

Student Work

7-1-1974

Franklin Roosevelt's advisory system: The institutionalization of the Executive office of the President

James C. Rowling
University of Nebraska at Omaha

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/studentwork>
Please take our feedback survey at: https://unomaha.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_8cchtFmpDyGfBLE

Recommended Citation

Rowling, James C., "Franklin Roosevelt's advisory system: The institutionalization of the Executive office of the President" (1974). *Student Work*. 488.
<https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/studentwork/488>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by DigitalCommons@UNO. It has been accepted for inclusion in Student Work by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@UNO. For more information, please contact unodigitalcommons@unomaha.edu.

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S ADVISORY SYSTEM: THE
INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE EXECUTIVE
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

A Thesis

Presented to the
Department of Political Science
and the
Faculty of the Graduate College
University of Nebraska at Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

James C. Rowling

July, 1974

UMI Number: EP73126

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI EP73126

Published by ProQuest LLC (2015). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Accepted for the Faculty of The Graduate College of the University of Nebraska at Omaha, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts.

Graduate Committee	Name	Department
	<i>John J. Jan</i>	<i>Political Science</i>
	<i>Paul L. Beck</i>	<i>History</i>

Bernard A. Kolesa
Chairman

July 8, 1974
Date

THE GRADUATE COLLEGE
OF
UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA AT OMAHA

Upon the recommendation of the professor in charge
of the thesis and of the chairman of the DEPARTMENT
OF POLITICAL SCIENCE this thesis is hereby accepted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of

Master of Arts

Professor in charge of thesis

Dean of the Graduate College

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT	8
III. THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE	39
IV. THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET	54
V. THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS	64
VI. THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL	80
VII. CONCLUSION	91
BIBLIOGRAPHY	99

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Since its inception in 1787, the Office of the President of the United States has had to deal with many governmental problems, burdening the President with extraordinary decisions. As the country has grown in population, in geography, and in world influence the number of problems and decisions has escalated, placing immense pressure upon the decision making process.¹ Today, decisions made by the President of the United States can affect the future of the entire world. Consequently, the advice and administrative assistance a president receives when he is making these decisions is crucial. (Furnishing the President with this advice and assistance is one of the most influential elements in the Executive Branch of the Federal Government, the Presidential Advisory System.)

Consisting of several segments, the Presidential Advisory System is a blend of the old and the relatively new. The President's Cabinet, composed of the heads of the executive departments, has been a source of advice for presidents since its establishment by George Washington, and until recently was the only formal

¹George Reedy, Press Secretary and Special Assistant to President Lyndon Johnson, contends that "The presidential burden, . . . , does not lie in the workload. It stems from the crushing responsibility of political decision, with life and death literally hanging in the balance for hundreds of millions of people." George E. Reedy, The Twilight of the Presidency (New York: The New American Library, Inc., in association with The World Publishing Company, 1970), p. 24.

collective body the President could turn to for advice and assistance. However, despite occupying a prestigious position in the Executive Branch, its value as an advisory body has been over-rated. Conflict of personalities within the Cabinet, the independence of the Cabinet members as heads of separate executive departments, and often times the attitude of the President towards the Cabinet have reduced its collective value. The value of the Cabinet as an advisory source has been realized more through the work of individual members acting as counselors to the President. Many times a single Cabinet member has emerged as the President's favorite adviser.²

A second segment of the Presidential Advisory System consists of those individuals or groups who contribute advice and assistance to the President but are not a part of the Executive Branch, or, in some instances, not a part of the Federal Government. Some of these outsiders have found their way into the circle of the President's closest advisers, sometimes termed the "Inner Circle." A president may receive advice

. . . from members of the Congress; from independent wise men, elder statesmen, academic lights; from presidentially named high level commissions or special agents; or merely

²Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury under George Washington, was a favorite Presidential adviser, as was Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury under Thomas Jefferson. During the Civil War, Edwin Stanton, Lincoln's Secretary of War, was a close adviser, and more recently, during the Vietnam War, Lyndon Johnson's closest advisers were Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara.

from conversations with friends, visitors, private interest leaders, and others.³

Outsiders have been advisers to the President since the early days of the government. A constant correspondent of Jefferson was Pierre Samuel DuPont de Nemours, one of the founders of the DuPont Company. Frank Stearns, a prominent Boston business man, was a companion and confidant of Calvin Coolidge; and probably one of the most influential outsiders in the history of the Presidency was Woodrow Wilson's adviser, Colonel Edward M. House.

Precipitated by the expansion of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government that took place during his first administration, and the inability of the existing structure to supply the advice and assistance he needed, Franklin Roosevelt established the newest segment of the Presidential Advisory System in 1939, the Executive Office of the President. Structurally closest to the President, the Executive Office represents the first institutionalized organization created expressly for the purpose of advising and assisting the President of the United States, and has become the core of the Presidential Advisory System.

Before 1939, there was no legal provision for a staff of Presidential assistants other than the President's small personal administrative staff. Advisers and assistants worked unofficially as aides to the President, holding positions in various executive agencies, but working for the President. With the rapid expansion

³Theodore C. Sorensen, Decision-Making In The White House, The Olive Branch or The Arrows (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 72.

of the Executive Branch there was a realization of the need for more full time assistance. Thus, in 1935 Roosevelt set in motion the events that led to the establishment of the Executive Office of the President and the institutionalization of the Presidential Advisory System.

Chart I-1

The Presidential Advisory System of Today

The President----- Outside Advisers

The Cabinet	The Executive Office
1. Secretary of State	1. The White House Office
2. Secretary of the Treasury	2. Office of Management and Budget
3. Secretary of Defense	3. Domestic Council
4. Attorney General	4. National Security Council
5. Secretary of Labor	5. Energy Policy Office
6. Secretary of Commerce	6. Office of Economic Opportunity
7. Secretary of the Interior	7. Council on Economic Policy
8. Secretary of Agriculture	8. Federal Property Council
9. Postmaster General	9. Council of Economic Advisers
10. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare	10. Office of the Special Representative for Trade Negotiations
11. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development	11. Council on International Economic Policy
12. Secretary of Transportation	12. Council on Environmental Quality
	13. Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention
	14. Office of Telecommunications Policy

Roosevelt originally included the White House Office, the Bureau of the Budget, and three agencies which are no longer

functioning, in the Executive Office of the President.⁴ Later, he established the office of Special Counsel to the President as part of the Executive Office. When the Council of Economic Advisers and the National Security Council were established as part of the Executive Office after his death, Roosevelt's administrative innovations acted as models. These agencies, along with the other agencies that have been added to the Executive Office since its establishment, presently serve the President by performing advisory, supervisory, and coordinating functions.⁵ "They advise the President, they supervise other units in the Executive Branch, and they try to coordinate similar work being done by a number of organizations."⁶

The continuous expansion of its size and influence since 1939 has subjected the Executive Office of the President, and more particularly the White House Office, to a great deal of criticism in the last few years. Much of this criticism has been triggered by the ("Watergate scandal." For example, historian Daniel J. Boorstin believes that the Executive Office of the President has gotten too large to control.) "The Executive Office of the President has expanded beyond all bounds and has tended to supersede

⁴The three agencies which are no longer functioning in the Executive Office are The National Resources Planning Board, The Liaison Office for Personnel Management, and The Office of Government Reports.

⁵James W. Davis, Jr., The National Executive Branch, An Introduction (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 24.

⁶Ibid.

the executive branch of the government."⁷ He believes that, in the Watergate Affair, (this expansion of the Executive Office made it possible for people in the White House to use the President's authority without his knowing it, and it also made it possible for him to say he did not know what was going on.) Dr. Boorstin suggests that the Executive Office ought to be closely scutinized, implying that its size ought to be reduced.⁸ Possibly, something of this nature may be attempted in the future by Congress or by the President himself. But, any attempt at the reduction of the size and power of the Executive Office must take into consideration the need for the President to carry out his administrative duties. Otherwise, the President will encounter the same problem of inadequate administrative assistance encountered by Roosevelt before the Executive Office was established.

Roosevelt's establishment of the Executive Office of the President is one of the most significant events in the history of the Presidency. Because of his great influence on the institutionalization of the Presidential Advisory System, it is the purpose of this paper to examine Roosevelt's advisory system and the contributions he made to its structure. The paper will focus on the Executive Office, why it was needed, and the struggle involved in its establishment. Also, individual chapters will be devoted to those present day Executive Office agencies whose existence in the

⁷"Historian Decries Watergate as 'Cult of Personality'," Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, XXXI, No. 27 (1973), 1799.

⁸Ibid.

Executive Office of the President was influenced by Roosevelt. Agencies discussed will be the White House Office and the Bureau of the Budget, original occupants of the Executive Office, the Council of Economic Advisers and the National Security Council, agencies which also owe their existence in part to Roosevelt. Each chapter will briefly review the evolution of the agency and Roosevelt's influence on that evolution.

CHAPTER II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Until the Presidency of Franklin Roosevelt, when the Presidents of the United States needed administrative help and advice (they relied on a loosely structured extra-legal advisory system.) It consisted of the President's Cabinet, an effective source of advice when the members were consulted individually but a relatively ineffective source when consulted as a collective body, and an informal group of personal advisers that became known as the "Inner Circle." Both had their beginnings during George Washington's administration and served succeeding Presidents until the 1930's when Roosevelt realized that the President needed something more stable and reliable.

When the Founding Fathers were deliberating over the composition of the Chief Executive at the Constitutional Convention, (the idea of establishing an advisory council was discussed at great length.) Edmund Randolph, in the Virginia Resolutions, called for a council of revision made up of the Executive and members of the National Judiciary with authority to exercise the veto power.¹ Gouverneur Morris proposed a council of state composed of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Secretary of Domestic Affairs,

¹James Madison, Journal of the Federal Convention, ed. E. H. Scott (Chicago: Albert, Scott and Co., 1893), p. 62.

the Secretary of the Marine, and a Secretary of State to act as Secretary to the Council and Public Secretary to the President.²

George Mason suggested the following:

. . . a Privy Council, of six members, to the President, be established; to be chosen for six years by the Senate, two out of the Middle, and two out of the Southern quarters of the Union; and to go out in rotation, two every second year; . . .³

Despite all of the suggestions made, when a complete draft of the Constitution was drawn up in the Committee on Style the council idea was dropped. Some of the Founding Fathers felt that a council might impede the President. "Give him an able Council and it will thwart him; a weak one and he will shelter himself under their sanction."⁴ The final draft of the Constitution only mentioned that the President ". . . may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, . . ."⁵ It was, therefore, left for a Presidential advisory structure to evolve.

Because George Washington was the first President of the United States, it was natural that his actions in office would set precedents followed by succeeding Presidents. When he became

²Ibid., pp. 560-561.

³Ibid., p. 679.

⁴James Madison, The Writings of James Madison, IV, ed. Gaillard Hunt (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903), p. 234.

⁵U.S., Constitution, Art. 2, sec. 2.

President, attempts were made by him to obtain advice from both the Supreme Court and the Senate, but these attempts failed. Efforts at obtaining advice from the Supreme Court were rebuffed, with the Court claiming that "separation of powers" precluded it from supplying the Executive Branch with advice. Separation of powers also played a part in Washington's efforts to secure the opinion of the Senate on a pressing matter. The Senate acted annoyed and delayed giving Washington an answer, indicating their displeasure at being consulted by the President.⁶

Washington did have some limited success with the heads of the executive departments. By having conferences with them to discuss important matters, he expanded the Constitutional stipulation of asking for the opinions of the executive heads in writing. During 1792 and 1793, these conferences became more frequent, and in the latter years of his Presidency it was a routine matter to consult with his executive heads, often times having them vote in an attempt to arrive at a collective decision.⁷ Thus, in an effort to obtain additional opinions on important matters, Washington established an extra-constitutional governmental body, the President's Cabinet.

Washington's efforts at forming the Cabinet and his attempts at establishing it as the President's advisory council

⁶Marcus Cunliffe, American Presidents and the Presidency (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972), pp. 46-50.

⁷Ibid.

were never completely successful. The Cabinet has never functioned adequately as a collective advisory body. Individual Cabinet members have become close advisers to the President, but the Cabinet's role as an advisory council has been overrated. Even within Washington's Cabinet, there was constant turmoil caused by personality conflicts and differences of philosophy.⁸ These conflicts impeded chances for the Cabinet to act collectively.

Succeeding Presidents did not have any more success than Washington in developing the full advisory potential of the Cabinet. John Adams' Cabinet was a center for conspiracy against him. Jefferson ignored his Cabinet when he was considering the Louisiana Purchase and Lincoln did the same when he was deliberating over the Emancipation Proclamation. Jackson appointed four different Cabinets during his Presidency and found he could not work satisfactorily with any of them. Woodrow Wilson very seldom met with his Cabinet during the First World War and Calvin Coolidge's Cabinet meetings usually lasted only fifteen minutes.⁹

The capacity of the President's Cabinet to function as an advisory body is hampered by the way it is constituted. Each member is the head of an important individual department in the Executive Branch of the Government, being named to the Cabinet to

⁸For an indication of the problems faced by Washington when dealing with his Cabinet see Chapter 31 in James Thomas Flexner's George Washington And The New Nation, 1783-1793 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969).

⁹Louis W. Koenig, The Invisible Presidency (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 17.

act as individuals while operating that department. They have collective responsibility only when they are called together by the President.¹⁰ "Cabinet members tend to pursue their own policies."¹¹ As a result, Cabinet members are often more competitive in their dealings with each other and their relationships with the President. "They are champions of special and competing private interests, of groups functionally specialized. They are competitors with respect to appropriations, authority, and prestige."¹²

The ability of the Cabinet to act as an advisory body is further impeded by the factors involved when a President chooses his Cabinet members. He is not always free to pick whom he wants in that Cabinet. Party, personal loyalty, geography, socio-economic factors, and specialized talents all figure in the choosing of a Cabinet member; and they can influence the future interaction of the President and his Cabinet. Richard F. Fenno, Jr., author of The President's Cabinet, calls these factors "the components of availability" and "the components of balance."¹³

¹⁰A. J. Wann, The President as Chief Administrator, A Study of Franklin D. Roosevelt (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1968), p. 46.

¹¹Lester G. Seligman, "Presidential Leadership: The Inner Circle and Institutionalization," The Journal of Politics, XVIII (August 1956), 412.

¹²Paul H. Appleby, "Organizing Around the Head of a Large Federal Department," Public Administration Review, VI (Summer 1946), 207.

¹³Richard F. Fenno, The President's Cabinet (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 68-80, passim.

To avoid partisan conflicts, the entire Cabinet is, with few exceptions, from the same political party as the President; and Cabinet positions have often been political rewards for service to the party. For years it was a tradition that the chairman of the party's national committee during the President's successful campaign be named Postmaster General in the new Cabinet, a post in which a person could easily fulfill Cabinet duties and at the same time handle the responsibilities of chairman of the national committee.¹⁴

Closely related to party loyalty as a factor involved in choosing a Cabinet member is personal loyalty, the criteria for which is set by each President. Woodrow Wilson's conception of personal loyalty was the readiness a person displayed to follow his lead without question. A criteria for an appointment to Franklin Roosevelt's Cabinet was preconvention support.¹⁵

Geography also plays an important part in the selection of Cabinet members. Because a preponderance of the activities of the Department of Interior is concerned with the Western states, the Secretary of the Interior frequently comes from the West, and a farm state usually provides the Cabinet with the Secretary of Agriculture. In an effort to give representation to each geographical section of the country, the President generally makes an effort to balance his Cabinet with appointees from all parts of the nation. Usually, important political states like New York, Ohio,

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 68-70.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 71.

