its administrative back-up. In 1972 John Pinckney, OMB's Budget and Management Officer, testified that "we - OMB - do the bookkeeping and provide some administrative support to the Council so that they can make use of the cost savings of our administrative staff so that they don't have to build their own". House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., p. 124.
- 114 Personal Interview with Warren Kane, Staff Director, Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, 5th September, 1974.
- 115 For example, OMB Director Roy Ash was obliged to admit, during hearings before the Senate subcommittee in 1973, that he didn't know the answers to questions asked of him. He was forced to reply "I have no personal knowledge of that" to several questions, and could only guess as to the possible involvement of Domestic Council personnel G. Gordon Liddy and Egil Krogh, Jr., in Council activities - or Watergate. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1973), op. cit., pp. 1630-1631.
- 116 The Staff of The New York Times, eds., The Watergate Hearings: Break-in and Cover-up, op. cit., p. 8.
- 117 Personal Interview with John H. Martiny, Chief Counsel, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 16th September, 1976.
- 116a A recommendation that the Executive Director "be paid from the appropriation to the Domestic Council" and not from WHO funds went unheeded. Report of the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives Report No. 93-1132, 20th June, 1974, p. 21.

- 118 The oversight power may be said to derive from Article 1, Section 1, of the United States Constitution which vests all legislative powers in a Congress of the United States.
- 119 Raoul Berger, Executive Privilege: A Constitutional Myth (Bantam Books, New York, 1975), pp. 2-3. The roots of the oversight power can be traced back to English constitutional practice. Wilson's remarks merely echoed J.S. Mill's Essay on Representative Government in which Mill observed that "the proper office of a representative assembly is to watch and control the Government; to throw the light of publicity on its acts; to compel a full exposition and justification of all of them which any one considers questionable; to censure them if found condemnable." Ibid., p. 5. Walter Bagehot similarly regarded the "informing function" as "the second function of Parliament in point of importance...it makes us hear what otherwise we should not." Ibid.
- 120 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
- 121 Senator Henry M. Jackson, (D-Wash.), chaired the Subcommittee on National Policy Machinery of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate, which produced a series of hearings and reports from 1959 onwards. (See note 26, supra.)
- 122 Senate Watergate Committee Hearings (1973), op. cit. In 1974 the House Judiciary Committee sponsored the first impeachment hearings held in the twentieth century. Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, pursuant to H.Res. 803, A Resolution Authorizing And Directing The Committee On The Judiciary To Investigate Whether Sufficient Grounds Exist For The House Of Representatives To Exercise Its Constitutional Power To Impeach Richard M. Nixon President Of The United States Of America, 93rd Congress, Second Session, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974). Under this generic heading numerous volumes were published.
- These hearings are hereinafter cited as: House Impeachment Hearings (1974).
- 123 For a discussion of the 1974 GAO report see: House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 719-720, 735-740. For the 1976 GAO report see: R. Keller, Acting Comptroller General of the United States, Improvements Needed in Accounting System Operations: The White House Office, 2nd September, 1976, (U.S. General Accounting Office, Washington D.C., 1976).
- 124 A Report on the Growth of the Executive Office of the President, prepared under the direction of Congressman Morris K. Udall, (D-Ariz.), Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee Print No. 19, 24th April, 1972, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1972), pp. 1-39. Published on the same day was a personal statement by Udall. Letter from Congressman Morris K. Udall to Chairman Thaddeus J. Dulski regarding the Report on the Growth of the Executive Office of the President, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee Print No. 20, 24th April, 1972, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1972), pp. 1-7.
- The Report is hereinafter cited as: The Udall Report (1972).
The Letter is hereinafter cited as: The Udall Letter (1972).

- 125 The Udall Report (1972), op. cit., p. (v). In fact, John Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, proceeded to attack the Udall Report for being a "publicity exercise". Personal Interview with Congressman Morris K. Udall, (D-Ariz.), 26th September, 1974.
- 126 According to Ronald Moe, a senior analyst with the CRS, there had never previously been any extensive enquiry into the White House staff. In his opinion Udall's effort fell well short of an in-depth study. The base year - 1955 - was chosen partly for the simple reason that figures for earlier years were difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. Personal Interview with Ronald Moe, Analyst, Government and General Research Division, Congressional Research Service, 6th September, 1974.
- 127 The Udall Report (1972), op. cit., p. 1. According to Tom Steed the Nixon Administration does not deserve all the credit. In a speech on the House floor in 1975 Steed claimed that his subcommittee had insisted that the Johnson Administration make such a change, but that Johnson had left office before it could be completed. "When President Nixon came in we convinced him to go ahead and do it". Congressional Record - House, 9th July, 1975, op. cit., p. H6457.
- 128 The Udall Report (1972), op. cit., pp. 2-3.
- 129 Ibid., p. 10.
- 130 Ibid.
- 131 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
- 132 Ibid., p. 5.
- 133 Ibid., p. 4.
- 134 Ibid., p. 5.
- 135 Ibid.
- 136 Ibid.
- 137 Ibid.
- 138 Ibid., p. 6.
- 139 Ibid.
- 140 Ibid.
- 141 Ibid., p. 8.
- 142 Ibid., p. 10.
- 143 Ibid., p. 4.
- 144 Ibid.
- 145 "None of the data was entirely responsive to the requests made...and the general tenor of the responses was that the information was either unavailable or had not been collected". Ibid.
- 146 Ibid., p. 10.

- 147 Ibid., p. 11.
- 148 Ibid.
- 149 Ibid., p. 10.
- 150 In President Nixon's report to Congress on the reorganization of the Bureau of the Budget and the creation of the Domestic Council he noted that the old system resulted in "a tendency to enlarge the immediate White House staff" which he wished to stop. Ibid.
- 151 Ibid., p. 11.
- 152 Ibid.
- 153 Ibid., p. 1.
- 154 Ibid., p. (v).
- 155 The Udall Letter (1972), op. cit., p. 1.
- 156 Ibid.
- 157 Ibid., p. 2.
- 158 Ibid.
- 159 Ibid., p. 3.
- 160 Ibid.
- 161 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
- 162 Ibid., p. 6.
- 163 Congressman Morris K. Udall, (D-Ariz.), Speech in the debate on H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Congressional Record - House, 25th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. H21005.
- 164 The Udall Letter (1972), op. cit., p.7.
- 165 Ibid.
- 166 See For example: Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1971), op. cit., pp. 617-633, 643-655.
- 167 See for example: Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., pp. 650-651, 698-702.
- 168 Congressman Morris K. Udall, (D-Ariz.), Speech in the debate on H.R. 15585, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1973, Congressional Record - House, 20th June, 1972, op. cit., p. H5812. See also: Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1972, op cit., p. 265.

- 169 For example, Udall said Congress "should immediately request a list of all ungraded positions" and that this list "should include names". The request was not made and the list was not given. The weak impact that Udall's Report had in the short term can well be judged by the conduct of the Senate appropriations subcommittee hearings held a mere seven days after the Report's publication. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op. cit., pp. 698-700.
- 170 Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, 2nd July, 1974, House Impeachment Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 6-122.
- 171 Personal Interview with Congressman Morris K. Udall, (D-Ariz.), 26th September, 1974.
- 172 During the course of hearings in 1972, after Chairman Montoya, (D-NM.), had raised the possibility of the need for legislative authorization for WHO funds, the following exchange took place with Caspar Weinberger, OMB Deputy Director:

"Mr. Weinberger: That is the first time I heard of it. Mr. Pinckney (OMB Budget and Management Officer) advises me that the Constitution has been considered sufficient authorization in the past.

Senator Montoya: We can say the same thing here."

This neatly illustrates the cosy relationship of ignorance that had existed for so long between the subcommittee and successive Administrations. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1972), op.cit., p. 702.

- 173 Rules of the House of Representatives (1976 edition, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington D.C., 1976), pp. 543-545. The enforcement of this rule must ordinarily occur during consideration in the Committee of the Whole, where the Chair, on the raising of a point of order, may rule out any portion of the bill in conflict with the rule. No report of parts of the bill thus ruled out is made to the House. It is the practice, therefore, for some Member to reserve points of order when a general appropriation bill is referred to the Committee of the Whole, in order that portions in violation of the rule may be eliminated in the committee. In short, Rule XXI, Clause 2, provides that funds may only be appropriated for activities already authorized. This rule is intended to protect the status and powers of congressional authorizing committees, and was further entrenched by the Legislative Reorganization Act, 1970. However, "a Reorganization Plan submitted by the President pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 906 has the status of statutory law when it becomes effective and is sufficient authorization to support an appropriation for an office created by executive order issued pursuant to the Reorganization Plan". Ibid., p. 545.
- 174 The formula was this: the House struck out all funds for the White House staff (except the NSC staff), thus obliging the committee of conference to report "in technical disagreement" on those items. The House conferees then receded from disagreement with these items, which were then put back into the bill, thus opening the way for final passage by both houses. In order to satisfy the rules of the House, the

House leadership was then obliged to get the Committee on Rules to propose, and the House to endorse, a resolution waiving all points of order arising from a failure to comply with Rule XXI, Clause 2, before taking the appropriation bill on the House floor. Personal Interview with John H. Martiny, Chief Counsel, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 16th September, 1976.

- 175 Both Congressman Morris K. Udall, (D-Ariz.), and Senator Walter F. Mondale, (D-Minn.), were beginning to link the traditional interpretation of the rule of comity with the growth of the Imperial Presidency. See for example: Congressional Record - House, 20th June, 1972, op. cit., p. H5812; Congressional Record - Senate, 5th September, 1973, (Daily Edition), (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), p. S15944.
- 176 Personal Interview with John H. Martiny, Chief Counsel, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 16th September, 1976.
- 177 Ibid. See also: Personal Interview with Glenda Surovell, Legislative Assistant to Congressman Herbert E. Harris II, (D-Va.), 16th September, 1976.
- 178 Personal Interview with John H. Martiny, Chief Counsel, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 16th September, 1976.
- 179 H.R. 14715 was "based on a request from the House Committee on Appropriations, contained in House Report No. 93-663, accompanying the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1974, H.R. 11576, that authorizing Legislation be obtained." Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 93-34, 23rd May, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 1.
- 180 Roy L. Ash, OMB Director, Letter to Hon. Gerald R. Ford, President of the Senate, 29th April, 1974, enclosing the text of a proposed bill entitled "The White House Office Personnel Bill". Together they were subsequently inserted into the record. House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 708.
- 181 Personal Interview with John H. Martiny, Chief Counsel, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 16th September, 1976.
- 182 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., p. 709.
- 183 Ibid., p. 710.
- 184 Ibid.
- 185 Ibid., pp. 710-711.
- 186 Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 93-34, 23rd May, 1974, op. cit., p. 2.

- 187 Ibid., pp. 2-3.
- 188 Ibid.
- 189 A Letter from R.F. Keller, Acting Comptroller General, giving the results of a requested audit of White House accounts to determine the total cost of "various legal actions" (i.e. Watergate) was inserted into the record. Ibid., pp. 13-17.
- 190 One committee member referred to "the tight time table we face in processing this bill", while another reminded the Committee that "we have got to go to the floor with as many answers as we can anticipate questions". Ibid., p. 43.
- 191 Ibid., p. 8.
- 192 Ibid., p. 21.
- 193 Ibid., p. 22.
- 194 Ibid., p. 21.
- 195 Ibid., p. 23.
- 196 Ibid., p. 21.
- 197 Ibid., pp. 24-29.
- 198 Ibid., pp. 29-33.
- 199 Ibid., pp. 30-31.
- 200 Ibid., pp. 36-37.
- 201 Ibid., pp. 37-38. Congressman Derwinski, (R-Ill.), thought the bill would attract a great deal of attention on the House floor. "It will be an open invitation for legitimate demagogery on the part of too many Members. It is unfortunate that in this case the timing is coincidental to the total PR disaster that surrounds the White House these days". Ibid.
- 202 Ibid., p. 38.
- 203 Ibid., p. 29.
- 204 Ibid.
- 205 Ibid., p. 24
- 206 Ibid., p. 37.
- 207 Ibid., p. 29.
- 208 Ibid., pp. 30-31. This listing of staff, entitled "Presidential Appointments (Statutory)", ranged across five separate salary levels and numbered 100 persons, including many middle- and junior-level staff whose names had never previously been published.
- 209 Ibid., pp. 32-33.
- 210 Ibid., p. 32.

