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<td>Memo</td>
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<td>List of Nixon Task Forces and Chairmen. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>Alphabetical membership list of Nixon Task Forces. 27 pgs.</td>
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<td>Memo from Buchanan to Haldeman RE: Speech draft for RN's appearance at the Task Force Dinner. 1 pg.</td>
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January 9, 1969

To: The President-Elect
From: Henry Loomis

Re: Task Force Dinner - January 11

The reception and dinner at the Pierre, will be attended by approximately 260 members of the 21 Task Forces, most of the Cabinet-elect, and many of your staff.

During Friday and Saturday, each Task Force will have spent two hours with the concerned Cabinet secretaries and members of your staff, amplifying their reports and answering questions. The reports will not be made public.

Cocktails begin at 6, in the Ballroom Foyer of the Pierre. There will be a receiving line with Dr. Burns and Dr. McCracken, in addition to yourself.

Dinner begins at 7. The head table will consist of the 20 Task Force chairmen (one chairman has two Task Forces); Drs. Burns, McCracken, Anderson and Loomis.

You will be seated between:

Russell Train, Chairman of the Environment and Resources Task Force, Under-Secretary of Interior-designate, now President of the Conservation Foundation, ex-Judge on the Tax Court and ex-Congressional staff.

Charles Townes, Chairman of the Space Task Force, now Professor of Physics at the University of California, and long at M.I.T. He won the Nobel Prize for inventing the laser.

(continued)
The President-Elect
January 9, 1969

The Cabinet and your staff will be seated throughout the room to afford the widest exposure to the Task Force members.

After dinner, I will introduce the head table; Dr. McCracken will talk about the Task Forces for five minutes; Dr. Burns will describe his program in five minutes, and then you will speak. Your speech will be filmed.

The majority of Task Force members are from leading university faculties. Many are economists. There are a significant number of industrial, banking and foundation leaders, as well as specialists in crime, education, conservation, health, etc. An alphabetical list is attached.

Drs. Burns, McCracken, and I believe this would be a most appropriate forum at which to discuss the formation of mutually beneficial relationships between your Administration and intellectuals—thinkers in industry, foundations, and universities.

The following nine Task Force members have received appointments in your Administration:

George Shultz
Eliott Richardson
Russell Train
David Packard
Robert Seamans
Robert Mayo
Paul McCracken
Herbert Stein
Hendrik Houthakker

HL/sp
Attachment
**NIXON TASK FORCES**

McCracken, Paul, Chairman, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Loomis, Henry, Executive Director, Washington, D. C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chairman</th>
<th>Task Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banfield, Edward C.</td>
<td>Urban Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor of Government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvard University</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cambridge, Massachusetts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornuelle, Richard C.</td>
<td>Voluntary Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center of Independent Action</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dunlop, John T.</td>
<td>Health</td>
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<tr>
<td>Professor of Economics</td>
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<td>Harvard University</td>
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<td>Gaynor, James</td>
<td>Housing and Urban Renewal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissioner, New York State</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Division of Housing and Community</td>
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<td>Renewal</td>
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<td>Greenspan, Alan</td>
<td>International Trade</td>
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<td>Townsend-Greenspan &amp; Co.</td>
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<td>Haberler, Gottfried</td>
<td>International Economic Policy</td>
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<td>Professor of International Trade</td>
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<td>Lindsay, Franklin A.</td>
<td>Government Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>President, Itek Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lexington, Massachusetts</td>
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<td>Meiselman, David</td>
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<td>Professor of Economics</td>
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<td>Macalester College</td>
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<td>St. Paul, Minnesota</td>
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<td>Miller, Charles L.</td>
<td>Transportation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chairman, Civil Engineering Dept.</td>
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<td>M.I.T.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boston, Massachusetts</td>
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</table>
Nathan, Richard P.  
Brookings Institution  
Washington, D. C.  
Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations

Nathan, Richard P.  
Brookings Institution  
Washington, D. C.  
Public Welfare

O'Leary, James J.  
Lionel D. Edie & Co.  
New York, New York  
Federal Lending and Loan Guaranty Programs

Pifer, Alan  
Carnegie Corporation  
New York, New York  
Education

Shultz, George P.  
Dean, Graduate School of Business  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, Illinois  
Manpower-Labor/Management Relations