Illinois, and California are represented, as is the President's home state.¹⁶

Allied with the geographical factors involved in naming Cabinet members are the socio-economic factors. The Secretary of Agriculture chosen from a farm state not only represents a geographical region, but also represents a socio-economic group, the farmer. The same is true of the Secretary of Labor, who is normally from an industrial state and represents labor. The Secretary of Commerce, who gives the businessman a representative, often comes from a commercially oriented state.¹⁷

Administrative ability, political experience, and special knowledge are also factors considered when Cabinet members are selected.¹⁸ However, as it is with all the factors involved in choosing Cabinet members, these qualities do not mean that the individual Cabinet member will function with the Cabinet as a whole, or be able to communicate well with the President who appointed him.

Presidents, therefore, came to rely on individual Cabinet members rather than the Cabinet as a whole. These individual members became part of an informal group of personal advisers that also had its beginning in the Washington Presidency. Washington included Congressman James Madison, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, and in

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 71-79.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 75, 80.

the early years Chief Justice John Jay in his informal circle of advisers.

Following Washington's lead, succeeding Presidents, partly because of their dissatisfaction with the Cabinet as a group, sought advice on matters important and confidential from those to whom they felt closest. This group of the President's closest advisers became known as the "Inner Circle," with some of the closer knit circles being immortalized by the press. Jackson's and Tyler's were referred to as the "Kitchen Cabinet," Cleveland's was the "Fishing Cabinet," and Teddy Roosevelt's circle of advisers was known as the "Tennis Cabinet."¹⁹ This group's composition varied, depending upon who enjoyed the chief executive's confidence. The advisers came from the Cabinet, the President's personal staff, officials of the various executive agencies, members of Congress, party leaders, personal friends, and leaders of major interest groups such as labor and agriculture.

When Franklin Roosevelt became President in 1933, it was the loose structure of the Cabinet and his circle of personal advisers that he had to rely on for administrative assistance and advice in solving the problems of the Depression. However, in addition to the factors faced by previous Presidents when dealing with the Cabinet, Roosevelt had certain personal traits which hindered his working relationship with the Cabinet as a collective body. Roosevelt preferred dealing with people individually on a face to face basis, and he was reluctant to delegate authority.

¹⁹Koenig, pp. 39-43.

Most of the important matters were discussed with the Cabinet member outside of the Cabinet meeting in their separate capacities as heads of their departments, not as the collective Cabinet. In the beginning he held regular Friday meetings of the Cabinet and encouraged very searching inquiries and lengthy discussions with all the Cabinet members participating. After a while, the procedure lapsed into a direct communication between a particular cabinet officer and the President concerning the Cabinet member's special field.²⁰ Harold Ickes, Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior, described the relationship that existed between the President and his Cabinet.

The cold fact is that on important matters we are seldom called upon for advice. We never discuss exhaustively any policy of government or question of political strategy. The President makes all of his own decisions and, so far at least as the Cabinet is concerned, without taking counsel with a group of advisers. On particular questions he will call into his office persons directly interested, but it is fair to say that the Cabinet is not a general council upon whose advice the President relies or the opinions of which, on important matters, he calls for.²¹

Also, it was not uncommon for Roosevelt to bypass Cabinet heads on a particular issues. Sometimes he would use unofficial advisers to carry out tasks that were traditionally performed by Cabinet members. Harry Hopkins, for example, served Roosevelt informally as a ". . . buffer, communication line, sounding board,

²⁰Wann, pp. 47-48.

²¹Harold L. Ickes, The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes, Vol. I: The First Thousand Days, 1933-1936 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), p. 308.

coordinator, listening post, and mouthpiece abroad."²² In domestic affairs Ickes and Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury, both complained of not being consulted on various issues. In the area of foreign affairs Roosevelt believed it was necessary to be his own Secretaries of State, War, and Navy.²³

Roosevelt generally shied away from inter-departmental mechanisms such as standing committees and secretaries. With the aversion he had towards inter-departmental mechanisms and his disinclination to work with the Cabinet, it was ironic that Roosevelt was the President who created the first Cabinet secretariat, the National Emergency Council.²⁴

In an effort to help coordinate the many agencies established to fight the depression, he formed, by executive order, the Executive Council in July of 1933 ". . . to provide for the orderly presentation of business and to coordinate inter-agency problems of organization and work of the new governmental agencies, . . ."²⁵ Nothing more than the Cabinet expanded to include the heads of the newly formed economic emergency organizations, the Executive Council met with the President every Tuesday. Roosevelt told Louis Brownlow that "these meetings, . . . , were exceedingly useful in

²²Fenno, p. 46.

²³Ibid., pp. 45-46.

²⁴Richard E. Neustadt, "Approaches to Staffing The Presidency," The American Political Science Review, LVII (December 1963), 856.

²⁵Samuel I. Rosenman, ed., The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, II (New York: Random House, 1938), p. 281.

keeping him informed of what was going on, especially in the emergency agencies."²⁶

The Executive Council proved to be too large and cumbersome. As a result, on November 17, 1933, by executive order, Roosevelt established the National Emergency Council (NEC).²⁷ The purpose of the National Emergency Council was to be a working secretariat for the Executive Council.²⁸ It was to coordinate the New Deal agencies and ". . . to act in a capacity advisory to the President. . . ." ²⁹ The NEC was to handle the functions pertaining to the emergency activities instituted to help combat the depression, and the Executive Council was to handle those matters not connected with the emergency program.

The National Emergency Council and the Executive Council met with the President on alternate weeks at first, and then began having joint meetings with him. Distinction between the two bodies became increasingly difficult, so in October, 1934, Roosevelt

²⁶Louis Brownlow, A Passion For Anonymity (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 319.

²⁷The National Emergency Council was composed of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of the Interior, the Administrator of Agricultural Adjustment, the Administrator of Federal Emergency Relief, the Administrator for Industrial Recovery, the Chairman of the Home Owners Loan Corporation, the Governor of the Farm Credit Administration, and a representative of the Consumers' Council. The Attorney General, the Director of the Budget, and the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission were added a month later.

²⁸Brownlow, p. 320.

²⁹Rosenman, Roosevelt's Public Papers, II, p. 488.

consolidated the two under the name of the National Emergency Council.³⁰

As a coordinating body the National Emergency Council proved to be a disappointment. For one thing, the Council was too large to be effective. Quoting Roosevelt:

. . . like a New England Town meeting, it was too big to do much actual work. It had to be split up into committees until in the end I couldn't take it any more because I found myself making stump speeches to the council instead of listening to its members.³¹

Secondly, Roosevelt's desire to be the final decision maker crippled the coordinating capacity of the Council. He really never gave it authority to act for him, and he never fully supported the Executive Director. The Executive Director was never given any real power, and final decisions had to be made by Roosevelt himself, thereby, causing confusion within the Council. Instead of using the Council as an effective integrating device in itself, he simply used it as a means to help him coordinate.³² He used the Council like he used the Cabinet, as a sounding board, getting ideas from members and using them to perfect his own ideas. "He delegated authority and controlled his subordinates in such a way that the power to make final . . . decisions almost always remained in his own tight grip."³³ Although the National Emergency

³⁰Brownlow, p. 321.

³¹Ibid.

³²Wann, p. 71.

³³Ibid.

Council was a disappointment as a coordinative body, it did offer the President a source of advice and information concerning the progress of the emergency relief programs.

In the thirties, the nature of the times and the decisions that had to be made forced Franklin Roosevelt to call upon what James MacGregor Burns terms a "stable of advisers."³⁴ His informal group of advisers consisted of people from all facets of national government plus some outside of the government. It became a large and ever changing group with people constantly moving into and out of it.

From the Cabinet, James Farley was one of Roosevelt's chief advisers on political matters until the two had a falling out when Roosevelt ran for a third term in 1940. Also enjoying a closer relationship with Roosevelt than did most of the other Cabinet members were Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury, and Henry Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture and later Vice President of the United States.

Roosevelt's circle of advisers also included Congressional leaders: Senator Key Pittman of Nevada became a member of Roosevelt's pre-1932 election policy advisers, and James F. Byrnes, Senator from South Carolina served Roosevelt in several capacities until Roosevelt's death. In the House of Representatives, a frequent conferee of Roosevelt's was Sam Rayburn, Congressman from Texas who became Speaker of the House in 1940.³⁵

³⁴James MacGregor Burns, Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956), p. 154.

³⁵See Booth Mooney's Roosevelt and Rayburn, A Political Partnership (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1971).

Outside of government, Roosevelt consulted with old politicians like Colonel House, Woodrow Wilson's former assistant, and labor leaders like William Green of the American Federation of Labor.³⁶ Edward J. Flynn, political boss of the Bronx in New York, was a close political adviser while Roosevelt was Governor of New York and while he was President. When James Farley resigned as Chairman of the National Democratic Party, he was succeeded by Flynn.

A perennial adviser to presidents from Woodrow Wilson to Dwight Eisenhower was financier Bernard M. Baruch. Although he opposed Roosevelt's nomination in 1932, he frequently contributed advice and assistance after Roosevelt became President. Baruch's

. . . proteges manned many of the subsequent key New Deal posts; Hugh Johnson came in as administrator of NRA, George N. Peek as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture and Herbert Swope, as an all-around assistant.³⁷

Felix Frankfurter, Harvard law professor and a Roosevelt Supreme Court appointee, was a long time good friend and constant adviser of Roosevelt's even after Frankfurter became a Supreme Court Justice.³⁸ As was the case with Bernard Baruch, Frankfurter's proteges became prominent members of Roosevelt's administration.

³⁶Burns, p. 154.

³⁷Koenig, p. 39.

³⁸The extent of their friendship can be seen in Roosevelt and Frankfurter, Their Correspondence 1928-1945, annotated by Max Freedman. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967.

Also included in Roosevelt's circle of advisers were aides who worked unofficially for the President. Holding positions in various executive agencies, these unofficial aides served as policy advisers and administrative assistants. This group was extra-legal in nature and included some of Roosevelt's closest advisers. Roosevelt used these aides informally to handle a lot of behind-the-scenes tasks. In filling a gap that existed on the White House staff, their help was informal and somewhat irregular.³⁹

During most of his first two terms in office, it was the loose advisory structure consisting of the Cabinet and the informal group of advisers, supplemented by the National Emergency Council and his personal staff, that Roosevelt primarily depended upon for advice and assistance. The consolidating and institutionalizing of this loose structure was one of Roosevelt's objectives when he began efforts towards the end of his first term to reorganize the Executive. The product of his efforts was the Executive Office of the President.⁴⁰

One of Roosevelt's goals when he took office in 1933 was the improvement of governmental administration by reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government. However, his efforts to do this were curtailed for much of the first term because preoccupation with efforts to counteract the effects of the depression precluded any moves toward reorganization. By 1935, the growth of

³⁹Wann, p. 40.

⁴⁰Ibid.

the Executive Branch and the confusion caused by the creation of numerous depression fighting government agencies made it imperative that a major reorganization effort be launched. His attempts at reorganizing and coordinating, as exemplified in the establishment of the Executive Council and the National Emergency Council, were minimally successful.⁴¹

Roosevelt recognized that:

. . . an otherwise professional performance during his first term in the Presidency was being severely hampered by the sheer multiplicity and complexity of his duties and by the want of effective assistance in their discharge.⁴²

In the summer of 1935, Roosevelt began discussing the problem of improved management in the Executive Branch with the members of the Advisory Committee to the National Resources Board.⁴³ During the course of one of these discussions, Roosevelt asked Professor Charles E. Merriam, one of the Committee's members, to submit a memorandum on the subject. Merriam, with the collaboration of Louis Brownlow, Director of the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago, drew up the memorandum and presented it

⁴¹Ibid., p. 22.

⁴²Clinton L. Rossiter, "The Constitutional Significance of the Executive Office of the President," The American Political Science Review, XLIII (December 1949), 1207.

⁴³The National Resources Board was composed of Secretary of the Interior Ickes, Secretary of War Dern, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, Secretary of Commerce Roper, Secretary of Labor Perkins, Federal Emergency Relief Administrator Hopkins, and the three members of the Advisory Committee, Frederic A. Delano, Wesley C. Mitchell, and Charles E. Merriam. The members of the Advisory Committee had been brought into the government as the National Planning Board to assist Ickes in planning the activities of the public works program. Wann, pp. 204-205.

to the President. In their memorandum they stated that a study could be made.

It would be possible to make a thorough study of the whole problem as it develops in American public life--a study directed toward the institutional arrangements, general understandings and practices which would most effectively aid the Executive in the double task of management plus political leadership and direction.⁴⁴

They also suggested that the Public Administration Committee of the Social Science Research Council, a private research group headed by Brownlow, would be willing to undertake the study.⁴⁵

Discussions of the problem continued through the winter of 1935-36, and, in late February, Roosevelt asked Brownlow to prepare a more precise statement of what a study of reorganization in the Executive would include.⁴⁶ After a series of meetings between Brownlow and the President, it was announced on March 22, 1936, that a committee had been appointed ". . . to make a study of the relation of the Emergency Agencies to the regular organizations of the Executive branch of the Government."⁴⁷ Named to the Committee were Brownlow, Merriam, and Luther Gulick, Director of the Institute of Public Administration in New York.

Roosevelt, in naming his own committee, decided against having the Public Administration Committee of the Social Science

⁴⁴Brownlow, p. 327.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 327-328.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 334.

⁴⁷Samuel I. Rosenman, ed., The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, V (New York: Random House, 1938), p. 144.

Research Council do the study for two reasons. First, the activities of the Public Administration Committee were supported by funds from the Rockefeller Foundation, and Roosevelt felt that connecting the name of Rockefeller with such a study would be frowned upon by members of Congress. Secondly, he felt that the magnitude of the subject matter dictated that the committee be appointed by him and that it have official governmental status.⁴⁸

At the same time that he appointed his committee, Roosevelt sent a letter to the Senate asking that Virginia Senator Harry F. Byrd's Committee, already established to consider reorganization, cooperate with the President's Committee. Also, he sent a letter to the House of Representatives asking the House to establish a similar committee to work in cooperation with the President's Committee.⁴⁹

Because 1936 was an election year, the members of the Committee and the President agreed that it might be politically expedient if the Committee did not meet with the President until after the election on November. Roosevelt did not want to risk having pre-election political opposition build against him over the subject of reorganization. This was the first effort by Roosevelt to keep the activities of the Committee secret. Despite his letters to Congress asking for cooperation, the activities of the Committee and the contents of its report were kept secret up until the report was announced. Roosevelt wanted to keep everything

⁴⁸Wann, pp. 75-76.

