

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
White House Special Files Collection
Folder List

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| 6 | 12 | N.D. | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Safire, including William P. Rogers, John Mitchell, George Romney and Bob Finch with handwritten revisions by unknown person. 5 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Memo | Memo from Raymond Price to RN RE: Notes on Cabinet appointees. Handwritten comments by unknown person. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Raymond K. Price, concerning William P. Rogers. 2 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Raymond K. Price, concerning George Romney. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Raymond K. Price, concerning Clifford M. Hardin. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Raymond K. Price, concerning Winston M. Blount. 1 pg. |

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|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--|
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Raymond K. Price, concerning Walter J. Hickel. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Raymond K. Price, concerning John Mitchell. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Raymond K. Price, concerning David M. Kennedy. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Raymond K. Price, concerning Melvin Laird. 2 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Raymond K. Price, concerning George P. Schultz. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Raymond K. Price, concerning John A. Volpe. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Raymond K. Price, concerning Robert H. Finch. 1 pg. |

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|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Raymond K. Price, concerning Maurice (Maury) Stans. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | N.D. | Memo | Memo from Buchanan to Bob Haldeman RE: Buchanan and Price's remaining Cabinet appointees and introduction speech. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | N.D. | Memo | Memo to RN from Buchanan RE: Points that might be made during the introduction of the new Cabinet appointees. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Patrick J. Buchanan, concerning George P. Shultze. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Patrick J. Buchanan, concerning Robert Finch. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Cabinet introduction speech for RN, written by Patrick J. Buchanan, concerning David Kennedy. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | N.D. | Other Document | Handwritten notes by unknown author RE: Speech notes for a law firm (Nixon Mudge) dinner December 17, 1968. 1 pg. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--|
| 6 | 12 | 12/17/1968 | Other Document | Suggested comments written by Patrick J. Buchanan for RN to deliver in a speech at the Nixon Mudge Dinner. 4 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Handwritten speech notes written by unknown author (possibly RN) RE: Introducing the new Cabinet appointees. 9 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | N.D. | Other Document | List of Cabinet departments and names with pertinent comments. Handwritten notes by unknown author. 3 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | N.D. | Other Document | Handwritten notes by unknown author (possibly RN) RE: Speech to be given at a September 1968 dinner. 2 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | N.D. | Other Document | Handwritten notes by unknown author (possibly RN) RE: Speech to be given at a January 5 Kennedy - Schultz dinner. 2 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/28/1968 | Memo | Memo from Pat Buchanan to RN RE: Thoughts on the Chicago Kennedy - Schultz (Shultz) drill. 2 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | 01/03/1969 | Memo | Memo from Don Hughes to RN and PN RE: Details concerning the Stone Dinner in Chicago. 2 pgs. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--|
| 6 | 12 | 12/15/1968 | Other Document | Service program for the Marble Collegiate Church, Sunday, December 15, 1968, order of service. Handwritten comments by unknown author. 3 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | 11/10/1968 | Other Document | Service program for the Key Biscayne Presbyterian Church, November 10, 1968, order of service. Handwritten comments on cover by unknown author. 5 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/17/1968 | Letter | Letter from Franklin A. Lindsay, President of the Itek Corporation, to RN RE: Attached memorandum prepared by the Task Force on Organization of the Executive Branch. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | N.D. | Other Document | Biblical passages from 1 Kings, Exodus, Jeremiah, 2 Thessalonians, Genesis and Ecclesiastes. Handwritten note by unknown author specifying the pages should be filed under Billy Graham, November 1968. 5 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | 01/05/1969 | Other Document | Thoughts on Vietnam titled "Vietnam Strategy". Handwritten note by unknown author specifying the pages should be filed under Billy Graham, Jan. 5, '69. 8 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | N.D. | Report | Report titled "Some Observations on Oriental Psychology and U.S. Far-Eastern Policy" by Donald E. Hoke, President of Tokyo Christian College, Japan. 2 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | N.D. | Other Document | Letter size manila file folder titled RN Statement - 1968. 1 pg. |

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| 6 | 12 | 09/08/1968 | Other Document | Statement of RN issued on the occasion of visit to B'nai B'rith Triennial Convention in Washington, D. C. on Sunday, September 8. Handwritten corrections by unknown person. 8 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | N.D. | Other Document | Letter size manila file folder with label "CLEVELAND 10/30/68" lined through. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | N.D. | Other Document | Handwritten notes by unknown author (possibly RN) RE: Urban Affairs Group, house, Sandoval, church services, N.S.C., etc. 2 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | 11/27/1968 | Other Document | RN Schedule. Handwritten notes by unknown author. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | N.D. | Photograph | Handwritten notes by unknown author (possibly RN) RE: Budget, Transportation, Agriculture, Treasury, U. N., staff, poverty, etc. 2 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | N.D. | Memo | Memo from Buchanan to Bob Haldeman RE: Final three cabinet appointments. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Introduction written by Patrick J. Buchanan RE: John Mitchell, the new Attorney General. 1 pg. |

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| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Introduction written by Patrick J. Buchanan RE: John Volpe, the new Secretary of the Department of Transportation. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Introduction written by Patrick J. Buchanan RE: George Romney, the new head of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. 2 pgs. |
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| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Introduction written by Patrick J. Buchanan RE: Clifford Hardin, the new Secretary of Agriculture. 2 pgs. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Introduction written by Patrick J. Buchanan RE: Winton Blount, the next Postmaster General of the United States. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Introduction written by Patrick J. Buchanan RE: William Rogers, the next Secretary of State. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Photograph | Introduction written by Patrick J. Buchanan RE: Walter Hickel, the Secretary of the Interior. 1 pg. |

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| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Introduction written by Patrick J. Buchanan RE: Melvin Laird, the Secretary of Defense. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | 12/11/1968 | Other Document | Introduction written by Patrick J. Buchanan RE: Maurice Stans, the Secretary of Commerce. 1 pg. |
| 6 | 12 | N.D. | Other Document | Draft of speech introducing the new Cabinet members by unknown writer. 7 pgs. |

~~Schedule~~ (RmW)

RN Statement - 1968

Statement of
RICHARD M. NIXON

Issued on Occasion of Visit to
B'nai B'rith Triennial Convention
Washington, D. C.

Sunday, September 8, 1968

125 - Triennial
De Toquerville - 100 years ago
Egypt conquest -
Volunteer - Religion, fraternal, charitable
you is Jewish -
(1) you are interested in
Jewish state
(2) civil rights -
election year - a

Four fundamental facts of life are evident in the Middle East today.

First, the danger of war increases in direct ratio to the confidence of certain Arab leaders that they could win that war.

Second, the Soviet Union has the definite aggressive goal of extending its sphere of influence to include the Middle East.

Third, the United States has a firm and unwavering commitment to the national existence of Israel, repeated by four Presidents. And after Inauguration Day next year, it will be repeated by another President.

Fourth, the foundations for a permanent peace will be laid when hunger and disease and human misery have begun to disappear from the Arab world, and the breeding ground of bitterness and envy is removed.

America must look hard at those facts of life to determine how we can change the collision course of the nations of the Middle East, and avert a confrontation of the major powers.

The danger of war increases in direct ratio to the confidence of certain Arab leaders that they could win that war.

hard fact Since the six-day war, the Soviet Union has systematically rebuilt the armed forces of the U. A. R. Their goal was not to restore a balance of power; their goal was to further Soviet ambitions.

To a disturbing extent, they have introduced new and more sophisticated weapons. Their Middle Eastern clients are growing more confident that they could win a war of revenge and drive Israel into the sea.

Therefore, the free world must act to maintain a balance of power to remove the confidence of would-be aggressors. Certainly a balance of power is ^{only} a short-term solution; but when survival is at stake, short-term solutions are necessary.

Israel must possess sufficient military power to deter an attack. As long as the threat of Arab attack remains direct and imminent, "sufficient power" means the balance must be tipped in Israel's favor. An exact balance of power, which in any case is purely theoretical and not realistic, would run the risk that potential aggressors might miscalculate, and would offer them too much of a temptation.

For that reason -- to provide Israel a valid self-defense -- I support a policy that would give Israel a technological military margin to more than offset her hostile neighbors' numerical superiority. If maintaining that margin should require that the U. S. supply Israel with supersonic Phantom F-4 jets -- we should supply those Phantom jets.

^{hard fact (not true before)}
Second, the Soviet Union has the definite aggressive goal of extending its sphere of influence to include the Middle East. (

In the Middle East and the Mediterranean, along the southern flank of NATO, we have been witnessing the advancement of Russian imperialism. This is no Communist innovation, but an age-old Russian geopolitical goal that the Soviet rulers inherited from the Czars.

Consider the pattern:

--in June of 1966, the Warsaw Pact nations blatantly declared the incorporation of the Middle East into the Communist sphere to be one of their aims.

--during the next year, they provided the weapons and unleashed a propaganda campaign that inflamed tensions and led to the six-day war, which they consider only a temporary setback.

--since June of 1967, the Mediterranean complement of Soviet ships has more than quadrupled -- from 11 to nearly 50 ships. And for the first time in 60 years, the Soviets have moved a fleet into the Persian Gulf, which extends into the heart of West Asia.

--since the take-over of Czechoslovakia, the Soviets have stepped up their anti-Semitic propaganda, concocting a "Zionist plot" in Prague to win support in the Middle East.

These are the clear-cut moves of a superpower seeking domination. Confronted with this diplomatic and military policy of expansionism on the part of the Soviets, ^{J. belin} the American response has been uncertain and ineffectual.

We can hardly ignore the fact that during the past five years of active Soviet penetration, the U. S. government has at times seemed to hide its head in the sands of the Middle East; this Administration has failed to come to diplomatic grips with the scope and seriousness of the Soviet threat.

What must we do now? Short-range, we must counter the military buildup, as I have indicated. We must take the initiative for near-term settlements. Looking ahead, we must deal directly with the Soviets on the subject of the Middle East.

Without belligerence, we have to make it crystal clear that the stake of the free world in the Middle East is great; we must impress upon the Soviets the full extent of our determination; and then, and only then, will we cause them to re-examine their own policy to avoid a collision course.

The third fact of life in the Middle East: The United States has a firm and unwavering commitment to the national existence of Israel.

Conduct
Some of America's critics abroad say that support for Israel by American political leaders is purely an election-year exercise. They say it is a device to capture Jewish votes at home.

But these critics don't understand the American point of view.

America supports Israel because we believe in the self-determination of nations; America supports Israel because we oppose aggression in every form; America supports Israel because it is threatened by Soviet imperialism; and America supports Israel because its example offers long-range hope to the Middle East.

There is another reason that goes beyond diplomacy: Americans admire a people who can scratch a desert and produce a garden. The Israelis have shown qualities that Americans identify with; guts, patriotism, idealism, and a passion for freedom.

We can justify our firm support on the basis of principle but there is that human element involved as well.

All those reasons taken together add up to why we are not about to abandon Israel. America's word is good. It has cost us enough to prove that.

We recognize Israel's predicament; ^{one fact} its enemies can afford ^{Israel's} to fight a war and lose, and come back to fight again; Israel cannot afford to lose once. America knows that. And America is determined that Israel is here in the family of nations to stay.

The fourth fact of life: The foundations for a permanent peace will be laid when hunger and disease and human misery have begun to disappear from the Arab world.

Some Arab leaders equate America's support of Israel as being "against" them. That is ^{absolutely} ~~simply~~ not true. (^{not true} Ben Gurion, Casch)

The United States should work with every nation of the Middle East willing to live in peace with its neighbors on a far-reaching development program.

The imaginative Eisenhower Plan to bring water -- and thus food and employment -- to the Middle East is one such proposal. This plan would provide atomic plants for the desalting of sea water -- water so desperately needed to irrigate deserts. The first of these plants would produce as much fresh water as the entire Jordan River system does today, opening a new life to hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees. We must explore every avenue to turn the arms race into a race for development.

Right now, the United States must take the lead in forging an acceptable settlement in the Mid-East.

Included in the terms of that settlement should be solid guarantees that the currently occupied territories will never again be used as bases of aggression or sanctuaries for terrorism. Access for the ships of all nations through the re-opened Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran should be guaranteed. The settlement should include recognition of Israeli sovereignty, its right to exist in peace, and an end to the state of belligerency.

It is my view that for Israel to take formal and final possession of the occupied territories would be a grave mistake; at the same time, it is not realistic to expect Israel to surrender vital bargaining counters in the absence of a genuine peace and effective guarantees.

To find a just peace in an area of the world that has known only armed truces and three major and bitter wars in a generation is not an easy task. But the United States is not without diplomatic and economic resources, and its private and public men are not without cogent ideas to get directly at the underlying problems of refugees and water.

We should thwart the temptation for aggression by helping Israel to maintain her defense; we should engage in some direct, hard negotiation with the Soviet Union to remove one underlying cause of the tension; we should assert some leadership in bringing about talks first with the moderate Arab leaders, and later with the militants; and we should open

up vistas of growth and development that can gradually end the bitterness and envy that exist.

That's an ambitious task. But the only way to succeed, or even partially to succeed, is to make the effort. Any future Mid-East war could bring together in a sudden collision not only the nations of the Mid-East, but the great powers of East and West. We must not allow the cradle of civilization to become its grave.

#####

Peace at home: if abroad

fear stalks ghettos suburbs + ghettos

① Civil Right - free for vidua

② But Order sans program is trying program and is empty

~~Peace~~

Hope -

Educator -

readers -

page

Law -

supra law -

program for peace

must solicit people volunteer
organization - the heart, delicate.