- 211 Report, together with Supplemental Views, to accompany H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 93-1100, 11th June 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974). On 6th June, 1974, the Committee had voted 14-4 in favour of reporting out the bill.
- 212 Ibid., p. 31.
- 213 Ibid., p. 2.
- 214 Ibid., p. 29.
- 215 Ibid., p. 31.
- 216 Ibid.
- 217 S. 3647 A Bill, in the Senate of the United States, introduced by Mr. Fong; read twice and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 13th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), pp. 1-6.
- 218 Ibid., p. 2.
- 219 Ibid., p. 3.
- 220 Personal Interview with Richard G. Fuller, Associate Director, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, 15th September, 1976.
- 221 The debate was scheduled to take place in the middle of consideration of the Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1975, in order to highlight its necessary passage. Congressional Record - House, 25th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), pp. H21001-H21017. The form of this debate foreshadowed that on H.R. 6706 a year later. During the 1974 debate Congressman Pickle, (D-Tex.), offered an amendment that proposed cut-backs in the White House staff allowed at various salary levels, and that the number of detailed employees never exceed ten. This attempt to 'tighten' the bill was more than matched by an amendment offered by Congressman Derwinski, (R-Ill.), as a substitute for the Pickle amendment. Derwinski's substitute was 'weak' and proposed the re-introduction of presidential discretion over middle-level staff numbers. Congressman Udall, (D-Ariz.), intervened to call for the defeat of both amendment and substitute. The Derwinski substitute was defeated on a recorded vote by 181-237 (with 16 not voting); the Pickle amendment went down to defeat by the larger margin of 77-336 (with 21 not voting). Pickle promptly introduced his second amendment, providing for a "Statement of Expenditure for Employees", which was agreed to by a voice vote. An amendment proposed by Congressman Harris, (D-Va.), that members of the White House staff serving longer than two years be appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate was defeated on a voice vote. Two amendments were then proposed by Congressman Dingell, (D-Mich.), on tightening the audit provisions of the bill. The first was agreed to by voice vote, while the second was withdrawn as unnecessary. A so-called "Grandfather Clause" was passed by 63-5 on a division. Two final amendments were then offered by Congressman Eckhardt, (D-Tex.), providing for access by the Comptroller General to certain White House accounts. Both were agreed to by voice vote. The bill was then read a third time and agreed.

- 222 H.R. 14715 An Act, in the Senate of the United States; read twice and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 26th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), p. 5.
- 223 Ibid., p. 6.
- 224 Ibid., pp. 6-7.
- 225 Ibid., pp. 7-8.
- 226 Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, on S. 3647, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, 26th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), pp. 1-35.
- 227 Ibid., p. 13.
- 228 Ibid., p. 14.
- 229 Ibid., pp. 23-26,
- 230 Ibid., p. 23.
- 231 Ibid., p. 24.
- 232 Ibid., p. 26.
- 233 Ibid., p. 25.
- 234 Ibid., p. 24.
- 235 Ibid., p. 19.
- 236 Ibid.
- 237 Ibid., p. 21.
- 238 Ibid.
- 239 Ibid., pp. 27-34.
- 240 Ibid., p. 27.
- 241 Ibid.
- 242 Ibid.
- 243 Ibid.
- 244 Ibid., p. 28.
- 245 Ibid.
- 246 Ibid.
- 247 "The Present Limits of 'Executive Privilege'", a study prepared under the guidance of the House Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee, by Samuel J. Archibald, Consultant, Government Information Policy, Government and General Research Division, and Harold C. Relyea, Analyst, American National Government and Public Administration,

Government and General Research Division, 20th March, 1973, (Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., 1973).

- 248 Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, on S. 3647, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, 26th June, 1974, op. cit., p. 29.
- 249 Ibid.
- 250 Ibid., p. 32.
- 251 Ibid., p. 33.
- 252 Ibid., p. 34. This was merely but one of several pointed exchanges between Mondale and Dole, who little more than two years later were to be opposing Vice Presidential candidates in the 1976 elections, and debating on nationwide TV.
- 253 Ibid., p. 30.
- 254 In this connexion the Act was shortly to be revised. "Hatch Act Revision", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 17th April, 1976, pp. 901-902.
- 255 Frederick C. Mosher, and others, Watergate: Implications for Responsible Government (Basic Books Inc., Harper Colophon Books, New York, 1974). This was originally a special report prepared at the request of the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities by a panel of the National Academy of Public Administration. It was to this report that Mondale was referring. Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, on S. 3647, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, 26th June, 1974, op. cit., p. 30.
- 256 Ibid.
- 257 Report, to accompany S. 3647, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Report No. 93-998, 11th July, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), pp. 1-10.
- 258 Ibid., p. 8.
- 259 Ibid., p. 3.
- 260 Ibid., pp. 9-10.
- 261 Ibid., p. 10.
- 262 Ibid., pp. 2-3.
- 263 S. 3647 A Bill, in the Senate of the United States, introduced by Mr. Fong: read twice and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service; reported by Mr. McGee, with amendments, Calendar No. 958, 11th July, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), pp. 9-10. It is ironic that by 1st July, 1978, legislation on this subject had still not been passed.

- 264 Personal Correspondence with Rod Crowlie, Staff Director, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, 26th January, 1976.
- 265 John W. Dean III, Blind Ambition, op. cit., pp. 33-35. Dean provides convincing evidence to explain why Senator Lowell P. Weicker, (R-Conn.), should have been so attached to his non-germane amendment. Dean records that during the Ervin Committee's Watergate hearings in the summer of 1973 Weicker "appeared to be particularly incensed about the Administration's political abuse of government agencies like...the IRS". Dean says this stemmed from a private encounter that he had had with Weicker some weeks before in which Dean explained there had been "a White House strategy to 'neutralize' him" by claiming that Weicker had received under-the-counter political campaign funds in 1970. Dean says that Weicker took strong exception to this knowledge. It seems clear that this episode fuelled Weicker's sponsorship of, and his tenacious attachment to, his non-germane amendment. Ibid., pp. 315-316. (See also note 281, infra.)
- 266 The resultant Senate version of the bill was therefore S. 3647 as it had been reported out of committee on 11th July, 1974.
- 267 Conference Report, to accompany H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, from the committee of conference, United States Senate, Report No. 93-1066, 2nd August, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), pp. 1-12.
- 268 Ibid., p. 11.
- 269 Personal Correspondence with Rod Crowlie, Staff Director, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, 26th January, 1976.
- 270 Conference Report, to accompany H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, from the committee of conference, United States Senate, Report No. 93-1066, 2nd August, 1974, op. cit., p. 11.
- 271 Ibid., pp. 1-2.
- 272 Ibid.
- 273 Ibid., p. 2.
- 274 Ibid., p. 9.
- 275 Ibid., p. 10.
- 276 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
- 277 Conference Report, to accompany H.R. 15544, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1975, from the committee of conference, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 93-1262, 6th August, 1974, op. cit., pp. 1-15. In this report the conferees specifically urged passage of authorization legislation. Ibid., p. 7.
- 278 "Report on Legislative and Review Activities", Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, 93rd Congress, First and Second Sessions, Report No. 94-52, 21st March, 1975, (Legislative Day: 12th March, 1975), (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 21-22.

- 279 Personal Interview with Senator Thomas F. Eagleton, (D-Mo.), 17th August, 1976.
- 280 Such a report must by law (pursuant to the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, 2 U.S.C. 190(d), as amended by Public Laws 91-510 and 92-136) be submitted to the Senate not later than 31st March in each odd-numbered year.
- 281 "Report on Legislative and Review Activities", Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, Report No. 94-52, 21st March, 1975, (Legislative Day: 12th March, 1975), op. cit., p. 41. A more proper attempt to press this IRS amendment was made the following year in the House by Congressman Vanik, (D-Ohio). This attempt also failed. Debate, on H.R. 8597, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1976, Congressional Record - House, 17th July, 1975, op. cit., pp. H6966-H6970.
- 282 President Gerald R. Ford, Letter to Mr. Speaker (and Mr. President), transmitting draft legislation to provide authority for the White House staff, 26th March, 1975, (The White House, Washington D.C., 1975). This was subsequently printed in the record. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., pp. 1429-1433.
- 283 Ibid., p. 1429.
- 284 Ibid., p. 1430.
- 285 Ibid.
- 286 Ibid.
- 287 Ibid., p. 1432.
- 288 Ibid.
- 289 H.R. 5747 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, introduced by Mr. Henderson (for himself, Mr. Derwinski, Mr. Steed, and Mr. Miller of Ohio); referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 8th April, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975).
- 290 H.R. 5747 (together with all other authorization bills in the years 1974-1978) involved certain provisions that, strictly speaking, fell outside the jurisdiction of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, to which all such bills were referred. To this extent, therefore, H.R. 5747's subject matter overlapped with the jurisdiction of the Government Operations Committee, whose Chairman Jack Brooks, (D-Tex.), was invited to furnish comments at a later stage. (See note 347 infra.)
- 291 Hearing before the Subcommittee on Manpower and Civil Service, of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 5747, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 94-13, 22nd April, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 1-30.
- 292 Ibid., p.(II). This represented an interesting change from the previous year, when this legislation had from the start been considered only by the full Committee. In 1975 the subject thus aroused less immediate and widespread interest than it had at the height of Watergate in 1974.

- 293 Ibid., p. 3.
- 294 Ibid., p. 4.
- 295 Ibid., p. 5. The Senate appropriations hearings on White House staff items were deliberately scheduled as late as possible in anticipation of hearings on H.R. 5747. In the event, appropriations hearings were held on The White House Office the very next day, on 23rd April, 1975. (See: Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., pp. 1761-1781.)
- 296 Ibid., pp. 8, 10. This was not surprising, for Staff Secretary Jones was a member of the White House staff with operational experience, while Lynn was only aware of the broader outlines of the subject.
- 297 Ibid., p. 7.
- 298 Congressman Stephen Solarz, (D-NY.), candidly admitted that "I'm relatively new to this game" and modestly excused the naivete of questions that in actual fact were pertinent to a degree. Ibid., p. 8.
- 299 Ibid., pp. 7-13.
- 300 Ibid., p. 12.
- 301 Ibid., p. 17.
- 302 This confirms the similarity in this respect between a modern President and a medieval Prince. Both could use the leverage of pay and conditions - and favour - to manipulate their counsellors. President Johnson, for example, was a noted exponent of the kind of behaviour to his staff that closely paralleled medieval notions of grace and favour. See for example: Doris Kearns, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream (Harper & Row, New York, 1976), pp. 238-242, 323-324; and Walter Ullmann, Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages (Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1961), pp. 120-121.
- 303 Hearing before the Subcommittee on Manpower and Civil Service, of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 5747, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 94-13, 22nd April, 1975, op. cit., p. 18.
- 304 H.R. 6706 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, introduced by Mr. Henderson (for himself, Mr. Derwinski, Mr. Steed, Mr. Miller of Ohio, Mr. Jenrette, Jr., Mr. Solarz, Mr. Hanley, and Mr. Taylor of Missouri); referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 6th May, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 1-12.
- 305 Ibid., p. 3.
- 306 United States Budget FY 1977 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976), Appendix, p. 815.
- 307 H.R. 6707 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, 6th May, 1975, op. cit., p. 3.
- 308 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
- 309 Ibid., p. 7.

- 310 Ibid., p. 8.
- 311 Ibid., pp. 8-9.
- 312 Ibid., p. 10.
- 313 This was discussed earlier. Hearing before the Subcommittee on Manpower and Civil Service, of the Committee on Post Office, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 5747, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 94-13, 22nd April, 1975, op. cit., p. 13. It had also come up the previous year in House hearings. House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1974), op. cit., pp. 720-721.
- 314 H.R. 6706 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, 6th May, 1975, op. cit., pp. 4-6.
- 315 House Legislative Calendar, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 16th July, 1976, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976), p. 78.
- 316 Personal Interview with Glenda Surovell, Legislative Assistant to Congressman Herbert E. Harris II, (D-Va.), 16th September, 1976. Glenda Surovell provided for this writer documentary evidence of the close collaboration among members of the "constitutional group", in the form of memoranda, draft statements, and private briefings which circulated between them.
- 317 Amendments to H.R. 6706 Offered by Mr. Udall, unpublished Mss., 15th May, 1975, (Office of Morris K. Udall, (D. Ariz.), Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 1-6. Amendments to H.R. 6706 Offered by Mr. Harris, unpublished Mss., 15th May, 1975, (Office of Herbert E. Harris II, (D-Va.), Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 1-4. Amendments to H.R. 6706 Offered by Mrs. Schroeder, unpublished Mss., 15th May, 1975, (Office of Patricia Schroeder, (D-Colo.), Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 1-3. These amendments were tabled separately and have been gathered into these three groups by the present writer and numbered accordingly.
- These three groups of amendments are hereinafter cited: Udall Amendments to H.R. 6706, Harris Amendments to H.R. 6706, and Schroeder Amendments to H.R. 6706 respectively.
- 318 "Members to Alert, Seek Assistance From", unpublished memorandum, May, 1975, (Office of Congressman Herbert E. Harris II, Washington D.C., 1975).
- 319 Udall Amendments to H.R. 6706, op. cit.
- 320 Harris Amendments to H.R. 6706, op. cit.
- 321 Schroeder Amendments to H.R. 6706, op. cit.
- 322 Udall Amendments to H.R. 6706, op. cit., pp. 1-2.
- 323 H.R. 6706 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, 6th May, 1975, op. cit., p. 3.
- 324 Udall Amendments to H.R. 6706, op. cit., p. 4.
- 325 Ibid., pp. 5-6.