Stein, Herbert  
Brookings Institution  
Washington, D. C.  
Fiscal Policy

Stever, H. Guyford  
President, Carnegie-Mellon University  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania  
Science

*Stiegler, George  
Graduate School of Business  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, Illinois  
Productivity & Competition

Townes, Charles  
Professor of Physics  
University of California  
Berkeley, California  
Space

Train, Russell E.  
President, The Conservation Foundation  
Washington, D. C.  
Resources and Environment

Ture, Norman B.  
Planning Research Corporation  
Washington, D. C.  
Tax Legislation

Younger, Evelle J.  
District Attorney, County of Los Angeles  
Los Angeles, California  
Crime & Law Enforcement
Membership List - Nixon Task Force

A

Ackerman, Edward A.
Carnegie Institution
Washington, D.C.

Alexander, John H.
Nixon, Mudge, Rose, Guthrie
Alexander & Mitchell

Altshuler, Alan
Associate Professor of Political Science
M.I.T.

Alvarez, Luis
Professor of Physics
University of California

Areeda, Phillip
Professor - Law School
Harvard University

Axelrod, Solomon J.
Professor, Medical School
University of Michigan

Bacon, Warren H.
Ass't. Dir., Industrial Relations
Inland Steel Company, Chicago

Bailey, Martin J.
School of Business
University of Rochester

Bailey, Stephen K.
Dean, The Maxwell School
Syracuse University

Baker, Michael Jr.
President
Michael Baker, Jr., Inc.
Rochester, Pa.
Baker, William
Bell Laboratories

Bales, John
Mellon National Bank
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Banfield, Edward C.
Professor of Government
Harvard University

Banner, Knox
Executive Director
Downtown Progress
Washington, D.C.

Barnard, Robert
Boeing Co.
Seattle, Washington

Bartlett, Robert G.
Secretary of Highways
Harrisburg, Pa.

Becker, Arthur
Nixon, Mudge, Rose, Guthrie,
Alexander & Mitchell

Becker, Gary S.
Professor - Dept. of Economics
Columbia University

Bell, David
Ford Foundation
New York City

Bennett, James V.
Former Director
U.S. Bureau of Prisons 1927-64

Beresford, Spencer
Batzell & Nunn
Washington, D.C.
Blue, George R.
Beard, Blue, Schmitt & Treen
New Orleans

Bogan, Eugene F.
Bogan & Freeland
Washington

Bowman, Ward
Professor, Law School
Yale University

Brasen, J.D.
Mayor
City of Seattle

Branscomb, Lewis M.
Joint Institute for Laboratory
Astrophysics
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Brim, Orville
Russell Sage Foundation
New York

Brown, Charles E.
Ford Foundation

Brown, Douglass V.
Sloan School of Management
M.I.T.

Buchanan, James
Professor of Economics
University of Virginia

Burkhardt, John
President
College Life Ins. Co. of America
Indianapolis

Burton, Everett
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Portsmouth, Ohio
(continued)

Adler, Lewis H.
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Aller, Warren
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Cain, Stanley A.
School of Natural Resources
Univ. of Michigan

Callins, Hugh
Jones, Bay, Cockley & Reavis
Cleveland

Callender, Eugene S.
Housing & Development Administration
City of New York

Callison, Charles H.
National Audubon Society
New York

Casey, William J.
Hall, Casey, Dickler & Howley
New York

Chorington, Paul W.
Prof. of Transportation
Harvard Univ.

Clauser, Francis H.
Dept. of Mechanics
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Santa Cruz

Claytor, W. Graham
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Southern Railway System
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Coase, Ronald
University of Chicago
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Coon, Edwin S.
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Cole, Al
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Pleasantville, N. Y.

Coleman, James S.
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Colman, Wm. G.
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Conklin, George T. Jr.
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Cornuelle, Richard C.
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Cox, Laurence
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Cremin, Lawrence
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Dun, Kenneth
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Downs, Anthony Sr.
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Duggan, Robert
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Dunham, Allison
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Dunlop, John T.
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E

Ebert, Robert
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Ecker-Racz, Laslo
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Egberg, Roger
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Ehrenkrantz, Ezra
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Elliott, Wright
V.P.
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Farmer, James
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Fellner, William
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Fisher, Joseph L.
Pres.
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Washington, D.C.