Charity - charity -

Conscience -

Zedek -

& Do Justice (not to) care

Hebrew

Sanctification

Heart of America
enlightened in recollections

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A.

1910

CLEVELAND

10/30/68



General

C.I.A. - 21
Joint Chiefs -
O.E. P.



no C.I.A.

File
Notes for
Florida
Meeting

Subjunctive
N.S.C. -

1. Regular meetings - no staff -
2. Free Talk - modeling.
3. Pick brains of Staff + Refers -
4. Pick outside brains -
5. Open O.C.B. ? -

A.N. : (Vested Interest in State Dept)

1. Cut all Comin personnel overseas -
2. H.I.P. - change -
3. M.S.T.A. -
4. Military Mission -
5. Cut Small funds (Africa et al)

Major -

1. Review all Comin things

① Notes -

② Far East -

Security gap -

V. Nam -

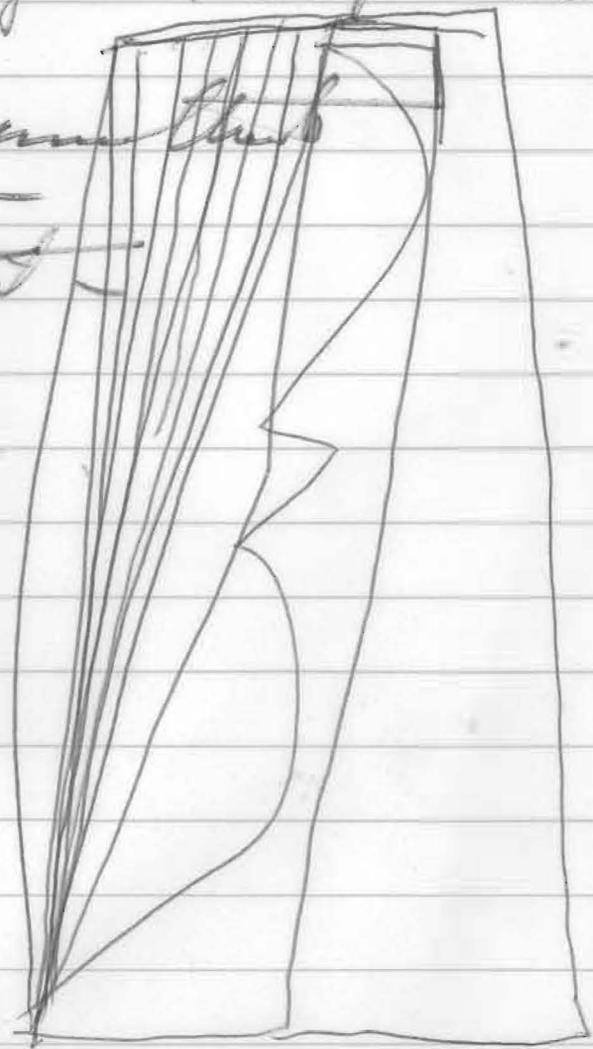
Western Dept -

China -

Mideast -

③ Master - ?

De Gaulle -



P R E S I D E N T - E L E C T
R M N
S C H E D U L E

Nelson
Rockefeller spl
Late
NR

WEDNESDAY
NOVEMBER 27, 1968

| | | |
|------------|----------------------------|-----------|
| 9:00 a.m. | Senator Edward Brooke | (Public) |
| 10:00 a.m. | Dr. Lee Dubridge | (Private) |
| 11:00 a.m. | Ambassador Robert Murphy | (Public) |
| 12:00 noon | Vice President-Elect Agnew | (Public) |
| 1:00 p.m. | Dr. Kissenger | (Private) |
| 4:00 p.m. | William Rogers | (Private) |
| 5:00 p.m. | Herbert Brownell | (Private) |
| 6:00 pm | Robert Murphy | |

11/27/68
9:55 a.m.

N.R.
Dillon -
Hess - Amigo -
Sam Peim - other
Brooks - Lawyer for
Jay R - Secy of State

Herb Brannell - for week.

La Jolla
Cabinet
appointments
Nov 19

Budget

Loomis

Continental Bank -

Flanagan -

Burns - (Mills)

① Marta

② N.R.

Transportation - Agriculture -

California? -

Get someone on project.

(Farm Bureau, Headwater
Mundt)

Treasury -

D.R. - (Bill Martin?)

Harlowe

U. N. -

offer to Jackson -

Wayne Andrews -

George Smothers -

Patrol
Yancy Loyell

Staff Assignments -

Sofie -

Loomis -

- Negro - Essential - + Seelye -

Anderson

Allen - (call)

✓ San Diego - clean up -

Week for broader consultation in staff - (Loomis
Harlowe)

✓ P.M. to see names - of Bureau type -

✓ for cabinet & sub cabinet

See government -

~~Chastain~~ - not for #2 -

Poverty (Bud Wilkins?)

Negro (Civil Service)

Pratt & Gibb

Phyllis

Transit Bank -
Furniture -
Furniture -
Furniture -

1/2 of the
Pratt & Gibb
D. N. R.
D. N. R.

Transportation -
California -

From Boston
Pratt & Gibb

get rooms in project
Pratt & Gibb
Pratt & Gibb

Pratt & Gibb
Pratt & Gibb

W. H. -
Pratt & Gibb
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*File
Cabinet
Announcement*

MEMO TO BOB HALDEMAN

From Buchanan

The final three will be up there just as soon as they are done.

Buchanan

12/11/68
JOHN MITCHELL
PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

The new Attorney General is a brilliant lawyer and the one of the best administrators in the country, and I can personally attest to both facts. He is John Mitchell of New York, my partner both in work and politics.

I selected him because I believe his enormous capabilities and competence are what is needed to marshal the resources of the Department of Justice in an effort to make new ground -- especially against organized crime.

During the campaign, I stated ~~time~~ and again my belief that one of America's first priorities is to restore security to the streets of this country; and freedom from fear to the America's homes. In naming John Mitchell the chief law enforcement officer of the United States, I think we have a strong man in most demanding job.

Justice in our system implies respect for the rights of all, guilty and innocent alike; it implies social justice as well as criminal justice. In John Mitchell we have a man with recognition of that fact.

12/11/68
JOHN VOLPE
PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

The youngest Department in our Government is the Department of Transportation. It is really an infant as far as Government Departments are concerned. It was established in recognition of the modern problems of travel which affecting the great cities of America.

It was established in recognition of the problems of air and sea and surface travel in America; recognition of the interrelationship of these modes of travel and recognition of need for planning for America's future.

The man I have chosen for this post is the former United States Highway Administrator under President Eisenhower. He is the man who launched the \$40 billion Federal highway program, which has been called the rightly one of the greatest construction projects ever undertaken by man; he is the Governor of Massachusetts, John Volpe.

I would like to add a personal note about Governor Volpe, the new Secretary. He is a living example of the promise of America. His parents were Italian immigrants, and Governor Volpe reached where he has today through courage and determination and hard work.

###

12/11/68
GEORGE ROMNEY
PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

During the campaign I said time and again that there was no ground more important than the ground we stand on. The crisis of the American city is really the crisis of America. How we resolve it will determine what kind of future our children have.

No Department is more intimately involved in that crisis than the Department of Housing and Urban Development. It is the Department of the cities and the man I have chosen to lead it the next four years is Governor George Romney of Michigan.

In all my years of public life I have never met a man who worked harder or who was more deeply committed to the cause of social justice in this country. But we need more than commitment in HUD. We need a man of action, a doer and not just a talker, a man who understands and has already established in his own state an example for the nation of what can be done by volunteer action working with government.

To solve these problems of America's cities, to bring Americans together, to move this country forward with progress for every American, this is a task we have to accomplish, it is a task to which we most devote twenty-four hours a day. I think that in George Romney the nation has a man who will approach

this task with the kind of missionary zeal that it requires today.

###

12/11/68
CLIFFORD HARDIN
PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

During the presidential campaign I told the American farmer that if elected I would name to the Department of Agriculture a man who would speak for them to the President of the United States and not the other way around. I think I have found that man in Nebraska.

Clifford Hardin, the next Secretary of Agriculture, is chancellor of the University of Nebraska, and formerly dean of the school of Agriculture at Michigan State University.

His educational background stretching back over thirty years has been exclusively in the field of agriculture and related problems. He will not be the chosen representative of any one particular farm group; he will not just represent one particular farm crop.

He brings to his position a tremendous scope and range in the field of agriculture; he will be the spokesman for all of America's farmers in the Councils of government; he will be the Cabinet's voice of rural America.

With his knowledge and background we expect more of him than we expect from a normal Secretary. We are going to depend on him to keep the country aware not only of the problems of rural poverty and unemployment, the problems of farm income and crop surpluses; but more than that we will expect from him

ideas and initiatives on how to put America's plenty on the dinner table of the world's hungry.

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12/11/68
WINTON BLOUNT
PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

The next Postmaster General of the United States hails from Union Springs, Alabama. He is Winton Blount, currently President of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

In naming Red Blount to this post we are hoping to put an end to the tradition of naming political and party leaders to this office in the Cabinet. I have chosen Mr. Blount because of his brilliant background as a business executive and because I believe that the postal service in the United States today can be dramatically improved in terms of speed and efficiency. We are going to try to introduce to the United States Post Office the modern business practices and we mean to improve the mail service and reorganize the Department to see if we can't make it a going concern. So, when the letters don't get there on time, this will be the man to call.

*I have given him
completely responsibility*

12/11/68
WILLIAM ROGERS
PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

In my acceptance speech for the Republican nomination, I stated that it was my belief that we are about to enter into an era of negotiations with the Soviet Union, and that within the term of the New Administration, the dialogue with mainland China would have to begin.

With these considerations foremost in my mind that I have chosen William Rogers to be the next Secretary of State of the United States.

He is the best qualified man I know to sit across the table from friend and adversaries alike and represents the legitimate interests of the United States. He is a brilliant attorney, the most capable negotiator I have ever met; he has spent a lifetime in public service he is a former Attorney General of the United States under President Eisenhower; he was an able administrator at the Department of Justice -- something we need today at the Department of States; he will be the youngest Secretary of State in the century. He will make a brilliant advocate for his new client -- the United States.

Cool
judgment
quiet confidence

###

12/11/68
WALTER HICKEL
PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

In this modern era, the Secretary of the Interior of the United States has no more important role to play than to serve as custodian of America's natural resources. The rivers and forests and mountains and wilderness lands of America are unmatched anywhere in the world. They were God's gift to the people who first came to this land. It is our intention to hand that heritage down secure for future generation. The man I have chosen for that assignment is able suited. He is a man of the West, the Governor of America's largest state, our last frontier of Alaska.

Walter Hickel is a young Secretary of the Interior. He went to Alaska as something of a pioneer, without a dime in his pocket, thirty years ago. He helped to build Alaska into the great state and land of opportunity it is today. He will bring to his position in our Cabinet an ingrained love of this country and its outdoors. He will be great and effective Trustee of America's Natural Resources.

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12/11/68
MELVIN LAIRD
PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

The Secretary of Defense will be the youngest in the nation's history; and yet he will bring more experience in the field of national security to that job than any other of his predecessors with the sole exception of General Marshall. He is Congressman Melvin Laird of Wisconsin, a veteran of 16 years in the House of Representatives, a man whom even his Democratic colleagues regards as one of the most brilliant in the Congress.

He will name as Deputy Secretary of Defense will be names an executive with full responsibility for managing the Pentagon.

Congressman Laird, rather Secretary Laird will be the man on whom I will depend to determine the national security needs of this country. I know of no more ideal man for this post. He blends years of experience in national security affairs; he shares my views completely with the need to keep America second to none in terms of military strength; and he shares my concern last too much of America's resources be wasted on arms that are not needed and taken from the more profitable pursuit of the words of peace.

XXX

12/11/68

Patrick Buchanan
Secretary of Commerce

The new Secretary of Commerce brings with him to that post a tremendous reputation in the American business community. He is a certified public accountant who once handled the largest account in the world in the late fifties when he was budget Director of the United States under President Eisenhower.

I will count upon Secretary Stans as I have in the past for advice and counsel on the domestic economy, and will call upon him for ideas in dealing with the problems of poverty and unemployment. He is an able counsellor, a man of great integrity, a good friend and he will make a great Secretary of Commerce.

I know I need not dwell on the importance of this announcement this evening. Every citizen in America will, I hope, give close attention to what takes place here, because these outstanding men, given the concurrence of the United States Senate, will be functional leaders in their respective areas for at least the next four years.

There are twelve great Executive Departments in our government, each headed by a Cabinet officer. I have only a few minutes to make them known to you. Tonight, therefore, I will tell you in the fewest possible words the most compelling reason why I have selected each man. I must confine my remarks to this central thought respecting each -- and, of course, tomorrow and later, every citizen can find in his newspapers the detailed history of every one.

First, the Senior Cabinet position in our government -- the Secretary of State. William P. Rogers of Maryland is my choice. Four months ago in my Acceptance remarks at the Miami convention, I stated that America is now entering a period of negotiation, leaving a time of confrontation. This, I believe very deeply. For Secretary of State, therefore, I have selected a man whom I know personally, from many years of close association, to be one of the most skillful, competent, toughest negotiators in America. The youngest Secretary of State in this century, I predict that Mr. Rogers will be one of the most successful Secretaries of State in the history of our country.