⁴⁹Rosenman, Roosevelt's Public Papers, V, p. 144.

secret so that when the report was submitted he could not feel bound to accept it if he disagreed with its contents.⁵⁰

The Committee was free to work on its own until after the election, not meeting with Roosevelt until November 14, when they discussed tentative recommendations. It was at this meeting that Roosevelt, offering a bit of criticism, outlined his desire for a group of administrative assistants in the White House to aid him in managing and coordinating the work of the departments and agencies. He also criticized the lack of a plan to incorporate the independent regulatory commissions into the regular executive organization. Except for these two criticisms he endorsed what the Committee had produced so far.⁵¹

On Sunday, January 3, 1937, the final report was presented to the President and approved. On January 10, it was presented to the Democratic leaders of Congress; the next day Roosevelt answered questions concerning the report at a news conference; and on January 12, he sent the report to Congress, asking for the adoption of its major recommendations.⁵²

The proposals of the Committee may be summarized as follows:

1. Expand the White House staff so that the President may have a sufficient group of able assistants in his own office to keep him in closer and easier touch with the widespread affairs of administration and to make a speedier clearance of the knowledge needed for executive decision;

⁵⁰Richard Polenberg, Reorganizing Roosevelt's Government, The Controversy Over Executive Reorganization (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 14.

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 20-21.

⁵²Wann, pp. 84-85.

2. Strengthen and develop the managerial agencies of the Government particularly those dealing with the Budget, efficiency research, personnel, and planning, as management arms of the Chief Executive;

3. Extend the merit system upward, outward, and downward to cover all nonpolicy-determining posts; reorganize the civil-service system as a part of management under a single responsible Administrator, strengthening the Civil Service Commission as a citizen Civil Service Board to serve as the watchdog of the merit system; and increase the salaries of key posts throughout the service so that the Government may attract and hold in a career service men and women of the highest ability and character;

4. Overhaul the 100 independent agencies, administrations, authorities, boards, and commissions, and place them by Executive order within one or the other of the following 12 major executive departments: State, Treasury, War, Justice, Post Office, Navy, Conservation, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, Social Welfare, and Public Works; and place upon the Executive continuing responsibility for the maintenance of effective organization;

5. Establish accountability of the Executive to the Congress by providing a genuine independent postaudit of all fiscal transactions by an Auditor General, and restore to the Executive complete responsibility for accounts and current financial transactions.⁵³

The submission of the Committee's Report to Congress marked the beginning of a long and bitter struggle to pass legislation that would enable Roosevelt to implement the suggestions made by the Committee. Opposition from Congress was expected and it came almost immediately. Senator Byrd, who had pledged the cooperation of his Senate committee with the President's Committee, supported what the President was doing until the report was announced. He had even asked Brownlow to serve as head of his advisory committee, and he wanted Gulick's Institute for Public Administration to do the research. Byrd promised not to release any of the findings of his own committee until after the President

⁵³Report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 52.

had presented his plans; Byrd, however, understood he would have an opportunity to examine those proposals and offer his own suggestions. When the report was announced, Byrd withdrew his support.⁵⁴

Byrd decided to withdraw his support for the President's plan when he realized he disagreed with Roosevelt's spending policies. Byrd's approach to reorganization was that of fiscal responsibility and he believed the aim should be a balanced budget. Roosevelt, on the other hand, viewed a balanced budget as highly desirable, but a secondary priority to improved management. Byrd had always been suspicious of Roosevelt's loose fiscal policy, and the proposal in the Brownlow Report to abolish the Comptroller-General and replace the pre-audit of Executive fiscal transactions with a post-audit confirmed his suspicions.⁵⁵ Also contributing to Byrd's decision to break with the President was the manner in which he had been treated by the President and the Committee. The Committee failed to confer with him like they had promised, and the Report was announced without Byrd's seeing it. When he requested to see the President, he was ignored.⁵⁶

⁵⁴Polenberg, pp. 31-35.

⁵⁵The President's Plan would "change the existing comptroller general into an 'auditor general' responsible solely to the Congress for the post-audit of federal fiscal activities; and transfer the existing pre-audit function to the Treasury and the quasi-judicial function to the attorney general." Brownlow, p. 386.

⁵⁶Polenberg, pp. 31-35.

Supporting Senator Byrd's view and other fiscal conservatives in the Congress were the recommendations made by the Brookings Institution. Brookings had been hired to do the research work on reorganization for the Senate and the House, and their recommendations concerning the Comptroller-General ran counter to the proposals made by the Brownlow Committee. The key difference between the two reports was the view of where control of expenditures should be. The Brownlow Report recommended control by the Executive and Brookings recommended control by Congress.⁵⁷

Another source of Congressional opposition arose from those Congressmen who were alienated by the secrecy surrounding the Brownlow Report. Not one Congressman was consulted concerning reorganization during the period in which the Committee was preparing its report. The contents of the report were not known to congressmen until being sprung upon them on January 10. Roosevelt further alienated them by giving the impression that he did not want any modification of the plan, which was interpreted by the congressmen as dictatorial.⁵⁸

During 1935 and 1936 there was growing resentment over Roosevelt's manner of dealing with Congress. Some believed he had become high handed and arrogant. Others resented the loss of power that had been experienced by the Congress. The Executive reorganization plan and the manner in which it was presented

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 39.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 42.

coupled with Roosevelt's ill conceived plan to reorganize the federal courts, submitted February 5, 1937,⁵⁹ were enough for a Congress, which had become increasingly critical of what it considered a usurpation of its power, to say no. The Congress linked the two plans together and rebelled against what it considered the dictatorial actions of the President. Also, there was an opinion in Congress that it was the place of Congress to introduce government reorganization legislation; and if they granted the President the right to issue reorganization orders they would be giving up that power.⁶⁰

. . . the leaders of the legislative branch . . . from the beginning of the government had considered themselves responsible for the control, confinement, building, and ultimate determination of the organization of all branches of the government.⁶¹

A joint committee was created by Congress to consider reorganization, holding occasional hearings with the President's Committee during the months of February, March, and April of 1937. However, most of the time of Congress was taken up by the President's

⁵⁹The conservative Supreme Court of the New Deal period had been declaring much of Roosevelt's actions to combat the depression unconstitutional. Since six members of the Court were over seventy years of age, Roosevelt, in an effort to overcome this handicap, proposed that for every justice over seventy who refused to resign, a co-justice be appointed to the court. If the proposal became law, Roosevelt would be able to appoint six new justices, thus, enlarging the Court to fifteen members and overcoming the handicap the Supreme Court presented. Leonard Baker, Back to Back, The Duel Between F.D.R. and the Supreme Court (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1967), pp. 8-9.

⁶⁰Wann, pp. 89-90.

⁶¹Brownlow, p. 392.

Court Bill, and little positive action was taken on reorganization. When time came in June for a bill to be drafted, there was a disagreement between the Senate leaders and the House leaders as to how the drafting should be done. Senator Robinson, Chairman of the Joint Committee, wanted a single bill; whereas, Congressman John Cochran, leader of the House delegation, wanted to split the bill into four proposals. Thus, the two groups proceeded to draft their own bills.⁶² The Senate ran out of time in its session before reorganization was brought up, but the House of Representatives was able to vote on two of the four measures into which the reorganization plan had been broken down. The House passed both measures by a substantial margin, but the opposition to these measures on the floor of Congress was a portent of darker days ahead for the Roosevelt Administration.

The first measure, providing for six presidential assistants, was attacked by Congressman Charles L. Gifford of Massachusetts.

They are asking for more secretaries to write our legislation for us; brain children who will write our bills in such difficult language that even our own Sam Rayburn will need have them at his side to advise him.⁶³

Representative Dewey Short of Missouri called the measure an attempt at ". . . one-man-rule government by executive decree."⁶⁴

⁶²Polenberg, pp. 46-47.

⁶³U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Representative Gifford speaking against H. R. 7730, 75th Cong., 1st sess., July 27, 1937, Congressional Record, 7683.

⁶⁴U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Representative Short speaking against H. R. 7730, 75th Cong., 1st sess., July 27, 1937, Congressional Record, 7691.

He classified the Presidential assistants as "theoretical, intellectual, professional nincompoops. . . ."65

The second measure introduced, regrouping agencies and creating a Department of Welfare, was attacked with the same type of language. Representative Mott from Oregon claimed that the Congress and not the President should change or consolidate governmental agencies.⁶⁶ Representative Short attacked this measure as vitriolically as he attacked the first.

God pity America in the future if we continue to refuse responsibility that is ours, and cowardly, . . . , turn over our constitutional prerogatives and surrender not only our rights but also our duties to some individual at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue.⁶⁷

Reorganization made no further legislative progress during the first session of the 75th Congress before adjournment, and was not taken up again until the Senate did so during the third session of the 75th Congress in March of 1938. In the meantime, opposition to reorganization began to build outside of Congress. The rise of dictatorships in Europe made much of the public uneasy about too much executive power. Also, during this time there was a setback in economic recovery and people were afraid Roosevelt's programs were not working. They became suspicious of his actions.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Representative Mott speaking against H. R. 8202, 75th Cong., 1st sess., August 13, 1937, Congressional Record, 8858.

⁶⁷U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Representative Short speaking against H. R. 8202, 75th Cong., 1st sess., August 13, 1937, Congressional Record, 8861.

These two factors made the Court Plan and the Reorganization Plan unpopular. Conservative anti-administration groups like Frank Gannett's National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government tried to mobilize the public against the Reorganization Plan, claiming that it would give the President dictatorial power. Opposition was generated by the Civil Service advocates against the suggestion to reorganize the Civil Service under a single administrator. Semi-autonomous government agencies like the Corps of Engineers, and pressure groups like the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars lobbied against the proposal to incorporate the independent government agencies into the Executive departments. Congressmen and Senators were deluged by telegrams and letters urging them to vote against any reorganization bill.⁶⁸

When the Reorganization Bill was introduced in the Senate it was opposed by conservative Senators who fought the Court Plan, claiming dictatorship. Senator Hiram Johnson of California warned the Senate:

Someone once said, "Democracy gives every man the right to be his own oppressor." Whether that be so or not, let us not be parties to oppressing ourselves or killing democracy.⁶⁹

Opposition also came from those Senators against the Civil Service proposal and those against the proposal transferring government regulatory agencies into the Executive departments.

⁶⁸Polenberg, pp. 148-154.

⁶⁹U.S. Congress, Senate, Senator Hiram Johnson speaking against S. 3331, 75th Cong., 3rd sess., March 17, 1938, Congressional Record, 3465.

(Despite this strong opposition the administration forces led by Senator James Byrnes of South Carolina was able to push the Reorganization Bill through the Senate by a 49 to 42 vote.)⁷⁰ However, administration people were not so successful when the bill was sent to the House of Representatives for approval. (The House voted 204 to 196 to send the measure back to committee, constituting defeat for Roosevelt.)⁷¹

It was a combination of things that defeated the Reorganization Bill. Those who wanted to inflict a defeat on the President, those who wanted to protect favorite bureaus and agencies, and primarily those who resented the expanding authority of the Executive all joined forces to defeat the bill.⁷²

After the defeat of the Reorganization Bill in the House of Representatives, Roosevelt decided to let things cool off before trying to push another reorganization bill through Congress. In 1939 he submitted a watered down version of the earlier reorganization bill.⁷³ Authorizing the President to suggest plans of reorganization, the bill made the plans subject to a veto by a majority of both Houses.

The reorganizations specified in the plan shall take effect in accordance with the plan:

(a) Upon the expiration of sixty calendar days after the date on which the plan is transmitted to the Congress,

⁷⁰Polenberg, p. 138.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 165-166.

⁷²Ibid., p. 175.

⁷³Wann, pp. 97-98.

but only if during such sixty-day period there has not been passed by the two Houses a concurrent resolution stating in substance that the Congress does not favor the reorganization plan.⁷⁴

(The Bill also dropped the controversial issues of modernizing the civil service system, renovating accounting procedures, creating new departments of government, and bringing regulatory agencies into the Executive departments.⁷⁵ This time the Bill had a relatively easy time of it and was passed by both Houses.)

In accord with the Reorganization Act, Roosevelt submitted five reorganization plans to Congress, Plan I being the most significant in the study of the Presidential Advisory System. Submitted April 25, 1939, and approved by Congress twenty-two days later, (Plan I asked for the power to establish the Executive Office of the President, and on September 8, 1939, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8248 establishing the Executive Office.

There shall be within the Executive Office of the President the following principal divisions, namely; (1) The White House Office, (2) The Bureau of the Budget, (3) The National Resources Planning Board, (4) The liason Office for Personnel Management, (5) The Office of Government Reports, and (6) in the event of a national emergency, or threat of a national emergency, such office for emergency management as the President shall determine.⁷⁶

⁷⁴Reorganization Act, Statutes at Large, LIII, sec. 5(a), 562 (1939).

⁷⁵Polenberg, p. 185.

⁷⁶Samuel I. Rosenman, ed., The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, VIII (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1941), p. 491.

The White House Office, one of two original Executive Office agencies still active today, was divided into three subdivisions; the Secretaries to the President, the Executive Clerk, and the administrative assistants. Today's White House Office has grown since its establishment and has been changed somewhat by each President, but the basic structure is the same.

(The second division of the Executive Office established by Roosevelt's Executive Order was the Bureau of the Budget, also still active. It was removed from the Treasury Department and placed at the President's right hand to be used by him as a part of his personal staff. The Bureau was given numerous administrative and advisory duties by Roosevelt's Executive Order.)

The other divisions of the Executive Office, the National Resources Planning Board, the Liaison Office for Personnel Management, and the Office of Government Reports have all disappeared from the Executive Office. The National Resources Planning Board was abolished in 1943 when Congress decided to withhold funds from the agency; however, its duties of advising the President on economic conditions and proposing measures to improve economic stabilization were later given to the Council of Economic Advisers by Congress. The Liaison Office for Personnel Management functioned until 1953, at which time, President Eisenhower made the Liaison Officer a personal adviser on personnel matters and eliminated the Liaison Office. The Office of Government Reports, established to handle information flowing between the Federal Government and state and local governments, was made a part of the Office of War Information in 1942. Later revived by President

Truman, the Office of Government Reports was permanently terminated by Congress in 1947.⁷⁷

Chart II-1

Roosevelt's Advisory System

The President----- Outside Advisers

The Cabinet

1. Secretary of State
2. Secretary of the Treasury
3. Secretary of War
4. Attorney General
5. Secretary of Labor
6. Secretary of Commerce
7. Secretary of the Interior
8. Secretary of Agriculture
9. Postmaster General

The Executive Office

1. The White House Office
Secretaries to the President
Executive Clerk
Administrative Assistants
2. Bureau of the Budget
3. National Resources Planning Board
4. Liaison Office for Personnel Management
5. Office of Government Reports

The establishment of the Executive Office of the President was the end of a long and bitter struggle by Roosevelt to institutionalize the Presidential advisory structure. As it turned out, it was one of the most significant events in the history of the Presidency. With the advent of World War II, Roosevelt needed an advisory structure he could call on quickly and with confidence. Expansion of the Executive and increased involvement of the United States in foreign affairs after the war made an institutionalized advisory system a necessity for succeeding Presidents. Today, it is hard to imagine how the Executive would operate without it.

⁷⁷Wann, pp. 178-179.

The Executive Office has given the Presidency a place in which new advisory agencies can be placed when a need for them arises, and, ironically gives the Congress an institution upon which it can focus its attention when its members feel that the power of the President has to be limited. New agencies placed in the Executive Office can be controlled by Congress, whereas, in the system that existed before the establishment of the Executive Office there was no means of control. Maybe if the members of Congress had realized this in 1938, they would not have fought so hard.