Fletcher, James
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Folsom, Marion (former Secretary of HEW)
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Ford, James
Director of Economics
Ford Motor Co.
Detroit
(continued)

Jordan, Loren V.
Scott Paper Co.
Philadelphia

Foster, Charles H.W.
Conservation Foundation
Washington, D.C.

Frankel, Ernst, G.
Dept. Naval Architecture &
Marine Engineering
M.I.T.

Frieden, Bernard
Professor of City Planning
M.I.T.

G

Gaines, Mrs. Edythe J.
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District #12
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Gaines, Tilford C.
V.P.
Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.
New York

Gallagher, Harold J.
Senior Partner
Mikie, Farr & Gallagher
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Garrison, William L.
Director
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Univ. of Illinois

Garvey, Willard
The Garvey Foundation
Wichita, Kansas

Gaynor, James
Commissioner, N.Y. State Div.
of Housing & Community Renewal
New York
G (continued)

Gell-Mann, Murray
Prof. of Physics
Calif. Institute of Technology

Gilpatric, Roswell
Crovach, Swaine and Moore
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Ginsburg, Mitchell
Administrator of Human Resources
Admin.
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Berkeley

Gleason, John M.
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Goddard, Maurice K.
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Goodwin, Richard
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Gorham, William
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Green, Gershon
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Greenspan, Alan
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H

Haberler, Gottfried
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Handler, Philip
Llue Univ.

Herberger, Arnold
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Harriss, C. Lowell
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Hart, Orson, H.
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Headbrock, Mrs. Wm. H.
Vice President
 Freedoms Foundation
Valley Forge, Pa.

Heimann, John G.
V.P.
E.M. Warburg & Co.
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Heas, Harry
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Hilbert, Morton
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Univ. of Michigan

Headley, Walter
Bank of America
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Horn, Stephen
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Horowitz, Norman H.
Professor of Biology
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Pasadena
H (continued)

Houthakker, Hendrik S.
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Hugo, Michael
American Enterprise Institute
for Public Policy Research
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Kend, T. M.
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Albany, N. Y.

Jackson, Samuel C.
Vice Pres.
American Arbitration Assoc.
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Jacobs, Marshall
Jacobs, Persinger & Parker
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James, H Thomas
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Johnson, Alfred
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Investment Company Institute

Johnson, William
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Jones, Oliver H.
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Chairman of Board
Seatrain Lines
New York

Kain, John
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Kaufman, Henry
Salomon Bros. & Hutzler

Keppel, Francis
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Kerr, Clark
Carnegie Commission on Higher Education
Berkeley, Calif.

Khosrovai, Mrs. Carol M.
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Washington, D.C.

King, Melvin H
Director
New Urban League
Boston

Klanman, Saul B.
V.P.
National Assoc. of Mutual Savings Banks

Klein, Solomon A
Chief Counsel, Judicial Inquiry
N.Y. State Appellate Div.

Kristol, Irving
V.P.
Basic Books, Inc.
Lucy, Hal
Nat'l. Bureau of Economic Research
NYC

Lee, Sidney
Associate Dean, Medical School
Harvard University

Lerner, Samuel
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DuPont
Wilmington, Del.

Leonard, Donald S.
Exec. Judge Pro-Tem
Recording Courts
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Levitan, Sar
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Letson, John
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Lindsay, Franklin A
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Lexington

Lindsay, Gardner
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Texas

Livermore, Norman B. Jr.
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Liverman, E Robert
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Livingston, Frederick
Keene, Schaller, Fierman, Hays & Handler
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Locke, Robert W.
McGraw-Hill Book Co.
New York City

Loomis, Henry
Washington, D.C.

Loshbough, Bernard E
Action-Housing, Inc.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Luce, Charles F.
Consolidated Edison Co.
New York City

MacInerney, Wilbur
Pres. Blue Cross
Chicago

McAndrew, Gordon
Superintendent of Schools
Gary, Ind.

McClaughry, John
Member of Legislature
Vermont

McCracken, Paul
Prof. of Economics
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Ann Arbor, Mich.

McDermott, Walsh
Professor
Cornell Univ.

McDonald, Robert J.
Sullivan & Cromwell
New York City
McNissick, Floyd
McNissick Enterprises
NYC

Madden, Carl
U.S. Chamber of Commerce
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Mangum, Garth L.
Professor
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George Washington University
Washington, D.C.