For Secretary of the Treasury I have selected Mr. David Kennedy of Illinois. In this time of extreme gravity in international monetary affairs and in fiscal concerns here at home, it was imperative to select a very specially qualified man for this post. That is David Kennedy. Not only his major banking competitors rank him at the top of their lists, but also international bankers regard him with the highest respect and esteem. Both of my last two predecessors in the Presidency considered this outstanding man, who heads the Continental Bank of Chicago, for this same position. In point of years he is the senior member of the cabinet, but from personal discussions with him I know that the more youthful members will be hard-put to match his vigor and drive.

For Secretary of Defense, I propose Congressman Melvin R. Laird of Wisconsin. He is one of the ablest men I have met in public affairs since I came to Washington 21 years ago as a new member of the House of Representatives. Through his Congressional work he has not only risen to leadership in the Legislative Branch; he has also mastered in remarkable degree the complexities of national defense planning and operations. He will take office as the best prepared man for this post in its broadest implications of any Secretary of Defense since this Department was created 21 years ago, excepting possibly only General George C. Marshall. Our national security, the readiness of our military strength, the scores of billions of dollars invested in our military forces -- all this

immensely important area will be, I am convinced, wisely administered by Mr. Laird.

For Attorney General of the United States I propose Mr. John Mitchell of New York. There is no more respected or successful lawyer in the United States. This man, with whom I have worked professionally in the private practice of law, has a remarkable talent, over and beyond the law, in picking top people and in directing large organizations. He is profoundly dedicated to restoration of law and order throughout the nation. He will mount an all-out attack on burgeoning crime. He will be fair and he will be firm. I will simply say there has never been a better qualified Attorney General.

For Postmaster General of the United States I propose Mr. Winton Blount, of Alabama -- probably the most highly experienced business manager to this post in this century. Relatively young, immensely successful in business, a skilled manager, he is today the President of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. With me he is committed to vastly improving the postal service. I am convinced he will be extraordinarily successful in this.

For Secretary of the Interior I recommend Governor Walter Hickel of Alaska -- a far-Westerner in the tradition of this post. Governor Hickel brings youth, energy, imagination, and a remarkably successful personal record to his post, as well as

detailed knowledge of the huge problems of this Department, in particular relationship to the vast Western reaches of America. He is a man of remarkable abilities, who I am convinced, will write a great record for this Department.

For Secretary of Agriculture I propose Dr. Clifford Harden. Dr. Harden is Chancellor of the University of Nebraska. Born and raised on the farm, one who has operated a farm, today he is an acknowledged expert in the exceedingly complex problems of agriculture, a subject which he studied at Purdue University and taught at Michigan State University before taking the leadership of the University of Nebraska. He knows it will be his responsibility, in the new Administration, to speak up for the farmer, and for the rural American. He brings to this task a remarkable grasp of its problems and a deep understanding of the needs of the people in the farming areas of our country.

For Secretary of Commerce I propose a man of encyclopedic knowledge and experience in government - a man also eminently successful in the business world -- Mr. Maurice Stans of New York. This man has become a recognized leader in every field he has undertaken. He is dedicated, as I am, to developing greatly improved methods for increasing the involvement of the private sector in the most pressing problems of our society, and he has the know-how and he has the ability to help us achieve this goal.

For Secretary of Labor I intend to propose Dr. George P. Shultz, one of our nation's leading mediators of labor disputes -- a man with previous service in the Department of Labor during the Eisenhower Administration, an expert in economics, and Dean of the University of Chicago School of Business Administration. He is tops in his field and will bring expertise and distinction to his post.

For Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare I propose a man of youth, imagination and boundless energy, the second highest elected officer in the most populous state in the Union -- Lt. Governor Robert Finch of California. Mr. Finch shares my commitment to the creation of a humane, understanding and responsive Administration. As leader of the Department most concerned with the personal problems of the American people, he has the force, the compassion, the decisiveness and the experience gained in dealing with these problems in California to evolve sound conclusions. He will provide distinguished leadership in the fields of health, education, and welfare.

For Secretary of Housing and Urban Development I propose a distinguished American known to every citizen as a man of profound personal commitment to the well-being of the people.

He is a leader in urban affairs, an outstanding administrator - a person who also has dedicated himself to encouraging the greatest possible volunteer action in meeting America's urban and rural problems. I refer to Governor George Romney of Michigan, and am particularly proud that he is joining the new Administration in devising new and workable solutions to our most pressing domestic problems.

For Secretary of Transportation I propose another distinguished governor, one who served as Director of Highway Programs during the Eisenhower Administration -- Governor John Volpe of Massachusetts. This state leader is a man of phenomenal energy and devotion. He has specialized in the complexities of modern transportation both as Governor of Massachusetts and in his previous federal service. He too, like Governors Finch and Romney, has an intense concern relating to our vexing urban problems. He will contribute to their solution far beyond the confines of his own Departmental assignment.

In presenting these men to you this evening, I am convinced that from their combined efforts, joined with min as your President, will come great good for our country. This is a grouping broadly distributed geographically; intellectually distinguished; youthful and vigorous; skilled in their functional areas; and versed in the intricacies of the political

system in which we live. I have the utmost confidence in them. I believe they will earn your total trust and, in time, your hearty approval.

Tonight marks my first public listing of the most major appointments of the new Administration. There will be many other important announcements in the immediate future which will complement the Cabinet named this evening. I am determined that every significant aspect of American life find appropriate representation in the leadership of our country, and this will be done. We have moved far in that direction this evening, and I commend these distinguished men to you as an effective and forceful new leadership for America.

Safire/Cabinet Introduction

What is a cabinet?

All too often, a cabinet is a collection of the heads of government agencies departments. Some Presidents have avoided their cabinets; some presidents have preferred "kitchen cabinets" of close friends and advisors; and some presidents have used their cabinets creatively.

I ~~do not~~ believe that a cabinet is ^{much more than} a collection of department heads. I believe a cabinet, in this modern day, is at the core of an Administration's effectiveness. And I believe that a cabinet has a unity, an identity, as a cabinet---which is why I wanted you to meet them collectively tonight.

ROGERS

And now for a post held in our early days by Jefferson and Madison...and recently by men like Dulles and Dean Rusk.

You often hear it said that a President will be "his own Secretary of State." I don't agree. The President has enough to do being his own President.

One of the foremost problems we face is to reestablish respect for Americans abroad...so the next secretary of state had to be a man of respected stature.

One of this immediate tasks will be to oversee the most delicate kind of negotiations for peace...and so we needed a skilled negotiator.

And finally, we needed a man at the helm of State who understood the workings of a major department...who could move surely and decisively.

William P. Rogers was Dwight Eisenhower's Attorney General. In my mind, he is the best negotiator in the United States today---he's the kind of man you want on your side of the conference table.

As one who has effectively operated the Department of Justice, he will know how to move quickly to take over the reins at State.

Your secretary of State must be a man of intellect; Rogers is that. He must be young enough to withstand the rigors of the job; Bill Rogers is in his mid-Fifties. And most of all, he must speak for you and me with a force of character, and the quietness of strength---and that is the kind of Secretary of State Bill Rogers will be.

MITCHELL

What sort of Attorney General do we need?

More than ever, today we need a man who knows the difference ~~wixx~~ between strength and bluster...between talk and action.

John Mitchell is my choice.

The Attorney General has to have a deep understanding of, and a love for, the law----and John Mitchell, who has been my law partner for the past few years, is as fine a lawyer as I have ever met.

What's more, state and municipal law has been his specialty; he knows the problems of our cities.

There were a lot of raised eyebrows when I chose him to be the manager of my campaign for the Presidency---my friends pointed out he had never managed a campaign before. He was a success for at least three reasons: a fine mind, always learning; character; and executive authority.

John Mitchell is a tough-minded man, ever since his days as a torpedo boat commander in the Pacific. But he is also a compassionate fair-minded man.

An attorney general should be ^{feared} ~~feared~~ by racketeers and criminals; organized crime will have good reason to worry about John Mitchell.

At the same time, the Attorney general must have the trust and respect of the citizen who needs his rights protected---and John Mitchell will earn that trust.

*Cool -
just, strong
Cm*

ROMNEY

Housing and Urban Develepment is one of the newest government departments...but it deals with the age-old problem of how and where people live, and the quality of their life in the cities.

Right now, there are two overriding needs in thas deaprtment: first, a tightening up of administration; and second a belief in the ability of private ~~and~~ enterprise and government, working togetehr, to meet our housing needs.

George Romney culd have held one of several cabinet posts; but in HUD he will be especailly effective. He's a proven administrator----as ~~ch~~ chief executive of a great auto company, and later as chelf executive of the state of Michigan

But he's more than a fine administrator. He's one of those practical dreamers, one of these men with an abiding belief in the power of our system to overcome its weaknesses.

He's a problem solver; and there are plenty of urban problems that need ~~fast and long range attention~~ solutions.

FINCH

For the post of Health, Education and Welfare, we reached out West, to California for its Lt. Governor, Robert Finch.

Bob Finch is the youngest member of the cabinet, age 43 (IS THIS RIGHT?). He's a man for today, and a man for tomorrow.

In California, he headed a Job Training Council that opened up opportunities for thousands of unemployed...the whole field of new job opportunities is an important area of his concern.

He is a regent of the University of California, and a man with a longstanding interest in education and health care.

I have always felt that education is the longrange answer to so many of our nation's needs; in Bob Finch, I have an HEW secretary with a passion for excellence in education, and a desire to extend educational opportunity to every child in every corner of this land.

Wednesday 11 December

From: Price

To: RN

Subj: Notes on Cabinet appointees

1. This packet is incomplete; it's as far as I'd gotten by the 1:00 deadline.

2. A few general thoughts:

a. The new Administration is going to be a ministry of talents. Its members are men of outstanding brilliance, of broad gauge, of national stature in their own right, even though several are not yet nationally known, men with the capacity to see a problem whole and not merely in one or another of its specialized facets.

b. The magnitude of the problems we as a nation face demands nothing less.

c. They are not all men who see eye to eye on everything, either with one another or with RN. That's the way RN wants it -- he wants this to be an Administration in which ideas contend on the basis of their own merits, and in which new avenues are constantly being opened and explored for the achievement of our common purposes as a nation.

d. I think an argument can be made that, with Kissinger, Moynihan, etc., this is the ~~best~~ brainiest Administration ever put together.

Brains -
Compassion -
Judgment -

Strayth

rp

12/11/68
SECRETARY OF STATE
RAYMOND K. PRICE

The Secretary of State bears some of the most awesome responsibilities in America. The quality of his judgment weighs heavily in the chances for peace and war; his skill as a negotiator can be crucial to the future of freedom in the world.

No one in America has a better combination of negotiating skill, balanced judgment and intellectual brilliance than the man I am especially pleased to have persuaded to serve as Secretary of State.

The period we are entering will be one of intensive negotiations on many fronts, as the United States seeks new relationships with friend and adversary alike. I can think of no one I would rather have negotiating on behalf of the United States than William P. Rogers.

The most effective of our past Secretaries of State have often come from the ranks of international lawyers, as does the man I have chosen. He served as Attorney General of the United States under President Eisenhower, and won a reputation for skill and great brilliance.

At the same time, he has proven himself highly effective at running a major department of government; he has served for three years on the National Security Council, where his contributions were always keenly insightful; he is dedicated to the pursuit of peace, and at the same time toughly realistic in his judgment, in

his measurement of the possible and in his determination to achieve it.

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12/11/68

Raymond K. Price
George Romney

The Department of Housing and Urban Development will be one of those at the center of the great effort to develop new and more relevant approaches to the crisis of America's cities. For Secretary, I wanted a man who not only knew urban problems, but who cared -- and one not stuck in the old ways, but dedicated to innovation, and especially to the finding of new ways to enlist the full range of our resources -- private as well as public -- in the struggle for better cities.

Beyond this, I wanted a man who was capable of mastering the immense administrative burdens of this very demanding office.

My choice is Michigan's Governor George Romney -- a brilliant administrator, ^{experienced} both as a highly successful business executive and as Governor of a major industrial state, a man who has a deep feel for the problems of the cities and an intense dedication to the solution of those problems. Probably no man in America better understands the uses of private resources to solve public problems, or has taken more vigorous leadership in the enlistment of the voluntary and private sectors. As a man of both government and business, and innovator as well as an administrator, whose own career offers one of the nation's leading examples of citizen participation in public affairs, Governor Romney's will be a strong voice of experience and imagination.

12/11/68

Raymond K. Price
Clifford M. Hardin

For Secretary of Agriculture, I wanted a man who was thoroughly knowledgeable in the problems of agriculture -- not only the problems of farming itself, but the larger picture as well -- agricultural marketing, food and hunger. And, as I often stated during the campaign, I wanted a Secretary of Agriculture who would speak for the farmers to the President, instead of for the President to the farmers.

I have found a man who meets these criteria brilliantly, and who also has the stature and the intelligence to contribute broadly to the development of policies within the Administration which affect the agricultural community. I have chosen as Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin, the chancellor of the University of Nebraska and former dean of the school of agriculture at Michigan State University. Under Secretary Hardin's leadership, the farmers of America will have a powerful voice within the Administration -- and at the same time, his deep interest in the problems of world hunger will, I am confident, lead to the development of imaginative new ways of using America's agricultural genius to the fullest in the cause of world peace and human well-being.

C

12/11/68

Raymond K. Price
Winston M. Blount

In the past, The Postmaster Generalship has often been used as a reward for deserving politicians, or as a place for a top political adviser to hang an official hat while spending most of his time on politics.

In choosing a Postmaster General, I wanted one who would concentrate on running the postal service -- and at the same time on overhauling the postal service, to make it more efficient for the benefit of everybody. So I've picked for the job one of the leading businessmen of the nation and one of the smartest -- the president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, a dynamic young doer from Montgomery, Alabama -- Winston M. Blount. I'm confident that when Red Blount gets through, we'll have a postal service geared to the rapidly mounting needs of the 1970's, one of which the postal employees can be proud, and with which the people of America will at last be satisfied.