- 326 Ibid., p. 5.
- 327 Harris Amendments to H.R. 6706, op. cit., pp. 1-4.
- 328 H.R. 6706 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, 6th May, 1975, op. cit., pp. 8-9.
- 329 Ibid., p. 4.
- 330 Schroeder Amendments to H.R. 6706, op. cit., p. 3.
- 331 Personal Interview with John H. Martiny, Chief Counsel, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 16th September, 1976.
- 332 "Action By The Full Committee May 15, 1975", Press release issued by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, giving details of amendments agreed to and rejected at its mark-up session, 16th May, 1975, (House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Washington D.C., 1975).
- 333 Ibid.
- 334 Ibid.
- 335 Ibid.
- 336 Ibid.
- 337 Report, together with Dissenting Views, to accompany H.R. 6706, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 94-232, 20th May, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), p. 2.
- 338 Ibid., pp. 1-26.
- 339 Personal Interview with John H. Martiny, Chief Counsel, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 26th September, 1976.
- 340 Report, together with Dissenting Views, to accompany H.R. 6706, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 94-232, 20th May, 1975, op. cit., pp. 23-26.
- 341 Ibid., p. 23. "What has changed in the past year", they stated, "to require such large increases in top level positions at the White House". They thus tried to separate the issues at stake from the personalities of the President in office.
- 342 Ibid.
- 343 Ibid., p. 24.
- 344 Ibid.
- 345 "Dissenting Views of Congressman Herbert E. Harris II on H.R. 6706", unpublished Mss., 20th May, 1975, (Office of Congressman Herbert E. Harris II, (D-Va.), Washington D.C., 1975), p. 2.

- 346 House Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings (1975), op. cit., p. 511.
- 347 Jack Brooks emphasized that his comments were personal ones and did not represent the views of his committee. It was clear, however, that Brooks supported the legislation. Report, together with Dissenting Views, to accompany H.R. 6706, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 94-232, 20th May, 1975, op. cit., pp. 15-16.
- 348 House Legislative Calendar, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 16th July, 1976, op. cit., p. 78.
- 349 Ibid.
- 350 Senate Legislative Calendar, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 23rd July, 1976, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976), pp. 104-105.
- 351 Congressional Record - House, 8th July, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), pp. H6416-H6417.
- 352 Report, together with Supplemental Views, to accompany H.R. 14715, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Report No. 93-1100, 11th June, 1974, op. cit., pp. 22-25.
- 353 Congressional Record - House, 1st August, 1973, (Daily Edition), (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973), pp. H7146-H7147.
- 354 Mary Ann Khalatbari and Robert B. Mauney, "The Powerful and Anonymous White House", unedited Mss., unpublished, 1975. This article subsequently formed the basis of an article in The Washington Monthly where the author given was the pseudonym "Ben Roberts". (See Chapter II, note 227.) Ben Roberts, "Tying The Imperial Purse Strings", The Washington Monthly, September, 1975, pp. 27-30.
- 355 Personal Interview with Glenda Surovell, Legislative Assistant to Congressman Herbert E. Harris II, (D-Va.), 16th September, 1976.
- 356 Memorandum, from Congresswoman Schroeder, (D-Colo.), to Congressman Udall, (D-Ariz.), White House Authorization Bill, 9th July, 1975, (Office of Congresswoman Schroeder, (D-Colo.), Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 1-3.
- 357 Morris K. Udall, Patricia Schroeder, Herbert E. Harris II, Letter to Colleagues, 7th July, 1975, (Office of Congressman Udall, (D-Ariz.), Washington D.C., 1975).
- 358 Ibid.
- 359 Ibid.
- 360 Ibid.
- 361 James R. Jones, Letter to Colleagues, 9th July, 1975, (Office of Congressman Jones, (D-Okla.), Washington D.C., 1975).

- 362 Ibid. This self-description was perhaps slightly misleading insofar as it gave any impression of being truly on a par with H.R. Haldeman's position in the Nixon Administration. However, Jones was for a time (in 1968) as much a Chief of Staff for President Johnson as anyone was. "My office was charged with the responsibility of coordinating all (White House staff) functions". Personal Correspondence with Congressman James R. Jones, (D-Okla.), 31st March, 1978. Vice President Humphrey confirmed that Jones took over scheduling and appointments from Marvin Watson in LBJ's last months. Hubert H. Humphrey, The Education of a Public Man (Doubleday & Co. Inc., Garden City, New York, 1976), p. 365.
- 363 The growth in personal and professional congressional staff in the fifteen years since 1960 was truly considerable. See for example: Harrison Fox and Susan Hammond, "Recent Trends in Congressional Staffing", working paper prepared for the Commission on Organization of the Senate, (Washington D.C., 1976).
- 364 James R. Jones, Letter to Colleagues, 9th July, 1975, op. cit.
- 365 This interview was referred to in the debate on H.R. 6706. Congressional Record - House, 9th July, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), p. H6453.
- 366 Memorandum, from Glenda Surovell to Herbert E. Harris II, Response To Jimmy Jones, 9th July, 1975, (Office of Congressman Herbert E. Harris II, (D-Va.), Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 1-2.
- 367 James R. Jones, Letter to Colleagues, 9th July, 1975, op. cit. His figures were based, he said during the debate on H.R. 6706, on the period 1970-1975 where he claimed "an actual total decline in the White House staff of about 10 percent". Congressional Record - House, 9th July, 1975, op. cit., p. H6467.
- 368 Memorandum, from Glenda Surovell to Herbert E. Harris II, Response To Jimmy Jones, 9th July, 1975, op. cit., p. 2. It would only be fair to note that Surovell's rebuttal of Jones's figures was itself subject to inaccuracies, although these latter tended to underestimate the real size of the White House staff.
- 369 Ibid. Surovell wrote of the "obligation for the White House authorization bill".
- 370 "Summary of Udall, Schroeder, Harris Amendments to H.R. 6706", statement on the White House Authorization Bill, 9th July, 1975, (Office of Congressman Herbert E. Harris II, (D-Va.), Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 1-3.
- 371 Ibid., p. 3.
- 372 The House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill then debated. Debate on H.R. 6706, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Congressional Record - House, 9th July, 1975, op. cit., pp. H6451-H6472.
- 373 Ibid., p. H6451.
- 374 Ibid., p. H6452.

- 375 Ibid.
- 376 Ibid.
- 377 Ibid.
- 378 Ibid., p. H6453.
- 379 Ibid., p. H6452.
- 380 Ibid., p. H6453.
- 381 Ibid.
- 382 Ibid., p. H6454.
- 383 Ibid.
- 384 Ibid., pp. H6453-H6454.
- 385 Ibid., p. H6455.
- 386 Herbert E. Harris II, "The Challenge Before Congress: To Reform or Condone a Burgeoning Bureaucracy at the White House", statement prepared for insertion into the record during the debate on H.R. 6706, 9th July, 1975, (Office of Congressman Herbert E. Harris II, (D-Va.), Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 1-7. (Harris did not have time to read the entire text of this statement into the record, as he was recognised only for 5 minutes on the House floor. But his statement was printed in its entirety. Congressional Record - House, 9th July, 1975, op. cit., pp. H6455-H6456.)
- 387 Ibid., p. 2.
- 388 Ibid., p. 3.
- 389 Ibid., p. 7.
- 390 Congressional Record - House, 9th July, 1975, op. cit., pp. H6456-H6457.
- 391 Ibid., p. H6457.
- 392 Ibid., p. H6456.
- 393 Ibid., p. H6458.
- 394 Ibid., p. H6457.
- 395 Ibid.
- 396 Ibid., p. H6458.
- 397 Personal Correspondence with Congressman James R. Jones, (D-Okla.), 20th January, 1978.
- 398 Ibid.
- 399 Congressional Record - House, 9th July, 1975, op. cit., p. H6459.
- 400 Ibid., p. H6460.

- 401 Ibid., p. H6461.
- 402 Ibid.
- 403 Ibid., p. H6462.
- 404 Ibid.
- 405 Ibid.
- 406 Ibid.
- 407 Ibid., pp. H6462-H6463.
- 408 Ibid., p. H6463.
- 409 Ibid.
- 410 Ibid., p. H6464.
- 411 Ibid.
- 412 Ibid., p. H6465.
- 413 Ibid.
- 414 Memorandum, from Congresswoman Schroeder, (D-Colo.), to Congressman Udall, (D-Ariz.), White House Authorization Bill, 9th July, 1975, op. cit., pp. 1-3. Schroeder predicted that there would be twelve amendments, and two possible amendments, but in the event she overestimated the numbers of those that would be called.
- 415 Congressional Record - House, 9th July, 1975, op. cit., p. H6467.
- 416 Ibid.
- 417 Ibid., p. H6468.
- 418 Ibid. This Solarz amendment merely sought to add to the Jones substitute the safeguards that were already in the bill as reported out of committee. It is tempting to interpret Jones's ready acceptance of it as a tactical move on his part to make his substitute more acceptable. Jones could easily have incorporated it earlier when he first tabled his substitute, but appearing flexible on what anyway was not, in Jones's view, an essential part of the bill was the more tactically adroit course to take.
- 419 Memorandum, from Congresswoman Schroeder, (D-Colo.), to Congressman Udall, (D-Ariz.), White House Authorization Bill, 9th July, 1975, op. cit., p. 1. They anticipated that Pickle would introduce an amendment to limit the number of temporary consultants and experts. But in the event he merely sought to impose safeguards on their use.
- 420 Congressional Record - House, 9th July, 1975, op. cit., pp. H6468-H6469.
- 421 Ibid., p. H6469.
- 422 Ibid., p. H6471.

- 423 Ibid.
- 424 Ibid., p. H6472. On a division Harkin's amendment was defeated by 49-148.
- 425 H.R. 6706 An Act, in the Senate of the United States; read twice and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service 10th July, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 1-15. H.R. 6706 had passed its third reading in the House by a voice vote.
- 426 S. 1697 A Bill, in the Senate of the United States, introduced by Mr. Fong; read twice and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 8th May, 1975, (Legislative Day: 21st April, 1975), (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 1-6.
- 427 For example, Senator Eagleton told this writer that there were other priorities besides pushing for a bill that the White House itself was not pressing to have passed. Personal Interview with Senator Thomas F. Eagleton, (D-Mo.), 6th October, 1976.
- 428 Personal Interview with Richard G. Fuller, Associate Director, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, 15th September, 1976.
- 429 This subject was covered in the article "If Congress Had To Live By Its Own Laws", U.S. News and World Report, 10th April, 1978, pp. 42-43.*
- 430 Personal Correspondence with Rod Crowlie, Staff Director, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, 26th January, 1976.
- 431 This was confirmed in private conversation. Personal Interview with Senator Thomas F. Eagleton, (D-Mo.), 6th October, 1976.
- 432 Personal Interview with Richard G. Fuller, Associate Director, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, 15th September, 1976. A corollary factor should not be overlooked. The Ford Administration had already made clear its dislike of H.R. 6706 as passed by the House. The Administration, too, was waiting to see whether Ford would be re-elected. More particularly, those middle-level bureaucratic officials at OMB and the White House correctly surmised that further delay in passing this legislation at least had the merit of placing more and more distance between H.R. 6706's final version and the bill which had passed in 1974 at the height of the Watergate drama. With the passage of more time the chances increased that this final version would be 'weaker' and impose less restrictions on the White House staff. This was indeed what happened.
- 433 Morris K. Udall, Herbert E. Harris, Patricia Schroeder, Letter to Mr. Robert L. Bartley, Editorial Page Editor, The Wall Street Journal, 25th July, 1975, (Office of Congressman Morris K. Udall, (D-Ariz.), Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 1-2.
- 434 Ibid., p. 1.
- 435 Ibid., p. 2.

* See also: Note 501.