Manvel, Allen D.
Advisory Commission on Inter-governmental Relations
Washington, D.C.

Marberger, Carl L
Commissioner of Education
State Dept. of Education
Trenton, N J.

Mason, Charles
V.P.
United Airlines
Chicago

Maxwell, James A.
Professor
Dept. of Economics
Clark University

May, Ernest
Professor
Harvard Univ.

Maynard, William P.
President
Atlanta Transit Co.
Atlanta, Ga.

Mayo, Robert P.
V.P.
Continental Ill. Nat'l. Bank
& Trust Co.
Chicago
Willis, John H
Ex-Aide
Nevada-Nevada Operations
Las Vegas, Nev.

Weiselman, David
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Warren, Robert
Univ. Patents, Inc.
Chicago, Ill.

Weitler, Rubin F
Pres.
TRM Systems Inc.
Redondo Beach, Calif.

Mayer, Clarence A.H
Attorney General
State of Nebraska

Meyerson, Martin
Pres.
State Univ. of N.Y. at Buffalo

Miles, Rufus
Woodrow Wilson School
Princeton Univ.

Miller, Arjay
Vice Chairman, Bd. of Directors
Ford Motor Co.
Dearborn, Mich.

Miller, Charles L
Chairman
Civil Engineering Dept.
M.I.T.

Miller, Jack
U.S. Senate

Koch, H. Byron
Public Land Law Review Commission
Salt Lake City
(continued)

Noor, Roy
The Fidelity Bank

Morrissett, Lloyd N.
Carnegie Corp.
NYC.

Mossman, Keith D.
Prosecuting Attorney
Benton County, Iowa

Murray, Roger F.
Executive V.P.
Teachers Ins. & Annuity Assoc.

Murray, Walter
Professor of Education
Brooklyn College
Brooklyn, N.Y.

N

Nathan, Richard P.
Brookings Institution
Washington, D.C.

Neal, Alfred C.
President
Comm. for Economic Development
New York City

Nichols, Louis
Former Ass't. to Director FBI

Noyes, Guy E.
Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.
New York City

Nunez, Lewis
Ex. Director of ASPIRA
New York City, N.Y.

O

O'Dell, C. Robert
Yerkes Observatory
Williams Bay
Wisconsin
Gleck, Leif H.
First Nat'l. City Bank

O'Neill, Richard W.
House & Home
N.Y.C.

Orell, Bernard L.
Weyerhaeuser Co.
Tacoma, Wash.

Packard, David
Hewlett-Packard
Calif.

Pax, George
Washington Univ.
St. Louis, Mo.

Passonneau, Joseph
Cross-Town Design Team
Chicago, Ill.

Patricelli, Robert E.
Minority Counsel
Senate Comm. on Education & Labor
Washington, D.C.

Perkins, John
President
Dan & Bradstreet
New York City, N.Y.

Pettingill, Daniel
Senior Vice President
Aetna Life Ins. Co.
New York City, N.Y.

Phelps, Edmund
Professor
U. of Pa.
Phillips, Christmas H.
U.S. Council of Int'l. Chamber of Commerce
N.Y.C.

Pifer, Alan
Carnegie Corp.
New York City

Pollner, Martin R.
Nixon, Mudge, Rose, Guthrie
Alexander & Mitchell

Posner, Richard
Professor
Stanford Univ.
Calif.

Price, Don
Professor
Kennedy School of Gov't.
Harvard Univ.

Pritchard, Allen E., Jr.
Nat'l. League of Cities
Washington, D C.

Prochnow, Herbert V.
First National Bank
Chicago

Puckett, Alan
Exec. Vice President
Hughes Aircraft
Culver City, Calif.

R

Reddin, Thomas
Chief of Police
Los Angeles County
Calif.

Reder, Melvin W.
Dept. of Economics
Stanford U.
Stanford, Calif.

Reed, Nathanel P
Conservation Advisor to
Gov. of Florida
Tallahassee, Fla.
Reinert, Paul
Pres.
St. Louis Univ.
St. Louis, Mo.

Revelle, Roger
Professor
Harvard Univ.

Richardson, Elliot
Attorney General
State of Mass.
Boston

Ripley S. Dillon
Secretary
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C.