12/11/68

Raymond K. Price
Walter J. Hickel

This is a post that can be of tremendous importance in shaping the America of tomorrow -- in conserving our natural resources, preserving and developing recreational facilities, and generally restoring the quality of life in an ever-more-crowded America.

Traditionally, the Secretary of the Interior has been a Westerner. There are a lot of Cabinet traditions that I discarded, but this is one that I felt was valid. Most of the responsibilities of the Interior Secretary have primarily to do with the Western states, and the interests of the Western states are closely and vitally bound up with the decisions made in the Department of the Interior.

While wanting a Westerner, however, I did not want a man who had been personally identified with one side or the other of the great public-vs-private power or water disputes; and I did want a man who had the brains, the drive and the imagination to make of this office the major force that I believe it must become in the years ahead.

The Governor of America's largest state, and one of its newest, will, in my view, superbly meet these criteria, and it is my intention to appoint as Secretary of the Interior Governor Walter J. Hickel of the state of Alaska.

12/11/68
JOHN MITCHELL
RAYMOND K. PRICE

The new Administration is going to be dedicated to a restoration of respect for the law in America-- not repressively, but firmly, with even-handed justice and a humane order that makes freedom possible.

The man whom I have chosen as the new Attorney General is a brilliant lawyer, a strong personality, and a man dedicated to the twin concepts of order and justice. As one of my former law partners, and as manager of my Presidential campaign, I have known him well -- and have developed enormous respect for his brilliance, his balance, and his unruffled capacity to steer a true course whatever the winds.

Under John Mitchell's leadership, I am confident that the Department of Justice will be vigorously what its name implies -- an advocate of the people's rights, a guardian of law and a temple of justice.

As the nation's chief law enforcement officer, John Mitchell can be counted on for fairness, for vigor, and for a recognition that an effective system of law must be a just system of law.

12/11/68
TREASURY
RAYMOND K. PRICE

At a time of acute worldwide concern over international monetary matters, the new U. S. Secretary of the Treasury must, more than ever, be a man who understands international finance and who has the stature to command the respect of the financial community both at home and abroad.

For this post, I have chosen David M. Kennedy, the chairman of the Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Company of Chicago and a former special assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury.

In soliciting recommendations for this extremely sensitive post, I was immensely impressed by the universal esteem Mr. Kennedy is held in by his colleagues and competitors, both at home and abroad. He is a man of broad outlook, of immense ability, with both the personal and the professional stature this post so pre-eminently requires. He was largely responsible for building the Continental Bank into one of the world's largest financial institutions, and also for greatly expanding its international operations; I am especially pleased that vigor, imagination and drive will now be put in the service of the nation.

12/11/68
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
RAYMOND K. PRICE

Often in the past, Presidents have named as Secretary of Defense top executives of major corporations, on the theory that the vast managerial requirements of the office made the need for business managerial experience pre-eminent.

In my choice, I took a different course. The Under Secretary will be a managerial expert, but for Secretary I wanted a man whose basic orientation was toward the great national policy questions that the Secretary of Defense is increasingly and inescapably involved in-- and at the same time, thoroughly one knowledgeable about the awesome intricacies of the defense establishment.

So, for Secretary of Defense, I intend to appoint Congressman Melvin Laird of Wisconsin.

On both sides of the aisle, Mel Laird has long enjoyed a reputation as one of the smartest men ever to sit in Congress. His long service on the Defense subcommittee of the House Appropriations committee made him one of the best-informed men in Congress on defense policy, and he also is thoroughly expert in the need to keep defense expenditures within manageable bounds.

Mel Laird will bring to the Cabinet a wide-ranging, first-rate intelligence, immense vigor, and a keen sensitivity to the proper relationships between the Executive and Legislative

branches -- and, when the great decisions are being made, a probing mind that can be counted on to ask the right questions and come up with fresh approaches.

12/11/68
SECRETARY OF LABOR
RAYMOND K. PRICE

To represent the voice of labor effectively in the Cabinet, a Secretary of Labor must have the confidence of organized labor; to function effectively on the national scene, and especially at times of intense labor-management crisis, he must also have the confidence of business.

Seldom has one man enjoyed the confidence of both to the extent that George P. Schultz does -- a confidence won as one of the nation's most outstanding mediators of labor disputes.

As dean of the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business, Dr. Schultz, like others in the Cabinet, has a broad range of interests and experience beyond the specific requirements of his own Cabinet post. Thus labor will be represented in the Cabinet by a Secretary whose voice will be heard and respected on a wide range of issues -- urban affairs, and education, for example, which have special relevance to the needs of labor as well as general significance for the nation.

12/11/68
TRANSPORTATION
RAYMOND K. PRICE

As the Cabinet officer with chief responsibility for untangling the nation's vast transportation snarl, I have chosen a Governor of first-rate talents and extensive experience, at both the Federal and state level, with problems of both public and private transportation.

John A. Volpe, the Governor of Massachusetts, served as Federal Highway Administrator under President Eisenhower; as Governor, he has grappled with the problems of transportation that plague our metropolitan centers. A successful self-made business man, ~~he is a skilled administrator;~~ and equally importantly, he is broadly knowledgeable in the whole complex of urban problems that are inseparable from the transportation picture.

In an increasingly mobile nation, transportation cannot be viewed apart from its impact on the patterns of both urban and rural life. Governor Volpe will bring to the Cabinet this broader experience, as well as his own expert knowledge of the transportation field.

12/11/68
HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
RAYMOND K. PRICE

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare can be a great fountain of ideas, a place of creative confrontation with the problems that wrack our cities and that will determine the quality of our national life for many years to come.

For Secretary of HEW, I have turned to one of my closest associates, a man with whom I have worked through much of my public life -- whose judgement I respect immensely, and whose energy is boundless -- the Lieutenant Governor of California, Robert H. Finch.

J. Edgar Hoover
As Lieutenant Governor, Bob Finch has involved himself deeply in the human crises that strain our cities, in problems of education and jobs and welfare, in the relations between the races -- and he's a man who's never satisfied until a problem is on the way to solution.

I have immense confidence that with Bob Finch At HEW, the department will take on a new life -- that it will be a place of ideas and of action, and deep humanitarian concern with the needs of all our people everywhere. In few areas are new ideas so urgently needed as in the fields of HEW's concern, and I know of no man in America better able to stimulate those ideas and translate them into action than Robert H. Finch.

12/11/68
MAURY STANS
RAYMOND K. PRICE

For Secretary of Commerce, I intend to appoint Maurice H. Stans. As a business man, Maury Stans has proven his skills through success in the fastest track in the world -- Wall Street. Beyond this, he knows government as few men do. He served as Director of the Bureau of the Budget under President Eisenhower -- and anyone familiar with the operations of the Federal government knows that the Budget Bureau is where the lines of policy and administration all finally cross.

Maury Stans is a man of intelligence and humanity. He will be a forceful advocate of the business point of view, and at the same time a man who can help provide that link between business needs and government responsibilities that is so essential if each is to play its role to the fullest in the years ahead.

MEMO TO BOB HALDEMAN

From Buchanan

Attached are the remnants of Buchanan and Price's Stuff
on the Cabinet guys and introduction.

Buchanan

MEMO TO: RN

FROM: Buchanan

Points that might be made in the introduction:

1) RN has selected a Cabinet of men, nearly all of whom grew to manhood in the years of the Depression and the World War, as RN did. They know the meaning of poverty in this nation; they know the ravages of war first hand; they are committed to social justice; they know the requirements of peace.

2) RN might well take note that while every section of America can claim at least one of these men; some five of them hail from the Midwest.

3) In selecting these men, RN sought to bring men with special capacities for their particular job, but also men with knowledge and understanding and background in other areas; a Secretary of State who was also an Attorney General; a Secretary of Defense who was minority whip and one of the most brilliant men in the House of Representatives; a university dean who is also a businessman as Secretary of Labor; a university chancellor who is also one of the nations most knowledgeable men in agriculture.

RN feels that the cross fertilization of ideas and experience will make the whole Cabinet really greater than simply the sum of its parts.

4) They are men of RN's generation.

12/11/68
GEORGE P. SHULTZE
PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

Some of the most imaginative thinking in the nation today-- for new approaches for America's social problems - is taking place at the University of Chicago. The new Administration intends to tap that source; and we have named to the Cabinet as Secretary of Labor, George P. Shultze, the Dean of the Graduate School of Business.

Dean Shulz has a doctorate in economics, an outstanding record in the academic community, as well as broad experience as a business executive.

His job will be the implementation of the long-range programs of which we talked during the campaign. He will have a hand in the development of our concept of black capitalism for the urban slums, and the creation of the national computer job bank to enable anyone in the nation in the need of a job to find one.

We look to him for ideas as well as for administration and arbitration if disputes; we look to him as a transmissionbelt to the academic community; we look to him to speak up for the interests of the American workingman organized and independent.

12/11/68
ROBERT FINCH
PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in the new Cabinet, will be one of this Administration's two ranking ambassadors to and attorneys for those Americans who, because of discrimination or poverty, have been denied a full and fair share of this country's blessings.

The man who holds that post must be "afflicted with a special conscience," and deeply committed to social justice for every American.

The man I have chosen brings that kind of conscience to his job--and a great deal more. He is Lieutenant Governor Robert Finch of California.

He will come into office with new ideas, a passion for reform of America's welfare structure, the experience of twenty years in public life and two years as Lieutenant Governor of the largest state in the Union.

I have known Bob Finch since he got out of college and there is no man in whom I have more confidence in his imagination and ability, character and compassion. I believe that he is the man to make progress with a crisis that has so far resisted the best of intentions and billions of dollars.

12/11/68
DAVE KENNEDY
PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

The senior member of the Cabinet is the new Secretary of the Treasury, David M. Kennedy.

He is the chairman of the board and former president of the Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Company of Chicago. He has in the past been an assistant Secretary of the Treasury and he spent 16 years on the staff of the Federal Reserve Board, before and during World War II.

The endorsements and recommendations of Dave Kennedy for the post of Treasury Secretary not only came from American bankers but from bankers in Europe and around the world.

I have chosen him for this post for three basic reasons. First, he is a brilliant economist on fiscal matters; secondly, he has an intimate working knowledge of international monetary problems; and third, he brings a touch of that midwestern conservatism to the job that we like to see in the men who handle the taxpayers money.

In candor, the problems of inflation and employment here in the United States, and the crisis of the dollar and the free world monetary system abroad are among the most critical the next Administration will confront. They are more difficult to resolve today than they have been for thirty years. That is why I have chosen a man who understands international finance, as well as the fiscal matters at home. That is why I have selected Dave Kennedy for one of the most difficult and challenging jobs in this Administration.

I owe a great deal -

Firm Dinner Dec 17
1968

① This is how firm
- no politics

② You don't know politics - no I
way could I ever be a candidate

First you ought to join a nice club -

① That's how I got in to Bolles Hall -

② Trying to explain it -

Milt Dow - Southern -

Alpena - Tapes -

Sean - Mitchell Cow - Garment -

Mitchell: a.o.g. -

Soley H - but I get ^{price} exposure -

Firm gets no real publicity - for Free Press

President don't make our public

12/17/68
SUGGESTED COMMENTS
NIXON MUDGE DINNER
PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

It was a little more than five years ago that I joined the firm here. It seems longer than that right now. I remember coming east as a struggling young California lawyer, with a mixed won-and-loss record, looking to relocate. I think that I have benefited greatly, speaking in a personal sense, from the associations here--and I trust that you gentlemen have as well.

Certainly, we've both come up in the world since then.

I shall take to Washington many fond memories of New York and the men with whom I worked for five years.

I remember when I first arrived. I came, as you recall from California after the press and I at a get-together after the gubernatorial campaign had decided that the law rather than politics held out the greater promise in the way of a career.

Anyhow, I arrived here in New York, and although I had been the Vice President, I had few personal friends here. Most of them were in California or Washington.

It was then that Bob Guthrie took me in tow and said, "Dick you have to forget about California and get to know a new crowd of folks here in New York. They're great fellows here. Get out and play some golf. Let me introduce to the Country Club set. So, with his advice and sponsorship, I joined Baltusrol County Club.
(pause)

There as the years went by my interest turned back again to the political arena, which I must say in candor has

remained my first love. But in moving back into the arena I shall never forget the support, the cooperation and the understanding of you gentlemen in this room. Without them we could never have hoped to be successful.

I recall Milton Rose suffering in silence while Midwestern and Southern politicians lounged in the lobby, turning these hallowed legal halls into smoke-filled rooms.

Bob Guthrie and John Mitchell raised no voice in protest when politicians took their daughters off to work from dawn to midnight in the campaign---and sometimes beyond.

And John Alexander even volunteered to write a major speech on tax reform for use late in the campaign -- that speech should be ready any day now, John?

There were no complaints when we hauled John Sears off to be a political theoretician and liaison with Governor Agnew, when we hauled off Tom Evans to run the Citizens operation, when we took Marty Pollner off to handle our law and order research, when we took Len Garment out of the Litigation Department to handle the Media Campaign, when we took Frank Lincoln off to manage the transition, and when we took off one of the name partners, John Mitchell, to be the new Attorney General.

Like William Pitt, I can say I thank you and the nation thanks you as well. Never before in the history of political conflict has so much been done by one law firm for so little in the way of return.

The only rewards "Nixon, Mudge" has received to my knowledge is some free national publicity from Drew Pearson.