- 436 Personal Interview with John H. Martiny, Chief Counsel, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 16th September, 1976.
- 437 Personal Interview with Richard G. Fuller, Associate Director, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, 15th September, 1976.
- 438 In conversation with this writer, Richard Fuller professed to being perplexed as to whom exactly ordered these reports from CBO, OMB, and CSC. At that time he certainly expected no action whatsoever to be taken on the bill. Ibid. Nevertheless, these formal requests were listed in the Senate Legislative Calendar, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 23rd June, 1976, op. cit., p. 105.
- 439 Alice M. Rivlin, Director, Congressional Budget Office, Letter (incorporating a CBO Cost Estimate for H.R. 6706) to Hon. Gale McGee, Chairman, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, 25th June, 1976, (Congressional Budget Office, Washington D.C., 1976). This cost estimate (which itself was dated 24th June, 1976) was prepared pursuant to Section 403 of the Congressional Budget Act, 1974.
- 440 James M. Frey, Assistant Director for Legislative Reference, OMB, Letter to Hon. Gale W. McGee, Chairman, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, 30th July, 1976, (Office of Management and Budget, Washington D.C., 1976), pp. 1-2.
- 441 Ibid., p. 1.
- 442 Ibid., pp. 1-2.
- 443 "Executive Office Funds", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 23rd July, 1977, p. 1529.
- 444 Personal Interview with John H. Martiny, Chief Counsel, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, 16th September, 1976.
- 445 Herbert E. Harris II, Letter to President Jimmy Carter (for the attention of Frank Moore, Assistant to the President), 5th April, 1977, (Office of Congressman Herbert E. Harris II, (D-Va.), Washington D.C., 1977), pp. 1-2.
- 446 Ibid., p. 1.
- 447 Ibid., p. 2.
- 448 "Returning Government to the Cabinet and to the People", statement of Congressman Herbert E. Harris II, 19th April, 1977, (Office of Congressman Herbert E. Harris II, (D-Va.), Washington D.C., 1977), pp. 1-3.
- 449 Ibid., p. 1.
- 450 Ibid., p. 2.
- 451 Ibid., p. 3.

- 452 The existence of this deadline had figured in Harris's thinking in the previous Congress. Personal Interview with Congressman Herbert E. Harris II, (D-Va.), 17th September, 1976.
- 453 H.R. 6326 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, introduced by Mr. Harris (for himself, Mr. Udall, and Mrs. Schroeder); referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 19th April, 1977, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1977), pp. 1-11.
- 454 Ibid., p. 10. It should be noted that the Carter Administration had already made known its general intention to reorganize the EOP. In this context the abolition of the Domestic Council was therefore not, of itself, an extreme proposal.
- 455 Ibid., p. 5.
- 456 Ibid., p. 7.
- 457 Ibid., p. 2.
- 458 Ibid., pp. 2, 3, 5, 7.
- 459 Ibid., p. 2.
- 460 Ibid., p. 3.
- 461 "White House Green", Newsweek, 23rd May, 1977, pp. 35-36.
- 462 Hearing before the Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization, of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 6326, a bill to provide authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 95-10, 26th April, 1977, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1977), pp. 1-37.
- 463 Personal Correspondence with Glenda Surovell, Legislative Assistant to Congressman Herbert E. Harris II, (D-Va.), 8th July, 1977.
- 464 "Executive Office Funds", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 23rd July, 1977, p. 1529. Missing this deadline entailed certain consequences. The subcommittee did mark up and report H.R. 6326 to the full Post Office and Civil Service Committee after the hearing held on 26th April, 1977. However, the full committee did not have a quorum to report it out before the 16th May budget act deadline. Under the terms of that act the issue required de novo review. A further hearing before the subcommittee was therefore held on 30th September, 1977. Subcommittee Chairwoman Schroeder indicated that one reason for its being convened was because the "numerous" previous meetings with the White House to discuss the legislation had proved "of little benefit to the subcommittee". Hearings before the Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization, of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 6326 and H.R. 10657, bills providing authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 95-52, 30th September, 1977, and 7th February, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), p. 1.
- 465 "Executive Office Funds", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 23rd July, 1977, p. 1529.
- 466 Ibid.

- 467 Ibid.
- 468 H.R. 10657 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, introduced by Mr. Harris (for himself, Mr. Udall, and Mrs. Schroeder); referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 31st January, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), pp. 1-16.
- 469 Personal Correspondence with Valerio L. Giannini, Director of White House Operations, 6th March, 1978.
- 470 H.R. 10657 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, 31st January, 1978, op. cit., p. 11.
- 471 H.R. 6326 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, 19th April, 1977, op. cit., p. 5.
- 472 Ibid., p. 6.
- 473 H.R. 10657 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, 31st January, 1978, op. cit., p. 12.
- 474 H.R. 6326 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, 19th April, 1977, op. cit., p. 7.
- 475 Ibid., p. 2.
- 476 H.R. 10657 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, 31st January, 1978, op. cit., p. 3.
- 477 This referred to the provision of consultants, the procurement of goods and services, travel expenses, and Unanticipated Needs. H.R. 6326 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, 19th April, 1977, op. cit., pp. 2-7.
- 478 Ibid., p. 2.
- 479 H.R. 10657 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, 31st January, 1978, op. cit., p. 2.
- 480 H.R. 6326 A Bill, in the House of Representatives, 19th April, 1977, op. cit., p. 9.
- 481 Personal Interview with Senator Robert Taft, Jr., (R-Ohio), 18th September, 1974. Personal Interview with Senator Birch Bayh, (D-Ind.), 16th November, 1974. Personal Interview with Senator Thomas F. Eagleton, (D-Mo.), 17th August, 1976. Personal Interview with Senator Walter F. Mondale, (D-Minn.), 5th October, 1976. Certain other members of Congress voiced the view that responsible oversight was needed. Personal Interview with Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, (D-Minn.), 30th September, 1976. Personal Interview with Congressman Paul Sarbanes, (D-Md.), 18th September, 1974.
- 482 Personal Correspondence with Congressman Tom Steed, (D-Okla.), 20th January, 1976.

- 483 Personal Interview with Warren Kane, Staff Director, Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, 5th September, 1974.
- 484 Personal Interview with Senator Robert Taft, Jr., (R-Ohio), 18th September, 1974.
- 485 Personal Interview with Congressman Morris K. Udall, (D-Ariz.), 26th September, 1974.
- 486 Personal Interview with Senator Walter F. Mondale, (D-Minn.), 5th October, 1976. According to Mr. F.T. Davis, Jr., General Counsel to the President's Reorganization Project, in testimony before the House Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization on H.R. 6326, President Carter "asked that the Vice President become personally involved in this important question". However, Senate confirmation of White House staff did not feature in the legislation as finally passed into law. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization, of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 6326 and H.R. 10657, bills to provide authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 95-52, 30th September, 1977, and 7th February, 1978, op. cit., p. 2.
- 487 H.R. 11003 A Bill, to clarify the authority for employment of personnel in the White House Office, U.S. House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Second Session, 20th February, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), pp. 11-12.
- 488 Debate on H.R. 11003, Congressional Record - House, 13th April, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), pp. H2861-H2864. These amendments were introduced by Benjamin A. Gilman, (R-NY.), and Jake Pickle, (D-Texas), and were accepted by voice votes. Both amendments were unwelcomed by the Carter Administration. Both were an indication of the residual feeling in the House that flexibility had its limits. Perhaps too it was in part the result of the Carter White House's overconfidence in having requested that H.R. 11003 be placed on the suspension calendar, apparently certain that the bill would sail through both houses. Under this procedure normal rules are waived: there can only be 40 minutes of debate; no amendments can be added; and there has to be an up-or-down vote requiring a two-thirds majority for passage. This request succeeded only in raising enough suspicions among House members that something was being slipped by on the quiet as to deny H.R. 11003 the suspension of the rules on 4th April, 1978. By 207-188 it fell 57 votes short of the necessary two-thirds vote. It reached the House floor nine days later under normal rules.
- 489 Hearing before the Subcommittee on Civil Service and General Services, of the Committee on Governmental Affairs, United States Senate, on H.R. 11003, 2nd May, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), pp. 12-44.
- 490 Ibid., pp. 40-41.
- 491 Ibid., p. 41.

- 492 Report to accompany H.R. 11003, from the Committee on Governmental Affairs, U.S. Senate, Report No. 95-868, 15th May (Legislative Day 24th April), 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), p. 22. Moreover the numbers of staff need only be reported to three broad 'bands': those paid at salaries in the Executive Level grades of Level V and above; those in the GS grades above GS-16; and those below GS-16. This looseness in reporting requirements was only partly offset by the further requirement that aggregate figures had to be provided for each major office: The White House Office, the Domestic Policy Staff, and the Office of Administration, among others.
- 493 Debate on H.R. 11003, Congressional Record - Senate, 13th-14th July, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), pp. S10806-S10808. Roth voiced the opinion that "congressional acquiescence is a problem today. It is imperative that we fully exercise our responsibility to examine the President's requests for staff increases." Ibid., p. S10806. Roth also cited in supported of his sunset amendment the former Senator (then Vice President) Mondale's words in 1974 when Mondale argued for a sunset provision on the grounds that "it is essential that any future President, of whatever political party, be required to come to the Congress and grant us our proper role in determining the size and shape of the White House staff". Ibid., p. S10807.
- 494 It was defeated by 171-232, and was also sponsored by congressman Gilman. "House Votes to 'Legalize' White House Staff", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 15th April, 1978, p. 870.
- 494a Debate on Conference Report, to accompany H.R. 11003, Congressional Record - House, 14th October, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), p. H13430. This opinion was offered by congressman Derwinski, (R-Ill.), who was a veteran of previous debates on authorization legislation.
- 495 Conference Report to accompany H.R. 11003, from the Committee of Conference, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 95-1639, 28th September, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978). The Report explained that the House conferees recognized their strict reporting requirements were "contrary to Government-wide rules, developed to conform with both the Freedom of Information Act and the Privacy Act". Ibid., p. 3. It also stated that the Carter Administration had assured that specific detailed information "will.. (as in the past)..be provided to the Congress upon request." Ibid. The Report was careful to point out that the conferees' position with respect to general 'sunset' legislation remained unaffected by their decision in this instance to drop it. It was argued that "a distinction should be made between general 'sunset' provisions which require reauthorization of programs, and the 'sunset' provision in this amendment which would require reenactment of budget authority for the President to hire staff". Ibid., p. 4.

The Conference Committee was merely the final stage in a long process of behind-the-scenes maneuvering. Charles H. Knull, staff counsel for the House Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization (and who reputedly was H.R. 11003's principal

author), acknowledged that there was "quite a bit of horsetrading" in negotiations over the legislation with "a tradeoff for a higher authorization of staff in exchange for some limitations and oversight provisions". (Quotation printed in Dom Bonafede's article, "The 'Lean' White House Has A Fat Staff Authorization In The Works", National Journal, 1st April, 1978.) But in the event the limitations were watered down and the 'bargain' went solidly in favour of the White House.

- 496 Debate on H.R. 11003, Congressional Record - Senate, op. cit., pp. S10804-S10808. Roth claimed that it was "shocking to me that some Members of the House who were vocal opponents of the more modest previous proposals have chosen to co-sponsor this extravagant bill". Ibid., p. S10806. He had inserted into the Record the strongly expressed views of Udall and Schroeder, at the time that H.R. 6706 was being considered in 1974, when they said it failed to limit "the ominous proliferation of power in the White House" and put the Congress on record as "implicitly approving" this form of government. Ibid., p. S10807. Although Roth had a good point one is tempted to ask whether his own attitude would have changed had authorization legislation for President Reagan's White House staff come before the Republican-controlled Senate in 1981.
- 497 Ibid., p. S10808. Senator Sasser, (D-Tenn.), floor leader of the bill in the Senate, claimed that under the provisions of Carter's Reorganization Plan No. 1 (1977) the White House staff had been reduced from 485 to 351 positions which was "down substantially from what it has been for the past few years." This was steadfastly maintained against Republican criticism to the contrary. In short, that was their story and they were sticking to it. But Dole cited in his favour articles that had recently appeared in the Press by Dom Bonafede of the National Journal and William Safire of the New York Times, both of which seriously holed Carter's campaign promises of a reduced staff beneath the waterline. Ibid., pp. S10804-S10805.
- 498 Senator Roth correctly pointed out that "this so-called 'drastic reduction' is imaginary....the claim of a staff cut is a blatant attempt to veil the growth of the White House staff". Ibid., p. S10806. Based on his own definition of White House staff he produced figures of staff employment, comparing 1976 and 1978, to support his case. These figures included the following:

<u>Paid Civilian Employment</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1978</u>
<u>January</u>		
The White House Office	517	379
Office of Administration	-	178
Domestic Council/Domestic Policy Staff	55	43
<u>TOTAL (White House staff)</u>	<u>572</u>	<u>600</u>
<u>February</u>		
The White House Office	515	377
Office of Administration	-	189
Domestic Council/Domestic Policy Staff	49	43
<u>TOTAL (White House staff)</u>	<u>564</u>	<u>609</u>

Source: U.S. Civil Service Commission

499 According to House committee staff Morris Udall was "extraordinarily quiet regarding the proposed staff authorization for Carter", and a member of Udall's own staff issued a very low-key statement expressing Udall's support for H.R. 11003 based only on its limitation of top White House staff positions. A spokesperson for Patricia Schroeder observed that "it was important to get out a bill and this was the best they could get". *Ibid.*, p. S10805. This seems to have been the only excuse for their relative silence that the constitutional group could advance in the face of the Carter White House's confidence that a flexible bill, devoid of strict oversight provisions, would sail through Congress. Indeed the Carter White House was so overconfident that one official commented that "we feel pretty good about (the bill)", adding flippantly that "we wanted to have plenty of flexibility for the future, in the event of an emergency like World War III or something, and needed to suddenly increase the staff". (Quotation printed in the Record, *ibid.*, p. S10804.) One cannot imagine Udall et al. swallowing such feeble justification had Carter not been a Democratic President, disheartening though it is to say so.