Roberts, Walter O.
Nat'l. Center for Atmospheric Research
Boulder, Colorado

Robeson, Mark D.
Executive V.P.
Yellow Transit Co.
Kansas City, Mo.

Rockefeller, Laurence S.
Citizens Comm. on Recreation & Natural Beauty
NYC

Ronan, William
Chairman
Metropolitan Commuter Transportation Authority
New York

Ruina, Jack
Vice President
M.I.T.
Saulnier, R., J.
Dept. of Economics
Barnard College
NYC

Schmidt, Wilbur
Secretary
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Madison, Wisc.

Schmidt, Wilson
Professor, Virginia Polytechnic Inst.
Blacksburg, Va.

Schnitzer, Martin
Virginia Polytechnic Inst.
Blacksburg, Va.

Schott, Francis H.
2nd V.P.
Equitable Life Assurance Society of
the U.S.

Schriever, Bernard A.
Schriever-McKee Associates
Arlington, Va.

Schultz, Charles
Brookings Institution
Washington, D.C.

Seamans, Robert
Professor
Aeronautical Engineering
M.I.T.

Seitz, Fred
President
Rockefeller Univ.

Shapiro, Eli
Professor, Harvard Univ.

Siciliano, Rocco
Pacific Maritime Assoc.
San Francisco, Calif.
Shultz, George P.
Dean
Graduate School of Business
University of Chicago

Sillin, Lelan F Jr.
Northwest Utilities
Hartford, Conn.

Silverstein, Leonard L.
Silverstein & Mullins
Washington, D.C.

Simonds, John O
American Society of Landscape
 Architects
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Smith, Dan Throop
Professor of Finance
Graduate School of Business
Administration
Harvard Graduate School

Smith, M Frederik
American Conservation Assoc.
NYC

Smith, Russell A.
Univ. of Michigan Law School
Ann Arbor

Spater, George A.
Pres.
American Airlines, Inc.
NYC

Starr, Roger
Exec. Director
Citizens Housing & Planning
Council of N.Y.
NYC
Stauffacher, Charles
Continental Can Co.
NYC

Stein, Herbert
Brookings Institution
Washington, D.C.

Steiner, Peter
Professor
Univ. of Michigan
Michigan

Sternlieb, George
Professor
Graduate School of Business
Rutgers Univ.
New Brunswick, N.J.

Stever, Dr. H. Guyford
President
Carnegie-Mellon Univ.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Stewart, John
Past President
National Law Enforcement Assoc. 1964-65

Stiegler, George
Graduate School of Business
Univ. of Chicago
Chicago, Ill.

Stockfisch, J.A.
Institute for Defense Analysis
Arlington, Va.

Stone, Walter E. (Colonel)
Superintendent
Rhode Island State Police.
Sundquist, James
Brookings Institution
Washington, D.C.

Thompson, Wayne E.
Dayton Corp.
Minneapolis, Minn.

Townes, Charles
Prof. of Physics
Univ. of California
Berkeley

Train, Russell E
President
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Washington, D.C.

Tukey, John W
Dept. of Statistics
Princeton Univ.

Ture, Norman B.
Planning Research Corp.
Washington, D.C.

Van Allen, James
Prof. of Physics
Iowa State University
Iowa

Varn, Wilfred C.
Ervin, Pennington, Varn & Jacobs
Tallahassee, Fla.

Velde, Richard
Ass’t. to Senator Hruska

Vernon, Raymond
Professor of International Trade & Investment
Harvard Univ.

Voorhees, Alan M.
President
Alan M. Voorhees & Assoc.
McLean, Va.
Walker, Cora T.
East Harlem Consumers Cooperative
NYC

Walker, Eric
President
Pennsylvania State Univ.

Walkowitz, Ted
Rockefeller Bros. Fund
NYC

Wallich, Henry C.
Yale Univ.
New Haven, Conn.

Wallis, W Allen
Pres.
Univ. of Rochester
New York

Ways, Max
Editor
Fortune Magazine
NYC

Weber, Arnold
Graduate School of Business
U. of Chicago
Illinois

Webster, Donald A
D.C

Weidenbaum, Murray L.
Dept. of Economics
Washington Univ.
St. Louis, Mo.

Wells, Edward C.
Sr. V.P.
Boeing Co.
Seattle, Wash.