CHAPTER III

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

Established by Roosevelt as part of the Executive Office of the President for the purpose of easing his administrative burdens, the White House Office has become the most prestigious agency in the Executive Office of the President. It is the center of activities in the Executive Branch and takes precedence over the other units in the Executive Office.¹ It has grown to include approximately 300 people, with the President utilizing 12 to 15 special assistants who are specialists in such diverse fields as foreign affairs, defense, welfare and education, urban problems and agriculture.² Members of the White House Office

. . . help prepare his [the President's] messages, speeches, and correspondence; arrange his appointments; oversee the inflow and outflow of his communications, analyze and refine the problems confronting him; advance his purposes with legislators, departments, private groups, and party officialdom.³

It was George Washington who set the precedent of appointing a Secretary to the President when he appointed his nephew Lawrence

¹Edward H. Hobbs, Behind the President, A Study of Executive Office Agencies (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1954), p. 86.

²James W. Davis, Jr., The National Executive Branch, An Introduction (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 22.

³Louis W. Koenig, The Chief Executive (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968), p. 159.

Lewis to be his secretary. This position was filled by the President's relatives at the President's personal expense until 1857 when Congress began paying the Secretary a meager salary. During McKinley's Presidency, Congress dignified the position by legally recognizing it and raising the salary.⁴

When Herbert Hoover became President, the Secretary to the President headed a small staff of secretaries and clerks often borrowed from other departments. Hoover changed the custom and appointed three secretaries.⁵ Therefore, when Roosevelt became President in 1933, in addition to a clerical staff and a private secretary, he had legal authority for three Secretaries to the President.

A dominant figure in the Roosevelt White House establishment until illness caused her retirement in 1943, was his private secretary Marguerite (Missy) LeHand. First meeting Roosevelt when she went to work for his campaign manager during the 1920 campaign for the Vice Presidency, she subsequently went to work for him when he became Vice President of the Fidelity and Depository Company, accompanying him to the Governor's Mansion in Albany, New York, and to the White House.⁶ She wielded immense influence in the White House, as can be seen by this description written by Stanley High, a Roosevelt speech writer:

⁴Hobbs, p. 86.

⁵Louis Brownlow, The President and the Presidency (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1949), p. 104.

⁶Robert A. Sherwood, Roosevelt and Hopkins (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), pp. 205-206.

Missy is the one indispensable member of the secretarial entourage. She not only understands what the President is driving at--and approves of it--she understands the President. No one else breaks in on him with so little hesitation or knows so well when breaking in would not be judicious. Her disapproval of a person or a course of action is more difficult to overcome than that of anyone else, save only Mrs. Roosevelt.⁷

An example of Missy's influence was given by Edward J. Flynn, Roosevelt's political adviser. When Roosevelt's first choice for Attorney General, Senator Thomas J. Walsh, died suddenly, Missy suggested appointing Homer S. Cummings to be Attorney General. Roosevelt did not accept the idea at first; however, the more he thought about it the more he liked it, and Cummings was appointed temporary Attorney General. Cummings did such a fine job that Roosevelt decided to keep him on as permanent Attorney General.⁸

One of the three Secretaries to the President appointed by Roosevelt in 1933 was his Press Secretary, Stephen T. Early. Early, an experienced newspaperman and a close friend of Roosevelt's since the Democratic Convention of 1912, was skillful in handling the President's frequently strained relations with the press.⁹ He would not take the job until he was assured that Roosevelt would cooperate in a liberalized press policy. Therefore, one of the first things Roosevelt did was to open up the Presidential Press

⁷Stanley High, Roosevelt-And Then? (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937), pp. 32-33.

⁸Edward J. Flynn, You're The Boss (New York: The Viking Press, 1947), pp. 125-126.

⁹Sherwood, p. 207.

Conference. His conferences were not staged as were the press conferences of his predecessor. They were held more frequently, and the press was given greater access into the functioning of the government.¹⁰

Another of the three Secretaries appointed by Roosevelt was Appointments Secretary Marvin McIntyre. McIntyre, also a former newspaperman, became acquainted with Roosevelt when the latter was Assistant Secretary of the Navy and McIntyre was Chief of the Press Offices of the Navy Department. He was Roosevelt's Press Officer during the 1932 campaign, traveling all over the country with the candidate. As Appointments Secretary, McIntyre was particularly effective in screening those who wanted to see the President and in acting as a contact man between the White House and Capitol Hill.¹¹ His value was described by Stanley High: "The only people who get around him belong to that inside and unofficial family who know both Missy LeHand and the President well enough to make the approach through her."¹² McIntyre remained Roosevelt's Appointments Secretary until illness forced him to give it up during Roosevelt's second term. He continued to work for Roosevelt until his death in 1943.

The third Secretary appointed by Roosevelt after he took office was Louis McHenry Howe. Acting as Roosevelt's chief of

¹⁰Patrick Anderson, The President's Men (Garden City: Doubleday, 1968), p. 59.

¹¹Sherwood, p. 208.

¹²High, p. 30.

staff he was given the title Secretary, while Early and McIntyre were given the title Assistant Secretary. Howe and Roosevelt met in 1911 when Howe, a newspaperman, was covering the New York State Legislature. Roosevelt was a first term state senator leading an insurgency of young Senators against the party bosses; and Howe, an experienced political reporter, offered advice to the group. Through this association, Roosevelt got to know Howe very well; and in 1912 when Roosevelt ran for a second term in the New York Legislature, he asked Howe to conduct his campaign. After Roosevelt's election to a second term, he and Howe became permanent political associates.¹³

Roosevelt was the public figure in the partnership, the candidate and the office holder, handling public contact and the questions of public policy. Howe was the behind-the-scenes figure in the partnership, the man behind the candidate who ". . . concentrated on the secret maneuver, the manipulation of the press, the organization of personal loyalties and patronage hunger."¹⁴ Roosevelt depended upon Howe's abilities as a shrewd political analyst and an inescapable critic.¹⁵

As Roosevelt's assistant, Howe accompanied him to the Department of the Navy when Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Woodrow Wilson, through the campaign for Vice

¹³Alfred Brooks Rollins, Roosevelt and Howe (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), p. 61.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

President in 1920, to the Governor's Mansion when Roosevelt became Governor of New York in 1928, and finally to the White House when Roosevelt was elected President.

Howe met precisely the hard core of qualifications which Roosevelt demanded in his closest collaborators. He was loyal almost to a fault. He could never be a rival. He was willing to pattern his life around the needs of his boss. He would be trusted never to be a yes man at home, but he would seldom be indiscreet and never be treacherous abroad.¹⁶

Howe was more than an adviser to Roosevelt, he was a member of the family, and when Roosevelt became President, Howe moved into the White House along with the rest of Roosevelt's family, occupying the Lincoln Room. An able assistant to Roosevelt for years, it was in the White House that Howe's value to Roosevelt began to wane. Roosevelt's need for advice and assistance increased when he became Governor of New York, and increased even more when he became President. Howe was primarily a political manipulator, and Roosevelt needed intellectual talents that Howe lacked. Howe discovered that he had to compete with policy advisers. In Albany, Howe had to compete with Roosevelt's special counsel Samuel Rosenman, and during the Presidential campaign he had to compete with Roosevelt's campaign policy advisers.¹⁷ Howe was extremely jealous of their relationships with Roosevelt, and

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Anderson, p. 13.

this jealousy sometimes caused unneeded tensions.¹⁸ His limited intellectual talents, his petty jealousies, and his deteriorating health (he suffered from acute asthma) diminished his usefulness; however, Roosevelt still felt close to him and continued to consult with him until he died in 1936.

Roosevelt's three Secretaries were part of what became known as the "Cuff Links Gang." When Roosevelt ran for Vice President in 1920 he gave the men who worked for him a pair of cuff links with "FDR" engraved on one side of the cuff links and the recipient's initials on the other. In later years only a few others were able to gain membership into this group.¹⁹ They included Major General Edwin M. (Pa) Watson, Roosevelt's military aide, who later took over McIntyre's job as Secretary in charge of appointments. Watson was ". . . adept at letting the right people see his chief and mollifying the disappointed; . . ."²⁰

¹⁸An example of Howe's jealousy can be seen in an incident that occurred at the 1932 Democratic Convention in Chicago. Roosevelt was nominated to run for President and several of his campaign policy advisers collaborated to write his acceptance speech. When Roosevelt arrived from New York to accept the nomination, Howe insisted that Roosevelt discard the speech written by the policy advisers and deliver one that he, Howe, had written. Roosevelt accommodated Howe by reading the first page of Howe's speech and the rest of his original speech. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

¹⁹Members of the Cuff Links Gang were Howe, Early, Marvin McIntyre, Charles H. McCarthy, Thomas Lynch, Kirke L. Simpson, Stanley Prenosil, James P. Sullivan, Samuel I. Rosenman, Henry Morgenthau, Basil O'Connor, Henry Hooker, Harry Hopkins, Edwin M. Watson, Ross McIntire, and Robert E. Sherwood. Sherwood, p. 941.

²⁰James MacGregor Burns, Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1970), p. 9.

It was a deep personal loss for Roosevelt when Watson died of acute congestive heart failure and a cerebral hemorrhage in 1945 on the way home from the Yalta Conference.²¹

Roosevelt depended upon his small administrative staff for personal assistance rather than political. They were ". . . not particularly influential on matters of public policy."²² However, they would give the President unbiased judgements and sometimes blunt criticism, advising on people rather than on policy. Roosevelt expected his aides to be totally dedicated to him and to protect him from criticism. If he suspected an effort on the part of one of his aides to build a power base for himself, Roosevelt would ease him out. Those who submerged their fortunes in Roosevelt's, for example, Marvin McIntyre, Stephen Early, and Missy LeHand, were protected by the President. Those who became political liabilities were discarded.²³

Early in his administration, Roosevelt, in an effort to increase the assistance he needed in an expanding Executive, devised a method of using subordinates in Executive departments and agencies for White House assignments. Officially employed by an executive department, many of these subordinates worked full time as aides to the President. At times, Roosevelt would bring people into his service from outside of the Federal Government,

²¹Ibid., p. 579.

²²Anderson, p. 54.

²³Ibid.

giving each a job in one of the Executive agencies with the understanding that the employee's first obligation was to the President. For example, Raymond Moley, the head of Roosevelt's group of policy advisers during the 1932 Presidential Campaign was given the job of Assistant Secretary of State with the intent that he was to be number one policy adviser and troubleshooter for the President. The workload for this State Department position was light and Moley would spend some of his State Department time working on issues important to the President.²⁴

The method of drawing White House aides from Executive departments and agencies served a twofold purpose. Roosevelt's most conspicuous administrative failing was that he could not bear firing anybody.²⁵ By using employees of Executive agencies he was not only able to increase the administrative assistance he needed, but he was able to phase out those he no longer needed much easier than firing them. He would simply not call on the aide for any more assistance. The aide would continue to work at his government department or agency until he realized that he was no longer wanted and would resign. Often the President would drop a hint by sending the aide on a lengthy insignificant assignment outside of Washington. In this manner the embarrassment of an aide being driven from the White House was avoided.²⁶

²⁴Raymond Moley, After Seven Years (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939), pp. 115-116.

²⁵Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Roosevelt, Vol. II: The Coming of the New Deal (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1959), p. 540.

²⁶Louis W. Koenig, The Invisible Presidency (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), pp. 33-34.

As President, Franklin Roosevelt personally coordinated the Executive Branch by himself, keeping his hand in almost every important aspect of administration and making most of the important decisions himself.²⁷ His assistants were his leg men, his personal liaisons working behind the scenes and reporting back to him. They helped him coordinate. However, the reliance upon coordinative assistance did not mean that Roosevelt delegated any decision making authority to others.

. . . in Roosevelt's staffing there was no place for a Sherman Adams. Roosevelt made and shifted the assignments; he was the recipient of staff work; he presided at informal morning staff meetings; he audited the service he was getting; he coordinated A's report with B's. . . .²⁸

Roosevelt's methods of administration were oftentimes confusing to his aides. He took the competitive approach to administration. Assignments were distinct from each other, but bore a close relationship to each other. Aides could not do their jobs without watching, checking, and jostling one another.²⁹ This approach brought Roosevelt ". . . an effective flow of information; it made for administrative flexibility and stimulated subordinates to effective performance."³⁰ Roosevelt was basically a

²⁷A. J. Wann, The President As Chief Administrator, A Study of Franklin D. Roosevelt (Washington D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1968), p. 32.

²⁸Richard E. Neustadt, "Approaches to Staffing the Presidency," The American Political Science Review, LVII (December 1963), 858.

²⁹Ibid., p. 857.

³⁰Schlesinger, Coming of the New Deal, p. 537.

lone operator and worked best through his individual assistants, singling out one assistant as his number one administrative assistant, his "troubleshooter."

Roosevelt's first troubleshooter was Louis Howe, who enjoyed his greatest influence before Roosevelt became President. Howe is significant because he is the one who set the pattern for those troubleshooters who followed. The duties he performed unselfishly for Roosevelt were the duties subsequent troubleshooters were expected to perform, and with the same type of loyalty and devotion. Few of them equalled Howe's dedication.³¹

After the 1932 election, Roosevelt relied heavily upon Raymond Moley for troubleshooting duties. Moley was recommended to Roosevelt by Sam Rosenman to help organize Roosevelt's campaign policy advisers,³² and after the election Moley ". . . suddenly found himself the 'packhorse' of the Roosevelt train."³³ Moley was given the job of giving some direction to the army of idea men invading Washington.³⁴ He was used as an intermediary with potential Cabinet members, and as chief speech writer for Roosevelt. It was Moley's job ". . . to sift proposals for him, discuss facts and ideas with him, and help him crystallize his own

³¹Anderson, p. 20.

³²Samuel I. Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), pp. 57-58.

³³Rollins, p. 367.

³⁴Ibid., p. 368.

policy."³⁵ Moley became Roosevelt's liaison with Congress and government agencies involved in new legislative proposals. He ". . . brought together Wallace, Tugwell, Morgenthau, and M. L. Wilson to draft a farm program. He set Berle and others to work on mortgage relief and transportation. He assigned Samuel Untermyer and Charles Taussig to work on securities legislation."³⁶

Differences developed between Moley and Roosevelt during the first term which undermined Moley's influence in the administration. At the London Economic Conference of 1933, where 66 countries met to discuss worldwide economic problems, Moley was embarrassed by Roosevelt when the President repudiated an agreement Moley had made at the conference. Also, Moley had been sent to the Conference when the American delegation, headed by the Secretary of State Cordell Hull, seemed to be in disarray, thus causing hard feelings with Hull. Hull complained to Roosevelt that Moley tried to undercut his authority at the Conference and make him look bad in the eyes of the President. When Moley returned to the United States, Roosevelt did nothing to try and placate him. Shortly after this incident Moley resigned to turn his efforts toward establishing the Today magazine. He continued to help write some of Roosevelt's speeches through 1934 and 1935, but gradually faded from Roosevelt's circle of advisers.³⁷

³⁵Moley, p. 55.

³⁶Rollins, p. 368.

³⁷Moley, pp. 238-277.