500 *Ibid.*, p. S10801.

501 Further to Note 429 the growth of congressional staff can be gauged from the following Tables (which were obtained by this author from the Commission on Organization of the Senate 1976, and from Mss. made available by Susan Hammond under the working heading "Recent Trends in Congressional Staffing"). Research in this area had been previously published. See: Harrison W. Fox, Jr., and Susan Webb Hammond, "The Growth of Congressional Staffs", in Harvey C. Mansfield, ed., "Congress Against the President", Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, vol. 32, No. 1, 1975.

CONGRESSIONAL STAFF 1960 - 1976

Year	SENATE		HOUSE	
	Personal	Committee ^a	Personal	Committee ^a
1960	1,418	497	2,630	438
1970	2,229	697	4,545	705
1976 ^b	3,359 ^c	1,449 ^d	6,819	1,566

Year	CONGRESS ^e		
	Senate	House	TOTAL
1960	2,643	4,148	6,791
1970	4,140	7,134	11,274
1976 ^b	7,009	11,286	18,295

a This includes permanent (professional and clerical) staff and inquiries and investigations staff.

b As of 30th June 1976.

c This figure includes staff aides under S.Res. 60.

d As of 1st January 1976.

e Figures for total number of employees under these headings.

Sources:

- Reports of the Secretary of the State, U.S. Senate
- Reports of the Clerk of the House, U.S. House of Representatives
- Report of the House Select Committee on Committees 1974
- FY 1977 Legislative Appropriation Hearings, U.S. House of Representatives
- Temporary Select Committee to Study the Senate Committee System, Interim Report, 1976, U.S. Senate

REFERENCES AND NOTES FOR THE CONCLUSION

- 01 Bertrand Russell, History of Western Philosophy (Unwin University Books, George Allen & Unwin, London 1961), p. 374.
- 02 An exhaustive listing here of all the schemes, ideas, notions, plans, and reforms of the Presidency that have been advocated over the years could provide sufficient material for another thesis. It is enough here to make brief mention of a few representative examples.

A respected career bureaucrat, Herbert Emmerich, argued that the White House staff "should be kept personal, fluid, and deinstitutionalized. None of its professionals should be assigned duties in substantive fields. It should be greatly reduced in size". Federal Organization and Administrative Management (University of Alabama Press, Alabama, 1971), p. 198. A former Kennedy and Johnson staff member, McGeorge Bundy, argued that Cabinet members should become the President's "agent" because the Executive Branch "is dangerously weak in its own internal capacity for sustained, coordinated, and energetic action". The Strength of Government (Harvard UP, Cambridge, 1968), pp. 37-39. Another former Johnson staffer and Carter Cabinet member, Joseph Califano, criticized the idea of Senate confirmation of White House staff as "a hollow gesture, as well as an inappropriate one... contrary to the personal staff system that operates in all three branches of the government." A Presidential Nation (W.W. Norton, NY, 1975), p. 312. Nixon's Reorganization Plans of 1971-72, which advocated massive governmental change, were brought to partial fruition in his attempted reorganization of 1973. (See: Chapter V.) Increasing the role of the Vice President was a solution that President Ford gave lip service to by placing Nelson Rockefeller in effective control of the Domestic Council staff (See: John Osborne, "More About Rocky", White House Watch, New Republic, 1st February, 1975, pp. 13-14.) President Carter, like Avis, tried harder, and with some real success, by apportioning Vice President Walter Mondale a more substantial policy role. (See: "Carter's Staff: Mondale Near The Hub", CQWR, 1st January, 1977, pp. 4-5.) Vice President George Bush was relegated to the more normal ambassadorial role by Reagan. Proposals to increase the administrative functions of the Vice President were discussed by Stephen Hess in Organizing the Presidency (Brookings, Washington D.C., 1976), pp. 169-170; and by Thomas Cronin in The State of the Presidency (Little, Brown, Boston, 1975), pp. 212-235. Among many other respected students of the Presidency, such as James McGregor Burns, Harold Laski, James Bryce, Clinton Rossiter, Richard Neustadt, Louis Koenig, Gordon Hoxie and others attached to the Centre for the Study of the Presidency, both Cronin and Hess provide a detailed discussion of a variety of suggested reforms.

- 03 Full disclosure of information must mean that a complete listing of the entire White House staff should be made publicly and regularly available as the basis for knowing who they are and what they do. The heart of the President's White House staff system is to be found under certain key headings within the Executive Office of the President.

The provision of this information, in the degree of detail here suggested, should be the joint responsibility of the President and the Congress. Part should be published openly by the White House. Part should be required by law. Part should emerge from the regular exercise of normal congressional powers.

Whom should this cover? Apart from those working under the auspices of The White House Office itself any listing must include the domestic affairs staff (whatever its nomenclature in any particular Presidency) and the foreign affairs staff (the NSC staff). It must also include any staff entity performing an administrative support role to the political White House staff (such as the Office of Administration); any additional staff (such as consultants or experts) funded directly or indirectly from any budgetary source available to the President for the employment of extra staff; and any other separately identifiable staff units that contribute to the total of White House staff such as the Vice President's staff (relating to his Executive Branch functions). At the time of writing this would cover at least five major budgetary staff offices within the EOP: The White House Office staff; the Office of Policy Development staff; the National Security Council staff; the Office of Administration staff; the Vice President's staff (whose budgetary classification is Special Assistance to the President); and staff funded from the budgetary heading "Unanticipated Needs".

What should be covered? A mere listing of their names is not sufficient. Information should also be published about the organization of the staff. Insofar as The White House Office listings of commissioned political staff serve as a constant reminder of what is still hidden, a complete listing must include a far wider array of information about senior staff than the 'tip of the iceberg' approach characterized by listings in the United States Government Organization Manual. Such publications should offer a better descriptive guide both to staff responsibilities and to staff structure by including the following basic information about staff members: their name; their staff title; their general job description; their salary; their office title (where applicable); and/or the name of the staff member or staff office to which they are assigned (where applicable).

Most if not all of this information is already known to the White House but has not normally been revealed. The few exceptions have been enough to prove the general rule as these examples show: the unique Press briefing in December 1974 on the structure and organization of Ford's White House staff whose Press handout, entitled "The White House Fact Sheet: Principal Functions of Major Offices", listed no fewer than twelve staff offices by name (all within The White House Office); the limited exposure of Nixon staff structure in the early 1970's and during Watergate, for which congressional hearings were chiefly responsible; the posthumously produced guides to the responsibilities of Truman and Johnson staff, such as the Truman Staff List A (See: Appendix 5.3) and Johnson staff listing (See Chapter V Note 249); and whatever can be deduced by the 'Kremlinologist' techniques of studying White House staff lists and staff titles to discern an outline of hierarchy and staff structure, an approach which bears most fruit with the presidencies of Eisenhower, Nixon, Ford and latterly Reagan. (See: Appendices 4.4, 4.7, 5.11, 5.14, and 5.17.)

All the information that can be provided about the senior White House staff should also be provided in respect of middle- and junior-level staff. In their case it is of particular relevance to know to which staff office(s) they have been assigned. It might have made a slight difference to recent American history had it been clear knowledge from the start for whom some of the Watergate protagonists (such as E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy) were working in the Nixon White House. A full listing of all clerical, secretarial and administrative support staff - giving names, job titles and salary levels - should not be beyond the capacity of any White House to produce. These could be presented in exactly the same way as the names, job titles, and salary levels of congressional and committee staff are regularly printed in the biannual reports of both houses of Congress (such as the Report of the Secretary of the U.S. Senate). Present practice (acknowledged in 1975) exempts the White House from going through the procedure that other departments and agencies have to follow in submitting job descriptions to the Civil Service Commission for approval. A procedure for the registration of staff job descriptions with the CSE (without the element of approval which would be an unwarranted restriction on the President's freedom of manoeuvre) might be a suitable reform in the interests of bringing the White House into line with established practice elsewhere in Government and could also be applied to congressional staff.

In every official listing of staff a separate category should be set aside to cover those personnel on detail to the White House staff from elsewhere in government. Records of detailees, in aggregate, are now a requirement of Public Law 95-570 (See: Chapter VII Appendix 7.2). But much is still hidden. A complete listing should provide names, job titles, job descriptions, and salary level. It should also supply where appropriate their grade (according to CSC schedules); the name of the department or agency from which they have been detailed; whether or not that department or agency is being reimbursed from White House funds; the period of time on detail to the White House staff; and to whom and/or to which office(s) on the staff they are detailed. While there has been some progress made in recent years towards the provision of more of this kind of information it has neither been sustained nor widened and in some cases has noticeably deteriorated. Under PL 95-570 the information which the White House has to provide (See: Appendix 1.1) is much less than that habitually given during the Watergate years (See: Congressional Appropriations Subcommittee Hearings 1973-1975).

Full disclosure of information should apply just as much to the financial as to the personnel side of the staff. The trend towards progressively less information on staff costs and salaries should be reversed. There is no valid reason why the salaries of White House staff members should not be a matter of public record as are those of congressional staff members (See: Chapter IV Note 44).

Proper financial accountability should embrace the adoption of the same standards as apply elsewhere in government service and there is a clear case for better financial overview and control of the White House staff.

Experience has demonstrated that reliance upon self-accountability has produced abuses as proper procedures fell into disuse. (See: Chapter VI). The standard expected of The White House Office should be that expected elsewhere. The White House could adhere to the GAO's "Policy and Procedures Manual For Guidance of Federal Agencies" which covers the system of accounting for receipts and disbursements; controls over the procurement of goods and services; and attendance records. An internal audit staff has long been necessary (and should be submitted for GAO approval as did the Comptroller General once approve a WHO system in October 1969. See: Chapter VI) although the General Accounting Office should also act as an external safeguard. External audits should be a matter of public record. (Copies of the Comptroller General's Report on The White House Office in September 1976 were sent to each Senator's office.)

An essential improvement must be that staff costs be presented with budgetary precision and honesty. Staff costs must be appropriately matched to their corresponding budgetary staff headings (such as The White House Office). Certain complete misnomers (such as "President's Travel" which is a nonsense that doesn't even cover staff travel costs let alone the President's) should be renamed if not completely reformulated. Indirect support for the White House and its staff, even if too extensive, amorphous or security-sensitive for regular itemized accounting, should at least be a legitimate subject for inquiry by congressional appropriations subcommittees; requiring the publication of appropriate records.

All the suggestions advocated in the name of full disclosure could be put into practice with relatively little difficulty. Most of them should be incorporated in an updated and much more comprehensive White House Staff Authorization Act. In nearly every case they involve building upon information already made available but adding to it significantly in certain areas. Much would still depend upon the willingness and the capacity of Congress to insist on such information: for example, by delaying appropriations until sufficient supporting evidence was forthcoming. Nor is documentary material enough. More important is the thoroughness with which the structure and organization of the staff is uncovered. This would depend, for example, upon the skill which can be deployed by members of Congress at appropriations subcommittee hearings or in some oversight investigation. The House Judiciary Committee hearings in 1974 on Nixon's impeachment will stand as a lasting example of the wealth of detail that can be obtained about the structure and organization of the modern White House.

- 04 Samuel Finer, Anonymous Empire: A Study of the Lobby in Great Britain (The Pall Mall Press Ltd., London, 1958), p. 133.
- 05 The growth of political advisers in British politics was a significant feature of the 1970's, although its origins can be traced back much further. Differences between the American and British systems of government preclude direct comparisons, but we can discern two broad categories of political advisory or staff assistance in Britain, all of

which owe something to American experience. The first category covers Parliament. Here we can distinguish between those at the service of Members of Parliament as a whole, such as the Library and Research service staff and those servicing the new Select Committees, who are broadly comparable to the professional committee staff of Congress, the Library of Congress Congressional Research Service staff, and the staffs of other legislatively-based bodies; and on the other hand the advisers and staff assistance who work for Members of Parliament individually, such as Personal or Constituency Secretaries, the so-called 'Chocolate Soldiers' advisers (sponsored by outside organizations) or party organization staff, who are broadly comparable in role (but not in number) to the thousands of congressional staff that work work for Members of Congress.