Whitehead, Thomas
Nixon Hdqtrs.
NYC
Wilbur, Dwight
President
American Medical Assoc.
New York City

Wiley, John
Director of Aviation
Port of NY Authority
NYC

Wilkey, Malcolm B.
General Counsel
Kennecott Copper Corp.

Willett, Thomas
Professor
Harvard Univ.

Wilson, George W.
Chairman
Dept. of Economics
Indiana Univ.

Wilson, James Q.
Professor of Government
Harvard Univ.

Wilson, O. Meredith
Center for Advanced Study in the
Behavioral Sciences
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Wright, Deil S. (Prof.)
Dept. of Political Science
Univ. of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, NC

Wright, Kenneth M.
Life Ins. Assoc. of America
Ylvisaker, Paul
Commissioner
Dept. Community Affairs
State of N.J.

Younger, Evelle J.
District Attorney
County of Los Angeles
524 N. Spring St.
Los Angeles, California

Z

Zraket, Charles A.
V.P.
Washington D.C. Operations
The Mitre Corp.
McLean, Va.
MEMO TO Haldeman

From Buchanan

Attached a draft which should not take more than three or four minutes to deliver---as per your suggestion. If RN wants to use some hump lines, tell him to read the first four pages of the prepared draft I originally sent. He may find something in there.

BUCHANAN
MEMORANDUM TO: President-Elect

FROM: Buchanan

Suggested Remarks - Task Force Dinner - ROUGH DRAFT

Dr. Burns, Dr. McCracken, Chairmen of the Task Forces, Distinguished Guests, I want to congratulate you and express my gratitude --- and that of the Cabinet --- for the reports you have submitted. I have had the opportunity to look over a number of them. And they reflect the time and the effort that you have contributed. I would add that they will not share the fate of most other such Task Force Reports --- a quiet internment in the cellar files of some Federal Agency.
To paraphrase that well-known conversationist, Walter Hickel, "we are not interested in information for information's sake."

Many of these ideas and suggestions for reform correspond to my own --- These along with new proposals and recommendations will become the policy of the United States when the new Administration takes office.

I also trust --- and I can speak for the new Administration in Washington on this --- that these reports will mark the beginning of a long and fruitful relation between the Republican Administration and the Academic Community.

I know and most assuredly you gentlemen know that these relations in the past could probably be best described as "cool but correct". That will not be the case in the future. The new Administration intends to do some bridge-building to the faculty lounges of the American campus. On that you have a promise.

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The cross-fertilization of ideas and experience between the academic community and government --- the inter-
reactions between the men of ideas and the men of action --- this is essential in our time.

We live at a greatly accelerated pace of change. We can see that acceleration is in the stresses in the central
cities of America; you can see it in the rapidly building tensions of the campus. And the rate of reform must keep
pace with the accelerated rate of change.

The gestation period for new ideas has to be shortened. The lead time for getting an idea off a drawing
board and into the ghetto has to be shortened. Thus the communication between the men of thought and the men of
action cannot afford to bog down. We cannot have any break in relations between the two, because the society of which
we both are integral parts depends on that communication. In effect the Lords Spiritual of the Society must remain in
constant contact with the Lords Temporal. To that end you have my own personal commitment.
A final word. I know that many of you supported other men in the primaries and perhaps another party in the general election. Your sympathies and perhaps your hopes for political leadership may lie today with other figures.

If that should be the case, your contributions here are even more appreciated --- and they are even more needed.

For in the last analysis, all of us here fit into, and have an obligation to defend, the broad and vital center of American politics. It is a center committed to the maintenance of certain values and traditions --- yet insistent upon progress and open to change. It is a center which is often under attack from the extremes of the spectrums today. It is not only challenged from the anarchic left and threatened by a potential counter-response from an angry far right. In addition, it is beset by some doubts and apprehensions about the future of the society --- from within that center itself.
MEMO TO PRESIDENT-ELECT
From Buchanan/January 7, 1968
RE: SATURDAY NIGHT APPEARANCE

Saturday night's audience will consist of some 300 task force members, many of them academicians, most of them according to Loomis probably voted for HHH. Opportunity for RN to build a bridge to the academy.

Thus the speech draft which Buchanan prepared.

Suggest RN read, before Saturday night, Professor Banfields Task Force report. Considered among the best of the lot, it is brief, concise, realistic and iconoclastic.