Moley was replaced for a while by another policy adviser, Rexford Tugwell, but starting in 1934 two young government lawyers, Tommy Corcoran and Ben Cohen, were used increasingly by the President. Corcoran was recommended to Roosevelt by Roosevelt's friend Felix Frankfurter. Frankfurter was worried about the increasing burdens of the Presidency and Roosevelt's attempts to shoulder them all himself. He suggested that Roosevelt needed a young, intelligent, energetic man to act as troubleshooter, and he recommended Corcoran.³⁸ Corcoran was teamed with Cohen who was ". . . , the academic type, a calm, quiet and unemotional scholar, a modest philosopher."³⁹ Tommy Corcoran and Ben Cohen were Roosevelt's chief troubleshooters from 1936 until 1940. "Corcoran was premier odd jobber around the White House--leg man, troubleshooter, and expediter, all rolled into one."⁴⁰ Cohen was more of a behind-the-scenes worker, drafting laws and giving legal advice.

As helpful as Roosevelt's troubleshooters were they were still only officials of the President's household. They were not officers in any chain of administrative command, and they did not have the legal authority to act for the President. The lines of authority still converged in the White House.⁴¹

³⁸Grace Tully, F.D.R. My Boss (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 141.

³⁹Ibid., p. 142.

⁴⁰Beverly Smith, "Corcoran and Cohen," The American Magazine, August, 1937, p. 125.

⁴¹Sherwood, p. 209.

. . . Roosevelt used these special assistants in an unofficial, informal, irregular, and sometimes haphazard manner to aid him in maintaining contacts with his subordinate administrators, to find out for him specific information he wanted about administrative activities, and to help him work out agreements and better relationships among the representatives of the various agencies. He seems to have regarded them as a sort of extension of himself; they were to do some of the things which he did not have time to do for himself.⁴²

When Roosevelt began his campaign to reorganize the Executive he made it clear to the reorganization committee that he wanted additional administrative assistants provided for in its report. The final report called for six assistants. In 1939, when the Executive Office of the President was established, the six administrative assistants were incorporated into the White House Office. Roosevelt's troubleshooters, prototypes of the six administrative assistants, were legally recognized.

Their function would be, when any matter was presented to the President for action affecting any part of the administrative work of the Government, to assist him in obtaining quickly and without delay all pertinent information possessed by any of the executive departments so as to guide him in making his responsible decisions; and then when decisions have been made, to assist him in seeing to it that every administrative department and agency affected is promptly informed.⁴³

The power to establish the six administrative assistants was given to Roosevelt when Congress passed the Reorganization Act of 1939 and subsequently approved his first reorganization plan asking permission to establish the Executive Office of the President. Roosevelt took advantage of this grant of power when he

⁴²Wann, pp. 39-40.

⁴³Report of the Committee on Administrative Management, p. 5.

issued Executive Order No. 8248 on September 8, 1939, establishing the Executive Office and including within it the White House Office. The White House Office consisted of the three Secretaries to the President which were made a part of the White House Staff in Hoover's administration; the Executive Clerk, instituted to organize and supervise all clerical services and procedures in the White House Office; and, the six administrative assistants.⁴⁴

Since the establishment of the White House Office, new positions have been created. In 1941, two new positions, Special Assistant to the President and Special Executive Assistant, were created, and, in 1944, Roosevelt added the office of Special Counsel to the President, appointing Judge Samuel Rosenman to the post.⁴⁵ Through the years the composition of the White House Office has fluctuated; however, the size has gradually increased. Today, there are many assistants working in the White House, variously referred to as Administrative Assistants, Special Assistants, Deputy Assistants, Deputy Counsels, or Counsels, and they all exist to help the President accomplish his administrative duties. Since its establishment by Roosevelt it has become the nerve center of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government.

⁴⁴Samuel I. Rosenman, The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, VIII (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1941), p. 491.

⁴⁵Hobbs, p. 87.

CHAPTER IV

THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET

The Bureau of the Budget was established with enactment of the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921. Established as part of the Treasury Department, it was intended to be a staff agency to help the President carry out his responsibilities for effective public management.¹ Among those management responsibilities was the preparation of the executive budget.

Up until 1921 financial requests were prepared and submitted separately by the departments and branches of the Federal Government. The Treasury Department assembled them and presented them to Congress for approval.² The budget idea did not catch on in the Federal Government until costs reached two billion dollars and there was an outcry from the people against excessive government expenditures.³

William H. Taft was the first President to push for a regular executive budget, establishing in 1911 the Commission on Economy and Efficiency to investigate five administrative areas,

¹Percival Flack Brundage, The Bureau of the Budget (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. vii.

²Ibid., p. 3.

³Edward H. Hobbs, Behind The President, A Study of Executive Office Agencies (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1954), p. 22.

the first of which was the budget as an annual financial program. The Committee's report, "The Need for a National Budget," was transmitted to the Congress, and, despite its recommendations on the need for an annual budget and how it should be prepared, the report was ignored.⁴ In 1913, Taft submitted a budget to Congress for consideration and in the message accompanying the budget recommended ". . . a central accounting, auditing, and reporting organization which would include among its activities the preparation of a budget" ⁵

With the involvement of the United States in the First World War the national debt rose, and in 1919, it was \$25.5 billion. The method of each agency separately submitting fiscal requests unrelated to each other or to the total of all amounts recommended to Congress through the Treasury Department was inadequate.⁶ A resolution, therefore, was introduced in the House of Representatives to appoint a select committee to study the matter and report to the House.⁷ At the same time, a committee was also formed in the Senate to study the subject. In 1920, a bill was passed in the Senate, and another one in the House of Representatives.

⁴Ibid., pp. 23-24.

⁵U.S., Congress, Senate, Message of the President Submitting a Budget, S. Doc. 1113, 62d Cong., 3d sess., 1913.

⁶Brundage, p. 10.

⁷U.S., Congress, House, A Resolution Establishing a Special Committee on a Budget System, H. Res. 168, 66th Cong., 1st sess., Jul. 31, 1919, Congressional Record, LVIII, 3431.

The Senate bill called for an enlarged office of the Secretary of the Treasury with an internal bureau responsible for the preparation of the budget, and the House bill provided for the creation of a budget bureau directly under the President.⁸ A compromise bill was passed, sent back by President Wilson because of a technicality, and was eventually signed by President Harding on June 10, 1921. The compromise provided for a director of the budget and his assistant, appointed by the President, working under his orders, but located in the Treasury Department.⁹

The 1920's were years of stabilization for the Bureau of the Budget. However, a significant development occurred during Harding's administration that became a part of the regular procedure of the Bureau of the Budget. With the establishment of the Bureau, federal agencies were no longer able to decide for themselves what appropriations they could ask for from Congress. Procedures were established whereby all agency proposals for legislation involving public funds had to be submitted to the Bureau. Budget Director Charles G. Dawes issued Budget Circular 49 on December 19, 1921, outlining the procedure.¹⁰ Requests or recommendations were to be sent by the executive department or

⁸Senator Medill McCormack of Illinois explained the differences in the two bills on the floor of the Senate. U.S., Congress, Senate, 66th Cong., 2d sess., April 30, 1920, Congressional Record, LIX, 6266-6271.

⁹Brundage, p. 12.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 106.

agency to the Director of the Budget who in turn would make recommendations to the President. The head of the executive department or agency concerned was to ascertain, through the Director of the Budget, if the request or recommendation was in accord with the financial program of the President.¹¹ After approval by the President, agency proposals were then sent to Congress with the Bureau's statement of advice.¹²

During Harding's administration these legislative clearance procedures were not strictly enforced, but when Coolidge became President they were strongly enforced, with a tendency towards fiscal conservation. President Hoover also enforced the procedures, emphasizing the relationship of central clearance to budgetary control.¹³

When Franklin Roosevelt became President there was a lack of concern about, and understanding of, the procedures of central clearance. The new administration was so busy it was not able to enforce the procedures. It was not until early 1934 that the Budget Bureau made efforts to persuade departments to comply with the procedures, but it was a year later that Roosevelt took an active role in establishing compliance with clearance procedures. At that time Roosevelt introduced the first of three innovations

¹¹Ibid., quoting Budget Circular 49, issued December 19, 1921.

¹²Richard E. Neustadt, "Presidency and Legislation: The Growth of Central Clearance," American Political Science Review, XLVIII (September 1954), 644.

¹³Ibid., pp. 644-647.

leading to expanded jurisdiction of legislative clearance by the Bureau of the Budget. In an effort to stop the practice of uncoordinated agency requests for legislation, he introduced policy clearance.¹⁴

Executive departments and agencies had been seeking the passage of favorable legislation in the Congress without Roosevelt's knowledge. Therefore, clearance was made a requirement of all agency proposals for policy legislation, and Roosevelt designated the National Emergency Council as the clearing agency. Appropriations measures were still to be cleared through the Budget Bureau. By 1936, the National Emergency Council had become a little used agency in the Executive, and in 1937, the President's Committee on Administrative Management recommended that the Budget Bureau take over the clearance duties of the National Emergency Council.

During recent years the Bureau of the Budget has functioned as an agency for the President in the clearance of the fiscal aspects of legislative measures proposed by the executive departments. This clearance is of value to the Congress and to the departments and is essential to the exercise of the authority and responsibility of the President. It should be applied to all legislation proposed by the executive departments and agencies and should not be limited to fiscal considerations. The Bureau of the Budget could well take over the present duties of the National Emergency Council in this respect.¹⁵

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 647-649.

¹⁵Report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 20.

The demise of the National Emergency Council resulted in the transfer in 1937 to the Bureau of the Council's authority to clear non-fiscal legislation.¹⁶

During the period in which the Bureau was being established as clearance agency for policy legislation, Roosevelt instituted two more clearance procedures. In 1936, Roosevelt gave the Bureau the duty of assisting the President in the consideration, clearance, and preparation of executive orders and proclamations.¹⁷ Also, Roosevelt established the Bureau as the circulating and correlating agency for all enrolled bills sent to the White House by Congress. Before the 1930's, when an enrolled bill from Congress reached the White House it would be circulated by the President's Secretary or Executive Clerk among the agencies concerned with the bill. The bill would be passed by hand, with agency recommendations and criticisms filtering back to the White House for the White House Staff to correlate. All this had to be done within the ten days the President had to veto the bill. The President's time for consideration of agency replies before making up his mind was short because of the lack of expediency within the system. By 1938, Roosevelt had the Bureau of the Budget handling almost all enrolled bills.¹⁸

¹⁶Neustadt, "Central Clearance," p. 652.

¹⁷Brundage, p. 23.

¹⁸Neustadt, "Central Clearance," pp. 654-655.

The Bureau improved the system of circulating and correlating by having facsimile copies of each enrolled bill prepared by the Public Printer for the Congress sent to the Bureau at the same time the original was sent back to Congress for the Speaker's and Vice President's signature. These copies were distributed to the agencies involved in the bill before the bill officially reached the White House, thus, giving the Bureau a head start on the ten days the President had to veto. Later, the stipulation was added requiring agency replies, accompanied by recommendations, be submitted within 48 hours after receipt. A recommendation against the bill was to have a draft veto message or memorandum of disapproval attached. Responsibility for overseeing these activities was vested in the Bureau's Division of Coordination.¹⁹

The Division of Coordination was formed into a separate division in 1938. After the passage of the Reorganization Act of 1939, it became the Division of Legislative Reference, and in 1952 its name was changed to Office of Legislative Reference. During World War II, the Office of War Mobilization handled some of the clearance functions, but when James Webb became Budget Director in 1946 full responsibility shifted back to the Bureau.²⁰ Today, the Office of Legislative Reference is the number one

. . . clearing agency for legislation to be drafted and submitted, for analyses of bills that have already been introduced in Congress, for obtaining departmental views on those bills, for determining the relationship of

¹⁹Ibid., p. 655.

²⁰Brundage, p. 108.

legislation to the program of the President; and for coordinating the departmental viewpoints to be expressed in testimony.²¹

In addition to recommending that the Bureau of the Budget take over the responsibilities of the National Emergency Council for clearing policy legislation, The Report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management was responsible for further changes involving the Bureau. The Committee recommended that the Director of the Bureau be relieved of routine duties so that he could devote himself to problems of fiscal policy and planning. It also recommended that the preparation of the budget be supervised by the Bureau of the Budget, that the administration research function of the Bureau be adequately developed to aid the President, that the information function of the Bureau be developed and improved, and that the Bureau should serve in various ways as an agency of the President.²²

To accomplish the recommendations made by the President's Committee, when Roosevelt established the Executive Office of the President, he included the Bureau of the Budget within it. Roosevelt believed that it was necessary to transfer the Bureau out of the Treasury Department and into the Executive Office because it would facilitate the Bureau's coordinating activities and its

²¹Ibid., p. 111.

²²The Report of The President's Committee on Administrative Management, p. 20.

research and investigational activities.²³ The Bureau was given the following duties to perform as a member of the Executive Office of the President:

- a. To assist the President in the preparation of the Budget and the formulation of the fiscal program of the Government.
- b. To supervise and control the administration of the Budget.
- c. To conduct research in the development of improved plans of administrative management, and to advise the executive departments and agencies of the Government with respect to improved administrative organization and practice.
- d. To aid the President to bring about more efficient and economical conduct of Government service.
- e. To assist the President by clearing and coordinating departmental advice on proposed legislation and by making recommendations as to Presidential action in legislative enactments, in accordance with past practice.
- f. To assist in the consideration and clearance and, where necessary, in the preparation of proposed Executive orders and proclamations, . . .
- g. To plan and promote the improvement, development, and coordination of Federal and other statistical services.
- h. To keep the President informed of the progress of activities by agencies of the Government with respect to work proposed, work actually initiated, and work completed, together with the relative timing of work among the several agencies of the Government; . . .²⁴

In 1939, Roosevelt appointed Harold D. Smith Director of the Bureau of the Budget. Smith's concept of the Bureau's main function made him the right man to implement the changes made by Roosevelt. Smith believed that the main function of the Bureau was ". . . to serve as an agent of the President in coordinating

²³Samuel I. Rosenman, The Public Papers and Addresses Of Franklin D. Roosevelt, VIII (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1941), p. 250.

²⁴Ibid., p. 492.

operations and in improving the administrative management of the government."²⁵ The Bureau's functions were expanded beyond trying to insure the balancing of the budget, to a point where it became an important management and advisory tool to be used by the President. A. J. Wann considers it to be the backbone of the Executive Office of the President.²⁶ Edward H. Hobbs also calls it the backbone of the Executive Office and declares it to be the most highly organized of all the Executive Office agencies.²⁷

Roosevelt made the Bureau of the Budget a strong administrative arm of the Presidency. By making it responsible for supervising legislation proposed by Executive departments, and advising on legislation passed by Congress and sent to the President for approval, Roosevelt gave the Bureau the responsibility of coordinating the President's legislative program. Roosevelt's transferring of the Bureau out of the Treasury Department into the Executive Office made it the President's agency, eliminating the handicap of sharing authority with the Secretary of the Treasury. The increased emphasis on advisory and management functions, initiated by Roosevelt, is reflected in the changing of the Bureau's name in 1970 by President Nixon to the Office of Management and Budget.

²⁶A. J. Wann, The President As Chief Administrator, A Study of Franklin D. Roosevelt (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1968), pp. 179-181.

²⁷Hobbs, p. 21.