The second broad category of advisers covers the Executive sphere of government. They can be sub-divided into those working for the Prime Minister, for other Cabinet Ministers, or for both (which is what the CPRS 'Think Tank' was set up to do. See: The Reorganization of Central Government (HMSO, October, 1970, Cmnd. 4506.) Political advisers to Cabinet Ministers became firmly established with the 1974 Labour Government. (See: Robert Chesshyre, "Wilson's New Outsiders Worry Whitehall", Observer, 24th March, 1974, p. 7; and David Wood, "The Minister's Men Invade Whitehall", The Times, 10th June, 1974, p. 14.)

The most important area of potential American influence has been in the Prime Minister's office. The British Prime Minister has progressively developed a more presidential style which, when combined with powers that in some areas a President cannot match, makes the British Prime Minister a formidable repository of political power. (See: Tony Benn, "The Case for a Constitutional Premiership" and "The Case for a Constitutional Civil Service" in Arguments for Democracy (Penguin, London, 1981), pp. 18-43, 44-67. See also: Tony Benn, Arguments for Socialism (Penguin, London, 1980), pp. 172-174.)

The PM is not so bereft of staff assistance as she or he may at first appear. Upon closer examination some features of the Prime Minister's advisers bear decided similarities with those of the early White House staff. For example, we can already distinguish between the different parts of the PM's office which could prove the building blocks of a Prime Minister's Department, an idea that has been given wide currency in the last decade. (See: G.W. Jones, "Harold Wilson's Policy-Makers", The Spectator, 6th July, 1974, pp. 6-7; and "The Prime Minister's Men", New Society, 19th January, 1978, pp. 121-123; and Anthony Shrimley, "Turning No. 10 Into a Power House", The Standard, 14th September, 1982, p. 7.)

The outline of a functionalised staff system is already visible. For example, there appeared in the 1960's the first economic advisers to the Prime Minister; in the 1970's the first domestic policy advisers to the Prime Minister; and in the 1980's the first officially designated foreign policy adviser to the Prime Minister. Harold Wilson appointed Nicky Kaldor and Thomas Balogh as economic advisers. (See: Harold Wilson, The Labour Government 1964-1970 (Penguin, London, 1971);

and Final Term (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1979.) In 1974 Wilson created the No. 10 Policy Unit under Dr. Bernard Donoghue. (See: G.W. Jones, "Harold Wilson's Policy-Makers", op. cit.) After the Falklands/Malvinas war of 1982 Mrs Thatcher appointed Sir Anthony Parsons as her personal foreign policy adviser at No. 10. (See: David Tonge, "Decline of a Proud Department", Financial Times, 26th October, 1982.)

Other specialist advisers have been appointed by the Prime Minister (such as Mrs Thatcher's appointment of Sir Derek Rayner with a wide-ranging brief to improve government efficiency). Long-standing specialist staff have included the PM's personal Secretary (which can be influential as Marcia Williams showed in the Wilson years) and the Downing Street Press Officer, whose personal rapport with the Prime Minister usually establishes them in the inner circle (as in the Macmillan, Wilson, and Callaghan years). The appointment of a political adviser to the PM has become standard practice (as Tom McNally's was under Callaghan), to which should be added the traditional post of Parliamentary Private Secretary. Official assistance to the Prime Minister is organized primarily by the Cabinet Office and the Civil Service Department, although the Secretary to the Cabinet has increasingly become the dominant force in recent years. The assistance provided has also developed along functional lines to match major areas of Prime Ministerial concern: economic, domestic, parliamentary, overseas and defence, appointments and scheduling, and personal. (Security matters are another area but one kept as hidden from public view as the British establishment can contrive, usually with success.) To this civil service assistance was added in 1970 the Central Policy Review Staff (CPRS), originally intended as a Think Tank at the disposal of the whole Cabinet. But the CPRS metamorphosed into a political instrument of the Cabinet Secretary and, through him, of the Prime Minister which better equipped him to intervene to impose his will upon Cabinet colleagues in policy matters.

Without a superimposed structure that fuses all these elements together the way in which No. 10 Downing Street functions under each Prime Minister still depends very much upon the personal relationships between the participants and, most of all, on the personal style and working methods of the Prime Minister. Thus the informality of the PM's office in the 1980's may be compared with that of the President's in the 1930's.

- 6 Patrick Anderson, The President's Men (Doubleday & Co. New York, 1969), p. 14.
- 7 Ibid., p. 28.
- 8 Ibid., p. 68.
- 9 Ibid., p. 80.

- 10 Ibid., p. 97.
- 11 Ibid., p. 149.
- 12 Ibid., p. 138.
- 13 Ibid., p. 185.
- 14 Personal Conversation with Myer Feldman, Deputy Special Counsel to the President, 27th September, 1974.
- 15 Quoted in Anderson, op. cit., p. 343.
- 15a Ibid., p. 291.
- 16 Ibid., p. 313.
- 17 Ibid., p. 318.
- 17a Ibid., p. 321.
- 18 Pierre Salinger, With Kennedy (Jonathan Cape, London, 1967).
- 19 Anderson, op. cit., p. 301.
- 20 Ibid., p. 247.
- 21 Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., 1000 Days (Mayflower-Dell Ltd., London, 1966).
- 22 Anderson, op. cit., p. 394.
- 23 Ibid., p. 441.
- 24 Ibid., p. 425.
- 25 Ibid., p. 465.
- 26 In addition to John Ehrlichman, whom he had met at college, Haldeman was responsible for hiring former J. Walter Thompson (and campaign) staff including Ron Ziegler, Dwight Chapin, Larry Higby, Kenneth Cole, and Bruce Kehrl.
- 27 Eleanor W. Schoenebaum, Profiles Of An Era (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, 1979), p. 261.
- 28 Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.), May 1973.
- 29 Nixon said of Ehrlichman that he had "diligence, caution, an open mind, and absence of distracting personal flair, and above all, orderliness and efficiency." Schoenebaum, op. cit., p. 183.

- 30 Ibid., p. 690.
- 31 Jimmy Carter, Keeping Faith (Collins, London, 1982), p. 47.
- 32 Ibid., p. 40.
- 33 Ibid., p. 41.
- 34 Ibid., pp. 41-42.
- 35 Ibid., p. 42.
- 36 Jordan did not prove very adept organizationally at his new role, so he brought in Alonzo McDonald, a management expert, as Director of the White House staff reporting to Jordan.
- 37 Carter, op. cit., p. 42.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid., p. 44.
- 40 Ibid., p. 51.
- 41 Ibid., p. 41.
- 42 Ibid., p. 49.
- 43 Lou Cannon, Reagan (Perigee Books, New York, 1982), p. 377.
- 44 Ibid., p. 379.
- 45 Ibid., p. 385. See also: Lawrence I. Barrett, Gambling With History (Penguin, London, 1983, 1984).
- 46 Anderson, op. cit., p. 469.

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United States Budget
United States Budget - Appendix
United States Budget - Budget in Brief

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United States Code: Reorganization Plan (1970)
United States Code (1927): Title 3 The President
United States Code (1976): Title 3 The President

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS

Public Papers of the Presidents
Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents

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United States Government Organization Manual
Congressional Directory
Congressional Staff Directory

MAJOR STUDIES OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Brownlow Committee
Other Major Studies

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Report of the Comptroller General

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PRESIDENTIAL AND WHITE HOUSE STAFF TESTIMONY

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WHITE HOUSE STAFF

BOOKS

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GOVERNMENT AND OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

UNITED STATES BUDGETS

The U.S. Budgets for each fiscal year provide the only regular published information on the cost of White House staff budgetary items and the numbers of staff officially on the payroll. U.S. Budgets for the years 1939-1981 have been published in various forms, of which - in recent years - the following three are most useful:

The Budget of the United States (Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., FY 1939 to FY 1982).

"The Executive Office of the President", The United States Budget - Appendix (Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., FY 1948 to FY 1982).

"The Executive Office of the President - The Federal Program By Agency And Account", The United States Budget In Brief (Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., FY 1968 to FY 1982).

UNITED STATES CODE

The U.S. Code provides the authoritative guide to the official status of the White House staff (see Chapters I and VII) as reflected in U.S. Public Law.

United States Code (1970 edition), Title 5: Appendix, Reorganization Plan No. 1 (1939), and Message of the President, 25th April, 1939, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1939), pp. 495-498; 498-500.

United States Code (1970 edition), Title 5: Appendix, Reorganization Plan No. 1 (1970), 9th February, 1970, and Reorganization Plan No. 2 (1970), 12th March, 1970, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1970), pp. 605-606; 606-609.

United States Code (Annotated 1927 edition), Title 3: The President, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1927), pp. 89-92.

United States Code (Annotated 1976 edition), Supplementary Pamphlet 1927-1975, Title 3: The President, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976), pp. 367-407.

Under the terms of the White House Staff Authorization Act 1978 (Public Law 95-570) sections 105, 106, and 107 (among others) of Title 3, United States Code, were amended. For an up-to-date record of the authorized status of members of the White House staff covered by the Act the reader is referred to United States Code (1979 edition), Title 3: The President, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1980).

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS

The Public Papers of the Presidents series (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.) has spanned the entire period of this study and cover every President since Franklin D. Roosevelt. Usually there has been one volume published for each year of every President's term of office, although in recent years this has been expanded to two volumes for every year in office in response to the sheer number of official presidential documents which this series covers. For some years they have been official U.S. Government publications. The following two citations, from the presidencies of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Jimmy Carter, are given as examples:

Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt 1940, compiled by Samuel Rosenman, (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., New York, London, 1941).

Public Papers of the Presidents: Jimmy Carter 1978, Book I, 1st January - 30th June, 1978; Book II, 1st July - 31st December, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1979).

The Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents series (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.) is a government publication that, as its title implies, provides a listing of all official presidential statements, messages, speeches, and texts of news conferences, Q&A sessions, and radio and television statements and interviews issued during each year of each Presidency. It also includes the texts of biographical material and background information relating to White House Appointments. Such appointments include members of The White House Office staff, and other senior appointees to the White House staff, who receive a formal presidential commission. Documents from the Weekly Compilation series are included in the Public Papers series. The following is an example:

"The White House Staff: Positions for the 2nd Term", 2nd December, 1972, Public Papers of the Presidents: Richard M. Nixon 1972, op. cit., Appendix E.

OFFICIAL LISTINGS OF THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE STAFF

The following publications provide the only regular published listing of members of The White House Office staff. (See Chapter I for further details.) Of these publications only the first two have published such listings during the entire period 1939 to the present day.

"The Executive Office of the President", United States Government Organization Manual (Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1939 to 1981/82).

"The Executive Office of the President", Congressional Directory (Joint Committee on Printing, U.S. Congress, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1939 to 1981).

"The Executive Office of the President", Congressional Staff Directory (Congressional Staff Directory Inc., Mount Vernon, Virginia, 1959 to 1981).

Further information about the more senior members of the White House staff can be obtained from the Congressional Quarterly and the National Journal although such information is not available on a regular basis.

MAJOR STUDIES OF EXECUTIVE BRANCH ORGANIZATION 1937 - 1977

The following are a list of the major studies of Executive Branch organization undertaken over a 40-year period. Unless otherwise indicated all were published by the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., in the year (or last of several years) specified:

<u>Official Title (Unofficial Name)</u>	<u>Sponsoring Presidency</u>	<u>Date(s) of Operation</u>
President's Committee on Administrative Management (Brownlow Committee)	Roosevelt	1936-1937
Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of Government (First Hoover Commission)	Truman	1947-1949
President's Advisory Committee on Government Organization (Rockefeller Commission)	Eisenhower	1953-1960
Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of Government (Second Hoover Commission)	Eisenhower	1953-1955
Report on Regulatory Agencies to the President-Elect (Landis Report)	Kennedy	1960
President's Task Force on Government Organization (Price Task Force)	Johnson	1964
President's Task Force on Government Organization* (Heineman Task Force)	Johnson	1967-1968
President-Elect's Task Force on Organization of the Executive Branch (Lindsay Task Force)	Nixon	1968-1969
President-Elect's Task Force on Inter-Governmental Fiscal Relations (Nathan Task Force)	Nixon	1968-1969
President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization (Ash Council)	Nixon	1969-1971
Reorganization Study of the Executive Office of the President	Carter	1977
President's Reorganization Project*	Carter	1977-1978

* as yet unpublished

Further information about the more senior members of the White House staff can be obtained from the Congressional Quarterly and the National Journal although such information is not available on a regular basis.