A minute ago, I mentioned our new Attorney General, John Mitchell. We almost didn't get him. If you gentlemen will recall late in the campaign John felt a little embarrassed by the generosity of some of our contributors, and decided not to report those contributions to the Clerk of the House. As least that is what my friends in the press tell me.

Although John's intentions were the best I am sure, technically that constituted a violation of the Corrupt Practices Act, which my good friend Mr. Ramsey Clark, has enthusiastically pointed out.

So, we may yet see a first here, an outgoing Attorney General prosecuting his successor.

If we need a lawyer for John we'll be back to the firm here. My own view is that Ramsey Clark ought to go ahead with it, because there's been too much permissiveness lately, and we've got to crack down on it.

In seriousness, speaking not only for me, but for those others of the staff -- the non-lawyers -- who worked here with the firm for months, some of them years, I appreciate the contributions you have all made to our success, and the time you have given to our efforts.

Jack Kennedy once said after he was elected in 1960, and when some papers were criticizing him for his choice of friends, that "A President doesn't make new friends; he has to keep the ones he's got." I think, I know, that ~~in~~ this room, I have many good friends, and I shall keep them in the years ahead.

Thank you.

####

Dec 11 1968
Cabinet.

①

my first attempt
to get some
of this stuff

you agree members of the Press, my fellow citizens

to get some
of this stuff
reciting

① I appreciate the opportunity through K. K. [unclear]
through the courtesy of J. D. + R. [unclear] networks - to present to
the nation for [unclear] in history ^{maybe it would be} the ^{institute}
for [unclear] to be present at the ^{celebration}
anniversary of the year next Cabinet.

② In introducing tonight the man whose name I will
submit to Senate for confirmation on Jan 21 -
I was first thought have rejected the suggestion
that I should give the usual background of
where they were born - where they went
to school - + other personal data - you can read
that in morning paper or in who's who -

③ Rather I thought it would be of greater interest
to share with you the reasons I selected
I picked each man - a highly personal evaluation -
so that you can know what these men are
as I know them.

④ In the final analysis, where bodies of ~~the~~
at the highest level are involved -
The grades a man makes, his success in business
or profession - or politics - will not mean
he can meet the test that extra quality to
meet the greatest test of leadership at highest level -

④ I believe each man can meet that test - :

For Security of State:

I want above all a man who

① In my acceptance speech - I said we entered a period
of negotiation of the conference - to end war we are in -
to prevent other war -

Problem solver -
 practical dreamer -
 passion for excellence - education.
 See whole problem -

2. ~~John~~ I also wanted a man who could administer
 big Dept - of ~~budget~~ and legal -

3. ~~great~~ + ~~steam~~ to carry heavy burden

3. The man who best meets that ~~test~~ test is

For the office of
 John

William B. Rogers - not just because of experience as H.G.,
 or U.S.C. at U. 4 + as a lawyer - or ~~kind of~~ ~~kind of~~

1. But ~~also~~ because of my conviction - as stated in Acceptance
 that with next 4 years will be a period of
~~instability~~ -

2. I have seen him in time of crisis
 of all I know - his the most skilled negotiator
 - judgment, with the quality of intelligence has the
 brains, ~~equally~~ judgment, coolness under fire -
~~to~~ to request those to request request
 the U.S. - against the best in the world

Quality of Treasury:

I could present Mr. Daniel Keefe - whom
 I have selected for Treasury - as a successful
 banker - ~~as a~~

1. a 100 could fit that description

2. In time of ^{crisis} ~~crisis~~ - he is ~~one~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~
 world's ~~greatest~~ most respected Intl bank -

3. In a time when ^{people are concerned that} ~~we must save our~~ ~~money~~ ~~of~~
 he brings - a strong strain of midwest conservatism

4. In a time when problems of citizen need attention -
 he is not interested in numbers - he is interested
 in people - a man of compassion + judgment.

in this matter
 and almost

For Secty of Defense

It has become traditional to pick a top
business man to run this Dept spending 60,000,000
a year:

There will be top business in Dept posts -
but for Secty I have selected Eugene Mel Laird -

- ① He is recognized expert on Dept in Congress
- ② He knows Dept is a matter of ^{understanding} people not
just machine + weapon -

high intelligent
great stamina

- ③ He is a strong, ^{vigorous} ~~reluctant~~ young man -
who ~~will~~ ^{will} ~~keep~~ ^{keep} the state
ration strong - ~~so~~ ^{so} that we can
meet anybody at ~~sup~~ ^{sup} table from strength
not ~~weakness~~ - as it said we will
never have to negotiate or negotiate
for us -

as a man
dedicated to
peace

John Mitchell
or

As J.

For As J. I have not selected him because he is
my law partner - or ~~was~~ ^{did} a brilliant job
in running my campaign for President -

- 1. I have learned to know + respect him
for qualities far beyond legal brilliance,
and ^{ability} ~~ability~~ to pick + lead good men.
- 2. He is a strong man - who shares my
commitment to wage ~~war~~ ^{war} ~~against~~ ^{against} crime in law -
- 3. He is a fair ^{+ courageous} man - whose commitment to
justice is as great as to law + order -

He has another quality - which ^{I really treasure} ~~allows~~ ^{requires} me
to disagree - ^{which allows} ~~allows~~ ^{requires} me
to disagree - ① In N.S.C. - 3 members of Cabinet will
be advising me ^{on} ~~on~~ great decision of ^{the} ~~the~~ war +
peace - Rogers, Laird, + H.C.
② He has superb judgment ^{under} ~~under~~ fire - decision -

Cummins:

To head Dept of Cummins - I turned naturally to one of nation's outstanding businessmen - Maurice Stens:

But he brings an extra dimension - see

① As Director of Budget - advised involvible in Budget problem -

② He has exciting plans for enlisting business community in solving social problems.

As one in N.Y. & J.H. ch

Labor:

My primary concern ^{in safety & health of our} was to find a man in great tradition of James Mitchell - who ^{could speak} had confidence of Labor but have confidence of Business & Labor - in mediating disputes -

① A check across the nation brought me to Dr. ^{George} Schultz - universally respected as one of Nation's finest Admin - He is recognized & respected by Labor -

② As Dean he brings an added interest in expression of great ^{as one of nation's} education. An Iowa - an eloquent speaker -

H. E. W.

For the vitally important & sensitive post / H. E. W.
I have tried to ~~find~~ ~~write~~ my own notes of
Colpitts - ~~the~~ ~~man~~ to the youngest man - Robert Finch -

1. He has had great experience as Admin. asst. as K.P. & as P.T. Gov -
2. But more important are several ~~considerations~~ considerations:

1. Inequities -

a. Brains -

2. Passionate idealism - for ^{education} education, ^{welfare} welfare & health - for disadvantaged -

Can do

3. Creative inequities - to bring equity -

~~provide self respect~~ - not just better
more in old programs - but new
direction - that will give every American best education
- best health - & make welfare something to
escape from not to -

Junger
How not to
do it.
How to do it.

A. V. D. :

The Deputy Mayor & Civic Director - require
a top Flight Administrator:

① Gov. George Romney in Ben + Govt -
- one of best Admin. in nation.

② But he adds an ~~in~~ important extra
dimension, - commitment - a burning zeal
to make our cities better places in which to live -

③ As yet no assistant - he will work to enlist
million of volunteers in exciting task of
solving rural & urban problems -

Humanity:

Idea + action

Wish ranging intelligence
Consensus - hard to approach many

Most important I see in them that extra
element - can't be described better -

~~good man to get good + superior -
- The extra step - so important in wing - long -~~

~~I am proud to have them as part of my staff
They have a commitment to serve - I hope you will be
we shall make mistakes as part
We ask for your criticism & your advice -
for your program.~~

I believe - overall - a new spirit has been
in Fed govt for past 8 yrs - all come with a
fresh eye - belief in us this system can new ideas
of problems how the problems can be solved - new desire

to remain ^{bring people} ^{together} ^{bring our people}
together at home, give ^{clear} ^{explanation}
practical program + opportunity for every ^{individual}

There's a great challenge -
Threat - threat - then comes share -

One final personal word -

- ① This is new cabinet
- ② Tamura - w

Because they will not see much
of humbly - in most to demand
jobs in water.

I one final thought -

This is new cabinet

as they come in old leaves -

In Campaign I supported disapproval for problem

- ① But respect for ^{typical} man -
- ② The Secty of Dist. After 8 years -
quiet spirited man - served his duty ^{dignity}
country in most difficult times
- ③ We wish the old well - as they leave -

We ask for your ^{advice}, your ^{criticism} for your program.
for the new team as we work for the nation.

irresponsible to
be popularly

ask for your
advice, your criticism
& your program
as we must

Show in
take off

from Buchanan
Spel

✓

Department of Defense

Sen. Henry Jackson

Department of State

Robert Murphy (appointment extremely well received)

✓ Walter Judd (His naming as Asst. Sec. for Far East would be very well received; has more recommendations from the right than almost anyone)

amb Bob Hill (has support among conservatives)

Department of Agriculture

Bryce? Dean Earl Butts (RN knows him) - *quire Farm Bureau*

Don Paarlburg

Shuman of the Farm Bureau

FOREIGN POLICY GENERALLY & Defense

Frank Armbruster

Herman Kahn

Stefan Possony

Harold Brown, Secretary of the Air Force,

Franz Michel, Sino-Soviet Institute at G.W.

~~David Nelson~~ Rowe at Yale, Asian Affairs

Frank Trager, NYU

Age ~~Ellis Briggs~~, former Ambassador

Paul Bethel, on Cuba, former Foreign Service Officer

Walter McConaughy

Dr. Stepehn Tan, President of East Asia Research Institute

Joe Blatchford, California, good in Latin America, worked out a private Peace Corps type thing which was heraled in the 1950s.

John W. Haynes, head of the Bureau of Security and Consular affairs under Ike

John Haynes?

~~██████████~~
Negroes

Dr. Tom Matthews, Black Capitalism man

Rev. Leon Sullivan

Arthur Fletcher, RN's friend who lost in Washington

Wesley Williams, former president of the D.C. Board of Education
his son is on the city council there under Fauntroy. Wesley Williams Jr., voted for RN in D.C.

LABOR

good ~~MIKE~~ Mike Bernstein, head of the Minorities Staff on the House Education and Labor Committee, Wants to be on the NLRB

Education

Carl Hansen, bounced from the D.C. school system

Max Rafferty (how do you like that one?)

James Coleman, author of the Controversial Coleman report, Buchanan's believes he is highly regarded.

BLACK CAPITALISM

Chad McClellan, Reagan's man

Dick Cornuelle

Other names recommended by Conservatives

M. Stanton Evans of the Indianapolis News

Bill Rickenbacker, who has written books on silver and gold
for a lower position at the Treasury

Bill Mittendorf for a lesser position at Treasury

Governor Tim Babcock

Tom Curtis, with the exception of Judd, Curtis gets as many plaudits
as anyone else

Tom Miller, CBS young Executive,

Dr. Harold Demsetz, University of Chicago for Economics

Bruno Auginstien, vice president for research at the Rand Corporation

Patrick Boarman, took over Pendergast's job at the House Conference
Committee. (professor, with good conservative credentials)

Otto Otepka, back to his own job (?)

Allen Wallis, Rochester University,

Sept 1968
protes
for 1000 dinner
1, 2, 3, 4

T.V. comes later -

N.Y. - united - vitally important -

Thanks to all in attendance:

- ① To those on west coast - who haven't had dinner -
+ the food is excellent -
+ the extent support -
Some complaint the price is a little high.
- ② It's worth it - I've got H. in number -
The price will be lower as they go
- ③ To Littleton opponents -
a great star - advisor - + friend -
Never forget where he advised me to debate Jones
- ④ It looks like great debate this year H. & H.
⑤ They I pointed out 167 positions on map -
- he had taken 334 - positions -
on both sides of my river -
- ③ Delighted to have again -
① He's been a great candidate
② Some thought he wasn't known -
a an Indian Congressman - went to Guy -
- and asked who vote -
- ③ We agree on great issue -
a he thinks I'm soft on H.
④ I can't say anything about him
Don't haven't already said -
⑤ I don't why they pick on Helmut -
He hasn't done anything -

The Democrats of H.H. mean running the
John Acker for reelection.

Across the land - exciting campaign.

Chicago, San Fran, Santa Ana, Houston
Wentworth's Indian De Meier Avakian
Springfield -

They are different - the young people -
They are forgotten -

They want new leadership...

- We have the challenge - to bring Brown
around - I am at the - Progress
- We shall unite the country
- We leaving a united party to that task -

We want the best men -
we want a period.

I think a period of crisis -
a call to greatness -

✶ We are privileged to be leading that battle -

My clients are the children -

My clients are the next generation -

To give - to work - in a great cause -

Can we not
sit back &
enjoy life -
Wouldn't it be
great?

Controlled man -
into -
then -

John
Kennedy Schuler
Dun
Dor

Chips: | Dirken - Percy -

① Treasury, Labour, Budget -

②

③ Kennedy: -

① a man envied by 3 Presidents -

② Eaten + sat' Berlin -

③ Conservative with many -

Liberal with in altitude toward problem -

④ gave up so much - we can't afford -

⑤ Schuler: - verdicts -

① they want to be grand for ~~dispute~~
conflicts - Dean's office of Ministers.

④ Mayo: -

① they are qualified:

② they all make a financial sacrifice -

③ they all are devoted to ^{with money} conservative ^{dedicated to print money} economic

they all are active - program -

in many problem of citizen - program -

We ask for your support.