Richard Goodwin, the "Che Guevara of the Teeny Boppers" in New Hampshire will be there, according to Loomis, having helped out with one report--RN might note this point.

The educational report was critical of aid to parochial schools which RN hinted at in the campaign. RN might say that the meeting is certainly a catholic one--and in deference to the Church-State growd on the education task force, let the record show that that is Catholic with a small and not a capital c.

Head Table--RN, Burns, McCracken, Task Force Chairmen, Loomis.

Cabinet members will be spread out in the audience.

BUCHANAN
Gentlemen of the head table. Distinguished guests, I give you thanks for the many hours you have given to me --- and to the next Cabinet of the United States. I have scanned several of the reports you have prepared. They are excellent. They reflect the time and quality of thought you put into them.

Let me add that the proposals and recommendations you have made will not be swiftly interred in some file drawer either in the bowels of the Executive Agencies or the Executive Office Building. Many of them will become policy soon after this Administration takes office a few days from today.
To paraphrase that great conservationist Walter Hickel -- "we don't believe in information for information's sake".

There are a number of the members of the task forces here this evening whom I do not know. But from looking over the masthead of the various reports, many of you, well over a majority, I believe, are from the academic community. I especially welcome these volunteers because the name of Richard Nixon has not always been venerated in the groves of the academy.

I can well recall an occasion in the Eisenhower years, when my relations with the civil liberties unions and with the American Association of University Professors were about as warm as our current diplomatic relations with Albania. Herblock was featuring me in a new daily comic strip in the Washington Post.
One day when I was particularly low about the matter I ran into Arthur Burns in the corridors of the Capitol shuffling along on some assignment for the President. Puffing on his pipe, and in that Doomsday voice, he cheered me up with his comment, "Dick, you're the only man I know who has appeared on more campuses in effigy than he has in person."

I was the "General Hershey" of the nineteen fifties.

In a more serious vein, I know that many of you worked long and hard for other candidates in the spring, and in the fall of last year. Some of you very probably are now laboring in other vineyards; and your sympathies lie with other political men. Nevertheless, your contributions are deeply appreciated --- the more so for the spirit in which they have been made.
To return to the reports themselves for a moment --- gentlemen, and ladies --- we took all the recommendations and proposals -- and had them costed out, in the aggregate. The sum total would have shocked Governor Rockefeller so we have "classified" the figure, --- stamped it "secret" --- lest it fall into the hands of either my good friend, Chairman Wilbur Mills, or the freshman Senator from Arizona, Mr. Goldwater.

No, and again seriously, many of these recommendations and reforms will be implemented in office. They will enable us to conduct a more efficient and I think more successful Administration than we might otherwise have done. In the aggregate they represent a more realistic, a more hopeful, approach to progress for the American people.
But these proposals deal almost exclusively with action to be taken in the government sector, and tonight I would like, quite briefly, to reflect on a point of order --- which was raised in the splendid and concise report on urban affairs, submitted by the task force chaired by Professor Banfield.

Let me begin with some statistics which Stewart Alsop used to make a related point in his column just this week. If we consider the five years that have passed since the death of President Kennedy we must admit that in those years, the level of violence and crime within the United States has risen in almost a geometric progression.

We have witnessed the pillaging of large sections of some of our great cities --- by American citizens. The violence has left in its wake lasting deposits of bitterness and anger and resentment throughout the society. The issue of race has driven a wedge between the American people deeper and more lasting than the Vietnam war.
And yet if we look at other statistics, we must admit that there were also banner years for both races.

The last five years --- the violent years of our generation --- were the same years in which forty percent of American Negroes below the poverty line crossed that line. Today, Negroes continue to move out of poverty as a more rapid rate than whites. In the last five years spending for health and education and welfare by the Federal Government alone has risen from $20 to $50 billion.

Nor has progress been confined to any one race. When President Kennedy took office in 1961 22 per cent of the American people were beneath the poverty level. Today, after eight years, expansion of the economy, coupled with the action of government as well, that figure has been cut in half to eleven per cent.
If current trends are continued, if current growth can be maintained, if current inflation can be checked --- we can reasonably project a date in the not too distant future when all, or very nearly all, Americans will have marched forever out of poverty as we know it today.