CHAPTER V

THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

The planning for a peacetime economy, undertaken by Congress after World War II, resulted in the passage of the Full Employment Act of 1946 and the establishment of the Council of Economic Advisers. Composed of three members appointed by the President, the Council is located in the Executive Office of the President, and due to the training and experience of each member,

. . . is exceptionally qualified to analyze and interpret developments, to appraise programs and activities of the Government . . . , and to formulate and recommend national economic policy to promote employment, production, and purchasing power under free competitive enterprise.¹

It is given the responsibility of keeping ". . . the President fully informed of economic developments and emerging problems which may affect the Nation's economy."²

The Council has several important responsibilities in addition to keeping the President informed. It participates in varieties of more formal committees, task forces, and studies; and it represents the United States in a number of important international conferences. The Council is also given the responsibility

¹Full Employment Act, Statutes at Large, IX, sec. 4(a), 24 (1946), U.S. Code, Vol. III, sec. 1023(a) (1970).

²Economic Report of the President (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 201.

to explain and clarify the Administration's economic policies through speeches, articles, press briefings, statements, congressional testimony, an annual report, and assistance in the preparation of the President's Economic Report.³

The efforts by Congress to establish post-war economic planning was an implicit recognition of the guidance and direction Franklin Roosevelt and his circle of economic advisers gave to domestic economic policy.⁴ On the other hand, these efforts by Congress to establish economic planning and create a Council of Economic Advisers were also a reaction to the practice of economic policy being determined by inner circles and invisible advisers, Roosevelt's Brains Trust for example, without any Congressional controls.⁵

Much of the New Deal legislation passed during Roosevelt's first one hundred days in office was a product of the thinking of a group of men gathered together to act as Roosevelt's economic policy advisers before the Presidential election of 1932. This group, composed mainly of college professors, was dubbed the

³Ibid., p. 202.

⁴Lester G. Seligman, "Presidential Leadership: The Inner Circle and Institutionalization," The Journal of Politics, XVIII (August 1956), 418.

⁵Ibid., p. 419.

"Brains Trust" by a New York Times reporter.⁶

The Brains Trust came into existence shortly after Roosevelt announced his candidacy for President of the United States in January, 1932. There are conflicting claims by Samuel Rosenman and Raymond Moley as to who originated the idea of the Brains Trust. Rosenman claims he first suggested the idea to Roosevelt one evening in March, 1932, and Roosevelt liked it so well he gave approval to go ahead with it.⁷ Moley claims that Roosevelt had spoken to him about the idea that winter and it, therefore, had already been in the air before March.⁸

While Roosevelt was Governor of New York he had frequently consulted with college professors on legislative policy;⁹ so, regardless of from whence the idea of using college professors as advisers came, Roosevelt was receptive to it. It was felt that college professors could supply the country with some fresh new economic ideas. In his March conversation with Roosevelt, Rosenman succinctly expressed the reasons for choosing college professors as advisers:

⁶Louis Howe referred to the group derisively as "your brains trust" in a conversation with Roosevelt, and Roosevelt used it in a news conference shortly afterward. One of the reporters at the news conference used it in his news article the next day and the title stuck. Samuel I. Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), p. 81.

⁷Ibid., pp. 56-57.

⁸Raymond Moley, After Seven Years (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939), pp. 8-9.

⁹William E. Leuchtenburg, F.D.R. and The New Deal, 1932-1940 (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 32.

Usually in a situation like this, . . . , a candidate gathers around him a group composed of some successful industrialists, some big financiers, and some national political leaders. I think we ought to steer clear of all those. They all seem to have failed to produce anything constructive to solve the mess we're in today.¹⁰

Raymond Moley was asked to recommend those he thought would aid Roosevelt in mapping out his economic strategy for the Presidential campaign. A list was drawn up by Moley and the persons were interviewed one by one by Roosevelt, Moley, Rosenman, and Doc O'Connor,¹¹ with the recommendation accepted or rejected by Roosevelt. By this method two men were chosen to become members of the Brains Trust, Rexford G. Tugwell and Adolf A. Berle, Jr.¹²

The final composition of the Brains Trust consisted of Moley, an authority on public law who emerged as the leader of the group; Adolf A. Berle, Jr., an expert in corporation law who was recruited because of the work he was involved in on the nature and the control of corporations;¹³ and Rexford G. Tugwell, the first man recommended to Roosevelt by Moley, and an authority on agricultural economics. An agricultural economist was chosen because, according to Moley, "the obvious beginning of our discontents in

¹⁰Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt, p. 57.

¹¹D. Basil (Doc) O'Connor was Roosevelt's former law partner and an adviser of Roosevelt's while Roosevelt was Governor of New York.

¹²Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt, pp. 58-59.

¹³Moley, p. 18.

this country was the persistence of the delusion that the nation could prosper while its farmers went begging."¹⁴ Sam Rosenman and Doc O'Connor, as established advisers to Roosevelt, also became members of the group. Charles William Taussig, President and Chairman of the Board of the American Molasses Company and Hugh S. Johnson, protege of financier Bernard M. Baruch and eventual administrator of the National Recovery Administration, worked in close association with the group, as did Key Pittman, Senator from Nevada.

From the time of its inception to the day Roosevelt took office as President of the United States, the purpose of the Brains Trust was to help find specific remedies to apply to Roosevelt's general objectives of economic recovery. As a group, they mapped out economic strategy with Roosevelt for hours at a time with the discussion many times lasting until very late at night. As individuals, members of the Brains Trust would make studies in their particular fields of expertise and present them to Roosevelt.¹⁵

As economic policy advisers, the Brains Trust advanced the economic philosophy of cooperation amongst government, business, labor, and agriculture, and the abandonment of laissez faire. They believed that in a modern industrial society problems of price-wage-profit behavior and the allocation of resources could

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 14-15.

¹⁵Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt, pp. 63-65.

be handled only by integration of private and public planning. Their efforts were aimed at devising institutional means of associating business, labor, agriculture, and government in this process.¹⁶

The speeches written by the Brains Trust during the campaign contained the germs of what was to come when Roosevelt became President. In the "Forgotten Man" speech made on the radio in Albany, New York, April 7, 1932, Roosevelt placed emphasis on the man at the bottom of the economic ladder. Written by Moley, the speech contained the seeds of several of Roosevelt's future national recovery projects.¹⁷ Hinting at the need for a planned economy, Roosevelt discussed restoration of purchasing power to the farming half of the country, the prevention of foreclosures of home and farm mortgages, assistance to small banks as well as large, and the reduction of tariff barriers.¹⁸ Subsequent campaign speeches concentrated on the themes of economic planning and cooperation, and social responsibility. At a Jefferson Day Dinner later in April of 1932, he attacked the laxity in regulating public utilities and blamed dwindling American foreign trade on high tariffs instituted by the Republicans.¹⁹ At Oglethorpe University in May he referred to the securities industry as

¹⁶Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Roosevelt, Vol. III: The Politics of Upheaval (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1960), p. 389.

¹⁷Rosenman, Working With Roosevelt, p. 61.

¹⁸Samuel I. Rosenman, The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, I (New York: Russell and Russell, 1938), p. 626.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 627-639.

. . . that small group of men whose chief outlook upon the social welfare is tinged by the fact that they can make huge profits from the lending of money and the marketing of securities--an outlook which deserves the adjective "selfish" and "opportunist".²⁰

In later speeches, he discussed tariff barriers; concentration of economic power; needed supervision of security sales and exchanges, bank deposits, and holding companies; separation of investment banking from commercial banking; farm relief; public utilities; public works; public health and welfare; long range planning for unemployment; and the interdependence of business interests with those of agriculture and labor.

When Roosevelt took office in 1933 the Brains Trust ceased to exist as a formal group. However, several members took jobs in the federal government and stayed on as advisers to Roosevelt, helping him institute the New Deal for America he had pledged in his nomination acceptance speech. Moley became Assistant Secretary of State and remained the President's chief speech writer and assistant, while Tugwell took the job of Assistant Secretary of Agriculture and Hugh Johnson became the administrator of the National Recovery Administration.

The National Recovery Administration was established shortly after Roosevelt became President to accomplish the goal of industrial planning. It was to administer the provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act. According to the act, trade or industrial associations, or other groups representing an industry, were to apply to the Administration for approval of codes of fair

²⁰Ibid., p. 642.

competition. Section 7a provided for collective bargaining, maximum hours, and minimum wages; title II provided for a Public Works Administration. The purpose of the National Industrial Recovery Act was

. . . to remove obstructions to the free flow of interstate and foreign commerce which tend to diminish the amount thereof; and to provide for and maintain united action of labor and management under adequate governmental sanctions and supervision, to eliminate unfair competitive practices, to promote the fullest possible utilization of the present productive capacity of industries, to avoid undue restriction of production (except as may be temporarily required), to increase purchasing power, to reduce and relieve unemployment, to improve standards of labor, and otherwise to rehabilitate industry and to conserve natural resources.²¹

The Act was the result of pressure from diverse sources striving to solve the problems of industrial recovery. Pressures came from business advocating protection of prices and profits, from trade unions advocating the protection of labor standards, from those who considered the existing competitive system competing at the expense of human decency.²²

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration was instituted to administer the provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act which was passed in an effort to restore the purchasing power of farmers for industrial products by lowering the disparity between prices of agricultural and other commodities. As a part of the

²¹The National Industrial Recovery Act, XLVIII, sec. 1, 195 (1933).

²²Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Roosevelt, Vol. II: The Coming of the New Deal (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1959), p. 94.

act, provision was made for the farmer to receive a subsidy for limiting output, thereby, reducing surpluses and raising prices.²³

Through the activities of the National Recovery Administration business activity showed marked gains, and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration helped halt the fall in farm prices.²⁴ The concept of national economic coordination helped mobilize the nation's industry; however, problems of enforcing the National Recovery Administration codes existed. In the effort to establish economic cooperation Roosevelt discovered that many corporation executives

. . . openly flouted or skirted around all provisions of the NRA which were not entirely favorable to them, assailed most of the other New Deal measures, and spent millions of dollars trying to convince the country that Roosevelt was an egomaniacal Communist.²⁵

Roosevelt's cooperative program stopped the downward spiral, but it did not accomplish enough toward recovery. The little man had not been taken care of. National income was up, cash income for farmers was up, unemployment had declined, but the figures nowhere matched those of the pre-depression years.²⁶ Five million were still unemployed and on the relief roles.²⁷

²⁴John Major, ed., The New Deal (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1967), p. 60.

²⁵Eric F. Goldman, Rendezvous With Destiny (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), p. 362.

²⁶Schlesinger, The Politics of Upheaval, pp. 1-3.

²⁷Basil Rauch, The History of the New Deal 1933-1938 (New York: Creative Age Press, Inc., 1944), p. 158.

In January of 1935 Roosevelt announced that the new goal of recovery was going to be social justice. Recovery would be brought about by putting purchasing power into the hands of the least privileged groups and the policy of supporting economic policies of the business world was to be abandoned. The reason for this change of policy was the fact that although the economy had made some progress toward recovery, Roosevelt's previous program had not reached the average American.²⁸ The attitude of big business, the failure of his program to reach the little man, the actions of the Supreme Court in declaring Roosevelt's recovery actions unconstitutional, and pressure from anti-big-business interests pushed Roosevelt toward the left.²⁹

Roosevelt's change in philosophy was marked by a slow turnover in advisers. In 1935 the Brains Trusters were replaced as policy advisers by a group of young lawyers who were proteges of Felix Frankfurter and influenced by the philosophy of Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis, who ". . . believed not only in close government regulation of the corporation but in breaking up their monopolies and restoring competitive conditions in favor of the small businessman."³⁰ Eventually this group of lawyers in the school of Brandeis was joined by a group of economists in the

²⁸Ibid., pp. 156-159.

²⁹Goldman, Rendezvous, p. 362.

³⁰Major, p. 79.

school of Keynes.³¹ John Maynard Keynes, English economist, believed that declining private expenditures could be compensated for by increasing government expenditures. Keynes theorized that national income was the sum of consumption and investment, and, if people stop consuming and investing, national income will fall. The only way to increase national income, according to Keynes, was by increasing either consumption expenditures or investment expenditures or both, and if private enterprise could not accomplish this task there were governmental means of doing it.³²

The influence of men like Moley, Tugwell, Berle, and Johnson, members of the First New Deal declined. They were replaced by figures of the Second New Deal, Frankfurter, Corcoran, Cohen, James M. Landis, Leon Henderson, Marriner S. Eccles, William O. Douglas, and Laughlin Currie.³³ The "soak the rich" tax in 1935, the Public Utility Holding Company Act, and the Fair Labor Standards Act are all attributable to this new group of advisers.³⁴ The shift was from a managed to a mixed economy. The First New Dealers tried to convert business through new institutions, whereas, the Second New Dealers tried to discipline it through new laws.³⁵ "The First New Deal characteristically told

³¹Schlesinger, The Politics of Upheaval, p. 387.

³²Stephen Kemp Bailey, Congress Makes a Law, The Story Behind The Employment Act of 1946 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 17.

³³Schlesinger, Upheaval, p. 387.

³⁴Seligman, p. 414.

³⁵Schlesinger, Upheaval, p. 392.

business what it must do. The Second New Deal characteristically told business what it must not do."³⁶

The expression "Brains Trust" stayed on to be applied to those new policy advisers, and throughout his years in office those advisers closest to Roosevelt were referred to as members of his Brains Trust. The expression

. . . came to have kind of generic connotation. In the New York Times index . . . as many references to the term can be found in 1936 as in 1933. But by that time, or even earlier, it had been expanded to include not only all university people in Washington but all those who might be called intellectuals.³⁷

Roosevelt's move away from national economic coordination and toward an anti-monopoly philosophy is illustrated in a message Roosevelt delivered to Congress April 29, 1938. In the message he attacked big business and proposed a program to control it.

Private enterprise is ceasing to be free enterprise and is becoming a cluster of private collectivisms; masking itself as a system of free enterprise after the American model, it is in fact becoming a concealed cartel system after the European model.³⁸

He told Congress that there was no plan to abandon the anti-trust laws as a means of controlling business, and, in order to strengthen them, he was going to ask for an additional \$200,000 in the budget for the Department of Justice to use in anti-trust investigations.³⁹

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Rexford G. Tugwell, The Brains Trust (New York: The Viking Press, 1968), p. xxx.

³⁸Franklin Roosevelt, "Stop Collectivism in Business" in New Deal Thought, edited by Howard Zinn (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1966), p. 125.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 128-129.

Roosevelt's administration marked the advance of the role of the economist in the Executive Branch of the Federal Government from tactical to strategic. There was an increase in use of professionally trained economists as advisers at the policy-making level rather than as technicians at the operative level, and in 1939 when Roosevelt established the Executive Office of the President and institutionalized his advisory system, he included several economists in his group of Assistants.⁴⁰ According to Edwin G. Nourse, the first Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, this staffing, along with the advice that came to the President from the economists on the National Resources Planning Board, set the pattern of economic advisership in the Executive Office of the President in 1945 when the Full Employment Act was first proposed.⁴¹

The National Resources Planning Board, an agency included in the original Executive Office, grew out of the National Planning Board of the Public Works Administration created by Roosevelt in 1934. In 1939 it became the central long-range economic planning agency for the Executive Branch.⁴² Roosevelt defined the Board's duties as follows:

⁴⁰Edwin G. Nourse, Economics in the Public Service, Administrative Aspects of the Employment Act (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1953), pp. 89-91.

⁴¹Bailey, pp. 25-26.