Percy

① problem too big for Partin -

① there is no Republic - or Democracy -
money - or devoted to law -

Remilitarization

① in devoted to both bringing people
together -

Sound money

① in devoted to program

Program

We bring devotion - computer -

- the extra effort - to make the big play

around
Anderson

December 28, 1968

MEMO TO: President-Elect Richard M. Nixon

FROM: Pat Buchanan

Below are some random thoughts on the Chicago Kennedy-Shultz drill.

It is a pleasure being back in the city of Chicago, a city that has been good to me, one about which I have the fondest of memories. I was nominated for Vice President here in 1952, nominated for President of the United States in 1960, and 600,000 Chicagoans gave me the greatest political welcome I have ever received here three months ago.

I would have been back here sooner to thank Illinois for going Republican this fall, but I wanted to wait until all the returns have come in from Cook County.

I can say candidly that no other city in America has done as much for the Nixon Administration as Chicago -- they have given me a Budget Director, a Secretary of Labor and a Secretary of the Treasury.

What Missouri did for Truman, what Massachusetts did for Kennedy, what Texas did for Johnson, the Mid-West is going to do for the Nixon Administration -- We have five Cabinet members from here, more than any other area in the United States.

GEORGE SHULTZ

Recognition of the higher interest of the national need and the national good that convinced Dave Kennedy to make the sacrifice he has -- to work in the United States Treasury.

Similar motivations I think propelled George Shultz from the Groves of Academe to the Department of Labor.

With the enormous concentration of economic power today in corporations and unions, when they collide there must be an impartial and just man to oversee and look out for the interest of the common man. George Shultz is such a man. He has the respect of business, the academic community and the American labor community.

In addition, George has gotten experience in confrontation politics. He knows all about sit-down strikes and sit-ins and violence along the picket lines and things of that nature. He has had the best training grounds for political and social combat that I know of today -- the Dean's office at a major university.

As Dean of Business, George Shultz has been refereeing fights between faculty members and professors -- we are just moving him up now to referee some of the heavyweight fights -- and we are confident he will do a fine job -- for the Administration and for the Country.

The State of Illinois was the closest State in the 1960 Election and it was the linchpin of our 1968 victory. For that, as well as for two Cabinet members and a Budget Director, you have my thanks.

DAVE KENNEDY - BAREFOOT BOY OF THE LOOP

I read in the paper the other day the enormous amount of money that Dave Kennedy is going to have to give up to take a job in Government. I think it is a credit to him that he is willing to make this kind of sacrifice for his Nation -- it needs him. It needs that streak of Mid-Western conservatism that I referred to when I introduced him to the country last month. Incidentally, President Johnson read about all the money that Dave is giving up -- he called me and said, "Dick, you can't do that --- if Kennedy quits working there will be a minor recession."

Frankly, I wish that Lyndon had been running the Treasury as well as Dave has been running his bank -- there might be a little something for us to work with when we get there.

Aboard Air Force One

January 3, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR: President-Elect and Mrs. Richard M. Nixon

FROM: Don Hughes

SUBJECT: Stone Dinner, Chicago

1. At 6:45 PM, Mr. Stone will escort you to the Reception Suite where Charles Percy, Mayor & Mrs. Daly, Governor-Elect & Mrs. **Ogilvie** will be present (and possibly Mr. & Mrs. Kennedy and Mr. & Mrs. Shultz, along with Mr. & Mrs. Mayo). RN will greet this group briefly then proceed with the group to the Grand Ballroom.

2. At the dinner, Mr. Stone will introduce Governor Shapiro and Mayor Daly who will welcome the Nixons to Chicago. Cardinal Cody will deliver Invocation. "American Liberty Singers" will sing the National Anthem.

3. After the dinner:

a. Mr. Stone will call on Governor-Elect Ogilvie, who will introduce Edward Levi, Chancellor of the University of Chicago. Mr. Levi will introduce Kennedy, Shultz and Mayo for brief remarks. Mrs. Stone will present Mrs. Nixon with an orchid which has been labelled "The Pat Nixon Orchid".

b. There will be a 6-8-minute Piano Concert by a 10-year-old girl, Rita Reichman, a student of Interlochen School of Music which Mr. Stone is a greater contributor to and supporter of.

c. Mr. Stone will then introduce RN for brief remarks.

d. Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, President of the National Baptist Congregation, will deliver the Benediction.

May 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR: President-Rickett and Mr. Richard M. Nixon

FROM: Don Page

SUBJECT: Special Dinner, Chicago

At 7:45 PM, Mr. Stone will report you to the Reception Suite where Charles Percy, Mayor & Mrs. Daley, Governor-Rickett & Mrs. Ogilvie will be present (and possibly Mrs. Kennedy and Mr. & Mrs. Nixon). Mr. Stone will greet this group and then proceed to the Grand Ballroom. After the dinner, Mr. Stone will introduce the various dignitaries and Mrs. Daley will welcome the Nixon family. Mrs. Daley will deliver the "Nixon Liberty Dinner" will have the National Anthem.

After the dinner:

- Mr. Stone will call on Governor-Rickett Ogilvie, who will introduce Edward Devy, Chancellor of the University of Chicago. Mr. Devy will introduce Kennedy, Shale and Mayo for brief remarks. Mrs. Stone will present Mrs. Nixon with an orchid which has been labelled "The Mrs. Nixon Orchid".
- There will be a 10-minute Piano Concert by a 10-year-old girl, Rita Robinson, a student of Interlochen School of Music which Mr. Stone is a greater contributor to and supporter of.
- Mr. Stone will then introduce RN for brief remarks.
- Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, President of the National Baptist Congregation, will deliver the Benediction.

John
Mr
Don Page
Richard M. Nixon
John F. Kennedy
Robert Kennedy
William
John

The Marble Collegiate Church

Reformed Church in America
Fifth Avenue and 29th Street, New York

NORMAN VINCENT PEALE, D.D., LL.D., Minister
Sunday, December 15, 1968

*File
Nov 1968*

ASSOCIATE MINISTERS

Parish

Eugene M. Pierce, S.T.B.

Education & Counseling

Donald W. Hoffman, B.D.

Administration

Arthur P. Caliandro, B.D.

Stewardship

Howard G. Teusink, B.D.

Evangelism

Edwin G. Mulder, B.D.

Pro Tem

David W. Jenks, B.D.

Elders

Willard L. Burbank

Carl L. Cleaver

Milton D. Ketchum

John M. Kyle, Jr.

Col. Frank L. Moore

L. Homer Surbeck

Deacons

John M. Ely

Arthur Fleming

Ely Francis

John D. Moody

John J. O'Connor

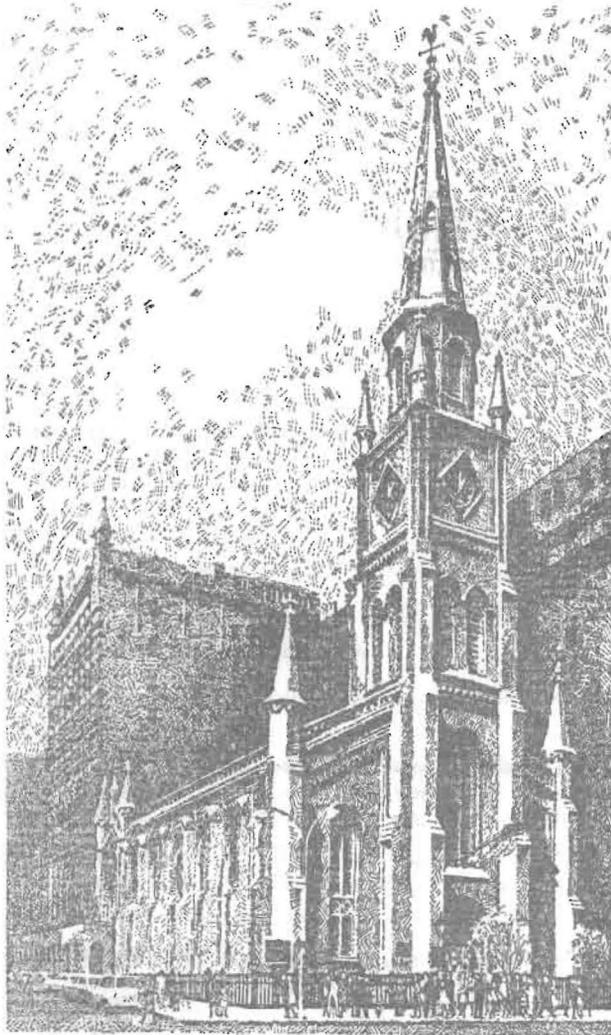
Dr. Martin H. Sommer

Church Administrator

Robert Owens, Jr.

Choir Director and Organist

Alden W. Clark



CHURCH FOUNDED IN 1628; PRESENT EDIFICE ERECTED IN 1854

First Unit (Buckhead)
Brun Sunday, December 15, 1968
Order of Service — 9:45 and 11:15 A.M.

Upon entering the church, let all be quiet and in meditation.

ORGAN PRELUDES

In dulci jubilo *J. S. Bach*
From heaven above *J. S. Bach*

OPENING CHORALE

Break forth, O beauteous heavenly light *J. S. Bach*

THE INVOCATION AND LORD'S PRAYER (use "debt")

THE PSALTER—PSALM 121 (Page 315 in the Liturgy) The People Standing

THE GLORIA The People Standing

HYMN 125 The People Standing

READING OF THE SCRIPTURE

ALTO SOLO

Messiah: *Handel*
O thou that tellest good tidings to Zion

PRAYER AND RESPONSE

HYMN 302 The People Standing

OFFERING

OFFERTORY ANTHEM

In mirth and in gladness *Niedt*

SERMON

INNER STRENGTH TO MATCH OUTER STRESS

Dr. Peale

HYMN 106 The People Standing

THE DOXOLOGY The People Standing

BENEDICTION AND CHORAL AMEN The People Standing

ORGAN POSTLUDE

After the service, please greet your neighbor.

TO OUR VISITORS...

A cordial welcome is extended to all visitors. Please sign the Welcome Visitor card found in the pew rack. If you wish to receive Dr. Peale's printed sermons, please indicate it on the card and leave it on the pew.

Please do not take flash pictures in the sanctuary. In addition to causing distraction, there is risk of damage to the television equipment.

Dr. Peale's Sunday morning sermon will be broadcast from 6:15 to 6:45 P.M. on WOR A.M.

Christmas Sunday, December 22, 11 A.M.

THE GREATEST MAN EVER BORN

Dr. Peale

TODAY AT MARBLE CHURCH

Churchtime Nursery—for children six years and younger, second floor, during both morning services.

Church School—classes for all ages. Registration 11 A.M., second floor, Church House.

Bible Class for men and women of all ages, 11 A.M., Recreation Room, Church House. Lecture by Dr. Robert W. Strain, followed by discussion. Topic: "What Assurance Have the Faithful?"

Interesting Tour of the Church (thirty minutes)—begins in Poling Chapel after second service; sponsored by Men's League.

Visitors and Members "Brunch"—after second service, Burrell Hall (\$1.00), for Men's League Scholarship Foundation.

All members living in Areas 7 and 8 are invited to a luncheon following the second service. Mr. and Mrs. W. Norman Eastwood, Chairmen, and Mr. and Mrs. William A. Boetcker, Vice Chairmen for Area 7 (West 25 to West 76 Streets, Fifth Avenue west to river—Zones 1, 18, 19, 20, 23, 36). Mrs. Gertrude B. Steele, Chairman, and Mr. and Mrs. Blaine G. Wiley, Vice Chairmen for Area 8 (Fifth Avenue and Bowery—Zones 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 38).

Young Adults' Coffee Hour (ages 21-35)—at 12:15 P.M., Recreation Room, Church House. Hosts: Don and Ute Easterly, Lorrie DeGilio. Welcome, all young people.

Young Adult Fellowship (ages 21-35)—supper, 5:15 P.M. and program, 6 P.M., Burrell Hall. Speaker: Mr. Tom Skinner, author of "Black and Free," and Director of the Tom Skinner Crusades.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 17

Marble Club—dinner meeting, 6:30 P.M., Bay Hall. Program: Christmas Concert by The Community Singers of Queens, (more than fifty voices). Dinner by reservation only. Members \$2.00; guests \$2.50.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19

American Red Cross Workshop — will not meet December 19, 26 and January 2. Will resume on Thursday, January 9, 10:30 A.M., second floor, Church House. All women invited. Bring a sandwich; tea and coffee will be served.

Healing Service—12 Noon, Poling Chapel, 3 W. 29th Street. One-half hour service led by The Reverend William V. Pietsch, American Foundation of Religion and Psychiatry.

Young Adults (ages 21-35) — Christmas Caroling — meet promptly, 8 P.M. at the Church, for caroling throughout the city via bus. Refreshments in Burrell Hall after caroling.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20

Church School Christmas Pageant, 7:30 P.M., Burrell Hall. Program by the children followed by refreshments and informal entertainment.

LOOKING AHEAD

Sunday, December 29

Morning Worship, 11 A.M.

A WONDERFUL TIME IN SIXTY-NINE

Dr. Peale

Tuesday, December 31

Watch Night Service, 11:15 P.M.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Reverend Caliandro

*Peale at
Center
Sings on
Am*

Marble Club invites everyone to a New Year's Party following Watch Night Service, December 31, Bay Hall.

GENERAL NOTICES

Dr. Peale wishes to express appreciation to his many friends in Marble Church for their prayers and concern for him during his recent illness.

Infant Baptism—Dr. Peale will administer the Sacrament of Baptism on Sunday morning, **December 22**, at 11 A.M. Parents who are interested are requested to contact the Church Office as soon as possible.