And yet it is in our projection that we see our dilemma. For the more progress we have made, the wider our wealth is distributed --- the more violent and lawless a people we have become. The rich are growing richer --- and the poor are moving inexorably toward the middle class. And yet, the bitterness, the anger, the disillusionment and the frustration throughout the society and especially within the ghetto seem to build even more rapidly than the GNP.

This is the irony of American affluence. It is only as we apprehend this that we probe closer to an understanding of the nature of our national crisis.
So it is that a clear lesson seems to be emerging from the disheartening experience of these last five years. It is this: In curing the sickness that afflicts American society, we placed too much of our confidence and invested too much of our capital in a false cure. Our diagnosis was wrong.

The root of the illness is not in economics; the malady is political and moral. To restore a spirit of charity and co-operation between the races and among our people --- to provide the socially outcast, black and white, with the dignity and respect to which every child of God is entitled --- to give the poor and powerless a sense of participation in our national life and a measure of control of their personal destiny --- these things are largely outside the power of even a generous government to give.

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Franklin Roosevelt often made reference to Dr. New Deal, the good physician who came to cure the depression. But the prescriptions in Dr. New Deal's bag are cures only for an economic depression; And ours is not an economic depression; it is a depression of the spirit of America.

When the faith of the American people in their future began to collapse in 1932 and 1933, it was because millions upon millions of Americans could not find work.

The faith of many of our people in their country is ebbing now because they feel as strangers in their own country --- They cannot find a place in their society, or meaning in their lives. We cannot fill that void with government charity or a government check.

But this is not to say we should dismantle our government programs to improve the lot of America's poor. Certainly not. The remnants of poverty grow daily more visible and less tolerable --- alongside the growing prosperity of the rest of us. We are committed to the eradication of poverty in the United States. That commitment
will be automatically renewed with the Inauguration of the new President.

What I am suggesting is that as the last stragglers of America's poor cross the poverty line, there is no guarantee that this will bring either an end to bitterness or a reduction in crime. The end of poverty is not the Promised Land.

Indeed, if one asks himself: What new civil rights law can we now pass that will bring the black militants and the embittered Negroes back within the mainstream of society. What domestic poverty program could we pass, no matter how many billions were involved, that would satisfy some of the young radicals --- and yes revolutionaries --- on the college campuses today. I am open to suggestions.

From these gloomy reflections, it might be argued that I am advocating a politics of despair, or at least the politics of resignation. Rather, it is a politics of realism.

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Let us be practical men; the nation has need of them. Let us, as Dr. Moynihan has urged so many times, "de-escalate the rhetoric" of public affairs. Let us declare a moratorium on exaggerated promises to the impoverished; and on wild predictions to our friends in the press. We need a new candor in race relations in America. We need to turn down the volume of American politics.

In the politics of realism there is a need, as Professor Banfield's report has suggested, to call attention to our successes as well as our shortcoming --- to point out what is right in the cities as well as what is intolerable.

The enormity of the problems that confront us do dictate more realism in our approach, more balance in our rhetoric.

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We speak of breaking down the barriers between the white man and the black man, and between the black man and his rights; we talk of the establishment of brotherhood in the land. That is our goal; and it remains our goal.

But, at the same time, let us keep our perspective. As we look back over history, we see the ugly visage of racial and religious strife breaking through surface in every century in the history of man. In many eras that is the history of man.

The next four years will be but a tiny fraction of the history of this young country; they will be but seconds on the clock of record time. Is it not presumptuous of this generation to suppose that in the fraction of time allotted to us, we shall erase blemishes that centuries have ingrained in the hearts of men.
The magnitude of the tasks before us should not frighten us. We should take pride in our high purposes. Yet, let us be stoic in our expectations. Let us recognize that marvelous though the instrument of American government may be; it is not our salvation.

We come into office with a clean slate, a fresh approach, --- beneficiaries of the experience of those who have gone before us. But we enter the arena without illusions.

An old adversary of mine often used the expression that a journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step. Since his day we have taken a few steps and before our time has gone by we shall take a few more. Providence has selected us to lead in this time of darkness and uncertainty. Whether or not we shall see the dawn of a new day ourselves, or whether it shall be given to others, we know the dawn will come. And we know the rising of the sun will find our people marching together along the same good high road that we have travelled these many decades. 

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