⁴²Ibid.

a. To survey, collect data on, and analyze problems pertaining to national resources, both natural and human, and to recommend to the President and the Congress long-time plans and programs for the wise use and fullest development of such resources.

b. To consult with Federal, regional, state, local, and private agencies in developing orderly programs of public works and to list for the President and the Congress all proposed public works in the order of their relative importance with respect to 1. the greatest food to the greatest number of people, 2. the emergency necessities of the Nation, and 3. the social, economic, and cultural advancement of the people of the United States.

c. To inform the President of the general trend of economic conditions and to recommend measures leading to their improvement of stabilization.

d. To act as a clearing house and means of coordination for planning activities, linking together various levels and fields of planning.⁴³

The National Resources Planning Board was terminated in 1943 when Congress cut off appropriations, but, before its demise, the Board submitted a report to Roosevelt outlining an economic bill of rights and suggesting postwar economic policy. This report was transmitted to Congress, and, according to Stephen Bailey, represents better than any single document of the war years the progressive postwar thinking in the Federal Government, and was an impetus to those forces which combined to make possible the introduction of the Full Employment Bill in 1945.⁴⁴

Roosevelt was responsible for placing the responsibility for planning the nation's economy directly in the hands of the

⁴³ Samuel I. Rosenman, The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, VIII (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1941), p. 493.

⁴⁴ Bailey, pp. 26-27.

Executive. Thus, the passage of the Full Employment Act of 1946 confirmed his economic leadership and institutionalized his initiatives. The Act made the President responsible for the nation's economy. At the same time, Congress took steps to limit, restrict, and contain the President's power.⁴⁵ Congress established the Council of Economic Advisers to perform the functions performed by Roosevelt's circle of advisers and the National Resources Planning Board, but the Council was made responsible to both the President and the Congress. In the Act, Congress defined the type of personnel to be placed on the Council, required that they be confirmed by the Senate, made it a statutory body funded by Congress, required that the President's Economic Report be submitted to a Joint Committee of Congress to be studied and approved.⁴⁶

The decision to establish a statutory body of economists to advise the President was made after testimony had been given before the House of Representative's Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Branch. Economist George Terborgh, in his influential testimony, called for a small independent commission, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.⁴⁷ In an

⁴⁵Seligman, p. 419.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 418-419.

⁴⁷U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, Full Employment Act of 1945, Hearings, House of Representatives, on H. R. 2202, 79th Cong., 1st sess., 1945, p. 613.

obvious reference to Roosevelt's advisers, Terborgh stated the following:

. . . both the economic analysis and the economic policy may be prepared and promoted by men unknown to the public, whose appointment has not been confirmed by Congress, and who have no formal public responsibility. This set-up invites behind-the-scenes manipulation by Presidential advisers of the moment, possessed, it may be, both by a passion for anonymity and a passion for controlling national economic policy. However able and highminded these advisers may be, the arrangement is bad.⁴⁸

Henry Wallace, Roosevelt's Vice President, also recommended a council of professional economists, pointing out that a council of this kind might have been helpful during the recession of 1937.⁴⁹

President Roosevelt and his economic policy advisers, therefore, had a double influence upon the establishment of the Council of Economic Advisers. By institutionalizing Presidential leadership in the area of economic policy, Congress recognized Roosevelt's personal leadership in formulating and implementing economic policy; however, Congress also recognized that some of the economic advice received by Roosevelt was given to him by people who were trained in economics but who were not necessarily experts in the field, and who were unrestricted in their advisory powers. The establishment of the Council of Economic Advisers was an effort to facilitate Presidential leadership and at the same time control Presidential power.⁵⁰

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 612.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 849.

⁵⁰Seligman, p. 420.

CHAPTER VI

THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Although efforts to form some type of permanent consultative body dealing with national security and war preparedness date back to before World War I,¹ the concept was not accepted until the 1940's.² With the advent of World War II and the subsequent abandonment of isolationism, the need for a security policy-making body to coordinate military and political activities was realized. This need was satisfied when, as part of the National Security Act of 1947, the National Security Council was established.

Since its beginning the National Security Council has become an important part of the Presidential Advisory System, moving into the Executive Office of the President in 1949.³ Membership of the Council includes the President, Vice President,

¹Paul Y. Hammond, "The National Security Council as a Device for Interdepartmental Coordination: An Interpretation and Appraisal," American Political Science Review, LIV (December, 1960), p. 899.

²Ernest R. May, "The Development of Political-Military Consultation in the United States," Political Science Quarterly, LXX (June, 1955), p. 162.

³See the message to the Congress transmitting Reorganization Plan 4 of 1949. U.S., President, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945-), Harry S. Truman, 1949, pp. 316-17.

Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, Director of the Office of Emergency Planning, and others the President might appoint. Meetings are also attended by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Secretary of the Treasury, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.⁴ According to the National Security Act, the purpose of the Council is

. . . to advise the President, with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security so as to enable the military services and the other departments and agencies of the Government to cooperate more effectively in matters involving the national security.⁵

The National Security Council has experienced a varying degree of influence during its relatively short history. As it is with any advisory unit within the Executive Office, success depends a great deal upon the use a President makes of it. During President Truman's administration the Council went through a period of establishing itself as a working part of the Executive Office. Truman had a strong concern for the authority, responsibility, and prerogatives of the President and, therefore, treated the Council casually, emphasizing its strictly advisory role by not attending meetings regularly. He believed that the Council was to work out recommendations, but not make decisions or policy.⁶

⁴James W. Davis, Jr., The National Executive Branch, An Introduction (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 26.

⁵The National Security Act, Statutes at Large, LXI, sec. 101 (a), 495 (1947), U.S. Code, Vol. XI, sec. 402 (a) (1970).

⁶Falk, Stanley L., "The National Security Council Under Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy," Political Science Quarterly, LXXIX (September 1964), pp. 405-7.

President Eisenhower preferred to institutionalize Presidential relationships in the Executive.⁷ Under Eisenhower the Council became the central vehicle for formulating and promulgating policy, and Truman's loose structure became an elaborate system.⁸ Eisenhower met with the Council two or three times a month.⁹ Order was brought to the Council's activities; however, it was criticized for being overstaffed, excessively rigid, and unable to deal with major aspects of national security policy.¹⁰

When John Kennedy became President in 1961 he did away with the elaborate system Eisenhower had established, preferring to deal with a single, small, strongly organized personal staff. The working staff of the Council was emphasized and the Council itself deemphasized.¹¹ The superdepartment that existed under Eisenhower became just another source of advice along with the other advisory bodies of the Executive.¹² Kennedy preferred to work similarly to Truman, with problems brought to him for decision, as opposed to Eisenhower's system of having decisions

⁷Louis W. Koenig, The Chief Executive (Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968), p. 167.

⁸Keith C. Clark and Laurence J. Legere, eds., The President and the Management of National Security, A Report by the Institute for Defense Analyses (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 60.

⁹Koenig, p. 169.

¹⁰Falk, p. 424.

¹¹Clark and Legere, p. 70.

¹²Falk, pp. 429-430.

brought to him for approval.¹³ President Johnson combined the two methods of personal influence and institutionalization when working with the National Security Council. He adopted the Roosevelt method of assigning the same tasks to more than one person, but he also gave new recognition to his departmental Secretaries in the field of national security. Secretary of State Rusk and Secretary of Defense McNamara were very influential.¹⁴

Franklin Roosevelt's influence on the establishment of a permanent national security council is not as pronounced as his influence on the establishment of Executive Office agencies previously discussed; however, Roosevelt was an early advocate for the establishment of some kind of consultative body of this type, and his efforts in this direction helped point out the need for such a body. His interest in the establishment of a council began when he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Woodrow Wilson. Before the start of World War I, he was one of the first to urge President Wilson to create a Council of National Defense to coordinate the war preparedness effort, a suggestion Wilson delayed acting upon. In 1916, Wilson finally asked for and was granted authorization by Congress to establish a Council of National Defense, headed by the Secretary of War.¹⁵

¹³Koenig, p. 172.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 176.

¹⁵A.J. Wann, The President As Chief Administrator, A Study of Franklin D. Roosevelt (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1968), p. 13.

During World War I, there was increased collaboration between the State Department and the military concerning national security matters, but once the war was over these efforts ceased, as did the functions of the Council of National Defense. In an effort to establish a permanent council, Roosevelt submitted a proposal for a consultative organization comprised of members of the War, Navy, and State Departments. On May 1, 1919, a letter was written to the Secretary of State suggesting that the Navy, War, and State Departments should form a Joint Plan Making Body.¹⁶ Accompanying the letter was an elaborate diagram that ". . . outlined duties for a State Department planning agency, for the Army General Staff, for a Naval General Staff, and for a Joint Plan Making Body, composed of officers from all three staffs."¹⁷ ~~The Joint Body was to estimate national resources of both the United States and foreign countries, and define American objectives for each possible war and determine the force needed for success. Roosevelt's proposal never reached the Secretary of State, being sent by mistake to the State Department's Division of Latin American Affairs where it was filed away until transferred to the general records.~~¹⁸

A second proposal was submitted to the Secretary of State two years later. This time the proposal was made by the Army and

¹⁶Frank Freidel, Franklin D. Roosevelt, The Ordeal (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1954), pp. 19-20.

¹⁷May, p. 168.

¹⁸Ibid.

the Navy, and called for State Department representation on the Joint Board of the Army and Navy. The Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, dismissed the idea claiming that the only State Department officials qualified to take part, the Secretary and the Undersecretary, were too busy. Consequently, the military and the State Department went separate ways.¹⁹

The military and the State Department did not get together formally to discuss national security until Roosevelt became President. His Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, began sending State Department officials to military conferences and including the military in some of the State Department activities. Alarmed by a possible war in Europe he proposed the formation of an interdepartmental committee to consider national security policy. The result was the establishment of the Standing Liaison Committee, composed of the Undersecretary of State, the Chief of Naval Operations, and the Army Chief of Staff. The Standing Liaison Committee became the first regular council on national security policy incorporating the military and the State Department. Existing until 1943, the Standing Liaison Committee was not extremely effective, rarely deciding on issues of policy. However, it did give the military and the State Department an opportunity to work together and gain insights into each other's official activities.²⁰

¹⁹ Timothy W. Stanley, American Defense and National Security (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1956), p. 30.

²⁰ May, p. 172.

At the approach of World War II, an ad hoc Cabinet committee was organized by Roosevelt consisting of the Secretaries of War, Navy, and State. This informal war council had no secretariat, agenda, or machinery for lower level coordination.²¹ It met on the call of the President, and met very frequently before the start of World War II.²² Despite its resemblance to the present National Security Council, Roosevelt did not give the War Council an opportunity to formulate policy on its own, running it in the same manner as he ran other special councils he formed, as a platform to announce decisions already made and to outline his own ideas on the subject of security policy. When war broke out, Roosevelt dropped Secretary Hull and the State Department out of the War Council and dealt with his chiefs of staff and his personal advisers. Coordination of strategy and policy was temporarily forgotten.²³ According to Henry Stimson, Roosevelt's Secretary of War, establishing a war council as an effective security policy-making body was prevented by Roosevelt's desire to make policy decisions himself. The lack of authority to act on its own undermined the effectiveness of any war council formed.²⁴

²¹Stanley, p. 9.

²²U.S., Congress, Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, Hearings, before the Army Pearl Harbor Board, 79th Cong., 1st sess., 1946, p. 2066.

²³May, p. 173.

²⁴Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, On Active Service In Peace and War (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), pp. 562-564.

In 1940, as the result of an exchange of letters between the Secretaries of State, War, and the Navy, another war council was formed. Regular, unofficial and personal meetings were held, serving the purpose of keeping one another informed on major problems concerning politico-military matters.²⁵ In 1944, this Committee of three was reorganized with the establishment of a recorder, a formal agenda, and the reaching of conclusions. An interdepartmental body was formed at the assistant secretary level composed of representatives from the State, War, and Navy Departments.²⁶ An example of the Committee's activity is its participation in the drafting of the occupation directives for Germany, Austria, and Japan.²⁷

The State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC), as this new body was called, operated through subcommittees composed of departmental representatives which were coordinated by a secretariat. Policy proposals were cleared by the secretariat before they were sent to the Assistant Secretaries. Any disagreement with decisions made by the Committee was referred to the President.²⁸ The Committee became the State, Army, Navy, and Air Force Coordinating Committee (SANACC) when the Air Force gained departmental

²⁵Harold W. Mosely, Charles W. McCarthy, and Alvin F. Richardson, "The State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee," The Department of State Bulletin, XIII (November 11, 1945), p. 745.

²⁶Stimson and Bundy, p. 563.

²⁷Mosely, McCarthy, and Richardson, p. 746.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 746-747.

status in 1947, and existed alongside the National Security Council until abolished in 1949.²⁹

A further step toward the eventual establishment of a National Security Council was taken by President Truman on January 22, 1946, when he named the Secretaries of State, War, and Navy to a National Intelligence Authority for the purpose of planning, developing, and coordinating all federal foreign intelligence activities. He also established a central intelligence group, headed by a Director of Central Intelligence to assist the National Intelligence Authority. In 1947, the National Intelligence Authority was replaced by the National Security Council.³⁰

Towards the end of the War, efforts began to bring about the unification of the Armed Forces. Several proposals were advanced concerning the relationship of the services, the most significant in relation to politico-military coordination being the Eberstadt Report. The Eberstadt Report was a report by Ferdinand Eberstadt prepared for Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal and presented to the Senate Committee on the Armed Services. In the report Eberstadt made suggestions that were incorporated into the National Security Act of 1947.³¹ He suggested the following:

²⁹Edward H. Hobbs, Behind the President, A Study of Executive Office Agencies (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1954), p. 127.

³⁰Harry S. Truman, Memoirs, Vol. II: Years of Trial and Hope (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1956), pp. 56-58.

³¹Hobbs, p. 128.

A National Security Council . . . established to link up military and foreign policy. It would be composed of the Secretaries of State, War, Navy, and Air, the chairman of the National Security Resources Board, and the joint chiefs of staff. The President would be the chairman, and in his absence the Vice President or the Secretary of State. The council would have a permanent secretariat. It would have policy-forming and advisory functions and would, among other things, advise on the combined military budget. The Central Intelligence Agency would be a part of it.³²

Franklin Roosevelt's influence upon the establishment of the National Security Council was both positive and negative. He recognized even before the start of World War I that there was a need for a body designed to coordinate national security policy. His efforts and the efforts of members of his administration to form such a body set precedents for political and military cooperation in determining national security policy. However, the organizations formed were hindered by Roosevelt's unwillingness to delegate authority. The committees formed during Roosevelt's administration and immediately after

. . . suffered for lack of a definite mission, statutory foundation, permanent staff, and, most of all, authoritative direction. The lessons learned through their experiments were all applied to the establishment of the National Security Council.³³

Of the Presidents who succeeded Roosevelt as chief executive, Kennedy and Johnson came closest to handling the National Security Council in the manner Roosevelt handled his national

³²U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Armed Services, National Defense Establishment, Hearings, Senate, on S. 758, 80th Cong., 1st sess., 1947, p. 8.