Personnel Placement Service—applicants interviewed in Church Office **Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday**, 10 A.M. to 3 P.M. If you have employment opportunities, please contact **Mrs. Robert Sacré**. Phone: 686-2770.

Dr. Peale's printed sermons available in vestibules before 9:45 A.M. and after 11:15 A.M. services. To receive printed sermons through the mail, sign Welcome Visitor card in pew rack.

Dial 889-7155 any time to hear an inspirational message from Dr. Peale — sponsored by Guideposts Magazine.

Books by Dr. Peale, Guideposts subscriptions and Mustard Seeds may be obtained in downstairs lounge after the second service.

Envelopes for a special Christmas offering are in the pew racks. If you would like to add the Church to your Christmas list, please write your name and address on the envelope and place it on the offering plate.

ALTAR FLOWERS

in loving memory of

Robert Cyrus Griffith

by Miss Eugenie C. Stamler

The Choir

| <i>Sopranos</i> | <i>Altos</i> | <i>Tenors</i> | <i>Basses</i> |
|--|---|--|---|
| Helen Rosengren, soloist Barbara Hoffman Doris Phillips Dilys Smith | Rosalind Hupp, soloist Alice Marie Nelson Suzanne Horn | Jack O'Neill, soloist Lester Clark Merrill Lemmon | Jay Hilborn, soloist Mike Connally Peter Schroeder |
| <i>Ushers</i> COL. FRANK L. MOORE, Chairman | | MILTON D. MALONSON, Assistant Chairman | |
| <i>Balcony</i> | <i>South Aisle</i> | <i>Center Aisle</i> | <i>North Aisle</i> |
| Ronald L. Getty T. William Hagen Tracy W. Haines John Hall Arthur Henning Leonard M. Moreland John W. Reilly John W. Reilly, Jr. Capt. Robert A. Reilly Robert Sacré A. Raymond Seaman Warren G. Wetzel | Dr. Joseph W. Bird Harley L. Dangremond U. Amel Rothermel | Norman W. Eastwood Col. Vincent A. Lane Charles H. Walther Blaine G. Wiley | Maurice E. Nicklin Louis B. Phillips, Jr. Emory Ward |
| | <i>Chapel</i> | <i>Televiston Technicians</i> | <i>Greeters</i> |
| | Albrecht S. Weber | Leon Hojegian Alexander Berkenhoff Richard E. Gines Don Leskiw Roy De Blieck | Harry Baker Orton J. Beekman Frank Bosnack David E. Bright Richard W. Engl Robert Gausam William Groll Harold Robles Robert Sacré Geri Vartanian |
| | <i>Bay Hall</i> | | |
| | John E. Brandt John J. O'Connor Frank Waller | | |

Missionaries: Rev. and Mrs. Paul Alderink, Annville, Kentucky; Rev. and Mrs. Ray G. Hays, Gray Hawk, Kentucky; Miss Doris Lewis, Brewton, Alabama; Rev. and Mrs. Frank Love, Mescalero, New Mexico; Mrs. Angeline Lubbinge, Annville, Kentucky; Mrs. Bettye Spencer, Pompano, Florida; Rev. and Mrs. Albert Van Dyke, Denver, Colorado; Dr. Mary Bruins Allison, Kuwait, Arabia; Rev. William J. Burke, Jr., Taiwan; Rev. Harvey T. Hoekstra, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Reformed Church Colleges and Seminaries: Central College, Pella, Iowa; Hope College, Holland, Michigan; Northwestern College, Orange City, Iowa; New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, New Jersey; Western Theological Seminary, Holland, Michigan.

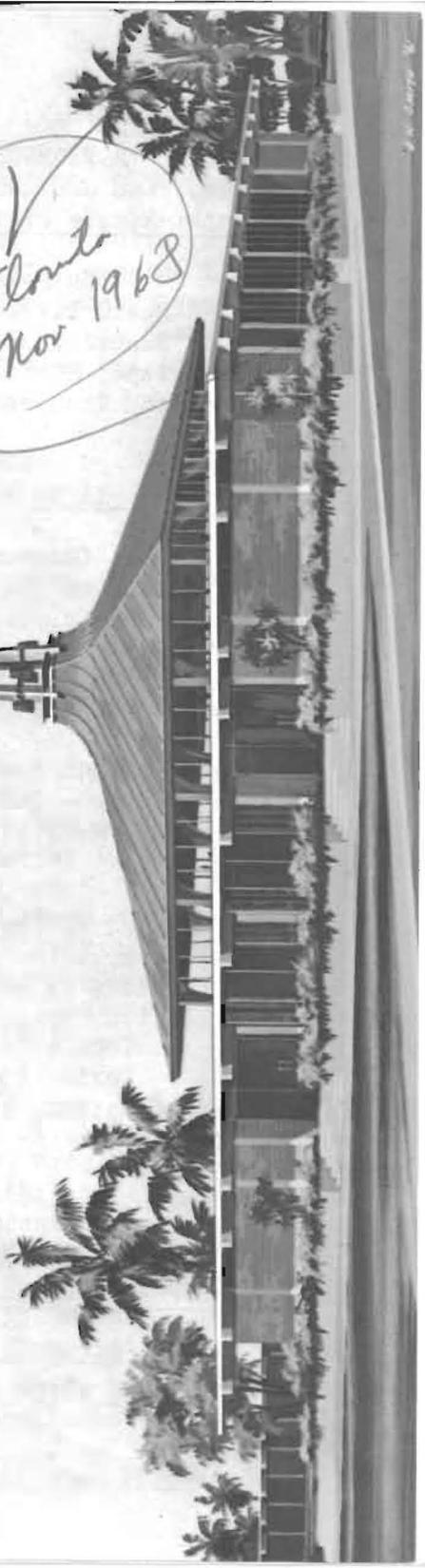
Church Office 1 West 29th Street, Tel. 686-2770

A House for
the family of God

Worship service
Notes to
T.V.

Church

Florida
Nov 1968



REVERENCE IN THE SANCTUARY

Many find God in quietness. Please do not unthinkingly disturb them in their quest.

The Pastor --- John A. Huffman, Jr.
Music Director --- James Bennett
S. S. Superintendent --- William H. Cole, Sr.
The Tape Ministry --- C. Brasie and C. Seaman
Spanish Translator --- Mrs. Howard S. Coffey

NOVEMBER 10, 1968
11:00 A. M. Worship Service

Organ Prelude: *Chromatic Fugue*.....Pachelbel
*Processional Hymn 14: *Ye Servants of God*
*Call to Worship.....Elder Eugene Rankin
*The Lord's Prayer
*The Doxology
*The Apostles' Creed

Scripture Lesson: *Romans 14:1-13*
Pastoral Prayer - Choral Amen
Anthem: *Jesu, Word of God Incarnate*.....Mozart
**Announcements (Now Sign Christian Fellowship Card)

*Hymn 50: *Great is Thy Faithfulness*
Offering
Anthem: *Create In Me A Clean Heart, O God*.....Mueller
Sermon.....John Huffman
Topic: "Here Comes the Judge"
Text: *Romans 14:7-13*
*Hymn 380: *O Master, Let Me Walk with Thee*
Benediction
Sevenfold Amen
Organ Postlude

GUESTS AND MEMBERS ARE INVITED TO STAY FOR COFFEE AND FELLOWSHIP FOLLOWING THIS MORNING'S WORSHIP SERVICE.

*Please stand where indicated by single asterisk.
**Everyone -- including guests -- please sign Christian Fellowship Card.
***Ushers will seat latecomers.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS CHURCH

is to lead men and women to a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ --- and to help them grow in Jesus Christ.

AT THE 7:30PM SERVICE TONIGHT -- we will be favored by a presentation by Miss Juanita Coyer of her ministry in the hospital at Kwanju, Korea. She will be showing us slides of her work there and sharing incidents of that ministry.

THE FLOWERS IN OUR SANCTUARY TODAY --- are placed here today by Mr. and Mrs. Richard Searle to honor and in the service of our Lord.

FAMILY NIGHT SUPPER, WEDNESDAY, 6PM -- Make reservations today for this covered dish supper, placing your yellow reservation slip in the offering plate. Reservations, & late cancellations, must reach Mrs. Sid (Cathy) Slade by 8pm on Tuesday. Phone: 361-2315. Adults: 50¢; children under 8, 40¢.

AT 7PM WEDNESDAY -- we will meet together in the sanctuary as a family. After the first hymn, the young folks pre-school age thru Junior High will retire to their own separate groups. The highschoolers and adults will meet in the sanctuary for the study in the book of II Timothy conducted by Rev. Huffman. The Nursery will be open.

DEACONS' MEETING -- will be held two days earlier than schedule and announced in Newsletter: on Nov. 12, 8pm.

DON'T FORGET:

MEN'S PRAYER GROUP - Wednesday - 7am -- pastor's study.
WOMEN'S PRAYER GROUP --- Wed., 9am, in the choir room.
CHANCEL CHOIR PRACTICE --- held each Wednesday, at 8pm.
JR. CHOIR PRACTICE (grades 4 and up) - each Wed., 5-6pm.
TOUCH FOOTBALL --- At 10am each Saturday all the young fellows of our church are invited to participate in supervised touch football games, with Dave Carroll and Jim Martin.

THE "JUNIOR JUNIOR" CHOIR (children in grades 1, 2 & 3), meets Saturday, at 10:30am, with Miss Marie Fuller.

OUR SUNDAY SCHOOL MEETS AT 9:30AM, WITH CLASSES FOR ALL!

How Do I Become A Christian?

fact of sin — Romans, chapter 3, verse 23;
and Romans, chapter 3, verse 10.

condition of sinner — Ephesians, chapter 2,
verses 1-3.

penalty of sin — Romans, chapter 6, verse 23.

penalty must be paid — Hebrews, chapter 9,
verse 27; and Romans, chapter 14, verse 12.

penalty paid by christ — Romans, chapter 5,
verse 8.

salvation a free gift — Ephesians, chapter
2, verses 8-9; and Titus, chapter 3, verse 5.

we must receive christ — Gospel of John,
chapter 1, verses 12-13; and Revelation, chapter 3,
verse 20.

assurance of eternal life — I John, chap-
ter 5, verses 11-13; and Gospel of John, chapter 6,
verse 47.

Key Biscayne Presbyterian Church

160 Harbor Drive - Key Biscayne
MIAMI, FLORIDA 33149

*SPECIAL SEATING IS AVAILABLE FOR
any with a hearing loss ---- and also for any wishing to
hear the Sunday morning simultaneous Spanish translation*

THE FLOWER CALENDAR --- is up on the bulletin board behind the choir loft. If you wish to provide flowers for the sanctuary, just indicate the Sunday you would like and give your phone number. Our Flower Chairman -- Mrs. George Meade - will contact you near the indicated date.

OUR MISSIONARIES --

Mexico: Ben and Tina Gutierrez
Taiwan: Gene and Blair Craven*
Jamaica: Werner and Inge Burklin
Brazil: Tom and Sandy Roddy
Korea: Dwight and Marjory Linton; Dave and Mary Seel;
Juanita Coyer*
Andros: Cassie Rolle
Miami: Les and Carolyn Thompson, serving all Latin-speaking countries through Logoi, Inc.
* (on furlough)

OUR YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE SERVICE --

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Joan Walton (Wash. State) | Jerome Buzzelli, Jr. (Va.) |
| Jeff Griffin (Vietnam) | Robert O. Buzzelli (Fla.) |
| William D. Slade (Wash. DC) | James S. Kemp (Vietnam) |
| John M. Coffey (Texas) | R. Fred McDowell (on S. S.) |
| Guy W. Rindge (Tenn.) | Patrick Henry |
| Sanford L. Horn, III (Tex.) | Curt Hungerford (on U.S.S.) |
| Douglas E. MacLean (Ga.) | Basilone |
| Kendall S. Schaefer (Vietnam) | |

OUR MEN AND WOMEN IN THE MINISTRY --- Jack Spears; Kent E. Kelley; Frederick McDowell, Sr.; Todd Allen; M. E. Howland; William Serjak; Herbert Broadwater; Richard F. Altork; Ronald A. (Smokey) Smith; William Link; Miss Deanne Manship; Miss Jeanne Lawrence; & Miss Doris Ryen.

TAPE RECORDINGS: All of John Huffman's and Ben Haden's messages are available at \$1 for 1 message, or \$1.50 for two messages on one tape. Les Thompson's study of GALATIANS costs \$8.25. Sam Rowen's study of RUTH is \$3; his CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE SERIES is \$12.75. Postage is extra.

THE CHURCH NURSERY IS OPEN FOR ALL OUR WORSHIP SERVICES.

COMING ATTRACTIONS --- On Wednesday evening, November 27, we look forward to the Burklin family being with us at our supper hour, and Mr. Burklin will be speaking at the 7pm service, sharing with us his YFC ministry on the island of Jamaica.

LOYALTY DINNER -- will be held in our church building on Wednesday, DECEMBER 4, at 6:30pm. Reserve this date!!

M.O.C. FALL RALLY -- December 6, at Miami Shores Presbyterian Church. Registration & dinner cost, \$2.50. Dinner at 6pm. Special speaker, Rev. D. James Kennedy, pastor of Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church. Get your tickets from either Jim Martin or Frank Race.