MAJOR STUDIES OF EXECUTIVE BRANCH ORGANIZATION 1937 - 1977

The following are a list of the major studies of Executive Branch organization undertaken over a 40-year period. Unless otherwise indicated all were published by the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., in the year (or last of several years) specified:

<u>Official Title (Unofficial Name)</u>	<u>Sponsoring Presidency</u>	<u>Date(s) of Operation</u>
President's Committee on Administrative Management (Brownlow Committee)	Roosevelt	1936-1937
Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of Government (First Hoover Commission)	Truman	1947-1949
President's Advisory Committee on Government Organization (Rockefeller Commission)	Eisenhower	1953-1960
Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of Government (Second Hoover Commission)	Eisenhower	1953-1955
Report on Regulatory Agencies to the President-Elect (Landis Report)	Kennedy	1960
President's Task Force on Government Organization (Price Task Force)	Johnson	1964
President's Task Force on Government Organization* (Heineman Task Force)	Johnson	1967-1968
President-Elect's Task Force on Organization of the Executive Branch (Lindsay Task Force)	Nixon	1968-1969
President-Elect's Task Force on Inter-Governmental Fiscal Relations (Nathan Task Force)	Nixon	1968-1969
President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization (Ash Council)	Nixon	1969-1971
Reorganization Study of the Executive Office of the President	Carter	1977
President's Reorganization Project*	Carter	1977-1978

* as yet unpublished

GENERAL

Papers relating to the President's Departmental Reorganization Program, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., March 1971, revised February 1972).

Report of the Commission on the Organization of the Government For the Conduct of Foreign Policy, submitted to the President of the United States, the President pro tempore of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, by Robert D. Murphy, Chairman of the Commission, 27th June, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975). Of the seven volumes of Appendices published with the Report the following are of particular interest in connection with this study:

Volume V, Appendix L, "Congress and Executive-Legislative Relations"; and Appendix N, "Congress and National Security".

Volume VI, Appendix O, "Making Organizational Change Effective".

Report of the Comptroller General of the United States, "Improvements Needed In Accounting System Operations - The White House Office", 2nd September, 1976, (U.S. General Accounting Office, Washington D.C., 1976).

PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES

With one exception, no Presidential Library has compiled a complete listing of all the members of the White House staff who served during a Presidency, although some have information that goes beyond that available in official government publications. (All Libraries are administered by the General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service.)

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

"White House Executive Offices", White House Chart 1937, 1st July, 1937; "The White House Office", White House Chart 1942, 1st May, 1942. (A report on The White House Executive Office by Fred W. Shipman, Director of the FDR Library, is listed among the articles.)

Harry S. Truman Library

The Library has published two lists of White House staff. First: a list of professional staff arranged by job title. Second: an alphabetical listing of all the professional and clerical members. (These are cited in the text as List A and List B respectively.)

Dwight B. Eisenhower Library

The Library has available a privately-published memoir entitled White House Staff Book 1953-1961 which lists selected staff members.

John F. Kennedy Library/Lyndon Johnson Library

Neither Library has compiled any listing of all White House staff.

An Act of Congress in 1974 sequestered President Nixon's papers. Negotiations to establish a Richard M. Nixon Library have not yet been completed. Neither the designated Gerald R. Ford Library nor the Jimmy Carter Library have yet been in a position to compile lists of White House staff members.

CONGRESSIONAL DOCUMENTS

Appropriations for the White House Staff (Subcommittee Hearings)

The annual House and Senate Hearings before the appropriation subcommittees are a rich source of much raw material. As such they are essential to the study of this subject. (Their limitations, however, are discussed in Chapter VII.) From 1939 to 1974 it was traditional for the principal witnesses at these hearings to be OMB staff. But from 1975 members of the White House staff themselves appeared before the congressional subcommittees, and the importance of such testimony may be said to have increased by virtue of their White House positions.

U.S. House of Representatives

Annual hearings on The White House Office and other budgetary items of the White House staff before the Committee on Appropriations have been undertaken by the appropriations subcommittee with jurisdiction over the Executive Office of the President. The formal name of this subcommittee has varied over the years as follows:

1939 - 1955	Subcommittee on Independent Offices
1956 - 1962	Subcommittee on General Government Matters, Department of Commerce, and Related Agencies
1963 - 1970	Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office Departments and Executive Office
1971 - present	Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service and General Government

All hearings are published by the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.

In recent years the House hearings have been published in several volumes, with those parts relating to the White House staff to be found in the third part. The following citation in respect of the 1979 hearings is an example:

Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Part 3: Executive Office of the President, Fiscal Year 1980, 96th Congress, First Session, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1979).

United States Senate

Annual hearings on The White House Office and other budgetary items of the White House staff before the Committee on Appropriations have been undertaken by the appropriations subcommittee with jurisdiction over the Executive Office of the President. The formal name of this subcommittee has varied over the years as follows:

- 1939 - 1955 Subcommittee on Independent Offices
- 1956 - 1962 Subcommittee on General Government Matters,
Department of Commerce, and Related Agencies
- 1963 - 1970 Subcommittee on Treasury, Post Office
Departments and Executive Office
- 1971 - present Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service,
and General Government

All hearings are published by the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.

In recent years the Senate hearings have been published in at least two volumes, with the relevant parts relating to the White House staff usually to be found in the second part. The following citation in respect of the hearings in 1980 is an example:

Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Part 2: (including) Executive Office of the President, Fiscal Year 1981, 96th Congress, Second Session, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1980).

CONGRESSIONAL DOCUMENTS

Appropriations for the White House Staff (Committee and Floor Action)

Documents relating to Committee and Floor Action in respect of appropriations for the White House staff are to be found in the appropriation bills that bear the same general heading as those of the appropriations subcommittees given above. Thus, for example, in respect of 1970 the reader is directed to documents relating to the Treasury, Post Office Departments, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1971; while in respect of 1980 the documents relate to the Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriations Bill, 1981. In all cases the documents include the Report of the House and Senate appropriation subcommittees, the Conference Report of the joint House and Senate conferees, managers on behalf of the appropriations bill in each house, and the Act which made final appropriations for White House staff budgetary items. The appropriations process is an annual one, in respect of each fiscal year, but on occasion there have been supplemental appropriations within that fiscal year. Such appropriations as relate to White House staff budgetary items are to be found under the general heading of Supplemental Appropriations. Finally, in respect of the Transition Quarter (TQ) of 1976, a device to enable the date of the fiscal year to be altered, appropriations for the TQ were included in the consideration of the appropriation bills for FY 1977.

In order to highlight some of the issues raised in Chapter VII the following are cited here as examples of the documents relating to Committee and Floor Action in respect of appropriations for the White House staff:

1974

Report, together with Separate Views, to accompany H.R. 15544, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1975, from the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 93-1132, 20th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

Report to accompany H.R. 15544, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1975, from the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Report No. 93-1028, 24th July, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

Conference Report to accompany H.R. 15544, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1975, from the Committee of Conference, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 93-1262, 6th August, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

Public Law 93-381, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Act, 1975, 93rd Congress, Second Session, 21st August, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

1975

Debate on H.R. 8597, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1976, Congressional Record - House, 17th July, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), pp. H6966-H6975.

Debate on H.R. 14261, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1977, Congressional Record - House, 14th June, 1976, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976), pp. H5778-H5781.

1977

Report, together with Supplemental and Additional Views, on H.R. 7552, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1978, from the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 95-378, 2nd June, 1977, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1977).

Debate on H.R. 7552, Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriation Bill, 1978, Congressional Record - House, 8th June, 1977, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1977).

CONGRESSIONAL DOCUMENTS

Congressional Oversight

The only formal example of the congressional use of the oversight power in respect of the White House staff is the partial example as given below:

A Report on the Growth of the Executive Office of the President, prepared under the direction of Congressman Morris K. Udall, (D-Ariz.), Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee Print No. 19, 24th April, 1972, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1972).

Published on the same day was a personal statement by Morris K. Udall:

Letter from Congressman Morris K. Udall to Chairman Thaddeus J. Dulski regarding the Report on the Growth of the Executive Office of the President, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee Print No. 20, 24th April, 1972, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1972).

CONGRESSIONAL DOCUMENTS

Authorization Legislation for the White House Staff

The following documents all relate to the passage of authorization legislation for the White House staff which spanned the years 1974-1978. They are listed in chronological order. The reader is referred to Appendix 7.1 for a concise chronological summary of the progress of authorization legislation.

1974

Roy L. Ash, OMB Director, Letter to Hon. Gerald R. Ford, President of the U.S. Senate, 29th April, 1974, enclosing the text of a proposed bill entitled "The White House Office Personnel Bill", in Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. Senate, Part 2: Executive Office of the President, 4th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), pp. 708-712.

H.R. 14715 A Bill, to clarify existing authority for the White House staff, U.S. House of Representatives, 93rd Congress, Second Session, 9th May, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 14715, a bill to clarify existing authority for the White House staff, Serial No. 93-34, 23rd May, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

Report, together with Supplemental Views, to accompany H.R. 14715, a bill to clarify existing authority for the White House staff, from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 93-1100, 11th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

S. 3647 A Bill, to clarify existing authority for the White House staff, U.S. Senate, 93rd Congress, Second Session, 13th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

Debate on H.R. 14715, Congressional Record - House, 25th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974), pp. H21001-H21017.

H.R. 14715 An Act, to clarify existing authority for the White House staff, U.S. Senate, 93rd Congress, Second Session, 26th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

Hearing before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, on S. 3647, a bill to clarify authority for the White House staff, 26th June, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

Report to accompany S. 3647, from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, Report No. 93-998, 11th July, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

Debate on S. 3647, Congressional Record - Senate, 18th July, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

Conference Report to accompany H.R. 14715, from the Committee of Conference, United States Senate, Report No. 93-1066, 2nd August, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

Debate on Conference Report, to accompany H.R. 14715, Congressional Record - House, 6th August, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

Debate on Conference Report, to accompany H.R. 14715, Congressional Record - Senate, 8th August, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

Debate on Second Conference Report, to accompany H.R. 14715, Congressional Record - House, 12th August, 1974, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1974).

1975

President Gerald R. Ford, Letter to Mr. Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives, (and Mr. President, United States Senate), transmitting draft legislation to provide authority for the White House staff, 26th March, 1975, (The White House, Washington D.C., 1975). This was subsequently reprinted in Hearings before the Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government, of the Committee on Appropriations, U.S. Senate, Part 2: Executive Office of the President, 22nd April, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), pp. 1429-1432.

H.R. 5747 A Bill, to provide authority for the White House staff, 94th Congress, First Session, (U.S. House of Representatives, 8th April, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975).

Hearing before the Subcommittee on Manpower and Civil Service, of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, on H.R. 5747, Serial No. 94-13, 22nd April, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975).

H.R. 6706 A Bill, to clarify existing authority for employment of personnel in The White House Office, 94th Congress, First Session, 6th May, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975).

S. 1697 A Bill, to clarify existing authority for the employment of personnel by the President, United States Senate, 94th Congress, First Session, 8th May (Legislative Day 21st April), 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975).

Report, together with Dissenting Views, to accompany H.R. 6706, from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 94-232, 20th May, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975).

Substitute Bill, introduced as an amendment to H.R. 6706, Congressional Record - House, 8th July, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), pp. H6416-H6417.

Debate on H.R. 6706, Congressional Record - House, 9th July, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975), pp. H6451-H6472.

H.R. 6706 An Act, to clarify existing authority for employment of personnel in The White House Office, U.S. Senate, 94th Congress, First Session, 10th July, 1975, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1975).

1976

Legislative Calendar, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, United States Senate, 94th Congress, Second Session, 23rd July, 1976, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1976), pp. 104-105.

1977

H.R. 6326 A Bill, to clarify authority for employment of personnel in The White House Office, U.S. House of Representatives, 95th Congress, First Session, 19th April, 1977, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1977).

Hearing before the Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization, of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Serial No. 95-10, 26th April, 1977, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1977).

Hearings before the Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization, of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Serial No. 95-52, on H.R. 6326, 30th September, 1977, and on H.R. 10657, 7th February, 1978, 95th Congress, First and Second Sessions, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978).

1978

H.R. 10657 A Bill, to clarify authority for employment of personnel in The White House office, U.S. House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Second Session, 31st January, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978).

Hearings before the Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization, of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Serial No. 95-52, on H.R. 6326, 30th September, 1977, and on H.R. 10657, 7th February, 1978, 95th Congress, First and Second Sessions, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978).

H.R. 11003 A Bill, to clarify the authority for employment of personnel in The White House Office, U.S. House of Representatives, 95th Congress, Second Session, 20th February, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978).

Report, together with Supplemental Views, on H.R. 11003, from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 95-979, 16th March, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978).

Debate on H.R. 11003, Congressional Record - House, 4th April, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), pp. H2418-H2429.

Debate on H.R. 11003, Congressional Record - House, 13th April, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), pp. H2847-H2868.

H.R. 11003 An Act, to clarify the authority for employment of personnel in The White House Office, U.S. Senate, 95th Congress, Second Session, 17th April (Legislative Day 6th February), 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978).

Hearing before the Subcommittee on Civil Service and General Services, of the Committee on Governmental Affairs, U.S. Senate, on H.R. 11003, 2nd May, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978).