³³Sidney W. Souers, Address to the Joint Civilian Orientation Conference on June 14, 1949, quoted in Hobbs, p. 127.

security advisory. They liked to make the final decision on security matters, and relied on a small, more personal, staff to advise them on national security matters. The big difference between Roosevelt's attempts at establishing some type of national security advisory and the use made of the National Security Council by Kennedy and Johnson is that the National Security Council has a statutory foundation. Also, it was permanently established as part of the Executive by President Eisenhower. Presidents may make extensive use, or only casual use of the Council, but it has become a permanent part of the Executive Office of the President. Thanks to precedents set by Roosevelt, and the work accomplished by his successors, the Council is there for Presidents to use according to their administrative styles.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Franklin Roosevelt's influence on the administrative organization of the national government is considerable. Under Roosevelt, both the range of activities of the national government and the size of its administrative organization were expanded. It was Roosevelt who, by his actions and by the creation of the Executive Office of the President, established the President as the chief administrator of the entire executive organization.¹

Before 1939, the President's "Inner Circle" and personnel borrowed from executive agencies primarily acted as Roosevelt's administrative staff, handling legislative matters, propaganda, election campaigns, and other administrative duties.² The establishment of the Executive Office institutionalized this make-shift administrative staff. He created the Executive Office to provide a means for keeping the President informed on important matters, to assist him in planning future programs, to protect him from wasting his time and energies on subordinate affairs, to get priority matters to his desk promptly, and to see that directives

¹A. J. Wann, The President As Chief Administrator, A Study of Franklin D. Roosevelt (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1968), pp. 169-176.

²James MacGregor Burns, Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956), p. 266.

are carried out by subordinates.³

The Executive Office of the President has become such an important part of the Executive Branch it would be impossible for the Presidency to operate without it today. Roosevelt needed it to help him administer a national government that had expanded to where it was impossible for one man to control. Today, the President has to administer a national government that has expanded far beyond what Roosevelt had to contend with.

The composition of the Executive Office has changed since Roosevelt established it, with some agencies being added and some eliminated. The White House Office and the Bureau of the Budget, now called the Office of Management and Budget, are the only two agencies from the 1939 Executive Office still functioning, but more than twice as many agencies presently exist in the Executive Office than existed there in 1939, an indication of the growth of the Federal Government.

A unique quality of the Presidential Advisory System formalized by Roosevelt, has been its flexibility. Institutionalization did not mean rigidity. Presidents have been able to adapt it to their own personal style of administration. For example, Presidents Kennedy and Johnson relied on the less formal aspects of the system for advice, usually meeting to work out problems with a small personal staff made up of members of the various advisory

³Edward H. Hobbs, Behind The President, A Study of Executive Office Agencies (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1954), pp. 6-7.

agencies, relying on the more formal aspects of the system only when necessary. In contrast, President Eisenhower's method of administering his office was to rely primarily on the more formal aspects of the system, with routine meetings of committees and councils.

As it has been since the beginning of the Presidency, force of personality has made some advisers favorites, and these advisers have influenced the thinking of the President and the direction of the Administration, Henry Kissinger being a case in point. Also, since its creation, there has been a tendency for Presidents to favor certain executive agencies over others, depending on what kind of personality he possesses and where his interests lie. Both the White House Office and the Bureau of the Budget have enjoyed a favored position and have experienced a steady growth in size and influence since 1939.

The White House Office has expanded in size and influence to rival the Cabinet. This expansion of size and influence may have reached its zenith with the revelation of its involvement in the Watergate Affair. The White House Office is now being subjected to a great deal of criticism. James L. Sundquist, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and author of Dynamics of the Party System, in calling for the establishment of a parliamentary type of system, decried the lack of control of the White House Office.

Replacing the cabinet as the president's consultative group has been a presidential-level staff, which has no outside power bases and hence no independence, and which is not subject to Senate confirmation. This

staff now formulates policy for the president, issues orders on his behalf and supervises and coordinates their execution.⁴

Another post-Watergate critic, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., calls for the reduction in size and power of the White House staff and a restoration of the executive departments. "The President will always need a small and alert personal staff to serve as his eyes and ears and one lobe of his brain, but he must avoid a vast and possessive staff ambitious to make all the decisions of government."⁵

The Senate Watergate Committee, commissioned by the Senate to investigate illegal campaign practices in the 1972 Presidential Election and to make recommendations which would prevent such practices in the future, has recommended in a preliminary report that a number of top White House posts be subject to Senate confirmation, particularly that of Chief of the Domestic Council. Other preliminary proposals made by the Committee call for prohibiting assistants to the President from being interposed between the President and heads of departments in the exercise of their statutory or delegated functions, and limiting the top White House staff to as few as 15 aides with no more than 50 supporting professional employees.⁶ This last recommendation gives one an

⁴James L. Sundquist, "How to Limit The Power of The Presidency," The Denver Post, November 11, 1973, p. 37.

⁵Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Imperial Presidency (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1973), p. 408.

⁶Clay F. Richards, "Plan to Cut Presidential Power Expected," The Denver Post, April 26, 1974, p. 8.

idea of how the White House Office has grown since its establishment when Roosevelt had to fight to get six administrative assistants.

Clark Clifford and Benjamin Cohen, both former members of the Presidential "Inner Circle," have also criticized the growing size and power of the White House advisers. Clifford has expressed the opinion that this growth is a dangerous trend resulting in the breakdown in the morale of personnel throughout the executive branch.⁷ Cohen recommends that a small inner or super Cabinet be formed to share with the President his gravest responsibilities. These surrogates, as Cohen calls them, would be persons of high and independent public standing and would have to be confirmed by the Senate.⁸

The size and influence of the White House Office, combined with President Nixon's tendency to isolate the Oval Office from the routine business of his staff, has resulted in the White House Office getting out of control. It is a prime example of how a President's personality can affect the Executive Branch.

The Bureau of the Budget has also had a steady expansion of its size and influence since its inclusion in the original Executive Office. It has become the President's administrative right arm and has been given an increasing number of management responsibilities. "The Bureau in many areas, e.g., establishing

⁷Hughes, Emmet John, The Living Presidency (New York: Coward, McCann, and Geoghegan, Inc., 1973), p. 318.

⁸Ibid., p. 323.

budget ceilings for the departments and clearing proposed legislation and enrolled bills with interested parties has become an extension of the President's ego."⁹ However, despite its increased influence the Bureau of the Budget has been able to stay clear of extreme controversy. This could be due to the fact that the people in the bureau are professionals, and for the most part are non-partisan.

In contrast to the previously discussed members of the Executive Office, the Council of Economic Advisers and the National Security Council have had ups and downs in their influence. They have had to compete with the members of the President's White House Staff for the President's ear. Some Presidents have placed more emphasis on their advice than have others. For example, President Eisenhower made extensive use of the Security Council, whereas, President Kennedy practically ignored the Council. President Nixon seems to be making greater use of the Council of Economic Advisers than previous Presidents. It may be that Presidents feel more comfortable dealing with their personal staffs than dealing with a formal council. The important thing is that the expert advice of these two agencies is available when needed.

Roosevelt supplied the framework for the Presidential Advisory System. He gave himself and his successors the tools to help cope with expanding government. A serious problem faced by Presidents today may be the expansion of the advisory system

⁹Hobbs, p. 40.

itself. The Executive Office now has fourteen agencies included in it with hundreds of people working in many of those agencies. It may be necessary, as exemplified by the White House Office, to limit that expansion to prevent bureaucracy from hampering the work of the Executive. Problems of administration faced by Presidents in the future may be similar to those faced by Roosevelt.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

Anderson, Patrick. The President's Men. Garden City: Doubleday, 1968.

Bailey, Stephen Kemp. Congress Makes A Law, The Story Behind The Employment Act of 1946. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950.

Baker, Leonard. Back to Back, The Duel Between F. D. R. and the Supreme Court. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1967.

Brownlow, Louis. The President and the Presidency. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1949.

_____. A Passion For Anonymity. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958.

Brundage, Percival Flack. The Bureau of the Budget. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970.

Burns, James MacGregor. Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956.

_____. Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1970.

Clark, Keith C., and Legere, Laurence J., eds. The President and the Management of National Security, A Report by the Institute for Defense Analyses. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969.

Cunliffe, Marcus. American Presidents and the Presidency. New York: American Heritage Press, 1972.

Davis, James W., Jr. The National Executive Branch, An Introduction. New York: The Free Press, 1970.

Fenno, Richard F. The President's Cabinet. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.

Flexner, James Thomas. George Washington And The New Nation, 1783-1793. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1969.

Flynn, Edward J. You're The Boss. New York: The Viking Press, 1947.

Freedman, Max, antr. Roosevelt and Frankfurter, Their Correspondence 1928-1945. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967.

X Freidel, Frank. Franklin D. Roosevelt, The Ordeal. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1954.

Goldman, Eric F. Rendezvous With Destiny. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.

High, Stanley. Roosevelt-And Then? New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937.

A Hobbs, Edward H. Behind the President, A Study of Executive Office Agencies. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1954.

Hughes, Emmet John. The Living Presidency. New York: Coward, McCann, and Geoghegan, 1973.

Ickes, Harold L. The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes. Vol. I: The First Thousand Days, 1933-1936. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953.

Koenig, Louis W. The Invisible Presidency. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1960.

_____. The Chief Executive. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1968.

Leuchtenburg, William E. F. D. R. and The New Deal, 1932-1940. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

Madison, James. Journal of the Federal Convention. Edited by E. H. Scott. Chicago: Scott and Co., 1893.

_____. The Writings of James Madison. Edited by Gaillard Hunt. Vol. IV. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903.

Major, John, ed. The New Deal. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1967.

Moley, Raymond. After Seven Years. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939.

Mooney, Booth. Roosevelt and Rayburn, A Political Partnership. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1971.

X Nourse, Edwin G. Economics in the Public Service, Administration Aspects of the Employment Act. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1953.

Polenberg, Richard. Reorganizing Roosevelt's Government, The Controversy Over Executive Reorganization. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966.

Rauch, Basil. The History of the New Deal 1933-1938. New York: Creative Age Press, Inc., 1944.

Reedy, George E. The Twilight of the Presidency. New York: The New American Library, Inc., in association with the World Publishing Co., 1970.

Rollins, Alfred Brooks. Roosevelt and Howe. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962.

Roosevelt, Franklin. "Stop Collectivism in Business." New Deal Thought. Edited by Howard Zinn. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1966.

Rosenman, Samuel I. Working With Roosevelt. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952.

_____, ed. The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Vol. I. New York: Russell and Russell, 1938.

_____. The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Vol. II. New York: Random House, 1938.

_____. The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Vol. V. New York: Random House, 1938.

_____. The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Vol. VIII. New York: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1941.

Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. The Age of Roosevelt. Vol. II: The Coming of the New Deal. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1959.

_____. The Age of Roosevelt. Vol. III: The Politics of Upheaval. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1960.

_____. The Imperial Presidency. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1973.

Sherwood, Robert A. Roosevelt and Hopkins. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952.

Sorensen, Theodore C. Decision-Making In The White House, The Olive Branch or The Arrows. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.

Stanley, Timothy W. American Defense and National Security. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1956.

Stimson, Henry L., and Bundy, McGeorge. On Active Service In Peace and War. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947.

Tugwell, Rexford. The Brains Trust. New York: The Viking Press, 1968.

- Tully, Grace. F. D. R. My Boss. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949.
- Truman, Harry S. Memoirs. Vol. II: Years of Trial and Hope. Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1956.
- Wann, A. J. The President as Chief Administrator, A Study of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1968.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

- Appleby, Paul H. "Organizing Around the Head of a Large Federal Department," Public Administration Review, VI (Summer 1946), 205-212.
- Falk, Stanley. "The National Security Council Under Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy," Political Science Quarterly, LXXIX (September 1964), 403-434.
- Hammond, Paul Y. "The National Security Council as a Device for Interdepartmental Coordination: An Interpretation and Appraisal," The American Political Science Review, LIV (December 1960), 899-910.
- "Historian Decries Watergate as 'Cult of Personality'," Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, XXXI, No. 27 (1973), 1795-1799.
- May, Ernest R. "The Development of Political-Military Consultation in the United States," Political Science Quarterly, LXX (June 1955), 161-180.
- Mosely, Harold W., Charles W. McCarthy and Alvin F. Richardson. "The State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee," The Department of State Bulletin, XIII (November 11, 1945), 745-747.
- Neustadt, Richard E. "Presidency and Legislation: The Growth of Central Clearance," The American Political Science Review, XLVIII (September 1954), 641-671.
- _____. "Approaches to Staffing The Presidency," The American Political Science Review, LVII (December 1963), 855-864.
- Richards, Clay F. "Plan to Cut Presidential Power Expected," The Denver Post, April 26, 1974, p. 8.
- Rossiter, Clinton L. "The Constitutional Significance of the Executive Office of the President," The American Political Science Review, XLIII (December 1949), 1206-1216.

Seligman, Lester G. "Presidential Leadership: The Inner Circle and Institutionalization," The Journal of Politics, XVIII (August 1956) 410-426.

Smith, Beverly. "Corcoran and Cohen," The American Magazine, August, 1937, pp. 22-23. 125-128.

Smith, Harold D. "The Bureau of the Budget," Public Administration Review, I (Winter 1941), 106-115.

Sundquist, James L. "How to Limit The Power of The Presidency," The Denver Post, November 11, 1973, p. 37.

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

Economic Report of the President. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968.

Full Employment Act. Statutes at Large, Vol. LX (1946). U.S. Code, Vol. III (1970).

Reorganization Act. Statutes at Large, Vol. LIII (1939).

Report of The President's Committee on Administrative Management. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act. Statutes at Large, Vol. XLVIII (1933). U.S. Code, Vol. I (1970).

The National Industrial Recovery Act. Statutes at Large, Vol. XLVIII (1933).

The National Security Act. Statutes at Large, Vol. LXI (1947). U.S. Code, Vol. XI (1970).

U.S. Constitution, Art. 2, sec. 2.

U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Representative Gifford speaking against H. R. 7730. 75th Cong., 1st sess., July 27, 1937. Congressional Record, LXXXI, 7683.

U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Representative Short speaking against H. R. 7730. 75th Cong., 1st sess., July 27, 1937, Congressional Record, LXXXI, 7691.

U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Representative Mott speaking against H. R. 8202. 75th Cong., 1st sess., August 13, 1937. Congressional Record, LXXXI, 8858.

- U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Representative Short speaking against H. R. 8202. 75th Cong., 1st sess., August 13, 1937. Congressional Record, LXXXI, 8861.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Senator Hiram Johnson speaking against S. 3331. 75th Cong., 3rd sess., March 17, 1938. Congressional Record, LXXXIII, 3465.
- U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. Full Employment Act of 1945. Hearings, House of Representatives, on H. R. 2202, 79th Cong., 1st sess., 1945.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Message of the President Submitting a Budget. S. Doc. 1113, 62nd Cong., 3rd sess., 1913.
- U.S. Congress. House. A Resolution Establishing a Special Committee on a Budget System. H. Res. 168, 66th Cong., 1st sess., Jul. 31, 1919. Congressional Record, LVIII, 3431.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. 66th Cong., 2nd sess., April 30, 1920. Congressional Record, LIX, 6266-6271.
- U.S. President. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945-), Harry S. Truman, 1949.
- U.S. Congress. Joint Committee. Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack. Hearings before the Army Pearl Harbor Board, 79th Cong., 1st sess., 1946.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Armed Services. National Defense Establishment. Hearings, Senate, on S. 758, 80th Cong., 1st sess., 1947.