WEST INDIES MISSION --- 40th Anniversary Dinner Rally at Everglades Hotel on Thursday, Nov. 14, 7pm. Speaker will be J. Allen Thompson, General Director of the Mission -- and guest soloist, Bill Hoyt, of Columbia Bible College. The Mission was founded in Cuba in 1928 and now has ministries in 12 Caribbean and South American nations. The combination of a sacred concert and a look to the future by J. Allen Thompson will make this an exceptionally interesting evening. Make reservations today. Call West Indies Mission (444-8883), or our church office. An offering will be received at the banquet to cover costs.

ON DECEMBER 1 --- there will be a CONGREGATIONAL MEETING for the purpose of electing Elders. Nominations for Elders should be submitted, in writing, to Clerk of Session, Gene Rankin, on or before NOVEMBER 17.

ON DECEMBER 8 --- there will be election of Deacons held at a CONGREGATIONAL MEETING. Nominations for Deacons are to be submitted, in writing, to Clerk of Session, Gene Rankin, on or before NOVEMBER 24.

LES THOMPSONSON'S RECORD, "DISCOVERIES" -- is obtainable in monaural recording in the church office, @ \$3.95.

WE ALSO HAVE AVAILABLE --- in the Tape Room -- copies of LEIGHTON FORD'S book, The Christian Persuader, @ \$3.95.

RESERVING SEATS --- IN CHRISTIAN FAIRNESS, NO SEATS CAN BE RESERVED AFTER THE BEGINNING OF THE WORSHIP SERVICE.

ITEK CORPORATION - 10 MAGUIRE ROAD
LEXINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02173 - (617)-276-3001

FRANKLIN A. LINDSAY PRESIDENT

December 17, 1968

The Honorable Richard M. Nixon
450 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. President-Elect:

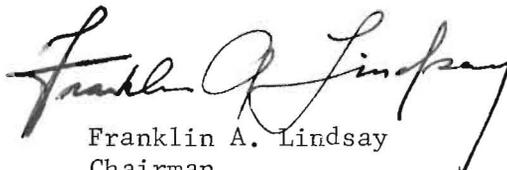
The attached memorandum has been prepared at your direction by your Task Force on Organization of the Executive Branch. We have tried in this study to identify a limited number of actions that might be taken in the early days of your administration to preserve options, to take advantage of opportunities, and to begin to get at urgent problems. We have also outlined a longer term program for achieving effective reorganization which we believe will preserve your initiatives and give you the most flexibility.

We urge that you move quickly in outlining your organization programs in order to seize and hold the initiative, and we have outlined a specific program for your consideration.

Although these recommendations did not anticipate Mr. Moynihan's appointment as Assistant for Urban Affairs, we believe that our recommendations are consistent with this appointment and demonstrate their flexibility to your needs.

We are pleased to be asked to do this study and hope it will be of assistance in the tasks that lie ahead.

Sincerely,



Franklin A. Lindsay
Chairman,
Task Force on Organization
of the Executive Branch

FAL:db
Attachment

1 Kings 3:7-12

*John
Bully Graham
November 1969*

"And now, O Lord my God, thou hast made thy servant king instead of David my father: and I am but a little child: I know not how to go out or come in.

"And thy servant is in the midst of thy people which thou hast chosen, a great people, that cannot be numbered nor counted for multitude.

"Give therefore, thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad: for who is able to judge this thy so great a people?

"And the speech pleased the Lord, that Solomon had asked this thing.

"And God said unto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself long life; neither hast asked riches for thyself, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies;

but hast asked for thyself understanding
to discern judgment;

“Behold, I have done according to thy
words: lo, I have given thee a wise
and an understanding heart; so that
there was none like thee before thee,
neither after thee shall any arise
like unto thee.”

Exodus_33:12-15

“And Moses said unto the Lord, See,
thou sayest unto me, Bring up this
people: and thou hast not let me
know whom thou wilt send with me.
Yet thou hast said, I know thee by
name, and thou hast also found grace
in my sight.

“Now therefore, I pray thee, if I have
found grace in thy sight, shew me now
thy way, that I may know thee, that I
may find grace in thy sight: and
consider that this nation is thy people.

And he said, My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest.

“And he said unto him, If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence.”

THE BIBLE: ITS IMPORTANCE

Jeremiah_8:9

“The wise men are ashamed, they are dismayed and taken: lo, they have rejected the word of the Lord; and what wisdom is in them?”

POVERTY

Exodus_23:3_(RSV)

“Neither shalt thou be partial to the poor man in his poverty.”

(No book in the world makes more generous provision for the poor or has established fairer laws to protect them.

But partiality is warned against.)

WELFARE

2_Thessalonians_3:10

“...if any would not work, neither should he eat.”

Exodus_20:9

“Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work.”

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

~~There~~ There are at least ten Hebrew words for "kill", one of which is murder. Exodus 20:13 actually reads "Thou shalt not murder."

There are at least six Greek words for "kill", one of which is murder and wherever the New Testament refers to Exodus 20:13 it uses the Greek word for murder.

Genesis_9:6

“Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man.”

PROMPT PUNISHMENT

Ecclesiastes_8:11

“Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil.”

VIETNAM STRATEGY

*Full
Bridges
Jan 51 '69*

1. The entire war strategy is designed to win a military and political victory for the United States over the enemies of South Vietnam, thus denying the South Vietnamese the heritage of winning their own victory.
 - The Oriental is neutralized and loses faith when he is forced to depend on a white man's military might and not his own.
 - In my judgment we should gradually change the tactic of Americans leading the South Vietnamese military machine and let the South Vietnamese dictate plans for defeating the enemy.
 - The present strategy, whether successful or not, still leaves South Vietnam military units

lacking in responsibility to maintain and win the victory.

ILL: If you hired a man who was making \$15.00 a week to accomplish a task and you paid him \$100.00 a week while so doing with the stipulation that he drop back to \$15.00 when the task was completed, you have removed the incentive to complete the project and have even set up a penalty of \$85.00 a week when he succeeds.

-- A situation has now been manufactured where a person has been penalized for succeeding.

-- It is not his fault that he doesn't want to be poor again; it is our fault for not working out a formula for a personal reward as incentive to overwhelm his enemies who are keeping him from this reward.

- The South Vietnamese should gradually accept responsibility and activity for defeating the enemy in their own way, with the United States adopting a backup position, not a frontline strategy.

- The Viet Cong are now free to engage in battle activities unhindered by the self-imposed ethics we have imposed on our own military.

- The South Vietnamese should be free to defeat the enemy with either ethical or unethical methods (from our point of view) familiar to the Oriental, with us supplying the military equipment.

- Thus we will free South Vietnam to conquer the enemy and also free us of criticism for the methods and means used to accomplish the task.

- If their strategy calls for the liberation of North Vietnam then we should let them.

- We have now neutralized the South Vietnam war potential by dictating strategy and leading in combat.

THE IMMEDIATE ALTERNATIVES:

1. Tell Hanoi privately, "Negotiate or else", and put a time limit.

- Emphatically declare that a coalition government is not acceptable and there will be no recognition of the NLF.

- That total American pullout from major bases we have built is not possible.

- Will agree to withdrawal of major forces if North Vietnamese pull out completely, including their bases in Cambodia.

-- Am convinced that ARVN can handle
VC if North Vietnamese withdraw.

IF HANOI REFUSES TO ACCEPT THIS, THEN
WHAT IS THE ALTERNATIVE?

1. First, put pressure on Prince Sihanouk
to see that those bases in Cambodia are
evacuated immediately. Otherwise we
will destroy them.

2. The closing of the harbor at Haiphong.

-- General Brown, Commander of the
Seventh Air Force, says it can be
done, giving a week's notice to
all ships in the harbor.

3. This may mean the calling of China's
bluff. They should be informed through
private channels that if they intervene
then nuclear weapons will be used to
destroy their military potential.

-- We should not allow these
negotiations to drag on.

-- The Oriental respects toughness and force. The dragging on of this war has caused the United States to lose tremendous prestige throughout the Orient. If we adopt a tough no-nonsense policy, I am convinced that most of Asia will rally to our side.

-- Pompeii of Rome once said there are THREE WAYS TO WIN A WAR:

1. Destroy the enemy's productivity.
2. Destroy the enemy's military power, even if it means sacking the cities.
3. By amassing such military power that the enemy cowers and surrenders.

-- This is the policy adopted by the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia. They amassed such military power that not a shot was fired.

-- The strategy in Vietnam has been very unwise. It has lost us many friends in Asia, cost thousands of American lives and tens of thousands maimed for life. It has drained American resources. I am convinced that a tough policy will have such a psychological impact that the North Vietnamese may well negotiate in good faith. It is American uncertainty, vascillation and hesitation that gives them hope that they can eventually win.

-- There is no doubt that by October 30, 1968, we almost had the war won. Now the enemy is moving huge supplies into the South through the Ho Chi Minh trail and also through Cambodia. Their present tactic is terrorism and assassination. They also want to use Cambodia as a sanctuary in order to strike at Saigon in order to influence world public opinion at the Paris peace talks.

-- The Paris peace talks are giving the North Vietnamese tremendous prestige, to think that a little country can sit down as an equal to the mighty United States practically begging for peace. This looks ridiculous to Oriental eyes, even to our critics in Japan.

BG:MW

January 3, 1969.

* * *

Some Observations on Oriental Psychology and U.S. Far-Eastern Policy

by Donald E. Hoke,
President of Tokyo Christian College, Japan

The ^{post-war} prestige of the United States has never been at lower ebb in the Far East than it is at the present time. This is especially true in the advanced nation of Japan, where I have lived for the past 16 years.

Our failure to win and maintain friends in the Far East in the post-war period has been due, I feel strongly, to a failure to understand the basic psychology of the Orientals. The wishful thinking of uninformed people in Washington cannot and has not erased the religious and cultural conditioning and thought patterns of centuries here. And there seems to be no serious effort to understand these attitudes which are vital to an effective policy in dealing with these nations.

Dr. Edwin Reischauer, former ambassador to Japan, points out in his significant book, Beyond Vietnam, the fact that the United States never seems to have had a Far-Eastern policy. He also indicates that there are fundamental psychological problems here which should determine our attitudes and articulation of that policy. He lays down several clear premises on this, though I feel his conclusion is weak in that he feels there is not a clear, viable road to peace at the present time.

To summarize my convictions concerning the Far Eastern situation, I believe that there's a lack of understanding on the part of Americans that the Oriental respects only strength and authority. Equivocation, delays due to indecision, and often even kindness are interpreted as weakness and therefore receive only scorn and increasing disrespect.

Aware as I am of some of his weaknesses, nevertheless General MacArthur understood the Oriental mind thoroughly. As a result though he came in as the authoritative commander of a conquering nation and imposed upon the people here rigid laws and radical revisions in their political and social structure, he was, nevertheless, not only widely respected but virtually worshipped. His picture still appears in many Japanese homes. Quietly, but with rock-hard firmness and a dash of showmanship he laid down the law to the Japanese nation, and from the prime minister to the workmen he was respected for his unwavering firmness, albeit tempered with kindness.

This respect for firmness may be seen in the Japanese viewpoint of the Bataan death march. This was an act of barbaric and savage cruelty to the Western mind. But it was not considered unusual by the Japanese, and they were surprised at the intensity of our resentment. Some of their own soldiers were treated little better in the course of their discipline. A Japanese friend of mine told me about being in the army during World War II. During inspection one day a soldier near him was found to have his uniform inadequately prepared for inspection. The commanding officer seized the rifle from the offending soldier and smashed the butt into the soldier's face, shattering his jaw and knocking out most of his teeth. This was considered understandable discipline.

Still another illustration of the principle may be found in the inexplicable contrast between the attitude of the Japanese toward the American return of Okinawa to them, and their almost total silence concerning the return of the Kurile Islands by Russia. The firm, unalterable position of Russia is understood and consequently little is ever said about it in the press. No riots are held by Japanese students in resentment of the Russian occupation, while many riots have been held regarding the return of Okinawa. Our show of kindness and consideration for their request, and our willingness to bargain on the issue has, in effect, created these troubles. As far as the Russians are concerned, toward this matter and many others, the Japanese have a phrase, "shikata ga nai"--"there's nothing that can be done about it." And so it is accepted.

Applying this to our policy concerning Vietnam, the apparent American inability to bring the war to a victorious conclusion has caused rapidly declining respect here. We give international publicity to our own internal dissension over the issue, and reap correspondingly decreasing respect here in the Far East. The Pueblo incident was the last blow. During the first few hours there were loud declarations of prompt and decisive action on the part of the President and the State Department. Within a few days this subsided to puerile protestations. The Orientals do not understand this-- it is to them an open indication of internal weakness.

I personally believe that the "domino" theory is correct, if for no other reason than the Oriental psychology. To the degree that the United States takes a weak position, or even restrains itself from all-out victory as it has done for the past two years, to that degree the Oriental imputes weakness to us. Though centuries of religious, cultural, and military conditioning, the Oriental has been trained to respect authority, force, and decisiveness. The Oriental cannot understand the equivocating position of America in Vietnam in failing to press the war to a victorious conclusion, and in acting as pusillanimously as we have in the Pueblo incident.

Situated in the heart of American air bases here in Japan, I've had frequent conversations with American pilots and servicemen on "R and R" from Vietnam. A further serious moral question is frequently voiced by them as they tell of being forbidden to bomb military targets such as air fields and the Haiphong harbor in their countless raids over North Vietnam in the past two years. This also is not unknown to Japanese and other Oriental observers, and provokes credulity and scorn.

As a loyal American citizen who has spent 16 years in the Orient, I strongly feel that every power at our nation's command should be used to bring our present unfortunate, indecisive policy to an end. It will only breed further distress, disrespect and scorn on the part of our Allies, as well as our enemies in the Orient.