Harrison Wellford, Executive Associate Director for Reorganization and Management, President's Reorganization Project, Response To Questions From The Subcommittee, submitted to Hon. James R. Sasser, Chairman, Subcommittee on Civil Service and General Services, of the Committee on Governmental Affairs, U.S. Senate, 5th May, 1978, (Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget, Washington D.C., 1978).

Report to accompany H.R. 11003, from the Committee on Governmental Affairs, U.S. Senate, Report No. 95-868, 15th May (Legislative Day 24th April), 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978).

Debate on H.R. 11003, Congressional Record - Senate, 13th-14th July, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), pp. S10732-S10736; S10799-S10811.

Conference Report to accompany H.R. 11003, from the Committee of Conference, U.S. Senate, Report No. 95-1258, 28th September, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978).

Debate on Conference Report, to accompany H.R. 11003, Congressional Record - Senate, 7th October (Legislative Day 28th September), 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978), pp. S17457-S17458.

Debate on Conference Report, to accompany H.R. 11003, Congressional Record - House, 14th October, 1978, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978).

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Of the many volumes published in the course of these hearings the following are of particular interest:

Presidential Statements on the Watergate Break-in and Its Investigation (Statement of Information: Appendix I), May-June, 1974;

Political Matters Memoranda (Statement of Information: Appendix IV), May-June, 1974;

White House Staff and President Nixon's Campaign Organizations (Statement of Information: Background Memorandum), May-June, 1974;

Testimony of Witnesses, Book I, 2nd, 3rd, and 8th July, 1974;

Testimony of Witnesses, Book II, 9th, 10th, and 11th July, 1974;

Testimony of Witnesses, Book III, 12th, 15th, 16th, and 17th July, 1974;

Summary of Information, 19th July, 1974;

Minority Memorandum on Facts and Law, 22nd July, 1974;

Brief on Behalf of the President of the United States, 18th July, 1974;

Debate on Articles of Impeachment, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 29th, and 30th July, 1974.

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Presidential Staffing: A Brief Overview, a study prepared by Dr. Louis Fisher and Dr. Harold C. Relyea, for the Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization, of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. House of Representatives, Committee Print No. 95-17, 25th July, 1978, 95th Congress, Second Session, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1978).

Aggregate Report on Personnel, Pursuant to Title 3, U.S.C. Section 113, For the Fiscal Year 19---, The White House, Washington D.C., 19---. These annual reports, required by passage of the White House Staff Authorization Act 1978 (P.L. 95-570), are now presented to the Congress by the President in respect of each Fiscal Year. The first such report was issued by President Carter on 29th November, 1979, for FY 1979; the second on 26th November 1980, for FY 1980; and the third was issued by President Reagan in December 1981, for FY 1981. In addition to the main document information about detailees (beyond 30 days' service) is given as Attachment A to these annual reports.

PRESIDENTIAL AND WHITE HOUSE STAFF TESTIMONY

PRESIDENTS

At various times and in various ways Presidents have made official or unofficial statements or remarks about the White House staff or have replied to questions on the subject. The following listing of such presidential testimony is not exhaustive - it excludes books, which are listed elsewhere - but is intended to give a guide to what may be found.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

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"On Administration", in Arthur Bernan Tourtellot, The Presidents on the Presidency, op. cit., pp. 123-127.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

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DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

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"On Administration", in Arthur Bernan Tourtellot, The Presidents on the Presidency, op. cit., pp. 130-133.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

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"Ethics and Conflict of Interest in Government", a Special Message to Congress, 27th April, 1961, Public Papers of the Presidents: John F. Kennedy 1961 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1962).

"Foreword" To Theodore Sorensen's book, Decision-Making in the White House, op. cit., pp. xi-xiv.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

"Press Conference", 22nd March, 1966, in The Johnson Presidential Press Conferences (Heyden, London 2 vols., 1978), pp. 441, 445.

"Press Conference", 31st March, 1966, in The Johnson Presidential Press Conferences, op. cit., pp. 446-447, 449-450.

"The White House Staff", text of the President's New Conference, 16th January, 1965, in The Johnson Presidential Press Conferences, op. cit., pp. 256-258.

RICHARD M. NIXON

"Remarks at Swearing In of the New White House Staff", Item No. 3, Public Papers of the Presidents: Richard M. Nixon 1969 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1970), pp. 8-10.

"Message to Congress", 25th March, 1971, in Papers relating to the President's Departmental Reorganization Program, op. cit., pp. 1-21.

"Press Conference", 24th March, 1972, Item No. 103, Public Papers of the Presidents: Richard M. Nixon 1972 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1973).

"The Philosophy of Government", text of the President's address on nationwide radio, 21st October, 1972, Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, vol. 8, 30th October, 1972, pp. 1546-1548.

"Plans for the Second Term: The President's Remarks at Camp David on His Plans for Changes in the Cabinet, Sub-Cabinet, and White House Staff", 27th November, 1972, in Richard P. Nathan, The Plot That Failed, op. cit., Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, November, 1972.

"Statement on Executive Reorganization", 5th January, 1973, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 13th January, 1973, pp. 38-39.

"Remarks to Members of the Cabinet and White House Staff", 9th August, 1974, Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, vol. 10, Item No. 32, 9th August, 1974, pp. 1019-1021.

WHITE HOUSE STAFF

During the Watergate period of the Nixon Presidency several previous and present members of the White House staff were called to testify before congressional committees. In several cases such testimony was unprecedented in the scope of the information it provided on the nature and working of the White House and the Nixon White House staff. This testimony was given either to the so-called Ervin Watergate Committee Hearings, op. cit., or to the House Impeachment Hearings, op. cit., during 1973-1974 as follows:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Testimony before Congress</u>	
	<u>Ervin Watergate Committee (1973)</u>	<u>House Impeachment Committee (1974)</u>
BUTTERFIELD, Alexander	16th July, 1973.	2nd July, 1974.
COLSON, Charles W.		15th-16th July, 1974.
DEAN, John W.	25th-29th June, 1973.	11th July, 1974.
EHRlichMAN, John D.	24th-27th, 30th July, 1973.	
HALDEMAN, H.R.	30th-31st July, 1st August, 1973.	
HARMONY, Sally	5th June, 1973.	
HUNT, E. Howard	24th-25th September, 1973.	
LaRUE, Fred C.	18th-19th July, 1973.	3rd July, 1974.
MAGRUDER, Jeb Stuart	14th June, 1973.	
MOORE, Richard A.	12th-13th July, 1973.	
STRACHAN, Gordon C.	20th, 23rd July, 1973.	

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LISTING OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

ADAMSON, David
Washington Bureau Chief
The Sunday Telegraph
12 September 1974

ANTHONY, Audrey
Legislative Assistant
Office of Representative Fortney Stark (D-Calif.)
03 September 1974

BAYH, Birch
United States Senator (D-Ind.)
16 November 1974

COLLOF, Roger
Legislative Assistant
Office of Senator Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.)
23 September 1974

COOK, Richard
Deputy Assistant for Congressional Relations
The White House Office (Nixon Presidency)
24 September 1974

COPEMAN, Jim
Administrative Assistant
Office of Representative Fortney Stark (D-Calif.)
04 September 1974

COX, Archibald
Watergate Special Prosecutor
03 January 1975

DEAN, John W. III
Counsel to the President
The White House Office (Nixon Presidency)
29 March 1977

EAGLETON, Thomas F.
United States Senator (D-Mo.)
17 August 1976 *

ERLENBORN, John
United States Representative (R-Ill.)
16 January 1975

EWING, Sarah
Assistant
Office of Representative Charles Rangel (D-Calif.)
02 September 1974

FELDMAN, Myer
Deputy Special Counsel
The White House Office (Kennedy and Johnson Presidencies)
27 September 1974

FULLER, Richard G.
Associate Director
Committee on Post Office and Civil Service
United States Senate
15 September 1976

GARMENT, Leonard
Counsel to the President
The White House Office (Nixon Presidency)
10 September 1974

GAUSSMAN, William
Chief Analyst (British Affairs)
State Department (if not CIA)
18 September 1974

GOMIEN, John R.
Administrative Assistant
Office of Senator Robert Taft (R-Ohio)
04 September 1974

GUNNELLS, Aubrey
Staff Assistant
Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government
Committee on Appropriations
United States House of Representatives
10 September 1974

HARLOW, Bryce
Deputy Assistant for Congressional Affairs
The White House Office (Eisenhower Presidency)
Assistant to the President/Counsellor to the President
The White House Office (Nixon Presidency)
17 September 1974

HARRIS, Herbert E. II
United States Representative (D-Va.)
17 September 1974

HAYES, Tom
Deputy Assistant Attorney General for Legislative Affairs
Department of Justice
19 September 1974

KANE, Warren
Staff Director
Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government
Committee on Appropriations
United States Senate
05 September 1974

LIEBENSON, Herbert
Legislative Vice President
Small Business Association
27 September 1974

LONGWORTH, Alice Roosevelt
Daughter of President Theodore Roosevelt
21 September 1974 *

MANATOS, Mike
Administrative Assistant
The White House Office (Kennedy and Johnson Presidencies)
17 September 1974

MARTINY, John H.
Chief Counsel
Committee on Post Office and Civil Service
United States House of Representatives
16 September 1976

MOE, Ronald
Analyst
Government and General Research Division
Congressional REference Service
06 September 1974

MONDALE, Walter F.
United States Senator (D-Minn.)
05 October 1976

NESSEN, Ron
Press Secretary to the President
The White House Office (Ford Presidency)
20 September 1974

PATTERSON, Bradley
Assistant to the Secretary to the Cabinet
The White House Office (Eisenhower Presidency)
Staff Assistant
The White House Office (Nixon Presidency)
10 September 1974

QUICK, Ed
Administrative Assistant
Office of Senator Thomas F. Eagleton (D-Mo.)
13 September 1976 *

RICHARDSON, Elliot
United States Ambassador (Nixon and Ford Presidencies)
08 September 1975

SARBANES, Paul
United States Representative (D-Md.)
18 September 1974 *

SHUMAN, Howard E.
Administrative Assistant
Office of Senator William Proxmire (D-Wis.)
17 October 1976 *

SCOTT, Tom
Chief of Staff (Retired)
Committee on Appropriations
United States Senate
05 September 1974

STARK, Fortney
United States Representative (D-Calif.)
10 September 1974

STONE, I.F.
Journalist
07 August 1981

SUROVELL, Glenda
Legislative Assistant
Office of Representative Herbert E. Harris II (D-Va.)
16 September 1976

TAFT, Robert Jr.
United States Senator (R-Ohio)
18 September 1974

TERRY, Don
Assistant
Office of Representative Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.)
20 September 1976

UDALL, Morris K.
United States Representative (D-Ariz.)
26 September 1974

WEBB, Robert
Washington Bureau Chief
The Cincinnati Enquirer
27 September 1974

* interviewed on more than one occasion

LISTING OF CORRESPONDENCE CONDUCTED

Presidential Libraries

William R. Emerson
Director
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

Philip D. Lagerquist
Chief Archivist
Harry S. Truman Library

John E. Wickman
Director
Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

Shirley J. Parker
Librarian
John F. Kennedy Library

Charles W. Corkran
Archivist
Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

Government/Private Publications

Martha B. Girard
Deputy Director (Presidential and Legislative Division)
Office of the Federal Register

Lawrence F. Kennedy
Publications Director
Joint Committee on Printing
Congress of the United States

Charles B. Brownson
Editor-Publisher
Congressional Staff Directory

C. Clark
Librarian
National Academy of Public Administration

The Editor
Congressional Quarterly Inc.

The Editor
National Journal

United States Congress

Tom Steed
United States Representative (D-Okla.)
Chairman
Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government
United States House of Representatives

James R. Jones
United States Representative (D-Okla.)

Elizabeth Holtzman
United States Representative (D-NY.)

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Staff Director
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Committee on Appropriations
United States House of Representatives

Staff Director
Subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government
Committee on Appropriations
United States Senate

K. Mainland
Clerk and Staff Director
Committee on Appropriations
United States House of Representatives

Rod Crowlie
Staff Director
Committee on Post Office and Civil Service
United States Senate

Charles Knull
Subcommittee Counsel
Subcommittee on Employee Ethics and Utilization
Committee on Post Office and Civil Service
United States House of Representatives

J. Knox Walkup
Chief Counsel and Staff Director
Subcommittee on Civil Service and General Services
Committee on Governmental Affairs
United States Senate

Director
Congressional Research Service
Library of Congress

The White House Office

Jerry H. Jones
Staff Secretary to the President (Ford Presidency)

Frank Moore
Assistant for Congressional Liaison (Carter Presidency)

Jody Powell
Press Secretary to the President (Carter Presidency)

John F.W. Rogers
Special Assistant for Administration (Reagan Presidency)